

The Topographical Prints of Louis Meunier
A Study of a Representation of Spain in the Seventeenth Century
and its Extended Afterlife

Volume I

Text

Sorcha Máire Ní Lideadha

School of Histories and Humanities, TCD

Department of the History of Art and Architecture

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin

February 2024

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).

Sorcha Ní Lideadha

Abstract

This thesis examines the representation of Spanish and Portuguese cities in an album of topographical views made by Louis Meunier, a printmaker operating in Paris in the second half of the seventeenth century. The set of fifty-five etchings are a testimony to an extensive journey made by the printmaker in the early 1660s from Lisbon to Granada and up through the centre of the peninsula to Madrid, and are reflective of the short-lived period of peace after the Treaty of the Pyrenees that enabled greater communication and travel between France and Spain. With views of individual monuments, lively city squares, and the inner courtyards of palaces, Meunier's prints offered the most comprehensive vision in printed form of the built fabric of Iberian cities in over one hundred years.

The first edition of Meunier's prints, introduced to scholarship for the first time in this study, was printed ca. 1662 as a presentation piece for Queen Marie-Thérèse, the Spanish Infanta who arrived at the French court after her marriage to Louis XIV in 1660. Despite their exclusive origins, Meunier's prints of Spain were later transposed to the open market where they were reprinted multiple times at the hands of various publishers. Through these successive versions and the circulation of later appropriations, Meunier's prints became a paradigm for subsequent generations to imitate and came to represent the definitive image of Spain far into the eighteenth century.

This study presents a critical departure from traditional approaches to Meunier's prints that have prioritised their testimonial value as historic documents. Using Meunier's depiction of Western Islamic architecture in Andalucía as a case-study, this research interrogates the perceived authenticity of his depictions, and demonstrates that they represent an outsider's view of the cities he visited, with little reference to the symbolism of history and myth that

contributed to an intangible sense of place for their inhabitants. Furthermore, the success of Meunier's images in establishing an enduring and authoritative image of Spain is analysed against the backdrop of the underdeveloped nature of the Spanish print industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thus providing insight into the adaptability of early modern print in the contexts of evolving functions and technologies.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	vi
Abbreviations	viii
List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One	
Louis Meunier's Topographical Prints: Body of Evidence	41
1.1 Prints Attributed to Louis Meunier	43
1.2 Meunier's Artistic Milieu	61
1.3 The Paris Print Industry	76
1.4 Collecting and Housing Meunier's Prints.....	85
Chapter Two	
Meunier's <i>Differentes Vues des Palais de Plaisance du Roy d'Espagne</i>: The Spanish Series in Context	101
2.1 Queen Marie-Thérèse and Meunier's <i>Differentes Vues</i> Series.....	103
2.2 Franco-Spanish Encounters in the Early 1660s: Models of Royal Self-fashioning	125
2.3 Transfer to the Private Market	145
Chapter Three	
The View from the Outside: The Representation of Iberia in Meunier's <i>Differentes Vues</i> Series	149
3.1 Accuracy and Authenticity in Meunier's Topographical Views of Spain and Portugal	151
3.2 Visual Precedents.....	158
3.3 Chorographic and Communicentric Representations of Iberia	171
Chapter Four	
The Afterlife of Meunier's Views of Spain: Their Endurance and Influence	201
4.1 New Impressions from Old Plates: Later Restrikes from Meunier's Original Matrices	202
4.2 Replicas, Appropriations and Transformations	214
4.3 The Endurance of Meunier's Images of Spain	232
Conclusion	253
Bibliography.....	261
Appendix.....	281

Acknowledgements

I would like to offer my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr Peter Cherry for helping me to transform a passing interest in prints of El Escorial into a challenging research project. I am most grateful for his encouragement, his thought-provoking questions, and most of all his sustained support and understanding over the past number of years that saw a global pandemic.

I am very grateful to the financial support provided by the Irish Research Council's Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship Programme and two grants from the Thomas Dammann Junior Memorial Trust to fund my research trips to Madrid and Paris. I benefitted enormously from my stay at the Centre Culturel Irlandais, where a vibrant cultural environment provided a connection to the city during long days in libraries and archives.

I have been exceptionally fortunate to benefit from the conversations and exchanges with numerous scholars who have been more than generous with their insights. I am especially grateful for the knowledge and enthusiasm of Dr Bénédicte Gady, Juliette Trey, Dr Jean-Gérald Castex, and to Vanessa Selbach at the BnF for tracking down notes on Meunier for the *Inventaire du fonds français*. I am also very grateful to Élisabeth Maisonnier and Nicolas Personne at the Château de Versailles for facilitating access to María Teresa's bound edition, and to Dr Jesse Erickson at the Morgan Library for helping me to source more of her bindings. My thanks to Joe Nankivell for sharing his knowledge of the Fagel Collection with me as well as the beautiful Janssonius atlas. I am indebted to Dr Bríd McGrath and Dr Éamon Ó Ciosáin for their help with transcribing seventeenth-century inventories, and to Hildegard Homburger for her expertise in printmaking techniques. I would especially like to thank Fabien de Silvestre and Mauri Delgado of Artesanía Talaverana S.L. for sharing their personal connections to this topic. Dr Roldán Jimeno and Professor Fernando Marías were very kind to meet with me for

early conversations regarding my research. My special thanks to Dr Xavier Bray for giving me my start in the museum world, and to Dr Ellinoor Bergvelt for her knowledge of the RKD and for encouraging my love of art history during my earliest days in London.

I would also like to thank the staff at the following libraries and repositories for their assistance in sourcing editions of Meunier's prints and traces of their past ownership: Dr Caroline Vrand at the BnF for facilitating my queries and visits during the refurbishments; Emily Chu at Senate House Library; Adam Waterton at the Royal Academy, London; Dr Paulo Almeida Fernandes at the Museu de Lisboa; the staff who assisted with my research at the INHA, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the BL, the Edinburgh University Library, the BNE, and the staff at Early Printed Books, the Map Library and inter-library loans at TCD for facilitating my many, many requests.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the many mentors and friends who read early drafts and provided invaluable feedback, advice, and encouragement: Dr Anna McSweeney, Dr Maria Elisa Navarro Morales, Dr Christine Casey, Dr Angela Griffith, Dr Timothy Stott, and Dr Leo Keohane. My most heartfelt thanks to Dr Rachel Moss and Dr Samantha Martin for their unfailing support, as well as to Chuck Rashleigh, Professor Roger Stalley and Martin McAndrew. The past years of research would not have been nearly as fulfilling without the company and support of all the talented researchers, colleagues, and friends in TRIARC.

My very special thanks to my family and friends, especially to my parents, to Mary, Anita, Siobhan, Emma, Hannah, Etaoin, and Lucy, without whom this thesis would never have materialised, let alone begun.

Finally, my thanks to my wonderful nephew Fionn, to whom I dedicate this thesis.

Abbreviations

AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AN	Archives nationales de France
AN MC	Minutier central des notaires de Paris
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
INHA	l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art
RKD	Netherlands Institute for Art History
TCD	Trinity College Dublin

List of Illustrations

Introduction

- Fig. I.1 Louis Meunier, *The Alcázar of Madrid*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.2 Louis Meunier, *View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.3 Louis Meunier, *The Montería Courtyard in the Alcázar of Seville*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.4 Louis Meunier, *View of El Escorial Monastery and Palace seen against Mount Abantos*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.5 Louis Meunier, four views of Granada taken from the *Differentes Veues* series, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.6 Louis Meunier, *The Great Lake in the Buen Retiro Gardens*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.7 Louis Meunier, *View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.8 Louis Meunier, *The Apollo Fountain*, before 1665, etching, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C. RBR O-2-3 MEU.
- Fig. I.9 Louis Meunier, *The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra*, ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.10 Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, *Exposición del Antiguo Madrid: catálogo general ilustrado* (Madrid, 1926).
- Fig. I.11 Woodcut illustration from Peter Apian, *Cosmographia* (Antwerp, 1553), fol. 2. Cornell University Library, RMC2012_0565.
- Fig. I.12 *Germania inferior* (detail), published by Claes Jansz. Visscher, BnF GE DD-5732 (1–9 RES).
- Fig. I.13 Leonardo da Vinci, *A plan of Imola*, 1502, black chalk, stylus lines, pen and ink, coloured washes, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 912284.
- Fig. I.14 Hanns Lautensack, *View of Nuremberg*, 1552, etching, BM 1847,0723.104.
- Fig. I.15 Matthäus Merian I, *A bird's eye view from Whitehall to beyond the Tower, with Southwark in the foreground*, 1638, engraving, BM 1880,1113.1132.
- Fig. I.16 Jacopo de' Barbari, *Bird's-eye view of Venice from the south*, 1498–1500, woodcut, BM 1895,0122.1192-1197.
- Fig. I.17 Konrad Morant, *View of Strasbourg*, 1548, engraving, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. Sp. 3224.
- Fig. I.18 Louis Meunier, *View of the Plaza de la Cebada, Madrid* (top) and *The Casa de Campo Gardens with the Equestrian Statue of Philip III* (bottom), ca. 1662/3, etching, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. I.19 Giovanni Battista Falda, view of the Church of St. Ignatius of Loyola from *Il Nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici in prospettiva di Roma moderna*, 1665, engraving, BnF PET FOL-VF-14.
- Fig. I.20 Dominique Barrière, *The Feast of the Resurrection in Piazza Navona, Rome*, ca. 1650, etching, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 49.50.270.
- Fig. I.21 Lievin Cruyl, "Prospectus Columnae Antonini Pii Imp." from *Prospectus locorum urbis Romae*, 1666, etching, BM 1950,0211.49.
- Fig. I.22 Reinier Nooms, called Zeeman, *The Zaagmolen Gate*, ca. 1660s, etching, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1986.1180.1410.

- Fig. I.23 Leonardo Bufalini, *Roma* (Rome: Antonio Trevisi, 1560 [orig. Antonio Blado, 1551]), woodcut, BL Maps S.T.R. 175.
- Fig. I.24 Anton van den Wyngaerde, *View of Valencia*, 1563, watercolour on paper, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms. Min. 41.
- Fig. I.25 Pedro Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, 1656, etching, BNE INVENT/23233.
- Fig. I.26 Pedro Teixeira, *Topographia* (a) detail showing the ichnographic plan of the city around the Plaza Mayor with the façades of individual buildings rendered in axonometric projection. (b) Detail of the pedestal supporting the Spanish Habsburg arms, inscribed with a dedication to Philip IV.
- Fig. I.27 Jacques Callot, *The Siege of La Rochelle*, 1627, etching, Princeton University Art Museum, x1934-355 a-f.
- Fig. I.28 Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Louis XIV Crossing into the Netherlands at Lobith*, 1672–90, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-3753.
- Fig. I.29 View of the Isla de los Faisanes from Sébastien de Pontault Beaulieu, *Les Glorieuses Conquestes De Louis Le Grand*, (Paris, 1694), vol. 2, BnF NUMM-1090945.
- Fig. I.30 Joris Hoefnagel, *Gades ab occidvis insvlae partibvs 1564*, from *Civitates orbis terrarium* (Cologne: 1612–18), vol. 5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. G1028.B7 1612.
- Fig. I.31 Giovanni Battista Falda, View of the fountain of the Piazza della Trinita de Monti from *La Fontane di Roma nelle Piazze e Luoghi Publici*, 1691 or after, etching, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1991.1073.145(15).
- Fig. I.32 Israël Silvestre, View of Hagia Sofia from *Diverses vues de Rome et des environs*, 1636–61, etching, BM 1901,1022.2330.

Chapter One

- Fig. 1.1 Examples of lettering and inscriptions attributing prints to Louis Meunier, note the variations in spelling.
- Fig. 1.2 Louis Meunier, *Bird's-eye View of El Escorial after Pedro Perret*, ca. 1662/3, with detail showing lettering inside the bottom left margin.
- Fig. 1.3 Louis Meunier, *View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire, with a hunt in the foreground*, before 1682, etching, BM 1868,0612.1484, with detail showing lettering by Meunier inside the bottom right margin.
- Fig. 1.4 Three dated prints by Louis Meunier: (a) Titlepage to the Aranjuez Series (second state), 1665 (b) *The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra, Aranjuez*, 1679 (c) *View of the Cathedral and the Torre del Oro, Seville*, 1668.
- Fig. 1.5 Locations depicted by Meunier in Madrid. Pedro Teixeira, *Topographia*.
- Fig. 1.6 The four titlepages in the *Differentes Veues* Series.
- Fig. 1.7 Alejandro de Cuéllar, *Plan del Jardín de la Isla*, 1737. Illustrated in Sancho, José Luis. “‘S.M. ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se hace’: Felipe IV y las Fuentes del Jardín de la Isla.” *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 146 (2000).
- Fig. 1.8 *The Royal Palace of Aranjuez* from the *Differentes Veues* series (top) from the Aranjuez series (bottom).
- Fig. 1.9 *The Fountain of the Tritons, Aranjuez* from the *Differentes Veues* series (top) from the Aranjuez series (bottom).
- Fig. 1.10 *The Fountain of Venus & The Fountain of the Boy with the Thorn, Aranjuez* from the *Differentes Veues* series (top), *The Fountain of the Boy with the Thorn* from the Aranjuez series (bottom).
- Fig. 1.11 *The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra* from the Van Merle Iberian series (top), *The Court of the Lions* from the *Differentes Veues* series (bottom).
- Fig. 1.12 *The Court of the Myrtles* from the *Differentes Veues* series (top), *The Court of the Myrtles, the Alhambra* from the Van Merle Iberian series (bottom).

- Fig. 1.13 (a) Louis Meunier, *View of the Ribeira Palace and the Praça do Comércio, Lisbon*, 1668. (b) Dirk Stoop, *View of the Royal Palace in Lisbon*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5525.
- Fig. 1.14 Louis Meunier, *View of the Cathedral and the Torre del Oro, Seville*, 1668, composition taken from his *View of Seville*, ca. 1665–68.
- Fig. 1.15 (a) Louis Meunier, *View of the Rear Façade and Gardens of the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, after Barrière*, after 1670. (b) Dominique Barrière, *Prospectus quo palatium atque theatrum ex obliquo*, 1647, etching, BM 1972, U.184.7.
- Fig. 1.16 (a) Louis Meunier, *View of the Façade of the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, after Barrière*, after 1670. (b) Dominique Barrière, *Prima villae Aldobrandinae facies*, 1647, etching, BnF.
- Fig. 1.17 Louis Meunier and Henri Mauperché, *View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire, with a hunt in the foreground*, before 1682, etching, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Brunswick, LMeunier AB 3.1. Photograph: <https://www.alamy.com/france-maine-et-loire-durtal-castle-aerial-view-image6795501.html>
- Fig. 1.18 Louis Meunier and Henri Mauperché, *View of Walzin Castle from the banks of the River Lesse, Dinant*, before 1682, etching, De Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Verbouwe (335). Photograph: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Walzin_Castle_08.jpg
- Fig. 1.19 Louis Meunier, *View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente* (third state), before 1682. Photograph: <https://www.infiniment-charentes.com/fiche-sit/chateau-de-la-rochefoucauld-5666092/>
- Fig. 1.20 *View of the Château de Magny, Guiscard, Oise*, detail. Photograph of the remnants of the site https://www.marquisatdegiscard.fr/Magny_1_detail
- Fig. 1.21 The parallel lines of shadow on the building's façade show the characteristic blunt, rounded ends made by his etching needle. *The Royal Palace of El Pardo*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series.
- Fig. 1.22 *The Fountain of Neptune*, before 1665 from the Aranjuez Series. Detail.
- Fig. 1.23 *View of El Escorial, seen from the East*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series, detail (top). *View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire, with a hunt in the foreground*, before 1682 from the Walloon Series, detail (bottom).
- Fig. 1.24 *View of the Plaza de Santo Domingo, Madrid*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series, detail.
- Fig. 1.25 *The Hermitage of San Pablo, Buen Retiro*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series, detail (left). *The Montería Courtyard in the Alcázar of Seville* from the same series, detail (right).
- Fig. 1.26 *View of the Alhambra and the Bermejas Towers*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series, detail (top). *View of Granada from the Sierra Mountains* from the same series, detail (bottom).
- Fig. 1.27 *View of Granada from the Sierra Mountains*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series, detail (top). *View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente*, before 1682, detail (bottom).
- Fig. 1.28 Two details from *View of the Val-de-Grâce Church Façade, Paris*, after 1670, the Views of Paris and Italy series, showing the uniform parallel lines characteristic of Meunier's later style.
- Fig. 1.29 *View of the Western Façade of El Escorial*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series (top). *View of the Principal Façade of San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, after 1670, the Views of Paris and Italy series (bottom).
- Fig. 1.30 (a) Israël Silvestre, *Veüe du Chateau de Gaillon en Normandie*, 1658, Bibliothèques de Nancy, P-FG-AL-00038. (b) Israël Silvestre, *Chasteau Royal de Versailles, veu du milieu de la grande avenue*, BnF.
- Fig. 1.31 Gérard Edelinck, *Israel Silvestre, delineator regis*, 1677, engraving, BnF Ed 45.
- Fig. 1.32 (a) Louis Meunier, *View of El Escorial, seen from the East*, ca. 1662/3 from the *Differentes Veues* series. (b) Israël Silvestre, *Veue en Perspective des Cascades de Vaux*, etching, BNE ER/2974.
- Fig. 1.33 AN 383 AP Papiers Silvestre.

- Fig. 1.34 Three details showing Meunier's depiction of the Royal Alcázar of Madrid: *View of the Alcázar of Madrid, seen from the Casa de Campo Royal Estate* and *The Alcázar of Madrid* from the *Differentes Veues* series. *View of Madrid*, ca. 1665–68 (middle).
- Fig. 1.35 Israël Silvestre, *Vue de Charleville*, 1665, ink and wash on paper, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, INV 33064, Recto.
- Fig. 1.36 Israël Silvestre, *Profil de la Ville de Metz en Lorraine*, etching, BNE ER/2974.
- Fig. 1.37 Jean Marot, Stefano della Bella after Israël Silvestre, *Veue et perspective du dedans du Louvre, faict du regne de Louis XIII*, BnF Ed 45.
- Fig. 1.38 Israël Silvestre, *Veüe du Chasteau de Fontainebleau, du costé du Jardin*, BNE ER/2974.
- Fig. 1.39 (a) Louis Meunier and Henri Mauperché, *View of Walzin Castle from the banks of the River Lesse, Dinant*, before 1682. (b) Henri Mauperché, *Le Pan de Muraille*, etching, The Metropolitan Museum, New York, 2012.136.228.
- Fig. 1.40 (a) Louis Meunier and Henri Mauperché, *View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire, with a hunt in the foreground*, before 1682, detail. (b) Detail from a series of twelve plates of ornament designs by Nicolas Cochin, 1645–50, etching BM 1886,0111.51-62.
- Fig. 1.41 Details of figures taken from Meunier's prints.
- Fig. 1.42 Louis Meunier (a) *View of the Façade of the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, after Barrière*, detail. (b) *View of the Château de Magny, Guiscard, Oise*, detail.
- Fig. 1.43 Louis Meunier (a) *View of the Church and Monastery of Val-de-Grâce, Paris*, detail. (b) *View of the Triumphal Arch of Saint-Antoine*, detail. Both taken from the Views of Paris and Italy series, after 1670.
- Fig. 1.44 Stefano della Bella and Jean Marot after Israël Silvestre, *View of the Sorbonne Chapel* Princeton University Library NC1130 .U35f.
- Fig. 1.45 Louis Meunier, *View of the Val-de-Grâce Church Façade, Paris* from the Views of Paris and Italy series, after 1670 (detail).
- Fig. 1.46 (a) Louis Meunier, detail from *View of the Church and Monastery of Val-de-Grâce, Paris*, (cat. 85, Appendix) and reversed detail of the angels holding the crest of Anne of Austria from *View of the Val-de-Grâce Church Façade, Paris* (cat. 82). (b) Detail of fig. 1.44.
- Fig. 1.47 (a) Israël Silvestre and Stefano della Bella, *Veüe et Perspective du Palais Cardinal du costé du Jardin, et ensuite celles du Louvre, et des Tuilleries de divers costez, et des autres lieux les plus curieux des environs de Paris*, 1649–50, etching, BnF. (b) Stefano della Bella, frontispiece in *Les glorieuses Conquêtes de Louis le Grand*, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 4-S-4344.
- Fig. 1.48 (a) Hieronymus Cock, title page to *Praecipua aliquot Romanae antiquitatis ruinarum monimenta, vivis prospectibus*, 1551, etching, BM 1900,1019.211. (b) Etienne Dupérac, title page of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Rome: 1574–77), etching and engraving, Special Collections Research Centre, University of Chicago Library, DG62.5.L2.
- Fig. 1.49 Detail of the Aranjuez series titlepage (state II).
- Fig. 1.50 Marolles collector's mark, BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 1.51 Louis Meunier, *Differentes Veues* series, BL General Reference Collection 74/559*.b.33.(4.).
- Fig. 1.52 BnF title page to an album from the Collection Béringhen, BnF RESERVE VE-8-BOITE FOL.
- Fig. 1.53 Louis Meunier, *Differentes Veues* series, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal EST-1315.
- Fig. 1.54 Louis Meunier, *Differentes Veues* series, INHA 4 RES 2236.
- Fig. 1.55 Louis Meunier, Aranjuez series, INHA, 8 EST 11.
- Fig. 1.56 Pérelle, *Veües des belles maisons de France, veues de Rome et des environs*, TCD, Fag.K.2.1.
- Fig. 1.57 List attached to the backboard of TCD Fag.K.2.1.

Chapter Two

All prints by Meunier are taken from the first edition of the *Différentes Veues* series, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14, unless otherwise indicated.

- Fig. 2.1 Front cover to Louis Meunier, *Différentes veues des Palais de plaisance du Roy D’Espagne*, ca. 1662/3, red morocco with gold tooling, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. 2.2 Book spine with five raised bands, a partial title, and a gold-tooled pattern of repeating fleur-de-lis. Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. 2.3 Marbled endpapers. Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. 2.4 Repeating fleuron pattern along the board edges that flank the gilt fore-edges. Château de Versailles, V.2016.14.
- Fig. 2.5 (a) Watermarks found in *Différentes Veues*, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14. (b) Watermark found in *Différentes Veues*, BnF Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, EST-1315.
- Fig. 2.6 (a) Binding bearing the arms of Marie-Thérèse d’Autriche, *L’Office de la Semaine Sainte* (Paris, 1667), ebay, 2022, accessed 22 November, 2022, https://www.ebay.ie/itm/165311278922?mkcid=16&mkevt=1&mkrid=5282-175127-2357-0&ssspo=XcBAIP6eQTO&sssrc=2047675&ssuid=&widget_ver=artemis&media=COPY. (b) attributed to Antoine Ruette, binding for *L’office de la Semaine Sainte...* (Paris, 1667), Hugues, “Antoine Ruette Et Deux Ouvrages Aux Armes De Marie-Thérèse D’autriche,” paperblog, <https://www.paperblog.fr/3753497/antoine-ruette-et-deux-ouvrages-aux-armes-de-marie-therese-d-autriche/>.
- Fig. 2.7 Florimond Badier, binding for *L’Office de la Semaine Sainte, selon, Le Messel & Breviaire Romain: avec la concordance du Messel & Breviaire de Paris: de la traduction de M. de Marolles...: ensembles l’explication des sacrez mysteres representez par les ceremonies de cét office/ par Fr. Daniel de Cigogné, de l’Ordre de Saint François* (Paris, 1662), The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, PML 15081.
- Fig. 2.8 Antoine Ruette, binding for *L’Office de l’église en Latin & en François: contenant l’Office de la Vierge pour toute l’année: l’Office des dimanches & des festes: les sept pseumes de la penitence, les oraisons de l’église pour les dimanches & les grandes festes: plusieurs prieres tirées de l’écriture sainte & des SS Peres; & les hymnes traduites en vers: avec une instructione pour les fidelles...* (Paris, 1676), The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, PML 1792.
- Fig. 2.9 unattributed binding for *L’office de la Semaine Sainte...* (Paris, 1659), The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, PML 1884.
- Fig. 2.10 (a) Detail of crest on front cover of Louis Meunier, *Différentes Veues*, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14. (b) Detail of crest on front cover of the binding by Antoine Ruette for *L’Office de l’église en Latin & en François*, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, PML 1792.
- Fig. 2.11 Binding with the arms of Louis XIV, *L’Office de la Semaine Sainte*. Reddit r/OldBooks, accessed 2 February 2022. https://www.reddit.com/r/OldBooks/comments/oor7s5/loffice_de_la_semaine_sainte_a_bilingual_copy_of/.
- Fig. 2.12 Dirk Stoop, frontispiece to the *Views of Lisbon* series, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5523.
- Fig. 2.13 Prints 2–7 from Dirk Stoop, *Views of Lisbon* (series), 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5521, RP-P-1882-A-5522, RP-P-1882-A-5524, RP-P-1882-A-5525, RP-P-1882-A-5526, RP-P-1882-A-5527, RP-P-1882-A-5528.
- Fig. 2.14 (a) Dirk Stoop, *Italianate landscape with travellers halting at a trough in a cave, after 1640*, Private Collection. (b) Dirk Stoop, *Two horses at a trough*, 1651, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-60.582. (c) Dirk Stoop, *Grotto Interior with Classical Ruins and Travellers*, 1667, oil on panel, RKDimages, 1001241559, <https://rkd.nl/explore/images/199823>.

- Fig. 2.15 Dirk Stoop, *Praca de Elvas (View of the battlefield in Elvas)*, 1659, etching, BM 1845,0507.13.
- Fig. 2.16 Dirk Stoop, *Terreiro do Paço*, 1662, oil on canvas, Museu da Cidade, Lisbon, MC.PIN.0261.
- Fig. 2.17 (a) By or after Dirk Stoop, *Catherine of Braganza*, ca. 1660–61, oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 2563. (b) N. Meunier after Dirk Stoop, *Portrait of Catherine of Braganza*, 1662, etching, BM 1849,1110.6.
- Fig. 2.18 N. Meunier after Dirk Stoop, *Portrait of Catherine of Braganza*, 1662, etching, BM 1849,1110.6. Detail of the lettering.
- Fig. 2.19 (a) Dirk Stoop, *View of the palace of Don Pedro in Lisbon*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5526. (b) Louis Meunier, *View of the Western Façade of El Escorial*.
- Fig. 2.20 (a) Dirk Stoop, *Royal celebrations on the occasion of the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to King Charles II of England*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5528. (b) Louis Meunier, *The Plaza Mayor, Madrid*.
- Fig. 2.21 (a) Dirk Stoop, *View of the Church of Santo Amaro in Lisbon*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5522. (b) Louis Meunier, *The Alcázar of Segovia*.
- Fig. 2.22 (a) Dirk Stoop, *View of the Hieronymite Monastery in Lisbon*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-552. (b) Louis Meunier, *View of El Escorial, seen from the east*.
- Fig. 2.23 Dirk Stoop, *Parade in Lisbon prior to the departure of Catherine of Braganza*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1879-A-3173.
- Fig. 2.24 (a) Dirk Stoop, *Royal celebrations on the occasion of the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to King Charles II of England*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5528. Detail. (b) Dirk Stoop, *Parade in Lisbon prior to the departure of Catherine of Braganza*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1879-A-3173. Detail.
- Fig. 2.25 Louis Meunier, *The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra*. Detail.
- Fig. 2.26 Dirk Stoop, *View of the palace of Don Pedro in Lisbon*, 1662, etching, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1882-A-5526. Detail.
- Fig. 2.27 Louis Meunier, *The Alcázar of Madrid*. Detail.
- Fig. 2.28 Louis Meunier, Titlepage to the Aranjuez Series (second state), 1665, etching, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C. RBR O-2-3 MEU.
- Fig. 2.29 Louis Meunier, *The Hermitage of San Pablo, Buen Retiro*. Detail of cat. 32.
- Fig. 2.30 Anonymous copy after Agostino Mitelli and Angelo Michele Colonna, study for the decoration of the façade of the Hermitage of San Pablo, ca. 1700, ink and wash on paper, BNE Dib/13/13/62.
- Fig. 2.31 Louis Meunier, Titlepage (El Escorial) from the *Differentes Veues* Series (left). Photograph of the back of the same print showing the handwritten inscription upon with another sheet has been pasted.
- Fig. 2.32 Louis Meunier, Titlepage (Granada) from the *Differentes Veues* Series (left). Photograph of the back of the same print showing the handwritten inscription upon with another sheet has been pasted.
- Fig. 2.33 Details showing hand-drawn additions in pen and ink—lettering that had not bitten sufficiently in *The Royal Palace of Aranjuez*, and a festoon added in ink to the frontispiece. Both from *Differentes Veues*.
- Fig. 2.34 As above, figures added in pen and ink to *View of the Courtyard of the Queen*, leaves added to the tree in the foreground to *View of Granada from the Sierra Mountains*.
- Fig. 2.35 Frontispiece to the Aranjuez Series (first state), before 1665, etching, BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 2.36 François Perrier, Frontispiece to ‘Segmenta Nobiliarum Signorum et Statuarum’ with a dedication to the duc de Liancourt, 1638, etching, BM 1895,1031.28.
- Fig. 2.37 Israël Silvestre, *Veüe de l’Hostel de Liencourt a Paris*, etching, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, 31435 LR/ Recto.
- Fig. 2.38 Israël Silvestre, *Diverses veuës des Chasteau et Jardin de Liencourt*, etching, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, 31452 LR/ Recto.

- Fig. 2.39 Israël Silvestre, *The coats of arms of Roger du Plessis and Jeanne de Schomberg and scrolls before a panorama of Liancourt*, 1656, etching, The Wellcome Collection, London, 38880i.
- Fig. 2.40 Israël Silvestre, *[Liancourt] Veuë en Perspective des cascades et du parterre a l'Angloise*, 1656, etching, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, 31447 LR/ Recto.
- Fig. 2.41 Israël Silvestre, *Veue des prez des Arcades de Liancourt*, etching, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, 31453 LR/1 Recto.
- Fig. 2.42 Louis Meunier, *The Fountain of the Tritons, Aranjuez*.
- Fig. 2.43 Israël Silvestre, *The Grand Carré d'Eau at Liancourt*, 1656, The Wellcome Collection, London, 38891i.
- Fig. 2.44 Louis Meunier, *The Courtyard of the Myrtles, the Alhambra*.
- Fig. 2.45 Israël Silvestre, *[Liancourt] Jeu de longue Paume*, 1655, etching, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, 31445 LR/ Recto.
- Fig. 2.46 Israël Silvestre, *The path to the castle of Coffri*, 1656, The Wellcome Collection, London, 38892i.
- Fig. 2.47 Louis Meunier, *View of the Central Allée in the Jardín de la Isla, Aranjuez*, 1665 (second state), etching, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C. RBR O-2-3 MEU.
- Fig. 2.48 Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, *Infanta María Teresa*, around 1652/1653, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Gemäldegalerie, 353 (top). Charles and Henri Beaubrun, *María Teresa de Austria y el Gran Delfín de Francia*, ca. 1664, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P002291 (bottom).
- Fig. 2.49 Manufacture des Gobelins after Charles Le Brun, *Entrevue de Philippe IV et Louis XIV dans l'île des Faisans le 7 Juin 1660*, 1668, tapestry, Collection du Mobilier national, GMITT-95-003.
- Fig. 2.50 François Chauveau & Israël Silvestre, *Le M[ares]chal de Gramôt, M[ares]chal de camp* from the Grand Carrousel series, 1662–70, etching, BM 1878,0713.2581.
- Fig. 2.51 Two pages taken from Jean Puget de la Serre, *Le panegyrique de la paix. Dedié a Son Eminence Monseigneur le cardinal Mazarin, et a Son Excellence Monseigneur dom Louis Mendez de Haro, et Gusman. Par Monsieur de la Serre, conseiller ordinaire du Roy en tous ses conseils, & historiographe de France* (Paris, 1660) (left) Mazarin unlocking the temple of peace with Haro closing the door to the temple of war (right) Mazarin and Haro as statues placed in niches between two solomonic columns, framing a poem and a text relating to the peace of the Pyrenees and the Franco-Spanish marriage, under medallion portraits of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse.
- Fig. 2.52 Leonardo del Castillo, Title page to *Viage del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia* (Madrid, 1667).
- Fig. 2.53 François Bertaut, Title page to *Journal du voyage d'Espagne, contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l'estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, etc.* (Paris, 1669)
- Fig. 2.54 Louis Meunier, *The Fountain of the Tritons, Aranjuez*. Detail of the privilege lettering.
- Fig. 2.55 Louis Meunier, Frontispiece to the Aranjuez Series, etching, BnF ED-77-FOL. (a-top) State I (b-bottom) State II.

Chapter Three

All prints are by Meunier and are taken from the first edition of the *Differentes Veues* series, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14, unless otherwise indicated.

- Fig. 3.1 *The Court of the Lions viewed from one of its pavilions, the Alhambra*. Detail. Photograph of location: <https://touristjourney.com/2-days-in-granada/>

- Fig. 3.2 *The Plaza Mayor, Madrid*. Detail. Photograph of location: <https://www.dreamstime.com/coins-stamps-collectors-market-plaza-mayor-square-madrid-madrid-spain-april-coins-stamps-collectors-market-plaza-image217963453>
- Fig. 3.3 *View of the Entrance to the Charles V Palace, Granada*. Detail. Photograph of location: <https://www.discoverimages.com/galleries/alhambra>
- Fig. 3.4 *View of the Western Façade of El Escorial*. Detail. Photograph of location: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/el-escorial-madrid-architecture-museum.html?sortBy=relevant>
- Fig. 3.5 *View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid*. Detail. Photograph of location: <https://madridfilmooffice.com/en/localizacion/plaza-de-la-provincia/>
- Fig. 3.6 *The Cathedral of Toledo*. Detail. Photograph of location: Google Streetview, View of Toledo Cathedral, accessed 14 August, 2022.
- Fig. 3.7 Details of figures from (top to bottom) *View of the Plaza de Santo Domingo, Madrid*, *View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid*, *View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol*.
- Fig. 3.8 Details of (top to bottom) *View of the Plaza de la Cebada, Madrid*, *View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol*, *View of the Plaza de Santo Domingo, Madrid*.
- Fig. 3.9 Details of (top to bottom) *The Apollo Fountain, Aranjuez*, *The Apollo Fountain* from the Aranjuez series, INHA, 8 EST 11.
- Fig. 3.10 Details of (top to bottom) *The Fountain of the Boy with the Thorn*, *The Fountain of Neptune*, *The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra*. All from the Aranjuez series, INHA, 8 EST 11.
- Fig. 3.11 Claude Goyrand, *Un Espagnol se dirigeant vers la gauche*, 1658, engraving, BnF RESERVE QB-201 (43)-FOL (left). Abraham Bosse, *Un Espagnol*, 1635, Etching. BNF, Est., Ed 30, res (right).
- Fig. 3.12 Julius Milheuser, *Panoramic View of Madrid, seen from the Manzanares River*, 1665–80, etching, BM 1872,0113.590.1-4. Detail showing outdated figures.
- Fig. 3.13 Louis Meunier, *Bird's-eye View of El Escorial after Pedro Perret* (top). Pedro Perret, *Séptimo Diseño, Perspectiva general de todo el edificio*, 1587, engraving, BNE INVENT/28847 (bottom).
- Fig. 3.14 Spanish School, *Vue de l'Escorial*, 17th century, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, INV 982.
- Fig. 3.15 Martin Zeiler, *Itinerarium Hispaniæ, oder Raiss-Beschreibung durch die Königreich Hispanien und Portugal* (Ulm, 1637), BM General Reference Collection, DRT Digital Store 574.e.6.
- Fig. 3.16 Anonymous Flemish, *Scenographia Totius Fabricae S. Laurentii In Escoriali*, 17th century, etching, BM 1992,U.56.
- Fig. 3.17 Joris Hoefnagel after Perret, “*Scenographia totivs fabricae S. Laurentii in Escorali*” from *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: 1612–18), vol. 6, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. G1028.B7 1612.
- Fig. 3.18 Felipe de Silva, *Felipe V defensor de la fe frente a la herejía o Alegoría de Felipe V y su familia*, 1712, oil on canvas, Palacio de Real de Aranjuez.
- Fig. 3.19 Pedro Villafranca Malagón, *Retrato de Felipe IV*, 1657, etching, BNE IH/2948/42.
- Fig. 3.20 Joris Hoefnagel, “Granata,” from *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: 1612–18), vol. 5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. G1028.B7 1612.
- Fig. 3.21 (a) Martin Zeiler, *Hispaniae et Lusitaniae Itinerarium* (Amsterdam, 1656), BL General Reference Collection 281.a.38. (b) Joris Hoefnagel, “Toletum,” from *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1612–18), vol. 5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. G1028.B7 1612. Detail. (c) after Hoefnagel from Zeiler (1656).
- Fig. 3.22 (a) Jodocus Hondius, *Lisboa amplissima lusitaniae civitas*, 1619, engraving, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., KoB DelaG 81. (b) Johannes Janssonius, *Hispalis vulgo Sivillae urbis*, 1617, engraving, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., KoB DelaG 82.
- Fig. 3.23 Jusepe Leonardo, *Vista del palacio y jardines del Buen Retiro*, 1636–37, oil on canvas, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.
- Fig. 3.24 Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *Vista de Zaragoza*, 1647, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P000889.

- Fig. 3.25 Attributed to Jan van Kessel III, *Vista de la Carrera de San Jerónimo y el Paseo del Prado con cortejo de carrozas*, 1686, oil on canvas, Colección Carmen Thyssen, Madrid, CTB.1998.81.
- Fig. 3.26 (a) Unknown artist, *The Court Prison, Madrid*, ca. 1670, oil on canvas, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid. (b) Louis Meunier, *View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid*.
- Fig. 3.27 (a) Benito Manuel Agüero, *Vista del jardín de la reina, palacio del Buen Retiro*, ca. 1660, oil on canvas, private collection, Philadelphia. (b) Louis Meunier, *The Queen's Garden with the Equestrian Statue of Philip IV, The Buen Retiro*.
- Fig. 3.28 (a) Studio of Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, *La Fuente de los Tritones en el Jardín de la Isla de Aranjuez*, 1657, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P001213. (b) Louis Meunier, *The Fountain of the Tritons, Aranjuez*.
- Fig. 3.29 (a) Unknown artist, *Vista de los jardines de la Casa de Campo con la estatua de Felipe III*, ca. 1634, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P001288. (b) Louis Meunier, *The Casa de Campo Gardens with the Equestrian Statue of Philip III*.
- Fig. 3.30 (a) Jacques Callot, *The Fair at Impruneta*, 1620, etching, Princeton University Art Museum, x1934-327. (b) Jacques Callot, *The Fan*, 1619, etching with engraving, Princeton University Art Museum, x1934-125.
- Fig. 3.31 Jean de Courbes, frontispiece to Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de la grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid, 1623), BNE R/15057.
- Fig. 3.32 Unknown Artist, *Milagro de la Virgen de Atocha en las obras de construcción de La Casa de la Villa*, 1676–1700, oil on canvas, Museo de Historia, Madrid, Inv. 35351.
- Fig. 3.33 El Greco, *View and Plan of Toledo*, ca. 1610, Casa del Greco, Toledo, CE00014.
- Fig. 3.34 Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, *The Aqueduct of Segovia and The Castle of Madrid*, 1525–50, etching, The Metropolitan Museum, New York, 17.50.19-134a,b.
- Fig. 3.35 Giacomo Franco, Sultan Maumet III, *Effigie natural dei maggio prencipi et piu valorosi capitani*, 1595, engraving, Museo Correr, Venice.
- Fig. 3.36 Louis Meunier, *The Court of the Myrtles, the Alhambra*. Detail. *zallij* tilework from the Court of the Myrtles, photograph author's own. The Court of the Myrtles, photograph author's own.
- Fig. 3.37 Louis Meunier, *The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra*. Fountain of the Lions, photograph: Wikipedia commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f3/Fountain_patio_de_los_Leones_Alhambra_Granada_Spain.jpg. Charles Clifford, *Court of the Lions: fountain with water, north gallery and west pavilion (Alhambra)*, 1859–62 (photographed), Albumen print from wet collodion on glass negative, V&A, London, 35:506.
- Fig. 3.38 Louis Meunier, *The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra*. Detail of cat. 47 (top) *The Court of the Lions viewed from one of its pavilions, the Alhambra*. Detail of cat. 46 (bottom).
- Fig. 3.39 Joris Hoefnagel, View of Seville from *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: 1612–18), vol. 5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. G1028.B7 1612.
- Fig. 3.40 Joris Hoefnagel, “Sant Juan del Foratche; Jerenna,” 1565 from *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: 1612–18), vol. 5, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. G1028.B7 1612.
- Fig. 3.41 Ambrosio de Vico, *Plataforma of Granada*, 1613, engraving, Abadía del Sacro-Monte, Granada.
- Fig. 3.42 Hernando de Esturmio, *Santas Justa y Rufina*, ca. 1555, oil on canvas, Seville Cathedral.
- Fig. 3.43 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Santas Justa y Rufina*, ca. 1666, oil on canvas, Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla.
- Fig. 3.44 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Inmaculada Concepción*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, Museo Diocesano, Sigüenza Cathedral.
- Fig. 3.45 Francisco Pacheco, *Inmaculada con el Retrato de Miguel Cid*, 1619, oil on canvas, Seville Cathedral.
- Fig. 3.46 Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro, Frontispiece to Torre Farfán's *Fiesta de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville, 1672), etching, BM 1868,1114.388.
- Fig. 3.47 Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro, View of the Giralda from Torre Farfán's *Fiesta de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville, 1672), etching, BM 1868,1114.393.
- Fig. 3.48 Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro, View of the Cathedral of Seville from Torre Farfán's *Fiesta de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville, 1672), etching, BM 1868,1114.392.

Chapter Four

All prints are by Meunier and are taken from the first edition of the *Differentes Veues* series, Château de Versailles, V.2016.14, unless otherwise indicated.

- Fig. 4.1 *Titlepage* (State II) published by Bonnard, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, EST-1315.
- Fig. 4.2 *Titlepage* (State V) published by Rocher, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Dh-1029.
- Fig. 4.3 States I–III of the titlepage to the Aranjuez series (I) no publisher BnF ED-77-FOL. (II) Published by Van Merle, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C. RBR O-2-3 MEU. (III) Published by Drevet, BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 4.4 States I, III and IV of *View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente* (I) No publisher, BnF ED-77-FOL. (II) untraced. (III) Published by Langlois, BL Cartographic Items Maps * 18055.(1.). (IV) Published by Mariette, Royal Academy London, 03/2758.
- Fig. 4.5 Later states of two prints from the Van Merle Iberian series published by Chéreau, (top) *View of the Port of Cádiz*, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, EST-142. (bottom) *View of the Ribeira Palace and the Praça do Comércio, Lisbon*, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, 14858-064.
- Fig. 4.6 A later state of view of *View of the Plaza de la Cebada, Madrid*, BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 4.7 Jean de Beaurain, *Atlas Geographique* (Paris, 1749), BnF.
- Fig. 4.8 States I–III of *The Hermitage of San Antonio, Buen Retiro*, (I) Versailles, V.2016.14. (II) BNE ER/5824. (III) BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 4.9 Two different states of *View of Granada from the Sierra Mountains*. (top) Versailles, V.2016.14. (bottom) BNE ER/5824.
- Fig. 4.10 Two different states of *View of Granada from the Sierra Mountains*. (top) Versailles, V.2016.14. (bottom) Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Dh-1029.
- Fig. 4.11 Pierre Lepautre, LOUIS LE GRAND L'AMOUR ET LES DELICES DE SON PEUPLE, 1688, engraving, BnF RESERVE QB-201 (171)-FT 5.
- Fig. 4.12 Pierre Lepautre, LOUIS LE GRAND L'AMOUR ET LES DELICES DE SON PEUPLE, after 1688, engraving, Musée du Louvre, 26997 LR/ Recto.
- Fig. 4.13 *The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra, Aranjuez*. 1679, BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 4.14 *The Plaza Mayor, Madrid*. BnF ED-77-FOL.
- Fig. 4.15 Julius Milheuser, *Panoramic View of Madrid, seen from the Manzanares River*, 1665–1680, etching, BM 1872,0113.590.1-4.
- Fig. 4.16 Detail of the Royal Alcázar of Madrid taken from (a) Meunier, *View of Madrid* (b) Milheuser, *Panoramic View of Madrid* (c) Teixeira, *Topografia*.
- Fig. 4.17 (top) Meunier, *The Alcázar of Madrid*. Detail. (middle) Pietro Maria Baldi, *Madrid dalla parte del Rio*. Detail of the Royal Palace, 1668, Black and grey ink with grey wash on paper, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Ms. Med. Palat. 123/1, c. 50bis. (bottom) Pedro de Obregón, *Confidit, in ea corvirisvi / Nvdricion real la Reyna N.S[eñor]ja*, 1671, engraving from Pedro González de Salcedo, *Nudrición real* (Madrid, 1671). BNE IH/5380/16.
- Fig. 4.18 (top) Unknown Madrid artist, *View of the Royal Palace with the Departing Cortege of Carlos II and Juan José de Austria en Route to Pledge the Fueros of the Crown of Aragón*, 1677, oil on canvas, Colección Abelló. (bottom) Filippo Pallota, *Proclamación de Felipe V en Madrid*, 1700, ink on paper, Museo de Historia, Madrid, 00009.638.
- Fig. 4.19 View of Madrid from *Illustriorum Hispaniae urbium tabulae, cum appendice celebriorum* (Amsterdam, 1657), Fag.A.2.35 no.2, TCD.
- Fig. 4.20 View of Seville from *Illustriorum Hispaniae urbium tabulae, cum appendice celebriorum* (Amsterdam, 1657), Fag.A.2.35 no.2, TCD.
- Fig. 4.21 Madrid from Carl Allard *Orbis habitabilis oppida et vestitus, centenario numero complexa* (Amsterdam, ca. 1700–09), New York Public Library *KB+ 170-.
- Fig. 4.22 Published by Henry Overton and Robert Sayer, *A General View of the City of Madrid, Capital of the Kingdom of Spain*, 1752.
- Fig. 4.23 *A View of the City of Madrid*, after 1752, BL K.Top.73.15.b.
- Fig. 4.24 (–4.27) Allain Manesson-Mallet, *Description de l'univers contenant les differents systèmes du monde* (Paris, 1683).

- Fig. 4.28 (–4.31) Pieter van den Berge, *Theatrum hispaniae exhibens regni urbes, villas ac viridaria magis illustri* (Amsterdam: ca. 1694).
- Fig. 4.32 Nicolas de Fer. *Cartes et Descriptions Generales et Particulieres Pour l’Intelligence Des Affaires du Temps, au Sujet de la Sucéssion de la Couronne d’Espagne, en Europe, en Asie, Afrique, et Amerique* (Paris, 1701).
- Fig. 4.33 (–4.34) Pieter van der Aa, *Les Delices de l’Espagne & du Portugal* (Leiden, 1707).
- Fig. 4.35 Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde, où l’on voit en un grand nombre de cartes très exactes et de belles tailles douces les principaux empires, roïaumes, républiques, provinces, villes, bourgs et forteresses ...Tome premier [du] Roïaume d’Espagne* (Leiden, 1729).
- Fig. 4.36 Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Teatro della guerra: Gran Bretagna, Spagna, Portogallo* (Venice, 1706).
- Fig. 4.37 François L’Honoré, *Annales d’Espagne et de Portugal* (Amsterdam, 1741).
- Fig. 4.38 (–fig. 4.40) Giovanni Battista Albrizzi, *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo naturale, político, e morale* (Venice, 1745).
- Fig. 4.41 (–fig. 4.43) Allain Manesson-Mallet, *La Géométrie pratique*. 4 vols. (Paris, 1702).
- Fig. 4.44 Zograscopes.
http://www.georgianprints.co.uk/types_of_prints/Zograscopes/zograscopes.html
- Fig. 4.45 Examples of vue d’optique prints after Meunier.
- Fig. 4.46 (–4.47) Vue d’optique prints after Meunier’s *View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid*.
- Fig. 4.48 Alonso de Santa Cruz, *El atlas de El Escorial*, ca. 1538–45, black ink, Library of Real Monasterio de El Escorial, MS K-I-1.
- Fig. 4.49 Pedro Teixeira Albernaz, *Laredo, Iena de Santona, Santander, Noxa* from “La descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos,” consisting of 87 folios, 1634, pen drawing and watercolour on vellum, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. min. 46, fol. 18v-19r.
- Fig. 4.50 Juan Minguet, *Vista del convento de las Descalzas Reales*, 1758, etching, Museo del Prado, Madrid, G000946.
- Fig. 4.51 Manuel Salvador Carmona, *Vista del Palacio de Aranjuez*, 1773, etching, Museo del Prado, Madrid, G002988.
- Fig. 4.52 Isidro Velázquez, *Vista del Paseo del Prado de Madrid desde la fuente de la Cibeles*, engraving, Museo de Historia, Madrid, 00002.443.
- Fig. 4.53 after José Gómez de Navia, *Vista del Real Monasterio de la Visitación de Madrid*, 1812, etching, Museo Nacional del Romanticismo, Madrid, CE0825/16.
- Fig. 4.54 Louis Meunier. Details of choric figures.
- Fig. 4.55 Louis Meunier. Details of choric figures.
- Fig. 4.56 Louis Meunier. Details of the coats of arms of Marie-Thérèse d’Autriche (top) duc de Liancourt (bottom).
- Fig. 4.57 Louis Meunier. Details of *Titlepage* (State II) published by Bonnart (top) *View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid*, State V of the *Differentes Veues* series published by Rocher (middle) *View of the Cathedral and the Torre del Oro, Seville*. “dessigné et grave sur les lieux” (bottom).
- Fig. 4.58 Louis Meunier. State II of the titlepage of the Aranjuez series, lettering: “dessigné et grave sur les lieux” (top) lettering from *View of the Plaza de Santo Domingo, Madrid*, State I of the *Differentes Veues* series (middle) *View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol*, State V of the *Differentes Veues* series published by Rocher (bottom).

Conclusion

- Fig. C.1 *View of the Western Façade of El Escorial* (top). *The Courtyard of the Charles V Palace, the Alhambra* (bottom).

- Fig. C.2 *The Court of the Lions viewed from one of its pavilions, the Alhambra.*
- Fig. C.3 Alfredo Ruiz de Luna and Artesanía Talaverana S.L. after Meunier, Ceramic plaque illustrating the Fountain of the Harpies that formerly stood in the Plaza del Sol.
- Fig. C.4 Pedro Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, 1656, etching, BNE INVENT/23233. Detail.
- Fig. C.5 Alfredo Ruiz de Luna and Artesanía Talaverana S.L. after Meunier, Ceramic plaque illustrating the Alázar of Madrid.
- Fig. C.6 Accessed 15 January 2021. <https://www.revivemadrid.com/senas-de-identidad/alfredo-ruiz-de-luna>.
- Fig. C.7 Details of signatures visible in fig. C.3.

Introduction

Within a couple of years of her arrival at the French court, María Teresa de Austria (1638–83, later known as Marie-Thérèse d’Autriche), the Spanish Infanta who married Louis XIV in 1660, was presented with a specially bound set of etchings depicting views of her homeland by an otherwise obscure printmaker named Louis Meunier (ca. 1640–after 1700).¹ Offering glimpses into the Habsburg royal gardens, as well as prospects of open public squares, the grand façades of cathedrals, palaces and their inner courtyards, Meunier’s series of topographical views provided unprecedented insight into the architectural richness of a region that was perceived as inaccessible and unfamiliar to many Northern European audiences (fig. I.1).

As this thesis reveals, these prints of Spain form but one part of a career that extended over some fifty years. In addition to Spain and Portugal, Meunier’s oeuvre encompasses topographical views of sites in France, Italy and Belgium, and it is highly likely that he depicted further locations that have yet to be uncovered within the albums of major print collections. However, it was Meunier’s views of Spain that established his career as a printmaker, and it is for these prints that he is primarily known today. As a rare and singular depiction of Spain from the mid-seventeenth century, this first set of etchings by Meunier, as well as a number of his later prints that are derived from this series, comprise the central focus of this dissertation.

Meunier’s printed views of Spain are for the greater part small in scale. Nevertheless, they depict freshly observed representations of urban environments that teem with fine architectural detail and animated human activity (fig. I.2). They demonstrate the contradictory blend of luminous aerial perspectives and graceful detailing, with an imperfect and sometimes coarse

¹ Château de Versailles, EPV Arts graphiques, V.2016.14. Hereafter this set of prints is cited as the *Differentes Vues* series.

drawing technique that characterises the somewhat naive and highly distinctive style of Meunier's early work. His vantage points and compositional framing have a decidedly theatrical quality, with deep, boldly receding perspectives that are populated with minute figures who, like actors, gesture towards the wonders depicted in the view (figs. I.3–4). Bound together, these prints lead the viewer progressively with each turning of the page from viewpoints outside of cities such as Granada, into the bustle of busy streets, and finally the relative quiet of the interior courtyards of Nasrid and Renaissance palaces (fig. I.5). Meunier's focus is on illustrating the most impressive and distinctive royal, civic and religious architecture on the Iberian Peninsula. This extends beyond individual buildings to incorporate man-made environments that capture the magnificence and brutality of early modern royal luxury, as encapsulated by the great lake at the centre of the Buen Retiro Gardens at the eastern edge of Madrid, with its full-sized galleys manned by a crew of North African, Greek and Balkan slaves who rowed across the lake for the amusement of the members of the court (fig. I.6).² Meunier's prints underscore the social aspect of these built spaces. Filled with carriages, stalls, water-sellers and market-goers, his views of the public squares of Madrid evoke a sense of human association that enriches the architectural description (fig. I.7). In a similar manner, the more harmonious atmosphere of his garden views communicates the refined culture of sociability of the seventeenth-century royal garden, where courtly ladies and their chaperones observe the gallantries of elegantly dressed gentlemen (fig. I.8).

Meunier's prints of Spain were the outcome of a real journey made by the artist through the Iberian Peninsula around 1662, during a brief window of peace and diplomatic exchange between the French and Spanish courts. By communicating the built characteristics and scenographies of cities, these etchings engage with a pictorial tradition that was by the 1660s well established in the printed topographical streetscapes by artists whose work had helped to

² David Sánchez Cano, "Naumachiae at the Buen Retiro in Madrid," in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.R. Mulryne*, ed. Margaret Shewring and Linda Briggs (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 317–18.

fuel the development of the Roman and Parisian print markets, such as Jacques Callot, Stefano della Bella, Dominique Barrière and Israël Silvestre. Meunier's views were exceptional, however, because of the longstanding scarcity of relevant printed sources in circulation at this time that illustrated Spain's urban landscape. His topographical views addressed a gap in the market by capturing the new urban transformation of Madrid as the capital of a global empire, and even more so by illustrating the Western Islamic architecture of Andalucía, the perceived exoticism of which would have been a major draw for consumers of geographic and antiquarian print (fig. I.9).

These topographical views of Spanish cities were valued in their own time for their substitutive capacity, facilitating a visual journey the early modern collector could take without having to make the arduous trip across the Pyrenees. The demand was such that Meunier's plates passed between successive publishers operating in the thriving print industry based around Paris' rue Saint-Jacques. Although the first state of his Spanish prints were made for the queen, his images were composed using the visual conventions of topographical streetscapes that were common practice by this date, and as such they lent themselves easily to being transferred to the open market. As a result of this wider distribution, Meunier's images began to be copied extensively and repackaged in larger geographic compendia. By the mid-eighteenth century his views had appeared in almanacs, geometry manuals, and new forms of print facilitated by the invention of the zograscope optical device. Through the circulation of these subsequent editions and republications, Meunier's prints came to be accepted as the definitive viewpoint, emblematic of Spain as a whole.

Louis Meunier: Current State of Research

Meunier's body of work was first assembled and described in 1841 by the notary, collector and historian of French print, Alexandre Pierre François Robert-Dumesnil (1778–1864), in his continuation of Adam von Bartsch's catalogue of old master prints, *Le Peintre-graveur*,

consisting of eleven volumes on French artists.³ As the most complete account to date of Meunier's prints, Robert-Dumesnil's catalogue remains an essential starting point for research into this artist.⁴ However, by virtue of the catalogue format, Robert-Dumesnil's text consists of little more than short formal descriptions. Other than brief biographical conjecture at the beginning of the entry, there is no further contextual discussion. Meunier's name has been listed and referenced in many subsequent catalogues, handlists and dictionaries, but to date there is no study that has expanded substantially upon Robert-Dumesnil's work.⁵

In 1926, sixteen prints by Meunier depicting Madrid and the nearby royal residences attracted the attention of the organisers of an exhibition on the urban history of the city (fig. I.10).⁶ Félix Boix's essay on views of Madrid from the sixteenth to nineteenth century places Meunier's prints within a long tradition of the city's depiction, and for the first time documents the existence of various copies after Meunier's images. Boix's summation of the significance of Meunier's prints, however, is limited to their testimonial value; he states that "constituyen excelentes documentos gráficos, así coetáneos, para juzgar del aspecto exterior de Madrid en

³ Alexandre-Pierre-François Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française: ouvrage faisant suit au Peintre-graveur de M. Bartsch.*, 11 vols. (1835–71), vol. 5, 245–99; vol. 11, 203.

⁴ Robert-Dumesnil's catalogue is not entirely comprehensive, it does not include twelve prints which have been located in collections outside of the BnF.

⁵ Most classic dictionaries of engravers with entries on Meunier do little more than paraphrase Robert-Dumesnil's text. Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes: contenant le dictionnaire des graveurs de toutes les nations* (Paris: É. Bouillon, 1854), vol. 3, 19; "Meunier, Louis or Meusnier or Musnier," in *Benezit Dictionary of Artists* (31 October 2011: Oxford University Press, 2 May 2022 2011). <https://www.oxfordartonline.com/benezit/view/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.001.0001/acref-9780199773787-e-00121717>; Alfred Bonnardot, *Histoire artistique et archéologique de la gravure en France: dissertations sur l'origine, les progrès et les divers produits de la gravure*. (Paris: Deflorenne Neveu, 1849), 94; Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical*, revised and enlarged by Walter Armstrong and Robert Edmund Graves ed. (London: George Bell and Sons Bell, 4 York Street, Covent Garden, 1886), vol. 2, 144; "Meunier, Louis (1665) AOW ID: _00097499," in *Artists of the World: Internationale Datenbank bildender Künstlerinnen und Künstler* (De Gruyter, 2022). <https://aow.degruyter.com/>. Prints by Meunier have been catalogued in the following twentieth and twenty-first-century collection catalogues: Elena Páez Ríos, *Repertorio de grabados españoles en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, 1981), vol. 2, 216, no. 3191; Ascensión Aguerri Martínez and Eduardo Salas Vázquez, *Catálogo del Gabinete de estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid II: Estampas extranjeras (ca. 1513–1820)*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Museo Municipal, 1989), vol. 1, 188–97; Juan Carrete Parrondo, Jesusa Vega, and Gloria Solache, *Catálogo de la colección de estampas de la Fundación FOCUS* (Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1996), 27; Sandrine Herman, *Estampes françaises du XVIIe siècle: Une donation au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2008), 439–40.

⁶ Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, *Exposición del Antiguo Madrid: Catálogo general ilustrado*. (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1926), 29–33.

las postrimerías del reinado de Felipe IV.”⁷ Since this publication, scholarly debate around Meunier’s Spanish prints has tended to focus on aspects of the built fabric that can be evidenced in his prints, and the angles and viewpoints from which his views are observed.⁸ Studies on the building history of Madrid, its Royal Alcázar, the Buen Retiro Palace, El Escorial, Seville, Granada and early modern fountains and gardens have turned to Meunier’s prints as primary documents for the decoration, layout and possible construction dates of these buildings and spaces, using his images as illustrations to complement their studies.⁹

⁷ Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, *Exposición del Antiguo Madrid*, 29.

⁸ Ana M. Escobar Rodríguez, “Torres urbanas de la ciudad de Segovia. Un análisis de la silueta comparada,” *Arte y Ciudad: Revista de Investigación* (2013).

⁹ The following studies make use of Meunier’s prints as primary documents for research on specific sites and their appearance in the 1660s.

Madrid and the Royal Alcázar: María del Sol Díaz Díaz, “Fuentes públicas monumentales del Madrid del siglo XVII,” *Villa de Madrid: revista del Excmo. Ayuntamiento*, no. 53 (1976); Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, *Madrid hasta 1875: testimonios de su historia* (Madrid: Museo Municipal: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Delegación de Cultura, 1980), 157–58; John H. Elliott, “Philip IV of Spain: Prisoner of Ceremony,” in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty, 1400–1800*, ed. A. G. Dickens (New York: Greenwich House: Distributed by Crown Publishers, 1984), 173; José Manuel Barbeito, *El Alcázar de Madrid* (Madrid: Comisión de Cultura, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1992), 177; Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los reyes de España* (Madrid: Nerea, 1994), 483; Eduardo Alaminos López, ed., *Vistas antiguas de Madrid: la colección de estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid (1550–1820)* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1998), 50–56; Bertrand Haan, “Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV’s Ambassador Antoine Gramont,” in *Ambassadors in Golden-age Madrid: The Court of Philip IV through Foreign Eyes*, ed. Jorge Fernández-Santos and José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2020), 158.

The Buen Retiro and Aranjuez Palaces: Marie Luise Schroeter Gothein, *A History of Garden Art*, ed. Walter Page Wright (London; New York: J.M. Dent; Dutton, 1928); Palacio Real de Aranjuez, *El Real Sitio de Aranjuez y el arte cortesano del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987); José Luis Sancho, “‘S.M. ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se hace’: Felipe IV y las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla,” *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 146 (2000); Consuelo Martínez-Correcher y Gil, “Jardines del barroco español. Siglo XVII,” in *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, ed. José Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano and Ernest Belenguier Cebrià (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2001); Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, Rev. and expanded ed. (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 78–79, 81, 84, 261, 267; Claudia Hartmann, “La création de Marly: les rôles de Charles Le Brun, Jules Hardouin-Mansart et Louis XIV dans la conception de l’ensemble” *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*, no. 5 (18 December 2013), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.12220>; Pilar Chías Navarro and Tomás Abad Balboa, “La cartografía y otras fuentes gráficas para el conocimiento del territorio y del paisaje. Los Reales Sitios en torno a Madrid,” *CT Catastro*, no. 96 (2019): 35; Juan María Cruz Yábar, “Las ermitas del Buen Retiro. Arquitectura y decoración.” (paper presented at the conference *El Paseo del Prado y el Buen Retiro, Paisaje de las Artes y las Ciencias*, Madrid, 2020); María Magdalena Merlos Romero and Sergio Román Aliste, “Una propuesta de reconstrucción digital del jardín de la Isla (Aranjuez) según Louis Meunier (1665): los parterres y fuentes de las Folías o las Locura,” in *Efímero y virtual: Rescates digitales de artefactos provisionales*, ed. María Victoria Soto Caba and Mercedes Simal López (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, UJA Editorial, 2022).

El Escorial: Elena Santiago Páez and Juan Manuel Magariños, “El Escorial, historia de una imagen,” in *El Escorial en la Biblioteca Nacional: IV Centenario del Monasterio de El Escorial*, ed. Elena Santiago Páez (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Libro y Bibliotecas, 1985), 278–81; Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), 83, 101, 137; Pilar Chías Navarro, “Dos siglos de revitalización en la iconografía del monasterio de el escorial, 1600–1800,” *EGA Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica* 22, no. 29 (2017).

Seville: Juan Miguel Serrera, Alberto Oliver, and Javier Portús, *Iconografía de Sevilla 1650–1790* (Madrid: El Viso, 1989), n. 83–87; María Antonia Colomar Albajar, ed., *La Casa Lonja de Sevilla: una casa de rico tesoros*

A small number of isolated publications have expanded this discussion by incorporating stylistic and technical aspects to their analyses of Meunier's prints, and by outlining the artist's connection to the work of Israël Silvestre (1621–91). In contrast to earlier authors, Antonio Gámiz Gordo considers these prints, if briefly, in the context of diplomatic relations between France and Spain, and how travel would have been possible for an artist such as Meunier after 1659. However, his focus is confined to images of Granada, the aspects of its built heritage observable in Meunier's prints, and the locations of his viewpoints, a remit which precludes any overarching analysis of the vision of Iberia that Meunier projects.¹⁰ In 1985, Elena Santiago Páez and Juan Manuel Magariños's catalogue of images of El Escorial incorporated an insightful analysis of Meunier's technique and compositional strategies. However, like Gámiz Gordo's later study, their parameters of discussion were limited to Meunier's prints showing a specific location, in this case the royal monastery and palace of El Escorial, the views of which form just eight of the fifty-five prints that constitute Meunier's first series of Spain.¹¹ A conference paper by Ángel Martínez Díaz and María Teresa García Sánchez, published during the course of my own research, is the first to examine Meunier's views of Spain collectively in order to describe his strategies of depiction and his technical use of perspective.¹² Although the authors refer to other views of Spain that are worthy of comparison, and to later copies after his work, the brevity of the paper does not allow for a more in-depth investigation of the ways in which Meunier's mode of depiction engages with these precedents or accounts for their

(Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2005), 156; Tomás Díaz Zamudio and Antonio Gámiz Gordo, "Vistas de Sevilla extramuros del XVI al XVIII," in XVII Congreso Internacional de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2018).

Granada: Antonio Gámiz Gordo, *Alhambra. Imágenes de ciudad y paisaje (hasta 1800)* (Sevilla: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2008), 114–26; Antonio Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 211–18; Antonio Gámiz Gordo, Ignacio Ferrer Pérez Blanco, and Juan Francisco Reinoso Gordo, "The Pavilions at the Alhambra's Court of the Lions: Graphic Analysis of Muqarnas," *Sustainability* 12, no. 16 (2020).

Segovia: Escobar Rodríguez, "Torres urbanas de la ciudad de Segovia. Un análisis de la silueta comparada."

¹⁰ Gámiz Gordo, *Alhambra. Imágenes de ciudad y paisaje (hasta 1800)*, 114–26.

¹¹ Santiago Páez and Magariños, "El Escorial, historia de una imagen," 278–81.

¹² Ángel Martínez Díaz and María Teresa García Sánchez, "Louis Meunier: Engraving and Heritage in the Decline of the Spanish Golden Century," in *Graphical Heritage: XVIII International Congress of Architectural Graphic Expression: Volume 2 – Representation, Analysis, Concept and Creation*, ed. Luis Agustín Hernández, Aurelio Vallespín Muniesa, and Angélica Fernández Morales (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

longevity. None of these authors appear to have been aware of the Versailles edition and thus they do not consider the socio-political implications of these images circulating at the French court. Ultimately, they fail to recognise the broader significance of Meunier's images of Spain as place representations, and the specific qualities that established their status as authoritative images.

Like Boix in 1926, Martínez Díaz and García Sánchez conclude that "the relevance of Meunier in the Spanish historiographic panorama mainly derives from the testimonial value of his work."¹³ This utilitarian treatment of Meunier's prints as sources for a city's architectural development is reflective of the traditional approach to topographical views that rarely questioned the faithfulness of such representations. As early as 1848, the Scottish politician and hispanophile William Stirling Maxwell included two views by Meunier of El Escorial in his *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, the first scholarly history of Spanish art in English and, with the limited edition fourth volume of talbotype illustrations, the first book on art to be illustrated with photographs. Stirling Maxwell did not include Meunier's two prints as exemplars of the printmaker's own work, but rather as illustrations of the architecture of Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera.¹⁴ While Meunier's prints are certainly indispensable for reconstructing buildings and environments that have been lost, such as the Buen Retiro Palace, in recent years scholars have questioned the extent to which topographical views in general can be relied upon as accurate sources.¹⁵ Early modern topographical artists were known to correct or idealise their subjects, for example straightening or widening city streets, erasing some of the visible signs

¹³ Martínez Díaz and García Sánchez, "Louis Meunier: Engraving and Heritage in the Decline of the Spanish Golden Century," 176.

¹⁴ *Copied by the Sun: Talbotype Illustrations to the "Annals of the Artists of Spain" by Sir William Stirling Maxwell: Studies and Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. José Manuel Matilla and Hilary Macartney (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), 147–50.

¹⁵ Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 1. This is also a concern for scholars of garden history who are especially reliant on topographical prints due to the ephemeral nature of their subject matter, see Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, eds., *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Denis Ribouillault, "Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas," in *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-first-century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011). This issue resonates with current debates surrounding the objectivity of maps in general, see Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion, 1997).

of poverty and deprivation among the inhabitants, or in the case of the Italian draughtsman and printmaker Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–78), depicting the new architectural projects of Alexander VII as complete buildings, even before construction had finished.¹⁶ Dianne Harris has argued that historians and scholars of urban history have over-relied on the perceived truthfulness of topographical prints in their analyses.¹⁷ As she judiciously points out, this is especially the case for Renaissance and Early Modern depictions, in which the increasing naturalism, illusionistic effects and breadth of detail that characterises the artistic ambitions of the era, created a situation where “the overwhelming appearance of reality can be used to disguise fictitious manipulations.”¹⁸ By imposing anachronistic post-Enlightenment standards of empirical accuracy on early modern topographical views, we are more likely to omit all sorts of images that fall outside this narrative.¹⁹

According to Richard Kagan, “current knowledge of city views, especially when compared to other artistic and cartographic genres, remains fragmented and incomplete.”²⁰ As a pictorial description of place, the topographical view tends to fall somewhere between art history and cartography, which results in neither discipline doing it justice. This is reflected in much of the literature to date on Meunier. In their study of the Buen Retiro Palace, Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott regard Meunier’s images of the palace as accurate, but they do not ask

¹⁶ Stuart Blumin, *The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008), 83. See also Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1985).

¹⁷ Dianne Harris, “Landscape and Representation: The Printed View and Marc’Antonio Dal Re’s Ville di Delizie,” in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, ed. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 178–80. Fernando Marías makes a similar argument that city views should be read as artistic objects in and of themselves rather than as purely descriptive representations of historic cities: Fernando Marías, “Imágenes de Ciudades Españolas: de las convenciones cartográficas a la corografía urbana,” in *El atlas del Rey Planeta: la “Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos” de Pedro Teixeira (1634)*, eds. Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2003). This tension between visual representation and historical sources led Peter Burke to write a book on the topic, with the caveat that images are rarely neutral or passive descriptions. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

¹⁸ Harris, “Landscape and Representation: The Printed View and Marc’Antonio Dal Re’s Ville di Delizie,” 194.

¹⁹ David Woodward, “Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 7.

²⁰ Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 7. Although this criticism was made twenty years ago, it is still relevant today.

how these images were made, at whose behest, and for what purpose.²¹ While art historians are generally more attuned to these types of questions, for the most part topographical views have been left out of the art historical canon.²² As these works are seldom made by celebrated names, and are more often the product of the collaborative print studio, they do not sit easily with the historical focus on the figure of the artistic genius, nor are they deemed relevant in the traditionally held hierarchies of genre that still resonate in most art history survey courses taught today.

Art historians have conventionally prioritised images where the function is primarily one of aesthetic and imaginative expression over other works of art that are intended to communicate information visually.²³ Ernst Gombrich classified images intended to convey visual fact as “illustrated reportage.”²⁴ Even James Elkins, whose influential 1995 article calls for the integration of non-art or “informational” images into the critical framework of art history, reinforces this binary.²⁵ However, when approaching informational images from the early modern era it must be borne in mind that the disciplinary divide between art and natural philosophy was less formalised at the time.²⁶ Pamela Smith has demonstrated how research fields were divided by skill set, rather than by particular branches of knowledge, and that the hands-on experimentation of artists and artisans contributed to contemporary material and experiential understanding.²⁷ It was possible for the epistemological and aesthetic functions of different types of print to overlap. An image, or indeed a map, could engage with the

²¹ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 261.

²² Harris, “Landscape and Representation: The Printed View and Marc’Antonio Dal Re’s *Ville di Delizie*,” 178.

²³ The exception being the anatomical and engineering work of celebrated polymaths such as Leonardo da Vinci.

²⁴ Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Visual Representation*, 6 ed. (London; New York: Phaidon Press, 2003), 67–73. On prints and the transmission of information by pictorial means, see Peter Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” *Art History* 16 (1993). Also noteworthy is Lorraine Daston’s fascinating work on the emergence of “truth to nature” in scientific images, Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York; Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books. Distributed by the MIT Press, 2007).

²⁵ James Elkins, “Art History and Images that are not Art,” *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 4 (1995).

²⁶ Thomas Balfe and Joanna Woodall, “Introduction: From Living Presence to Lively Likeness – the Lives of *ad vivum*,” in *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, ed. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 22.

²⁷ Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

conventions of fine art while still communicating information as part of its essential function, especially prior to the integration of the abstracted conventions of the technical diagram into scientific practice and communication.²⁸

With this study I propose an integration of informational prints such as Meunier's topographical views into the critical frameworks of the histories of art and cartography. By examining Meunier's prints for their testimonial value alone, without further discussion of the artistic environment out of which they emerge, we run the risk of overlooking the creative licence and pictorial intelligence inherent in the process of image making. A lack of sensitivity to the techniques and cultural specificity of Meunier's prints has led some authors to conflate his work with the later copies, thus undermining their formal analysis and dating conclusions.²⁹ Instead, by approaching Meunier's views of Spain as a depiction, rather than as literal fact, we can identify the artistic conventions that indelibly shape such a representation. Meunier's images are not only useful for the architectural and topographical information they record, but for the observations that can be extracted from the instances where they contradict the built reality. Although these images may or may not depict what Spanish cities actually looked like with varying degrees of accuracy, they nonetheless communicate rich information about the intent behind their production, the ideals or aspirations of their sponsor, and the expectation of consumers, which could vary depending on the context in which they are viewed.³⁰ By the same token, the variants after Meunier's versions deserve to be taken seriously as creative reformulations responding to the changing tastes and intentions of an ever-evolving print market.

²⁸ Claudia Swan's research has brought to light just such a dichotomy in the work of Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629), whose finely detailed drawings and watercolours of naturalia were produced alongside his fantastical depictions of witches, demonstrating that the border between mimesis and imagination could be easily breached in such a way that did not have an impact on the artist's reputation as a reliable documenter of observed phenomena. Claudia Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 198 and *passim*.

²⁹ Sol Díaz Díaz, "Fuentes públicas monumentales del Madrid del siglo XVII."; Sancho, " 'S.M. ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se hace': Felipe IV y las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla."; Cruz Yábar, "Las ermitas del Buen Retiro. Arquitectura y decoración.."

³⁰ It is surprising that Kagan, who considers these same questions, does not include Meunier in his study on urban images in the Hispanic world. Kagan and Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*.

While, as we have seen, the literature that deals directly with Meunier's work and career remains thin, this thesis draws productively on a rich corpus of published research on Spanish cartography and city views that have examined the production, and the practical and cultural functions of this type of imagery in early modern contexts. The writings of Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda on Pedro Teixeira's coastal map of Spain; of Richard Kagan on the topographical drawings of Anton van den Wyngaerde and on city views in the Hispanic world; of Jesús Escobar on printed views of Madrid; and of Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder on an important group of paintings of urban life in Madrid, have together provided a scholarly foundation upon which to build a contextual analysis of Meunier's city views of Iberia.³¹ As objects that cross borders, both physically and conceptually, Meunier's topographical prints have necessitated an approach that has expanded beyond a single field of research, incorporating a diverse range of scholarly material on the French print market, the nature of state-sponsored topography as propaganda, antiquarian collecting practices, and concepts of truth and accuracy in early modern print cultures. The following review will begin with a historiographical discussion of the topographical print before delving into some of these broader theoretical and contextual frameworks that have informed this study.

Towards a Definition of Topographical Images

There remains significant divergence of opinion among art historians and historians of cartography alike as to what sort of pictorial approaches to the built environment constitute a topographical view. This is reflected in the proliferation of terms used to describe the genre,

³¹ Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda, eds., *El atlas del rey planeta: la "Descripción de Espana y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos" de Pedro Teixeira (1634)* (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2003); Richard L. Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986); Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989); Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*; Jesús Escobar, "Antonio Manzelli: An Early View of Madrid in the British Library, London," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 17 (2005); Jesús Escobar, "Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 Representation of Madrid," *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 1 (2014); Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder, "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid" in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014).

including: cityscapes, townscapes, streetscapes, bird's-eye maps, perspective plans, urban images, city views, city portraiture, *vedute*, etc.³² This is but a partial list of a constantly shifting taxonomy, as the images themselves are consistently hybrid and defy easy categorisation. However, for the purpose of providing a foundation for a discussion of Meunier's images of Spain, I will outline a working definition of the topographical view and assess its often-intersecting relationship with mapping.³³

The essential requirement of a topographical view is that it depict the physical characteristics of a real, identifiable place.³⁴ Whether it be an encompassing vista of a city seen from a distance, or a view of a single building within the surrounding countryside, the specificity of the topographical depiction differentiates it from the generic urban motifs of early landscape painting or the architectural fantasy of the *capriccio* and *veduta ideata*, where the overarching principle is aesthetic and creative rather than descriptive. For this reason, topographical views share with mapping a reliance on epicartographic elements such as titles, inscriptions and keys displayed in cartouches that underscore their express function in depicting a recognisable location.³⁵ These inscriptions also serve to stress the fact that the place depicted is not merely a backdrop or narrative setting, but the subject of the artwork itself. Where inhabitants feature in the view, their role is subsidiary—staffage rather than narrative protagonists. They are intended to animate the scene, to set a tone, and to allude to the customs particular to the place, such as economic activities, social hierarchies, or the idiosyncrasies of

³² I have chosen to proceed with the term “topographical view,” not necessarily because it is the most accurate, but because it is the most all-encompassing of the various terms.

³³ The scholarly literature on early modern city imagery has grown exponentially in recent years. For a survey and further references, see Hilary Ballon and David Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Juergen Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500,” *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (1978); Lucia Nuti, “The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant’s Eye, the Humanist’s Eye,” *Word and Image* 4 (1988); Lucia Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language,” *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994); Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 1–18.

³⁴ Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 3.

³⁵ Woodward defines epicartographic elements as “the ancillary but essential elements not subject to graphic generalisation or projection outside the graphic space of the map.” Woodward, “Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance,” 603, n. 77.

local costume and other anthropological details.³⁶

If we accept the definition of maps put forward by David Woodward and J. B. Harley as “graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes or events in the human world,” the question must be asked whether the topographical view should be classified as another type of map.³⁷ Indeed, despite their contrasting modes of visual language, in many collections topographical views are catalogued as maps.³⁸ However, to today’s viewer these two approaches may appear wholly disparate and essentially irreconcilable, with one being pictorial and dependent on the visual observation and interpretation of a positioned viewer, and the other a geometric projection based on mathematical measurement and established cartographic conventions. As Svetlana Alpers has observed, in the study of images “we are used to treating maps as one kind of thing and pictures as something else.”³⁹ This can be traced back to the rationalist culture of the eighteenth century, where mathematical abstraction began to be held as more valid than artistic depictions of place, and subsequently pictorial language gradually began to disappear from cartographic practice.⁴⁰ However, prior to the invention of the chronometer in the eighteenth century, and thus the ability to calculate longitude accurately, the data behind coordinates and projection grids was often approximate at best.⁴¹ While the graticule of world atlases is better suited to depicting the roughly spherical surface of the earth graphically, prior to the mid-eighteenth century the

³⁶ Blumin makes this remark as part of his definition of “veduta,” but it applies equally to topographical views in general. Blumin, *The Encompassing City*, 9.

³⁷ J. B. Harley and David Woodward, “Preface,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvi.

³⁸ P. D. A. Harvey asked the same question posed by Harley and Woodward when viewing the British Library’s collection of topographical views. P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 7. Miller likewise asks this of the representation of cities in three manuscripts of Ptolemy’s *Geography* produced in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century. Naomi Miller, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (London: Continuum, 2003), 3.

³⁹ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1983), 124.

⁴⁰ Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century,” 120. See also John Pinto, “Origins and Development of the Iconographic City Plan,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 35.

⁴¹ Woodward, “Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,” 13.

pictorial mode was just as valid for the task of depicting smaller areas.⁴² The ambition was the same, to convey information in order to facilitate a spatial understanding of place.

Ptolemy and the Rationale for the Chorographic Turn

For the early modern consumer of cartographic material, the rationale for turning to pictorial modes in order to capture the specific traits of towns and cities had a strong foundation in classical geography, particularly in the writings of the Alexandrian astronomer Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 100–170 AD).⁴³ Along with the methods he described for creating a projection of the three-dimensional world onto a plane surface, Ptolemy's crucial contribution to the development of the topographical view lay in his identification of two distinct geographic categories.⁴⁴ In his theoretical introduction to Book 1 Ptolemy describes geography as being a practice of global representation, while *chorography* (deriving from the Greek for "region" *chora*) was the practice of representing a particular part of the earth.⁴⁵ "The goal of regional cartography [*chōrographia*]," wrote Ptolemy, "is an impression of a part, as when one makes an image of just an ear or an eye; but [the goal] of world cartography is a general view, analogous to making a portrait of the whole head."⁴⁶ This portraiture analogy was illustrated

⁴² Although the theoretical basis for surveying and the instruments required to carry it out were well established by the end of the sixteenth century, scaled plans (also known as ichnographic views), and particularly those that circulated as public images, were in fact rare until the middle of the eighteenth century. This is likely due to the greater investment of time, labour, specialised instruments, and the education required to operate them, that went into the creation of a fully scaled plan, where in many cases a pictorial depiction would suffice. Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 120, n. 50; Fernando Marías, "From the 'Ideal City' to Real Cities: Perspectives, Chorographies, Models, Vedute," in *The Triumph of the Baroque*, ed. Henry A. Millon (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 221.

⁴³ At around the turn of the fifteenth century, a manuscript of Ptolemy's writings was translated from Greek into Latin by humanist scholars based in Florence. Entitled *Geography* (ca. 150 AD), the work consists of a gazetteer and a collection of maps depicting the entire known world, or the *oikoumene*, as it was then understood. Printed versions of the *Geography* began to appear with accompanying maps from 1477 onwards, and at least forty-five further editions were published in numerous languages by 1650. On the Ptolemaic revival see Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: 2007). cf. Appendix 9.1 for a list of *Geography* editions from 1475 to 1650. George Tolia, "Ptolemy's *Geography* and Early Modern Antiquarian Practices," in *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, ed. Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (London; Turn: Warburg Institute; Nino Aragno, 2011).

⁴⁴ The value of Ptolemy's work for Renaissance cartographers lay not so much in the maps themselves, but in the methods he describes. His text lays out mathematical rules for creating a graticule comprising of meridians and parallels on which the coordinates of specific locations can be pinpointed.

⁴⁵ Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 5.

⁴⁶ Claudius Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton,

quite literally in Peter Apian's (1495–1552) *Cosmographicus liber*, first published in 1524 (fig. I.11). It is noteworthy that Apian chose to represent chorography as a city, and not for example as a famous natural wonder that might have indicated a particular place just as succinctly, pointing towards the aligning of cities with chorographic (or topographical) depiction from an early date. Ptolemy went on to emphasise that the purpose of chorography was to deal above all with:

the qualities rather than the quantities of things that it sets down; it attends everywhere to likeness, and not so much to proportional placements. World cartography, on the other hand, [deals] with the quantities more than the qualities, since it gives consideration to the proportionality of distances of all things, but to likeness only as far as the coarser outlines [of the features], and only with respect to mere shape. Consequently, regional cartography [*chōrographia*] requires landscape drawing, and no one but a man skilled in drawing would do regional cartography.⁴⁷

This passage makes clear that chorography diverged from geography not just in its focus on smaller sections of the earth, but in terms of its conceptual approach. Whereas mathematical projection was ideal for conveying the distances and relationships of disparate places across the globe, the interpretation of an artist was required to capture qualitative “likeness,” the outward appearance as well as the intangible evocation of a sense of place.⁴⁸ This key distinction is summarised eloquently in a cartouche that features on a map of the Low Countries published by the Dutch printmaker and publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher (fig. I.12).⁴⁹ On the left a personification of Geography grasps a compass and a cross-staff, measuring instruments used in surveying. While on the right, the figure of Chorography holds a roll of paper that has unfurled to reveal a profile city view, created no doubt using the palette and brushes in her other

NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 57.

⁴⁷ Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 58.

⁴⁸ Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 5.

⁴⁹ Visscher's cartouche has been pointed out by both Nuti and Alpers: Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century,” 115; Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 127. A version of this map, with the addition of profile views of major cities around the border, appears in Johannes Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), see James A. Welu, “The Map in Vermeer's “Art of Painting,”” *Imago Mundi* 30 (1978).

hand.

This differentiation does not imply that the two approaches were in competition. An ichnographic view, that is to say a plan of the city seen in orthogonal perspective, while a more accurate representation in the strictest sense of the word, was often too remote from actual visual experience to be relevant to a wide audience (fig. I.13).⁵⁰ In the preface to *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes* published in 1564, Antoine du Pinet (ca. 1510–ca. 1565) states that the purpose of chorography is to “resembler au vif les lieux particuliers, sans s’amuser à mesures, proportions... se contentant de monstrer seulement à l’oeil, le plus près du vif qu’elle peut...”⁵¹ Pinet maintains that the topographical view appeals directly to the eye and the visual mental images stored in the memory of the viewer. By prioritising visual coherency over topographical precision, the artist can replicate for the viewer an experience of actually witnessing the scene *au vif*. The persistence of oblique views over orthogonal representations is perhaps best summarised by the artist Floriano Dal Buono in his justification for his view of Bologna of 1636:

Making [the image] as a plan would have been futile and satisfied the imagination more than the eye. The image that captures the essence of a city is not, except for someone who wants to attack it with mines or build another just like it, its plan but one that represents it just as the eye sees it from a specific viewpoint.⁵²

Ptolemy’s call for “likeness” resonated with the Renaissance pursuit of naturalistic depiction and faithful observation of the visible world, whether for artistic or scientific aims. Earlier depictions of cities had relied on what Pierre Lavedan termed “l’idéogramme urbain,”

⁵⁰ Ichnographic views were part of a highly specialised closed system of communication that required a deeply initiated audience. Woodward, “Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,” 18; Marías, “From the ‘Ideal City’ to Real Cities,” 228. On the ichnographic view, see Pinto, “Origins and Development of the Iconographic City Plan.”

⁵¹ Antoine du Pinet, *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l’Europe, Asie, & Afrique, que des Indes, & terres neuves: Leurs fondations, antiquitez, & manieres de vivre: Avec plusieurs cartes generales & particulieres, servans à la Cosmographie, iointes à leurs declarations: deux tables fort amples, l’une des chapitres, & l’autre des matieres contenues en ce present livre. Le tout mis par ordre, region par region, par Antoine du Pinet* (Lyon: Par Ian d’Ogerolles, 1564), xiv.

⁵² Quoted in Ballon and Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe,” 687.

a stereotypical and abstracted representation of place, where the city was illustrated as a generic cluster of buildings surrounded by defensive walls.⁵³ The shift towards verisimilitude, the convincing representation of the positional relationship between buildings within the urban setting was facilitated by parallel developments in triangulation techniques and linear perspective, especially as described by Leon Battista Alberti (*De pictura*, 1435–6; *Ludi matematici*, 1443–48).⁵⁴ Rather than strictly following the perspectival or geographical rules laid out by Alberti and Ptolemy, artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries viewed them as a set of tools they could choose at will, adapting these methods in myriad ways to develop a multitude of strategies to portray cities, their buildings and monuments.⁵⁵

These strategies ranged from views of the city seen at ground level from the position of an approaching traveller (fig. I.14), or from a higher vantage point, from the top of a tower for example (fig. I.15), to entirely synthetic bird's-eye views that overcome the limitation of natural viewpoints to depict the city as if seen from a position overhead, as demonstrated by Jacopo de' Barbari's archetypal woodcut view of Venice published ca. 1500 (fig. I.16).⁵⁶ For early modern travellers the outline of a city's buildings set against the skyline, often known as a profile view, was usually the first glimpse they would catch of their destination as they approached by land

⁵³ In these instances the inscription or title was indispensable, as without which the city in question would be unidentifiable. Pierre Lavedan, *La représentation des villes dans l'art aux moyen age* (Paris: Van Oest, 1954), 33–35; Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 7; Marías, "From the 'Ideal City' to Real Cities," 219.

⁵⁴ Alberti's surveyed plan of Rome, which he described (but did not illustrate) in his treatise *Descriptio urbis Romae*, was never published. His surveying methods were widely adopted by specialists such as mathematicians, military surveyors and architects, but it had a lesser impact on popular imagery until at least the seventeenth century. Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 25 and 47.

⁵⁵ As Woodward, Marías, Kagan and Nuti have all pointed out, many attempts have been made to engage in a taxonomic exercise to categorise the different visual strategies evident in early modern topographical images. This is not a straightforward task however, as more often than not, these images evade easy categorisation, incorporating elements that cannot be easily consigned to a single method, and indeed many artists moved between different formats, adapting to the particulars of the site or the varying demands of the market. For a parallel discussion on these problems of definition and an excellent summary of different topographical types, see Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 1–8. Nuti made the point that the hybrid nature of this type of image means that the categories only hold true as broad categorisations, Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 107, n. 12. See also Woodward, "Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,"; Marías, "From the 'Ideal City' to Real Cities."

⁵⁶ On Barbari's view, see Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice,"; Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 23–50; Deborah Howard, "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's View," *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997).

or by sea. This type of view is essentially the city seen in elevation and has the advantage of capturing the breadth of a city, whilst clearly delineating its vertical landmarks. As a profile view, Hanns Lautensack's *View of Nuremberg* is not seen from a single viewpoint. Rather it is an accumulation of views, seen in a succession of shifting viewpoints along the horizon, as if responding to the changing field of vision of the spectator as they stroll along (fig. I.14).⁵⁷ This format is not without its disadvantages, however. It essentially compresses the city into a flat strip along the horizon, providing access to the buildings in the foreground, but no sense of the distribution of the city's streets or squares.⁵⁸ By contrast, an illusion of a total vision is achieved in Barbari's print by the fact that the image has no single fixed-position viewpoint, but is an amalgamation of many different angles (fig. I.16).⁵⁹ Although linear perspective is highly effective in creating a convincing illusion of depth in a restricted space, in this context the strict adherence to a single vanishing point would limit the construction of an expansive and complex city view.⁶⁰ Barbari's bird's-eye view is in fact a delicate work of assemblage, a patchwork made up of a myriad of studies and partial sketches executed from different heights across the city and combined together in the studio to create a unified composition with constant reference to a schematic plan.⁶¹ A similar method was practiced by Anton van den Wyngaerde, a process that progressed from making a rough outline of the urban layout to detailed sketches of the city profile from a point outside the city walls, followed by sketches from elevated points within the city and studies of individual monuments.⁶² These sketches were then assimilated into a master

⁵⁷ Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe," 688. Ballon and Friedman have likened the viewing experience of a profile view to the unfurling of a scroll. This representational mode has been associated with cultures that have strong seafaring traditions, as it echoes the outlines and landmarks that were illustrated in portolan charts and mariners' handbooks of sailing directions that were intended to help seamen recognise the coast from a distance. Nuti also notes that the profile view was taken up by the Dutch especially, as illustrated most famously by Vermeer in his view of Delft, perhaps due to the flat landscape which facilitated the view of a city from a great distance, Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 110.

⁵⁸ Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe," 688.

⁵⁹ Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 109.

⁶⁰ Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe," 688; Mariás, "From the "Ideal City" to Real Cities," 219. Mariás argues that with the adoption of linear perspective "the representation of the city underwent a revolutionary change", however he does acknowledge that it was a "problematic relationship."

⁶¹ Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice," 439–40; Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 125, n. 64.

⁶² Van den Wyngaerde's methods are described in Ryan E. Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 145–47; Nuti,

drawing that was informed by what looked correct to the eye, as much as what reflected the actual plan (fig. I.24).

Other topographical prints, such as Pedro Teixeira Albernaz's view of Madrid of 1656 superimpose two systems of representation so that the viewer can appreciate the ichnographic plan of a city, while also capturing the façades of individual buildings rendered in axonometric projection (figs. I.25–26).⁶³ Although this strategy could be pushed to its limits, such as in Conrad Morant's image of Strasbourg where profile, oblique and ichnographic views are amalgamated into a confusing radial projection (fig. I.17), in general early modern viewers would have accepted the combination of these distinct visual modes as better representing the multifaceted nature of the city, thus demonstrating the "flexible, inclusive approach to the urban representation in the early modern period."⁶⁴

Streetscapes

Many of Meunier's prints replicate the experience of entering and moving around a city, a viewpoint that is arguably even more intuitive and evocative of the real experience of inhabitants and visitors alike than the city viewed from a nearby mountain or the imaginary overhead position of the bird's-eye view (fig. I.18). The streetscape, or street view, describes topographical images of a city from a vantage point at eye-level or slightly higher within the built environment. Described by Mariás as "fragments" of the city, they focus on individual buildings, squares and streets, and record some of the human activity that takes place among them, but without giving a sense of the overall shape of the city.⁶⁵ They can extend to formal

"The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 110–13; Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde," in *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. Richard L. Kagan (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989), 59.

⁶³ On Teixeira's map of Madrid, see Escobar, "Map as Tapestry."

⁶⁴ Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 17. In her influential essay on the connections between Dutch painting and cartography, Alpers concludes that a map was interpreted as a surface on which to describe the world, rather than as an illusionistic window, and as such the draughtsman could have considerable flexibility in assembling different modes of representation in way that did not jar with the perceived coherence of the graphic image as a whole. Although Alpers is misguided in attributing this to a Dutch approach in particular, I believe it holds true for cartographic material from all regions. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 138–39.

⁶⁵ Mariás, "From the 'Ideal City' to Real Cities," 228.

gardens, country buildings and royal palaces or chateaux, but the emphasis is more on the visual impression of the building within its setting, rather than for any use as an architectural pattern book (fig. I.19). What is rarely taken into account with these individual views, at least in the case of prints, is that they most often form part of a series.⁶⁶ Therefore, while a single streetscape cannot give a sense of the city as a whole, a sequence of such images bound together in a volume can provide a multifarious experience of a city that is comparable to the all-encompassing bird's-eye view. As the viewer turns the pages and advances from view to view, there is an implied sense of movement or progression through the city. It also evokes the vogue in contemporary garden design for a progression of curated vistas to be enjoyed by the visitor as they progress from space to space. The streetscape flourished as a print genre and was well-established by 1660s when Meunier began to publish his work. Rome was especially well represented by Dominique Barrière (1618–78; fig. I.20) and Lieven Cruyl (ca. 1640–ca. 1720; fig. I.21). Other cities that benefitted from developed print industries also feature prominently. These include Paris, in the works of Silvestre and the Pélle family, and Amsterdam in the prints of Reinier Nooms (also known as Zeeman, ca. 1623–64; fig. I.22).

The streetscape as a topographical type has attracted relatively little scholarly attention to date.⁶⁷ Many scholars have drawn a sharp distinction between images that capture the city as a whole, and images of individual buildings, streets or squares seen within the city fabric, although the rationale for doing so remains unclear.⁶⁸ A sticking point appears to emerge when topographical views are not studied in and of themselves, but are approached as precursors to

⁶⁶ Blumin views the organising of prints into series as integral to the definition, Blumin, *The Encompassing City*, 10–11. For a discussion on the importance of sequentiality in prints designed to be sold together as one series, see Sheila McTighe, *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), Chapter 3, 145–78.

⁶⁷ While individual artists, such as Silvestre or Cruyl, have been looked at, the issue of the genre itself and its engagement with other forms of pictorial description of place have been neglected.

⁶⁸ See for example Haak, Wattenmaker and Bakker in the foreword to one of the first publications to look in depth at printed streetscapes, a catalogue to an exhibition that was held in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto in 1977: Carry Van Lakerveld, ed., *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources* (Amsterdam; Toronto: Amsterdam Historisch Museum; Art Gallery of Ontario, 1977). Although Kagan considers previous definitions of “veduta” as a snapshot of urban life to be insufficient, he sidesteps the question of how views of individual buildings related to overall cityscapes. In his own discussion of topographical view categories, he does not include streetscapes, but he does include these types of images later in his book. Kagan and Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 1–18.

something else. Early modern views within a city have generally been interpreted by art historians as early prototypes of Dutch landscape painting, *veduta* painting and the expressive interpretations of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78).⁶⁹ In the case of topographical streetscapes, the analysis has traditionally been dominated by a post-Romantic attitude that values artistic expression over the recording of place.⁷⁰ Vermeer in particular is celebrated for producing “views of towns that went beyond the merely literal, informative or illustrative,” the implication being that geographical and topographical images were not appreciated aesthetically by powerful patrons before this time, and therefore are not worthy of art historical research.⁷¹

There is no doubt these streetscapes were collected and displayed in collections alongside maps, bird’s-eye views, profile views and ichnographic plans of cities, and many artists, including Louis Meunier, worked between the different modes of representation.⁷² I would argue that these views of specific buildings and other such fragments of the city became more relevant as communicators of the chorographic qualities of place into the eighteenth century when the dichotomies of pictorial representation and abstracted visual language of ichnographic plans became more established. It is one of the aims of this thesis to integrate such streetscapes into the debates surrounding the topographical image, but to also engage with on their own terms as depictions that occupy a shifting position between art history and cartography.

⁶⁹ For an example of this attitude, see Van Lakerveld, *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources*, 17; J. G. Links, *Townscape Painting and Drawing* (London: Batsford, 1972).

⁷⁰ Blumin, *The Encompassing City*. The focus of Blumin’s book is the eighteenth-century veduta, and he discusses seventeenth-century streetscapes only as precursors. Blumin presents an interpretation of city depiction that foregrounds an ideal of the “modern” city as interpreted by the flâneur observer type, an approach that is at odds with the informational values of topographical prints.

⁷¹ Wattenmaker in Van Lakerveld, *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources*, 20; Links, *Townscape Painting and Drawing*, 136–37. This observation is evidently untrue, topographical artists such as Etienne Dupérac and Anton van den Wyngaerde were employed to decorate the Vatican and the Alcázar in Madrid. Links in particular falls into the trap of treating oil painting as a synecdoche for pictures in general. See Elkins, “Art History and Images that are not Art,” 569.

⁷² This was the case when I consulted the King George III’s Topographical Collection at the British Library in January 2020. This fascinating collection contains over forty thousand items, including manuscript and printed maps, topographical drawings, watercolours, and prints. The collection has been digitised and made available online as of October 2020.

Moralised Geographies

Prior to the 1980s, the history of cartography was primarily a Eurocentric endeavour that focussed on individual mapmakers striving to create scientific maps, using increasingly accurate methods of measurement and land surveying. Pictorial approaches to the depiction of cities were rarely seen as falling under the category of cartography, and in parallel with the art historical approach to streetscapes, topographical views were considered primarily as a prefiguration of planimetric diagrams.⁷³ This study builds upon a wealth of scholarship from that past forty years that has shifted focus from the technical development and perceived accuracy of cartographic and topographical representations, towards new considerations of maps and views as products of visual culture that are culturally and historically contingent.⁷⁴ David Woodward is credited with having introduced an object-centred approach, examining the relationship between maps and the societies that produced them, and his work considered such factors as the numerous individuals and processes involved in making maps and the audiences that shaped the demand for them.⁷⁵ In 1978, Schulz coined the term “moralized geography” to describe how maps and topographical views could use cartographic modes to convey political, metaphysical or moral concepts.⁷⁶ These ideas were taken up by Brian Harley whose influential work deconstructed maps as manifestations of power, shaped by the ideologies and agendas of their makers.⁷⁷ The publication of the multi-volume *History of Cartography* series since 1987 has extended the discussion far beyond the traditional boundaries of cartography and has given

⁷³ See Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys*, 7. Harvey’s approach is teleological, recounting a progression of the history of maps as symbols to pictures, and then pictures to survey. As Woodward argues, the history of cartography cannot be summed up as a simple progression from bird’s-eye view towards orthogonal representation. Measured ground plans of cities and oblique views (including bird’s-eye views) coexisted for over two hundred years before there was a definitive separation in the required function of the two modes. Woodward, “Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,” 9.

⁷⁴ For a recent overview of the changing landscape of cartographic history, see Peter Barber, “‘Context is everything...’: Ruminations on Developments in the History of Cartography since the 1970s and Their Consequences,” *Imago Mundi* 72, 2 (2020).

⁷⁵ This approach is most clearly exemplified in David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1996).

⁷⁶ Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice.”

⁷⁷ “Cartographical silences,” that is say the information intentionally omitted from a map, can reveal as much as the details that are included. J. Brian Harley, “Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988).

non-specialists from adjacent fields access to the current debates.⁷⁸ Cultural geographers, political historians, architectural and art historians such as Svetlana Alpers, Cesare de Seta, Mark Monmonier, Hilary Ballon, Lucia Nuti, Denis Cosgrove, and Jeremy Black have expanded the methodological limitations of bibliographical analysis to interrogate the ideological and symbolic content of cartographic material.⁷⁹

Taking the lead from Ptolemy's portraiture analogy, Jessica Maier's research on Italian city imagery has demonstrated how topographical views and portraiture developed along parallel courses; both genres share a descriptive function, but also a memorialising one whereby idealised physical form can operate as a vehicle for abstract ideas relating to character and identity.⁸⁰ In her study of Leonardo Bufalini's map of Rome (1551), Maier demonstrates how the image's rhetorical and symbolic potential has been underestimated by previous scholars. Despite appearances to the contrary, Maier argues that Bufalini's measured survey of the city is "tinged with nostalgia and fuelled by creative licence," overturning the traditional conception of maps as value free and objective recordings of the environment (fig. I.23).⁸¹

Just as monarchs and civic rulers exploited the symbolic potential of portraits, so too were topographical views of cities and important buildings marshalled as potent symbols of authority and magnificence. The significant growth in urban populations in Europe from 1450, and the establishment of itinerant monarchs in capitals, heralded the rise of cities as the centres of bureaucratic administration, the setting for important ceremonial, diplomatic and cultural events, and with the advancement of fortification engineering, as strongholds of military defence.⁸² Studies by Ballon, Francesca Fiorani and Ryan E. Gregg have demonstrated how in the hands of rulers and those with the influence to commission large-scale projects, cartographic and topographical images of regions and cities could be utilised as powerful propagandistic

⁷⁸ *The History of Cartography Vols. 1–6*, (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987–2019).

⁷⁹ See also Denis Wood and John Fels, *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁸⁰ Jessica Maier, "A 'True Likeness': The Renaissance City Portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012).

⁸¹ Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 2.

⁸² Friedrichs notes that the early modern era as a whole was an epoch of considerable urban growth. Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London; New York: Longman, 1995), 20.

tools, operating as visual expressions of territorial possession, political legitimacy, dynastic glory and military authority.⁸³ Whether displayed prominently in royal reception rooms or circulated in printed editions, topographical views proved an adaptable format for communicating a myriad of agendas as diverse as Barbari's encomiastic celebration of Venice, the strengthening of political unity under royalist centralisation in François Quesnel's map of Paris (1609), or the assertion of the papacy's post-Tridentine proselytism in the cartographic murals of the Terza Loggia in the Vatican (1560–85).⁸⁴

Royal Patronage of Topographical Views in Spain and France

Published in Paris, but closely associated with Madrid's urban history, Meunier's topographical views of Spain occupy an ambiguous position between the visual and material cultures of France and Spain. In order to unpick the convergence of these two cultures in Meunier's prints, this thesis explores the prevalence and role played by topographical images in both these societies. By the mid-seventeenth century, both Philip IV and Louis XIV were heirs to prestigious traditions of royal cartographic sponsorship, encompassing both measured land surveys that facilitated the planning of military campaigns and the efficient management of land usage, as well as the more symbolic deployment of topographical views as visual glorification of dynastic rule.

Beginning with Charles V, the Habsburg monarchs cultivated a policy of sponsoring specialised offices charged with cartographic research and large-scale geographic projects, and the iconography of mapping became an important symbol of authority at the Spanish Habsburg court.⁸⁵ From 1561 until the artist's death in 1571 Philip II sponsored the Netherlandish artist

⁸³ Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁸⁴ Francesca Fiorani, "Cycles of Painted Maps in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 818; Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: M.I.T. Press, 1991); Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape."; Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century*.

⁸⁵ On Habsburg sponsorship of cartographic projects, see Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape."; Richard L. Kagan, "Arcana Imperii: mapas, ciencia y poder en la corte de Felipe IV," in *El atlas del Rey*

Anton van den Wyngaerde (ca. 1512–71) to undertake multiple journeys to the different regions of Spain in order to create a series of panoramic paintings that would demonstrate the sheer number, size and magnificence of the realm’s cities (fig. I.24). Van den Wyngaerde’s paintings are now lost, but a number of drawings of individual monuments, site plans and finished view sketches in pen-and-ink with watercolour washes are dispersed between the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, serving as a unique visual record of sixty-two towns and cities in early modern Spain.⁸⁶

In the seventeenth century, Philip IV followed the example of his grandfather by promoting his rule through topographical display. Philip had his office and the royal library in the Madrid Alcázar, as well rooms in the Buen Retiro, El Pardo, and Aranjuez palaces, decorated with mounted maps and painted views of his *reales sitios* or royal residences.⁸⁷ One of these was the *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, a monumental plan of the city by the Portuguese cartographer Pedro Teixeira Albernaz (ca. 1595–1662), that was commissioned to showcase the city’s relatively new status as an imperial capital, and its architectural transformation over the previous one hundred years from a medieval walled town into a spectacular court space. Bookended to the east and the west by magnificent royal palaces and gardens, Teixeira’s image depicts the network of broad streets that orientate towards the rationally planned Plaza Mayor at the physical and ceremonial heart of the metropolis, where Habsburg *grandeza* could be witnessed by all (fig. I.25).⁸⁸ Despite the overall accuracy of Teixeira’s plan, the size of the

Planeta: la “Descripción de Espana y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos” de Pedro Teixeira (1634), eds. Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2003); Geoffrey Parker, “Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs,” in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Geoffrey Parker, *Success is Never Final: Empire, War, and Faith in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 96–121; David Buisseret, “Spanish Peninsular Cartography, 1500–1700,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁸⁶ On Van den Wyngaerde’s views of Spain, see Kagan, *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*.

⁸⁷ Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986), 121–25; Escobar, “Map as Tapestry,” 64.

⁸⁸ On Madrid as a setting for royal ceremony, see María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000).

royal palaces is exaggerated to further promote their grandeur.⁸⁹ A banderole across the top of the view proclaims Madrid as an “*urbs regia*,” while a pedestal supporting the Spanish Habsburg arms at the upper right is inscribed with a dedication that ultimately confirms the fundamental function of the map, namely the glorification of the monarchy: “The Catholic Monarch Philip IV, strong and pious, presents this, his city, and within it the whole of the world subject to him” (fig. I.26).⁹⁰ Measuring 1.78 meters in height and 2.86 meters wide, editions of Teixeira’s map view would have been sent for display in the Spanish embassies abroad, as well as in the residences of the empire’s various viceroys.⁹¹

Unlike Charles V’s early sponsorship of the most advanced cartographic methods, the Valois kings of France showed relatively little interest in mapmaking, either for the practical purposes of governing or for decorative or symbolic uses.⁹² Due perhaps to the practical and strategic role maps and topographical views played in the ambitious building and engineering programmes of Henri IV, royal sponsorship of topographical print in seventeenth-century France carried distinctly militaristic connotations. This pattern was set by Louis XIII when he commissioned Jacques Callot (1592–1635) to create an enormous and complex panoramic view commemorating French victory against Huguenot rebels at the port city of La Rochelle (fig. I.27).⁹³ From the earliest days of his personal rule, Louis XIV recognised the capacity of print

⁸⁹ Ballon and Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe,” 693.

⁹⁰ “PHILLIPO IV. REGI CATHOLICO FORTI ET PIO VRBEM HANC SVAM ET IN EA ORBIS SIBI SVBIECTI COMPEMDIVM EXHIBET.” Translation quoted in Escobar, “Map as Tapestry,” 61.

⁹¹ Escobar, “Map as Tapestry,” 65.

⁹² Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism*, 213. On French cartography, see Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas français XVIe–XVIIe siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984); Josef W. Konvitz and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Cartography in France, 1660–1848: Science, Engineering, and Statecraft* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); David Buisseret, “Monarchs, Ministers and Maps in France before the Accession of Louis XIV,” in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Christine Marie Petto, *When France was King of Cartography: The Patronage and Production of Maps in Early Modern France* (Lanham, Md.; Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007); David Buisseret, “French Cartography: The ingénieurs du roi, 1500–1650,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Part 2: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁹³ Callot’s print is featured in Sue Welsh Reed, *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers* (Boston, Mass: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998), no. 38. On the proliferation of siege views in the early modern era, see Martha D. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 109–54.

to shape the royal persona, and with his first minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83) he exploited the immediacy of the topographical genre to celebrate and promote his military victories and territorial expansion, especially in lands along the eastern borders of the French Kingdom.⁹⁴ From the mid-1660s, Colbert dispatched artists such as Charles Le Brun, Sébastien Leclerc, Israël Silvestre and Adam Frans van der Meulen to disputed border areas in order to make sketches of the fortified towns and cities that were later used in state commissions for battle paintings, topographical prints and tapestry cartoons (fig. I.28).⁹⁵ The combination of cartography, eye-witness testimony, and narrative elements in topographical views such as Callot's *Siege of La Rochelle* and Van der Meulen's painting of the crossing of the Rhine near Lobith invited the viewer to picture the scene vividly and to insert themselves into the setting, thus adding a veracity to the accounts depicted, making them an ideal vehicle to convey propagandistic messages and royal self-promotion.⁹⁶

In contrast with Louis XIV's *Cabinet du Roi*, the vast publishing enterprise under the supervision of Colbert that produced high quality prints of the royal houses, collections and major royal events, the Spanish monarchy failed to maximise the advantages of the print as a reproducible and easily transportable medium in reaching a broad range of audiences, both at home and abroad with propagandistic messages.⁹⁷ This oversight had nothing to do with the perceived inaccessibility and remove of the Habsburg monarchs, but rather with the underdeveloped nature of the print industry in Spain in the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ For large-scale projects, the monarchy was forced to outsource special topographical commissions to

⁹⁴ Louis XIV's sponsorship of the arts for the purposes of self-promotion is explored in Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Arts in the Service of the King's Glory," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015); Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁹⁵ See Chapter One on Silvestre's involvement in this commission.

⁹⁶ Martens argues that topography as a genre is intrinsically linked to military reportage having emerged from depictions of sieges in graphic news publications, Pieter Martens, "Cities under Siege Portrayed *ad vivum* in Early Netherlandish Prints (1520–1565)," in *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, ed. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

⁹⁷ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 184; Peter Fuhring, "Publishers, Sellers, and the Market," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 30.

⁹⁸ On the Spanish print industry see my discussion in Chapter Four, section 4.3.

printing presses in Amsterdam and Antwerp. While Teixeira's map was successfully engraved in the studio of Salomon Savery (1594–1665) in Amsterdam and printed by Jan and Jacques van Veerle in Antwerp, Van den Wyngaerde's sketches were lost en route to the studio of the Antwerp-based publisher Christophe Plantin (ca. 1520–89) where they were to be engraved as a city atlas, and as such they were never published.⁹⁹ The lack of investment in training and state-subsidised institutions that would promote the status and professionalism of engravers and printers meant that images such as Van den Wyngaerde's rarely circulated outside of the court setting. In Paris, where intaglio printmaking had been declared a liberal art with the Edict of Saint-Jean-de-Luz in 1660, state sponsorship stimulated a thriving print industry and led to private initiatives that emulated royal commissions and championed the crown's agendas in lower cost, and thus more accessible, print publications such as Sébastien Pontault de Beaulieu's (1612–74) *Le grand Beaulieu* (1694) (fig. I.29).¹⁰⁰

In recent years, Jessica Maier and Jeremy Black have called into question Harley's contention that all cartographic material is necessarily ideological.¹⁰¹ Maps and topographical views can be highly effective in promoting partisan world views and political agendas, and indeed in certain contexts this approach can unearth compelling insights into the biases that lead artists and cartographers to accentuate or obscure certain details. However, a deterministic lens that perceives all manifestations of cartography as political tools can overshadow other levels of meaning, from the personal to the dispassionately commercial. Echoing Beneš and Harris' insistence on a close contextual reading of the individual circumstances behind each

⁹⁹ Escobar, "Map as Tapestry," 50; Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde."

¹⁰⁰ From 1647 up to the 1670s, Beaulieu published small atlases of maps, known as the "Petits Beaulieu" that depicted the settings of battles or sieges fought by French troops in the Low Countries, Lorraine, Alsace, Roussillon and Cerdagne, Catalonia and Franche-Comté. In 1694, Beaulieu's maps and topographical views were compiled in a luxury publication by his niece, Reine-Michèle de Beaulieu. Known as the "Grand Beaulieu", the two volumes narrate and illustrate the major French battles during Louis' reign, from the Battle of Rocroi in 1643, to the Siege of Namur in 1692, with the intention of creating "un auguste monument de la gloire de son Trône dans ses ouvrages." Reine-Michèle de Beaulieu in the preface to *Les Glorieuses Conquestes de Louis Le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris, 1694). Véronique Meyer, "Sébastien Pontault de Beaulieu et la représentation des cérémonies de l'île des Faisans," in *Delineavit et sculpsit: dix-neuf contributions sur les rapports dessin-gravure du XVIe au XXe siècle: mélanges offerts à Marie-Félicie Perez-Pivot*, ed. Francois Fossier and Marie Félicie Pérez (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2003).

¹⁰¹ Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 14. "Cartography as Power" in Black, *Maps and Politics*, 11–28.

topographical project, Maier calls for more nuanced analysis of meaning, and an acknowledgement of the complex nature of the motives that shape image creation and reception.¹⁰² My investigation of Meunier's prints owes a great deal to Harris and Maier's examples. However, in contrast to their studies where the patron and/or the maker is intent on creating maps and topographical views that serve as visual encomiums and objects of self-fashioning, my task is complicated by the fact that these views were commissioned by an outsider and are made by a visitor, not a resident.

To what extent, then, should Meunier's views of Spain be seen as being ideologically driven? His prints do not bear the patent propagandistic inscriptions of Teixeira's map or Callot's battle scenes, nor do they refer to specific private recollections that resonate mostly with a closed audience, such as paintings with topographical elements by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (ca. 1612–67) that were made for the Spanish court (see fig. 3.24). The fact that Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series was first conceived of as a personal gift for Marie-Thérèse may imply that this set was commissioned to function as a personal entreaty to the queen. At the same time, the pictorial language that Meunier used to create these images chimed with a print genre that was circulating widely in the work of other printmakers such as Silvestre, Jean Marot or Nicolas Pérille. Although Meunier's subject matter was unique, as I demonstrate in Chapter Four, his prints were generic enough in their descriptive mode of representation to transition easily to the private market in the 1670s.

In his study on city views of Spain and the Americas, Richard Kagan expanded his investigation beyond images commissioned by those in power, which more often than not functioned as declarations of possession, to incorporate images made for local consumption within communities.¹⁰³ Such "communicentric images" express local identity and regional pride in terms of history, local customs, religious beliefs and celebrations. They reveal how a

¹⁰² Harris, "Introduction: Landscape in Context," 16–18; Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 14–15.

¹⁰³ Richard L. Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," in *Envisioning the City*, ed. David Buisseret (1998); Kagan and Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*.

community visualises itself, in contrast to topographical views by artists looking from the outside in, who are unfamiliar with the cultural specifics of place.¹⁰⁴ Kagan's work has served as an important model for my own research and has led me to reflect on what image of Spain is being projected in Meunier's topographical views. If they were intended for a French market, rather than for local Spanish consumption, can we view them as a realistic depiction of the Iberian Peninsula in the 1660s, or should they be more accurately described as an interpretation that would resonate with French audiences? Do they simply convey descriptive information about distant cities, or can they be probed for underlying assumptions and attitudes towards the Spanish crown? These are issues that are explored in detail in Chapter Three.

The Comparative Gaze: Knowing and Collecting the World through Topographical Print

Peter Parshall, David Landau, Mark McDonald and Michael Bury have all demonstrated the myriad ways in which prints were valued in the early modern era for their displays of skill, their aesthetic appreciation, and for their small scale and collectability.¹⁰⁵ Crucially for this study, scholars have also stressed the more practical value of prints as bearers of information, as mnemonic aids, and perhaps above all, as repositories to satisfy unbounded curiosity.¹⁰⁶ The key role played by printed images in the early modern documentation and classification of nature demonstrates the centrality of visual representation to the formation, consolidation and communication of knowledge, a fact recognised by the German botanist Leonhart Fuchs (1501–66) when he claimed “those things that are presented to the eyes and depicted on panels or paper

¹⁰⁴ Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, vii.

¹⁰⁵ David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994); Peter Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe,” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): esp. 24; Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2001); Mark P. McDonald, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo: Architecture, Topography and Military Maps* (London: Royal Collection Trust and The British Library in association with Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019).

¹⁰⁶ Peter Parshall, “Introduction: Art and Curiosity in Northern Europe,” *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (1995); Peter Parshall, “Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1998). See also William MacGregor, “The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective,” *Art History* 22, no. 3 (1999): 395; Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1990).

become fixed more firmly in the mind than those that are described in bare words.”¹⁰⁷

Prints such as Meunier’s etchings of Spain, which represent distant places, formed but one part of this curiosity-driven drive to amass collections that could operate as a microcosm of knowledge of the world at large. From Govard Bidloo’s anatomical studies and Galileo Galilei’s lunar images, to Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, these informational compendia functioned as visual encyclopaedias which owners could consult at will. McDonald’s research into the Museo Cartaceo of Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome, and Parshall’s investigation of the more materially diverse collection of Ferdinand II of Tyrol at Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck, have shown how topographical prints formed an integral part of this collecting practice whose origin lay in the concept of the Wunderkammer and Kunstkammer.¹⁰⁸

This appetite for geographical knowledge is perhaps best represented by the era’s enormously popular city atlas, the *Civitates orbis terrarum* by Georg Braun (1541–1622) and Franz Hogenberg (1535–90), which was published in six editions between 1572 and 1618, and featured no less than 540 images of cities from Eastern Asia to the Americas (fig. I.30).¹⁰⁹ Topographical print, particularly when gathered in atlas format, allowed the viewer to traverse the globe without enduring any of the cost or hardship of early modern travel, an advantage emphasised by Braun who marketed his collection of city views for the armchair traveller:

But since their means do not permit it to all, and since it additionally is not without danger, particularly today, to travel through the different parts of the world, and to visit many cities and towns, we have relieved the lovers of history

¹⁰⁷ Leonhart Fuchs, *De Historia Stirpium Commentarii Insignes* (Basel, 1542). Quoted in Claudia Swan, “Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation,” *Word & Image* 11 (1995): 362. This sentiment was echoed by Georg Braun thirty years later in the *Civitates orbis terrarum* when he emphasises the primacy of sight over verbal description of cities, see Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century,” 106. For a study on visual description as a mode of scientific classification, see David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, his Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁸ In his treatise from 1565, Quiccheberg outlines a specific place and function for prints within the overall organisational structure of the Kunstkammer. Samuel Quiccheberg, *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg’s Inscriptiones, 1565* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013). For the collection of Ferdinand II, see Peter Parshall, “The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 88 (1982). For Dal Pozzo, see McDonald, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo: Architecture, Topography and Military Maps*.

¹⁰⁹ Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Cities of the World: Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572–1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Köln; London: Taschen, 2008).

of the exertion, danger and cost of travelling by means of this present work.¹¹⁰

Braun's mention of "lovers of history" shows that his publication did not just facilitate an understanding of new discoveries, or the settings of current events, but also the conjuring up of distant places of legend or classical text. Other print series marketed specifically at collectors and antiquarians, such as the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* published by Antonio Lafreri (ca. 1512–77), created a form of virtual tourism that could substitute for real access to locations or objects of material heritage.¹¹¹ The collecting and organising of these prints into bound volumes did not solely represent a pale imitation of a longed-for journey that would never take place, but exerted a type of symbolic ownership or domestication of the greatest sites in the world that could be contained and managed by the curious collector.¹¹²

Print collections operated as a resource for organising knowledge. By enabling comparison between diverse entities, it could also function as a theatre of memory and a tool for knowledge creation.¹¹³ The circulation of prints of city views, costume, historic events and portraits influenced the ways in which the early modern viewer perceived of themselves and their place in the world, shaping their sense of identity through comparison.¹¹⁴ The taxonomic impulse to compare and categorise cities and monuments found its natural outlet in print. The advantages that came with the medium were numerous: the printing press allowed images to be easily combined with text; depending on the type of plate, an image could be replicated hundreds if not thousands of times; prints were light and portable, and could be made to uniform formats

¹¹⁰ Quoted and translated in Thomas Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 60–61, n. 34.

¹¹¹ For the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, see Rebecca Zorach, ed., *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Chicago: Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008); Peter Parshall, "Antonio Lafreri's 'Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae,'" *Print Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (2006).

¹¹² Lorraine Daston, ed., *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York; Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books, 2004), 24.

¹¹³ Susan Dackerman, "Prints as Instruments," in *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Dackerman (New Haven, Conn; Cambridge, Mass: Yale University Press; Harvard Art Museums, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Wilson explores the intersection of print and social experience in *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*.

and sizes, making them suitable for storage in albums as part of libraries. The print collection was a creative and elastic construction with the potential to continuously provoke different readings, comparisons or connections through rearrangement and juxtapositions.¹¹⁵ Topographical printmakers appealed to the collectors' desire for such comparative systems of analysis by adopting common formats and compositional layouts that facilitated comparison (see figs. I.31 and I.32). By collecting topographical images such as those by Meunier, viewers could partake in a form of urban *paragone*, where even the most distant city could be judged in a recognisable and consumable format. In this way the topographical print shares a common purpose with contemporary fashion prints, ornament and garden design books.

It is evident that Ptolemy's definition of "true likeness" impacted not only artists' approach to the specifics of place, but also the expectations of print consumers. For a collection such as the Museo Cartaceo to fulfil its substitutive function, the viewer had to be able to trust in the truthfulness and accuracy of printed images. This was especially the case where the viewer had no direct experience or memory of the place represented in the image.¹¹⁶ Without this implicit agreement between artist and viewer, the epistemological function of the image breaks down, and the image is positioned solely as an exercise in invention. Although city views were based on real locations, as we have seen, they were often impossible constructions that transcended the limitations of the human eye. They presented an encompassing viewpoint from artificial angles, with visual obstacles removed, and the most iconic buildings privileged in order to achieve maximum recognisability. As portraits of a place, they often idealised certain features, broadening streets, raising the height of towers, even tidying away any signs of poverty or unsanitary conditions.¹¹⁷

To overcome the contradiction between the inherent truth claims of the topographical genre

¹¹⁵ McDonald, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo: Architecture, Topography and Military Maps*, 1–6.

¹¹⁶ Sachiko Kusakawa, "Ad vivum Images and Knowledge of Nature in Early Modern Europe," in *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, ed. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 112.

¹¹⁷ Blumin, *The Encompassing City*, 83.

and the artificiality of depiction, artists had to turn to rhetorical strategies to convince the viewer of the authenticity of the image.¹¹⁸ In Chapter Four I take up this thread of inquiry by examining the specific pictorial and semantic conventions used by Meunier in his views of Spain to assert that his images were based on real eye-witness experience. Meunier claims in his inscriptions that his images were made “ad vivum” (from life), adding an assurance of authenticity to the views he depicts. Whether or not these claims could be verified was not of concern, it was the persuasive and argumentative capacity of print that was valued by collectors. It sanctioned and justified the recycling of Meunier’s imagery in later geographic compendia and gave rise to the abundant afterlife of these prints that has made them such an intriguing topic of research. As Bronwen Wilson concludes, “recognition depended upon replication” in the early modern era, and it is the very existence of these copies that conferred definitive status on Meunier’s images of Spain.¹¹⁹

While this thesis urges an examination of the specific circumstances of Meunier’s print production, including any biographical details on the artist that can be unearthed, I propose an encompassing approach that extends beyond the conventional framework of monographic studies, where the focus on the individual artist often inhibits any consideration of the later derivatives or reinterpretations by other hands.¹²⁰ A valuable precedent has been set over the past decade in studies by Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras on Hendrick Hondius the Elder’s *Effigies*, and by Alexandra Onuf in her work on Hieronymus Cock’s *Small Landscapes*, that approach new restrikes of print plates and altered editions as subjects worthy of scholarly attention.¹²¹ These publications have demonstrated that later versions of prints are not by their nature mere static subsidiaries to the original, but with the advent of new readerships and

¹¹⁸ Ballon and Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe,” 690–91.

¹¹⁹ Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*, 36.

¹²⁰ Robert-Dumesnil’s catalogue focuses on autograph works, not the later copies.

¹²¹ Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon* (Courtauld Books Online, 2015); Alexandra Onuf, *The ‘Small Landscape’ Prints in Early Modern Netherlands* (London: Routledge, 2017). See also Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007).

viewing contexts, they occupy a position of creative and intentional reformulations whose use and meaning can evolve over time. In bypassing the constraints of methodologies that forefront issues of authorship and fidelity to referents, new insights into the endurance of Meunier's imagery and its malleability in light of evolving functions and technologies can be uncovered. In this way, the later versions of Meunier's prints can be positioned as a lens through which to explore the protean nature of topographical images.

A "Cultural Biography": Research Aims and Methodology

This thesis investigates Meunier's series of topographical views as a unique and long-neglected representation of Spain and Portugal's built heritages. It repositions his prints as a window onto a broader cultural discourse that explores how Spain was represented visually through the collecting of early modern topographical print. With their rich architectural details and lively evocation of atmosphere, Meunier's prints have been mined for decades as documents on Spanish urban history. Embarking upon this research, it became clear that previous studies have underserved these prints by overlooking the specific circumstances surrounding their creation, and the social and ideological factors that shaped their intended function as place representations. This study therefore sets out to ask a number of important questions: What more can be understood about Louis Meunier and his artistic environment? What circumstances led to the creation of his first series of etchings of Spain? Who were they intended for? How accurate are Meunier's images of Spain? How can we account for the endurance of his imagery? It is the aim of this dissertation to present a reassessment of Meunier's oeuvre by exploring answers to these questions in light of recent research on the cultural resonances of printmaking in Paris in the second half of the seventeenth century, and to situate his topographical prints within the material cultures of statecraft in both France and Spain.

As a corrective to the radical decontextualization that Meunier's prints have undergone

through their use as documents of lost urban contexts, this thesis begins by integrating his prints of Iberia within a body of work that can be associated with this artist, his collaborators and his publishers. This task positions this hitherto placeless and ill-defined artist as a figure who became embedded in the printing culture of Paris, and has important implications for an understanding of the intended audiences for these prints and their later incarnations. The thesis presents a critical shift away from traditional approaches to Meunier's work, and moves towards a recognition of his prints as visual artefacts of significant complexity and artistic expression. Recognising Meunier's role as artist, his relationships with mentors and publishers, and acknowledging the creative decision making and visual conventions inherent to his working processes opens up a productive avenue of enquiry in which we can appreciate the surprising breadth of the prints of Spain he managed to produce in a relatively short period of time at the beginning of his career, and assess the previously unacknowledged cultural impact of his output.

Chapter Two delves into the intersection of peace, rivalry and strategic diplomacy that characterises the cultural exchanges between the French and Spanish courts in the early 1660s. Meunier's prints are avowedly apolitical, but this is not to imply that there was no strategic intent behind the commissioning of prints that celebrate the Queen's Spanish heritage. This thesis argues that Meunier's prints are a product of this specific cultural moment, when there was more open communication between the two countries and new patronage opportunities arising from the arrival of the new queen at court. However, these re-established channels of communication did not necessarily lead to a deeper insight into the cultural specificity of Spain's many regions.

In a certain sense these prints are an anomaly; as a powerful tool of self-fashioning, these topographical views of royal Habsburg architecture should have been sponsored by the Spanish monarch. A century earlier, Philip II had commissioned a luxury set of prints to celebrate the completion of his vast palace and monastery complex at El Escorial, a building which, through

its circulation in printed form, was to become a well-known symbol of the Habsburg rule and its defence of the Catholic faith.¹²² Although Meunier reproduces one of these prints, overall his viewpoint reproduces the visual experience of the traveller, taking in the magnificence of the urban contexts he encounters, but without indicating its significance to the inhabitants of the cities he passes through. Unfortunately, no documentation has come to light that clearly shows how Meunier's series of Spanish views was commissioned, although evidence points towards a member of the French court. With this in mind, Meunier's prints can be seen to oscillate between keen observation and cultural misunderstanding, and are perhaps more faithful to the conventions of the topographical genre than to an authentic representation of place identity.

In Chapter Three the perceived accuracy of Meunier's images is interrogated. The intention is to investigate whether these prints are reflective of real eye-witness experience, but also to consider how representative they are in evoking the sense of place pertaining to these cities. It is shown how as a French-speaking artist travelling through the peninsula, Meunier created images that provide an outsider's view of the cities he visited, with little reference to the symbolism of history and myth that contributed to an intangible sense of place. Meunier's visual description of the Nasrid architecture of Granada is analysed in order to put into relief the contrast between his images intended for the curious antiquarian, and the architectural revisionism of local writers.

The final chapter turns to the "afterlife" of Meunier's images of Spain. The discussion charts the succession of restrikes, copies and reinterpretations of his prototype imagery across a wide array of forms and genres up to the mid-eighteenth century, and makes apparent the success of Meunier's images in constructing the representative depiction of Spain in print for over one hundred years. While previous authors have made brief reference to these replicas and new incarnations, the wider cultural implications of their very existence has never been adequately

¹²² Pedro Perret (1555–ca. 1625) after drawings by the building's final architect Juan de Herrera (ca. 1533–97).

interrogated. My dissertation addresses a long-established lacuna in existing scholarship by tracing the diachronic history of Meunier's views of Spain.¹²³ This chapter examines the endurance of Meunier's images over this space of time and accounts for why they were eventually replaced with the revitalisation of the Spanish print industry by the beginning of the 1800s.

This research, therefore, is not confined to asking whether Meunier's depictions were topographically accurate, but investigates the basis for their authority and how they retained their perceived reliability after multiple reinterpretations. Rather than dismissing copies after Meunier's prints as mere derivatives, I analyse these reformulations and the changes of meaning and function that accompany the circulation and translation of these images over time. My thesis therefore charts the full span of the trajectory of Meunier's images, from a bespoke print project dedicated to a queen, to stereotypical depictions that were reproduced almost unchanged into the mid-eighteenth century.

In taking this diachronic approach to the long afterlife of Meunier's imagery, this thesis resonates with a wealth of studies in recent years that recount the histories of the continuous "lives" or "biographies" of objects over time. At an intersection of material culture studies, anthropology and social history, projects such as "Remembering the Reformation" at the Universities of Cambridge and York (2016–19) adopted a biographical model to gain new insights into the many meanings, interpretations and shifting relationships that objects can acquire in response to changing social contexts and value systems, an approach that has also proved to be particularly illuminating for unearthing the complex legacy of colonial looting in contemporary museum collections.¹²⁴ In his introduction to *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai articulated that people attribute meaning to objects through their usage and above all, through their circulation:

¹²³ I am indebted to Onuf's work on Hieronymus Cock for this approach.

¹²⁴ See for example the recent study by Dan Hicks, *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution* (London: Pluto Press, 2020).

we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things. Thus, even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.¹²⁵

Although this approach is normally taken with regard to material objects—the “things” of Thing Theory—this thesis proposes the application of this model to images such as Meunier’s topographical views of Spain.¹²⁶ Though immaterial, images and motifs can be subject to a similar process of transfer, decontextualization, and repurpose that affect their interpretation and function in evolving contexts. By charting the migration of Meunier’s images in the *Differentes Vues* series from a bespoke presentation piece for a queen that celebrated her personal heritage, to generic and outmoded portrayals used as lively visual templates for entertainment in the form of vue d’optique prints, and finally to their deployment as valued evidence of lost urban contexts, this dissertation argues for a reappraisal of these prints, and of topographical prints in general, as objects that have never been inert records of a specific time and place, but malleable constructions, shaped according to their interactions with those who view them.

¹²⁵ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5. Of particular relevance is Igor Kopytoff’s essay from the same collection “Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” 64–94.

¹²⁶ Bill Brown, “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001).

Chapter One

Louis Meunier's Topographical Prints: Body of Evidence

Current knowledge of Louis Meunier's life and career remains sparse at the very best. For an artist whose images have been trusted since the nineteenth century as evidence for the reconstruction of early modern cities such Madrid and Granada, very little research has been conducted into his body of work. Studies of Spanish print rarely feature this artist as he was never sponsored by the Habsburg court, and the major modern reference work for French prints in the seventeenth century, the *Inventaire du fonds français*, has yet to progress beyond Claude Mellan. The reasons why Meunier's work has remained under the scholarly radar are largely due to what Maxime Préaud has termed "le syndrome de Marc-Antoine," whereby a small number of isolated star names, usually painter-engravers, were prioritised in contemporary accounts and have been consolidated into a limited canon by modern research.¹ In a field which is itself understudied in France in comparison with Italianate painting, broader studies that incorporate "les petits artistes" of print are few in number.² This is especially the case for artists such as Meunier who are positioned in an ill-defined zone between the commercial aspects of print publishing on the one hand, and artistic expression on the other.

This chapter is intended as a counter to this historical neglect. Although the reserves of archival material have yet to offer significant information on Meunier, much can be unearthed through a close analysis of his printed output. Most scholars who have referenced Meunier's

¹ Maxime Préaud, "Les arts de l'estampe en France au xvii^e siècle: panorama sur trente ans de recherches," *Perspective* 3 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.4000/perspective.1308>. This is reflected in the classification system in the Department of Prints at the BnF: BCD are devoted to painter-engravers, or reproductive engraving after painters, with engravers coming in at E.

² These include Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe: à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1986); Peter Fuhring et al., eds., *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015).

work to date have concerned themselves mostly with his topographical views of Iberia. The reasons for this are twofold: firstly, he was one of the only artists to depict streetscapes of Spanish cities in print in the mid-seventeenth century, and secondly his earliest work, which focuses on Spain and Lisbon, is highly idiosyncratic in style and therefore easier to identify. This study aims to show that Meunier's prints of Spain were not produced in a vacuum. They were the logical outcome of the artist's early influences and mentorship that provided the foundation for a productive career that saw his style evolve within the context of his involvement with prominent publishers and the workshops of other artists.

The chapter begins with a reassessment of the prints that can be attributed to Meunier and a critical examination of the themes and visual strategies found in his work. Building upon Robert-Dumesnil's entry on the printmaker in *Le Peintre-graveur français*, this research presents prints by Meunier newly discovered in library collections and rationalises them into series and groupings. This is not necessarily intended as a definitive catalogue raisonné, but as an endeavour to productively extend our understanding of Meunier's views of Spain in the context of a longer career. Accordingly, Meunier's output is positioned within the artistic and commercial milieu in which he worked in Paris, reappraising his links to printmakers such as Israël Silvestre (1621–91), connections which have yet to be satisfactorily ironed out. Although Meunier is best known for his prints of Spain, the journey that produced these images was made early in his career, and he appears to have been based for the remainder of his life in Paris, albeit with periods in the Low Countries. Aspects of the workshop practices of the printmakers based in this city will be considered as a means of eliciting further insight into Meunier's working processes. These points foreshadow a central theme of this chapter—the vital role played by publishers in creative decisions relating to subject matter and framing. The contributions of these individuals have been overlooked in traditional art histories that foreground the concept of the artist as genius. Finally, new research into the individuals who held copies of Meunier's prints in their collections is brought together, demonstrating the

advantages of print for the encyclopaedic collecting aims of early modern collectors.

1.1 Prints Attributed to Louis Meunier

During the course of this research, I have located one hundred compositions that can be attributed wholly or in part to the printmaker Louis Meunier.³ The prints are all grouped into series that share common formats and themes, with the exception of three loose prints of French chateaux which probably once formed part of two different series or projects, now untraced. Each of the prints examined in this thesis are etched after Meunier's own designs, or in a few instances after those by others. Meunier's prints are for the most part small in scale, ranging from 115mm x 198 mm (platemark) to 287 x 723 mm (platemark), and are generally housed in library collections, either as bound editions or pasted into larger albums.⁴

In twenty-five of the prints I have examined, the attribution to Meunier is confirmed by lettering within the composition or below the image frame along the edge of the platemark.⁵ The spelling varies between "Louis Meunier", "L. Meunier," "Le Meunier," "L. Musnier," and "L. Meusnier" (fig. 1.1).⁶ Where the artist's name is included within the composition of the image, and therefore more likely to have been written by Meunier himself, the spelling

³ Robert-Dumesnil lists eighty-eight prints by Meunier in vol. 5 and one print (*Veüe de l'Entrée de L'Escorial en Espagne*) in vol. 11. Alexandre-Pierre-François Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française: ouvrage faisant suit au Peintre-graveur de M. Bartsch.*, 11 vols. (Paris: G. Warée et al., 1835–71). Mariette lists seventy-two prints by Meunier: Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal*, ed. Jacques Thuillier, Marie-Thérèse Mandroux-França, and Maxime Préaud (Paris; Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Bibliothèque nationale de France; Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1996–2003), vol. 2, part 1 383, 410–11. It has not been possible within the time frame of this study to locate two prints listed in Robert-Dumesnil and Mariette. These are: 1. *Veüe de la Chapelle de Nostre dame de bon Refuge de la villa de Barioux en Prouence* (Robert-Dumesnil, vol. 5, 299, no. 88) 2. *Veue de la grotte dans le jardin de la vigne Pamphile, à Rome* (Mariette, vol. 2, 410). I cite one print not mentioned by either Robert-Dumesnil or Mariette: *View of the Triumphal Arch of Saint-Antoine* from the Views of Paris and Italy Series, see cat. 86, Appendix.

⁴ These dimensions refer to the *View of the Canal de la Sauvenière from the Pont d'Île in Liège* (cat. 96, Appendix) and *View of Madrid* from the Profile Views series (cat. 66, Appendix).

⁵ This total was calculated after an examination of the first state of each print, this number can vary depending on which states are being examined.

⁶ Both Fauchaux and Mariette vary in their spelling of his name.

“Meunier” is used, as evidenced in the Escorial bird’s-eye view (fig. 1.2) and similar lettering in the *View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire*. The latter image is signed twice; once to the right of the inscription below the image, and again within the image itself at the bottom right “L. Meunier fe” (fig. 1.3). The variant spellings are most likely to occur where a specialist hand other than Meunier’s was employed to create professional lettering for the print.

Securely dating Meunier’s prints and their subsequent editions can present many challenges as just five of his compositions are explicitly dated. These are the second state of the title page of the Aranjuez series (1665), a view of Seville (1668), and the sixth states of three prints from the *Differentes Veues* series which are dated 1679 (fig. 1.4).⁷ It is likely, however, that Meunier continued to produce prints into the early 1700s (see for example his views of the Château de Magny, cats. 98–100).

Subject Matter

Meunier’s body of work is characterised by topographical views that are intended to communicate the built appearance and setting of identified cities, prominent royal, institutional or residential buildings, and the monuments, fountains and gardens that populate them. With the exception of a small number of copies such as his bird’s-eye view of El Escorial (see fig. 1.2), Meunier’s topographical views were created as a result of on-site visual observation by a positioned viewer and composite sketches which were later assembled in the studio.⁸ They are unlikely to have taken into account geographic survey data, and as such Meunier’s work does not feature encompassing views of entire cities and their plans; such images would be impossible to create from observation alone. The majority of his prints can be described as profile views and streetscapes—views of city squares and individual buildings from viewpoints

⁷ These are 1. *La Grande Fontaine d’Aranjuez 1659/Vista de la granda fuente del sitio de Aranjuez*
2. *Veue de la Fontaine des Tritons a Arangoise/Vista de la fouente de los tritones en Aranjuez*
3. *Fontaine de Dom Iuan de Austria/La Fuente de Dom Iuan de Austria 1679/ Fontaine de lespine dans Aranjues/La fuente de la Espina 1679*

⁸ See Chapter Three for a discussion on the sources for Meunier’s views of Spain.

close to ground level, evoking the experience of the pedestrian.

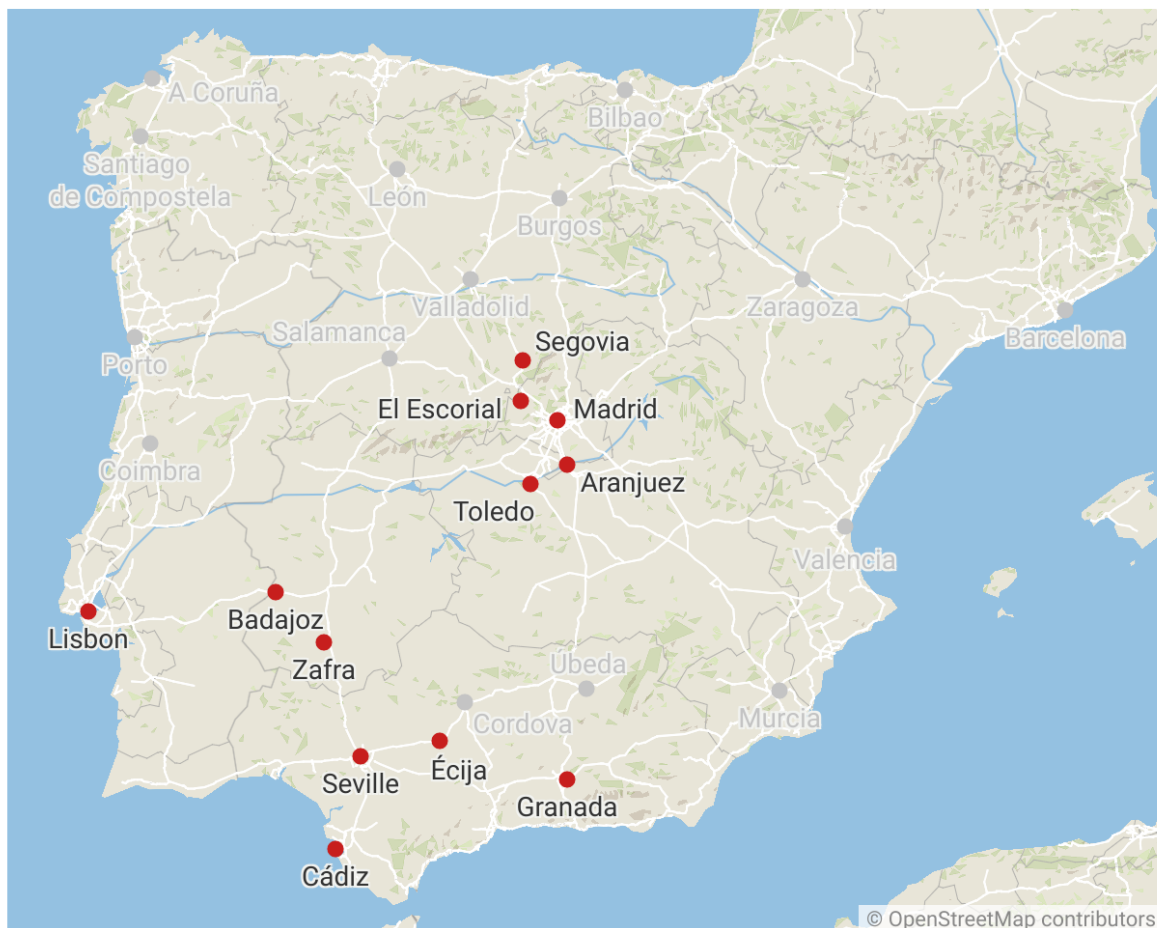
Meunier's work can be divided into four broad strategies of depiction that range from expansive open views to enclosed spaces:

1. Views of cities from afar, from outside the city walls in the context of the surrounding countryside.
2. Individual buildings viewed either within the city fabric or on a country estate.
3. Squares, courtyards and gardens (enclosed spaces).
4. Individual statues and fountains.

These etchings are not generic representations of the idea of a city or a place, but individualised "portraits" of specific buildings or public squares that are accompanied in each instance by a title identifying the subject.

Locations Depicted by Meunier

As we have outlined in the introduction chapter, Meunier is overwhelmingly associated with his depictions of the Iberian Peninsula. This is not without good reason, as no fewer than eighty-one out of the one hundred and two prints surveyed depict locations in Spain and Portugal. These locations are outlined in Map 1.1, illustrated below. Fig. 1.5 illustrates the buildings and monuments in Madrid that are portrayed by Meunier, and Table 1.1 lists the locations he depicts in Spanish and Portuguese cities outside of Madrid. The remaining twenty etchings capture locations in France, Italy and Belgium and are listed in Table 1.2, although it is possible that there are additional prints by Meunier to be discovered that depict more cities.



Map 1.1 *Locations depicted by Meunier on the Iberian Peninsula.
As indicated by the red markers.*

Table 1.1 Locations depicted by Meunier in Spanish and Portuguese cities other than Madrid.

Royal sites outside central Madrid	Toledo	Segovia	Seville	Granada	Cádiz	Lisbon
Palacio Real de Aranjuez	The Alcázar of Toledo	The Alcázar of Segovia	The Alcázar of Seville	The Alhambra	The Port	The Ribeira Palace
San Lorenzo de El Escorial	Toledo Cathedral		Seville Cathedral	The Torre de la Vela	Plaza de San Juan de Dios	Palácio do Príncipe
Palacio de la Zarzuela	The Alcántara Bridge		The Torre del Oro	The Palace of Charles V		Praça do Comérico
Palacio Real de El Pardo			Castillo de San Jorge	The Generalife		Ribeira das Naus
			Casa de Contratación	The Royal Chancellery		
			Plaza de San Francisco	The Bermejas Towers		

Table 1.2 Locations depicted by Meunier outside the Iberian Peninsula.

France	Italy	Belgium
Cour Carrée, the Louvre Palace, Paris	Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati	The Canal de la Sauvenière and the Place aux Chevaux, Liège
Val-de-Grâce convent and abbey, Paris	Villa Dora Pamphili, Rome	Walzin Castle, Dinant
Palais du Luxembourg, Paris		
Palais des Tuileries, Paris		
The Triumphal Arch of Saint-Antoine, Paris		
Collège des Quatre-Nations, Paris		
Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire		
Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente		
Château de Magny, Guiscard, Oise (demolished 19 th century)		
Grotte de Vallon des Carmes, Barjols, Var ⁹		

⁹ The Grotte de Vallon des Carmes was an underground chapel established in 1649 by the Discalced Carmelites as Notre-Dame du Bon Refuge in a natural cave near the town of Barjols in Southern France. According to Robert-Dumesnil, Meunier made a print of this location. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, no. 88, 299. For the site, see <https://www.var.fr/le-vallon-des-carmes-%C3%A0-barjols#:~:text=Cette%20grotte%20aurait%20servi%20d,b%C3%A9nie%20le%202%20juillet%201649>. Accessed 12 February 2022.

Print Series

Meunier’s body of work can be divided into distinct suites or series consisting of thematically linked prints in common formats that are sometimes prefaced with a dedicated titlepage (Table 1.3). In some instances, these series have remained bound in contemporary or later bindings, although just as often the pages have been trimmed to the edge of the plate-mark and pasted into larger albums as part of a wider collection. The ways in which Meunier’s prints are housed today have been heavily influenced by collecting practices from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a theme which is investigated in more detail in Section 1.4. Surviving bound impressions also vary significantly when it comes to order, as Meunier’s plates were rarely numbered by the artist.¹⁰

Table 1.3 Print series that can be identified in Meunier’s oeuvre.

Print Series	Date	
<i>Differentes Veues</i> Series	ca. 1662/3	
Aranjuez Series	before 1665	

¹⁰ Exceptions are the Aranjuez Series states II and III, and the views of the Château de Durtal (4), Liège (5) and Dinant (6) from the Walloon series. These numbers are crossed out in later states of the latter three prints.

Print Series	Date	
Profile Views Series	ca. 1665–8	 PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE TOLEDO CAPITAL DU ROYAUME DE LA VIEILLE CASTILLE Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France
Van Merle Iberian Series	1668	 Vues et Description du Palais du Roy de Portugal à Lisbonne
Views of Paris and Italy	after 1670	 Vues du Louvre par le Palais
The Walloon Series	before 1682	 Vues de diverses Cités pour la ville de Liège Le Monastère des Capucins de Liège

1. The *Differentes Veues* Series, ca. 1662/3

Meunier's earliest autograph series, and the one which is most closely associated with his name, is a set of fifty-five etchings depicting royal sites and major cities in Spain and Portugal. This series provides a broad overview of royal and civic architecture in Iberia in the 1660s and is enlivened by energetic figures who throng the public squares and stroll in the shaded gardens. Most significantly, it offers a comprehensive depiction of the relatively new capital Madrid and showcases the Western Islamic architecture of Andalucía at a time when there was very little visual representation available of this building style (the full series is reproduced in cats. 1–55). It is this series that confirmed Meunier's reputation as a print maker, and many of his subsequent prints stem from this collection. With fifty-one views in total of Spanish and Portuguese locations, it formed the most comprehensive visual survey in print of new material describing the Iberian Peninsula in the seventeenth century.

The print that is most often referred to as the series' frontispiece bears the following inscription in a combination of French and misspelt Spanish (see cat. 1):

Differentes Veues / Des Palais de plaisance / Du Roy d'Espagne / Dedie' a la
Reine / Par Louis Meunier // Diversas Vistas / De las Casaa Reales / Del Rej
d'Espana / Dedicata ala Rena / Por Louis Meunier¹¹

Within the series there are three additional title pages that refer to views of Granada, El Escorial, and the Buen Retiro Gardens (fig. 1.6). These separate sections may have been intended to be grouped as smaller individual sets. However, in each of the bound versions that I have viewed, the four sets are always bound together, and as such I will refer to them as a single series under the shorthand "*Differentes Veues* Series."

The first edition of the *Differentes Veues* series, which is today held in the collections of the Château de Versailles, was owned by Queen Marie-Thérèse, the Spanish Habsburg Infanta who arrived at the French court in the summer of 1660.¹² As well as bearing a dedication to her, this

¹¹ All quotes are taken from the first state.

¹² V.2016.14, Château de Versailles.

edition is housed in the binding of her personal library. The significance of this connection is explored in Chapter Two where I argue that Marie-Thérèse's presence at the French court was pivotal to the creation of these prints and their eventual circulation on the private market. After 1674 the plates of the *Differentes Veues* series passed into the hands of commercial publishers and the set went through a further six editions in response to the conspicuous absence of imagery of Spain in circulation in the major European print centres at the time. These subsequent states, and the imitations they inspired are explored in Chapter Four.

2. The Aranjuez Series, before 1665

Meunier's Aranjuez series was created soon after the appearance of the *Differentes Veues* series in the early 1660s. It consists of ten plates, including a title page, that depict exterior views of the Aranjuez Palace and its surrounding gardens, with a particular focus on the fountains located in the Jardín de la Isla to the northwest of the royal palace (cats. 56–65). The locations of these fountains within the Jardín de la Isla are illustrated in fig. 1.7. By progressing successively with frontal views of each fountain, the prints evoke the curated experience of encountering these spaces in person as a visitor travelling through the garden. Eight of the prints are reformulations of six compositions from the *Differentes Veues* series (plates 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, see figs. 1.8–10). Along with the title page, the series includes one entirely new image of the central avenue of Jardín de la Isla covered with an enormous vine-covered pergola whose length vanishes into a single-point perspective. Arched openings at either side of the pergola offer glimpses of the garden's neatly ordered parterres and contrast the shaded cool provided by the vines (cat. 60)

There is little doubt that the *Differentes Veues* series is the source for this set and not vice versa. The hesitancy and sketchy rendering of the etching in the *Differentes Veues* series is here replaced with a much more decisively incised line. This, along with an overall simplification of form and arrangement, suggests the reworking and refining of the original compositions. In the

print showing a view of the palace, for example, the thicket of trees to the left is cut to allow for the building to occupy the centre of the composition and to incorporate the open ground-floor loggia that extends back towards the east (fig. 1.8). Other changes are made to improve the legibility of the images, such as the space left blank around the Fountain of the Tritons (fig. 1.9), and the figures who populate the gardens are resized so that they are now more in scale with the fountains (fig. 1.10).

Like the *Differentes Veues* series, there is no publisher indicated for the first state of this series.¹³ However, in 1665 a second state was published by Jacques Van Merle (1616–82), a publisher of Flemish origin who was established on the rue Saint-Jacques since the 1640s.¹⁴ This series signals the earliest instance of Meunier of working with Van Merle, which, as we shall see, was a productive relationship that lasted until the latter's death in 1682.

3. The Profile Views Series, ca. 1665–68

Around 1665, Meunier appears to have produced ten topographical views of cities that depart from the format established in his first two series. Pulled from much larger plates measuring approximately 560 x 280 mm, these prints again focus on Spanish locations—Seville, Badajoz, Zafra, Écija, Madrid, Segovia, Granada, Toledo—but with the additions of Florence and Turin (cats. 66–74). This set records the cities from a distant and elevated viewpoint, providing a more removed and expansive view of the cities in question, seen against the horizon or nestled amongst the surrounding mountainous landscapes. The bustle of the streets and gardens in the earlier series is replaced by a more tranquil atmosphere, with isolated figures traversing the landscape or contemplating the view from the foreground.

These prints are unsigned and undated, with no publisher indicated. However, they have

¹³ There is a dedicatee, see Chapter Two for further discussion.

¹⁴ On Van Merle, see Maxime Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1984). Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 383–84. Maxime Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis/Cercle de la librairie, 1987), 299–301.

been catalogued variously as being by Meunier or Israël Silvestre.¹⁵ L. E. Faucheux, in his catalogue raisonné on Silvestre, maintains that they were executed by Meunier under his master's supervision.¹⁶ As there is no record of Silvestre having travelled to Spain himself, Meunier's involvement does appear plausible. Meunier's connection to Silvestre is scrutinised at greater length in section 1.2.

4. The Van Merle Iberian Series, 1668

As we have seen, Van Merle was the first French publisher to publish Meunier's views of Spain with his second edition of the Aranjuez series in 1665. The venture must have been profitable, because in 1668 he published a further six prints by Meunier which reapproached some of the subjects in his *Differentes Veues* series (cats. 75–80). Two of the prints in this set are reworkings of his views of the Court of the Lions and the Court of the Myrtles from the *Differentes Veues* series (see figs. 1.11 and 1.12). Two others are entirely new compositions, depicting port scenes of Cádiz and Lisbon. The other depiction of Lisbon in this set is derived from a print by the Dutch painter and printmaker Dirk Stoop (ca. 1618–ca. 1686), who was in the service of the Portuguese Infanta Catherine of Braganza at the time of her marriage to Charles II of England in the early 1660s (fig. 1.13).¹⁷ As I demonstrate in section 1.2, and assess in greater detail in Chapter Two, Meunier's earlier work shares many affinities with Stoop's subject matter and compositional framing, and the latter's work clearly provided an early influence for the young artist. Finally, the view of Seville cathedral, the Giralda and the Torre de Oro as seen from the banks of the Guadalquivir, is taken directly from Meunier's Profile View series, thus definitively establishing a date prior to 1668 for that series (fig. 1.14).

¹⁵ These prints are still catalogued in the BnF collection as by Silvestre.

¹⁶ L. E. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'œuvre d'I. Silvestre, précédé d'une notice sur sa vie* (Paris: Veuve Jules Renouard, 1857), 76–78.

¹⁷ For further discussion, see Chapter Two.

5. Views of Paris and Italy, after 1670

While Meunier's work on Spain launched his career as a printmaker, he did not restrict himself to this subject matter for the rest of his working life. As he became more established with Van Merle into the 1670s, Meunier expanded his artistic repertoire to incorporate topographical views of Paris, Rome, and their environs. In a set of thirteen prints published by Van Merle, Meunier assembles images of the Louvre's Cour Carrée, the Val-de-Grâce abbey and convent, and the Triumphal Arch of Saint-Antoine, with views of villas in Rome and Frascati, as well as an unprecedented view of the façade of El Escorial (for an overview of this series see cats. 81–93).¹⁸ By depicting the splendours of Paris and Rome, arguably the most frequently illustrated cities of the seventeenth century, Meunier's career followed the standard trajectory of topographical print makers in Paris acting in response to market demand. While based in Paris, Meunier had ample subject matter on his doorstep which he could observe first-hand. However, there is little evidence to suggest that he travelled to Italy. It is probable therefore that he based his portrayals of Italian sites on the prints and drawings of other artists, a strategy tacitly acknowledged in his view of the Villa Doria Pamphili (cat. 90) where his contribution is acknowledged as "L. Meunier Sculp." rather than the "del. et sculp." lettering underneath his view of the Tuileries Palace (cat. 83). In this set there is little doubt that Meunier's two prints of the Villa Aldobrandini are based on Dominique Barrière's (ca. 1618–78) series from 1647 (figs. 1.15 and 1.16). Barrière's two series of architectural and topographical views, *Villa Aldobrandina* (1647–52) and *Villa Pamphilia* (Rome, ca. 1673; plates 1648–60), were enormously successful and Meunier was not alone in mining them for source material.¹⁹

¹⁸ It is possible that there could have originally been more than thirteen prints in this series.

¹⁹ See for example *Li giardini di Roma: con le loro piante alzate e vedute in prospettiva* by Giovanni Battista Falda and Simone Felice.

6. The Walloon Series, before 1682

Meunier does, however, appear to have travelled to the Southern Netherlands. Two prints bearing lettering that credits Meunier as designer depict a view of Liège from the former Pont d'Ile, and the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire (formerly Anjou, fig. 1.17). In addition to these two prints, an unsigned view of Walzin Castle in Dinant can be considered as part of the same series (fig. 1.18).²⁰ The Dinant print is numbered with a "6" to the bottom left, which would suggest that there were at least six prints in the series originally, if not more (cats. 94–96).²¹

Préaud's discovery of an inventory of Van Merle's possessions made after his death has allowed me to provisionally identify this set as another that can be linked to the publisher.²² Amid his stock of 1,089 copper plates, there is an entry for "Twelve small feuilles of landscapes etched by Mauperché and Meunier, worn' 12 livres."²³ The involvement of the French painter and printmaker Henri Mauperché (ca. 1602–86) signals that it was highly likely that Meunier collaborated with other printmakers in the workshop context. Such collaborative practices were commonplace in the Parisian print industry and have certainly contributed to the historic difficulties in attributing prints to Meunier beyond his images of Iberian subject matter.

7. French Chateaux

There is only scant evidence for the latter part of Meunier's career. The few signed works that do exist focus on views of chateaux which probably formed part of much larger print series that were put together by prominent publishers such as Nicolas Langlois (1640–1703) and Jean

²⁰ The dimensions are also similar: Dinant: 112 x 120 mm; Liège: 115 x 198 mm; Château de Durtal: 116 x 198 mm. Robert-Dumesnil was also of the opinion that these three prints were part of the same set. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, nos. 81–83, 296–97.

²¹ The Liège print bears a number "5" on the bottom right. A first state of the Château de Durtal print in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal has a "4" on the bottom right.

²² AN MC XLIII, 182, 14 July 1682. For a discussion on Van Merle and a list of the artists mentioned in the inventory, see Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris." Although, as Préaud notes, without inscriptions it is impossible to know whether Van Merle published these plates at first hand, or whether they were bought from other publishers, 87.

²³ Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 93.

Mariette (1660–1742). A view of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente (formerly Angoumois, fig. 1.19; cat. 97) was published by Van Merle at some point before his death in 1682.²⁴ Three prints with lettering ascribing them to Meunier depict the Château de Magny, Guiscard, in the Oise department in Northern France (demolished in the nineteenth century, cats. 98–100). The Magny set is likely to date from the first years of the eighteenth century, as the château was built after the purchase of the estate by the comte Louis de Guiscard (1651–1720) from the duc de Chevreuse in 1699 (fig. 1.20).²⁵

Technique

With their strong receding lines of linear perspective, Meunier's urban views frequently recall theatrical set designs, especially in his garden scenes of the Jardín de la Isla at Aranjuez, which was itself reminiscent of an outdoor theatre (cat. 63).²⁶ This sense of theatricality is even more apparent in views where the architectural projection recedes to a vanishing point off centre, creating dramatically oblique angles (fig. 13). Coupled with the unnaturally diminutive figures that occupy the foreground, these viewpoints augment the impression of scale and grandeur (fig. 1.52).

As this overview of Meunier's known oeuvre demonstrates, his output during his working life as an artist was dedicated solely to etching. He does not appear to have left behind any trace of preparatory drawings, nor concrete evidence that he forayed into other media such as painting.²⁷ In Meunier's short, vigorous lines we can observe the characteristic blunt, rounded

²⁴ Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, 299, no. 87.

²⁵ The town was named Magny until 1791 when it was changed to Guiscard. O. Goberville, *Guiscard ancien et moderne, chef-lieu de canton (Oise)* (Compiègne: impr. de F. Valliez, 1866), 10. Remnants of the château's orangerie remain standing, see <https://www.marquisatdegiscard.fr/orangerie/>.

²⁶ Dianne Harris, "Landscape and Representation: The Printed View and Marc'Antonio Dal Re's *Ville di Delizie*," in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, ed. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 187–88. Garden settings were often employed in theatrical sets, and real gardens evoked theatrical themes. Although Harris' chapter examines eighteenth-century Lombard views, these tendencies can be observed in the 1660s in work by Silvestre, Pérelle and Aveline.

²⁷ This does not discount the possibility that more work by Meunier will emerge with further research. Mireur's *Dictionnaire des ventes d'art* and the Benezit Dictionary of Artists list auction catalogue entries for watercolours and one drawing attributed to Meunier from 1898 to 1971. While the St Cloud images and the Champ de Mars probably relate to Antoine Meunier (1765–1808) and the image of the Marly aqueduct to Philippe Meusnier

ends made by his etching needle, occasionally disrupted by inky swellings and smudges where the acid bit into the areas of copper exposed by the splintering of the wax-resin ground (fig. 1.21). His lines vary from the coarse, frenetic marks of foliage leaves, to lines of meticulous delicacy that make up much of the architectural detail. Meunier's stylistic approach, especially in his Spanish sets, is characterised by dramatic perspective and strong contrasts of light, shade and texture, evoking the intense sunshine of Madrid and Andalucía in early summer (cat. 29). The strong shadows in the view of the Philip IV equestrian statue in the Queen's Garden at the Buen Retiro were created with a dense build-up of parallel lines and crosshatching that probably had a longer biting time than other sections. Lighter lines were achieved by biting the plate for a specific period before removing it from the acid bath and stopping-out with varnish the lines that require no further etching. This can be observed in the thick lines that taper into finer strokes in the areas of highlight on the Neptune Fountain in the Aranjuez series (fig. 1.22). Meunier's characteristic motif of a tree or a figure silhouetted in shadow in the foreground against a lighter backdrop, creating a subtle aerial perspective, was probably also achieved by stopping-out the background and biting the tree motif in the acid for a longer period of time, creating deeper grooves in the plate and therefore thicker and more densely inked lines (fig. 1.23). Such graphic contrasts are also employed in capturing architectural detail, volume and texture. In fig. 1.24 we can observe the variety of line that Meunier employs to convey the different textures on the building's facade; contour hatching to suggest volume, crosshatching for ironwork, parallel zig-zags for the curved roof tiles, and nervous, short parallel strokes to convey areas of shade and rough texture. The overall effect is a dense, graphic texture.²⁸

(1656–1734), a watercolour “View of the Courtyard of the Louvre” could be connected to an image from the Views of Paris and Italy series. However, as this watercolour is currently untraced, it is impossible to attribute it to Meunier. Hippolyte Mireur, *Dictionnaire des ventes d'art faites en France et à l'étranger pendant les XVIII^{me} & XIX^{me} siècles*, 7 vols. (Saint-Romain-au-Mont-d'Or: Artprice.com, 2002), vol. 5, 171. “Meunier, Louis.” Benezit Dictionary of Artists. 31 Oct. 2011; Accessed 30 July 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00121717>. The Getty Provenance Index lists entries for four paintings of architectural views and one drawing by Meunier. The drawing is probably by Philippe Meusnier as it is also connected to his mentor Jacques Rousseau, but for the paintings there is again no way of definitively discerning whether they are by Louis Meunier while they remain untraced. Getty Provenance Index®, <https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web>, accessed 30 July 2022.

²⁸ On historical etching processes, see Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400–2000: A History of the*

Whereas engraving provided greater precision in compiling the exacting cartographic information of maps and the technical detail of architectural prints, etching appealed more directly to seventeenth-century topographical printmakers such as Meunier because of the versatility of line and the wide range of tonal effects the technique could offer.²⁹ The process of scratching into the soft wax of the ground with the etching needle closely recalls the act of drawing, and thus replicates the freedom of expression and spontaneity of line found in sketches. In Meunier's case, the technique lent itself to capturing the finesse of detail in the intricate repeating motifs of the Nasrid stuccowork and Gothic façades, and the elaborate swirling parterre patterns of the Spanish royal gardens that made use of freehand expressive marks that suggested more than replicated these details (fig. 1.25). The softer contours of the etched line are also more suitable for capturing pictorial and atmospheric effects, especially in the rolling skies and rugged mountains of Meunier's views of Granada (fig. 1.26).

Later in his career, Meunier's drawing becomes more precise and naturalistic. The somewhat stilted, tremulous rendering of a cluster of buildings in his view of Granada is replaced with greater fluidity and spatial coherence in his later view of the Château de La Rochefoucauld (fig. 1.27). While Meunier continues to depict tiny staffage figures in his later work in order to convey the impressiveness of his architectural subject, the dramatic differences in scale between street and architecture in the *Differentes Vues* series are toned down considerably in later prints. As his drawing improves, so too does the overall coherence of his images. Some of the prints in the *Differentes Vues* and Aranjuez series are characterised by a torrent of detail and texture that can make it difficult to differentiate individual features. As Meunier's style matures, his technique becomes more controlled. In his view of Val-de-Grâce from the 1670s, the frenetic, spirited hatching is replaced with uniform parallel lines (fig. 1.28). His view of El Escorial from the same series exemplifies this move towards more

Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes (London: Archetype, 2012), 196–209.

²⁹ David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1996), 30–31.

conventionally constructed compositions with more naturalistic use of linear perspective. The oblique angle in the *Differentes Veues* version is reworked as a frontal viewpoint in order to achieve greater legibility (fig. 1.29). While the original viewpoint is certainly eccentric, it at least evoked an eyewitness experience. These changes of style raise questions surrounding the impact of the increasing professionalisation of this printmaker on his scope for originality and inventiveness.

While Meunier never displayed the infinite flights of fancy of a printmaker such as Jacques Callot, this ironing out of some of the stylistic idiosyncrasies found in his *Differentes Veues* series means that his later work is much more difficult to distinguish from contemporaries such as the Péréllés, Silvestre, Pierre Aveline (ca. 1656–1722), or Jean Marot. It is highly feasible that there is more work by Meunier to be found in collections, uncatalogued or subsumed into the oeuvre of another artist who worked in a similar style or with whom Meunier collaborated on large-scale print projects. The fact that his prints are so closely associated with Spain may have led cataloguers in the past to discount Meunier's name when it came to prints of locations outside of the peninsula. This is especially the case for possible works by Meunier depicting French chateaux that may have been incorporated into series by printmakers such as the Péréllés and Silvestre. Antony Griffiths makes the argument that it is often artists who kept their plates and sold impressions directly to collectors whose work was collected in coherent sets and thus incorporated into the print connoisseur's canon. Works by printmakers such as Meunier, whose plates were sold via different publishers, were more likely to be scattered between different sets and collections, and are therefore less likely to be compiled into a coherent body of work.³⁰

³⁰ Antony Griffiths, "Print Collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, 3 (1994): 48.

1.2 Meunier's Artistic Milieu

The professionalisation of Meunier's later style, as we have observed in the previous section, goes some way to explain why there are so few examples of his work catalogued beyond his prints of Spain. The conflation of his work with the output of other contemporary printmakers demonstrates that Meunier's images were shaped by a thriving practice of topographical print production that operated across different regions and responded to specific formal conventions and consumer expectations. To describe Meunier's views of Spain as simply his personal observations of daily life would be to miss the referential purpose of topographical print, and to ignore the artistic tradition in which he operated. Until now it has most often been assumed that Meunier was a student of Israël Silvestre, due to their shared subject matter and stylistic overlap. However, little attention has been paid to the crucial role played by Dirk Stoop in providing an early model for the concept behind the *Differentes Veues* series. In the following sections I re-examine what evidence there is on Meunier's life and, most importantly, the connections that link him to these two important influences in his early career in order to better understand Meunier's presence in both Spain and France and to provide a context for his artistic development. It is crucial to consider Meunier's body of work within the studio setting. As illustrated in this chapter's examination of his Walloon and Profile Views series, Meunier often collaborated with other artists and worked on larger print projects that were steered by publishers and their assessment of market demands in Paris' thriving print industries.

Biographical Sources

Very little is known about Meunier's life and origins beyond what evidence can be gleaned from his printed output. Most catalogue entries and authors who make reference to Meunier simply state that he was active ca. 1665. However, by examining the prints that can be attributed

to him, it may be said with some certainty he was still active in the 1670s when he depicted the Arc du Triomphe du Trône, a triumphal arch with three openings that was built in the faubourg Saint-Antoine in the place of an ephemeral arch that had been erected there to celebrate Louis XIV's marriage to Marie-Thérèse. The permanent arch depicted by Meunier was begun in 1670 after designs by Charles Perrault (1613–88, cat. 86). By the same reasoning, one can assume that Meunier's career spans at least fifty years, into the first decade of the eighteenth century when he depicted the Château de Magny in Oise (formerly Picardie) which was built after 1699 (see cats. 98–100). All of Meunier's prints were published by editors based in Paris, which would suggest that he was based there for most of his working life. Meunier never made any further original images of Spanish locations after the 1660s, and there is no reason to believe that he returned to Madrid or Lisbon or that he formed any subsequent links to the print industries there.

Other than Van Merle's inventory, no other reference to Meunier has been found to date in the French national archives.³¹ The Fichier Laborde at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), a repository of more than 66,000 civil records pertaining to Parisian artists and craftsmen from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, as well as the civil records at the Archives de Paris were consulted under variations of Meunier's name with no convincing results. Searches for references to Meunier in common sources relating to the royal court, such as the *Mercure galante* or Jules Guiffrey's work on the Archives nationales, especially *Les comptes des bâtiments du Roi (1661–1715)*, generated misleading references as they referred to contemporary painters, Pierre Monier (1641–1703) or Philippe Meusnier (1656–1734).³²

³¹ An extensive search of the Minutier central des notaires de Paris (AN MC) was prevented by the Covid-19 pandemic, future research here could unearth new sources. A search of the documents and finding aids that have so far been digitised in the AN MC has produced no useful results, nor was there any trace of Meunier found in printed resources such as: Marie Antoinette Fleury and Martine Constans, *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris: peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs au XVIIe siècle, 1600–1650*, rev. ed. (Paris: Archives nationales, 2010). Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700–1750)*, 2 vols. (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964).

³² On 5 May 1665 Colbert recorded a payment to an artist with the surname "Meunier": "5 may 1665...A Estienne Baudet, pour le voyage qu'il va faire en Italie pour estudier en l'art de sculpture 200. A Meunier et Corneille jeune, peintres, idem. 300" However, this was mostly likely a reference to Monier who was a winner of the Prix de Rome in 1664. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des bâtiments du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, 5 vols.

The only contemporary reference to Meunier appears to be found in Michel de Marolles' *Le Livre des peintres et graveurs* published ca. 1677.³³ Marolles, Abbot of Villeloin (1600–81), was arguably the most significant print collector in seventeenth-century France, whose first collection of over 120,000 prints was bought in 1667 by Louis XIV's first minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, thus forming the foundation for the Bibliothèque nationale. Marolles' book describes—in over a thousand rhyming verses—the accomplishments of French artists, and especially printmakers, during the grand siècle. *Le Livre des peintres et graveurs*, lists the names of more than nine hundred printmakers, painters, sculptures and collectors, including one “Louys le Meusnier”:

Jean Daret et Forest et Jacques d'Assomville
 Ne sont pas moins connus que Louys le Meusnier,
 Michel Fredeau, Moilon, Baussonnet et Selier,
 Henry Pesne et l'Estain, Both et Pierre Gobille.³⁴

As Meunier is listed under the section “Suite des Peintres qui ont vescu en France depuis 1600,” it is tempting to surmise whether he may indeed have practiced painting. What can at least be concluded concretely from Marolles' namecheck is that by 1677 Meunier was well-established as an artist and embedded in the printing culture of Paris.

Robert-Dumesnil's catalogue entry is perhaps the only study to date to have attempted to piece together Meunier's origins. He posits that the artist was born ca. 1630, a date which most subsequent authors agree upon, although I propose a date closer to 1640, in light of the fact that the *Différentes Veues* series (ca. 1662/3) was his first published series.³⁵ Due to an inscription in Meunier's bird's-eye view of El Escorial, “L meunier del et sculpsit a cugnac” (see fig.1.2;

(Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881–1901), vol. 1, 52. Philippe Meusnier was a painter of architectural decoration known for his work at the Château de Marly and at Versailles, see Maud Guichané. *Philippe Meusnier (1656–1734). Peindre l'architecture sous l'Ancien Régime. Art et histoire de l'art*. 2014. dumas-01545945.

³³ The date 1677 is discussed by Véronique Meyer, “Louis Odespung de La Meschinière (1597–1655),” *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 240 (2012): 7, n. 37.

³⁴ Quoted in Michel de Marolles, *Le livre des peintres et graveurs*, 2 rev. ed., ed. Georges Duplessis (Paris: P. Daffis, 1872), 45.

³⁵ Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, 245.

cat. 19), Robert-Dumesnil speculates whether this could be to the printmaker's place of birth, although it is unclear as to which locality "cognac" could refer.³⁶ Here, I believe it is worth considering the town of Cotignac in the Var region. On their journey down to Saint-Jean-de-Luz for the marriage in 1660, Anne of Austria (1601–66) and Louis XIV stopped in this town to give thanks to the Virgin Mary after a reported apparition of Saint Joseph in the nearby mountains.³⁷ Robert-Dumesnil recorded a print by Meunier (currently untraced) that depicted the Chapel of Notre Dame du Bon Refuge which was probably located in the nearby town of Barjols.³⁸ Could Meunier have depicted this chapel during a stay in Cotignac on his journey from Madrid to Paris? Robert-Dumesnil was at least confident that Meunier was French, although Kagan and Simpson have recently suggested that Meunier could have had Flemish origins.³⁹ Considering Meunier's close association with the Van Merle, a Flemish publisher with very strong connections to Antwerp, I find this hypothesis convincing, especially when his prints of Liège and Dinant are taken into account, views which, unlike his Italian prints, appear to be based on eye-witness experience (cats. 95–96). Perhaps significantly, Marolles lists Meunier after two artists with Flemish origins and stylistic leanings, Jean Daret (1613–68) and Jacques Dassonville (ca. 1619–ca. 1670).⁴⁰

Early Career and Mentors

While Meunier's nationality cannot be confirmed beyond speculation, it appears certain that he had connections to Lisbon at an early stage in his career. Authors such as Robert-Dumesnil and Eugène Dutuit have noted the affinities between Meunier's work and topographical prints

³⁶ Robert-Dumesnil supposes that "cognac" could refer to a town in Auvergne or Gascony. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, 245–46. Elena Santiago Páez suggests that Meunier may have been born in Anjou. With regards to "cognac" she offers Cugnac in Charente, Cugnaux in the Haute-Garonne, or Cunac in the Tarn department. Elena Santiago Páez and Juan Manuel Magariños, "El Escorial, historia de una imagen," in *El Escorial en la Biblioteca Nacional: IV Centenario del Monasterio de El Escorial*, ed. Elena Santiago Páez (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Libro y Bibliotecas, 1985), 278.

³⁷ Antonia Fraser, *Love and Louis XIV: The Women in the Life of the Sun King* (London: Phoenix, 2007), 63.

³⁸ Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, 299, no. 88.

³⁹ Richard L. Kagan and Marianna S. Simpson, "Dos vistas de jardines del siglo XVII procedentes del Palacio Real de Aranjuez," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 36, 54 (2018): 64.

⁴⁰ Marolles, *Le livre des peintres et graveurs*, 45.

by the Dutch painter and printmaker Dirk Stoop (ca. 1618–ca. 1686), who was in the employ of the Braganzas in Lisbon in the early 1660s.⁴¹ Although no direct documentary evidence such as apprenticeship contracts have emerged, a print currently stored at the British Museum (BM) is a copy printed in Lisbon after Stoop's portrait of the Infanta Catherine of Braganza and is inscribed "N. Munjer f."⁴² Could this refer to a relative of Meunier? At this point it remains uncertain whether Meunier could have travelled to Lisbon as an apprentice to Stoop or whether he was already working there for a family member with the same surname. At this date Stoop was engaged with royal painting commissions for the Braganzas and would have no doubt made use of students and assistants in his studio. This connection is highly significant because it places Meunier in Lisbon in 1662 and provides a rationale for his journey through the Iberian Peninsula shortly thereafter to procure patronage at the French court. After all, if the effort and expense of an international journey was to be undertaken by an emerging printmaker based in Paris in the 1660s, the far more obvious choice would have been to travel to Rome, as many artists such as Silvestre and François Collignon did. Part of the reason Meunier's prints of Spain were sought after by print collectors in the seventeenth century was that it was highly unusual for a Northern European to make a journey through Spain and to return with sketches of its cities. If Meunier was indeed working for Stoop, this not only justifies Meunier's presence in the peninsula, but also offers an explanation for his relocation to Paris after the Dutch master's departure for England in April 1662.

Meunier's possible apprenticeship with Stoop goes against the prevailing assumption that Meunier trained in Paris with Israël Silvestre.⁴³ In Chapter Two I will return to the question of Meunier's connection to Stoop when I consider the origins of the first edition of the *Differentes*

⁴¹ Eugène Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, 6 vols. (Paris: Lévy, 1881–88), vol. 6, 322. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, 246.

⁴² See Chapter Two, section 2.1, fig. 2.18.

⁴³ This view is held by Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné*; Véronique Meyer and J. Patrice Marandel, "Silvestre Family (i)," in *Grove Dictionary of Art* (Updated 30 July 2004, Accessed 3 November 2019). <https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000078788>; Marianne Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," in *Fort docte aux lettres et en l'architecture.* "Mélanges en l'honneur de Claude Mignot," ed. Alexandre Gady (Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses, 2019), 500.

Veues series. For the purposes of this chapter that takes a broader look at Meunier's career, and the production and demand for his print in Paris, I will now turn to the historic association of the artist with the studio of Silvestre as the true extent of Meunier's reliance on the famous artist has never previously been examined in depth.

Meunier's Association with the Workshop of Israël Silvestre: A Reassessment of Evidence

A native of Nancy, Silvestre moved to Paris at a young age to work with his uncle Israël Henriet (ca. 1590/1594–1661) who had established himself as the exclusive publisher in Paris of the work of his friend and fellow Lorrain, Jacques Callot.⁴⁴ Silvestre thus inherited a style and technique in his uncle's workshop that had a direct connection back to Callot's technical innovations in hard ground that allowed for a smooth tapering cut while retaining the flexibility and ease of handling that made etching so appealing to artists working from sketches made from life.⁴⁵ After his initial training under his uncle, Silvestre embarked on three successive journeys to Rome during the periods 1638–41, 1643–1644, and 1653.⁴⁶ A prolific draughtsman and etcher, Silvestre specialised in topographical views of cities and celebrated buildings and monuments in France and Italy that demonstrated an eye for capturing an evocation of atmosphere as well the specifics of architectural detail. The output of his early career comprises of smaller-scale views of contemporary and ancient architecture in a free-flowing manner heavily influenced by the lyricism and pastoral qualities of Callot and Della Bella, with whom he often collaborated (fig. 1.30a). Under the influence of royal commissions his later work

⁴⁴ By publishing his plates in Paris with Henriet rather than in Italy, Callot could take advantage of the privilège system in France and thus mitigate the profit-dampening effects of the numerous copies and pirated versions of his work which were circulating at the time. Antony Griffiths and Hugo Chapman, "Israel Henriet, the Chatsworth Album and the Publication of the Work of Jacques Callot," *Print Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2013).

⁴⁵ Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," 492.

⁴⁶ There has been a renewal of interest in recent years in Silvestre. In 2018, the Louvre held an exhibition on the artist's drawings: "La France Vue du Grand Siècle: Dessins d'Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)" 15 March–25 June 2018. In 2019 Grivel published an updated biographical study on the artist: Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)." The classic studies are Fauchaux, *Catalogue raisonné*; E. de Silvestre, *Renseignements sur quelques peintres et graveurs des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Israël Silvestre et ses descendants* (Paris: Mme Ve Bouchard-Huzard, 1868). An immensely useful database of Silvestre work is run by artist's descendant, Fabien de Silvestre: <https://israel.silvestre.fr/>

became larger in scale, with more formal, symmetrical compositions from frontal viewpoints, and a finer, more precise use of line (fig. 1.30b).⁴⁷ Silvestre enjoyed enormous commercial, institutional and critical success during his lifetime, including his appointment as *dessinateur et graveur ordinaire du roi* in 1663 and as a member of the Académie royale de peinture et de Sculpture from 1670. His work has since become emblematic of the baroque classicism of grand siècle architecture. The portrait engraved by Gérard Edelinck (1640–1707) after a pastel by Charles Le Brun (1619–90) presents Silvestre at the height of his artistic and social achievements as an artist-courtier and “delineator regis” (fig. 1.31).⁴⁸

By 1665, Meunier had already been settled in Paris for some time, as the dated second state of his Aranjuez series confirms (see fig. 1.4a). Silvestre’s reputation was fast ascending in the early 1660s with commissions to create topographical views at Vaux-le-Vicomte and subsequently at Versailles, and it would have been a logical step for Meunier to aspire to join his workshop upon his arrival in Paris. Overt suggestions of Silvestre’s influence can be observed throughout Meunier’s oeuvre, especially in the artist’s use of repoussoir elements such as the trees that frame the image and draw the viewer’s eye into the composition, as well as *contraluz* figures that create a sense of depth between foreground and the architecture within the compositions (fig. 1.32). However, these features can also be found in Stoop’s printed work and I have found no evidence to suggest that Meunier and Silvestre worked together before the younger artist’s journey through Spain. In Chapter Two I show how Meunier’s prints of Aranjuez are clearly indebted to Silvestre’s garden views of Liancourt, which would suggest that Meunier did encounter the Lorrain artist soon after his arrival in Paris, but it would seem more probable that Meunier’s early training was with Stoop, especially when we consider

⁴⁷ Bénédicte Gady and Juliette Trey, “La France vue du Grand Siècle. Dessins d’Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)” (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 28 March 2018). Grivel, “Éloge d’un ‘graveur paresseux,’ Israël Silvestre (1621–1691),” 495.

⁴⁸ Silvestre had met Le Brun during his years in Rome and the two remained friends. The *premier peintre du Roi* was an influential ally for Silvestre in gaining royal commissions and acceptance into the Académie. After the death of Silvestre’s wife, Henriette Sélincart, in 1680, Le Brun painted a portrait of her for her tomb. Musée des beaux-arts de Reims, inv.980.5.4. Grivel, “Éloge d’un ‘graveur paresseux,’ Israël Silvestre (1621–1691),” 477–78.

Meunier's presence in Portugal and Spain at the same time as the Dutch artist.

In her meticulously researched study on Silvestre, Marianne Grivel amasses an extensive array of primary documents from the Minutier central des notaires de Paris (AN MC) and the BnF and integrates them with eighteenth and nineteenth-century print catalogues to form the first truly comprehensive account of the life and career of the printmaker. In her examination of Silvestre's collaborations with other artists in his capacity as publisher and seller of prints, Grivel specifically identifies Louis Meunier as a pupil of Silvestre.⁴⁹ However, unusually for this study no documentary evidence is cited to support this conclusion. This is also the case in Véronique Meyer and J. Patrice Marandel's entry on Silvestre in the *Grove Dictionary of Art* from 2003/4, where they single out Meunier and François Noblesse (1652–1730) as Silvestre's only pupils, but again they do not specify the source of this information.⁵⁰ Other than indications gathered through comparisons of style, media or genre, no direct evidence has been found to date that names Meunier in connection to Silvestre, whether in the form of legal documents, the granting of privilèges, apprenticeship contracts, marriage certificates, or baptism records, etc. While Noblesse is indeed acknowledged in Silvestre's will of 1690, there is no mention of Meunier.⁵¹

The association between Meunier and Silvestre appears to originate with Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774) the eighteenth-century dealer, collector and connoisseur of the graphic arts who assembled an outstanding collection of drawings, and compiled multiple volumes of notes on artists and printmakers for an unrealised publishing project on the history of engraving and a dictionary of artists.⁵² Mariette's writings remain in the Collection Deloynes in the

⁴⁹ Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," 500.

⁵⁰ This is understandable given the limited format of a dictionary entry. Meyer and Marandel, "Silvestre Family (i)."

⁵¹ "Je donne et lègue à Monsieur François Noblesse, lequel a demeuré longtemps avec moi, la somme de trois cents livres une fois paieez." AN MC XLV, 290, testament, 20 May 1690, transcribed in Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," 500, n. 150.

⁵² On Pierre-Jean Mariette, see Maxime Préaud, "La dynastie Mariette. De l'espérance aux Colonnes d'hercule," in *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal*, ed. Jacques Thuillier, Marie-Thérèse Mandroux-França, and Maxime Préaud (Paris; Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Bibliothèque nationale de France; Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1996–2003); Kristel Smentek, "Pierre II Mariette, or the Mariette Dynasty Revisited," in *L'estampe au grand siècle: études offertes à Maxime Préaud*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al.

Département des Estampes et de la photographie in the BnF, but they were partially published as the *Abecedario de Pierre-Jean Mariette* in the 1850s.⁵³ Although the *Abecedario* does not include a dedicated entry on Meunier, Mariette does refer to him as a “disciple” of Silvestre under his entry on that artist.⁵⁴ Mariette’s writings had an enormous impact upon the structure of modern print scholarship, and were used as a direct model for foundational texts such as Adam von Bartsch’s *Le peintre graveur* (1803–21).⁵⁵ In his sequel to Von Bartsch’s work, Robert-Dumesnil made no mention in his entry on Meunier of his being a student of Silvestre, although he does acknowledge that Meunier’s prints might recall certain aspects of the latter’s work.⁵⁶ This could suggest that Robert-Dumesnil did not have access to Mariette’s notes. L.E. Faucheux’s catalogue raisonné on Silvestre of 1856 was heavily indebted to Mariette’s writing, he frequently quotes the collector (albeit without references), and had likely consulted his unpublished notes prior or concurrently with the publication of the *Abecedario*.⁵⁷

While Mariette was born three years after the death of Silvestre and may have been too young to have interacted with Meunier, even if the artist did live into the 1700s, his credibility as a near contemporary source should not be in doubt. Mariette was heir to his family’s lucrative and influential print publishing business which had been established by his great-grandfather Pierre Mariette I (ca. 1603–57) on the rue Saint-Jacques à l’Espérance from the 1630s. A century later, the Mariette publishing dynasty’s reputation had spread internationally and the business was consulted by the agents of prestigious print collectors such as Prince Eugene of Savoy and João V of Portugal, who sought not only their exhaustive catalogues but also their

(Paris: Ecole des chartes; Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2010). Kristel Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-century Europe* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

⁵³ Collection Deloynes: recueillie par Pierre-Jean Mariette, Charles-Nicolas Cochin et M. Deloynes, 65 vols. BnF, Est., Rés., YA3-27. Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario de Pierre-Jean Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, 6 vols., ed. Philippe de Chennevières and Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: Dumoulin, 1851–60).

⁵⁴ Mariette, *Abecedario*, vol. 5, 213. “Par la mesme raison, l’on y a joint ce qui a été gravé par Louis Meusnier, qui est le seul disciple de Silvestre qui ait mis au jour de ses ouvrages, encor ce que l’on a de luy se reduit-il à un assez petit nombre de pieces, qui presque toutes sont des veues d’Espagne, qu’il a dessiné et gravé sur les lieux.” taken from Mariette *Notes manuscrites*, tome VIII, folio 178 v. transcribed in Mariette, *Catalogues de la collection d’estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal*, vol. 2, 374.

⁵⁵ Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-century Europe*, 2.

⁵⁶ Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, 245–46.

⁵⁷ Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné*.

high-quality editions. Many generations of Mariettes worked closely with Silvestre and would have been intimately familiar with his workshop practice and printed output. Pierre I published prints by Silvestre from the 1640s, and it was his son Pierre II (1634–1716) who appraised Silvestre’s collection of prints after his death and subsequently bought up a significant portion of the stock. Pierre-Jean’s father, Jean Mariette (1660–1742), published at least one restrike of a print signed by Meunier, his *View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente* (cat. 97).⁵⁸ By the 1730s Pierre-Jean was in a position to combine expertise gained through his own experience in the art trade and his correspondence with important collectors with the accumulative knowledge, connections and print stock of four generations of his predecessors who were directly familiar with these artists and their contemporaries.

The most concrete evidence that suggests a working relationship between Meunier and Silvestre is in the estate inventory made after Silvestre’s death in 1691.⁵⁹ The inventory lists a volume of printed views of Rome and Spain, but even more significantly it lists nine copper plates that depict views of Spain (fig. 1.33). These include seven plates of views of Spanish cities and two plates depicting views of Seville and Madrid.⁶⁰ While the volume of prints may have been bought from another party, the presence of the plates at least implies that Silvestre was involved in publishing views of Spain, even if he did not etch them himself. Although the inventory does not include dimensions or an attribution for these plates, it is argued in this thesis that they refer to the profile views of Spanish cities made by Meunier before 1668 (cat. 66; for the rest of the series, see cats. 66–74).⁶¹ Meunier, having travelled through Spain, had the opportunity and means to create preparatory drawings for these prints, especially for smaller

⁵⁸ see Chapter Four, Section 4.1 for the later editions of this print.

⁵⁹ AN MC XLV, 290, 10 December 1691. A contemporaneous copy of the inventory is held in AN 383 AP Papiers Silvestre.

⁶⁰ AN 383 AP Papiers Silvestre. The relevant entries read as follows (indicated by the blue boxes in fig. 1.51):

Item sept Planches, / des villes d’Espagne / prises vingt une / livres Cy... XXI

Item deux Planches / de Seville et Madrid / priées huit livres... VIII

I am indebted to the expertise of Dr Bríd McGrath and Dr Éamon Ó Ciosáin and for their assistance in transcribing this inventory.

⁶¹ See section 1.1. It is likely these plates that are later acquired by Jean de Beaurain. See Chapter Four, section 4.1.

cities such as Badajoz, which were not well-represented in print prior to this date. Although these prints are not signed, the rendition of the Alcázar of Madrid's façade clearly replicates Meunier's pediment-less central bay as depicted in his *Differentes Veues* series (fig. 1.34), and the handling of line does not appear to reach the levels of finesse and delicacy associated with Silvestre's work in the 1660s, suggesting the contribution of assistants.⁶²

The wide format of these profile views of cities seen from a distance are closely related to prestigious commissions that Silvestre received from Colbert from 1665 to create topographical views of militarily strategic fortified towns along the northern and eastern borders of France, as well as other cities that were later captured and annexed by the French in the Lorraine and Champagne regions (figs. 1.35 and 1.36).⁶³ Between 1665 and 1670 Silvestre travelled on various occasions to strategic fortified towns and cities, such as Mariembourg, Rocroi, Charleville, Mézières, Jametz, Metz and Verdun to make preparatory sketches for large-scale multi-plate etchings that were intended for the Cabinet du roi to commemorate and publicise the glory of French territorial gains after the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and later during the War of Devolution (1667–8).⁶⁴ Such profile views of cities seen from the point of view of the approaching traveller had strong militaristic associations due to the prevalent use of topographical views in strategic military planning, especially for fortification attacks.⁶⁵

The profile views of Spain that I attribute here to Meunier do not have any relation to the commission from Colbert, nor do they refer to recent military victories, but they are certainly related to Silvestre's eastern borders project in terms of style, composition and concept. Citing Mariette in his catalogue raisonné on Silvestre, Faucheux attributed these views of Spain, along with others of Dieppe, Meaux, Melun, Pontoise, and Rouen, to Meunier working under the

⁶² In his *Notes Manuscrites*, Mariette attributes these prints of Spain firmly to Meunier. Mariette, *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal*, vol. 2, 383.

⁶³ Colbert's account books record a payment of 2,000 livres paid to Silvestre to draw the frontier towns of Champagne and Lorraine. "4 décembre 1665–4 janvier 1666 : au sr Silvestre, graveur en eau-forte, par forme d'appointemens pendant quatre mois qu'il emploiera à désigner les villes frontières de Champaigne et Loraine (2 p.) ... 2000#." Guiffrey, *Comptes des bâtimens du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, vol. 1, 100.

⁶⁴ Bénédicte Gady and Juliette Trey, *La France vue du Grand Siècle: Dessins d'Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)* (Paris: LienArt, 2018), 21.

⁶⁵ See Martha D. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

direction of Silvestre.⁶⁶ The same prints are presented as a group (without an attribution) by a near contemporary Florent Le Comte (ca. 1655–1712) in his *Cabinet des singularités d’architecture, peinture, sculpture et graveure* (Paris, 1699–1700).⁶⁷ It is therefore likely that these prints formed part of a large set that were produced by Meunier and other printmakers working for Silvestre to replicate the successful model established by his profile views for the Cabinet du roi, probably using drawings that they had to hand. Silvestre’s inventory describes at least two printing presses at his studio in the Louvre palace, and we can assume that he had a busy workshop of assistants.⁶⁸ The views of the French cities are inscribed with “Israel Silvestre del.,” identifying his role as the originator of the composition, but this is not the case for the Spanish views in this set. For this reason, it is plausible that the Spanish set are original compositions by Meunier working within the context of Silvestre’s workshop, even if he did not sign them.

For nineteenth-century cataloguers such as Faucheux and Robert-Dumesnil, Meunier’s name appears to stand as a catch-all term for etchings that resemble Silvestre’s style, but do not appear to reach his level meticulous accuracy combined with fluency of expression. In the absence of any solid justification for their attributions, Faucheux is too broad in his allocation of sub-Silvestres to Meunier, and Robert-Dumesnil meanwhile is too limited in his dismissal of any association with Meunier in the absence of a signature or a Spanish subject. Both authors are flawed in this thinking as it overlooks the collaborative nature of the workshop operation, in which specialisation by individual printmakers was encouraged in its structure. The same

⁶⁶ Faucheux also mistakenly includes the smaller view of Cádiz from the Van Merle Iberian series. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné*, 76–78. Robert-Dumesnil references the Spanish views in this set under his entry on Meunier, stating that “Ces morceaux ne portent pas le nom du maître, mais ils sont indubitablement de lui [Meunier].” He does not consider any views that do not depict Spain as part of Meunier’s oeuvre. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, 292.

⁶⁷ Florent Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d’architecture, peinture, sculpture, et graveure. Ou, Introduction à la connoissance des plus beaux Arts, figurés sous les tableaux, les statuës, & les estampes. Dedié à M. Mansart Sur-Intendant des Bâtimens du Roy, &c. Par Florent Le Comte Sculpteur & peintre à Paris, ruë Saint Jacques, proche la Fontaine S. Benoist au Chiffre Royal* (A Paris, Chez Estienne Picart Graveur du Roy, ruë Saint Jacques, au Buste de Monseigneur, près les Mathurins. Nicolas Le Clerc, Quay des Augustins du côté du Pont Saint Michel, à l’Image Saint Lambert. M. DC. XCIX, 1699–1700), 177.

⁶⁸ AN 383 AP Papiers Silvestre. See also Grivel, “Éloge d’un ‘graveur paresseux,’ Israël Silvestre (1621–1691),” 493.

plate could be worked on by multiple specialised hands, working on the various features, from trees to the figures. Likewise, drawings could be passed around and reused. There could even be an interval of many years between one artist making a drawing and the other interpreting it in print. Silvestre is known to have worked with many different artists who were successful in their own right. Early on in his career, while working in his Henriot's workshop on the rue de l'Arbre-sec, Silvestre provided drawings executed on site which were engraved by Jean Marot (1619–79), who specialised in engraving architecture, and Stefano della Bella (1610–64), who provided the figures (fig. 1.37).⁶⁹ Silvestre is also known to have collaborated with François Collignon (ca. 1610–87), Claude Goyrand (ca. 1610–62), Jean Le Pautre (1618–82), Nicolas Cochin (1610–after 1649) and Adam Pérelle (1640–95).⁷⁰ As his work grew more ambitious with royal commissions, his large-scale, multi-plate works were probably created with the assistance of multiple hands, including Meunier's (fig. 1.38).

Workshop Collaborations and Practices

Silvestre was not the only artist who worked directly with Meunier. As discussed in Section 1.1, Meunier is recorded as having worked on a series of etchings with the painter and printmaker Henri Mauperché, a set which was recorded in the inventory of the publisher Van Merle's workshop. Mauperché is best known for painting landscapes to decorate the interiors of Marie-Thérèse's apartments in the Louvre and Anne of Austria's Grand Cabinet at the Château de Fontainebleau, and some fifty landscape prints with religious narratives such as the Life of the Virgin and the Prodigal Son.⁷¹ Mauperché's influence can be detected especially in the print depicting a view of Walzin Castle, Dinant (fig. 1.39). Meunier's image replicates the

⁶⁹ Kristina Deutsch, "'Marot. Il se nommait Jean...'," *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 236 (2011).

⁷⁰ This point on the collaborative practices of the print studio is backed up by Mariette, who noted that in Henriot's studio, Silvestre "... il lui en fit faire les desseins qu'il fit ensuite exécuter une partie par son neveu et une autre par Marot, Goyrand, Collignon, Pérelle et quelques autres graveurs qu'il faisait travailler souvent ensemble sur une même planche suivant la portée de leur talent, l'un gravant architecture, l'autre les figures, le paysage et les terrasses." Mariette quoted in Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," 488–89, see also 500. Meyer and Marandel, "Silvestre Family (i)."

⁷¹ On Mauperché see Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 1, 39–73 (51 nos.).

strong diagonal emphasis of the foreground found in Mauperché's compositions. The tiny figures that normally populate Meunier's prints are here replaced with new, larger figures silhouetted boldly against the background landscape. Mauperché's use of aerial perspective is also replicated; here he or Meunier depicts the cliffs and the castle that surmounts them with much lighter, almost feathery marks that create a tangible impression of atmosphere through which the landscape is observed at a distance.

The contribution of another hand can be detected in the same series. In the fore- and middle-ground to *View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire*, figures on foot and on horseback can be seen excitedly chasing the hunt and cheering on the group of riders. These fluently illustrated figures recall the work of Callot in their variety of expression and animation, and may suggest the input of one of his followers, Nicolas Cochin (fig. 1.40). Amongst many diverse projects, Cochin was known for illustrating his landscape scenes with such figures and most notably for depicting the hundreds of figures in the royal procession in Tronçon's publication *L'Entrée triomphante de Leurs Majestez Louis XIV, roy de France et de Navarre et Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, son épouse, dans la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1662). Especially in Meunier's prints that date from the 1660s, the occasional figure stands out for its lightness of touch next to the stiff, angular figures that are characteristic of Meunier's work from this period (fig. 1.41). While it is almost impossible to establish their authorship definitively, they demonstrate the fact that printmaking at this time was a collaborative activity and Meunier's work cannot be considered in isolation. It was also standard practice at this time for workshops to employ an engraver who specialised in lettering, a highly skilled practice that commanded higher rates of pay than etching.⁷² The cumbersome lettering in the first state of the *Differentes Veues* series would suggest that they were etched into the plate by Meunier himself, presumably outside of the collaborative workshop context. His later prints for Van Merle feature uniform lettering almost certainly by a specialist hand.

⁷² Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 25–26.

Another workshop practice that can be observed in Meunier's oeuvre is the reuse of motifs, stock figures and plates. Some twenty years after Meunier used the motif of a carriage drawn by six horses and a rider in his view of the Villa Aldobrandini (see cat. 88), we see it occur again in the foreground of his view of Château de Magny (see fig. 1.42). If we compare two prints from Meunier's Views of Paris and Italy series, a view of Val-de-Grâce and another of the Triumphal Arch of Saint-Antoine (cats. 85 and 86), it becomes apparent that the exact same group of stone masons border the bottom of both images, along with the tree to the left and the angelic figure in the sky (fig. 1.43). It is probable that the same plate was used for both images; Meunier seemingly printed the triumphal arch image first before burnishing out the structure and re-etching an image of Val-de-Grâce in its place. Such use and reuse of plates and imagery was routine in the print workshops in which Meunier would have operated, and were probably an economic and marketing decision made by the publisher as much as the artist. I suspect it was Van Merle who would have encouraged Meunier to draw on templates from his own stock of plates and prints; in two prints from his Views of Paris and Italy series, published by Van Merle, Meunier draws on two motifs of angelic figures etched by Della Bella in a view of the Sorbonne chapel that was created by Marot after drawings by Silvestre in 1649 (fig. 1.44). Although the Sorbonne image was first published by Henriët, the plates were later acquired by Van Merle. When Meunier's detail of two angels holding aloft the coat of arms of Queen Marie-Thérèse is flipped horizontally, we can observe that it corresponds almost exactly to Della Bella's angels, and was likely to have been traced from the original print before the design was transferred to the plate thereby inducing the reversal of the motif (figs. 1.45 and 1.46). This practice was not exclusive to Van Merle or Meunier; Della Bella himself reused a trumpeting figure of fame in two separate projects, one for Henriët in the late 1640s, and later in Pontault de Beaulieu's *Petit Beaulieu* (fig. 1.47).

1.3 The Paris Print Industry

Meunier's move to Paris in 1662 was strategically advantageous on two fronts. In addition to opening up avenues to circles of royal and aristocratic patronage, his arrival coincided with the flourishing of the printmaking industry in Paris that saw the city develop into the epicentre of European publishing in the second half of the seventeenth century, supplying international markets with large-scale exports of high quality prints.⁷³ Intaglio printmaking was a relatively new phenomenon in France, and once established it reached very high levels of quality in a relatively space of short time.⁷⁴ Although a small number of publishers based in Lyon, where there print industry was more open to influences from Germany and Italy, as well as artists connected to the Fontainebleau School, had been producing etchings since the 1540s, these were mostly experimental and non-commercial in their intention, and thus had very little influence beyond their royal and aristocratic spheres of patronage. The influx into Paris of refugee printmakers fleeing the wars of religion in Antwerp at the end of the sixteenth century is credited with having introduced the knowledge and equipment required for copperplate engraving and etching production.⁷⁵ Equally crucial to the development of the industry was a generation of French, Lorraine and Italian artists, many of whom were in Rome in the 1620s, such as Claude Mellan, Jacques Stella, Jacques Bellange, Jacques Callot, and Stefano della Bella, and whose work raised the bar in terms of technical ambition and instigated a new market

⁷³ For an overview on research into the field of seventeenth-century French print up to 2009, see Préaud, "Les arts de l'estampe en France au xvii^e siècle: panorama sur trente ans de recherches." Grivel 1986 remains an essential text on the social structure and organisation of the Parisian print industry: Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*. See also the work of Véronique Meyer; Jacques Kuhnle, "Le commerce de la gravure à Paris et à Rome au XVII^e siècle," *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 55 (1981); Sue Welsh Reed, *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers* (Boston, Mass: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998); Fuhring et al., *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*.

⁷⁴ Maxime Préaud, "Printmakers under Louis XIV," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 9.

⁷⁵ Maxime Préaud, "Intaglio Printmaking in Paris in the Seventeenth Century, or, The Fortune of France," in *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers*, ed. Sue Welsh Reed (Boston, Mass: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998), 6; Catherine Hofmann, "Publishing and the Map Trade in France, 1470–1670," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Part 2: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1575–76.

in Paris aimed at print connoisseurs.⁷⁶

The Printed Image and le Gloire du Roi

A key factor in the prodigious growth of the industry from the middle of the century was a deliberate strategy on behalf of the Crown to establish state-sponsored policies and institutions whose explicit purpose was to develop the arts for the profit of the economy and the international prestige of French culture. A recognition of the capacity of print to shape the royal image was present in Louis' ruling strategy from his earliest days in power.⁷⁷ During his journey down to the Spanish border for his marriage to María Teresa in 1660, Louis signed the Edict of Saint-Jean-de-Luz on the 26th of May, which declared the art of engraving a liberal art rather than a manual craft, thus liberating printmaking from the regulations of the guild system which would have closed off the profession to any artist not certified as a master practitioner.⁷⁸ From 1661, Colbert oversaw an ambitious financial and administrative reorganisation of the kingdom, and was instrumental in marshalling the arts in the service of the king. He installed a policy of state subsidy for the manufacture of luxury goods that had manifold effects, including the boosting of employment, productivity, and technical expertise, as well as the lowering of foreign imports to the benefit of the French economy. Colbert institutionalised learning and the arts by establishing a system of stated-backed academies and institutions such as the Académie française, the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture (which were founded in 1634 and 1648 respectively), the Académie des sciences, the Gobelins Factory, the Imprimerie royale and the *Cabinet du Roi*, the series originally conceived as diplomatic gifts, which later sold on the

⁷⁶ Marianne Grivel, "The Print Market in Paris from 1610 to 1660," in *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers*, ed. Sue Welsh Reed (Boston, Mass: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998), 13.

⁷⁷ See Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Arts in the Service of the King's Glory," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhling et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015). An exhibition organised jointly by the Getty and the BnF interpreted the overall production of French print from this era as a statement of French cultural sophistication and imperialist triumph. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 16 June–6 September 2015, and at the BnF, Paris, 2 November 2015–31 January 2016 (with the title "Images du Grand Siècle: l'estampe française sous Louis XIV, 1660–1715").

⁷⁸ Préaud, "Printmakers under Louis XIV," 9.

open market as individual prints and volumes.⁷⁹ From 1663 printmakers were officially permitted to enter the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, allowing them to claim greater social prestige comparable to that of painters.⁸⁰ With this elevation of status came increasing professionalisation, greater expectation of quality, increased recruitment for apprenticeships, as well as a general improvement to the living standards of printmakers and publishers.

The concept of *gloire* as a means of exerting power lay behind Louis XIV's concerted efforts to mobilise his personal image as propaganda.⁸¹ Printed portraits of the king proliferated alongside printed images that ran the full gamut of imagery showcasing French design and manufacture during Louis XIV's reign, including views of individual buildings and gardens, as well as prints after French decorative arts, French fashion and the royal collections.⁸² From 1667 the Conseil d'État made efforts to control these representations by prohibiting any artists other than those chosen by Colbert from engraving and printing "the plans and elevations of the royal houses, the ornaments of painting and sculpture contained within them, pictures and figures in His Majesty's *Cabinet* or elsewhere, as well as the image of plants and animals of all kinds and other rare and singular things."⁸³ Prints were cheap to produce, relative to other art forms, they were easily reproduced, transported and disseminated both at home and abroad. To meet the demands of a diverse market, prints were produced for at various price points and with different audiences in mind, from complex allegories or virtuoso thesis prints, to crudely rendered commemorative engravings. Printed images, unlike the printed word, could transmit messages of the king's achievements to audiences across the social spectrum, transcending all geographical, educational or linguistic barriers. While Louis was far from the first ruler to

⁷⁹ Peter Fuhling, "Publishers, Sellers, and the Market," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhling et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 30.

⁸⁰ Préaud, "Printmakers under Louis XIV," 9–10.

⁸¹ Burke 1992 is the classic study on the "fabrication" of Louis XIV, Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁸² See especially *Kingdom of Images* and the writings of Chandra Mukerji on this topic.

⁸³ Quoted in Préaud, "Printmakers under Louis XIV," 11.

employ the arts in the glorification of his regime, the proliferation of printed images during his reign and the way in which they centred on the cult of his personality was unprecedented.⁸⁴ The combined effects of Colbert's policies and state sponsorship on the French book and single-sheet print industry were profound, and the period saw Paris overtake centres such as Venice, Rome or Antwerp to become the printmaking capital of Europe.⁸⁵

The Market for Cartographic and Topographical Print

The establishment of copperplate printing, and with it a greater capacity to reproduce precise and finer detail, facilitated the growth of cartographic publishing in Paris from the 1650s. In contrast to the print markets that had emerged in the previous century in Venice and Rome, a demand for cartographic material was slow to develop in Paris. However, from the 1630s onwards, a desire to follow the progress of international conflicts such as the Thirty Years' War stimulated an increasing public awareness of and demand for cartographic materials.⁸⁶ The campaigns instigated by Henri IV and his chief minister Maximilien de Béthune (1559–1641), the Duke of Sully, to have the whole of France surveyed by the corps of royal engineers began to have public impact with the publication of atlases by Christophe Tassin in 1633 and 1634.⁸⁷ Louis XIV's continuous warfare from the 1660s onward ensured that an interest in geographical print expanded beyond specialists to the aristocracy and to the bourgeoisie and general public.⁸⁸

The concept a suite of topographical views presented in a loosely unified series, as epitomised in Meunier's work and that his mentors, was perfected in Paris from the 1660s

⁸⁴ Hendrik Ziegler, "Image Battles under Louis XIV: Some Reflections," in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661–1715*, ed. Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 26. See also Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

⁸⁵ Fuhring et al., *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715. passim*.

⁸⁶ Hofmann, "Publishing and the Map Trade in France, 1470–1670," 1579.

⁸⁷ Tassin's *Les plans et profils de toutes les principales villes et lieux considerables de France* consisted of over four hundred maps in total. For the *ingénieurs du roi*, see Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: M.I.T. Press, 1991), 215–19; David Buisseret, "French Cartography: The *ingénieurs du roi*, 1500–1650," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Part 2: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁸⁸ Hofmann, "Publishing and the Map Trade in France, 1470–1670," 1579.

onwards, but it had its origins in major publishing innovations of the sixteenth century, such as Hieronymus Cock's (ca. 1510–70) *Praecipua Aliquot Romanae Antiquitatis runiarium Monimenta* (1551) and Antonio Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (executed between 1545 and 1577).⁸⁹ Gathered together under specially designed titlepages, these sets of prints were produced specifically for humanist and antiquarian audiences who sought images of the ruins and antiquities of Rome with the aim of gaining insight into the culture that produced them (fig. 1.48).⁹⁰ In reality it was an ingenious marketing strategy that encouraged collectors to purchase a whole suite of prints, rather than just one, and to instil the aspiration of the connoisseur's "complete" set.

In examining the print culture in which Meunier participated in Paris, it is essential to underscore the transnational dimension of the printmaking enterprise. Innovations in Rome, Amsterdam and Antwerp had a direct influence on the Parisian market and vice versa, thanks to the flow of artists moving between the different centres to train and access new markets.⁹¹ In the 1660s, this exchange was concentrated especially around the figure of François Collignon, a former student of Callot who established himself as one of the most prominent print sellers in Rome, while retaining important links with Henriette, Mariette and Langlois in Paris.⁹² An overemphasis on geographic distinctions between print centres belies the easy circulation of print as a medium and the resulting cross-pollination of forms and ideas. It is more productive to approach print manufacture in terms of networks. By viewing it in this way we can appreciate how the transfer back to Paris of artists of French origin who had established themselves

⁸⁹ Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994); Peter Parshall, "Antonio Lafreri's 'Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae,'" *Print Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (2006). On Cock, see Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock, Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Garland Pub, 1977), nos. 1–25; Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, eds., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (New Haven, Conn.; London; Antwerp: Yale University Press; Mercatorfonds, 2013). Although it was more practical in its intent, it is also worth mentioning the Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's (ca. 1515–85) *Les plus excellents bâtiments de France* (1576–79) which combined written architectural description with plans, elevations and sections of France's most prominent buildings.

⁹⁰ Rebecca Zorach, ed., *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Chicago: Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008). *passim*.

⁹¹ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 126.

⁹² Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 260.

professionally Rome, such as Etienne du Pérac (also known as Stefano Duperac, ca. 1525–1601), coincided with the building and survey programmes of Henri IV and stimulated the emergence of topographical arts in France, as evidenced in Claude Chastillon’s (1559–1616) *Topographie française*, published posthumously in 1641.⁹³

Meunier’s Publishers

At the time that Meunier began publishing his prints, the most prolific publishing businesses and print sellers were concentrated on the left bank of the Seine, along the rue Saint-Jacques, on the ancient pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, and close to the intellectual centre of the city in the Sorbonne. Many of these publishers, such as Van Merle, were of Flemish or Lorrain origin, and had settled in the nearby parishes of Saint-Séverin and Saint-Benoît. These shops catered to students, clergy, law clerks and collectors, as well as to international export markets.⁹⁴ Publishers such as Mariette and Van Merle recognised the business potential of selling topographical prints as sets and were eager to capitalise upon their growing popularity. The increasing prevalence of the genre in print shops is documented in the inventories of major publishers. In 1637 just 5 percent of the print plates at François Langlois’ (1588–1647) shop “aux Colonnes d’Hercules” consisted of topographical material, far behind his holdings of ornamental engravings (43 percent), landscapes (23 percent), mythological scenes (10 percent), religious engravings (8 percent), portraits (7 percent), and scenes of war (3 percent). In 1655, eight years after Langlois’s death, his son Nicolas I (1640–1703) who had inherited the business, had increased his stock of topographical plates to 11 percent. Finally, after the death of Nicolas’ wife in 1701, we find that the number of plates relating to architecture and topography had increased substantially to 26 percent of the stock, and was now as significant part of the business as religious images.⁹⁵

⁹³ Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism*, 233–47.

⁹⁴ Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 61–63; Préaud, “Intaglio Printmaking in Paris in the Seventeenth Century, or, The Fortune of France,” 6.

⁹⁵ Hofmann, “Publishing and the Map Trade in France, 1470–1670,” 1582.

After joining Silvestre's studio, it would appear Meunier quickly became enmeshed in the city's printing network, a commercial and social sphere where business, family and friendship were all intertwined. As Meunier's involvement in Silvestre's workshop demonstrates, he did not operate alone. Moreover, as an emerging printmaker he could not have had the equipment or capital to run his own studio. As Grivel outlined in her structural study of the Parisian print industry in the seventeenth century, the creation and sale of prints necessitated the input of multiple parties. This naturally entailed the technical and creative involvement of the inventor of the image, the engraver/etcher and the printer, but the often overlooked roles of the publisher and print seller were just as crucial.⁹⁶ It was the enterprising publisher who was effectively the driver of the print industry. They made key strategic and aesthetic decisions, identifying themes and images for print that would respond to current demand or flatter particular patrons. It was also the publisher who bore the financial brunt of most print initiatives; they invested in the copper and presses necessary for printing, and they retained ownership and printing rights of the plates.⁹⁷ Michael Bury's observations on the publishers of the Italian print industry also apply to the contribution of the print publisher in Paris in the second half of the seventeenth century: "their effectiveness was due to the fact that they were part of an extremely lively artistic and artisanal culture they did not control."⁹⁸ This enabled creative diversity where no one style dominated. Contracts between publishers and printmakers preserved in the Minutier central des notaires de Paris show that on the whole most printmakers worked regularly or on an ad hoc basis for multiple publishers. The wages they were paid could vary according to subject matter, the size of the commission and the perceived reputation of the artist.⁹⁹ There were a number of successful artists, such as Silvestre, who did set up their own publishing enterprise for their plates, as well as those of others. After Henriette's death in 1661, Silvestre inherited his stock of

⁹⁶ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 7–9. These categories were not mutually exclusive, the publisher and the seller could be the same person.

⁹⁷ Fuhring, "Publishers, Sellers, and the Market," 30; Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 9.

⁹⁸ Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620*, 10.

⁹⁹ Grivel, "The Print Market in Paris from 1610 to 1660," 16.

plates, and a year later he bought up the remaining plates belonging to Callot's widow, thus establishing a monopoly in the subsequent production and sale of Callot prints.¹⁰⁰ His estate inventory shows that by the 1690s Silvestre had established himself as an important publisher and seller who specialised in landscape etching, with over 260 plates by Della Bella alone.¹⁰¹

Jacques van Merle

Although Meunier certainly worked in Silvestre's studio from 1665 onwards, it is noteworthy that Silvestre does not appear to have published any work under Meunier's name. Presumably Silvestre, who was preoccupied with large-scale royal commissions, chose to prioritise his own plates, along with those by prestigious names such as Callot and Della Bella, in his publishing ventures. Almost all of Meunier's prints that can be identified as autograph works are associated with the publisher Jacques van Merle.¹⁰² Van Merle did not impact the industry to the same extent as bigger dealers such as Mariette, Langlois or Leblond, but nonetheless he was significant as a medium-sized publisher in his own right.¹⁰³ Born into a family of engravers and print-sellers in Antwerp in 1616, Van Merle had moved to Paris by 1646 as part of an influx of immigration to Paris by Flemish engravers fleeing religious and political upheaval in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ From 1651 his business was based on the rue Saint-Jacques, at the sign *à la Rose Blanche Couronnée* (often interchangeable with *à la Ville d'Anvers*, see fig. 1.49).¹⁰⁵ An examination of the inventory made of Van Merle's estate shows that he was a wide-ranging publisher, whose output included architectural, decorative, portrait, popular, religious, landscape and topographical prints. He commissioned

¹⁰⁰ On Silvestre publishing Callot's work, see Griffiths and Chapman, "Israel Henriët, the Chatsworth Album and the Publication of the Work of Jacques Callot," 283.

¹⁰¹ Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," 507–08. The stock of plates listed in the inventory and appraised by Pierre II Mariette includes seven plates of figures by Henriët, nine plates by Jean Le Pautre, six plates by Jean Marot, 797 of Silvestre's own plates.

¹⁰² On Van Merle, see Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris.,"; Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 299–300; Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 383–84.

¹⁰³ Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 95.

¹⁰⁴ Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 81.

¹⁰⁵ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 383–84.

original work from printmakers, but was equally involved in the buying of second, even third-hand plates from his colleagues.¹⁰⁶

Van Merle published a large number of printmakers, but the majority of his stock was by artists of Flemish origin, an indication of his close ties to the community of émigrés from Antwerp who worked in print making, publishing and selling in Paris.¹⁰⁷ If Meunier was indeed Flemish by birth, this could account for how he came into contact with Van Merle so soon after his arrival in Paris. The two men appear to have had a productive working relationship that spanned close to twenty years. Van Merle published Meunier's work early on and consistently, with publications in 1665, 1668, in the 1670s. Van Merle even had the plates made by Meunier with Mauperché in his possession when he died.¹⁰⁸ This relationship was arguably just as crucial to the development of Meunier's career as his work with Stoop or Silvestre, and it has not been given prominence in existing references to the artist. For Meunier, the connection to Van Merle provided him with the means to publish work under his own name, independently from Silvestre's workshop. Meanwhile Van Merle could turn to a printmaker who was perhaps more affordable than some of the bigger names in order to address significant gaps in his stock of plates depicting topographical subject matter.

No further original compositions by Meunier have been connected directly to any other publisher after Van Merle's death in 1682. Van Merle business was continued by his widow until 1687, but his plates were probably eventually absorbed into the stock of a wholesale publisher such as Nicolas Langlois.¹⁰⁹ This does not imply that Meunier stopped working, he probably continued to etch in Silvestre's studio as one of his assistants contributing to his plates unacknowledged, and as we have seen he was active up to the first decade 1700s.¹¹⁰ His work

¹⁰⁶ Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 87–95. Van Merle's inventory is dated 14 July 1682 (AN MC XLIII-182). To name a few of the artists included in his stock: Marot, Callot, Silvestre, Mauperché, Lepautre, Hollar, Cochin, Edelinck, Wierix and Zeeman.

¹⁰⁷ Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 87; Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 300.

¹⁰⁸ Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 93.

¹⁰⁹ Langlois reused a plate by Meunier that was originally published by Van Merle, see Chapter Four, section 4.1.

¹¹⁰ Meunier may have always worked there as there no indication of a printmaker's press in Van Merle's inventory, Préaud, "Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris," 86.

on the Château de Magny suggests that Meunier may have gone on to work directly for wealthy patrons seeking bespoke prints of their properties.¹¹¹ According to Grivel, records of privilège requests between 1640 and 1660 show that bespoke commissions had become more frequent by the mid-century.¹¹² In the 1650s and 1660s, Silvestre had been employed by the owners of great private estates such as the duc de Liancourt and Nicolas Fouquet (1615–80), *Surintendant des finances* from 1653–61, to illustrate their chateaux and gardens. These prints circulated as displays of the material and cultural wealth of the patrons, as well as symbols of prestige and family honour.

When we set aside the question of new, original compositions, and examine instead the reuse of Meunier's plates in the creation of subsequent states, his name can be found in the stock of numerous publishers, including Nicolas I Bonnart (ca. 1637–1718), Claude Rocher (d. after 1697), Pierre Drevet (1663–1738), Jacques Chéreau (1688–1776), Jean Mariette, Nicolas I Langlois (1640–1703), and Jean de Beaurain (1696–1771), some of whom were the most dominant in the industry. The progression of Meunier's plates between different hands points to the constant exchange and replenishing of stock that is so characteristic of the tight-knit print industry centred on the rue Saint-Jacques. The subsequent states that constitute the “afterlife” of Meunier output forms the basis of discussion for Chapter Four.

1.4 Collecting and Housing Meunier's Prints

In spite of the relatively small numbers of prints that can be attributed to Meunier, his work can be found dispersed across multiple collections in Europe and North America. Research into the catalogues and provenances of major print collections has revealed that Meunier's prints,

¹¹¹ See Silvestre's work for the duc de Liancourt in the 1650s, Chapter Two, section 2.1.

¹¹² Grivel, “The Print Market in Paris from 1610 to 1660,” 17. The most common examples of one-off print commissions were by artisans, goldsmiths and architects who used printmaking to publicise their designs.

especially his views of Spain, formed part of many of the earliest bequests that provided the foundation of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) and the British Library (BL). His prints also featured in significant nineteenth and twentieth-century bequests of French prints at the l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA) and the Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris. Notable for their conspicuous absence are Spanish institutions and collectors who held copies of Meunier's work at an early date. Although the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) does possess a copy of Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series, this album did not enter the collection until 1997.¹¹³ As for Portugal, the Biblioteca Nacional probably would have held copies of Meunier's prints derived from the collection of João V had it not been for the devastating earthquake of 1755.¹¹⁴ An exception is Pedro de Sousa Holstein, the first Duke of Palmela (1781–1850) who served as the first prime minister of Portugal's constitutional monarchy, and whose copy of *Differentes Veues* is now in the Senate House Library, London.¹¹⁵ Other major collections that feature editions of Meunier's work include the Museo de Historia de Madrid, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, the Getty Research Institute, the Morgan Library, the National Library of Poland, and the National Library of Sweden.¹¹⁶

The most extensive compilation of Meunier's prints is held at the BnF. An album entitled "Recueil. Oeuvre de Louis Meunier" contains 221 prints of Meunier's compositions in multiple states, organised roughly according to the order of Robert-Dumesnil's catalogue.¹¹⁷ In the nineteenth century, many of the original albums that housed Meunier's prints in the French national collections were broken up by keepers and the prints were pasted into such albums in an effort to arrange prints by artist or theme. The previous owners of such prints can still be

¹¹³ ER/5824, BNE, acquired by sale in 1997, the binding also dates from this time, email correspondence 23 March 2022. This copy is missing one print, *View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol* (cat. 7, Appendix)

¹¹⁴ See the section below: Prints for the "lovers of history."

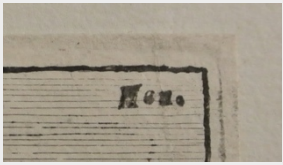
¹¹⁵ [E.P.] MQ3, Senate House Library.

¹¹⁶ See Bibliography for a full list.

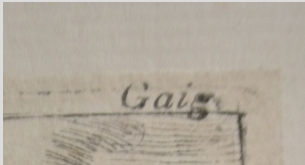
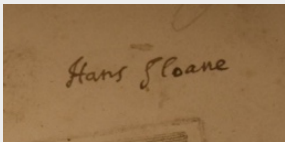
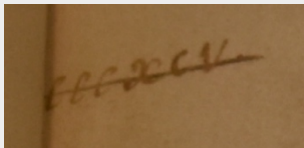
¹¹⁷ ED-77-FOL, BnF.

traced, however, by examining marks that were stamped onto the BnF prints in the nineteenth century, and by researching bequest inventories. Table 1.4 lists print collectors who owned copies of Meunier's work, and who have been identified through an examination of the BnF ED-77-FOL album, along with many others in multiple institutions.

Table 1.4 Collectors who owned editions of Meunier's prints, 1662–1898.

Collector	Current Location	Owner/Collector's Mark	Lugt No.
Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche (1638–83)	Versailles		
Michel de Marolles (1600–81)	BnF		L.1855
Jean Nicolas de Tralage (1620–99)	BnF		L.2454
Claude-Nicolas Boucot (d. 1699) ¹¹⁸	Dispersed		

¹¹⁸ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de défunt M. Boucot, garde-rolle des offices de France . Composée de plus de dix-huit mille volumes de livres imprimez... De plus de soixante & dix mille estampes... D'un tres-grand nombre de livres e'arts, d'eloges, de descriptions, de médailles, d'emblèmes, de plantes, & d'autres remplies de figures. Et de plusieurs manuscrits en velin, ornez de tres-belles mignatures. La vente s'en fera au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur. Le 16 Novembre 1699. & autres jours suivans..* (Paris: Moette et Boudot, 1699), 7.

Collector	Current Location	Owner/Collector's Mark	Lugt No.
François Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715)	BnF		L.1135
Jacques Louis de Beringhen (1651–1723)	BnF		L.364
Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728)	National Library of Sweden		
Hans Sloane (1660–1753)	BL	 	L.1364
João V of Portugal (1689–1750)	Destroyed by earthquake, 1755		
Michel Joseph Hyacinthe Lallemant de Betz (1693–1773) ¹¹⁹	BnF		
Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770)	National Library of Sweden		L.2985

¹¹⁹ Auguste Flandrin, *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz*, ed. Joseph B Guibert (Paris: Impr. de J. Dumoulin, 1903), 34–35.

Collector	Current Location	Owner/Collector's Mark	Lugt No.
Walter Bowman (1699–1782)	BL		
Louis de Geer III (1705–58)	Norrköpings stadsbibliotek		L.5126
John Campbell, 4 th Earl of Loudoun (1705–82)	Edinburgh University		
Charles I, Duke of Brunswick- Wolfenbüttel (1713–80)	Brunswick		L.291.a.b
Gottfried Winckler (1731–95) ¹²⁰	Dispersed		
George III, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1738–1820)	BL		
Fagel Family	Print untraced		

¹²⁰ M. Huber and J. G. Stimmel, *Catalogue raisonné du cabinet d'estampes de feu monsieur Winckler: contenant une collection des pièces anciennes et modernes de toutes les écoles, dans une suite d'artistes depuis l'origine de l'art de graver jusqu'à nos jours*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Impr. de Breitkopf et Härtel, 1801), vol. 4, 533–34.

Collector	Current Location	Owner/Collector's Mark	Lugt No.
Pedro de Sousa Holstein, 1 st Duke of Palmela (1781–1850)	Senate House		
Fouquet (18 th century)	BnF		L.1038
Georges Danyau (second half of the 19 th century)	INHA		L.720
Eugène and Auguste Dutuit (1807–86; 1812–1902)	Petit Palais		L.708
Defer-Dumesnil Collection: Pierre Defer (1798–1870) Henri Dumesnil (1823–98)	INHA		L.739

The earliest evidence of ownership of Meunier's prints can be ascribed to Queen Marie-Thérèse, who was likely to have been gifted the first edition of Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series with a personalised binding featuring her coat of arms in gold tooling on the cover (see fig. 2.1).¹²¹ The ED-77-FOL album in the BnF provides evidence for non-royal print collectors who owned editions of Meunier's work within the artist's own lifetime. The most prominent of these is Michel de Marolles, who, as we have already seen, cited Meunier in his *Le Livre des peintres et graveurs* (1677). Although Meunier is not mentioned in either of Marolles' published catalogues from 1666 and 1672, a number of prints by the artist in the BnF album were stamped at a later date with Marolles' collectors mark (fig. 1.50).¹²² In his article on Marolles' 1677 publication, Jean Jouberton argues that *Le Livre des peintres et graveurs* can be interpreted as a supplement or poetic counterpart to the 1672 catalogue, and that the artists it references were indeed part of Marolles' second print collection, which he amassed after his sale to the royal collection in 1667.¹²³ Two other seventeenth-century figures whose marks are found on prints by Meunier in this album include, François-Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715) and Jean Nicolas de Tralage (1620–99), both significant collectors whose print holdings reflected their respective interests in antiquarianism and geography.¹²⁴

Other traces of seventeenth-century ownership of Meunier's prints can be found in contemporary inventories and sales catalogues. Identifying Meunier's prints in these catalogues can prove challenging as similar types of prints were often grouped together under one name or subject type. In Meunier's case it is the subject matter of his prints that are more likely to be cited than his name. In the sales catalogue of his library drawn up 1699, it is shown that Claude-

¹²¹ On the origins of this edition, see Chapter Two.

¹²² Marolles, *Le livre des peintres et graveurs*; Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille-douce. Avec un dénombrement des pièces qui y sont contenües. Fait à Paris en l'année 1672. Par M. de Marolles, abbé de Villeloin* (Paris: impr. de J. Langlois fils, 1672).

¹²³ Jean Jouberton, "Une relecture du Livre des Peintres et Graveurs de Michel de Marolles," *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 249 (15 October 2019 2014). <http://journals.openedition.org/estampe/659>.

¹²⁴ On Gaignières, see Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 212. For Tralage, see Peter Fuhling, "Jean Nicolas de Tralage: La documentation d'un collectionneur d'estampes au XVIIe siècle," in *L'estampe au grand siècle: études offertes à Maxime Préaud*, ed. Peter Fuhling et al. (Paris: Ecole des chartes; Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2010). See also Laure Beaumont-Maillet, "Les collectionneurs au Cabinet des estampes," *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, no. 132 (1993).

Nicolas Boucot (d. 1699), keeper of the rolls of the officers of France, owned up to seventy thousand prints. Under no. 164 there is an entry for “*Pieces de differentes Veuës d’Espagne*” which is in all probability a reference to Meunier’s prints, considering the lack of alternative sources available during Boucot’s lifetime.¹²⁵ Equally, in the catalogue published in 1712 of the collection of books, prints and drawings owned by the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Meunier is not cited by name but there can be no doubt that the entry “10 *Veües du Palais, Jardins & fontaines Darangoveffe, Maifon de Plaifence du Roy d’Efpagne*” refers to his Aranjuez series.¹²⁶

The British Library holds a bound copy of the *Differentes Veues* series that derives from the collection of the physician Hans Sloane (1660–1753), another early modern collector whose bequest initiated a national collection. Sloane may have acquired this third edition when he spent time in studying in Paris and Montpellier in the early 1680s. Although Sloane’s books were dispersed in various parts of the British Museum’s (and subsequently the British Library’s) collections, this set can be identified as part of his bequest by an inscription “Pr CCCXCV” that indicates his personal alphanumeric cataloguing system, as well as the signature “Hans Sloane” on the first title page (fig. 1.51).¹²⁷

As these different editions demonstrate, the ways in which surviving copies of Meunier’s work are stored and catalogued vary according to the specialisations and thematic classifications of specific collections. Some early modern collectors such as Jacques-Louis, marquis de Beringhen (1651–1723) pasted prints by various artists into albums that were

¹²⁵ *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de défunt M. Boucot*, 7.

¹²⁶ Nicodemus Tessin, *Catalogue Des Livres, Estampes & Desseins du Cabinet Des Beaux Arts & Des Sciences, Appartenant au Baron Tessin, Maréchal de la Cour du Roy & Sur-intendant de Battiments & Jardins Royaux de Suede* (Stockholm: Chez Jule George Matthieu, 1712), 22. Tessin stayed in Paris in 1687 where he met Andre Le Nôtre and visited Silvestre’s studio. He may have bought the Aranjuez set during this or another journey to France. On Tessin’s travels through Europe, see Nicodemus Tessin, *Travel Notes, 1673–77 and 1687–88*, ed. Merit Laine and Börge Magnusson (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002).

¹²⁷ BL General Reference Collection 74/559*.b.33.(4.) Items in the British Library that derive from Sloane’s collection can be identified using this online catalogue: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane/Home.aspx>. On Sloane and the origins of the British Museum, see Arthur MacGregor, ed., *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press; Alistair McAlpine, 1994); James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane* (London: Allen Lane, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2017).

loosely connected by theme, in Meunier's case, topographical and architectural.¹²⁸ However, Beringhen's collection was primarily classified according to artist, and as such the collector specified the authorship of each print in a handwritten contents page (fig. 1.52).¹²⁹ Another large album that features Meunier's work at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal is organised according to artist, regardless of the subject matter of the prints.¹³⁰ In the George III Topographical Collection at the British Library, prints such as Meunier's profile views of Spanish cities are organised geographically rather than by artist, and are mounted on cards and stacked in portfolios.¹³¹

A significant number of Meunier's *Differentes Veues* and Aranjuez series are bound as individual sets, either in early modern bindings or modern replacements. These editions, bound in oblong quarto, present Meunier's etchings at an intimate scale and invite close inspection (figs. 1.53 and 1.54).¹³² One copy of Meunier's Aranjuez series at the INHA is bound in a vellum or parchment stiff board binding (fig. 1.55).¹³³ It is probable that this was originally intended as a temporary binding to be removed after sale by the purchaser, who would have had the volume more personally and permanently bound, a practice which according to Meyer

¹²⁸ For a useful overview on seventeenth-century print collectors in France, see Véronique Meyer, "Collectors and Collecting," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015). Other essential studies include: Edmond Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884). Kuhn münchen, "Le commerce de la gravure à Paris et à Rome au XVIIe siècle."; Beaumont-Maillet, "Les collectionneurs au Cabinet des estampes."; Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994); Marianne Grivel et al., eds., *Curieux d'estampes: Collections et collectionneurs de gravures en Europe (1500–1815)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2022).

¹²⁹ RESERVE VE-8-BOITE Fol "Recueil. Palais, maisons et églises de France. Planches gravées par Jean Marot, Israël Silvestre, Jean Lepautre, Jean-Baptiste Nolin, Louis Meunier, Michel Hardouin, et al." BnF, Dept Estampes et photographie. On the Marquis de Beringhen, see Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle*, 253–55; Jean-Gérald Castex, "De la collection du marquis de Beringhen au cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque royale, l'histoire du volume des Tableaux gravés du roi," in *L'estampe au grand siècle: études offertes à Maxime Préaud*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Paris: Ecole des chartes; Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2010); Kuhn münchen, "Le commerce de la gravure à Paris et à Rome au XVIIe siècle."

¹³⁰ EST-142, "Recueil. Oeuvres d'artistes classés par ordre alphabétique, école française de Pierre Joseph Mettais à Edme Moreau" BnF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

¹³¹ For example, Maps K.Top.72.17. On the George III Topographical Collection, see Peter Barber, "King George III's Topographical Collection: A Georgian View of Britain and the World," in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 158–65.

¹³² Bound editions of these two series are in held today in the Château de Versailles, the INHA, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the BL, Senate House Library, the BNE, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Biblioteka Narodowa, and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

¹³³ 8 Est 11 from the Jacques Doucet Collection, INHA.

was regarded as essential in the early modern library.¹³⁴ This practice of rebinding volumes, whether due to wear or the desire to have a uniformly bound collection, may account for the variations in the order of the prints in the *Differentes Vues* series in particular. Collectors also frequently rearranged prints in different volumes according to theme or artist, and as such print series were not always kept together once purchased.¹³⁵ In Sloane's copy of the series, the Buen Retiro frontispiece is at the beginning, rather than the expected dedication page to Marie-Thérèse.

Other bound editions that feature prints by Meunier are in the form of "livres d'estampes," readymade print collections that became something of a signature product for the publisher Jean Mariette.¹³⁶ As print collecting and connoisseurship grew as a sociable pastime and as a signifier of culture and learning, many dealers responded to growing demand by refusing to split up their sets.¹³⁷ Collectors were instead offered luxurious bound editions that showcased the entire oeuvre of a particular printmaker. In the topographical view genre, bulky editions of over two hundred prints were compiled to provide a comprehensive overview of Parisian architecture and French chateaux, often with additional views of Rome and other locations of interest. The Swedish politician and diplomat, and the son of Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770) owned one such edition by Mariette that featured views of Paris, Fontainebleau, Lyon and Rome by Pérelle, Silvestre, and Marot, alongside the Spanish views series Meunier made for Van Merle in 1668.¹³⁸ Mariette also produced a bound volume of printed views of Paris, French chateaux and views of Rome mostly by Pérelle and Aveline that is housed in the Fagel Collection at Trinity College Dublin. A handwritten note that was once attached to the back of the volume indicates that Meunier's view of the Château de La

¹³⁴ Meyer, "Collectors and Collecting," 41.

¹³⁵ Sheila McTighe, *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), Chapter 3, 145–78.

¹³⁶ On dealer-compiled oeuvres, see Smentek, "Pierre II Mariette, or the Mariette Dynasty Revisited," 543.

¹³⁷ Grivel, "The Print Market in Paris from 1610 to 1660," 18.

¹³⁸ 179 Ba, "Samling vyer över byggnader och landskap i Italien och Frankrike. Av Perelle, Israël Silvestre, Jean Marot, Nicolas de Son och Louis Meunier." Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm.

Rochefoucauld was once included or intended for inclusion in this edition, probably because Meunier's print addressed a gap in Pérelle's oeuvre (fig. 1.57).¹³⁹ The elaborate gold-tooled arms on the front cover of this volume is unusual for the Fagel Collection, and may suggest that, like the edition of *Differentes Veues* for Marie-Thérèse, it was intended as an exclusive gift for the Fagels, many of whom held high public office in the Netherlands (fig. 1.56).¹⁴⁰

Prints for the "Lovers of History"

By examining the types of collections that featured Meunier's prints in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we can draw some conclusions about the ways in which topographical views were appreciated by their collectors, and what purposes they served within the rationale and organisational principles of wider collections. In the mid-seventeenth century, when Meunier's prints first became available, his etchings of Spain appealed primarily to what the art critic Roger de Piles (1635–1709) termed the "lover of history," a collector whose aim was to amass an assortment of prints that could operate as a microcosm of the whole range of human knowledge. De Piles expounded on the myriad benefits of collecting prints, a view shared by many such *amateurs d'estampes*:

...nothing is more necessary than good prints: their sight, with a little reflection, will readily and agreeably inform them of every thing that may exercise their reason, and strengthen their judgment. They may fill their memory with the most curious things of all times, and all countries...¹⁴¹

These collectors were most often drawn from the bourgeoisie in the seventeenth century, as it

¹³⁹ Fag K.2.1, TCD. Very similar volumes are to be found in the Edinburgh University Library, the Royal Academy, London, and the Getty Research Institute which all feature this print.

¹⁴⁰ I thank Joe Nankivell (TCD) for this observation. Members of the Fagel family held the posts of greffier and deputy greffier of the States General from 1670 to 1795. For the Fagel Collection, see Timothy R. Jackson, ed., *Frozen in Time: The Fagel Collection in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2016).

¹⁴¹ Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting: and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: With Reflections on the Works of the most Celebrated Painters, and of the several Schools of Europe, as well Ancient as Modern. Being the Newest, and most perfect Work of the Kind extant. Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-School, With the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters*, rev. ed. (London: printed for J. Nutt near Stationers-Hall, 1706), 54. First published as *L'Abrégé de la vie des peintres ... avec un traité du peintre parfait* (Paris, 1699).

was not until the 1800s that prints were incorporated into the connoisseurial practices of noble *amateurs*.¹⁴² With his collections, Marolles aimed to gather the most complete assemblage of French print and he therefore collected every conceivable genre.¹⁴³ For figures such as Gaignières, Tralage, Sloane and Lallemant de Betz, prints that represented distant places were a source of information, depositories of memory, and objects of curiosity. This is not to imply that their informational purpose negated their aesthetic value, but the organisation of a collection, such as Lallemant de Betz's, by subject and geographical location demonstrates that, at least for this collector, the benefit of Meunier's etchings of Aranjuez lay in their visual description of place and the ability to compare them with other images.¹⁴⁴ The individual classification systems they imposed upon these collections were of vital importance to such collectors: Tralage stipulated in his will that his prints "will be left in the order in which I have put them; that is, by subjects or manners and not by the works of painters or engravers."¹⁴⁵

For eighteenth-century travellers on the Grand Tour such as the Scottish antiquary Walter Bowman (1699–1782), Meunier's prints of France and Belgium served as evidence for his having witnessed such places on his travels. As well as offering reminders of his journeys, topographical prints such as those by Meunier were objects that conveyed the prestige and social refinement that comes with being in a position to undertake such a voyage.¹⁴⁶ As visual encyclopaedias which owners could consult at will, topographical print collections could offer tactical information to diplomats and political leaders such as the Fagels in The Hague, Count Tessin in Stockholm, and George III in London. Perhaps even more valuable to these figures of

¹⁴² Kuhn Münch, "Le commerce de la gravure à Paris et à Rome au XVII^e siècle," 12; Griffiths, "Print Collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the Early Eighteenth Century," 37.

¹⁴³ Meyer, "Collectors and Collecting," 38.

¹⁴⁴ Flandrin, *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz*. Meunier's Aranjuez series is cited in pp. 34–35 nos. 631–640.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Meyer, "Collectors and Collecting," 41. AN MC LIX, 138 (22 January 1699), fol. 99.

¹⁴⁶ The handwritten title to the album implies that Bowman gathered the prints during his journeys. General Reference Collection 118.c.2., BL, "Veües et Perspectives Françaises: Des Maisons, Jardins, et Pieces d'Eau, du Roy, des Princes et Seigneurs, Des Batimens à Paris, dans les Environs, et en Provinces, Des Villes, et antiquité Romaines, et Ecclesiastiques, Avec quelques pieces Etrangères, Gravées, Ou Desinées Par des mains différentes. /Recueillies en Voyages et reliées au depens et pour l'usage de Monsr. Gautier Bowman Ecossois a'Egham. Dans le comte de Surry en Angleterre. MDCCLXVI."

power was the ability to survey the world at their will through their comprehensive collections, and to partake in the “sociability” of viewing, comparing and discussing such objects of curiosity. For the early modern collector of prints, cartographic and topographical images also functioned as effective symbols of social status and learning. By displaying cartographic material on the walls of their home, or within the folios of their library, collectors could demonstrate their cosmopolitanism and social and cultural links to celebrated peoples and places.¹⁴⁷

It was probably what Krzysztof Pomian describes as a “desire for totality” that inspired João V of Portugal (1689–1750) to commission Pierre-Jean Mariette in 1725 to source for his royal library an impression of each print made in France since the origins of printmaking, a Sisyphean task that Mariette nonetheless managed to carry out to the king’s satisfaction within three years.¹⁴⁸ Thanks to Mariette’s *Notes Manuscrites* we know that at least seventy prints by Meunier were amongst the hundred and fifty volumes sent by Mariette to Lisbon in 1728.¹⁴⁹ By the 1720s, however, the pattern of the print collecting had shifted towards a concept of the collection as an exercise in connoisseurship and the narration of the history of art.¹⁵⁰ As a name with less recognition, Meunier’s work rarely has a place outside of the encyclopaedic collection. The presence of his prints in João V’s collection is rather a testament to the reach and influence of this patron and his dealer in being able to create such an exhaustive collection.

¹⁴⁷ Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 85.

¹⁴⁸ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1990), 53–60. João V’s print collection was completely destroyed by the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Griffiths, “Print Collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the Early Eighteenth Century,” 38; Angela Delaforce and Diana Davies, *The Lost Library of the King of Portugal* (London: Ad Ilissum, 2019).

¹⁴⁹ Mariette, *Catalogues de la collection d’estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal*, vol. 2, 383, 410–11.

¹⁵⁰ Griffiths, “Print Collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the Early Eighteenth Century,” 37.

Conclusion

This survey of Meunier's work, the individuals who shaped his working practices and the market that drove demand for topographical print has highlighted the interconnectedness of the print industry whose practitioners crossed professions and skill sets. In her foundational study on the social structures of the print trade in Paris in the seventeenth century, Grivel vividly underscored the multistage nature of early modern printmaking processes that required not only the skills of a copper plate etcher or engraver, but also those of the image designer and draughtsman, the technical knowledge of the printer, the business acumen of the publisher and the print seller, and the capital and scholarly ambitions of patrons and buyers.¹⁵¹ An examination of Meunier's work that focuses on anachronistic perceptions of authorship will only ever create a partial picture without the inclusion of these contexts that form an essential part of the culture. From his earliest forays into printmaking in the studio of Stoop, Meunier's prints were characterised by cooperative relationships and collaborations, not only artistically with Silvestre and Mauperché, but also conceptually and strategically with publishers such as Van Merle and Mariette. Correspondingly, the popularity of topographical print was driven just as much by collaborations between individual patrons, artists and agents, the French State being the most impactful example, as by the open market.

The analysis of section 1.1 of this chapter demonstrated that as Meunier matured as an integrated participant within this industry, his work became less distinguishable from that of many of his contemporaries. The obfuscation of Meunier's oeuvre within larger print collections mirrors what little evidence has survived of his biography. More extensive future research in library and print collections may identify more works by this artist that have been catalogued under Silvestre, Pérelle or Aveline. If it had not been for Meunier's singular and

¹⁵¹ "l'histoire del'estampe du xvii ne peut se percevoir pleinement si l'on ignore la circulation à travers le monde de milliers d'images, produit de la collaboration d'artistes et artisans nombreux, et pourtant trop souvent anonymes." Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 1.

unprecedented depictions of Spain and Portugal, he probably would have been entirely forgotten. Having established a broad overview of Meunier's body of work, this thesis will now turn its focus to these Iberian prints. The origins of Meunier's earliest print series, his *Differentes Veues Des Palais de plaisance Du Roy d'Espagne*, is the subject of Chapter Two.

Chapter Two

Meunier's *Differentes Veues des Palais de Plaisance du Roy d'Espagne*: The Spanish Series in Context

In June 2016, the collections at the Château de Versailles acquired an album of prints by Louis Meunier that had appeared at an auction of the collection of the antiquarian bookseller and rare book expert Jean Viardot (1924–2022).¹ This set of fifty-five etchings, which has never previously been studied, constitutes the first state of Meunier's *Differentes Veues Des Palais de plaisance Du Roy d'Espagne* series. This edition has particular relevance for the Versailles collections because it is bound in a well-preserved contemporary binding that provides evidence that this set was once owned by Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, Queen of France and Navarre.² This set is unique, there is no other example of a first state of this print series, which did not circulate on the open market until at least ten years later. It seems likely therefore that this bound edition was a presentation piece created specifically as a gift for the new queen.

The question of who might have sponsored this royal gift, and even more salient, the question of why, have never been asked. Having arrived at the French court in 1660, just after her marriage to Louis XIV, Marie-Thérèse is often characterised as an isolated figure at that court, reluctant to adapt to French ways. This chapter offers an alternative reading of Marie-Thérèse's role at court and the cultural cachet of her Habsburg heritage. Rather than evidence of Marie-Thérèse clinging to her Spanish customs, these views of Spain are a testament to her agency as queen consort, and the creation of a gift such as this as a way of currying favour with

¹ Binoche et Giquello. *Jean Viardot: Livres, Autographes, Dessins, Gravures; Auction in Paris, 1st June 2016*. Paris: Binoche et Giquello, 2016. lot 31.

² V.2016.14, EPV Arts graphiques, Château de Versailles.

a person in a position of influence. While Marie-Thérèse herself may not have been responsible for the commission, production or distribution of Meunier's images of Spain, her presence at court is pivotal to the eventual appearance of these prints on the Parisian market.

This chapter opens with a close analysis of the Versailles set, in which comparisons are drawn with other bindings of books formerly in Marie-Thérèse's collection. The example of Dirk Stoop and his dedication of topographical prints to another queen consort, Catherine of Braganza, is drawn upon as a precedent for this type of commission. The connection between Meunier and Stoop was touched upon in the previous chapter. Here, the discussion teases out the movements of the two artists to show that it is likely that they overlapped in Lisbon, a theory that is supported by stylistic comparison. While Stoop, as an official royal artist to João IV, would have had access to the materials and capital required to undertake a print series, Meunier never appears to have benefitted from direct royal patronage. The duc de Liancourt is offered as a candidate for an individual at court who may have been motivated to seek approval from the Queen at this date by sponsoring and gifting this series by Meunier.

Through an examination of French and Spanish diplomatic interactions in the immediate run up to the royal marriage of 1660, the second part of this chapter explores how Meunier's images are a product of these increasing contacts that characterise the brief period of peace between the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 and the War of Devolution (1667–68). Meunier's depictions are compared with written travel accounts by French writers in order to demonstrate the conflicting attitudes towards Spain in France at this time, and reveal why Meunier's images would have piqued the interest of a court audience in the early 1660s. In the final section, attention is drawn to the transfer of the *Differentes Vues* series from exclusive royal ownership to a commercial product that circulated over a long period of time between the shops of multiple publishers, and it is queried whether this transformation of status engendered a change of meaning for consumers of Meunier's prints.

2.1 Queen Marie-Thérèse and Meunier's *Differentes Veues* Series

The first edition of Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series is in oblong quarto format, and is bound in red morocco with marbled endpapers (figs. 2.1–2.4). Apart from some abrasion to the spine and fore-edges, the binding is structurally in very good condition and has retained most of the gold-leaf decoration that sets it apart as a luxury object. The decoration features such original details as a repeating fleur-de-lis pattern that fills the spaces between the five raised bands of the spine (fig. 2.2), and a repeating fleuron pattern along the board edges that flank the gilt fore-edges, probably created using a brass roulette tool (fig. 2.4).³ With a triple fillet border around the outer edges and more fleur-de-lis at the corners, the front and back covers prominently display a gold-tooled centrepiece of the queen's coat of arms encircled by two knotted palms (fig. 2.1). This research has detected two watermarks on the bound sheets. The first features a symmetrical cluster of round grapes with a curved stem, above which is a cartouche containing A [heart] P [heart] G, surmounted by a fleur-de-lis crown (fig. 2.5a). Gaudriault's catalogue records a watermark in the form of A [heart] P [heart] G in a cartouche being used in 1654, 1658, 1660, 1662, however it is unconfirmed whether the combination with the grapes constitutes a different watermark entirely.⁴ The other watermark consists of a crowned shield with two holly leaves, over which is a cross and a cardinal's hat with elaborate tassels dangling either side (fig. 2.5b).⁵

³ This tool is also known as a roll and consists of an engraved brass wheel. "On the study and recording of bookbinders' tools" in Giles Barber and Graham Pollard, *Printed Books and Bookbindings: The James A. De Rothschild Bequest at Waddesdon Manor; the National Trust*, 2 vols., ed. Rosamund Griffin et al. (Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire: The Rothschild Foundation, 2013), 357–470.

⁴ Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), 284. The Gravell Watermark Archive records an almost identical watermark with the lettering A[heart]G. INIT.059.1. Mosser, Daniel W., Ernest W. Sullivan II, Len Hatfield and David H. Radcliffe. The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive. 1996-. Accessed 3 July 2022. <https://memoryofpaper.eu/gravell/>>. Similar combinations of crowns lettering and grapes can be seen in W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries, and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co, 1935), nos. 475–77.

⁵ The watermark illustrated in fig. 2.5c consists of an A combined with an upside-down A, and was found in a second state of the *Differentes Veues* series held in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, EST-1315. This watermark is recorded by Gaudriault, Pl. 12, no. 66, and appears to refer to the initials of Anne of Austria. Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*.

While it is evident that later editions of this print series feature a dedication to the queen on the title page, it is the re-emergence of this edition with its personalised binding that confirms that this first state was in the book collection of Marie-Thérèse.⁶ Very little research has been carried out to date on female book ownership at Louis XIV's court, a task that has no doubt been complicated by the dispersal of the contents of Versailles after 1789. While Marie-Thérèse is not known to have been an avid book collector, she certainly owned some books and records of her household in both 1663 and 1683 document the position of *Garde des Livres, Etats & Papiers*.⁷ Archival traces of Marie-Thérèse's book ownership are very rare, but nonetheless books bearing the binding of her personal collection are not completely unheard of. At the time of writing there is an *Office de la Semaine Sainte* translated by Marolles (1667) in duodecimo for sale on ebay that bears a gold-tooling stamp of Marie-Thérèse's coat of arms on its front and back covers (fig. 2.6).⁸ The Morgan Library, New York, holds three prayer books with

⁶ Gámiz Gordo is mistaken in interpreting the series' dedication as being intended for the queen of Spain, the gold tooling of the crest on the binding of the first edition clearly indicates that the series was dedicated to Marie-Thérèse of France (formerly the Spanish Infanta). Antonio Gámiz Gordo, *Alhambra. Imágenes de ciudad y paisaje (hasta 1800)* (Sevilla: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2008), 114.

⁷ This position appears to have been held by the same person, a M. Robert Amonin, between 1663 and 1683. Nicolas Besongne, "La maison de Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche (1663)," in *L'État de la France, nouvellement corrigé et mis en meilleur ordre ou l'on voit tous les Princes, Ducs & Pairs, Maréchaux de France, & autres Officiers de la Couronne: les Chevaliers de l'Ordre, les Gouverneurs des Provinces, les Cours Souveraines, &c. Ensemble les Noms des Officiers de la Maison du Roy, & le quartier de leur service: avec leurs gages & Privilèges, & l'explication des Fonctions de leurs Charges. Comme aussi des Officiers des Maisons Royales de la Reine-Mère, de la Reine, de Monsieur le Dauphin, de Monsieur & de Madame, &c. Avec plusieurs Traitez particuliers, des Archevêchez, Evêchez & Abbayes de France, du Conseil Royal des Finances, &c.*, ed. E. Loyson (Paris: 1663), vol. 1, 345. rev. for the online edition by Caroline zum Kolk, 2008, accessed 24 April 2022 <https://chateauversailles-recherche.fr/curia/documents/reine1663.pdf>

Nicolas Besongne, "La maison de Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche (1683)," in *L'Etat de la France ou l'on voit tous les Princes, Ducs & Pairs, Maréchaux de France, & autres Officiers de la Couronne: les Evêques, Cours qui jugent en dernier ressort, les Gouverneurs des Provinces, les Chevaliers des Ordres, etc. ensemble les noms des Officiers de la Maison du Roy, & le quartier de leur service: avecque leurs gages & privilèges, & l'explication des fonctions de leurs Charges. Comme aussi des Officiers des Maisons Roïales, de la Reine, de Monseigneur le Dauphin, de Madame la Dauphine, de Monsieur, duc de Bourgogne, de Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, & de Madame. Suivant les Etats portés à la Cour des Aides. Le tout enrichy d'un grand nombre de Figures*, ed. A. Besongne (Paris: 1683), vol. 1, 460. rev. for the online edition by Caroline zum Kolk, 2009, accessed 24 April 2022, <https://chateauversailles-recherche.fr/curia/documents/reine1683.pdf>.

An account in the AGS shows that in 1663 several books were sent to Marie-Thérèse by Philip IV's confessor. See Margarita de Alfonso Caffarena, "Las relaciones artísticas Hispano-Francesas en torno a la reina María Teresa de Austria (1660–1683)" (PhD Universidad de Granada, 2016), 416.

⁸ "Louis XIV – Book 1667 Binding to the Arms of Queen Marie-Therese of Austria." ebay, 2022, accessed 22 November, 2022, https://www.ebay.ie/itm/165311278922?mkcid=16&mkevt=1&mkrid=5282-175127-2357-0&ssspo=XcBAIP6eQTO&sssrc=2047675&ssuid=&widge_t_ver=artemis&media=COPY. See also a blog entry on paperblog (fig. 2.6b) Hugues, "Antoine Ruette et deux ouvrages aux armes de Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche," paperblog, <https://www.paperblog.fr/3753497/antoine-ruette-et-deux-ouvrages-aux-armes-de-marie-therese-d-autriche/>. For a similar binding, see Christie's. Collection Michel Wittrock: deuxième partie reliures à décor sous l'ancien régime. Paris: Christie's, 2004. lot 181.

bindings relating to Marie-Thérèse. One of these, from the workshop of Florimond Badier (active 1630–59 and 1662–68), has an elaborate *pointillé* ornament that contrasts significantly with the restrained decoration of the *Differentes Veues* binding (fig. 2.7).⁹ The other two Morgan bindings, one of which is attributed to Antoine Ruette (1609–69; fig. 2.8), contain very similarly rendered armorial surrounded by fleurs-de-lis and crowned cyphers of Marie-Thérèse’s initials (fig. 2.9).¹⁰ While there is no direct evidence to suggest that the Versailles binding is by Ruette, particularly as bookbinders rarely signed their work in the seventeenth century, the similarities in the central coat of arms and roulette decoration may suggest the same workshop (fig. 2.10).¹¹ Another binding, this time with Louis XIV’s crest, shares the more restrained decoration of the fleur-de-lis at the each corner and shows that this style was used by the royal binders (fig. 2.11).

In their catalogue of the seventeenth-century book bindings in the collection of the Musée Condé, Isabelle de Conihout and Pascal Ract-Madoux argue that elaborate bindings of this type for royal consumption were often commissioned by the authors themselves or individuals seeking patronage.¹² It is probable that this was the case for the *Differentes Veues* series as it was not made by an artist who was directly sponsored by the Crown at this date.

A Portuguese Precedent

By this date there was a precedent for a young queen consort with prints in her possession that recorded her city of birth as she moved to a new homeland. In 1662 Dirk Stoop dedicated a series of eight topographical views of Lisbon to Marie-Thérèse’s contemporary, the Portuguese Infanta Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705) with the inscription “A Illustssa. Lta.

⁹ PML 15081, the Morgan Library, New York.

¹⁰ PML 1792 and PML 1884, the Morgan Library, New York.

¹¹ It is notoriously difficult to identify bookbinders purely on the basis of their finishing tools as these could be inherited or imitated by other workshops. In addition, the individual named on contracts was often the bookseller or the stationer, rather than the binder himself. Mirjam M. Foot and Robert C. Akers, “Bookbinding,” in *Grove Dictionary of Art* (updated and revised 22 September 2015, accessed 3 November 2021). <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T009969>.

¹² Isabelle de Conihout and Pascal Ract-Madoux, *Reliures françaises du XVIIe siècle: chefs-d’œuvre du Musée Condé* (Paris; Chantilly: Somogy; Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, 2002). See also the preface by Jean Viardot, 5.

D. Catharina Rajnha / da gran Bretanha D.V.C. / R. Stoop / 1662 Lixa.” (fig. 2.12).¹³ Along with views of the Ribeira palace (destroyed by earthquake in 1755), the prints portray a perspective view of the city and its port viewed from the Tagus, and vistas of the Belém Tower, and religious buildings, including the Jerónimos monastery, the Santo Amaro chapel and the Madre de Deus convent (see fig. 2.13 for an overview).¹⁴

Stoop had first trained in Utrecht, but spent time with the Dutch and Flemish émigré community in Rome between 1635 and 1645, where he came under the influence of Pieter van Laer’s (1599–1642) atmospheric paintings of “low-life” subject matter.¹⁵ It was likely during his time in Italy that Stoop trained in etching.¹⁶ He went on to specialise in painted views of ports, fanciful Roman grotto scenes and luminous Dutch Italianate landscape scenes with hunting parties, as well as prints of historic battles for publication (fig. 2.14).¹⁷

It was probably Stoop’s expertise in depicting battle scenes that led him to employment at the Lisbon court.¹⁸ Either just before or after his arrival in Portugal ca. 1660, he made a complex and narratively thrilling bird’s-eye view of the Battle of Elvas, a decisive victory for the Portuguese against the Spanish in January 1659 (fig. 2.15).¹⁹ Stoop’s arrival at court

¹³ Stoop worked under multiple variations of his name, including Roderigo Stoop, Cornelius Stoop, and Theodorus van der Stoop. RKD, accessed 5 February 2020. <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/75488>

¹⁴ F. W. H. Hollstein, Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer, and George S. Keyes, *Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca.1450–1700. Louis Spirinx to M. Suys*, vol. 28, ed. Karel G. Boon (Blaricum: Van Gendt, 1984), nos. 31–38.

¹⁵ For details of Stoop’s biography, see P. T. A. Swillens, “De Utrechtsche Schilders Dirck en Maerten Stoop, I,” *Oud Holland* 51 (1934).

¹⁶ Stoop is known to have made printed copies after Van Laer. “2.4 The Bambocciate in Rome and Beyond” Gerson Digital: Part V. Italy, The Hague (RKD) 2019, accessed 5 January 2022, <https://gersonitaly.rkd.nl/2-rome/24-bambocciate-rome-and-beyond/>. In 1651 Clement de Jonghe published Stoop’s first print series of twelve etchings depicting the various stages of a horse’s life. Hollstein, Hoop Scheffer, and Keyes, *Hollstein*, 28, nos. 1–12.

¹⁷ See for example Stoop’s prints of battle scenes published in a book on Frederik Hendrik by Isaac Commelin: *Frederick Hendrick van Nassauw Prince van Orangien: zyn leven en bedryf* (Amsterdam, 1651). On Stoop’s grotto paintings, see Jochai Rosen, “Fantasy Caves: Dutch Grotto Painting of the Golden Age,” in *Liber amicorum Marijke de Kinkelder*, ed. Charles Dumas, Marijke de Kinkelder, and Jennifer Kilian (The Hague: The Netherlands Institute for Art History, 2013).

¹⁸ Antony Griffiths and Robert A. Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 195. Susana Varela Flor suggests that Stoop’s arrival in Lisbon can be connected to the embassy of Edward Montagu (1625–72) Earl of Sandwich in September 1661, and that the artist would have travelled with him to Tangiers later that year. Until further evidence comes to light, this would seem unlikely as Stoop is not documented in England before 1662, and he would have had to carry out significant painted commissions in a very short period of time in Lisbon. Susana Varela Flor, ““Que las riquezas del mundo parecian estar alli cifradas”: Catherine of Braganza’s Wedding Festivities in the Context of the Portuguese Restoration (1661–1662),” *Archivo Español de Arte* LXXXVIII, no. 350 (2015): 144.

¹⁹ Signed “R.o St.” The attribution of an unsigned print depicting the Battle of Estremoz is less certain, as the

coincided with Portugal's ongoing war against Spain in the years after the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy (1640–68), in which the newly crowned João IV was actively pursuing recognition and legitimacy abroad through diplomacy, royal marriage and new trading agreements.²⁰ Despite the often belligerent Dutch and Portuguese rivalry over access to trade routes and territories in South America, there was regular economic traffic between Portugal and the Netherlands after 1640, and Stoop would not have been the only Northern European artist to take advantage of new patronage opportunities in Lisbon.²¹ Although Philip II had made a significant mark on Portuguese architecture during his reign, under Philip III and Philip IV the court rarely travelled to Lisbon and the Portuguese nobility remained in their country estates.²² The lack of royal patronage meant that the arts languished in Lisbon during the years of union with Spain, and by 1660 the Braganzas were in need of a new generation of skilled history and portrait painters such as Stoop to promote and commemorate their new royal dynasty.²³ In this capacity, Stoop created one of the most emblematic views of the city's Terreiro do Paço, a painting which probably depicts the return of Francisco de Mello e Torres, Count of Ponte and ambassador to England, after the signing of the Whitehall Treaty (23 June 1661) that finalised the terms for the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II of England (fig. 2.16).²⁴

As part of these marriage negotiations, Stoop was commissioned to paint a portrait of the Infanta, a copy of which—or perhaps the original—was sent to England in 1661, prior to Catherine's journey.²⁵ While the painting was still in Lisbon, drawings or copies were

battle occurred in June 1663, by which point Stoop was living in England. BM Sheepshanks.3111.

²⁰ Angela Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-century Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 20. The Portuguese policy from the 1640s was characterised by peace in Europe and war in the colonies. Edgar Prestage, *The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland from 1640 to 1668* (Watford: Voss and Michael Ltd, 1925), 174.

²¹ Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols. (New York ; London: Columbia University Press, 1972), vol. 1, 329.

²² Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, vol. 1, 323.

²³ Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-century Portugal*, 20–26. Jean Nocret also travelled in 1657 to paint Catherine's portrait for a potential match with Louis XIV.

²⁴ Now in the Museu de Lisboa, MC.PIN.0261. Catherine of Braganza can be seen in the middleground accompanied by her mother, Luisa Maria Francisca de Guzmán y Sandoval (1613–66) Queen regent. Accessed 16 February 2021. <https://www.museudelisboa.pt/en/collections/painting/terreiro-do-paco-in-the-17th-century>

²⁵ National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 2563. Numerous printed copies were made after the portrait to meet

presumably made, and an etching after it was published in 1662 (fig. 2.17). In Chapter One, Section 1.2, I alluded to this print because it bears inscription on its lower margin that reads: “CATHARINA D.G. MAGNAE BRITANNIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE / REGINA FILIA IOANNIS IIII REG. PORTVG. etc. Consecrat T. Stoop” and in the bottom left corner “[Lis]bona 1662. N. Munjer f.” (fig. 2.18)²⁶ As far back as 1908, the British Museum has catalogued this print as being made by “N. Munier”, with the spelling “N Meunier” being used in today’s online catalogue.²⁷ In the entry for this artist in the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) database it is postulated that this particular printmaker could be “related to the French Meunier family of engravers.”²⁸ Is it possible that Louis Meunier could have worked with a relative based in Lisbon who was also a printmaker around 1661–62? This could explain the reason for his travels through the Iberian Peninsula. Dutuit was of the opinion that Louis Meunier was the printmaker behind the Catherine of Braganza portrait etching and went further to suggest that Meunier was likely to have collaborated with Stoop in the production the Lisbon views.²⁹ His assessment was perhaps influenced by Robert-Dumesnil, who first noted the similarities between Stoop’s views of Lisbon and Meunier’s Spanish prints.³⁰

Indeed, the two print projects share a strikingly similar conception: both print series portray cities by capturing important landmarks and representative buildings intended to be viewed sequentially, for the most part from a street-level viewpoint within the contexts of the

popular demand for images of the new queen. A copy by William Faithorne (ca. 1620–91) can be seen in Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 198, no. 32.

²⁶ BM 1849,1110.6. Accessed 16 February 2021. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1849-1110-6

²⁷ Freeman M. O’Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1908), vol. 1, 365. The spelling “Meunier” is also used by Christiaan Schuckman in his entry on Dirk Stoop in the *Grove Dictionary of Art*. Christiaan Schuckman, “Stoop, Dirck [Theodorus] (Willemsz.) [Rodrigo],” in *Grove Dictionary of Art* (2003, accessed 19 November 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T081627>.

²⁸ RKD, accessed 12 April 2022, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/487196>. According to Rieke van Leeuwen, it is plausible there is a connection between the two artists or that it could refer to the same person. Email correspondence, Dr. Rieke van Leeuwen, RKD.

²⁹ Eugène Dutuit, *Manuel de l’amateur d’estampes*, 6 vols. (Paris: Lévy, 1881–88), vol. 6, 322.

³⁰ “Si son faire rappelle à certains égards les Perelle et Israël Silvestre, il faut convenir, en ce qui concerne les 55 premiers morceaux, qu’il a une bien plus grande analogie avec celui de Thierry Stoop, dans les paysages que cet habile maître fit en Portugal.” Alexandre-Pierre-François Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l’école française: ouvrage faisant suit au Peintre-graveur de M. Bartsch.*, 11 vols. (1835–71), vol. 5, 246.

lived urban environments. Most significantly, both print series were likely to have been conceived as a gift for a newly crowned queen consort as a memento of her place of birth. A bound edition of the Lisbon series has yet to be located—if a presentation set was made for Catherine, it was probably destroyed in the 1755 earthquake—but the two sets of prints are similar in size and format, with the Meunier prints measuring roughly 5 cm wider.³¹ In terms of composition, Meunier's oblique lines of perspective in his articulation of the architecture and streetscapes find their equivalent in Stoop's depiction of the Palácio do Principe (fig. 2.19). By alternating between closed frontal views of plazas (fig. 2.20), and more open vistas that situate the landmark at an elevated point to one side of the composition in order to provide a glimpse of an expansive landscape beyond (fig. 2.21), Meunier clearly takes inspiration from Stoop's model. The two artists also share an exaggerated sense of scale, juxtaposing minute figures with gigantic architecture, and sharing foreground motifs, such as the reclining backlit figure who surveys the scene (fig. 2.22). Meunier's interest in depicting the incidental and everyday activities of the figures who inhabit his scenes may also be an indirect inheritance from Stoop's years with the Bamboccianti.

In April 1662 Stoop accompanied the Infanta to England where she married Charles II in May.³² While in England, Stoop made an additional set of seven prints recording the journey of the Infanta and the celebrations surrounding her wedding (1662).³³ These wide horizontal views narrate each stage of Catherine's voyage to London, from the arrival in Lisbon of the English ambassador with the fleet that was sent to collect the Infanta, to the new royal couple's triumphal procession on the Thames.³⁴ Each of these views, teeming with figures in livery and

³¹ BNE measurements for Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series: 150 x 273 mm (platemark). BM measurements for Stoop's frontispiece to the Views of Lisbon series: 184 x 279 mm (platemark).

³² On the marriage celebrations, see Flor, "“Que las riquezas del mundo parecian estar alli cifradas”: Catherine of Braganza's Wedding Festivities in the Context of the Portuguese Restoration (1661–1662).”

³³ Hollstein, Hoop Scheffer, and Keyes, *Hollstein*, 28, nos. 13–19.

³⁴ For the depiction of Catherine of Braganza during this time and the subsequent evolution of her image as queen, see Adam Morton, "Sanctity and Suspicion: Catholicism, Conspiracy and the Representation of Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, Queens of Britain," in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European politics, c. 1500–1800*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2016); Susana Varela Flor, "Queen Catherine, a Bragança in Seventeenth-Century London: Cultural Legacy, Identity and Political 'Individuality,'" in *Representing Women's Political Identity in the Early Modern Iberian World*, ed.

decorative ephemeral arches and ships, capture the pomp and display of these ceremonies in exhaustive detail.

The prints Stoop made for Catherine in England differ quite significantly from his topographical views of Lisbon in terms of scale and ambition. They are far more commemorative in their intention, referring to specific events in which the Infanta participated. The treatment of figures in particular is in marked contrast, the loosely sketched figures in the Lisbon set are replaced with much more fully modelled figures whose features and dress are recorded in detail (figs. 2.23 and 2.24). While this difference is related to the differing functions of two projects, the figures in the Lisbon set share an affinity with the sociable figures in Meunier's Aranjuez prints and in his view of the Alcázar of Madrid (figs. 2.25–2.27). Considering the differences in style that can be observed between Stoop's two print projects for Catherine, I hypothesise that Meunier may have participated in the Lisbon views. There is little doubt that Meunier did indeed travel to Lisbon, as his *Differentes Veues* series includes a view of the Ribeira palace that is wholly original and not derived from Stoop's imagery. (cat. 55) Therefore, it is possible that Meunier could have been in Lisbon working at a studio belonging to a relative (the "N. Munjer" referred to above), where he would have encountered the Dutch artist. Stoop was after all working principally as a painter for the Braganzas, and would have been preoccupied with royal painting commissions in 1661 and 1662. It is logical therefore that he would have engaged assistants to work on less prestigious projects, such as these topographical views, during a flurry of artistic commissions in the run up to the royal wedding. At the very least it can be stated that Meunier was very familiar with Stoop's Lisbon views from an early date, and certainly before 1668 when he made a copy of one of the Stoop prints for Van Merle (see fig. 1.13). A second state of Stoop's Lisbon set was published in Amsterdam by Joannes de Ram, but presumably after ca. 1670 as De Ram was not born until 1648.³⁵

Jeremy Roe and Jean Andrews (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY Routledge, 2021).

³⁵ "Joannes de Ram Excud." BM Sheepshanks.3098.

A Journey through Iberia in 1662

Whether or not it can be established that Meunier had a role in Stoop's views of Lisbon, it is conceivable that the printmaker made his way to Paris with the intention to emulate not only Stoop's print project, but also his success in seizing new sponsorship opportunities brought about by the arrival of the new queen consort. Meunier most likely left Lisbon in the months after Stoop's departure for England in April 1662.³⁶ The bright contrasts of light and shade in Meunier's prints, as well as the full foliage of the gardens he depicts may suggest a journey made in early summer. He probably would have crossed over from Portugal into Spain at Badajoz, before travelling down to Cádiz via Seville, over to Granada and up through the centre of the peninsula to Toledo and on to Madrid. As Meunier did not leave behind any views of Barcelona, he presumably entered France via the Pyrenees rather than by boat.³⁷ Along the way Meunier would have made drawings of buildings on site, or "ad vivum" as he goes to great lengths to stress in his inscriptions, cultivating from his time with Stoop an interest in recording the details of daily life demonstrated by the people who inhabited the cities he visited. These drawings would have been used to compose the scenes for his prints at a later date in a Parisian workshop.³⁸

If Meunier arrived in Paris in 1662, it can therefore be deduced that the *Differentes Veues* series would have been etched then or the following year.³⁹ Most authors have proposed a dating for Meunier's first series of either ca. 1650, ca. 1665 or ca. 1668.⁴⁰ The year 1665

³⁶ Stoop stayed in England until 1665. His last commission there was a series of illustrations for John Ogilby's *Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse, Adorned with Sculpture and Illustrated with Annotations* (London: 1665). By 1667 he had moved to Hamburg where he probably died. He may have had a daughter named Marianna van der Stoop, who became a painter of still lifes (active last quarter of the seventeenth century). On Stoop's last project in England, see Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 188. On his time in Germany, see Gerson Digital, "2.3 Dutch Painters in Hamburg," accessed 12 April 2021, <https://gersongermany.rkdstudies.nl/2-northern-germany/23-dutch-painters-in-hamburg/>

³⁷ In Chapter One, section 1.2 I hypothesise whether Meunier could have passed through the towns of Barjols and Cotignac in Provence, as they may relate to two of his prints. See cats. 19 and 102, Appendix.

³⁸ Perhaps Stoop and Silvestre had crossed paths in Rome, since their stays there overlapped. Such a connection may have gained Meunier access to Silvestre's workshop.

³⁹ While the two watermarks identified in the Versailles copy of the *Differentes Veues* series can provide useful information for dating, they must be approached with caution as the date of paper manufacture does not necessarily indicate the date of printing. David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1996), 63.

⁴⁰ Urquizar Herrera goes by the BNE dating of the series as 1665–68, but specifies 1650 at the date for the

serves as a terminus ante quem for the creation of the *Differentes Veues* because the second state of the Aranjuez series was published by Van Merle in that year (fig. 2.28). As it has previously been argued in Chapter One, nearly all of the prints in the Aranjuez series are based on compositions taken from the *Differentes Veues* series, which means that the *Differentes Veues* as well as the first state of the Aranjuez series had to have both been produced prior to 1665, if not 1664.

On the other hand, the *Differentes Veues* series must date after 1662. The prints of Aranjuez that feature in the series capture the Jardín de la Isla after a campaign of refurbishment led by *maestro mayor de las obras reales* José de Villarreal (d. 1662) and Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo (1619–71) at the behest of Philip IV between in the 1656 and 1661.⁴¹ In 1661 a fountain dedicated to Diana was replaced by the Fountain of Hercules and Hydra.⁴² The same year, the sculptor Bartolomé Zumbigo began work on a new pedestal for the Hercules sculpture by Martino Regio, for which the final adjustments were completed in March 1662.⁴³ Meunier's view of the Fountain of Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra illustrates the last stages of these new additions, including Zumbigo's wide fountain basin and the newly installed iron railings by Isidro Báez that encircle the sculptural grouping (cat. 23).

A visit by Meunier to Madrid in the summer of 1662 is also supported by his depiction of the Hermitage of San Pablo in the Buen Retiro Gardens. Behind the central fountain, and between the two semi-circular pergolas that formed the elliptical space, the painted façade of the hermitage can be discerned (fig. 2.29). This façade had been newly painted by the Bolognese

journey without citing his justification for this date. Antonio Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 211.

⁴¹ On this refurbishment and decorative campaign, see Margarita Estella, "Sobre las esculturas del Jardín de la Isla de Aranjuez," in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo: V Jornadas de Arte*, ed. Enrique Arias Anglés (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1991); José Luis Sancho, " 'S.M. ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se hace': Felipe IV y las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla," *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 146 (2000).

⁴² Estella, "Sobre las esculturas del Jardín de la Isla de Aranjuez," 347.

⁴³ Sancho, " 'S.M. ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se hace': Felipe IV y las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla," 33; Miguel Lasso de la Vega Zamora, ed., *Arquitectura y desarrollo urbano: Comunidad de Madrid Vol. IX*. (Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda; Consejería de Medo Ambiente y Ordenación del Territorio; Fundación Caja Madrid; Fundación COAM, 2004), 221.

artists Agostino Mitelli and Angelo Michele Colonna who specialised in *quadratura* painting and had been called to Madrid by Velázquez to paint the frescos for the vaulted ceiling the Salón de los Espejos in the Alcázar of Madrid. The intention was to transform the area outside the hermitage into an open-air theatre with seating in the garden.⁴⁴ By July 1661 Mitelli and Colonna had completely repainted the façade of the hermitage with fictive architectural details such as caryatids and balconies with watching figures. A detail of this decorative scheme is recorded in a copy after a drawing by Colonna and Mitelli held in the BNE (fig. 2.30). Finally, Meunier's view of the Great Lake in the Buen Retiro Gardens (cat. 30), which so vividly captures the enormous galleys that once cruised its waters, may refer to the boats that were launched in 1661 and that were decorated by sculptures by José de Rates, founder of the Churriguera dynasty, and Manuel Pereira.⁴⁵

The lack of a publisher's name attached to the first state of *Differentes Veues* is puzzling as it is unlikely that an unestablished printmaker such as Meunier would have had the capital to fund a major printing project so soon after arriving in Paris. With Stoop's success in Lisbon in mind, it is conceivable that Meunier would have dedicated his series to the queen in the hope of securing patronage and entering royal service, or at the very least of adding a sense of prestige and authority to his project.⁴⁶ However, even with the future promise of the financial rewards of royal patronage, a significant capital investment would have been required to cover the costs of materials, such as the paper and ink, and the purchase of fifty-five copper plates that would have been hammered into shape and burnished before use.⁴⁷ Additional labour would also have

⁴⁴ Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, rev. and expanded ed. (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 249; Juan Maria Cruz Yábar, "Las ermitas del Buen Retiro. Arquitectura y decoración." (paper presented at the El Paseo del Prado y el Buen Retiro, Paisaje de las Artes y las Ciencias, Madrid, 2020), 120–34. On Mitelli and Colonna in Madrid, see Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986); Enriqueta Harris, "Angelo Michele Colonna y la decoración de San Antonio de los Portugueses," *Archivo Español de Arte* 34, no. 134 (1961).

⁴⁵ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 249.

⁴⁶ On prints and dedications, see Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 78; Alexandra Onuf, *The 'Small Landscape' Prints in Early Modern Netherlands* (London: Routledge, 2017), 58.

⁴⁷ Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe: à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1986), 13.

been necessary from professional printers and binders.⁴⁸ As discussed in Chapter One, it was usually the publisher, not the artist, who took on the role of financing the expenses of labour, materials, and distribution, and the related financial risks. It was the publisher (or the financier) who generally retained ownership of the plates.⁴⁹

The Versailles edition of the *Differentes Vues* is the first state of these prints, and it would appear to be the only edition that was created from the first print state.⁵⁰ This, combined with the lack of a publisher associated with the project, would suggest a private, non-commercial project that was not intended for wide circulation. The expense and care taken to bind this set in a personal manner emphasises the uniqueness of this edition of the *Differentes Vues*. While the set is not strictly *avant la lettre*, as most of the prints feature etched titles in French and Spanish, the four title pages do not contain printed lettering, but rather hand-written inscriptions, including that on the first title page which specifies a dedication to the queen consort (see cat. 1). A close examination of the other three title pages (Escorial, Buen Retiro, Granada) has revealed that these pages have had another impression of the same print pasted on top of them. By examining the pages from behind it is possible to discern the handwriting on the impression underneath; evidently the new impressions were pasted on top to replace the original inscriptions with a neater and more professional script (figs. 2.31 and 2.32). This project was ostensibly carried out without the contribution of a professional letter engraver, thus it is presumably Meunier's hand that is responsible for the rather maladroit lettering, which in numerous instances appears not have bitten into the plate sufficiently. In many places, either Meunier or another hand has reinforced the lettering with pen and ink (fig. 2.33). Great care has been taken elsewhere to retouch areas of sky and landscape with pen, adding decorative

⁴⁸ The position of printer was a highly skilled and well paid job. Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 49.

⁴⁹ See Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 1–12; Onuf, *The 'Small Landscape' Prints in Early Modern Netherlands*, 15; Peter Fuhring, "Publishers, Sellers, and the Market," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 30.

⁵⁰ The ED-77-FOL album in the BnF does contain some title pages *avant la lettre*, but most of the rest of the impressions are the second state onwards, and certainly no other bound examples of the first state have been found.

elements and additional figures—details which do not appear in later states (figs. 2.34).

Such personal touches do not suggest the input of a professional publishing enterprise, but a bespoke and luxury commission for an individual. The manifest concern in perfecting these elements and in improving the lettering of the title pages after the set was bound, unequivocally demonstrates that this set was created with the intention of presenting a gift to the queen. The prints were not dedicated to her after the fact and bound much later, but were clearly made with her in mind, as indicated by the appearance of her escutcheon on the first title page. The double titles in French and Spanish would also suggest that Marie-Thérèse was the intended audience, considering her lack of command of French in her early years at court.

This type of prestigious commission would have been beyond the reach of an unknown artist such as Meunier without an introduction at court by an advocate with enough social clout to support his claims of artistic talent. Even Silvestre, whose reputation was in the ascendent in the early 1660s, needed the connections of his close friend and *Premier peintre du roi*, Le Brun, to obtain court commissions. After working with Le Brun, Louis Le Vau and André Le Nôtre at Vaux-le-Vicomte, Silvestre was recruited into the employ of the crown after the arrest of Nicolas Fouquet in September 1661. 1661 also marks the year in which Silvestre became a publisher in his own right when he inherited the valuable stock of plates that had belonged to Henriot.⁵¹ As we saw in the previous chapter, apart from his own compositions and those by his workshop, Silvestre's activity as a publisher was concentrated almost exclusively on the works of Callot and Della Bella. There is no evidence that he ever published autograph prints by Meunier outside of his work as part of Silvestre's studio. If Meunier's association with Silvestre's workshop began at this time, he would have been ideally placed adjacent to royal circles of patronage. From at least 1662 Silvestre was commissioned by Colbert to create topographical prints of the capital and its royal buildings. The first plates he appears to have engraved in his role as *graveur ordinaire du roi*, are part of a series that record the Carrousel

⁵¹ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 469, 499–500.

held in June 1662 at the Tuileries palace.⁵² Until 1666 Silvestre's workshop was based on the rue de l'Arbre sec, at the residence of Antoine Lemercier, a goldsmith and *valet de chambre* to Anne of Austria.⁵³ As Silvestre's assistant and associate, it is possible that Meunier could have come into contact with members of the court who may have seen the financing of a print project dedicated to the queen consort as an opportunity to gain strategic political advantage by seeking favour with her.

A Potential Financier

One such figure who may have been motivated in this way is Roger du Plessis, duc de Liancourt (1598–1674). Liancourt had been a childhood friend of Louis XIII, and despite courting controversy at different stages of his career, he enjoyed an elevated position in court as *conseiller du roi*, *premier écuyer de sa petite écurie*, and *mestre de camp du regiment de Picardie*. Ca. 1664, Meunier dedicated the first state of his Aranjuez series to Liancourt (fig. 2.35), again without a publisher, which would suggest that the artist was either already in his employ or seeking his patronage at this date. Liancourt was associated with print projects long before the 1660s. In 1638 François Perrier (ca. 1594–1649) published a series of one hundred etchings representing antique statues, the *Segmenta statuarum*, and dedicated it to the duke (fig. 2.36). Liancourt was a generous benefactor to writers and artists, and with his wife, Jeanne de Schomberg (1600–74), he often hosted intellectuals at his home, providing a setting where they could mix with other aristocrats.⁵⁴ In the hôtel de Liancourt on the rue de Seine, he and the

⁵² Published eight years later as *Courses de testes et de bague faites par le roy et par les princes et seigneurs de sa cour en l'année 1662*. Paris: Imprimerie royale, Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1670. Other artists involved in this project include Charles Perrault, Esprit Fléchier, François Chauveau, and Gilles Rousselet.

⁵³ Marianne Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," in "*Fort docte aux lettres et en l'architecture*." *Mélanges en l'honneur de Claude Mignot*, ed. Alexandre Gady (Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses, 2019), 471. Lemercier is mentioned in Besongne, "La maison d'Anne d'Autriche (1663)," vol. 1, 276.

⁵⁴ Liancourt was a champion of the libertine poet Théophile de Viau, most notably during his trial (1623–25) after the publication of the *Parnasse satirique* (1622). He also supported writers such as the dramatist Pierre Corneille. For the writers who frequented the Hôtel de Liancourt, see Jean Lesaulnier, "Les Liancourt, leur hôtel et leurs hôtes (1631–74)," in *Images de La Rochefoucauld: Actes du tricentenaire 1680–1980*, ed. Jean Lafond and Jean Mesnard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), 172–74; Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 160.

duchesse de Liancourt kept one of the greatest art collections in Paris, a description of which is provided by John Evelyn when he visited in March 1644, noting works by Poussin, Correggio, Titian, Veronese, Raphael and Da Vinci.⁵⁵

From the mid 1640s Liancourt became an increasingly controversial figure at court through his association with Jansenism, a theological and intellectual current within French Catholicism that was fiercely opposed by the Jesuits, and later by the Crown itself. The Jansenist understanding of divine grace and personal conscience was viewed as straying dangerously close to Calvinism and became associated with opposition to papal authority and monarchical absolutism during the Fronde years.⁵⁶ The duchesse de Liancourt was very influential in her husband's conversion to a more rigorist outlook. After a period of ill health in the late 1630s that brought about a religious awakening, she became a member of an exclusive network of aristocratic women who rejected the perceived excesses of the court society in favour of a more socially and spiritually exclusive culture of worship based on spiritual friendships and penitential lifestyles.⁵⁷ The duchesse retreated from the court and began to spend more of her time at the château de Liancourt, their country estate in Oise which had been in the Plessis family since the fifteenth century, and where she could host exclusive gatherings similarly like-minded "spiritual elites."⁵⁸

On the 31st of January 1655, the duc de Liancourt was refused communion by a priest at Saint-Suplice on account of his support for the convent of Cistercian nuns at Port-Royal-des-Champs, who were strongly associated with Jansenism, and his refusal to remove his

⁵⁵ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn. Edited from the original MSS. by William Bray* vol. 1 (New York; London: M. W. Dunne, 1901), 54–55. Many works were sold before his death, but nonetheless the inventory of his estate from 1674 lists many paintings. Nicolas Courtin, *Corpus des hôtels parisiens du XVII^e siècle. Inventaires après décès de 24 hôtels* (Paris: Centre André Chastel, 2011), <http://www.centrechastel.paris-sorbonne.fr/page/corpus-des-hotels-parisiens-du-xvii-e-siecle-inventaires-apres-deces-de-24-hotels>. On Liancourt as collector, see Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle*, 159–64.

⁵⁶ On Jansenism and royal opposition, see Daniella J. Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism: Louis XIV and the Port-Royal Nuns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁵⁷ Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle*, 160. On this network of female rigorist piety in mid-seventeenth-century Paris, see Jennifer Hillman, "Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680" (PhD University of York, 2011).

⁵⁸ Hillman, "Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680," 107–10; Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle*, 169, n. 9.

granddaughter from the convent, who was residing there as a pensioner.⁵⁹ Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–61), France’s powerful chief minister, perceived a link between the support of noble elites for Port-Royal and civil unrest, a view that cast suspicion on Liancourt whose family included several *frondeurs*.⁶⁰ The hôtel de Liancourt no longer hosted libertine circles, instead it became a meeting place for writers and people sympathetic to Port-Royal, including the moralist writer François de la Rochefoucauld who was a nephew of Liancourt.⁶¹

In the same year as this controversy, and in 1656, Silvestre made at least three sets of prints depicting views of the duke and duchess’ gardens at the hôtel de Liancourt and the château de Liancourt (figs. 2.37–2.39).⁶² Although they were published by Henriet, these prints must have been authorised by the Liancourts for Silvestre to have had access to the grounds.⁶³ Both Jennifer Hillman and Michel Conan have outlined how the expansive gardens and fountains in Oise were developed over years by the duchesse de Liancourt to encourage her husband away from the libertine lifestyle embodied by the court.⁶⁴ Considering the furore surrounding the Liancourts’ association with Port-Royal in 1655, these authors do not comment on this seemingly counterintuitive decision by the duke and duchess to draw attention to their alienation from public life by publishing prints of their private spiritual retreat. Silvestre’s views, however, are neutral in their depictions of the gardens. They do not make any overt reference to the spiritual or political beliefs of the patrons, but rather emphasise the wonder of the technical achievements of the hydraulics, the sensual enjoyment of the sound and sight of

⁵⁹ Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism*, 90.

⁶⁰ Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism*, 91.

⁶¹ Lesaulnier, “Les Liancourt, leur hôtel et leurs hôtes (1631–74),” 184–89. Much later in his career, Meunier made a topographical view of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente, one of François’ family estates, see cat. 97, Appendix.

⁶² Mauperché made a printed plan of the Liancourt gardens in 1654, a bird’s-eye view of the château and gardens, now destroyed, see Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 1, 73, no. 51.

⁶³ Quoting from a set of instructions given to her gardeners, Hillman states that the duchesse de Liancourt strictly controlled access to the gardens: “Il ne souffrira aucun Bourgeois de ce Bourg ny ayes personnes jouer dans n[ot]re Jardin...” Hillman, “Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680,” 277.

⁶⁴ Hillman, “Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680,” 275; Michel Conan, “Promenade, Conversation and Courtship: The Social Construction of Self and Privacy in Seventeenth-Century Gardens in France,” in *Privatheit, Garten und politische Kultur: Von kommunikativen Zwischenräumen*, ed. Marie-Theres Tinnefeld Siegfried Lamnek (Olpladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003), 108.

the fountains, and the sociability of sophisticated guests, all of which were common motifs in the garden views genre (fig. 2.40).

A self-identification with being detached from conventional aristocratic social spaces such as the salon, and especially the royal court, was a unifying aspect of the network of rigorist penitents of which the duchesse de Liancourt was a member.⁶⁵ The famous memoir writer at Versailles, Louis de Rouvroy, Duke of Saint-Simon (1675–1755) observed that the duke and duchess:

passaient presque toute leur vie à Liancourt dans les exercices de piété les plus édifiants et les plus continuels, ne paraissaient plus à la court, et, comme ils y avaient vécu dans la plus excellente compagnie, ils avaient la meilleure à Liancourt, mais la moins à la mode.⁶⁶

The Liancourts' distancing from the royal court came at a time when noble presence was becoming increasingly important for maintaining royal favour, and while their position in the aristocracy acted as a buffer against official Jansenist prosecution, they nonetheless could not afford to be openly dissident or vocal about their disillusionment with the royal devotional practices.⁶⁷ These topographical garden prints therefore can be interpreted as a means for the Liancourts to participate in court culture, but at a distance. By providing visual access to the magnificence of their estate's architecture and gardens they could engage with the courtly culture of display, reasserting in the process their noble rank, cultivated tastes and influence.⁶⁸ The beliefs of the rigorist penitents were after all bound with their privileged status and the prospect of guaranteed salvation amongst their exclusive rank.⁶⁹ The circulation of their beautiful and well-maintained gardens through print projected messages of the judicious management of their wealth and estates, and by implication their spiritual lives as well.

⁶⁵ Hillman, "Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680," 329.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Lesaulnier, "Les Liancourt, leur hôtel et leurs hôtes (1631–74)," 172.

⁶⁷ Hillman, "Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680," 108–09.

⁶⁸ For a similar discussion on the motivation behind the prints by Silvestre depicting Fouquet's Vaux-le-Vicomte, see Hilary Ballon, "Vaux-le-Vicomte: Le Vau's Ambition," in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, ed. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶⁹ Hillman, "Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680," 130.

When Louis XIV intensified the campaign against the Jansenist movement from 1661, ordering all members of religious orders to sign a formulary condemning five propositions from Jansen's text according to two anti-Jansenist papal bulls, the Port-Royal convent was again embroiled in a debate over personal conscience and the limits of absolute power.⁷⁰ In May 1661, the abbess of Port-Royal, Angélique Arnauld (1591–1661), appealed directly to Anne of Austria to intervene on behalf of the Port-Royal nuns against the forced repudiation of their beliefs. Citing the precedent of Saint Teresa of Ávila, she wrote: "I believe that God will use the wisdom of Your Majesty and the wisdom of the king, as he used Phillip II, the ancestor of Your Majesty, in the past, to save Saint Teresa from the greatest persecution she had ever known."⁷¹ In line with his patronage of print of the 1650s, it is possible to speculate that Liancourt could have been persuaded the following year to fund the first edition of the *Differentes Veues* series as a means of appealing to a female authority at court who was known for her piety and who he may have hoped would have had sympathy for the plight of the nuns at Port-Royal.⁷² Although Marie-Thérèse was not herself a Jansenist, she had become a Franciscan tertiary in October 1660 at the convent of the Cordeliers in Paris, and like her mother-in-law she was known to frequently visit and donate to convents and monasteries of various orders.⁷³ In 1663, the queen intervened personally to permanently accommodate a group of Carmelite nuns led by the Spanish-speaking prioress Francoise de la Croix in a new convent dedicated to Saint Teresa on the rue du Bouloy.⁷⁴

Where Meunier found in Stoop's topographical prints of Lisbon a model for portraying

⁷⁰ Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism*, 106–12.

⁷¹ Angélique Arnauld, Letter to Anne of Austria, queen-mother of France; May 25, 1661. quoted in "Angélique Arnauld (1591–1661)" by John J. Conley, *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, <https://iep.utm.edu/>, accessed 25 February 2023.

⁷² If such a connection can be made, it would not be the sole instance of a print project being conceived in support of Port-Royal. Just before the convent was emptied and razed by order of Louis XIV in 1709, Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels (1686–1767) published more than twenty prints depicting topographical views of the Port-Royal convent and the daily activities of the nuns. See Elizabeth Poulson, "Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels: Reproductive Engraver," *Woman's Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1985).

⁷³ Pierre Moracchini, "Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, Reine de France et Tertiaire Franciscaine," *Carthaginensia: Revista de estudios e investigación* 31, no. 59–60 (2015): 1042.

⁷⁴ Nieves Romero Díaz, "Emociones y autoridad de la reina consorte María Teresa de Austria en la correspondencia con sor Mariana de la Cruz," *Arenal: Revista de Historia de las Mujeres* (2021): 73–74.

monumental architecture in the street setting, Silvestre's views of the Liancourt gardens appear to have informed his depiction of more enclosed interior and garden spaces. Silvestre's Liancourt prints are typical of his style prior to his work with Le Brun at Vaux-le-Vicomte, when his compositions developed a marked expansion in composition, ambition and grandeur.⁷⁵ They are characterised by a looser and less precise use of line, and a lightness of touch that lends the scenes a sense of informal poésie. Meunier's views of Spain are based on drawings made onsite, but the compositional framing of his scenes is clearly borrowed from Silvestre's Liancourt series. This can be observed in the frontal views of fountains composed like stage sets, with encircling trees creating an intimate environment (fig. 2.41 and 2.42), in Meunier's prints of the Alhambra patios viewed through the arcade in shadow (fig. 2.43 and 2.44), and the dramatic allées receding into the distance (fig. 2.45–47). Could Meunier or Silvestre have had these prints at hand in creating the *Differentes Veues* series, knowing that they were a model that had worked successfully in the past of the duc de Liancourt? While any association between the duc de Liancourt and the first edition of Meunier's Spanish views must remain hypothetical without documentation or inscriptions to directly connect them, the fact that the prints were not published on the open market in the 1670s would suggest that the plates were in private hands. The more restrained decoration of the *Differentes Veues* binding in comparison with other books owned by Marie-Thérèse, may also have been influenced by the duke's Jansenist leanings.

The Political Agency and Cultural Impact of the Queen Consort

Marie-Thérèse is most often cast in history textbooks as a naïve and marginal figure who struggled to keep up with court intrigue, and whose sole value to the monarchy lay in her ability to produce an heir (fig. 2.48).⁷⁶ Influenced by the biases of contemporary memoirs, past scholarship has interpreted the obedience and piety that she demonstrated, virtues which were

⁷⁵ Grivel, "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)," 495.

⁷⁶ Mark De Vitis, "The Queen of France and the Capital of Cultural Heritage," in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2017), 45.

expected from her as a Catholic queen, as signs of intellectual weakness. Narratives of her life have most often focused on the humiliation she suffered in tolerating Louis' mistresses, and have laid the blame for her husband's infidelity on her lack of wit.⁷⁷ Contemporary writings also went to great lengths to cast her as a symbol of Habsburg Spain rather than as an individual personality, and one that was overpowered and surmounted by Bourbon France, as summarised by Claude-François Ménéstrier (1631–1705) in his description and explanation of the decorations organised for Marie-Thérèse's funeral at the Basilica of Saint Denis in August 1683:

[f]rom the moment that she was married to the King, being an infanta who became Queen of France, she cast off the customs of her country to adapt to our ways: A Spanish Pistole, which under the coin-press changes form, and become a Louis d'or.⁷⁸

In recent years, new research by Joëlle Chevé, Karen María Vilacoba Ramos, Nieves Romero Díaz, María Soledad Arredondo, and Silvia Mitchell has begun to undermine these traditional interpretations in favour of a richer and more complex evocation of the queen's personality, and have recast her political and cultural contributions in terms of the opportunities and limitations integral to the role of the consort.⁷⁹

In a bid to curtail the development of a Spanish contingent at court that would wield power and rival his own in the way that his mother's household had during her regency, Louis XIV dismissed most of Marie-Thérèse's household in 1661.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, as Philip Mansel

⁷⁷ See Bertière especially, who labels the queen as "une incapable": "Le roi aime les femmes brillantes. Il lui en veut, obscurément, de n'avoir pas l'éclat qui convient à son rang. Le soin qu'il met à la parer, à la couvrir de bijoux, à l'entourer d'égards est une façon de combler un manque : qu'elle revête au moins les apparences d'une reine, faute d'en avoir les vrais attributs." Simone Bertière, *Les reines de France au temps des Bourbons* (Paris: Eds. de Fallois, 1998), 67. Antonia Fraser is less scathing, but just as dismissive. Antonia Fraser, *Love and Louis XIV: The Women in the Life of the Sun King* (London: Phoenix, 2007).

⁷⁸ Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Des décorations funèbres, où il est amplement traité des tentures, des lumières, des mausolées, catafalques, inscriptions et autres ornemens funèbres* (Paris, 1683), quoted in Abby E. Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 160.

⁷⁹ Karen María Vilacoba Ramos, "Cartas familiares de una reina: relaciones epistolares de María Teresa de Francia y las descalzas reales," in *Mujer y cultura escrita: Del mito al siglo XXI*, ed. María del Val González de la Peña (Somonte-Cenero, Gijón, Asturias: Ediciones Trea, 2005).

⁸⁰ Romero Díaz, "Emociones y autoridad de la reina consorte María Teresa de Austria en la correspondencia con sor Mariana de la Cruz," 64.

has illustrated in his recent biography of Louis XIV, women were encouraged to play a more active and visible role in public life under his reign than in other monarchies.⁸¹ While Marie-Thérèse may not have had the power, or indeed the ambition, to rule as consort, she did exert influence in more indirect ways within the bounds of her position. We have already seen how she had helped to install a Carmelite convent of Sainte Thérèse near the Louvre. She was also instrumental in introducing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to France.⁸² Romero Díaz' and Vilacoba Ramos' investigations into Marie-Thérèse's correspondence with her half-brother, Carlos II, her father, Philip IV, the influential sor María de Jesús de Ágreda, doña Luisa Manrique, condesa de Paredes, as well as foreign dignitaries abroad, have demonstrated that she was well informed with what was happening in both the French and Spanish courts, and that her strategic role did not end with the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Her letters to her cousin sor Mariana de la Cruz, a nun in the Descalzas Reales convent in Madrid, reveal how Marie-Thérèse mediated strategically between the two courts during the marriage negotiations for Carlos II and her niece Marie Louise d'Orléans (1662–89), a match that was not just important dynastically, but crucial for the consolidation of international alliances. Using expressions of affection to emphasise their kinship and to spur action, Marie-Thérèse communicated key information to her cousin regarding Marie Louise's dowry and specific instructions on how to convey details to Don Juan José de Austria, who was acting as first minister at the time.⁸³ When the Spanish ambassador, Pablo Spínola Doria, Marquis de los Balbases, travelled to Paris to request Marie Louise's hand in marriage, Marie-Thérèse met with him first at the convent of Sainte Thérèse, where she could operate away from the observance of the court. There she facilitated a meeting with Marie Louise and instructed Balbases on the customs of the French court to prevent any diplomatic missteps. During his embassy, Marie-Thérèse kept Balbases informed on the progress of the negotiations, often via his wife who had

⁸¹ Philip Mansel, *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), 93.

⁸² Moracchini, "Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, Reine de France et Tertiaire Franciscaine," 1043–46.

⁸³ Romero Díaz, "Emociones y autoridad de la reina consorte María Teresa de Austria en la correspondencia con sor Mariana de la Cruz," 69–73.

ready access to her household.⁸⁴ These interventions demonstrate that María Teresa was far from a passive, pathetic figure, and had the influence to actively engage and intervene in diplomatic affairs. As Romero Díaz argues, “Ni torpe ni desinteresada, María Teresa de Austria sabe actuar su papel de reina consorte y explotar su capital dinástico cuando es necesario, ‘con discreción’ y sin ensombrear la magnificencia de Luis XIV.”⁸⁵

Recent studies brought together by Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Adam Morton, and by Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez, have brought renewed attention to the personal and cultural links that queen consorts retained with their countries of origin, and the ways in which these links played a key role in dynastic politics and cultural production.⁸⁶ Strikingly little research has been conducted into Marie-Thérèse’s collecting or patronage activities, and how these may have been affected by her perceived inability to master the French language or to fully abandon the customs of her homeland.⁸⁷ Mark de Vitis argues for a more constructive line of inquiry that examines not solely Marie-Thérèse’s personal intervention in political events, but considers the impact of her arrival in France and the heritage she brought with her on the culture of the French court.⁸⁸ Royal marriages generated abundant cultural exchange in the early modern period, and brides played a crucial role as facilitators of this flow of people, objects and ideas, and as contributors to the creation of an elite cosmopolitan culture. As they transferred from one court to another, royal women acted as cultural mediators, propagating them customs from their homeland, while simultaneously adapting to the culture of their new setting.⁸⁹ These brides brought with them a large retinue of ambassadors, ladies in waiting,

⁸⁴ Silvia Z. Mitchell, “Marriage Plots: Royal Women, Marriage Diplomacy and International Politics at the Spanish, French and Imperial Courts, 1665–1679,” in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (Routledge, 2016), 96–97.

⁸⁵ Romero Díaz, “Emociones y autoridad de la reina consorte María Teresa de Austria en la correspondencia con sor Mariana de la Cruz,” 69.

⁸⁶ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Adam Morton, *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 2016); Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez, *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer* (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2017). See also Clarissa Campell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁸⁷ One recent exception is Alfonso Caffarena, “Las relaciones artísticas Hispano-Francesas en torno a la reina María Teresa de Austria (1660–1683).”

⁸⁸ De Vitis, “The Queen of France and the Capital of Cultural Heritage,” 46.

⁸⁹ Joan-Lluís Palos, “Bargaining Chips: Strategic Marriages and Cultural Circulation in Early Modern Europe,”

servants, tutors, clerics, cooks, writers, musicians and artists who formed their own power structures within the court, even in the case of Marie-Thérèse where their numbers were cut down. Meanwhile, service under the new queen's patronage could open up many new opportunities and advancements for existing court officials. For ambitious courtiers and diplomats, patronage of the arts, including printed views by an artist such as Meunier, provided an opportunity to assert their particular allegiances and political identities, especially during moments of change and transition of power. The prestige and political sway of Marie-Thérèse's Habsburg identity had the potential to serve the agendas of many different contingents at court, including a figure such as the duc de Liancourt.

2.2 Franco-Spanish Encounters in the Early 1660s: Models of Royal Self-fashioning

The first edition of Meunier's *Differentes Vues* series was printed and gifted to Marie-Thérèse just three to four years after the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. This peace settlement marked a decisive turning point in the relations between France and Spain, and has been described by one historian as "the fateful hinge on which Spain's foreign policy turned in the second half of the seventeenth century."⁹⁰ Although the Thirty Years' War ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the conflict between France and Spain continued for a further eleven years.⁹¹ Revolts in Catalonia and Portugal from 1640, along with the outbreak of the Fronde civil wars in France (1648–53), weakened the military capacities of both countries

in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2017).

⁹⁰ Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict* (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2005), 281.

⁹¹ For the Franco-Spanish war, see David Parrott, "The Causes of the Franco-Spanish War of 1635–59," in *The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jeremy Black (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987); John H. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1989).

and led to a seemingly impassable stalemate that would outlast both of the ministerial favourites who initiated the conflicts.⁹² The treaty established peace, if perhaps an uneasy one, and finally resolved the territorial impasse that had held the two countries in a belligerent deadlock for so many years. In order to foster closer ties between the two monarchies and thus dissipate future conflict, a marriage was brokered between Louis XIV and María Teresa as part of the peace agreement. Don Luis Méndez de Haro (1603–61), Philip IV's first minister who negotiated the treaty with France's Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–61) insisted on the importance of the marriage to Spain's bargaining position, maintaining that "el casamiento es el que hace la Paz y la prenda que tenemos para ella."⁹³

In the years of peace that followed the treaty, the suspicion and fear of the preceding twenty-five years gave way to a new wave of curiosity regarding Spain and Portugal that jostled with pre-existing impressions and created the audience in France for topographical prints, such as those seen in Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series. With the thawing of relations between the two monarchies by 1660, a greater exchange of news, information and people could once again flow more freely across the border.⁹⁴ This could explain how a French-speaking artist was able to travel freely through the peninsula in 1662. Meunier's prints not only depict the plazas and gardens of Madrid, and the royal palaces in its environs such as Aranjuez or the Escorial but they also testify to an extensive journey made through Lisbon, Seville, Cádiz, Granada, and up through the middle of the meseta to Toledo, forming the most extensive visual record of the peninsula since Joris Hoefnagel and Anton van den Wyngaerde a century before. It is within

⁹² Armand Jean du Plessis, Duke of Richelieu, known as Cardinal Richelieu died December 1642. Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, the Count-Duke of Olivares was exiled from Madrid in January 1643, and died July 1645. Parrot interprets the outbreak of the conflict in 1635 as the natural outcome of the assertive foreign policies which these ministers leveraged in order to justify and secure their political positions at home. Parrott, "The Causes of the Franco-Spanish War of 1635–59," 87–90. See also the introduction to Lynn Williams, ed., *Letters from the Pyrenees: Don Luis Méndez de Haro's correspondence to Philip IV of Spain, July to November 1659* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000).

⁹³ Letter 28, 30 August 1659, Haro to Philip IV in Williams, *Letters from the Pyrenees: Don Luis Méndez de Haro's correspondence to Philip IV of Spain, July to November 1659*, 51.

⁹⁴ Bertrand Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," in *Ambassadors in Golden-age Madrid: The Court of Philip IV through Foreign Eyes*, ed. Jorge Fernández-Santos and José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2020), 163.

this context that Meunier's prints of Spain must be considered. The first edition of the *Differentes Veues* set is not solely the product of disinterested geographic curiosity. It emerged from a specific socio-historical moment in the diplomatic relations between France and Spain. Images of Spain circulating in the French court at this particular time would have been infused with recent memories of diplomatic interactions between the two courts. In the section that follows I examine these exchanges, and in particular the role played by architectural display in embodying the power of the Spanish monarch. Accounts written by French visitors to the court reveal that these new insights into Habsburg magnificence were received with a mixture of interest and scorn, but more to the point, they demonstrate the resurgent interest in Spain and its heritage among the French nobility at the start of the 1660s and a consequent demand for images such as those found in Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series.

Una Rivalidad Suntuaria: The Strategic Function of Magnificence

The treaty negotiations necessitated a series of rare and highly orchestrated interactions between Louis XIV, Philip IV, and their advisors in 1659 and 1660. After years of territorial and political animosity the tension did not disappear but was transferred to protocol during these courtly encounters. The highly prescribed choreography of the diplomatic interactions displaced the violent antagonism of the battlefield for ritualised symbolic behaviour, where the battles were won through argument and eloquence rather than through the use of arms.⁹⁵ The competition continued in the form of display, in what José Luis Colomer has termed "una rivalidad suntuaria."⁹⁶ This was nowhere more evident than at the specially erected pavilion on the Isla de los Faisanes (Île des Faisans), a small strip of land on the Bidasoa River which

⁹⁵ José Luis Colomer, "Los senderos cruzados del arte y la diplomacia. Introducción," in *Arte y diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2003), 20; William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 455.

⁹⁶ José Luis Colomer, "Paz política, rivalidad suntuaria: Francia y España en la isla de los Faisanes," in *Arte y diplomacia de la monarquía hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2003).

marked neutral territory between Irún and Hendaye, and where the two delegations met, first in 1659 to negotiate the treaty, and again in 1660 to officiate the wedding.

Artists had a significant role to play in setting the tone for the negotiations and in recording them for posterity. In his capacity as *apostentador mayor de palacio* and *superintendente de las obras reales*, Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) was called upon to supervise the furnishings and decorations, and in particular to select and send tapestries from the royal collection to adorn the Spanish side of the pavilion.⁹⁷ The occasion was captured for posterity by Le Brun, whose modelli informed the composition for a monumental tapestry that came second in a series of fourteen tapestries on the *Histoire du Roi*, woven between 1665 and 1680 at the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins.⁹⁸ The tapestry shows the two kings gallantly bowing towards each other at the centre of the composition, with their respective ministers and relatives gathered behind them, including Haro, Mazarin, María Teresa and Anne of Austria. Surrounding the two groups are walls adorned with expensive tapestries, plush carpets, damasks and silks, and shining mirrors. These furnishings are almost upstaged by the elegant gestures and by the richness and detail of the clothing worn by the both sides, but especially by the French delegation, an implication that Le Brun's depiction might be skewed in favour of the French proclivity for *gloire* (fig. 2.49).⁹⁹ Such display of splendour was not solely intended as vainglorious point-scoring. In the context of diplomatic negotiations, “magnificence” had strategic political function. It not only communicated the gravity of the issues at stake, but could be used as a tool by both sides to leverage authority and impress respect upon their rivals.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Colomer, “Paz política, rivalidad suntuaria: Francia y España en la isla de los Faisanes,” 67–69. The tapestries were carefully chosen according to their antiquity, size and prestige, however, all themes relating to historic warfare were studiously avoided. Velázquez's role in the decoration of the pavilion is described in Leonardo del Castillo, *Viage del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia: funciones reales, del desposorio, y entregas de la Serenissima Señora Infante de España Doña Maria Teresa de Austria* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1667). This was to be one of Velázquez's last artistic endeavours, as he succumbed to a fever one month after his return to Madrid on the 6th of August 1660.

⁹⁸ The series also includes a tapestry that depicts the royal wedding.

⁹⁹ Although it is currently undergoing conservation treatment, the tapestry normally hangs in the Grand Salon of the Résidence de France in Madrid.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 5. See also Gijs Versteegen and Stijn Bussels, “Introduction,” in *Magnificence in the Seventeenth Century: Performing Splendour in Catholic and Protestant Contexts*, ed. Gijs Versteegen, Stijn Bussels, and Walter Melion (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021).

The Reales Sitios and Royal Self-fashioning

For the Spanish delegation the ultimate demonstration of their monarchy's superior ranking in this rivalry of "magnificence" was expressed through the display of the royal houses and collections. During the course of the negotiations in 1659, a special embassy was dispatched from Paris in September to formally request María Teresa's hand on behalf of the French king. This was an essential stage in the peace talks and had to be carried out with the appropriate display of pomp and etiquette to publicly demonstrate the sincerity of the offer and the intention of enduring peace.¹⁰¹ The official visit was significant in that it was the first diplomatic journey taken by a French embassy into Spanish territory since the 1630s.¹⁰² It signified an important opportunity for the Spanish to take the upper hand in the diplomatic exchanges by imposing their own rules of ceremony and etiquette upon the French dignitaries. As hosts they spared no costs in subjecting their guests to the dazzling magnificence of the Madrid court, a subtle strategy with which to exact "symbolic revenge."¹⁰³

Velázquez was once again tasked with stage-managing the visit of the ambassador, Antoine III, duc de Gramont (1604–78), a marshal general and governor of Béarn (fig. 2.50). Ceremonial entries, dances and bullfights were held in the towns the French entourage encountered on their journey, including Irún, Tolosa, Oñate, Vitoria Miranda de Ebro, Ameyugo, Pancorbo, Briviesca, and Lerma, the most spectacular of which was held in Burgos on the 8–9th of October.¹⁰⁴ The secretary of state Antonio de Alosa Rodarte's residence on Calle de los Promostences was completely redecorated in order to house Gramont in Madrid.

¹⁰¹ Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 153; Alistair Malcolm, *Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640–1665* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 228.

¹⁰² Bertrand Haan and Jorge Fernández-Santos, "General Appendix: Foreign Diplomatic Representatives Sent to Philip IV," in *Ambassadors in Golden-age Madrid: The Court of Philip IV through Foreign Eyes*, ed. Jorge Fernández-Santos and José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2020), 569.

¹⁰³ Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 147.

¹⁰⁴ François Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne, contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l'estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, etc., contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l'estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, touchant les regences, les assemblées des Etats...* (Paris: Chez Claude Barbin: Au Palais, sur le Per ron de la sainte Chapelle, 1669), 19–20; Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 157.

Velázquez had the entire street repaved and cleaned, the house's windows changed, new linens and crockery were bought, and a team of gilders, leatherworkers and upholsterers were hired to rework the furnishings.¹⁰⁵ Gramont was lavished with all of the cultural resources at the court's disposal, from gifts and feasts, to entertainments, concerts and theatre performances. The intention was to press upon the guests, and by extension their superiors back in Paris, the cultivated sophistication and seemingly unbounded liberality of the Spanish monarchy.¹⁰⁶

Amid this spectacular pageantry, the *casas reales* featured prominently. Gramont, who was more than eager to see the sights, was twice brought on a tour of the Alcázar of Madrid and its collections by Velázquez. He also viewed the art collections in the private residences of *grandees* such as Haro, the Admiral of Castile, the Duke of Medina de las Torres, the Count of Oñate and the Marquess of Legnés. Between the 23rd and 29th of October 1659 he ventured beyond Madrid to visit the Buen Retiro, the Casa de Campo, the Pardo and the Torre de la Parada, even travelling as far as the Palacio Real de Aranjuez and San Lorenzo de El Escorial.¹⁰⁷ These visits were facilitated not simply to entertain Gramont. The royal residences, their gardens, their rich furnishings and enormous art collections of exceptional quality were all put on show to embody the power and status of Philip IV himself, and to reflect the greatness of the empire over which he ruled with sound judgement.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 155–57.

¹⁰⁶ The French, for their part, were just as capable of partaking in the theatrical role playing. When Gramont reached the city gates, he and his retinue proceeded at full gallop down the Calle de Alcalá and the Calle Mayor to play the part of a gallant young knight rushing to meet his bride: "comme elle [l'entrée] se devoit faire, comme si c'eussent été avec des chevaux de poste, le marechal ayant estimé, qu'étant envoyé par un roy jeune, galant & amoureux, il n'étoit pas à propos qu'il entrât à Madrid d'autre façon, que comme un Courier qui venoit par la voye la plus prompte temoigner à l'Infante l'impatience & la passion de son Maître" Antoine Charles de Gramont, *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont, duc et pair de France ... Donnez au public par le duc de Gramont, son fils.*, 2 vols. (Paris: Chez Michael David, Quay des Augustins, 1716), vol. 2, 193–94.

¹⁰⁷ These visits are narrated in Gramont, *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont*, vol. 2, 212–15; Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 37–44.

¹⁰⁸ For the ways in which the royal residences were used to represent the power and moral authority of the Spanish monarchy, see Félix Labrador Arroyo and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "The Magnificence of the Royal Household and Royal Sites: The Case of the Spanish Monarchy," in *Magnificence in the Seventeenth Century: Performing Splendour in Catholic and Protestant Contexts*, ed. Gijs Versteegen, Stijn Bussels, and Walter Melion (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021).

The Image of Spain in the Early Modern French Imagination

In the immediate aftermath of the treaty publishers in Paris and Madrid jostled to meet the demand for reports and updates on the negotiations. Haro and Mazarin were quick to shape the emerging narrative. Immediately after concluding the talks, Haro sent two *relaciones de sucesos* to the French minister, who passed details from them, along with another report from Gramont, to *La Gazette* journal.¹⁰⁹ The most common and accessible reports in France were published as serial accounts that were quickly and cheaply produced in pamphlets that could be easily distributed.¹¹⁰ On the royal wedding alone, Abby E. Zanger lists over eighty pamphlets that were produced up to 1665.¹¹¹ More official and expansive accounts of 1659–60 appeared in luxury bound volumes which were enriched with the addition of engraved portraits of the monarchs and their ministers, and allegorical representations of peace, such as Nicolas de Larmessin's (1632–94) evocative image of Haro shutting the door to the temple of war, while Mazarin unlocks the door to the temple of peace that appeared in Jean Puget de la Serre's (1594–1665) *Le panegyrique de la paix* (Paris, 1660; fig. 2.51). An official Spanish account of the events did not appear until 1667, when Leonardo del Castillo published *Viage del Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia* (Madrid, 1667; fig. 2.52). The most insightful impressions of the interactions between the Spanish and French courts in the 1650s and 1660s are to be found in the memoirs of French travellers and members of the royal entourages who visited Madrid during the 1659 negotiations, as well as in those written in the subsequent decades when memories of these events continued to affect their impressions. These include memoirs by François Bertaut de Fréauville (1621–1701), Françoise Bertaut de Motteville (ca. 1621–89), Pierre de Villars (1623–98), the noblewoman and author, Marie-Catherine D'Aulnoy (1650/51–1705), and the duc de Gramont.¹¹² They vary in their levels of

¹⁰⁹ Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 163, n. 57.

¹¹⁰ Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 68.

¹¹¹ Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 207–22.

¹¹² Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*; Françoise de Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria... by Madame de Motteville, her Chief Favourite and Confident*, 5 vols. (London: printed for J. Darby, A.

truthfulness and accuracy, from Bertaut's fairly balanced assessment to Madame d'Aulnoy's exaggerated and vivid accounts, but in most cases certain prejudices repeatedly colour the writers' impressions of the dress, manners and customs of their hosts in Spain.¹¹³

With the preceding twenty-five years of conflict and rivalry between the two monarchies still fresh in the authors' minds, these memoirs are predictably influenced by long-standing preconceptions that the courts harboured for each other.¹¹⁴ Although the writers express admiration for the pomp and grandeur of the Spanish reception, time and again the Spanish are charged with the sins of pride and conceitedness. A cultivation of "sosiego," a dignified gravity, was certainly a hallmark of the Habsburg self-representation, as exemplified by the restrained black clothing and simple poses so ubiquitous in the royal portraits.¹¹⁵ What to Philip IV's mind presented royal dignity and due respect to the occasion at hand, was interpreted by these observers as cold aloofness. Madame de Motteville was astonished at the lack of visible emotion from the Spanish king, especially at his refusal of a kiss from Anne of Austria, the sister he had not seen in forty-five years, despite his evident affection for her.¹¹⁶ On the other side of the exchange, the Habsburg chronicler Leonardo del Castillo witnessed these same traits and behaviours as positive attributes of Spanish restraint and sophistication. He noted how the Spanish contingent painted the walls of the pavilion with gesso in order to provide a suitable background against which to display their chosen paintings and tapestries. The French, on the other hand, had no need for this gesso preparation because they covered every inch of available

Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, 1725); Pierre marquis de Villars, *Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne: depuis l'année 1679 jusqu'en 1681; où l'on verra les ministeres de Dom Juan & du Duc de Medina Celi, et diverses choses concernant la monarchie espagnole* (Paris: Chez Jean-Fr. Josse, 1733); Madame d'Aulnoy, *Travels into Spain: Madame d'Aulnoy*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc (London: Routledge, 2005); Gramont, *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont*.

¹¹³ Madame d'Aulnoy was particularly prone to exaggeration. Her vivid and amusing style led to her account of the Spanish court becoming the most read in any language. Hillgarth and Foulché-Delbosc argue that half of her *Relation* was borrowed unacknowledged from earlier sources. J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 61.

¹¹⁴ Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 164–66.

¹¹⁵ See Fernando Checa, "Comment se représente un Habsbourg d'Espagne?," in *¿Louis XIV espagnol?: Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*, ed. Gérard Sabatier and Margarita Torrión (Versailles; Paris: Centre de recherche du château de Versailles; Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009).

¹¹⁶ Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, vol. 5, 68–69.

wall and ceiling space with textile decoration—an ostentatiousness that was distasteful to Castillo's eyes.¹¹⁷

It is evident that both sides were guilty of indulging in established tropes about their national characters that dated back to the sixteenth century.¹¹⁸ These stereotypes had been encapsulated over forty years earlier in Carlos García's *La Oposición y Conjunción de los dos grandes Luminares de la Tierra. O la Antipatía de Franceses y Españoles* (Paris, 1617). An Aragonese doctor and author of picaresque novels who worked for the Spanish embassy in Paris, García wrote with the intention of assuaging French resistance to the recent double marriage of Anne of Austria, to Louis XIII (1601–43), and the future Philip IV to Isabel de Borbón (1603–44).¹¹⁹ His text sought to encourage understanding and cooperation between the two kingdoms by framing their antagonism as emerging from their natural differences in customs and character, with sections on their respective dress, eating habits, conversation and walking styles, and religious beliefs. García's text went through seven French-Spanish editions by 1638, with further editions in Italian, English and German appearing by the end of the century, and it contributed greatly to entrenching the belief that French and Spanish cultures were polar opposites, and that animosity between them was therefore inevitable.¹²⁰

Carlos García's Manichean interpretation has endured, not only in political memoirs published in the eighteenth century, but much more recently in studies that view the "Black Legend," as defined by Julián Juderías from 1914 onwards, as being the only lens through which to view Hispano-French relations. Schaub has criticised what he sees as "una interpretación dicotómica de las relaciones hispanofrancesas."¹²¹ The reality of opinion

¹¹⁷ Colomer, "Paz política, rivalidad suntuaria: Francia y España en la isla de los Faisanes," 70.

¹¹⁸ Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont," 162.

¹¹⁹ Translator's preface to the English edition of 1704, Carlos García, *France and Spain naturally enemies. Or, several reasons to prove it impossible they should long be friends. Discovering the constant Contrariety that has ever been, and still is, between those two Rival Nations, in their Temper, Apparel, Fashions, &c. Written originally in Spanish, by Don Carlos Garcia. Englished with large additions and improvements. By Mr. Tho. Brown* (London: J. Hartley; T. Hodgson; R. Gibson, 1704).

¹²⁰ See Michel Bareau's introduction to the 1979 edition.

¹²¹ Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *La France espagnole: Les racines hispaniques de l'absolutisme français* (Paris: Seuil, 2003), 11.

amongst the general French population was likely to have been much more nuanced and dependent on the vicissitudes of diplomacy, on whether the kingdoms were at war or at peace. Ana Álvarez López posits the image of Spain in the early modern French imagination not as an immutable entity to be described, but as a collection of ideas that responded to different needs and served different purposes at various times. She argues “la imagen de España en Francia no fue la manifestación de una construcción mental coherente e inmutable, llámese leyenda negra, estereotipo o ni siquiera imagen.”¹²² Just as often as it was derided, Spanish culture and taste were admired, emulated and reformulated in French literature, theatre and fashion, and at an institutional level, it was instrumental to the French model of absolutism.¹²³

Models of Kingship

Although the Peace of the Pyrenees is today held as a decisive moment in charting the new distribution of hierarchies of Europe after 1660, a moment from which Spain was to emerge severely disadvantaged, these outcomes were not such a *fait accompli* from the perspective of the early 1660s. By negotiating peace with France, the Spanish monarchy had tacitly acknowledged that it was no longer the dominant force in Europe with the capacity to impose its agenda on other states.¹²⁴ However, thanks to the skilful diplomatic manoeuvring of Haro and his ability to exploit the civil unrest in France, the treaty had a far more benign effect on Spain than could have been expected considering its internal divisions and weakened financial state in 1659.¹²⁵ At the same time, Mazarin was keenly aware that the successes on his part had been due to his being able to take advantage of a sudden downturn in Spanish fortunes in order to bring Haro to the negotiating table. The first years of Louis XIV’s personal reign were

¹²² Ana Álvarez López, “Nuevas perspectivas en el análisis de algunas tradiciones historiográficas: El tema de la imagen de España en el extranjero,” ed. Anne Dubet and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Las monarquías española y francesa (siglos xvi-xviii)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010).

¹²³ Álvarez López, “Nuevas perspectivas en el análisis de algunas tradiciones historiográficas: el tema de la imagen de España en el extranjero.”

¹²⁴ John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 356; John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (London; New York: Longman, 1999), 12.

¹²⁵ Malcolm, *Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640–1665*, 230–31.

dominated by the concern that this “decline” of the Spanish Empire might prove temporary.¹²⁶ The desire of the Spanish court to maintain its *reputación* on an international stage in the face of concessions relating to the peace treaty explains their eagerness to spare no expense in a time of economic crisis on the pageantry and festivities surrounding the events of 1659–60. There is no doubt that the reception laid out for Gramont’s extraordinary ambassadorship was unusually lavish.¹²⁷ By taking the lead in dictating the terms of protocol and ceremony during his visit, the Spanish court sought to project an image of prestige and divinely sanctioned authority, and to cast their relationship with the French monarchy as a renewed friendship between equals, rather than one of subjugation.

The signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees occurred as Louis XIV was preparing to embark upon his personal rule, which began during his first year of marriage with the death of Mazarin on the 9th of March 1661. While the classic studies on Louis’ strategies of self-promotion, such as those by Louis Marin and Jean-Marie Apostolides, focus on the fully fledged sun king imagery in the period after the court’s move to Versailles in 1682, relatively little attention has been paid to the period in the early 1660s when the King’s reputation was in its gestation.¹²⁸ In her study on the printed reporting surround the royal wedding, Zanger demonstrates how Louis XIV and his advisors used the ceremonies accompanying his union with the Spanish Infanta as an opportunity to eliminate political tensions and encourage public subjugation to his rule during a time of transition.¹²⁹ The importance of the symbolic role played by Marie-Thérèse in the formulation of Louis XIV’s self-presentation demonstrates that in the early years of his reign at least, Louis XIV’s concept of kingship was defined against that of the

¹²⁶ Parrott, “The Causes of the Franco-Spanish War of 1635–59,” 106.

¹²⁷ Haan, “Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV’s Ambassador Antoine Gramont,” 166.

¹²⁸ Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); Jean-Marie Apostolides, *Le roi-machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1981).

¹²⁹ Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV*, 63. For a description of the allegorical imagery of power and victory deployed during the new couple’s entry into Paris on the 26th of August 1660, see *L’entrée triomphante de Leurs Majestez Louis XIV, roy de France et de Navarre et Marie-Thérèse d’Autriche, son espouse, dans la ville de Paris au retour de la signature de la paix generale et de leur heureux mariage* (Paris, 1662).

King of Spain.¹³⁰ Although the Spanish monarchy was a composite one, the bureaucratic control of the realms that was perfected under Philip II lies behind much of the development of French absolutism.¹³¹ Spanish dominance in the mid-seventeenth century was evident not just in the political realm, but affected court culture in general, from fashion to literature.¹³² This was especially felt in the performance of court ceremony and protocol after Charles V introduced the Burgundian ceremonial to Castile in 1548. The *etiquetas de palacio* were designed to regulate hierarchies, household organisation and behaviour at court, and although they often frustrated outsiders with their convoluted intricacies, the ceremonial effects were undoubtedly impressive and became widely imitated at other courts, most notably by Charles I after his visit to Madrid as the Prince of Wales in 1623.¹³³ According to Bertrand Haan, the combined effects of the pomp and strict protocol, the rich art collections and imposing architecture of the royal residences left such an impression on the duc de Gramont and his retinue during their trip to Madrid in 1659 that they viewed them “as a gauntlet that the French king and his court proved eager to take up.”¹³⁴ As Gramont himself remarked, “bien que la parure de tous ces Messieurs-là, ne fut pas des plus brillantes, il y avoit néanmoins un air de Grandeur & de Majesté que je n’ai vû nulle part.”¹³⁵

While the court at Versailles from the 1680s onwards is most often held as the paradigm of courtly society in the age of absolutism, thanks in part to the vivid recording of its daily rituals by Saint-Simon amongst others, the extent of its debt to Spanish precedent is given little

¹³⁰ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 163.

¹³¹ See the introduction to Schaub, *La France espagnole*, 13–26.

¹³² José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo, *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014); Charles Mazouer, ed., *L’Âge d’or de l’influence espagnole: la France et l’Espagne à l’époque d’Anne d’Autriche, 1615–1666: actes du 20e Colloque du C.M.R. 17, placé sous le patronage de la Société d’étude du XVIIe siècle et de l’Université de Bordeaux III* (Mont-de-Marsan: Editions InterUniversitaires, 1991); Gérard Sabatier and Margarita Torrione, eds., *¿Louis XIV espagnol?: Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles* (Versailles; Paris: Centre de recherche du château de Versailles; Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2009); Schaub, *La France espagnole*.

¹³³ John H. Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500–1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 142.

¹³⁴ Haan, “Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV’s Ambassador Antoine Gramont,” 166.

¹³⁵ Gramont, *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont*, vol. 2, 200.

emphasis.¹³⁶ The common thread that runs through these different court ecosystems is the way in which the protocols and rules of etiquette work to facilitate the semi-divine status of the king, placing him at the centre of a social and architectural structure that operates apart from and above regular society.¹³⁷ Philip IV's royal residences were a physical expression of this remove. None more so than the Buen Retiro, the pleasure palace and gardens conceived for him by his *valido* and de facto first minister, Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587–1645), which feature so prominently in Meunier's depiction of Madrid. Not only did the Buen Retiro provide the ideal setting in which to showcase Philip's artistic patronage and celebrate his military triumphs, it also placed him in the outskirts of the city, just outside the reach of government demands. Even at the Madrid Alcázar, Philip was frequently absent from view and yet omnipresent, the singular focus of the court's attention and its *raison d'être*.¹³⁸ His panegyrists dubbed him the *rey planeta*, an allusion to the sun as the fourth of the seven classical planets, the star which sets the universe in motion and gives life to all things.

In adopting the *roi soleil* moniker, Louis was not setting out to become a carbon copy of his uncle. Nonetheless, it is evident that Philip IV's reputation influenced the conception of grandeur and magnificence that he formulated with his ministers in the early 1660s. This was expressed through the hierarchy and protocol of Louis' court, but also crucially in its architectural setting. With its suburban setting and extensive taming of nature in the royal gardens, Versailles further developed the prototype of the baroque palace as first articulated in the Buen Retiro.¹³⁹ Even Philip's Salón de los Espejos found its equivalent in the Galerie des Glaces. At a time when the vulnerabilities of Spanish political supremacy were beginning to appear, Louis XIV set out to emulate these trappings of power in order to overtake and surpass them.¹⁴⁰ The *roi soleil* sought to both outshine and eclipse the *rey planeta*.

¹³⁶ Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500–1700*, 143; Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 183.

¹³⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, ed. Stephen Mennell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 118.

¹³⁸ Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500–1700*, 143.

¹³⁹ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 183.

¹⁴⁰ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 183; Sabatier and Torrione, *¿Louis XIV espagnol?: Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*, 12.

In doing so Louis's approach to royal self-representation diverged on a fundamental level from the Habsburg model. One consequence of the Fronde civil wars was the King's unwillingness to accept noble independence in the provinces. In cultivating his absolute rule Louis required the nobles to attend at court, where they could be controlled and immobilised by a calculated social pressure to partake in conspicuous consumption, a packed calendar of entertainments and the daily rituals of *lever*, *coucher*, etc. As a consequence, proximity to the king became the ultimate signifier of prestige at the French court.¹⁴¹ From the beginning of his reign narratives of visibility and accessibility, regardless of their actual truth, became crucial to Louis's image as king.

It is therefore unsurprising that Gramont expressed a measure of frustration and bafflement during his diplomatic mission in 1659 over the inaccessibility of the Spanish king and the infanta and stifling strict rules of engagement when in their presence.¹⁴² In Spain's composite monarchy the *grandees* were not required to reside permanently at court, they would be summoned or dismissed depending on the requirements of government.¹⁴³ Philip IV was rarely seen outside of feast days, even by the nobles. Access to his person was strictly regulated; he ate in public just once a week, and access to the royal *aposenito* was reserved for a select number of trusted advisors and gentlemen of the chamber.¹⁴⁴ By contrast, the centrality of the bedchamber in the plan of Versailles from 1701 onwards demonstrates how Louis lived under the constant presence of his subjects' gaze. A member of the public could enter the palace of Versailles without an explicit pretext, as long as they were appropriately dressed, and depending on the king's movements, they could potentially gain access to the *grand appartement du roi*

¹⁴¹ See Elias, *The Court Society*.

¹⁴² "Mais à dire vray, c'est de quoy je ne puis informer Votre Majesté ses paroles dans les deux audiences que j'ay eües, ayant été si mesurées, qu'elle n'ont point passé à la premiere, la demande de la santé de la Reine; & à la seconde, des assûrances d'être en toutes occasions soumises à ses volonte, sans qu'il m'ait été possible d'en tirer davantage" Gramont, *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont*, vol. 2, 217.

¹⁴³ Béatrix Saule, "Les usages de cour à Madrid et à Versailles," in *¿Louis XIV espagnol?: Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*, ed. Gérard Sabatier and Margarita Torrión (Versailles; Paris: Centre de recherche du château de Versailles; Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 177–78.

¹⁴⁴ Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500–1700*, 148.

and the Hall of Mirrors.¹⁴⁵ During the celebrated fêtes at Versailles, the gardens would be open to the public and workers from nearby fields could enter the king's estate.¹⁴⁶ In contrast to this, in Spain the public would only catch sight of their king during religious festivals and public ceremonies, whereas the French populace could in theory access their king on any given day if they had the opportunity and means to access the palace. While this policy of accessibility may have been in practice little more than the impression of such for the general population, it was one which the king utilised to inspire loyalty and manipulate rivalries among the nobility who competed for royal favour.

Philip IV's conspicuous absence from public view was not a symptom of an introverted king shirking his responsibilities as monarch. It was a theatrical manipulation that served to enhance his image of semi-sacred magnificence, so that when he did choose to appear, it had greater impact.¹⁴⁷ As Béatrix Saule points out, with the case of Philip IV "ce n'était donc pas un roi caché à proprement parler, mais un roi lointain."¹⁴⁸ Louis XIV, on the other hand, appears to have consciously rejected this formulation of majesty as a distant and unattainable presence, choosing instead to adopt a strategy of dazzling *gloire* that operated via visibility and proximity. In what was likely thinly veiled critique of Habsburg customs, Louis wrote in his *Mémoires*, written as instructions to his infant son from 1661:

there are nations where the majesty of kings consists, in large part, in never letting themselves be seen, and that could seem reasonable among minds accustomed to servitude, and that are governed by fear and terror; but that is not the genius of our French nation, and, from as far back as our histories can instruct us of it, if there is one particular character of this monarchy, it is the free and easy access to the prince.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Saule, "Les usages de cour à Madrid et à Versailles," 174; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Arts in the Service of the King's Glory," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 6.

¹⁴⁶ Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145.

¹⁴⁷ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 180; Checa, "Comment se représente un Habsbourg d'Espagne?," 29.

¹⁴⁸ Saule, "Les usages de cour à Madrid et à Versailles," 175.

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Gaehtgens, "The Arts in the Service of the King's Glory," 6. The connection in the French tradition between accessibility and kingship is reflected in the ritual of the royal touch, whereby the French king held the miraculous power to cure scrofula by touching the sufferer and declaring "Le roi te touche, Dieu te guérit." In

As these contrasting concepts of kingship demonstrate, the attitude of the French court towards the Spanish monarchy was one of rivalry, emulation and, eventually, rejection. Especially in the first few years of Louis XIV's personal rule, as much as there was contempt at court for Habsburg dominance, there was also a sense of fascination and reluctant respect for the heritage of this global power. This ambiguity can help account for Meunier's politically benign depiction of Spain emerging at court at the same time as more critical written accounts, and demonstrates how his prints could simultaneously function as a gift to Marie-Thérèse and appeal to a court curious for a visual description of a political rival.¹⁵⁰

François Bertaut's Memoir of the 1659 Embassy to Spain

This conflicted attitude of the French nobility towards Spain, and a curiosity to know more about a country that was previously closed to them is encapsulated in the travel account written by François Bertaut de Fréauville, a secular priest and member of the Parlement de Normandie who accompanied the ambassadorial party to Spain in 1659 (fig. 2.53).¹⁵¹ Bertaut's journal of his tour through Spain stands apart from the travel accounts written by authors before him, such as Antoine de Brunel in the 1650s, in that his observations are clearly derived from extensive first-hand experience, and moreover they are far less encumbered by pre-existing tropes or preconceptions regarding the Spanish character.¹⁵²

Bertaut was an ideal candidate to assiduously observe and write a fresh account of Spain from the point of view of the French court. His mother, Louise Bessin de Mathonville, was descended from a noble Spanish family, and having spent much of her youth in Spain, she was bilingual and had passed on her language skills to her children. She had held a position at court

the two days after his inauguration, Louis XIV touched up to as many as 3,000 people. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 45.

¹⁵⁰ On this ambivalent attitude towards Spain in French literature, see Chapter 3 "Los elementos de ambivalencia" in Schaub, *La France espagnole*, 101–60.

¹⁵¹ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*. Although Bertaut's account was published anonymously in 1669, several passages correspond to letters he sent to his sister, Madame de Motteville, which she later published in her own memoirs, thereby confirming the authorship of the work.

¹⁵² Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 60.

as a confidante and private secretary to Anne of Austria until ca. 1631, when she was dismissed by Richelieu on suspicion of working as a spy. Her daughter and Bertaut's sister, Françoise Bertaut de Motteville (ca. 1621–89), returned to the court during Anne's regency as *femme de chambre de la Reine* and where she remained for close to twenty-five years.¹⁵³ By 1659 Bertaut was already well-travelled, having accompanied an ambassador to Queen Christina of Sweden's court in the 1640s, as well as spending time in Germany and Italy, and a brief visit to Spain in 1648. He was evidently eager to return to the country that was part of his heritage and to avail of the advantages of travelling as part of a royal embassy.¹⁵⁴

The political dimensions of the timing of this journey colour many of Bertaut's observations of the Spanish court in Madrid, which is often framed critically against his home country. On Madrid's Plaza Mayor Bertaut praised the pleasing visual effect of the iron balconies that lined the square, but judged it against Henri IV's Place des Vosges: "n'est pas si grande ny si belle que la place Royale de Paris."¹⁵⁵ Even for this generally more impartial commentator, there is an evident struggle to keep some of the old stereotypes at bay. Bertaut noted with disbelief that a group of male suitors did not take off their hats in the presence of the French ambassador because, as he reports, they were too distracted by the sight of the women present.¹⁵⁶ On the Alcázar of Madrid he observes, "Toutes les maisons y sont de brique, horsmis le Palais du Roy, dont neantmoins la façade seule est de pierre, les trois autres costez n'estant que de brique," an implication that the Spanish grandeur was only surface deep.¹⁵⁷ On the whole, however, Bertaut's descriptions of Spanish culture reveal an interest in seeing the country for himself. More curious than most French travellers at this time, Bertaut parted ways with Gramont's party in Madrid at the end of October, and with four companions he ventured

¹⁵³ For biographical details on Bertaut, see André Jansen, "François Bertaut et son 'Journal du voyage en Espagne,'" *Bulletin Hispanique* 50, no. 2 (1948).

¹⁵⁴ Jansen, "François Bertaut et son 'Journal du voyage en Espagne,'" 176.

¹⁵⁵ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 46.

¹⁵⁶ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 29–30.

¹⁵⁷ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 45.

south to Andalucía.¹⁵⁸ Outside of the ceremonial protocol of the court, Bertaut demonstrates a surprising nuance in his descriptions. He is effusive in his admiration of Aranjuez and its gardens, which he praises as being grander than the Tuileries: “C’est la plus belle maison de plaisance du Roy d’Espagne, & on peut dire que c’est une des plus belles de tout le monde.”¹⁵⁹ His amazement at encountering the vast architectural space of the Córdoba mezquita is evident, as is his fascination with the Islamic architectural forms, remarking how it was a shame that so many of the marble columns were removed when the cathedral was built in the middle of the structure: “Et certainement c’est la plus belle chose du monde à voir : car en entrant on voit des allées de tous costez à la maniere des allées d’arbres d’un Parc où ils seroient plantez à droite ligne.”¹⁶⁰ In other instances where his impressions are negative, Bertaut is measured in his criticism. In Madrid he remarks upon the lack of glass in the city’s windows and the absence of tapestries on the walls of the Alcázar, but rather than dismiss this as a lack of grandeur on the part of the Habsburg monarchs, he rationalises rather reasonably that the heat of the climate renders them less necessary.¹⁶¹

Bertaut goes to great lengths to corroborate his descriptions of the customs, the antiquarian curiosities, and the histories of the places he travels through by making frequent reference to historical sources such as Esteban de Garibay’s *Los XL libros d’el compendio historial de las chronicas y vniuersal historia de todos los reynos de España* (Antwerp, 1571), Ambrosio de Morales’ *Antigüedades de la ciudades de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1575), and Juan de Mariana’s *Historia general de España* (Madrid, 1635).¹⁶² His ability to understand Spanish enabled him to consult local libraries during his travels, as well as converse with local guides. His Spanish ancestry and religious office no doubt opened many doors for him,

¹⁵⁸ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d’Espagne*, 44.

¹⁵⁹ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d’Espagne*, 49.

¹⁶⁰ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d’Espagne*, 159.

¹⁶¹ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d’Espagne*, 26–27.

¹⁶² Jansen, “François Bertaut et son ‘Journal du voyage en Espagne,’ ” 180–81; Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 210.

especially among the noble class.¹⁶³ The recently agreed peace meant that the former suspicion of French travellers was replaced with warm greetings and military honours in many of the towns he entered, which granted Bertaut unprecedented insight into the local population and their customs.

Bertaut's travel journal, along with his description of the kingdom in his *Relation d'un voyage d'Espagne ou est exactement decrit l'estat de la cour de ce royaume & de son gouvernement* (Paris, 1664), became well known sources that were referenced by many subsequent writers. While some scholars have viewed his work as perpetuating the stereotypes of Spanish pride and ineptitude, the lack of triumphalism in his descriptions is noteworthy, considering the backdrop of thirty years of military conflict.¹⁶⁴ His text is certainly critical, but it is far from the prejudiced views of later authors such as Madame d'Aulnoy, who extracted elements from his text to suit their agenda.¹⁶⁵ Bertaut even admonishes past visitors for their bias:

Tous ceux de nos François qui avoient esté a Madrid, nous avoient dit que ce n'estoit rien, qu'il n'estoit pas plus grand qu'Orleans, que les ruës & les maisons en estoient fort vilaines, & que le Palais n'estoit pas grand chose; mais cela estoit si animé pour lors, que je trouvay tout, le plus beau du monde.¹⁶⁶

The open curiosity and relative objectivity of Bertaut's text communicates the optimism of the first years of Louis XIV's reign, when peace with Spain opened up new channels of communication that questioned the validity of some of the old stereotypes.¹⁶⁷ This was not to last long, however, as Louis' nearly continuous wars from 1667 onwards saw this new curiosity calcify into hostility and an unwavering sense of French cultural superiority.

¹⁶³ Quite literally—Bertaut was invited into the houses of more than one noble in Madrid: “Toutes ces maisons-là sont pleines de grande quantité de tableaux & de cabinets; & sont bien plus belles par dedans qu'elles ne le paroissent par dehors.” Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 31.

¹⁶⁴ Haan, “Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont,” 164.

¹⁶⁵ Jansen, “François Bertaut et son ‘Journal du voyage en Espagne,’ ” 184.

¹⁶⁶ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 25.

¹⁶⁷ Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 60.

The array of locations centred around Madrid that appear in Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series, correspond quite well to the scenes described by Bertaut in his memoir, from his description of Philip IV's equestrian statue by Pietro Tacca installed outside the Buen Retiro, right down to his description of the hubbub of people and carriages in front of the Alcázar that his delegation were met with upon their arrival in Madrid, an atmosphere that is captured so well in Meunier's image (cats. 2 and 29).¹⁶⁸

Indeed, many of the towns and cities Bertaut passed through during his subsequent journey down to Andalucía echo the locations depicted in Meunier's series of prints. Although his correlation may simply be a coincidence of two travellers following established routes, and especially routes chosen by two French-speaking travellers venturing beyond Madrid, it is conceivable that the locations in Meunier's print series may have been chosen in response to Bertaut's memoir of his journey from 1659. Bertaut was a familiar figure at court. Between 1651 and 1657 he had held the position of *Lecture du roi*, and his sister Madame de Motteville was a confidant to the Queen Mother with a permanent position in her household. In 1653 Bertaut had bought the barony of Fréauville, which allowed him to enter the nobility.¹⁶⁹ He therefore had access to court circles, and it is possible that his journey account may have been circulating informally at court prior to its publication. While the locations in Meunier's prints and Bertaut's text do not match up exactly, for example Meunier does not illustrate Córdoba, a city which had impressed Bertaut, his descriptions must have primed an audience for a visual representation of Spain and its cities. A figure familiar with the court, such as Liancourt, may have seen the value in consulting Bertaut's text, since he was perceived an expert on Spain at the time, when financing a print project to curry favour with the queen.

The important symbolic role played by the *casas reales* in Philip IV's self-fashioning as witnessed by Bertaut during Gramont embassy, might explain why the royal palaces feature so

¹⁶⁸ Bertaut describes his arrival at the Alcázar pp. 25–27. Bertaut mistakenly identifies the equestrian statue as representing Philip II, but is impressed by the fact that it balances on just two legs. Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 43.

¹⁶⁹ Jansen, "François Bertaut et son 'Journal du voyage en Espagne,' " 177–78.

prominently in the image of Spain that is represented in Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series, as opposed to important pilgrimage sites or natural phenomena pertaining to the landscape. The parallels observable in the two documents demonstrate that Meunier's set of prints were produced at a time when the French court was curious to know more about the prestige of the new queen's heritage, to see for themselves the cities of their recent adversary across the Pyrenees, with an ambition to outdo them when it came to the magnificence of royal representation in architectural form.

2.3 Transfer to the Private Market

At the bottom of the print that depicts the Fountain of the Tritons from the Aranjuez Gardens, an inscription that has been partially cut from the plate can be discerned just inside platemark. The lettering appears to refer to a privilège: "L. Meunier delineavit ad vivum et sculpsit cum privilegio regis" (fig. 2.54). This suggests that Meunier may have initially intended for some of these prints to be published for general sale. At a subsequent date when the print project was conceived as a gift for the Queen, a decision may have been taken not to reprint the series, but to reserve it as an exclusive edition, which must have necessitated the removal of the privilège inscription by filing down the bottom edge of the plate.¹⁷⁰

As the proliferation of pamphlets, almanacs and memoirs demonstrate, there was evidently demand for information on the Spanish Kingdom and its monarchy in the wake of the diplomatic events of 1659 and 1660, and especially for images such as those by Meunier that would have provided a visual setting for the events described in texts including Bertaut's travel journal. However, the bespoke nature of the Queen's edition probably meant that Meunier did not have access to the original plates, or that further impressions were prohibited. As we have

¹⁷⁰ For further discussion on the system of privilège du roi, see section 4.2, Chapter Four.

already seen in Chapter One, a second version of a portion of the print set was made by Meunier soon after the appearance of the *Differentes Veues* series (cat. 59). He was clearly emboldened by the interest in his Spanish imagery to etch a new, smaller set of ten plates depicting the fountains, walkways, trellised allées and architecture of the Aranjuez Palace and its gardens with a newly designed title page containing a dedication to the duc de Liancourt (fig. 2.55a). Knowing the duke's interest in garden print, he may have hoped to secure future patronage. Van Merle acquired this "Aranjuez" series in 1665 and published it for sale, this time with professional lettering in French only, as presumably it was the wider Parisian public that was the intended consumer of these images, not a queen with limited knowledge of French. Van Merle also had the title page reworked. All references to the duc de Liancourt, including his coat of arms and the dedication were burnished from the plate, and a new lettering specifying the location of Aranjuez, "distant de quatre lieues de Madril," again with a general audience in mind who may not have been familiar with this palace (fig. 2.55b). An experienced publisher by the 1660s, Van Merle must have recognised a gap in the market for topographical images depicting locations in Spain, and he was soon followed by Silvestre who had Meunier create profile views of eight Spanish cities in 1665 or shortly thereafter.

At this point the plates pertaining to the *Differentes Veues* series disappear from view. No subsequent edition of the set was printed until the publisher Nicolas Bonnart appears to have come into possession of them more than ten years later, between 1674 and 1677. If the duc de Liancourt was behind their original commission, could it be possible that the plates remained in his possession until his death in 1674?

With the republishing and circulation of Meunier's images from the mid-1670s onwards, we observe a leap from the personal realm of gift-giving, to images that circulated between publishing shops and the albums of collectors amid prints representative of diverse peoples and places. It was not in fact unprecedented for a set of topographical images made for a royal patron to cross over from private to public consumption. In 1558, while residing in the

Netherlands, Philip II commissioned the Flemish draughtsman and geographer Jacob van Deventer (1505–75) to create views of the major cities of the Low Countries. Deventer worked on the project until his death in 1575, producing 320 hand-coloured bird’s-eye views, of which 220 have survived as finished drawings in the BNE and as preparatory drawings in the royal library of Belgium (KBR). Philip II, who himself had a life-long passion for geography, understood the advantage of accurate maps and topographical views for the sieging of a city, and as such these views were produced for official use and were never published by the crown.¹⁷¹ However, Deventer had connections to the Hogenberg family, and although he is not credited in the publication, presumably as a precautionary measure, a number of his city plans appear in the third and fourth volumes of the *Civitates orbis terrarum*.¹⁷²

There is a key difference in this instance, however, in that it was probable that Meunier had always had a general audience in mind when creating his images of Spanish royal sites and cities. Despite the dedication to Marie-Thérèse on the title page and the dual inscriptions in French and Spanish, Meunier’s prints do not refer to specific events or experiences from her life as a Spanish Infanta. In the following chapter I identify the ways in which Meunier’s images of the royal spaces differ from the paintings made by Velázquez and Mazo for the Spanish royal family that depict specific personalities and fondly remembered occasions such as the royal hunts and ceremonial entries into cities. It is not so much the depiction of the royal sites with which she would have been intimately familiar that link the first state of the *Differentes Veues* series to Marie-Thérèse, but the personalised binding and the dedication on the titlepage. Once separated from the binding, the prints take on a more generic character.

¹⁷¹ Richard L. Kagan, “Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 121–22.

¹⁷² Stephan Füssel, “Natura sola magistra – The Evolution of City Iconography in the Early Modern Era,” in *Cities of the World: Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572–1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Köln; London: Taschen, 2008), 28.

Conclusion

With Meunier's prints we are given a glimpse of the cities and palaces of Spain through the eyes of an onlooker, someone perhaps familiar with the mechanisms of the court but not as a participant. His views capture the lushness of the Aranjuez gardens, the pleasing symmetry of the Plaza Mayor, and the lofty heights of the Alcázar in Segovia, but they lack insight into the closed meanings these spaces held for the people who inhabited them. This is because the stylistic language Meunier uses is that of the printed streetscape, a format that by its descriptive nature was intended for an international audience fluent in a mode of city representation that was current in educated circles. Callot had already recognised the capacity of print to appeal to a high audience and a broad one at the same time. In his *Capricci di varie figure* (1617) made for the sixteen-year-old Lorenzo di Ferdinando I de' Medici, Callot drew on the imagery of contemporary theatre and everyday life to create a didactic sequence of emblematic prints for the edification of the young prince. Taken out of this specific educational context, the fantastic, inventive creation shown through his figures retained their appeal for far-flung audiences, and were highly sought after by collectors.¹⁷³ In a similar vein, as Meunier's plates went through subsequent reprints throughout the 1660s and into the 1670s, and his prints entered the circulation of the wider Parisian print market, the specific personal, cultural and political allusions connected to the first bound edition were inevitably translated and altered as they were encountered by a wider audience. Once in the hands of collectors such as Gaignières or Lallement de Betz, the value of the prints in the *Differentes Vues* series lay in their capacity to present the world at one's fingertips. As the next chapter goes on to demonstrate, the sentiment of the print series as a gift is erased.

¹⁷³ Sheila McTighe, *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), Chapter 3, 145–78.

Chapter Three

The View from the Outside: The Representation of Iberia in Meunier's *Differentes Vues* Series

In the previous chapter it was determined that although Meunier's *Differentes Vues* series was dedicated and presented to Queen Marie-Thérèse, the established visual language of the topographical genre allowed the prints to easily transition to a wider audience when restrikes began to circulate in print shops from the mid-1670s. These subsequent states of Meunier's prints will be examined at length in Chapter Four, but it is the purpose of this chapter to first take a closer look at the strategies of depiction used by Meunier in creating the vision of Spain offered by the *Differentes Vues* series.

Prior to the appearance of Meunier's prints in the early 1660s, existing printed imagery of Spain in publications such as the *Civitates orbis terrarum* were at least one hundred years out of date. As we have already seen, Meunier's approach is reflective of the genre of printed series showcasing streetscapes of French and Italian cities that expanded in popularity and circulation from the 1650s onwards in the work of artists such as Barrière, Della Bella and Silvestre, and later by Giovanni Battista Falda. In 1662 this strategy had yet to have been applied to Spanish cities. The streetscapes that we see in Meunier's etchings represent a novel approach in terms of both subject matter (i.e. individual buildings or urban sites) and composition (viewed within the context of the city's built fabric). Images of this sort depicting Spanish subjects did not exist in print prior to Meunier's publication, and would have required new material and research. In other words, Meunier could not have copied these images from an existing source, backing up the claim that these images were made as the result of a real journey.

While we can trust that Meunier's images derive from first-hand experience, this chapter begins by investigating whether previous scholars have been justified in their reliance on the perceived authenticity of his portrayals. It is crucial to question the naturalism of Meunier's images. This is not to imply an exercise in sorting the fact from fiction in these prints in order to arrive at archaeological or ethnographical "evidence." Rather, it is a call for an acknowledgement of the visual practices and pictorial strategies used by the artists who produced topographical print in their presentations of places and cultures for an international audience. In asking whether Meunier's etching are authentic portrayals, it is important not just to question their architectural accuracy, but to ask whether they capture a sense of place that would have been recognised by the people who lived there. Building upon an analytical framework established by Richard Kagan's studies on city views in Latin America, the second half of this chapter approaches Meunier's depiction of Western Islamic architecture in Spain as a case study in order to demonstrate that although his prints succeed in capturing the built form of Spanish cities, these images tell us little about the ideological or metaphorical associations that shaped local interpretations of place.¹

By showcasing the most impressive examples of architecture and urban spaces that the peninsula had to offer, regardless of the perceived political connotations in their place of origin, Meunier's topographical views met the expectations of a market of print collectors and *curieux* who sought to develop encyclopaedic print collections that could represent each area of the known world. This chapter scrutinises how this intended audience affected the modes of representation evidenced in Meunier's prints so that we can understand the success of these images that were incorporated into so many prestigious print collections, and account for their enduring prevalence into the eighteenth century.

¹ See Richard L. Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," in *Envisioning the City*, ed. David Buisseret (1998); Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000).

3.1 Accuracy and Authenticity in Meunier's Topographical Views of Spain and Portugal

Out of the twenty-seven locations depicted in Meunier's *Differentes Vues* series not all of the sites have survived in a recognisable state today. Some of these buildings, such as the Alcázar of Madrid and the Palacio Ribera in Lisbon were destroyed by fire and earthquake (in 1734 and 1755 respectively), while others were significantly altered after suffering damage during armed conflicts such as the Peninsular War (1807–14), or the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) in the case of the Alcázar of Toledo. Certain urban spaces have been overwhelmed by new developments (the Plaza de la Cebada, Madrid) or were demolished as they ceased to be of use (Seville's Castillo de San Jorge), and in some instances formerly prized buildings fell victim to the legacies of shoddy building techniques.² However, the majority of the buildings framed by Meunier's vistas, such as the Alhambra of Granada and San Lorenzo de El Escorial, remain some of the most iconic and frequently reproduced features of Spain's architectural heritage.

What is most compelling about examining these prints at a distance of 360 years after their first appearance is the manner in which many of them convincingly evoke an authentic encounter by the artist with these places. Once changes of dress and technology are taken into account, Meunier's bustling scenes are not completely removed from the viewing experience confronted by the tourist today, whether taking in the richness of the *yesería* from the safety of the shade in the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra, or navigating the parasols and stalls in Madrid's bustling Plaza Mayor (figs. 3.1 and 3.2).

The framing of Meunier's images originate from the eye of a curious traveller, one of whose goals is to record impressions of the most remarkable, memorable or unusual aspects of

² Although contemporary commentators were astounded by the speed at which the Buen Retiro palace was built, the complex was mostly made out of rubble. Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, rev. and expanded ed. (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 65–66.

the urban spaces he chooses to depict. In his dramatic view of the interior courtyard of the Charles V Palace in the Alhambra we get no sense of the ground plan or the relationship of this courtyard to the circulation of the building, but the novelty and surprise of the enormous circular space is clearly communicated (fig. 3.3).³ In Meunier's etchings, the task of communicating the form of these buildings does not outweigh the goal of evoking the experience of walking through them. It is evident that Meunier's observations are not those of a trained architect. Although attentive to setting and architectural detail, his drawing is not confined by mathematical accuracy, and in an effort to convey the grandeur of certain buildings, his sense of scale can become distorted. In his views of El Escorial, for example, Meunier populates the scene with minuscule figures that are utterly dwarfed by the building's imposing granite façade, a formal device not uncommon in the topographical print genre, although Meunier does take it to greater lengths (fig. 3.4). The aim is not to record the objective reality of measurement, but to capture an impression of magnificence and grandeur that results from taking in this enormous complex from the ground level. The tight oblique angle from which Meunier captures the façade is replicated in many more of his prints, a slight awkwardness of depiction that works in his favour by substantiating his claim that his sketches were made on site, specifically in a tight urban setting where frontal vistas are often restricted. In order to broaden the sense of space in many of these instances, Meunier compensates for this tight angle in his repeated use of dramatically receding street perspectives, a very theatrical compositional device that can be observed in his image of the Cárcel de Corte in Madrid (fig. 3.5). A similar licence with proportion and perspective is taken in his view of the Cathedral of Toledo, where Meunier, in his eagerness to capture the building's tower at the northern corner, is forced to truncate its spire in order to fit it within the frame of the image (fig. 3.6). Equally, in his depiction of Seville's Casa de Contratación, which now houses the Archivo General de Indias, Meunier corrals the

³ Indeed, the one print which does offer a sense of an architectural plan is the bird's-eye view of El Escorial which is based on Perret's print after Herrera, and which were absolutely architectural in nature. See section 4.2. and cat. 19, Appendix.

city's cathedral and minaret into a receding diagonal behind the structure in a simultaneous expansion and compression of space that would have been impossible to capture, even from on top of the walls of the Alcázar facing the plaza. This succession of buildings is more suggestive of an experiential memory of the city and its most salient structures, as is the colossal height of the Giralda that towers over the city like a skyscraper, communicating the feeling of enormity that it inspires, rather than its actual dimensions (cat. 53). In all of these examples, architectural accuracy is sacrificed for the overall evocation of setting and dramatic effect.

Meunier's prints have been used as a documentary source by numerous studies on seventeenth-century Spanish architecture and urbanism, particularly by those which have sought to recreate buildings and urban settings that have since been lost.⁴ Allowing for the artistic licence and compositional framing that Meunier exercises in his views, his illustrations of these buildings are keenly observed in many of their formal details, such as the intricate plasterwork in the Court of the Lions, as well as in his descriptions of environmental setting, from the mountainside surrounding his views of Granada, to the populated streets of Madrid. This eye for specific detail encompasses not only formal aspects of architecture but the daily activities and interactions that occur between the places he witnesses and the people who inhabit them. Particularly in his prints of Madrid, we see a broad spectrum of the city's occupants; *aguadores* collecting water at the Plaza Santo Domingo, stall keepers selling their wares outside the Cárcel in the Plaza de la Providencia, carriages that were so favoured by the Madrid elite ferrying their passengers to and fro, figures distributing alms, and gentlemen conversing with veiled ladies in the gardens of Aranjuez (figs. 3.7–10). Even the most minute and sketchily drawn figures are animated with a specificity of dress and social rank.

Caution must be exercised, however, in approaching Meunier's prints as unmediated documents of social history. Although his detailed observations are derived from direct experience, his depictions are not immune to pictorial convention. They are constructions made

⁴ See Introduction for a list of references.

after the fact, influenced by interim experiences and the distortions of memory. Rather than forming a “snapshot” of the urban life of Madrid, Meunier’s images are staged compositions, foregrounding details that best serve the communicative purpose of the print while eschewing the unpleasant realities of the poverty and filth of seventeenth-century Madrid. In their accounts of Madrid, both Bertaut and Brunel describe the streets of the capital as broad, but ill-paved, foul-smelling and muddy, yet in Meunier’s renditions of the Plaza de la Provincia and the Plaza de la Cebada the streets are a white and unblemished flat plane (cats. 6 and 9).⁵ While Meunier does depict figures of varying social classes, there is no sign of poverty or deprivation and the figures of lower rank are all busily engaged in commercial activity, such as collecting water or driving burros. These figures serve a double function. On the one hand they enliven the images with anecdotal vignettes, a feature of Meunier’s work that is perhaps inherited from his time with Stoop, who was himself indebted to the naturalism of the Bamboccianti. On the other hand, the figures, with their specificity of dress and rank, serve as characteristic types that are just as representative of cultural identity as the architecture that surrounds them. In this sense they can be viewed as precursors to the *costumbrista* figures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶ Drawn from an amalgamation of observations, they function as staffage that contribute to the overall sense of place. Regardless of their actual accuracy, it is the addition of these details that contribute an air of plausibility to Meunier’s scenes. A claim that is further backed up by his inscriptions which state that the preparatory drawings for these etchings were made “ad

⁵ “..the Streets are large, but foul, and stinking. They which calculate all the ordures, cast into them, say they are daily perfumed by above a hundred thousand Close-stools; the Pavement is so defective, and the Coaches so ill hung, that to ride in them over so uneven ground is to be broken on the Wheel.” Antoine de Brunel, *A Journey into Spain* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1670), 17. Bertaut says something very similar: “Les ruës sont pour la plus part larges, mais je ne croy pas que jamais on en ait osté un tombereau de boüe tant il y en a par tour, & si infecte à cause des ordures que l’on y jette, que je croy que c’est pour ce sujet que les Espagnols ont tant de soin d’avoir du parfum. L’hyver les carrosses ont à cause de cela grande peine à y aller.” François Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d’Espagne, contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l’estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, etc., contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l’estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, touchant les regences, les assemblées des Etats....* (Paris: Chez Claude Barbin: Au Palais, sur le Per ron de la sainte Chapelle, 1669), 46–47.

⁶ On costumbrista figures in popular print in eighteenth century, see Valeriano Bozal, “El Contumbrismo prerromántico,” in *El grabado en españa: (siglos XV al XVIII)*, ed. Juan Carrete Parrondo, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988).

vivum.”⁷ These observations are clearly the product of a real journey, which, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, was likely to have been made in 1662.

This specificity can especially be observed in the close attention Meunier pays to the different types of dress that feature in early modern Iberian street life. Despite their tiny scale, Meunier’s marks distinguish between female figures wearing *mantillas* or men with hats or carrying swords, in a way that corresponds with the activities they are carrying out. In many instances Meunier captures the most striking feature of Spanish women’s dress, the *guardainfante*, the wide-hipped farthingale that reached the peak of its popularity during the last years of Philip IV’s reign (figs. 3.9 and 3.10).⁸ With its dramatic width and stiff, bouncing structure, the *guardainfante* contributed to the ostentation and splendour of the urban court settings. Meunier features it in the royal pleasure gardens of Aranjuez, the Buen Retiro and Zarzuela, adding to the evocation of leisure, high fashion and sociability. By the early 1660s, when Meunier was making these images, the *guardainfante* had become closely associated with Spanish diplomacy and courtly display, and had effectively become a shorthand for the Spanish monarchy that was recognised across Europe and the New World.⁹ Dress was then, as it is now, an efficient marker of identity, and even more so a marker of difference. Reading through the pamphlet reports on the treaty negotiations and the wedding of 1659 and 1660, it is striking how dress is often the first cultural marker to be directly compared or criticised. Not long before Meunier’s prints were published, at the royal wedding of 1660, Anne of Austria’s lady-in-

⁷ For further discussion on Meunier’s use of this term and its rhetorical value, see Chapter Four.

⁸ Amanda Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2015); Amalia Descalzo and Carmen Bernis, “Spanish Female Dress in the Habsburg Period,” in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014).

⁹ Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*,” 161. María Teresa’s *guardainfante* featured prominently in the Le Brun tapestry, see Chapter Two. The *guardainfante* was clearly associated with Spain and in areas of Spanish influence such as Genoa or Milan, donning the garment could signal allegiances, particularly as the farthingales had been dropped by the French. Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*,” 166. See also Gabriel Guarino, ““The Antipathy between French and Spaniards”: Dress, Gender, and Identity in the Court Society of Early Modern Naples, 1501–1799,” in *Dress and Cultural Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Aust Cornelia, Klein Denise, and Weller Thomas (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019).

waiting Madame de Motteville remarked that it pained her “to see the clothing and coiffure of the Spanish women... their Gard-Infante was a machine half round and monstrous...”¹⁰ Motteville’s comment, broadly reflective of opinions held at the French court, fed into notions surrounding the Spanish adherence to the wide farthingale, which had long since become unfashionable in France. For these observers the *guardainfante* was not a manifestation of magnificence or grandeur, but a sign of Spanish folly, pride and retrograde culture.

As a printmaker operating for publishers based in Paris, Meunier does not exaggerate his description of this item of clothing or make it a focal point. He certainly portrays the skirts as big, but not as comical or as ridiculously outsized, they are merely depicted as an observation that describes the setting and the function of the building in question. Much the same can be said of his depiction of men’s dress. Meunier captures the relative simplicity of seventeenth-century Spanish male clothing, figures such as the man in front of the Fountain of Apollo in Aranjuez are shown wearing a shirt with a cassock over a black padded doublet and breeches, accessorised with a sword and a *ferreruelo* cloak (fig. 3.9).¹¹ A figure much more familiar to French audiences of the time would have been the satirical Espagnole who was ridiculed so often in popular print, especially after the outbreak of the Franco-Spanish war in 1630 (fig. 3.11). This haughty character was invariably depicted wearing an enormous ruff as another indicator of perceived Spanish pride and vanity, despite the fact that the ruff had become obsolete at the Spanish court after Philip IV introduced the *golilla* collar in 1623.¹² Meunier’s etchings do not feature a single ruff, he instead bases his depictions of male and female dress as he would have seen it in the early 1660s, rather than on second-hand reports. This is in marked contrast to Julius Milheuser’s copy after Meunier’s profile view of Madrid made in

¹⁰ Motteville quoted in Abby E. Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 51.

¹¹ For early modern male clothing in Spain see Amalia Descalzo, “Spanish Male Costume in the Habsburg Period,” in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014).

¹² Véronique Meyer, “Spanish Dress in French Engravings from 1630 to 1715: Between Satire and Reality,” in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014), 342.

Amsterdam sometime between 1665 and 1680, that features figures in the foreground in dress more characteristic of the 1630s and a haughty “Espagnole” character type (fig. 3.12, see fig. 4.15 for the full image).¹³

While Meunier’s more neutral depiction is an indication of the thawing of French and Spanish relations in the early 1660s, it also demonstrates that he arrived at his compositions without recourse to preconceived prejudices or clichés. This approach diverges from the few guidebooks on Spain that were available to the early modern reader in northern Europe. These guides were often written by travellers who did not speak Spanish and were therefore heavily reliant on second-hand reports that tended to repeat entrenched opinions on the landscape and its culture.¹⁴ The memoir writers and ambassadors of Louis XIV’s court discussed in Chapter Two may have felt that they knew the Spanish court, but there were great limitations to the knowledge of the country as a whole that the French king, his diplomats, or indeed his print publishers, could access. As Jocelyn Hillgarth’s study on the perceptions of Spain in the early modern period has demonstrated, most visitors from France, and indeed most European visitors, knew little of Spain outside of the court setting. As a large peninsula on the western edge of Europe, with mountains to the north and an elevated, semi-arid plateau dominating the interior (the Meseta Central), few travellers were tempted to tackle the harsh travel conditions overland, particularly as it was not on an established route to any other European centre. Most travellers were either pilgrims, migrant workers or merchants based in the major ports, who did not usually leave written accounts. Where travel accounts do exist, they were most often written as dispatches by diplomatic representatives, such as those mentioned in Chapter Two, whose versions of events have to be examined with caution, as they were often influenced by the agendas of their home countries.¹⁵ With the exception of Bertaut, it was rare for these functionaries to venture beyond the surrounds of Madrid, and when they did it was most often

¹³ See section 4.1, Chapter Four for further discussion of this copy.

¹⁴ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 76–77.

¹⁵ Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 17.

confined to the triangle formed between the Pyrenees, Barcelona and Madrid which created little opportunity for any appreciation of the differences between the semi-independent regions.¹⁶

This is where Meunier's etchings of Spanish cities stand apart from most contemporary French written sources. His depictions extend beyond the court spaces to regions and cities to the south and west of the peninsula that had not been depicted substantially by a non-Spanish artist in print since Hoefnagel and Van den Wyngaerde in the 1560s. These images are not governed by overwhelming cultural bias or long-established prejudices surrounding the Spanish character. Unlike García's oft-cited *Oposición y Conjunción*, Meunier's etchings cut against the stereotypes of popular print by emphasising the courtly society the French and Spanish cultures have in common, as manifested in his depictions of magnificent architecture and sophisticated pleasure gardens. As with Bertaut's travel account, where differences are shown, in the Islamic architecture of the Alhambra for example, they are presented with curious interest, rather than as an implicit invitation to compare them unfavourably with French examples. The fact that Meunier's journey appears not to have been connected to a diplomatic embassy such as Gramont's probably benefitted the artist even further in his mission to capture the most outstanding architecture of the peninsula.

3.2 Visual Precedents

As observant as Meunier's images are, this is not to suggest that they are completely uninfluenced by previous depictions of Spain. It is notable that only one of Meunier's images departs from the street level to depict a bird's-eye view of a building at a high enough angle to reveal its plan (fig. 3.13). In fact, this particular view of the Escorial is an almost exact replica

¹⁶ Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 47. This is more or less the route taken by Brunel in 1655.

of an engraving that was published almost eighty years earlier in a description of the building entitled *Sumario y breve declaración de los diseños y estampas de la fábrica de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (Madrid, 1589). Engraved by Pedro Perret (1555–ca. 1625) after drawings by the building’s final architect Juan de Herrera (ca. 1533–97), the bird’s-eye view was accompanied by eleven other engravings depicting elevations, cross-sections, ground plans and details of the church’s *retablo* and tabernacle.¹⁷ With direct encouragement from Philip II, who was eager to publicise his *octava maravilla del mundo*, the *Sumario* comprised the first large-scale copperplate engravings produced in Spain, and according to Mark McDonald, “the most technically complete and accomplished publication of the sixteenth century.”¹⁸ It demonstrates Philip II’s interest in using the most advanced techniques available in order to maximise upon the propagandistic message of the building itself.¹⁹

Perhaps because it is more pictorial than some of the architectural diagrams in the *Sumario*, Perret’s bird’s-eye view was copied extensively in guidebooks, popular print and paintings both in Spain and abroad (see figs. 3.14–16). Its ubiquity can also be explained by its inclusion in the *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1572–1618, fig. 3.17). Perret’s image was not only representative of the building itself, but became a symbol of Habsburg monarchy and especially its defence of the Catholic faith, an association which continued into the following centuries (fig. 3.18). Its authority was underscored by the continued use of the motif by Philip IV in his own printed iconography, thus conferring royal sanction upon this iconic symbol (fig. 3.19). Meunier’s inclusion of a copy of the Escorial bird’s-eye view in his first series indicates that there would have been an expectation amongst his intended audience that a representation of Spain must include this iconic image.

¹⁷ On Perret’s print, see Mark P. McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings Made in Spain* (London: British Museum Press, 2012), 77; Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), 84–115; Fernando Checa Cremades, “La imagen impresa en el renacimiento y el manierismo,” in *El grabado en España: (siglos XV al XVIII)*, ed. Juan Carrete Parrondo, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988), 122.

¹⁸ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 77.

¹⁹ Checa Cremades, “La imagen impresa en el renacimiento y el manierismo,” 122.

Apart from the Perret image, there is just one other print among Meunier's views of Spain that is based on an existing composition. In his Van Merle series of 1668, Meunier includes a view of the Ribeira Palace in Lisbon which is a slightly elongated version of Dirk Stoop's etching from 1662 (see fig. 1.13). In Chapter Two, I discussed the similarities between Meunier's compositions and Stoop's print series and suggested that Meunier may have been involved in the Lisbon project. That Meunier made a copy of Stoop's print before it was republished in Amsterdam by De Ram may be further evidence of a connection between these artists, and certainly confirms that Meunier either owned a set of Stoop's Lisbon prints or had encountered them in the 1660s. There is no further evidence to suggest that Meunier's first series of views is based on any other pre-existing topographical project of Spain.

Printed Representations of Spain in Circulation pre-1660

Apart from political and satirical prints such as almanacs and anti-Catholic propaganda, there were relatively few printed images of Spain, and especially its topography, in wide circulation in the mid-seventeenth century. This paucity of visual material resulted in the recycling of a small number of sources over a long period of time. Most audiences, especially in northern Europe, would have been familiar with the concept of Spain and its cities as represented through the images created by the Flemish painter Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601) for Braun and Hogenberg's city atlas. From 1563 to 1567 Hoefnagel travelled extensively in Spain and Portugal, capturing views of cities, as well as ruins of antiquarian interest, local customs and industries. In total over forty locations in Spain and Portugal appear in five out of the six volumes of the *Civitates*, and were published in numerous editions up to 1600.²⁰ Most of Hoefnagel's images are perspective or profiles views of cities and monuments seen from the surrounding countryside, with the foreground animated by figures representative of local customs and costumes (fig. 3.20). Originally conceived as a companion piece to Abraham

²⁰ Most, although not all, of these were composed by Hoefnagel.

Ortelius' world atlas of 1570, the *Civitates* was a huge commercial success and enormously influential in establishing fixed imagery of cities and their inhabitants that endured well into the following century. The most popular seventeenth-century guidebook on Spain, Martin Zeiler's *Itinerarium Hispaniae et Lusitaniae* first appeared in German in Nuremberg in 1637, but a Latin edition that was published from 1656 was illustrated with images that, apart from one plan of Madrid and Perret's Escorial view, were taken directly from the *Civitates* (fig. 3.21).²¹ Other isolated print projects, such as Jodocus Hondius II's view of Lisbon and Johannes Janssonius' view of Seville that were probably made for King Gustav II Adolf of Sweden (1594–1632), did not appear to have circulated widely until they were copied by the Dutch publisher Frederick de Wit (1629/30–1706) in the second half of the seventeenth century (fig. 3.22).²² One other visual record of Spain from the 1660s that is comparable to Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series in terms of scope, is a suite of drawings in pen and ink with grey washes made by the Italian military engineer Pietro Maria Baldi (1630–86) during Cosimo III de' Medici's tour of Europe in 1668–69 that brought him on an extensive journey through the Iberian peninsula, starting in Barcelona, travelling down through Madrid to Granada, and finally ending in Lisbon. The drawings were made to illustrate an account of the journey written by Lorenzo Magalotti (1637–1712), but neither the journal nor the images were published and remain in manuscript form in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.²³ Prior to Bonnat's edition of Meunier's *Differentes Veues* from the second half of the 1670s, therefore, most print consumers would have encountered Spain through images that were almost one hundred years out of date. Meunier's images depict buildings that had not existed when Hoefnagel made his journey in the 1560s, such as the Cárcel de Corte and the Buen Retiro

²¹ Based on an anonymous account of 1617, first published in German in 1637, appeared in Dutch in 1659. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 74–75.

²² *The Very Large Portuguese City of Lisbon, a Most Famous Market Town for the Whole East and West India. Portugal Lisbon, 1619*. Amsterdam: Jodocus Hondius. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021670738/>. Accessed 7 September 2022.

²³ Med.Palat.123(1), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. Lorenzo Magalotti, *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal (1668–1669)*, ed. Ángel Sánchez Rivero and Angela Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1933); Miguel Taín Guzmán, *A Medici Pilgrimage: The Devotional Journey of Cosimo III to Santiago de Compostela (1669)* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2018).

Palace. Indeed, Madrid does not feature at all in Hoefnagel's account, an omission which is not surprising when we consider the fact that the city was only made a capital in 1561 and its Alcázar had yet to be refurbished. Considering the symbolic and ceremonial importance of Madrid as an imperial capital during the reign of Philip IV, it is clear how out-dated Hoefnagel's images were by 1660.

The Symbolic Use of Architecture as Grandeza by the Spanish Habsburgs

In Chapter Two we saw how the royal and civic architecture of Madrid was staged during Gramont's ambassadorial visit of 1659 as an embodiment of the power and prestige of the Habsburg monarchy. This was possible thanks to the construction of new monumental buildings and urban spaces since the return of the court to the capital in 1606, including the Cárcel de Corte, the Buen Retiro Palace, the Panadería and the Plaza Mayor, as well as the completion of the Alcázar's façade and the reconfiguration of the Plaza de Palacio during the regency of Mariana of Austria (1665–75). In his recent book on architecture and the Spanish monarchy, Jesús Escobar describes the Habsburg rulers' deliberate transformation of the urban fabric of the city into a "court space" at the centre of a global empire.²⁴ From Philip II onwards, there was an understanding of the potential of architecture to shape a ruler's reputation by communicating an image of *grandeza* or "magnificence" to the city's subjects and to observers abroad. For the Spanish Habsburgs this was embodied in the *estilo austriaco*, an architectural style that combined Spanish building traditions with classical proportions and centralised planning adopted from Italian theorists, with ornamental features derived from the Low Countries. The internationalism of the style, as encapsulated in the Escorial Monastery, communicated the extent of the Habsburg Empire (in European terms at least), and made allusions to the past glories of Imperial Rome and the Burgundian ancestry of the Habsburg

²⁴ Jesús Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid: Architecture and the Spanish Monarchy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022).

house.²⁵ The symmetry and order of these new spaces also promoted the monarchy's political ideals of justice and good government. The plaza mayor at the heart of the city soon became a distinctive marker of Spanish colonial urbanism.²⁶ There was an awareness that the plaza was more than simply a functional space that facilitated markets and religious or civic gatherings, but one that stood as a representation for the city as a whole. In an anonymous architectural treatise dedicated to Philip II around 1550 the author wrote that plazas "are of foremost importance in the city given that they are the places most frequented by [its residents] and foreign [visitors], who tend to report about [our] cities in their homelands."²⁷ The cultivation of the gardens at the Buen Retiro and Aranjuez, in addition to their recreational use, also reflected these concerns, as increasingly through the course of the seventeenth century, the formal garden was interpreted as a metaphor for the connections between good kingship and natural order. A well-ordered garden reflected judicious governance and mastery over the land and the elements.²⁸ Taken as a whole, these architectural interventions were not merely passive reflections of power, but they actively shaped it by promoting the *grandeza* of Habsburg rule.

Communicating Habsburg Grandeza through Topographical Views

By the 1660s when Meunier's images were first published, the Spanish monarchs were steeped in a rich visual tradition of topography that allowed them to survey their kingdoms and colonies from afar, while simultaneously promoting the *grandeza* of their cities.²⁹ We know from contemporary reports and palace inventories that Philip II had the walls of entrance halls,

²⁵ Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid: Architecture and the Spanish Monarchy*, 12.

²⁶ See Jesús Escobar, "Toward an *urbanismo austriaco*: An Examination of Sources for Urban Planning in the Spanish Habsburg World," in *Early Modern Urbanism and the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context: Exchanges in Theory and Practice, 1550–1800*, ed. Piet Lombaerde and Charles van den Heuvel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

²⁷ Quoted in Escobar, "Toward an *urbanismo austriaco*: An Examination of Sources for Urban Planning in the Spanish Habsburg World," 168. See also Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, "Planning a Style for the Escorial: An Architectural Treatise for Philip II of Spain," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44 (1985).

²⁸ Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 248.

²⁹ See Richard L. Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986).

audience chambers and corridors in the Madrid Alcázar and the Pardo hunting lodge hung with large-scale painted versions of Van den Wyngaerde's views. These included not only views of Spanish cities such as Barcelona, Burgos, Córdoba, Seville and Zaragoza, but other European locations such as Amsterdam, London, Rome, Naples, Dordrecht and Ghent.³⁰ As the seventeenth-century historian Luis Cabrera de Córdoba observed, Philip II "sabia sus provincias, ciudades, pueblos, el sitio, montes, ríos... Lo que no pisó, le presentaba la pintura."³¹ Philip IV emulated his grandfather by adding seventeen maps by Teixeira to the walls of the staircase leading to his office and the royal library in the Alcázar of Madrid, including the monumental *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* which would have been pasted to canvas and either framed or hung from rollers.³² In doing so both Philips tapped into an established iconography of power that emerged out of Italy in the late fifteenth century, when popes and princes alike were inspired by a Roman tradition described by Pliny to decorate their palaces and villas with cycles of painted maps and city views.³³ By subjugating the depicted territory to the ruler's gaze, the display of city views, as well as maps, functioned as visual expressions of territorial possession, political legitimacy, dynastic glory and military authority.

The 1700–3 inventories of the Spanish royal palaces indicate that in addition to maps and city views, residences such as the Alcázar of Madrid, El Pardo and the Buen Retiro would have been adorned with numerous paintings depicting views of the royal residences.³⁴ There appear to have been several of these *reales sitios* series executed by a succession of royal painters,

³⁰ Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," 118–19. Most of these paintings were lost in fires at the Pardo in 1603 and in the Madrid Alcázar in 1734. Philip II also had seventy maps taken from the 1578 edition of Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* hanging in the Escorial throne room. Francesca Fiorani, "Cycles of Painted Maps in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 805–06.

³¹ Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Filipe Segundo, Rey de España* (En Madrid: por Luis Sanchez ... 1619), 5.

³² On Teixeira's map of Madrid, see the introduction to this thesis. Jesús Escobar, "Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 Representation of Madrid," *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 1 (2014): 64; Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986), 121–25.

³³ On maps and city views as palace decoration, see Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2005); Ryan E. Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

³⁴ Gloria Fernández Bayton, *Inventarios reales: testamentaria del Rey Carlos II 1701–1703* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, Patronato Nacional de Museos, 1975).

including Félix Castello (1595–1651), Jusepe Leonardo (1601–52), Juan de la Corte (ca. 1590–1662), the workshop of Velázquez, Mazo, and Benito Manuel de Agüero (1626–68). They do not form part of an overall series, but were commissioned at different stages as part of new decorative programmes after renovations such as those undertaken at the Torre de la Parada in 1635–40 and at Aranjuez in the second half of the 1650s.³⁵ These paintings range from the more terrestrial view of the Casa de Campo gardens with the equestrian statue of Philip III (fig. 3.29a), to Leonardo’s expansive bird’s-eye view of the Buen Retiro that reveals the size and plan of the complex, adopting a godlike vantage point symbolic of the king’s authority (fig. 3.23).³⁶

Many of these canvases, such as Agüero’s *Vista del jardín de la reina, palacio del Buen Retiro* have an elongated format, indicating their function as decorative overdoors, designed to hang in a specific location (fig. 3.27a).³⁷ Agüero’s painting was made ca. 1660 for the large gallery known as the Salon that faced south on the first floor of the Aranjuez Palace. The decorative scheme for the Salon included thirty-three canvases in total, featuring classical landscapes and bucolic mythological scenes combined with views of the Pardo, El Escorial and the Buen Retiro, as well as four views of the Aranjuez gardens that included two large paintings of the *Fountain of the Tritons* and the currently unlocated *Fountain of Hercules* that occupied the lateral ends of the room.³⁸ Facing the gardens from his position in the Salon, Philip IV would have been able to appreciate the play of reality and artifice with the fictive fountains mirroring their real counterparts in the landscape just outside the windows. The overall decorative scheme evoked an atmosphere of leisure and fantasy, but also that of surveillance,

³⁵ Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (London; New York: Phaidon; Distributed by Praeger, 1971), 130–33. For Aranjuez, see Gloria Martínez Leiva, “La galería paisajes de Aranjuez en tiempos de Felipe IV,” in *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV: Jornadas de iconografía y coleccionismo* (2006).

³⁶ Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid: Architecture and the Spanish Monarchy*, 14.

³⁷ Richard L. Kagan and Marianna S. Simpson, “Dos vistas de jardines del siglo XVII procedentes del Palacio Real de Aranjuez,” *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 36, 54 (2018). For the decorative scheme of the Salon, see Gloria Martínez Leiva, “El ‘Salón’ o Galería de paisajes del palacio real de Aranjuez bajo el reinado de Felipe IV,” *Reales Sitios*, no. 159 (2004); Martínez Leiva, “La galería paisajes de Aranjuez en tiempos de Felipe IV.”

³⁸ Gloria Martínez Leiva has published a document that lists the paintings that were sent to Aranjuez in 1664 “Cargo de las pinturas q. se han puesto en la Gal^a de este Rl. Pal^o q. son de D. Phe. de la Peña Conserje” Martínez Leiva, “La galería paisajes de Aranjuez en tiempos de Felipe IV.”

allowing the ruler, no matter where he was to make a mental journey around his royal residences, in a manner reminiscent of the experience of perusing an album of topographical prints. These paintings would have transformed the Salon into a microcosm of the *reales sitios*, asserting the King's possession and the magnificence of his court.³⁹

Perhaps the most celebrated of these royal topographical views, both then and now, are the scenes painted by Mazo and Velázquez that commemorated ceremonial events and royal hunts, forming important examples of self-representation at Philip IV's court. In 1645 Philip IV and Prince Baltasar Carlos were in Zaragoza for the Infante to be sworn as crown prince of the Kingdom of Aragón. Mazo, who was part of the entourage that accompanied this trip, was commissioned in the following year by Baltasar Carlos to paint a view of the city seen from a gallery of the San Lázaro convent.⁴⁰ The painting, however, was not completed until after the prince's premature death in October 1646. With a viewpoint from the north bank of the Ebro, the painting captures a wide profile view of Zaragoza with Philip IV's cortège entering the city across the water in the background at the Puente de Piedra that was severely damaged during floods in 1643.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the foreground is animated with lively groups of figures who survey the view, converse with each other, and even gaze out at the viewer beyond the picture plane (fig. 3.24).

The Curiosities of the Streets on Canvas

In addition to these royal commissions, Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder have drawn attention to an understudied genre of very theatrical streetscape paintings that were popular

³⁹ Kagan and Simpson, "Dos vistas de jardines del siglo XVII procedentes del Palacio Real de Aranjuez," 71. For more on this concept of topographical views within the villa setting and their rhetorical capacity as propagandistic, didactic and mnemonic tools, see Denis Ribouillault, "Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas," in *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-first-century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011).

⁴⁰ Javier Portús, Jaime García-Máiquez, and María Álvarez-Garcillán, "La Vista de Zaragoza, de Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo. Notas al hilo de su restauración," *Boletín del Museo el Prado* 33 (2015): 60–61.

⁴¹ Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, "Martínez del Mazo as Landscape Artist," *Gazette de Beaux Arts* (1963): 298.

among urban elites in seventeenth-century Madrid.⁴² These large-scale paintings capture views of the city's most fashionable locations: the Paseo del Prado and Carrera de San Jerónimo, the banks of the Manzanares river, the Plaza de la Provincia and the Plaza Mayor. However, although the settings for these works are topographically specific, the architecture is not the most salient feature so much as the figures of all levels of society that crowd the foreground (see figs. 3.25 and 3.26a). These paintings repeat stock characters and motifs that make specific references to contemporary theatre and literary conventions.⁴³ In her book *The Drama of the Portrait*, Bass explains how the efforts by the Habsburg monarchs to turn Madrid into a ceremonial stage coincided with the city's rise as a theatre capital. The court attracted numerous acting companies and writers seeking patronage, and the city centre was home to two large commercial theatres near the Plaza Mayor, the Corral de la Cruz and the Corral del Príncipe, whose plays were attended by a broad cross-section of society.⁴⁴ The culture that developed around the Spanish court was one in which there was an appreciation of the inherent theatricality involved in performing social roles and projecting elite status.⁴⁵ Writers such as Lope de Vega (1562–1635), Tirso de Molina (1584–1648) and Calderón de la Barca (1600–81) took advantage of this self-reflexive interplay between observation and performance at court by using the streets of Madrid as the setting for many of their plays.

In a painting that depicts the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, (ca. 1670, fig. 3.26a) we can observe how depictions of the city by resident painters were imbued with this sense of theatricality. The anonymous painter filled the square in front of the prison and Sala de Alcaldes, which was also a market and popular meeting place, with a multitude of figures that meld humour and sophistication in the one scene with guards and a prisoner, water-sellers,

⁴² Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder, "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid" in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014).

⁴³ Bass and Wunder, "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid" 366, 378–79.

⁴⁴ Laura R. Bass, *The Drama of the Portrait: Theater and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 13.

⁴⁵ Bass, *The Drama of the Portrait: Theater and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain*, 18 & 40.

a pair of Mercedarian friars, flower-sellers, courting gallants, brawling drunkards, and veiled ladies. The painting presents an implicit challenge to the viewer to inspect this throng of figures and recognise the personalities in the picture that refer to the character types seen on stage, such as in Calderón de la Barca's interlude *Entremés de la Plazuela de Santa Cruz* (by 1661), which is set in the very same square.⁴⁶ In this way the painting captures the drama of the Madrid street, but also participates in it.⁴⁷ By contrast, the figures that feature in Meunier's prints serve a very different function. They do not act as protagonists in the scene, but operate as part of a backdrop that communicated the function and character of the urban space to as wide an audience as possible. Paintings such as this view of the Cárcel de Corte were intended as entertainment for an elite, informed audience, such as members of the high nobility or visiting foreign officials who knew Madrid well.⁴⁸

Research into Mazo and Agüero's paintings for the *reales sitios* has shown that the figures that so often feature in the foreground of their views played a similarly referential role. Contracts relating to lost city views by Mazo reveal that patrons were very specific about the groups of people and events that they wanted the artist to depict in these paintings.⁴⁹ Kagan and Simpson have also explained through a re-examination of Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco's biography of Agüero that Philip IV used to enjoy visiting the artist's studio to follow the progress of the painting and to advise on figures to include in the composition.⁵⁰ Unlike the staffage figures in Meunier's prints, whose role is to communicate the character of a place for a generalised audience, the small-scale figures in paintings by Mazo, Agüero and Jan van Kessel III (fig. 3.25), refer to specific individuals and character types that partook in the court culture and urban life of Madrid. They are therefore intended to be appreciated by a closed audience,

⁴⁶ Bass and Wunder, "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid" 376–77.

⁴⁷ Bass and Wunder, "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid" 364.

⁴⁸ Bass and Wunder, "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid" 378–79. On the private ownership of paintings in seventeenth-century Madrid, see Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755*, ed. Maria L. Gilbert (Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1997).

⁴⁹ Gué Trapier, "Martínez del Mazo as Landscape Artist," 293.

⁵⁰ Kagan and Simpson, "Dos vistas de jardines del siglo XVII procedentes del Palacio Real de Aranjuez," 68.

one that was not viewing these works to obtain information on places they already knew but to find new interpretations of familiar places or events, and take enjoyment in these “curiosities of the streets on the canvas.”⁵¹ This concept of images intended for open and closed audiences is picked up again in section 3.3, as part of the discussion on Meunier’s representation of Western Islamic architecture.

Despite these differences in thematic approach, many of these paintings do share formal and compositional features with the prints in Meunier’s *Differentes Vues* series. This can be observed in Agüero’s oblique-angle view of the Buen Retiro with its animated figures (fig. 3.27a) or the frontal stage-like orchestration the Fountain of the Tritons painting, framed by almost the same trees and leisurely, fashionable figures we see in Meunier’s images of Aranjuez (fig. 3.28). This is not to suggest that Meunier would have had these specific paintings in mind when he made his views of the *reales sitios*. Unless he had been advised by someone who had themselves seen these views, it is difficult to imagine how Meunier would have been exposed to such paintings hanging in the royal country houses without a court position. It is likely that whatever similarities of viewpoint or framing that Meunier’s images share with the royal paintings may be ascribed to artists attempting to capture a monument from the most favourable or aesthetically pleasing angle (fig. 3.29). Another common denominator between Meunier and these works is the predominant influence of Italian and French topographical print at this time, especially in the work of Callot. In her article on Mazo, Elizabeth du Gué Trapier drew attention to the influence of Callot’s prints upon the artist’s view of Zaragoza, particularly in the scale and ambition of the multi-figure composition, and the way in which the artist places figures on a sloping rise to the right of the immediate foreground, a composition device borrowed almost directly from Callot’s *The Fair at Impruneta* (see figs. 3.24 and 3.30). Callot’s prints were available in Spain, and Mazo would have certainly been familiar with them, as indicated by the forty-five prints by Callot in the collection of the artist Domingo Guerra Coronel, whose

⁵¹ Bass and Wunder, “Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid ” 279.

possessions Mazo appraised after his death in 1651.⁵² Working in the studio of Silvestre, Meunier would have had even more knowledge of Callot's work thanks to his mentor's extensive stock of print plates inherited from his uncle Henriët, a friend and publisher of Callot.⁵³

Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series and these royal commissions also overlap to the extent in which they endeavour to emphasise (or indeed invent) the aspects of Spanish cities that conform to the ideals of civic society and of urban design in the seventeenth century as espoused in topographical print and contemporary architectural treatise literature. We have seen this in the selective erasure of poverty and urban ruin in Meunier's views of Madrid. In the same vein, he does not give prominence to the narrow streets of the Albaicín in his depiction of Granada, instead he carefully chooses vistas that evince the city's post-Islamic additions of open and regular-plan public spaces, such as in the plaza in front of the Real Chancillería (cat. 50). While they do not constitute an overt piece of propaganda like Teixeira's map, viewers of Meunier's images could interpret the formal order embodied in these spaces as representing the civility of the inhabitants, and the authority and sound governance of the institutions who oversaw their construction.⁵⁴

Taken as whole, Meunier's print series presents an urban vision that extends beyond the building projects initiated by the Habsburg monarchs. By depicting the interior courtyards of the Alhambra in the same format and with the same visual language as the palaces that embody the Habsburg *estilo austriaco*, Meunier was essentially equating them in terms of importance and relevance. As I explore in the following section, this open curiosity for the novel and the apparently exotic aspects of Iberian culture (at least in the eyes of northern Europeans) confirms

⁵² Gué Trapier, "Martínez del Mazo as Landscape Artist," 294–95. On the use of prints in the painters' studio in Spain, see Zahira Véliz Bomford, "The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain," *Hispanic Research Journal* 9, no. 5 (2008).

⁵³ Antony Griffiths and Hugo Chapman, "Israel Henriët, the Chatsworth Album and the Publication of the Work of Jacques Callot," *Print Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2013): 283. See Chapter One of this thesis, section 1.2.

⁵⁴ See "The Plaza Mayor of Madrid as Political Symbol" in Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 190–221.

an audience for these prints that was outside the Habsburg court setting.

3.3 Chorographic and Communicentric Representations of Iberia

By underscoring the fundamental link between the visual register or mode of a print and its intended audiences, my analysis draws upon the theory first explored by Richard Kagan in 1998 that distinguishes between what he terms “chorographic” and “communicentric” classes of images within the early modern tradition of topographical views. Kagan defines as chorographic images which are primarily intended to provide a visual description of the built characteristics of a city for an audience who were based outside of that environment (much like the function served by postcards today). By contrast, communicentric images are made primarily within the community, with local artists capturing the sense of place or the *genius loci* of a city and what it means to its inhabitants via the representation of its architectural form. Rather than the disinterested and more or less objective visual description found in chorographic images, communicentric views are representations of place that foreground aspects of personal, historical, mythological or religious significance to the community for whom they are intended. In these images, the depiction of the architecture is not an end in itself—especially for an audience who would already be well acquainted with it—but a symbolic vehicle for the collective identity of the city’s residents.⁵⁵

Underlying Kagan’s distinction are divergent concepts surrounding the definition of the city that were debated amongst early modern political thinkers, theologians, and architects. For many theorists a city could be defined by certain built attributes such as its major religious centres, civic buildings that housed functions of government, and public squares that enabled

⁵⁵ Kagan, “Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain,” *passim*; Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 9–18.

citizens to gather, physical features, which when assembled together in one place provided the basis for a city.⁵⁶ Taking the lead from Vitruvius' ideal city as described in his *De architectura*, Alberti contended that the greatness or nobility of a city was intrinsically connected to the magnificence of its built form and its capacity to inspire wonder and admiration in those who encountered it.⁵⁷ This interpretation is implicit in many of the most widely circulated architectural treatises post Alberti, from Serlio to Palladio.⁵⁸ For Kagan this approach to the notion of a city corresponds with Ptolemy's definition of chorography as the representation of a particular place using pictorial techniques, hence his borrowing of the term.⁵⁹ While I tend to disagree with Kagan's interpretation of Ptolemy's use of the phrase "true likeness" as denoting a purely visual description of appearance without any sense of the essence of character of a place, the term "chorographic" is nonetheless highly useful in describing a depiction of place where the emphasis is primarily on the physical fabric visible to the observer.⁶⁰

Even more prevalent than the definition of the city in purely architectural terms was the concept of the city as a human community. Hugely influential in this line of thinking was Aristotle's definition of the *polis* as an urban political community and one which constituted the most sophisticated form of human society.⁶¹ The measure of a city was therefore to be observed in the character of its inhabitants and its quality of governance, rather than the architecture that contained it. Following this line of argument, Isidore of Seville stated that "A city [*civitas*] is a number of men joined by a social bond. It takes its name from the citizens who dwell in it. As an *urbs*, it is only a walled structure, but inhabitants, not building stones are

⁵⁶ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 75.

⁵⁷ Vitruvius does not devote a specific chapter or section to the concept of the ideal city, but it is implied via the principles described in the *De architectura*, in other words, the ideal city is the sum of these principles. Bettina Reitz-Joosse, "The City and the Text in Vitruvius's 'de Architectura: uti ordo portulat': The Arrangement of Material in 'de Architectura,'" *Arethusa* 49, no. 2 (2016): 185.

⁵⁸ Kagan and Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 10. See also Nele De Raedt, "Beholding a Building in Admiration: Leon Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* and the Renaissance Discourse on Magnificence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 81, no. 1 (2018).

⁵⁹ See the Introduction of this thesis for a discussion on Ptolemy's definition of chorography.

⁶⁰ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 77. My understanding of Ptolemy's aims with regards to "true likeness" follows that of Maier. Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 5–6.

⁶¹ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 75; Kagan and Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 10.

referred to as a *city*.”⁶² Within this interpretation, a city’s built characteristics were not seen in and of themselves to determine the quality of a place, but rather as a gauge that communicates the character of the community or *civitas* that constructed and inhabits it.

The City as Civitas in Early Modern Spain

The interpretation of the city as a community (*civitas*) was by far the more dominant in early modern Hispanic culture. During the centuries of Christian conquest in the Iberian Peninsula and the subsequent colonising of Latin America, the occupation of towns and the establishment of new ones played a significant strategic role in establishing military, political and administrative control over surrounding lands. The city therefore came to be associated with law and order, offering security from an antagonistic other, whether it be Islamic forces or resistant local populations in colonised lands. Most significantly, it was viewed as a “civilising” force that made possible the Christianisation of colonised peoples.⁶³ Religion and civilisation were intertwined in the concept of *civitas* and religious identity became a fundamental aspect of how citizens in the Spanish Empire perceived of themselves and their cities. Consequently, in most seventeenth-century topographical views produced outside of the court setting in Spain the city is presented first and foremost as a community united by its faith. Often this manifested itself in the identification with particular saints and the rituals surrounding their devotions; powerful uniting ceremonies which were used to great effect by the monarchy in the century after its move to Madrid to forge an image of the city amongst its inhabitants as “el corte Católica,” a royal and religious capital.⁶⁴ In many early modern images produced in Spain, illustrations of these specific saints or devotions could become a visual shorthand for an entire city, as exemplified in a frontispiece by Juan de Courbes (1592–ca. 1641) for Gil González

⁶² Quoted in Kagan, “Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain,” 75.

⁶³ Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 26–30. This is in contrast to the colonising settlements of the Dutch and the Portuguese which tended to be organised around warehouses and fortifications, 39.

⁶⁴ The royal appropriation of local cults in Madrid is explored in María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), 182–99.

Dávila's (1570–1658) history and description of Madrid and its court, entitled *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid, 1623), where the iconic “funnel” image of the Virgin of Atocha surmounts the Madrid coat of arms (fig. 3.31). As a painting of Madrid's Casa de la Villa (unknown artist, Museo de Historia, fig. 3.32) demonstrates, where specific architectural form is visually described, it is often simply a setting for the depiction of a religious ceremony or a miraculous event, with the architecture relegated to the background. In other instances, a view of the real city is incorporated into the background of a devotional image as a symbolic element, as can be seen in numerous *inmaculada* images painted in Seville in the first half of the seventeenth century (see figs. 3.44 and 3.45).

In each case the unique character of the city is represented primarily through religious symbolism. The cataloguing intent that we see in Meunier's architectural print series is conspicuously absent—perhaps there was not the same perceived need to visually communicate the entire built form of the city for a local audience. Indeed, it was common in Spain for a city to be encompassed in an image of a single iconic structure, such as Seville's Giralda.⁶⁵ In these communicentric images the evocation of an intangible sense of place through its architecture is far more important than the description of the architecture in and of itself. Described by Jeurgen Schulz as a “moralized geography,” this type of urban depiction prioritised geographic and built features that carried strong ideological associations for the community that used them.⁶⁶

At first glance, El Greco's painting *View and Plan of Toledo* (Museo del Greco, ca. 1610, fig. 3.33) appears to function as a chorographic description of the city.⁶⁷ His broad panorama seen from an elevated angle is detailed and generally faithful to the layout of the city with major buildings such as the alcázar and the cathedral visible against the skyline. As a topographical image it gives a good sense to an outside viewer of what Toledo looks like, thereby recalling some of the views of Van den Wyngaerde or those found in the *Civitates orbis terrarum*. In the

⁶⁵ Kagan, “Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain,” 91. Much like the Eiffel tower today.

⁶⁶ Juergen Schulz, “Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500,” *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (1978).

⁶⁷ My reading of the painting is informed by Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 203–05.

foreground of the composition, in front of the perspective view, El Greco inserts the figure of a boy holding a large piece of paper upon which the artist has depicted a detailed ichnographic plan of the city. Having trained in Venice, one of the major print centres of the sixteenth century, El Greco, who also owned an extensive library, would have been conscious of the intellectual cachet associated with cartographic learning and the prestige it lent to city representation. The inclusion of the plan is a nod to a learned audience and a demonstration of his own technical abilities, especially in the knowing wit of the *trompe l'oeil* effect of the paper whose corners curl out beyond the picture plane.

However, further inspection of the painting's iconography reveals a parallel communicentric mode operating within the composition. To the left of the ichnographic plan El Greco includes a depiction of a building apparently floating on a cloud. This somewhat incongruous addition is a motif the artist also used in his other landscape of Toledo now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and provided a means for the artist to insert the Hospital de Tavera into the city view, a building which was located well outside of the walls of the city. On the other side of the Hospital de Tavera El Greco features a monochromatic personification of the River Tagus who holds a water jug along with a cornucopia of produce from the surrounding agricultural lands made fertile by the river. Soaring in the sky above all these elements is the figure of the Virgin Mary surrounded by angels and putti. The Virgin appears to be descending upon the city with a large cloth in her hands, a reference to the miraculous event that occurred in the city in the seventh century when the Virgin appeared to Ildefonso, the Bishop of Toledo, and presented him with a chasuble as a reward for his devotion. Ildefonso was later canonised and became the patron saint of the city.

These fictive features—the allegorical figure, the hospital perched on a cloud, the miraculous apparition—break the illusion of realistic depiction in El Greco's chorographic view of city, and superimpose a communicentric gloss over the depiction of Toledo, thus demonstrating the artist's ability to operate between these different registers. The allusions to

the Ildefonso miracle and the Hospital de Tavera were likely have been included to appeal to the patron who commissioned this piece, Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, the hospital's administrator and author of a biography of Saint Ildefonso.⁶⁸ However, these are attributes that formed a major part of the city's identity, from its location high above the Tagus river to the its specific devotion to Saint Ildefonso, and would have been relevant to the whole city, not just on a personal level. As a long-term resident of Toledo, El Greco would have known which elements of myth and memory were infused into the community's perception of the city. In El Greco's image Saint Ildefonso does not appear, instead the city itself stands in for the saint, ready to receive the protective cloak and the divine favour from the Virgin.

If we compare Meunier's treatment of Toledo with El Greco's painting, there is little emphasis on structures that were significant in terms of local history, myth or religious belief. Although Meunier depicts the city's cathedral, the alcázar and the Alcántara Bridge, they are chosen for their architectural impressiveness, and of course the Hospital de Tavera does not feature, it being located just outside the city (cats. 35–37). As a visitor to the city, Meunier sees the built form but not the memory or history that are attached to it, and as such his depiction of Toledo makes no reference to Saint Ildefonso or to any other defining myth unique to the city's particular sense of place. Similarly, Meunier's depiction of Madrid omits locations key to local identity such as the Dominican monastery on the south-eastern outskirts of the city that housed the Our Lady of Atocha, the city's most revered Marian image that was closely associated with the monarchy's propagandistic public ceremonies.⁶⁹

Meunier's Prints as "Chorographic" Representations of Place

In section 3.1 I acknowledge that Meunier's images are comparatively unbiased, forming a broadly faithful depiction of the places the artist encountered, and his views of Toledo are no

⁶⁸ Kagan and Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 204.

⁶⁹ Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica*, 182–90.

exception. However, in analysing his prints as examples of place representation, it is important to consider the selection criteria for his subject matter. In the section that follows I demonstrate that these criteria were based on European-wide principles of architectural design and magnificence, not necessarily on what was of local significance in individual cities on the Iberian Peninsula. I therefore classify Meunier's images as "chorographic," their express aim is to communicate an idea of the built fabric of a city to an outside audience seeking to understand the architectural heritage of Spain and Portugal within a familiar frame of reference. This naturally entails representing royal architecture, the building typology that carries the greatest associations of splendour and prestige, and for which there was a healthy demand in the print market. As Meunier explicitly states on the title page of his first series, his intention is to capture views of the king's "pleasure palaces," and out of the fifty-one views in this series, twenty-six are of royal sites, including the Escorial monastery.⁷⁰ This recalls the subjects found in the paintings of Leonardo et al. but in each city Meunier also depicts significant religious and civic buildings such as Toledo Cathedral, the Real Chancillería of Granada and the Casa de Contratación in Seville, as well as major public squares, monuments and fountains. He illustrates those buildings which are perceived as most impressive and novel based on generally held opinions of what constitutes magnificence in a format that does not require prior knowledge of local history or myth.

The places and monuments that Meunier leaves out of his print series also warrant examination. In his depiction of Segovia the artist devotes two views to the city's alcázar but omits the major source of the city's reputation and pride, the monumental Roman aqueduct which had featured so prominently in a print from 1534 by the Netherlandish painter and engraver Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (ca. 1500–59; fig. 3.34).⁷¹ If the brief was to depict the *reales sitios*, then it seems arbitrary that Meunier would depart from this to include the city hall in

⁷⁰ "Differentes Veues Des Palais de plaisance Du Roy D'Espagne." These include the alcázar in Madrid, Toledo, Segovia, Seville and the royal palace in Lisbon.

⁷¹ The aqueduct features prominently in the city's coat of arms.

Cádiz or the fountain in Madrid's Plaza Cebada, but not this monumental and prestigious remnant of Roman engineering. Likewise, some of the locations most visited by foreigners to Spain in the seventeenth century would have been pilgrimage sites such as Santa María de Montserrat in Catalonia and Saint James' tomb in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, but these places do not feature at all in Meunier's account. In fact, he does not depict any locations in regions outside of the administration of Castilla (with the exception of Lisbon), nor does he provide any description of other major cities such as Barcelona, Zaragoza or Valencia. The question must be asked as to why Toledo, Segovia, Cádiz, Seville, Granada, Madrid and Lisbon would be chosen for the print series over other locations such as the spectacular mosque-cathedral of Córdoba.

These omissions lend credence to two assumptions. The first is that these locations were on a route that Meunier travelled from Lisbon to Madrid on his way to Paris. As discussed in Chapter Two, Meunier may have decided to leave Lisbon after the departure of Dirk Stoop for England as part of the household of Catherine of Braganza in April 1662, in order to travel to the French capital to propose a project to Queen Marie-Thérèse based on the topographical views series Stoop had dedicated to Catherine. Meunier probably made the sketches on this journey that served as the basis for his *Differentes Vues* series printed in Paris, and his limited means might explain the exclusion of cities along the eastern coast that would not have been on such a route. The second hypothesis is that the choice of views in Meunier's series may have been influenced by Bertaut's account of his journey in 1659. In Chapter Two I observed how Bertaut's itinerary has a lot in common with the choice of cities that feature in the *Differentes Vues* series. Bertaut travelled down with the embassy in 1659 with the desire to observe the Spanish court. That the peripheral regions do not feature in his account is reflective of the fact that Castile was the more politically dominant region of the Spanish Kingdom and thus more representative of the royal court. However, it is not just in the shared travel itineraries where Meunier and Bertaut's accounts overlap, but the emphasis both documents place on describing

Andalucía. Sixteen of the views in the *Differentes Vues* series are of Andalucía, ten of which are dedicated to Granada, the last stronghold of Iberian Islam. Bertaut was so eager to see Andalucía with his own eyes that he left the official party accompanying the ambassador, and continued with four others on what was to be an arduous and sometimes dangerous journey.⁷² Much of Andalucía had been in the hands of Castilian nobles since the military campaigns of Fernando III in the thirteenth century, but for Meunier and Bertaut their insistence on describing cities in this region was not just because they happened to be in Castile. Instead it was the fact that in many areas of Andalucía there were still visible and tangible remnants of Islamic heritage in terms of food, dress, architecture and culture in general. It is clear that these vestiges of a very different heritage to that of Northern Europe were a draw for the travellers who could get there, and for audiences at home who were eager to see and read reports on what they saw.

Early Modern European Attitudes towards Islamic Cultures

This curiosity is characteristic of a complex and varied response towards the Islamic world in Europe prior to the Enlightenment. Although the Nasrid Emirate of Granada had ended some 170 years prior to Meunier's journey through Spain, the Ottoman Empire (1299–1923) was positioned as a powerful and advanced force at the eastern and southern borders of Europe and was viewed with a mixture of fear, awe, and often with a degree of admiration.⁷³ Reports on attacks by Barbary corsairs in the Mediterranean who captured and enslaved Christians, along with the incursions of the Ottoman Empire into areas in Croatia, Hungary and Austria terrified populations across the continent. In his introduction to the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Braun justified the inclusion of staffage figures in the atlas's topographical views as a way to

⁷² "Pour moy je trouvoy quatre autres François' qui voulurent bien faire le voyage d'Andalousie, c'est pourquoy je partis aussi ce mesme jour avec eux." Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 44.

⁷³ Allison P. Coudert, "Orientalism in Early Modern Europe?," in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2013); Anna Contadini, "Changing Perceptions of Middle Eastern Objects and Cultures in Eighteenth-century Europe," in *Rediscovering Objects from Islamic Lands in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Isabelle Dolezalek and Mattia Guidetti (London: Routledge, 2021).

deter Ottoman armies from using the maps to plan for an invasion of Western Europe.⁷⁴ The Ottoman Empire was superior in many ways to contemporary European powers in terms of size, wealth and technology, and the animosity demonstrated by Braun did not come from a sense of innate superiority but an acknowledgement of vulnerability, of the fact that Islamic forces *could* invade. In France, where Meunier's prints were initially sold, the circumstances differed in that the French rulers shared an interest with the Ottoman Empire in containing the power of the Habsburg Empire. French forces did not participate in the battle of Lepanto, and ultimately France became the only Western kingdom to form a strategic alliance with Suleiman the Magnificent.⁷⁵

Balancing this anxiety was an admiration and respect for Ottoman politics, militarism, philosophy, and scientific learning. Bronwen Wilson has observed that though there had always been a demand for printed portraits of Ottoman rulers and Ottoman costume during periods of conflict, this demand intensified in print centres such as Venice in the relative stability brought about by the victory of the Holy League at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. In 1595 the Venetian printmaker Giacomo Franco engraved a portrait of the Sultan Mehmed III (reigned 1595–1603), not in the aftermath of military conflict but to mark the Muslim leader's ascension to power, an event that was presumably newsworthy (fig. 3.35). The same engraving appeared a year later in Franco's series of thirty-five portraits of European rulers *Effigie naturali dei maggior prencipi et piu valorosi capitani*, which featured several military leaders from Islamic lands.⁷⁶ Centuries of trade with Near and Middle Eastern and North African areas bordering the Mediterranean, along with acquired war booty and diplomatic gifts, meant that there was access to and considerable demand for consumer goods from the Islamic world such as Ottoman

⁷⁴ Stephan Füssel, "Natura sola magistra – The Evolution of City Iconography in the Early Modern Era," in *Cities of the World: Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572–1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Köln; London: Taschen, 2008), 15. Braun was here referring to the aniconism of Islamic art, but the inclusion of figures in local dress probably had more to do with the popularity of costume books at the time.

⁷⁵ Marcus Keller, "The Turk of Early Modern France," *L'Esprit Créateur* 53, no. 4 (2013): 3.

⁷⁶ Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 224–31.

carpets or Mamluk inlaid brassware which were admired for their sophisticated craftsmanship and intricate epigraphic and geometric surface decoration.

This appreciation did not necessarily mean that there was a profound understanding or critical engagement with the cultures that produced them, indeed the nomenclature “Turk” or “Turc” functioned as a catch-all term for any Muslim, regardless of origin, for diverse groups from Bosnia, Albania, Persia, Anatolia or even East Asia, as well as for Jews and Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁷ However, these discourses are not yet the kind of Orientalism described by Edward Said where the Islamic East is set up as a binary opposite to Western civility, that is necessarily inferior, nor is it the Romantic vision of the exotic other, whose attraction lay in the fact that it was forever distant, timeless and mysterious.⁷⁸ It was not until the nineteenth century that a fully developed system of ethnographic research emerged that fuelled racist stereotypes about Islamic cultures and a growing notion of European exceptionalism.⁷⁹ By the 1660s a curiosity for and appreciation of the magnificence and exoticism of Islamic design could exist without casting it exclusively as inferior other or as a resource for Western exploitation. European audiences were diverse, and although opinions and attitudes towards Spain could vary between France and England, for example, the link between Spain’s past Islamic rule and a potential threat of an Ottoman “fifth column” via Spain was still made.⁸⁰ As Cammy Brothers argues, “just as the Moors in Spain were seen more in terms of their connection to Muslims elsewhere than in terms of their local heritage in Spain, so the Alhambra came to be perceived not only as an emblem of the Nasrid empire, but as representative of Islamic culture in general.”⁸¹ As we shall see, the conflation of the Alhambra

⁷⁷ This use of the word ‘Turc’ is equivalent to the way that “Franks” was used in Arabic to refer to Latin Christians. I am indebted to Anna McSweeney for her comments on this section. Contadini, “Changing Perceptions of Middle Eastern Objects and Cultures in Eighteenth-century Europe,” 40; Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*, 229; Keller, “The Turk of Early Modern France,” 1.

⁷⁸ Edward Wadie Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Coudert, “Orientalism in Early Modern Europe?,” 729.

⁷⁹ Contadini, “Changing Perceptions of Middle Eastern Objects and Cultures in Eighteenth-century Europe,” 23.

⁸⁰ Email correspondence, Anna McSweeney.

⁸¹ Cammy Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V,” *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 95.

with Islamic culture in the Spanish imagination was complicated by its association with the Catholic kings and with the loss of the learning and material luxury of this ‘golden age.’

Meunier’s Depiction of Western Islamic Architecture in Spain

Meunier’s depiction of Nasrid and Post-Islamic architecture in southern Spain is reflective of this attitude. In Seville and Granada, both cities rich with the material heritage of al-Andalus, he captured both pre- and post-conquest buildings that embody a range of architectural styles, including Gothic, Classical, “Mudéjar” and Nasrid. In Granada, Meunier illustrates the Generalife, the Torres Bermejas, the Chancillería, the Alhambra and within it the Torre de la Vela, the Court of the Lions, the Court of the Myrtles and the Charles V Palace. In Seville his eye takes in the Alcázar, the Cathedral, the Giralda, the Casa de Contratación and the Plaza de San Francisco. In Granada especially, where the Islamic architecture and city layout is more predominant, Meunier devotes particular attention to the Nasrid architecture. In all ten prints of Granada the Alhambra complex appears in some way, from views of the ramparts seen against the mountain backdrop with the city below, to detailed renderings of the interior courtyards. Like his treatment of the Escorial, Meunier attempts to capture the palace and fortress from all angles in order to create as fully rounded a picture as possible. Again, like the Escorial, this building complex is treated as a wonder and a marvel.

The intricate sculptural forms and ornamental detail associated with Islamic architecture is most visible in Meunier’s depiction of the Alhambra’s interior courtyards, the Court of the Lions (cats. 46 and 47) and the Court of the Myrtles (cat. 48). From a viewpoint behind one of the projecting pavilions in the Court of the Lions, Meunier captures the multitude of slender columns and arches enclosing the arcaded courtyard (cat. 46). Through hatching, cross hatching, zig-zag patterns and free-flowing lines, Meunier builds up a rich texture to evoke the decorative surfaces. In cast shadow, repeated diagonal lines capture the lozenge and lace-like *Sebka* motif of the moulded *yasería* in the spandrels and friezes above the arches in the

foreground, a pattern that repeats above the side arcades. Dashed lines underneath the domed porch suggest the geometric structure of the wooden vault of the cupola, as well as the distinctive honeycomb niches of the *muqarnas* vaulting. Along the walls behind the colonnade we catch a glimpse of the geometric *zellij* glazed tiles on the dado running along the bottom register, superimposed by an elaborate arabesque stringcourse panel. While this dado has since been removed, a portion is still visible today behind the arcades at either end of the Court of the Myrtles (fig. 3.36). Meunier includes a second print of the Court of the Lions which provides a better view of the courtyard's celebrated fountain. Four water channels intersect at the centre of the courtyard where twelve stylised lion sculptures with water pouring from their mouths surround a two-tiered fountain (cat. 47). Meunier's image captures the fountain as it looked after it was modified in the sixteenth century. Originally it would have had a much lower profile, with the lower basin sitting on the backs of the marble lions. This was raised by the installation of small columns behind the lions, and the silhouette of the fountain was significantly altered with the superimposition of a pedestal and a second basin creating a multi-level fountain with an elevated, tapering contour that better adhered to Western Renaissance concepts of design (fig. 3.37).⁸²

Although Meunier's technique is sketchy rather than precise in his rendering of detail, there is a specificity in his efforts to evoke the decorative texture of the architecture and it is clear that his designs are not invented but based on observations made onsite. This is not to say that his images are entirely accurate, he has a tendency, especially in the second view of the Court of the Lions, to round all of the arches, where the corner arches should be pointed thanks to the *muqarnas* detailing, but overall these etchings demonstrate the suitability of the graphic quality of the etched line in suggesting the richly textured visual effects of the intricate patterns of the *yasería* and *zellij* tilework.

⁸² Since a restoration campaign completed in 2012, these later elements have been removed. Bernhard Schirg, "(Re)writing the Early Biography of the Alhambra's Fountain of the Lions: New Evidence from a Neo-Latin Poem (1497)," *Muqarnas* 34 (2017); Jesús Bermúdez Pareja, "La Fuente de los Leones," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 3 (1967).

The title page for his Granada prints designates the architecture of the Alhambra as “basti a la mosâique” (cat. 40):

Differentes veues De / Grenade. situe au pied dune / haut Montagne, ville tres /
Estimee pour sus Edifices et Palais / principalement de Celluy des Roys
Affricains basti a la / mosâique // Differentis vistas de Grenada / scituada al pié
de una muy alta / montana villa muy Estimada / por sus Edificios y palatios. /
Principalmenti de el de los Rees / de Affrica fabricado ala Mosâica.

It is unclear whether Meunier was making a reference here to the glazed tile that features in the interior, or whether he was using the term more generally to imply the repeating, additive nature of the geometric patterns created by the plasterwork which could be suggestive of a “mosaic” in the sense that the patterns are made up of smaller units. The term “a la mosaïque” does not appear to have been commonly used in the seventeenth century. Neither Sebastián de Covarrubias’ Spanish dictionary of 1611, nor Pierre Richelet’s French dictionary of 1706 allude to any connection between the word mosaic and Islamic architecture.⁸³ It is unlikely that there was a developed vocabulary for Islamic forms in European languages at this time, with generic cultural terms such as “African,” “Mohammaden,” “Saracenic,” or even “Spanish” being used mostly.⁸⁴ Brothers observes that in Leandro Alberti and Andrea Navagero’s descriptions of the Alhambra from the sixteenth century, “both approach the unknown forms with the tools they have, Alberti with architectural theory, Navagero with classical literature; but neither has the vocabulary to describe precisely the Islamic architectural features they see. While both Navagero and Alberti could certainly identify Moorish buildings, they had a limited knowledge of distinctions in historical eras and architectural styles.”⁸⁵ Like Navagero, Meunier was defining the architectural forms he observed in terms of what he already knew, which in his

⁸³ Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 556; Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois, contenant généralement tous les mots tant vieux que nouveaux et plusieurs remarques sur la langue françoise* (Amsterdam: J. Elzevir, 1706), 521.

⁸⁴ Email correspondence, Anna McSweeney.

⁸⁵ Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V,” 83.

case was probably influenced by Portuguese azulejos.

This is the only point in the print series where Meunier specifies the style of architecture in his inscriptions. This implies that there was an awareness of the alterity of this architectural heritage and that this difference was an important factor in the appeal of these prints for his intended audience. Similarly, Meunier emphasises the royal associations of the Alhambra during the Nasrid Emirate. In four different inscriptions he refers to the “rois africquains.” For example the image of the Court of the Myrtles states:

Veue de letanc roial dans le palais des rois africquains / Vista del estanq real en
el pallatio del rei africque de grenada

And lest there be any doubt surrounding the circumstances of the rule of these “African Kings”:

Veue de lalcasar maison du roi despagne a seville palais bati a la mosaicque par
les maurs africquains pendant quilz ocupoint lespagne/vista de lalcasar casa del
rei despana en seville⁸⁶

Meunier is explicit in distinguishing between the palace of Charles V as the “palais des rois despagne”, and the Alhambra as “le palais des rois africquains,” but the fact that the Alhambra is a splendid royal palace appears to trump any suggestion of inferiority due to the fact that it is not a building of Christian origin. These inscriptions suggest that there was an awareness that the audience for these prints were not au fait with Nasrid architectural style. Indeed, although the titles are bilingual, the inscriptions in French are more detailed which suggests that although he may have sought to appeal to a Spanish audience in Paris, their principal audience was French (cat. 51). Meunier’s focus on the architecture of the Alhambra points towards an interest in what would be exotic to a French audience. For print collectors with antiquarian interests, Meunier’s images would have allowed them to appreciate the sophisticated formal qualities of a style of architecture which was not readily available to them and the technical skills it demonstrates, as well as offering tangible evidence of the past.

⁸⁶ Meunier misdates the Seville Alcázar, see the following section.

In the early 1660s, when Meunier visited the Alhambra, the complex was home to the governor of Granada and his household (the Condes de Tendilla), as well as to invalided soldiers and their families, gardeners, and artisans who made silks and ceramics. The combined effects of the establishment of the royal capital in Madrid from 1561, and the expulsion of the Muslim population of Granada in the second half of the sixteenth century resulted in the official neglect of the underpopulated Alhambra, a lack of investment in the maintenance of its buildings, water courses and irrigation channels, and the disappearance of the population who would have had the skills to carry out necessary repairs.⁸⁷ However, despite the physical decline of the Alhambra, it continued to be appreciated for its antiquity and for the sophistication of its architecture. There are documented accounts in the Alhambra archives of individuals allowing visitors to enter the Hall of the Comares in exchange for a fee.⁸⁸ Meunier invites his viewers to identify with such figures that wander the courtyards of the Alhambra in his images, placing their hands under the running water of the fountain and gesticulating towards the most remarkable sculptural details, again framing the Islamic architecture as a curiosity and a marvel (fig. 3.38).

Meunier was not the only early modern artist drawn to the perceived exoticism of Andalucía in his depiction of Spain. In Hoefnagel's images for the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Granada and Seville are depicted more than any other Spanish city. However, where Meunier is focused on the novel Andalusí architecture, Hoefnagel reveals more of an interest in the particular myths, antiquarian curios and exotic social customs associated with Andalusian culture. In his view of Seville, Hoefnagel foregrounds a unique punishment for an adulteress and her husband, while a pair of *tapadas* look on (fig. 3.39). An eye for the curious is also revealed in his depiction of the Giralda, where the triumphalist message of the building is somewhat undermined by the inclusion of an anecdote relating to a rider and a horse ascending a staircase visible in a cross-

⁸⁷ Anna McSweeney, *From Granada to Berlin: The Alhambra Cupola* (Berlin; Florence; Dortmund: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz; Verlag Kettler, 2020), 89–91.

⁸⁸ McSweeney, *From Granada to Berlin: The Alhambra Cupola*, 93.

section (fig. 3.40).⁸⁹

Early Modern Spain and its Islamic Heritage: A Case of Admiration and Ambiguity

Meunier specified that the city of Granada was celebrated especially for its Islamic architecture (“Estimee pour sus Edifices et Palais principalement de Celluy des Roys Affricains”). In doing so, he was referring to the value of the city’s built heritage for an outside audience. This chorographic approach betrays a fundamental incomprehension of the complex and highly charged position held by the visible remnants of Spain’s Islamic past in the development of the country’s early modern historiography. It was not the case that these monuments were ignored, but that the framing of their depiction had the potential to raise intellectual, political and moral tensions for the population who lived in Granada. A consideration of the contrast between Meunier’s approach to Western Islamic architecture in Spain and the kingdom’s own conflicting attitudes offers a particularly useful probe for examining the chorographic nature of Meunier’s images.

In their studies on the interpretation and reception of Islamic architectural heritage in early modern Spain, Antonio Urquizar Herrera and Fernando Marías identify a crucial ambivalence at the heart of the complex identity negotiations that these monuments fomented.⁹⁰ On the one hand Nasrid and other Islamic buildings in Spain were visual evidence of the territorial gains by Christian forces after the centuries-long campaign. On the other hand, these same buildings raised uncomfortable questions for many surrounding the origin of Spain as a nation and served as an acknowledgement of its cultural hybridity. The indisputable sophistication of this architecture attested to the civilisation that produced it and disrupted the “reconquista” narratives of Christian civilisation overcoming Islamic barbarism and heresy. Were these

⁸⁹ Hoefnagel depicts steps rather than the ramp which is inside the Giralda. It is likely that Hoefnagel did not have access to the belfry as it would have been under construction when he visited in 1565.

⁹⁰ Fernando Marías, “Haz y envés de un legado: la imagen de lo islámico en la cultura del Renacimiento y el Barroco,” in *La imagen romántica del legado andalusí*, ed. Mauricio Pastor (Madrid: Lunwerk, 1995); Antonio Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

buildings therefore to be understood as part of the Kingdom of Spain's cultural heritage or as an archaeological detour that must be glossed over?⁹¹

In the decades following the surrender of the Granada in 1492, the Alhambra was retained by the Christian Monarchs as a trophy that celebrated the completion of the conquering of Spain and that served as a reminder to the continued Muslim presence in Granada of the triumph of Christianity over perceived heresy.⁹² The Nasrid association of the building was preserved as it served a propagandistic purpose, and the palace was designated a *casa real*, a status that ensured its survival. The Alhambra could easily be incorporated as part of the royal households because the architectural style of the palace was not in itself inherently foreign to the citizens of Granada or indeed the monarchs themselves. After centuries of an Islamic presence in the Iberian peninsula, cross-cultural exchanges had integrated Islamic material culture into all aspects of Castilian society, from food and language to dress, furnishings and of course architecture.⁹³ While the Alhambra was being completed in Granada under Muhammad V, Pedro I (called "Pedro the Cruel") built the Palace of the Montería from 1364 on the site of the Abbadid alcázar, which had been captured by Castile in 1248. Built in a *mélange* of Romanesque, Gothic and Islamic architectural forms, the palace's façade demonstrates its debt to Andalusí design in the blind cusped arches, the carved arabesque stucco work interweaved with symbols of Castile, and the blue and white ceramic frieze decorated with Arabic script and surmounted by a dramatically projecting wooden eaves (cat. 38). Such formal borrowings often point towards the knowledge and skills that the local work force had developed and retained, but in many instances they also suggest that Christian rulers sought to appropriate the magnificence and splendour of the Islamic cities they conquered.⁹⁴

⁹¹ This is the main question asked in Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*.

⁹² Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 59; Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," 79.

⁹³ McSweeney, *From Granada to Berlin: The Alhambra Cupola*, 84.

⁹⁴ María Judith Feliciano and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Al-andalus and Castile: Art and Identity in the Iberian Peninsula," ed. Alina Payne., *Companion to the History of Architecture: Volume I, Renaissance and Baroque Architecture* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017)

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118887226.wbcha019>. 14–15.

Islamic influences on the Christian communities of Castilla did not disappear after 1492, there was significant continuity in terms of architectural styles and building techniques.⁹⁵ Much of this legacy was assimilated with new engagements with Gothic forms and Renaissance classicism. These inheritances were not limited to ornament but also encompassed structural organisation such as the repeated placement of courtyards off the central axis of palace buildings, or the symbolic significance of structural forms such as the *qubba* which, as Feliciano and Ruiz Souza demonstrate, influenced the centralised plan of such ostensibly Gothic spaces as the Capilla de los Condestables in Burgos cathedral.⁹⁶ We can observe therefore that the stylistic vocabulary of the defeated Nasrid Emirate was not in and of itself problematic for the Christian Monarchs or later for the Habsburg kings. Quite the opposite in fact, they admired the splendour and richness of the Alhambra and symbolically appropriated its venerable status for their own displays of power including Isabella and Ferdinand's decision to locate their royal burial chapel in Granada. It was rather the symbolic significance of certain buildings of Islamic origin that began to trouble rulers and civic authorities in the sixteenth century as their potency as war trophies began to fade, particularly in the context of Charles V's imperial rule and the rising threat to his authority posed by the military successes of the Ottoman empire.⁹⁷ By the 1520s almost all of the aljama mosques had been demolished and replaced with Gothic or Renaissance cathedrals, with only a small number of less prominent mosques surviving, such as the Bab al Mardum mosque in Toledo.⁹⁸ However, the authorities did not want to destroy the major buildings that were so integral to the functioning and identity of their cities, and so numerous architectural interventions were made in order to impose a Christian framework upon these buildings and thus symbolically counteract their Islamic origins. The most striking

⁹⁵ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 18.

⁹⁶ Instances such as this questions the usefulness of the term "Mudéjar" in distinguishing it as a category separate to Romanesque or Gothic styles. Feliciano and Ruiz Souza, "Al-andalus and Castile: Art and Identity in the Iberian Peninsula," 10.

⁹⁷ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 59; Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," 98.

⁹⁸ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 47.

example of such hybrid interventions is the enormous cathedral that was built from 1523 in the centre of the prayer hall of the Mezquita in Córdoba, which over its long building period came to combine an elliptical dome over the crossing with Gothic tracery, elaborate rib vaulting and classical orders. That the bishop felt compelled to make such an emphatic gesture of Catholic supremacy at the heart of the former mezquita almost three hundred years after it had been converted to a cathedral, would indicate that the Moorish population was perceived as a threat from within the kingdom.⁹⁹

Charles V's decision less than ten years later to construct a monumental palace within the Alhambra complex was a result of his perception of the political circumstances in Granada and the wider context of Ottoman encroachment.¹⁰⁰ After first entering the city in 1526 with his new queen, Isabella of Portugal, Charles V ordered new quarters to be built next to the original buildings that would accommodate his lifestyle and large retinue without adversely affecting the original structure. However, from 1533 construction began on a new palace adjoining the Court of the Myrtles and designed by Pedro Machuca (ca. 1490–1550), that was intended to make a resonant ideological statement. With a square plan enclosing a two-story circular courtyard, the palace's solid, massive façade is articulated by rustication and robust Doric pilasters on the bottom storey, Ionic pilasters on the second, with double fluted columns flanking the main entrance (see cats. 44 and 45). The inward-looking, fortress-like palace contrasts directly with the delicate ornament and green-filled patios of the Alhambra, which counteracts its stronghold structure with open belvederes overlooking the surrounding landscape. It is likely that Charles stipulated a High Renaissance palace over local Plateresco or Post-Islamic styles in order to create an unmistakable formal distinction from the Nasrid

⁹⁹ Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," 96; Dede Fairchild Ruggles, "The Stratigraphy of Forgetting: The Great Mosque of Cordoba and its Contested Legacy," in *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*, ed. Helaine Silverman (New York; London: Springer, 2011).

¹⁰⁰ Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," 84.

palace.¹⁰¹ In doing so he sought to align his identity as Holy Roman Emperor with references to the might of imperial Rome, and thus present a cultural and ideological challenge to the Nasrid legacy locally and more broadly to the present-day threat of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰² This could only be done with a magnificent palace, as the considerable size and prominent location of the Alhambra complex called for an architectural intervention at a greater scale than an equestrian statue or a triumphal arch, especially at a time when Charles was attempting to weaponize opposition to the Ottoman Empire to unite the disparate and warring factions of his empire.¹⁰³

Architectural Revisionism

Charles V's intervention at the Alhambra demonstrates how the Nasrid architectural legacy was seen by local and national authorities as an active cultural force within Granada that needed to be confronted symbolically with the construction of a Habsburg palace in the Alhambra complex. However, with the Christianisation of the peninsula complete, especially after the expulsion of the Moriscos from 1609, this sense of urgency began to abate in the seventeenth century. After Lepanto the territorial advance of the Ottoman Empire receded as its forces became more occupied on the eastern frontier against the Persian army, thus allowing the Spanish monarchy to focus its efforts on its empire westwards, and the new threat of growing Protestantism in Europe.¹⁰⁴ As a result, the physical remnants of Andalusian heritage began to be perceived as relics from the past that bore little relevance to the modern kingdom.¹⁰⁵

Notwithstanding, the “reconquista” narrative remained a powerful and pervasive

¹⁰¹ Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V,” 88–89.

¹⁰² Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V,” 85–87. In the absence of the emperor, who only ever spent a handful of years in Spain during the forty years of his reign, the building campaign was overseen by the governing Mendoza family.

¹⁰³ This point is made by Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V,” 87.

¹⁰⁴ John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 241–42.

¹⁰⁵ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 76.

framework that united the kingdom's disparate provinces.¹⁰⁶ It pervaded the numerous city histories published during this era that endeavoured to ennoble certain Spanish cities by downplaying their Islamic origins and aligning their local history of conquest with the monarchy's current efforts to defeat Protestantism and the Church's struggle to impose Christianity on the inhabitants of the Americas. Historiographers such as Ambrosio de Morales and Rodrigo Caro framed the "restoration" of Iberian cities to Christianity as a return to origins.¹⁰⁷ These new city histories coincided with a growth of interest in antiquarianism in Spain which was quickly weaponised and used to unearth or even fabricate evidence for these cities' foundations in classical or Visigothic times prior to the Umayyad conquest, regardless of the actual truth.¹⁰⁸ The physical remnants of Islamic construction in many of the peninsula's most celebrated buildings inevitably obstructed an easy narrative of religious continuity throughout Spanish history. In order to overcome these archaeological hurdles, Fernando Marías has identified a marked tendency in seventeenth-century Spanish antiquarianism to renegotiate the interpretation of Islamic monuments by negating their otherness.¹⁰⁹ Buildings such as the Mezquita of Córdoba or Seville's Giralda were de-Islamified and incorporated into the Christian historical framework through a process of denial and religious appropriation.¹¹⁰ Islamic design characteristics were reinterpreted as classical, and evidence of spolia was used to recast a building's origins as Roman or Phoenician.¹¹¹ Bertaut informs us that during his visit to Córdoba he was told that the Mezquita was built on the site of a Roman temple dedicated to Janus and that he was shown ancient inscriptions on some of the mosque's columns as evidence of this fact.¹¹² That this is the archaeological aspect that most interested the author's guide

¹⁰⁶ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 6–7.

¹⁰⁷ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 96. Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 8, as well as chapter 4 of the same book, "Historical Dislocation and Antiquarian Appropriation" 69–77.

¹⁰⁹ Marías, "Haz y envés de un legado: la imagen de lo islámico en la cultura del Renacimiento y el Barroco," 110.

¹¹⁰ Marías, "Haz y envés de un legado: la imagen de lo islámico en la cultura del Renacimiento y el Barroco," 105.

¹¹¹ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 8.

¹¹² Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, 157–59.

points to this process of de-Islamification.¹¹³ Even in Madrid, the capital of the Catholic monarchy, there was a perceived need to fabricate a classical past. In Teixeira's 1656 map Madrid is presented as "Mantua Carpentanorum," a fictional ancient town based on descriptions by Cesar and Ptolemy that was invented in the sixteenth century and cited by the historian Jerónimo de Quintana in 1629 to argue that the city's name derives from Latin rather than Arabic.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the most striking example of such archaeological fiction is the *plomos* of Granada, a series of engraved lead books which were discovered between 1595 and 1606 beneath the Torre Torpiana, the minaret of the demolished aljama mosque, and in the caves of Sacromonte, a hillside outside of Granada. These books were used to argue the presence of Christian saints and martyrs in Granada during the first century AD and consequently the Phoenician origins of Granadian monuments such as the Torre Turpiana and the Puerta de Elvira. The books were declared forgeries by Pope Innocent XI in 1682, but they were to leave a lasting influence on the self-identity of Granada and its symbolic reinterpretation as a bastion of Christian faith despite its recent history as the capital of the last Muslim dynasty on the Iberian peninsula.¹¹⁵ Such "historiographical leapfrogging" had the effect of legitimising cities by presenting their Islamic heritage as no more than a brief interruption to their naturally Christian path.¹¹⁶

Urquizar Herrera observes that in "their intellectual autonomy Bertaut's descriptions did not greatly differ from the drawings [sic] of his countryman and coeval Meunier."¹¹⁷ In Bertaut's observations of Córdoba and its mezquita, he discusses the legend of a temple of Janus as the origin of the building without showing any desire to negate its Islamic heritage, despite

¹¹³ For a discussion on the contested legacy of the Mosque-Cathedral today, see Fairchild Ruggles, "The Stratigraphy of Forgetting: The Great Mosque of Cordoba and its Contested Legacy." The exclusion and integration of the Islamic past within the national narratives of Spain and Portugal in the twenty-first century is examined in Patricia Hertel, *The Crescent Remembered: Islam and Nationalism in the Iberian Peninsula* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015).

¹¹⁴ Escobar, "Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 Representation of Madrid," 61.

¹¹⁵ On the *plomos*, see Katie A. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁶ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 176.

¹¹⁷ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 218.

what would have been insistent arguments used in local historiography. As a disinterested observer, Bertaut was able to write about Islamic buildings in Spain without framing them in terms of the martyrology that incorporated them into the seventeenth-century Christian identity.¹¹⁸ In Meunier's depiction of Granada, his framing of the Alhambra as the palace of the African kings would have disrupted this attempt at conveying religious continuity. For an outsider such as Meunier, the Nasrid architecture, so different from the Northern European tradition he would have been accustomed to, was the principal distinguishing feature of this city's architectural character. For the citizens of Granada however, their Christian identity and their role in the "reconquista" narrative would have been more relevant to their self-perception. A contemporary communicentric image would have been more likely to downplay the Nasrid origin of the site, or featured it along with other monuments that could compete with its status, such as the Royal Chapel that houses the tombs of Isabella and Ferdinand, or the cathedral, which Meunier only depicted from afar in a view of the city seen from the surrounding countryside (see cat. 42). In Ambrosio de Vico's map view of Granada, engraved by Francisco Heylan ca. 1612, the Alhambra complex can clearly be seen in the hills overlooking the city (fig. 3.41). However, De Vico divests the Alhambra's patios of the Nasrid architectural features such as the delicate horseshoe arches and the dense ornament that distinguishes the site from the other patios or cloisters seen in the city. Although it would be difficult to capture these details at such a small scale, he manages to depict the Charles V palace with much more detail, even suggesting the classical orders of the facade. By contrast De Vico renders the Nasrid palace in a generic manner, its otherness is essentially neutralised. Similarly, across the valley in the district known as the Albaicín, where the Morisco community of the city traditionally resided, the twisting narrow streets have been straightened out in De Vico's image again in an effort to minimise its Islamic qualities and to conform to classical design ideals.¹¹⁹ The city's cathedral,

¹¹⁸ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 217–18.

¹¹⁹ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 94. Meunier could be said to have done something similar in that he does not depict these streets at all.

which was still under construction in 1612, sits at the heart of the composition. It is the first monument listed on the map legend and its important architectural status is made clear by depicting its unique circular apse. De Vico's image is infused with the religious identity of the city, a quality that is almost entirely absent from Meunier's images.

Meunier's approach to the Giralda of Seville further exemplifies his chorographic attitude towards place depiction. In his prints of Seville, the Giralda is shown in the background of two different images, one that foregrounds the cathedral and a second that illustrates the Casa de Contratación (cats. 52 and 53). In his inscription for the first image Meunier presents the significance of the tower in terms of its impressive height: "Veue de la grande eglise de seville et de la giralde estime la plus aute tour des espagnes / vista de la granda eglesia i de la tour de la giralde en seville." In the second edition the Giralda is not mentioned in the inscription at all. Once again Meunier voices the significance of the tower to a visitor passing through the city, but fails—or is perhaps it is not his intention—to capture the meaning of this structure in terms of the city's self-identity.

In contrast to Granada and other Andalusian cities, seventeenth-century Seville placed an Islamic building front and centre in its visual identity.¹²⁰ This could only be achieved through the process of religious re-appropriation that I have discussed in relation to the Córdoba Mosque and other prominent Moorish buildings. The Giralda was originally built as a minaret for the great mosque of Seville during the Almohad dynasty in the twelfth century. While the aljama mosque was demolished after it was damaged during an earthquake in 1356, the minaret was kept as a bell tower for the new cathedral which was built in the mosque's place and became the largest Gothic cathedral in Europe.¹²¹ The identification of the tower with the identity of the city began in 1504 when the Giralda remained miraculously standing after another powerful earthquake. According to popular belief this miracle was due to the intercession of the city's

¹²⁰ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 206.

¹²¹ Felipe Fernández-Armesto et al., "Seville [Sp. Sevilla; formerly Arab. Ishbiliya; Lat. Hispalis]," in *Grove Dictionary of Art* (updated and revised 14 September 2022, Accessed 13 October 2022). <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T009969>.

patron saints, Justa and Rufina. These two sisters who worked as potters were martyred during Roman times for refusing to worship a statue of Venus, and like the legend of the *plomos* in Granada they were perceived as an essential link between modern Seville and its early Christianity.¹²² By the middle of the sixteenth century the Giralda had become inextricably linked with the two saints, becoming an integral part of the saints' iconography (figs. 3.42 and 3.43). The association with Saints Justa and Rufina had the effect of "cleansing" the minaret of its past associations with Islam, transforming the symbolic meaning of the structure from a relic of a defeated enemy to a manifestation of the city's gift of divine favour and its commitment to its Catholic faith.¹²³ This new meaning attached to the Giralda was cemented with the addition of a classical belfry designed by Hernán Ruiz II that was superimposed upon the original Almohad structure in 1568, along with a bronze weather vane in the form of a figure representing Faith Triumphant that crowned the architectural and metaphorical transformation.

The Giralda became not only a symbol of the city's patron saints, but a synecdoche for the city as a whole that encapsulated its self-perception as a Catholic community united in a struggle against heresy, whether it be historical in the form of Islam, or current in the guise of Protestantism.¹²⁴ Sevillian painters such as Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644) and Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) used this association in their many depictions of the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine that had yet to be accepted as dogma by the Church but for which there was great devotion in Seville, by depicting recognisable landmarks, and especially the Giralda, as a *civitas cristiana* under the protection of the Virgin Mary.¹²⁵ In Zurbarán's Immaculate Conception, now housed in the Museo Diocesano de Arte Antiguo, Sigüenza (ca. 1635, fig. 3.44), and in Pacheco's *Immaculate Conception with Miguel del Cid* (1619, Seville Cathedral, fig. 3.45) we see the city's Torre del Oro and the Giralda in the landscape surrounding the Virgin's moon, both monuments of Moorish origin that have been remade as Marian symbols

¹²² Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 206–07.

¹²³ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 164.

¹²⁴ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 92–93.

¹²⁵ Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," 93.

taken from Song of Songs.¹²⁶

The Giralda as an emblem of Seville is captured in print by the illustrations made by Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro (1633–1703) to accompany Fernando de la Torre Farfán's (1609–77) *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (1671). Torre Farfán's lavish publication had been commissioned by the cathedral council to commemorate the celebrations that were held in Seville in 1671 when Fernando III, King of Castile (1217–50) and the conqueror of Seville in 1248, was canonised by Pope Clement X.¹²⁷ Although Arteaga includes a profile view of the city in the book's title page (fig. 3.46), the Giralda is given a much more prominent role in visually linking the newly canonised saint with the identity of Seville. In one of Arteaga's etchings, a streetscape of the Giralda shows the tower decked in the banners and standards that were hung for the celebration (fig. 3.47). A painting of Fernando III depicted as a saint hangs at the base of the belfry and an inscription on banderoles held aloft by putti at either side of the belfry reads "Turis fortissima / Numen domini," a reference to the Book of Proverbs 18:10: "The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous run to it and are safe."¹²⁸ Here the Giralda operates as a metonymic representation of Seville and implies that its citizens are the righteous to which the proverb refers. Clearly the aim of Arteaga's image was not just to capture how the Giralda looked during the fiesta, but to convey the meaning of the structure to the people of Seville, one which enmeshes the image of the tower with concepts of religion and triumph.

Considering the importance of the Giralda to the city's self-perception, it is remarkable that Meunier relegates the tower to the background of his images of Seville. His depictions of the tower are shorn of the associations of faith and religious triumph that we see in Arteaga and Pacheco's images. Instead, its significance is presented in terms of its architectural

¹²⁶ The visual tradition of the Inmaculada in Spain is explored by Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹²⁷ On Torre Farfán and the Ferdinand III's canonisation, see Amanda Wunder, "Murillo and the Canonisation Case of San Fernando, 1649–52," *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1184 (2001); Rosemarie Mulcahy, "Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville: The Fiestas for the Canonization of King Ferdinand III," *Hispanic Research Journal* 11, no. 5 (2010); McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 160–61.

¹²⁸ This inscription can still be seen today on the belfry.

impressiveness, as exemplified by the distorted scale that exaggerates the height of the tower (cat. 52). Although Arteaga's second image featuring the Giralda shares a similar viewpoint with Meunier's, with the Giralda seen in the distance behind the western end of the cathedral (fig. 3.48), the subtle additions of the banners and the trumpeters at the cathedral's entrance again refer simultaneously to the events of 1671 and the symbolic importance of the structure. This is not the only instance where Meunier misunderstands the local interpretation of a building. In his view of the Seville Alcázar, he fails to recognise a distinction between Almohad and post-conquista architecture when he claims that the Patio de la Montería was built by the Moors:

Veue de lalcasar maison du roi despagne a seville palais bati a la mosaicque par
les maurs africquains pendant quilz ocupoint lespagne / vista de lalcasar casa del
rei despana en seville

Conclusion

These errors do not reveal a lack of interest on Meunier's part in the origins of the Giralda or of the Seville Alcázar, but a lack of understanding or exposure to the nuance of dating, historical context and meaning. Urquizar Herrera states that "in Córdoba, Seville, and Granada neither the origin nor the architectural forms of the monuments seemed to be of especial importance to foreign draughtsmen, and therefore the images, although subject to a degree of convention, made no recourse to ideological strategies that had to reconcile their origin and appearance with the nation's history."¹²⁹ While I strongly disagree with the first clause of Urquizar Herrera's claim, the second accurately reflects the chorographic images of Andalucía made by travelling artists such as Meunier. Meunier's images convey a deep interest in the origins and architectural forms of the buildings he encounters in Seville and Granada, in fact

¹²⁹ Urquizar Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 215.

the communication of these forms to an interested audience is the *raison d'être* of this print series. It is true, however, that Meunier's prints are for the most part unaffected by the politicised and ideological revisionism that characterised Spain's relationship with its Islamic heritage in the seventeenth century. Like many travellers before him, Meunier is motivated by an appreciation of the magnificence, ingenuity and novelty of Spanish architecture, and in capturing a description of it for audiences who could not travel to see it with their own eyes. His *Differentes Veues* series is certainly an attempt to authentically capture what the traveller sees, but the choices of which aspects of that journey to highlight and the manner in which they are presented are dictated by a market for the exotic and the curious. As a visitor passing through these places, he did not have easy access to the histories, myths, and ideologies attached to them.

While Meunier does distinguish between the ostensibly "Spanish" architecture of the "rois despagne" and Islamic architecture built by the "rois affriquains," he does not appear to perceive an inherent contradiction between the impressive qualities of one and the magnificence of another. He uses the same format and stylistic language to depict both spaces. By capturing the glimpses of daily life, the clothing of the staffage, the carriages and the ships that serve the busy cities, along with the views of city squares, palaces and gardens filled with fountains, Meunier chooses easily identifiable points of comparison that can be directly measured against each other and with other famous cities. It is these features that made Meunier's images such fruitful sources for later copies and adaptations, a visual legacy that forms the basis of discussion in the next chapter. This kind of neutralised register eschews the more esoteric or abstruse concepts of specific history or myth in favour of a visual language that renders the unfamiliar aspects, such as the Islamic architecture of the Alhambra, into a recognisable and consumable visual format with which an audience would have already been acquainted through the topographical work of artists such as Dupérac and Silvestre. It is this quality in Meunier's images of Spain that determined their topographical and chorographical purpose. The exotic

points of interest of these faraway places are packaged in a format that while making them accessible, gives little insight into local meaning or values. They are ultimately, as Kagan concludes, images created by artists like Meunier who “depict cities that they see but do not really know.”¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, vii.

Chapter Four

The Afterlife of Meunier's Views of Spain: Their Endurance and Influence

Meunier's views of the gardens, plazas and palaces of Spanish cities addressed a lacuna in the printed corpus available to seventeenth-century collectors for up-to-date imagery of the kingdom's built landmarks, especially for its relatively new capital, Madrid. A paucity of alternative visual sources on Spain kept Meunier's prints in active circulation for close to fifty years, with his *Differentes Vues* series going through at least seven different editions through the interventions of various publishers. These later impressions clearly indicate the continued relevance of Meunier's etchings into the eighteenth century. Their status as authoritative and authentic likenesses meant that within a relatively short couple of years his prints became some of the most defining images of Spanish urban representation and a paradigm for subsequent generations to imitate.

The influence of these images extended far beyond the lifecycle of the original plates. This chapter borrows the Warburgian concept of *nachleben* or "afterlife," and charts the migration of Meunier's images from print project to print project, from near contemporaneous reprintings, to dramatically altered interpretations of the 1740s. As well as demonstrating the perseverance of Meunier's work and its value to later publishers, this diachronic approach brings to light the subsequent versions that appropriated and transformed his imagery for new audiences in evolving artistic, social and political frameworks.¹

¹ My approach here is also informed by Alexandra Onuf's study of the Small Landscapes by Hieronymus Cock. Other influential studies include Jessica Maier, "Francesco Rosselli's Lost View of Rome: An Urban Icon and Its Progeny," *The Art Bulletin* 94, no. 3 (2012); Pieter Martens, "Hieronymus Cock's view of Antwerp (1557): Its

By examining the afterlife of Meunier's prints of Spain it is possible to appreciate the adaptable malleability of the printed image, and in this case the transformation of Meunier's views as they endured as part of guidebooks or geographic compendia: in the guise of propagandistic statements of ownership, as collectible items, and as more ephemeral objects of entertainment. These creative reinterpretations of Meunier's prototype demonstrate the central role played by publishers in the creation of printed imagery and challenges conventional notions of invention and authorship. Finally, this chapter goes on to explore the reasons why Meunier's imagery in particular became such a persistent touchstone for imitation, and what aspects of the prints' formal conventions conveyed their trustworthiness as a valued source on Spanish cities.

4.1 New Impressions from Old Plates: Later Restrikes from Meunier's Original Matrices

Up to this point this study has primarily focused on the first editions of Meunier's prints of Spain in order to better examine the original intent, function and reception of these print ventures. However, as we shall see below, the trajectory and evolution of these functions and receptions extend far beyond the run of the original strikes. Through an examination of impressions of Meunier's prints housed in multiple institutions it has been possible to identify several restrikes pulled from the original matrices. While it is impossible to determine the print run of each restrike without numbering, small changes to the copper plates can indicate new states and point towards the movement of the plates from one publisher to another. Diagram 4.1 illustrates the "genealogy" of the Meunier's print series of Spanish subjects.

Genesis and Offspring, from Antwerp to Italy," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 39, no. 3 (2017); Nicholas Warner, *The True Description of Cairo: A Sixteenth-century Venetian View* (London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2006).

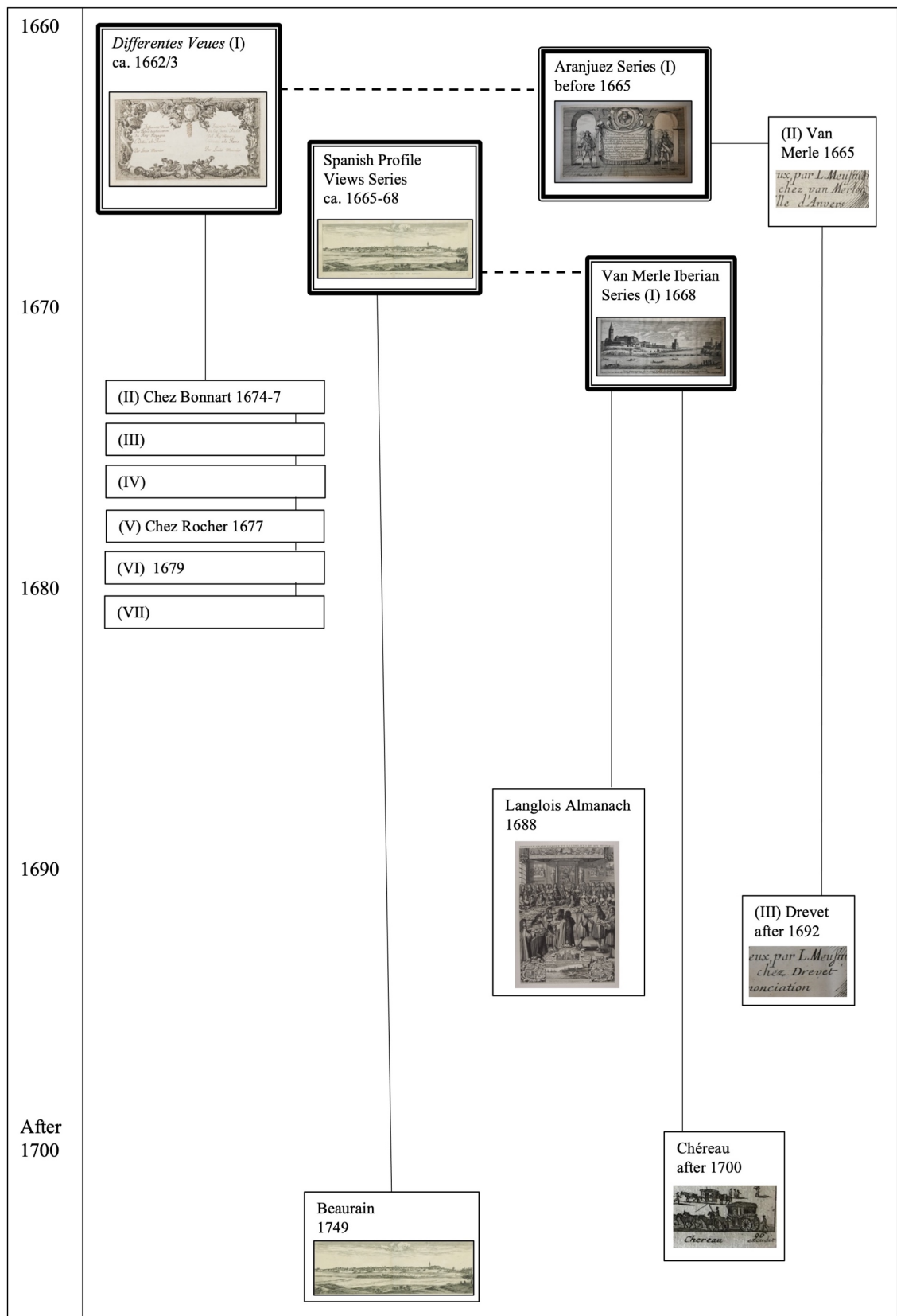


Diagram 4.1 Later states of Meunier's prints with Spanish subjects.

Solid line indicates reuse of the same plate. Dashed line indicates a derivative by Meunier himself. Images are not to scale.

With regards to Meunier's first series on Spain, his *Differentes Veues* series, I have identified at least seven different print states.² After their initial appearance as a special edition dedicated to Queen Marie-Thérèse ca. 1662/3, Meunier's plates for the *Differentes Veues* series remained dormant for at least ten years (see cat. 1). They did not appear on the Parisian print market until the fifty-five plates passed into the stock of the publisher Nicolas Bonnart (ca. 1637–1718) soon after he moved to the rue Saint-Jacques at the l'Aigle sign in November 1674, the address which he printed on the title page (fig. 4.1).³ After this time, the plates (or at least a significant proportion of them) appear to have yielded at least two more states before 1677, when they were published for a fifth time by Claude Rocher (d. after 1697) with the addition of a new title page (fig. 4.2).⁴ A sixth state is dated 1679, with a seventh and final version from the original plates being pulled at some point after this date. For the last two states it is unclear whether the entire series was reprinted, or whether certain plates were chosen as single-sheet prints to recoup costs or in response to specific events. Diagram 4.2 shows Meunier's original print of the Puerta del Sol found in the first state held in Versailles and five subsequent states of the same plate.

² Gascoigne defines a print state as follows: "A print is described as existing in a different state every time the block plate or stone is in any way altered and is then used for further impressions." Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet*, rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 60a.

³ Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe: à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1986), 283–84. These plates may have been put up for sale after the death of the duc de Liancourt in 1674, see Chapter Two, section 2.3. On the Bonnart printing dynasty, see Pascale Cugy, *La Dynastie Bonnart. Peintres, graveurs et marchands de modes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016).

⁴ On Rocher, see Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 370.

State I
Versailles



State II
Bonnart



State III



State IV



State V
Rocher



State VII



Diagram 4.2 Six different states of Meunier's View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol. Images are not to scale.

Meunier's second series, his Aranjuez series, was reprinted at least twice. As outlined in Chapters One and Two, the second state was published in 1665 by Jacques van Merle. The third state, published by Pierre Drevet (1663–1738) is undated but it is not likely to have appeared before 1703 when Drevet's business is recorded as being based at the "l'Annonciation" sign on the rue Saint-Jacques, the address indicated on the title page (fig. 4.3).⁵ Another of Meunier's prints published by Van Merle, his *View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente*, appears to have been republished at least three times (fig. 4.4). The first state, now in the BnF, does not contain a publisher's name. Robert-Dumesnil records a state that was published by Van Merle, which presumably corresponds to a second state.⁶ At a later date the plate was cut down on the left side and reprinted by Nicolas Langlois I (1640–1703), who added his address to the left beneath the title: "Paris chez N. Langlois Ruë St Iacques à la Victoire. avec privil." A fourth state was published by Jean Mariette (1660–1742) who burnished out Langlois' name and replaced it with his own, adding his own shop sign "aux Colonnes d'Hercules." This must have occurred after the death of Nicolas Langlois II in 1707, when the Langlois stock was dispersed.⁷ Mariette published this view of the Château de La Rochefoucauld in various compendia of prints after French and Italian architecture by numerous artists including the Pérelles, Silvestre, Le Pautre, Aveline, under titles such as *Veues des Plus Beaux bastimens de France* and *Veües des belles maisons de France, veues de Rome et des environs*.⁸

The three other series associated with Van Merle do not appear to have gone through as many reworkings, however, there is an edition of the view of Cádiz from the Van Merle Iberian series bound in a volume held in the library of the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, and another of the Ribeira Palace held at the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, that bear inscriptions

⁵ Maxime Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis/Cercle de la librairie, 1987), 109.

⁶ The second state is currently untraced. It is recorded by Alexandre-Pierre-François Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française: ouvrage faisant suit au Peintre-graveur de M. Bartsch.*, 11 vols. (1835–71), vol. 5, 299, no. 87.

⁷ Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 196.

⁸ Examples can be found in the Edinburgh University Library, the Royal Academy, London, and the Getty Research Institute.

indicating that they were printed by Chéreau (“Chereau exc.” fig. 4.5). This is likely to refer to François Chéreau I (1680–1729) or his brother Jacques Chéreau (1688–1776) who were both active after 1700. Jacques especially would appear to be a likely candidate as he is known to have exported large quantities of devotional prints to markets in Iberia, which may explain the Spanish titles on much later states of a few of prints from the *Differentes Vues* series (fig. 4.6).⁹ A number of new impressions of Meunier’s profile views of Spanish cities made in Silvestre’s workshop were struck from the original plates as late as 1749, when they were recycled by Jean de Beaurain (1696–1771) cartographer and *Géographe du roi* in his *Atlas Geographique. Contenant les cartes d’Espagne, de Portugal, et d’Italie; où sont les Etats de Piémont, de Gênes, de Milan, de Parme, de Modène, de Mantoue, de Venise, de l’Eglise, de Toscane, des Deux-Sicules, des Isles de Corse, et de Sardaigne, et de celle de Malthe*, Tome XII (fig. 4.7).

The Circulation of Plates on Paris’ Rue Saint-Jacques

The interventions of these various publishers demonstrate how Meunier’s plates passed through many different hands. This could occur after an interval of many years, such as with Beaurain’s 1749 reprinting, or in surprisingly quick succession; the fifty-five *Differentes Vues* plates passed from Bonnard to Rocher in under three years. Meunier’s plates were not uncommon in this respect, the practice of plates exchanging between different publishers was very commonplace in Paris and other print centres such as Antwerp and Rome. As discussed in Chapter One, in most cases the matrices were the property of the publisher, who generally bore the initial investment of copper and artistic labour, rather than the image’s designer or the engraver (unless the engraver and the publisher were one and the same).¹⁰ By acquiring existing stocks of plates, publishers could save the costs of commissioning new images, quickly broaden the range of print products they had to offer and thus augment their profit margins.¹¹ Plates such

⁹ Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d’estampes*, 82–83. See *ibid.* 79–81 for François Chéreau I and his wife, Marguerite Caillou Chéreau.

¹⁰ Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 9.

¹¹ Stephanie Porras, “Repeat Viewing. Hendrick Hondius’s Effigies,” ed. Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras,

as Meunier's could be sourced at auctions, estate sales, or, as was often the case, they could be exchanged amongst colleagues.¹² Inheritance was another major source of plates and print stock, with major publishing dynasties, such as the Bonnarts and the Mariettes, passing plates from one generation to the next. By the mid-seventeenth century the majority of the intaglio trade was concentrated on the rue Saint-Jacques in the university quarter. Publishers, printmakers and their families lived and worked in close proximity to each other in a tightly integrated society where publishers shared business interests and were often indebted to each other.¹³ Marriages between printmaking families were common and often had significant impact on the transfer of plates from one shop to another.¹⁴ After taking over the prominent publishing business of her late husband François Langlois (1588–1647), in 1655 Madeleine de Collemont (active 1647–64) married another publisher based on the rue Saint-Jacques, Pierre II Mariette (1634–1716). Upon Collement's death nine years later, Mariette found himself with the most comprehensive print stock of any the Parisian publishers, having added her significant stock of plates and engravings to that his father, Pierre Mariette I (1596–1657), whose business which he had purchased in 1657. With the combined assets wrought through marriage and inheritance, Mariette established one of the most successful printing and collecting dynasties of the ancien régime. Meanwhile Langlois' son Nicolas Langlois I went into business independently from 1655, and when the latter's son, Nicolas Langlois II (1670–1707), died his stock passed on to Mariette's son Jean Mariette.¹⁵ Van Merle's stock was absorbed into Langlois' sometime after the former's death in 1682, and thus we can observe Meunier's *View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente* passing from Van Merle to Langlois, and finally

Picturing the Netherlandish Canon (Courtauld Books Online, 2015), 17.

¹² Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 10.

¹³ Griffiths and Chapman show that though the most prominent publishers in Paris were rivals, they cooperated when it came to supporting talented artists, maintained open credit lines and sold or exchanged stock between themselves to address gaps in their print stock. Antony Griffiths and Hugo Chapman, "Israel Henriet, the Chatsworth Album and the Publication of the Work of Jacques Callot," *Print Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2013): 282.

¹⁴ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 11; Rémi Mathis, "What is a Printmaker?," in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 25.

¹⁵ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 383–84.

to Mariette (see fig. 4.4).

Publishers such as Mariette, Van Merle, Langlois, Drevet and Beaurain kept their older stock in demand by hiring engravers who specialised in reworking old plates, reinforcing worn lines and improving inscriptions.¹⁶ Each publisher who handled Meunier's plates made some form of modification, although for the most part these tended to be rather minimal. The most obvious alterations were made to the lettering of the inscriptions, as subsequent publishers replaced the more amateur lettering of the first states with a professional hand in order to make the inscriptions more legible, their information more concise, as well as to correct some of the spelling and phrasing of the original Spanish inscriptions. A comparison of these different modifications has been the most consistent method for identifying the different states of each print (see Diagram 4.3). Most of the publishers added their own name and business address to the title page, such as in the case of Bonnard in state II of the *Differentes Vues* series (fig. 4.1). Van Merle made a more substantial alteration to the state II of the Aranjuez series, where the publisher burnished out a patron's crest, the original dedication on the title page, and added the artist's name, his own name and address, and the privilège (fig. 4.3). Elsewhere minor interventions to the images themselves are evidenced, especially the reinforcing of lines in areas where the plates had become worn. Between the first and the second states of the view of the Hermitage of San Antonio in the Buen Retiro, parallel lines were added to the sky area to create tone and texture, and in the third state further shading was added to suggest clouds (fig. 4.8). An even more dramatic retouching can be observed in the second state of the *View of Granada from the Sierra Mountains* where long hatched lines add a sense of brooding drama to the sky (fig. 4.9). The same image was completely transformed in the fifth state, where the large tree silhouetted in the foreground was erased entirely from the composition (fig. 4.10)

¹⁶ Alexandra Onuf, *The 'Small Landscape' Prints in Early Modern Netherlands* (London: Routledge, 2017), 173.

VEVE DE LA PLACE ET DE LA FONTAINE DU SOLEIL A MADRID VISTA DE LA PLACA I DE LA FOVENTE DEL SOL A MADRID
DESIGNE AV NATVREL ET GRAVE PAR LOVIS MEUNIER

State I Versailles

VEVE DE LA PLACE ET DE LA FONTAINE DU SOLEIL A MADRID VISTA DE LA PLACA I DE LA FOVENTE DEL SOL A MADRID
DESIGNE AV NATVREL ET GRAVE PAR LOVIS MEUNIER

State II Bonnat

VEVE DE LA PLACE ET DE LA FONTAINE DU SOLEIL A MADRID VISTA DE LA Fuente i de la puerta del Sol y su plaza .
DESIGNE AV NATVREL ET GRAVE PAR LOVIS MEUNIER

State III

Place et Fontaine du sol a Madrid Vista de la Fuente i de la puerta del Sol y su plaza .

State IV

Place et Fontaine du sol a Madrid Vista de la Fuente i de la puerta del Sol y su plaza .
d'après sur les lieux et gravé par L. Meunier avec pri. du Roy

State V Rocher

VISTA DE LA FUENTE Y DE LA PUERTA DEL SOL Y SU PLAZA .

State VII

Diagram 4.3 A comparison of the changes made to the lettering in the successive states of Meunier's View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol.
Details.

In order to keep up with changing tastes and socio-political contexts, publishers reorganised print series and incorporated old plates into new formulations that would keep them relevant to new audiences. In 1688 Nicolas Langlois I published an almanac by Pierre Lepautre (1660–1744) which commemorated some of the previous year’s festivities held to celebrate the king’s return to health after an illness (fig. 4.11). The bottom register of the almanac features the obligatory calendar that marked the various feast days for the year to come.¹⁷ However, a subsequent state of the almanac held in the Réserve Edmond de Rothschild in the Louvre demonstrates a reworking of the image in which the calendar has been replaced by a plate by Meunier, his *View of the Palácio do Principe, Lisbon* from the 1668 Van Merle Iberian series (fig. 4.12 and cat. 78, see also Diagram 4.1). Based on the dimensions of the extant almanac in the Louvre, the plate which was used to replace the calendar comes within a few millimetres of the dimensions of an impression of the Lisbon port scene in the British Museum, a small discrepancy doubtless due to the print being cut down.

After Van Merle’s death in 1682, his widow continued his business before transferring it to their son Pierre-Jacques van Merle in 1687.¹⁸ It is likely that Langlois acquired the plate from Van Merle at this time. Langlois had a reputation for publishing elaborate almanacs in which his artists went to great lengths to accurately depict the events, places and characters they commemorate. In his published advertisements Langlois made it clear that he saw these almanacs as a coherent corpus that commemorated the greatest achievements of Louis XIV’s reign.¹⁹ Almanacs were ephemera that quickly lost their relevance once the calendar year passed, and were usually discarded at the end of the year. By replacing the calendar panel with Meunier’s plate, this was presumably an attempt by Langlois to market the almanac image, which due to its size and quality would have been costly to produce, as a monument to Louis

¹⁷ On seventeenth-century almanacs, see Maxime Préaud, *Les effets du soleil: Almanachs du règne de Louis XIV* (Paris: Reunion des musees nationaux, 1995). On Langlois, see Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d’estampes*, 194–96; Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 333–34.

¹⁸ Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 384.

¹⁹ Préaud, *Les effets du soleil*, 16.

XIV's reign and thus extend its appeal to his customers beyond the confines of one particular year.

Restrikes in Response to Political Affairs

Meunier's plates did not solely function as convenient stand-ins, however. The later impressions of his prints demonstrate that his images, and the descriptions they provided of the Spanish kingdom, continued to be of relevance to audiences into the middle of the eighteenth century. Aside from providing examples to collectors of the architectural achievements of the Spanish court, the recurrent interest in his prints can be connected to contemporaneous geopolitical events relating to Spain and its diplomatic relations with its near neighbours. Van Merle's edition of the Aranjuez series which he published in 1665 can be viewed as an opportunistic ploy by the publisher to optimise the interest amongst the Parisian public in events south of the Pyrenees after the death of Philip IV in September 1665. Marie-Thérèse's unpaid dowry opened up the legitimacy of Louis XIV's claims to Spanish-controlled territories in the second half of the 1660s. He appealed to an existing custom in the Brabant regions of the Low Countries, known as the right of devolution, whereby the children of a first marriage, including daughters, would take precedence of inheritance over children born from subsequent marriages.²⁰ These arguments were set out in the *Traité des droits de la reine très Chrétienne sur divers Etats de la monarchie d'Espagne* in May 1667, just before France declared war by invading the Spanish Netherlands on the 24th of May 1667. Although this focussed attention to the eastern border of France, rather than towards the Pyrenees, the political situation nonetheless put the Spanish monarchy in the news. It is possible to envisage a similar motivation for the series of views of Spanish and Portuguese sites by Meunier that was published by Van Merle in 1668, the year in which the Spanish monarchy accepted the

²⁰ Emily Montaner, "Politics and Diplomacy: Emblems during the War of Devolution in the Minority of Charles II of Spain," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 288.

sovereignty of the House of Braganza with the Treaty of Lisbon (see cat. 75). Meanwhile, the marriage of Carlos II of Spain to Marie Louise d'Orléans in November 1679 was surely the impetus for state V of the *Differentes Vues* series that same year (fig. 4.13).²¹

As a class of informational image, Meunier's prints were valued by collectors as a source on Spain's architecture and geography. It is noteworthy that it is Meunier's prints of Spanish and Portuguese subjects that go through multiple editions, and not his views of French, Belgian or Italian locations, presumably due to the fact that they were well represented elsewhere. In the absence of any new sources arriving on the print market with up-to-date images of Spain in the early eighteenth century, publishers in Paris became dependent on Meunier's imagery to fill the iconographic gap for Spain in their geographic stock. However, owing to the effects of the etching process, publishers could not continue to recycle Meunier's plates ad infinitum. Etched copper plates were much less durable than engraved matrices as they were incised with much shallower marks. Etched plates therefore wore out more quickly and yielded only about half the number of impressions as an engraved plate, a maximum of some two to three thousand impressions before becoming unusable.²² A very late restrike of Meunier's view of the Plaza Mayor demonstrates how a well-used copper plate loses definition and accrues unintended visual "noise" through wear and tear (fig. 4.14). The only way to overcome the limitations posed by depleted plates was to create copies. From the 1680s until the mid-eighteenth century, Meunier's images of Spanish locations were copied copiously by publishers who wished to represent Spain in print. These derivatives ensured the lasting impact of Meunier's Spanish imagery and in their variety form a unique aspect of the afterlife of Meunier's views of Spain that deserves close attention.

²¹ In this instance only three prints depicting the Aranjuez Gardens are dated 1679, there is no evidence of a title page for the entire series bearing this date. This could suggest that these three plates were selected to be printed as loose sheets on this occasion. Publishers were known to select plates from which to pull impressions as current events and demand warranted, rather than printing a whole series at once. Woodward makes this point with regards to sixteenth-century Venice but it also applies to a Parisian context. David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1996), 51.

²² Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance*, 30.

4.2 Replicas, Appropriations and Transformations

It is via the printed emanations after Meunier's work that his topographical views of Spain achieved their greatest distribution and reach. Publishers who had access to editions of Meunier's prints, especially the *Differentes Veues* series, selected what they saw as his most representative or successful compositions, and without acknowledging their creator, modified and incorporated these images into larger and more extensive publications and print projects. They commissioned different printmakers to re-engrave the compositions onto new plates, compressing or expanding the layout of the content in order to fit within the format dictated by the publication. Diagram 4.4 demonstrates the range of publications that emanated from Meunier's prototypes over a span of close to 140 years. For the most part the basic formulations, especially the architectural details, remain unchanged. However, with each iteration these engravers did not hesitate to creatively repackage the older print series, translating the content into more current stylistic languages. Often it was these copies which gave rise to further imitations, in many instances putting greater distance between the original and the replica.

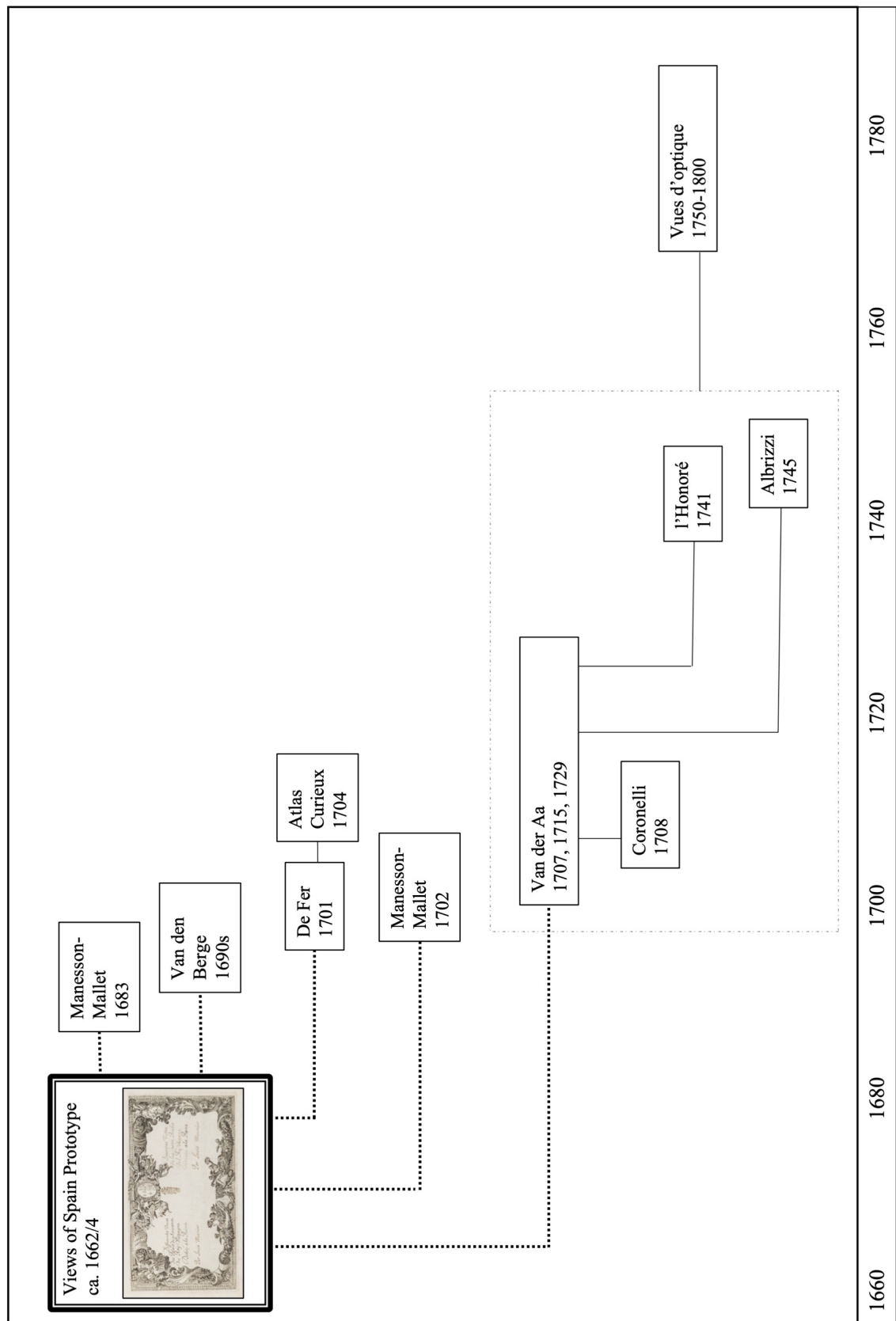


Diagram 4.4 Copies after Meunier's *Différentes Vues* series.

Dotted line indicates a copy after Meunier. Solid line indicates a copy after a copy. Image not to scale.

Copies and Privilège du roi

It is striking that while each subsequent incarnation of Meunier's images was incorporated as part of world city atlases, guidebooks on Spain and its culture, and topical atlases that enabled readers to follow current events happening abroad, there were no later copies of Meunier's prints made with new plates as a stand-alone series advertised under his name. This could imply, at least in the 1680s or 1690s, that the original plates were protected by privilège. Counterfeit editions and copies made in cheaper formats were commonplace in the highly competitive print industry in Paris.²³ To impede copies and retain maximum profit for the owner of the plate, a publisher would often apply for privilège du roi, a system put in place in France in the sixteenth century under François I which granted the applicant the exclusive right to publish an image or a series of images for a specific period of time.²⁴ The duration of the privilège could vary significantly, but in most cases it was granted for ten to twenty years. Printmakers who breached the rules by publishing images that were registered to another party would be fined and have their work confiscated.²⁵ However, it was up to the person who registered the privilège to report any transgressions.²⁶ Illegal copies buried amongst other images within a publication would have been less likely to come to the attention of the authorities. State II of the *Differentes Veues* series published by Bonnard is inscribed "avec privil" on the title page (fig. 4.1). It was possible to transfer the rights of an image or a plate to another party, something which may have occurred when the plates passed from Bonnard to Rocher before 1677.²⁷ However without records to verify this, there is no way of knowing if these publishers did indeed secure a privilège for these

²³ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 105.

²⁴ It was mandatory for the book trade but not so for printed images. On privilège du roi, see Katie Scott, "Authorship, the Académie, and the Market in Early Modern France," *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (1998): 29; Peter Fuhring, "The Print Publishing Privilege in Eighteenth-century France. Part I," *Print Quarterly* 2, 3 (1985); Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 104–12.

²⁵ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 106.

²⁶ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 112.

²⁷ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 108. Other editions of Meunier's prints where privilège is indicated: a partial privilège inscription is visible on *The Fountain of the Tritons* in State I of the *Differentes Veues* series; The Rocher edition of the *Differentes Veues* series.; State II of the Aranjuez series (Van Merle); The Van Merle Iberian series; State III of the Aranjuez series.

plates, or if the inscription was falsely added to evoke an impression of exclusivity.²⁸

Derivatives after Meunier's Topographical Prints of Spain

1. Milheuser, before 1680

Even before Meunier's original plates were worn down and therefore inoperative, publishers who wanted to make use of his imagery but who did not have access to the plates, appropriated his views for new, unrelated projects. Probably not long after its publication by Silvestre ca. 1665, the Dutch printmaker Julius Milheuser (ca. 1611–80) made a copy after Meunier's profile view of Madrid (fig. 4.15 and cat. 66). In addition to adding lettering to indicate the names of the buildings whose spires pierce the skyline, Milheuser furnished the image with the coats of arms of the city and the Habsburg monarchy, and populated the foreground with new figures that add a sense of animation and plausibility to the scene, even if they are entirely fictitious.²⁹ Intriguingly, Milheuser's depiction of the Alcázar's façade is not faithful to Meunier's image, but is probably derived from Teixeira's map view of 1656, which features a high-pitched pediment on top of the palace's three-storey frontispiece (fig. 4.16). That Teixeira's version of the façade was invented is confirmed by Meunier's earlier view from ca. 1662/3, Baldi's pen drawing from 1668 and a print by Pedro de Obregón, that all show a pediment-less central bay (fig. 4.17). The pediment itself was not completed until the 1675 when the façade was completed along with the eastern tower steeple, known as the Queen's Tower. A comparison of Teixeira's detail of the frontispiece with a painting dated 1677, as well as a drawing from 1700s, suggests that Teixeira had based his version on plans for the façade that were created as early as the 1650s (fig. 4.18). Milheuser's image was published by

²⁸ Scott, "Authorship, the Académie, and the Market in Early Modern France," 29, n. 3. According to Grivel, the records on the privilèges obtained in the seventeenth century are incomplete when it comes to single-sheet prints. The register for commissions granted was kept by la Chambre syndicale de la librairie et Imprimerie de Paris. MS Français BnF 16753 (1635–51) and 16754 (1653–64). BnF Est. Ye 7 pet. in-fol. (1684–1724). Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 108–09.

²⁹ These figures are clearly out of date and were probably taken from a costume book. See section 3.1, Chapter Three.

Frederick de Wit (1629/30–1706) who had probably intended it to accompany two plates depicting profile views of Lisbon and Seville from the 1610s that he had mostly likely acquired from Johannes Janssonius’ estate (see fig. 3.22). This would certainly account for the Latin title in capital letters on a black background on top of the image, and may explain the addition of boats along the river to correspond visually with the other prints. Another print after Milheuser’s version was published at a later date by De Wit, along with the views of Lisbon and Seville (figs. 4.19 and 4.20). It was mostly likely that a condensed version of Milheuser’s image that was used by Aldert Mayer in the background for his Madrid figures in Carel Allard’s costume book, *Orbis habitabilis oppida et vestitus, centenario numero complexa* (Amsterdam, ca. 1700–09; fig. 4.21). Meunier’s profile view of Madrid evidently circulated widely as it was copied as late as 1752 in a version published in London by Henry Overton and Robert Sayer (fig. 4.22), which in turn spawned its own copies (see fig. 4.23).

2. Manesson-Mallet, 1683

In 1683, less than ten years after Meunier’s prints had become widely available through Bonnat’s second edition of the *Differentes Vues* series, Allain Manesson-Mallet (1630–1706) published his *Description de l’univers contenant les differents systèmes du monde*, in which he borrowed substantially from Meunier’s imagery.³⁰ Manesson-Mallet was a French cartographer, mathematician and fortifications engineer. His career began as a musketeer in the French army, but in 1663 he moved to Lisbon to serve as a fortification engineer under Alfonso VI of Portugal. With the declaration of peace and the end of Portugal’s union with Spain in 1668, Manesson-Mallet’s skills were no longer required and he returned to Paris that year where he was named mathematics master to the pages of the Petite Écurie.³¹ From the 1680s he began publishing titles on geography, fortifications and geometry, the earliest of which is his

³⁰ Allain Manesson-Mallet, *Description de l’univers contenant les differents systèmes du monde* (Paris: Chez Denys Thierry, rue S. Jacques, à l’Enseigne de la Ville de Paris, devant la rue du Plâtre, 1683).

³¹ Émilie d’Orgeix, “Alain Manesson Mallet (1630–1706) Portrait d’un ingénieur militaire dans le sillage de Vauban,” *Bulletin du Comité français de cartographie (CFC)*, no. 195 (2008): 68–69.

Description de l'univers, an expansive atlas of the world in five volumes featuring star charts, global and continental maps, topographical views of cities and observations on the customs, religious practices and governments of different peoples.

Volume IV, Chapter 13 is dedicated to Spain and Portugal. Along with ancient and modern maps of the peninsula, Manesson-Mallet included at least three topographical views derived directly from Meunier's prints—a view of the Alcázar in Madrid (p. 293, fig. 4.24), the Plaza Mayor (p. 295, fig. 4.25), and the bird's-eye view of El Escorial (p. 303, fig. 4.26).³² Unlike the reuse of Meunier's images in projects such as Beaurain's *Atlas Geographique*, these copies are not printed from the original plates. The compositions have been compressed into a vertical format in order to accommodate the book's layout, and the drawing is clearly by a different hand. Nonetheless, after taking differences of scale and the addition of new figures into account, these iterations are overall faithful copies of Meunier's original compositions in terms of both style and content.

Manesson-Mallet shares a common source with Meunier in that he draws on three images by Stoop for his depiction of the Lisbon port, the Tower of Belém and the Ribeira Palace.³³ The fact that Manesson-Mallet arrived at the Portuguese court a year after Stoop published his etchings could account for his access to Stoop's work, especially as they do not appear to have gone through as many restrikes or to have circulated as widely as Meunier's prints. On page 297 Manesson-Mallet includes an image of the Queen's Garden in the Buen Retiro featuring the equestrian statue of Philip IV and a view of the Great Lake in the background (fig. 4.27). At first glance this view appears to derive from a very similar image from the Meunier prints, but from a much higher viewpoint so that the Buen Retiro gardens and lakes can be seen in the background. This reinterpretation of the scene would imply knowledge of the site, and as such, perhaps it is not unreasonable to assume that Manesson-Mallet may have visited the palace

³² Manesson-Mallet's bird's-eye view of the Escorial replicates details in the landscape and gardens from the Meunier versions and would appear to derive from this version rather than Perret's original or the version in the *Civitates orbis terrarum*.

³³ These specific views of the Lisbon port and the Tower of Belém do not feature in any of Meunier's series.

during the time he spent serving Alfonso VI. According to the author in his preface to *Les travaux de Mars* (1671), “Le nombre des Places que j’ay fait fortifier en Portugal, en Espagne & ailleurs, m’ayant donné une experience toute autre que celle qui s’acquiert dans les Livres...”³⁴ It is possible that this print, as well as another view of Belém that does not feature in Stoop’s series, were made by the author himself or by another printmaker working from his designs.

3. Van den Berge, 1690s

Copies after Meunier’s Spanish views were not confined to the French print market alone. Because of the high levels of quality achieved by the French print industry in the second half of the seventeenth century, there was significant demand for French print of all genres elsewhere in Europe. Be that as it may, import taxation could often be prohibitive, and as such publishers in the Low Countries and the Germanic states were motivated to make copies after French prints for their own markets.³⁵ These publishers were free to do this because the privilège applied only within French jurisdiction.³⁶ In Amsterdam especially, the federal and particularist political system of the Dutch Republic meant that the authorities were unable to monitor the book trade to the same degree as in more centralised monarchies such as France and Spain, enabling pirated editions of foreign books and prints to be produced in large numbers for export at competitive prices.³⁷

Ten years after Manesson-Mallet’s reinterpretation, a Dutch publisher based in Amsterdam, Pieter van den Berge (1659–1737) published *Theatrum hispaniae exhibens regni urbes, villas ac viridaria magis illustria*, a bound collection of prints depicting views of cityscapes, palaces,

³⁴ “Avertissement: Servant de Preface” in Allain Manesson-Mallet, *Les travaux de Mars, ou l’art de la guerre*, 3 vols. (Paris: D. Thierry, 1684–85).

³⁵ Maxime Préaud, “Printmakers under Louis XIV,” in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 12.

³⁶ Peter Fuhring, “Publishers, Sellers, and the Market,” in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 31.

³⁷ For more on this subject, see Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck et al. ed., *Le magasin de l’univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

royal gardens and fountains in Spain and Portugal (fig. 4.28).³⁸ Some fifty out of the seventy-six plates in the *Theatrum hispaniae* are taken directly from Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series and Van Merle Iberian series. According to the RKD catalogue, Van den Berge was active in Paris before establishing his business in Amsterdam and would have presumably encountered Meunier's work during his time in France.³⁹ Van den Berge's publication makes an attempt to be much more comprehensive in its representation of Spanish cities, his collection fills the geographical gaps in Meunier's oeuvre by inserting images taken from sources such as the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, the Grand Beaulieu, and prints by Dirk Stoop and Gabriel Périelle. Van den Berge's copies do not strictly replicate the Meunier compositions. He transferred the images to a larger, more expansive format, employing a softer and more atmospheric use of the etching needle. While remaining faithful to the specific architectural and topographic details, he corrected some of the weaknesses apparent in Meunier's earlier style by adjusting the differences of scale between the staffage figures and the surrounding monuments, and imbued the architectural features with a greater sense of volume and solidity (see figs. 4.29–31). Nevertheless, Van den Berge does repeat some of the inaccuracies evident in the original prints, such as the truncation of the spire of Toledo cathedral (fig. 4.31). The figures who populate Van den Berge's scenes are larger and much more substantial, their emphatic gestures are clearly legible and create a theatrical tableau across the foreground of many of the compositions (figs. 4.29 and 4.30). In an effort to appear more current, the *guardainfantes* of the 1660s were replaced by more contemporary *tontillo*.⁴⁰ However, these changes have the overall effect of diluting the sense of eyewitness observation associated with Meunier's original prints. These highly ambitious re-productions would have required a significant investment of effort and

³⁸ Pieter van den Berge, *Theatrum hispaniae exhibens regni urbes, villas ac viridaria magis illustrata...* (Amsterdam: Pieter van den Berge, ca. 1694). The BM catalogue dates the book ca. 1690, accessed 23 January 2020, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_M-36-44. A date after 1694 would appear likely as by that date Van den Berge had returned to Amsterdam after a number of years spent working in Hamburg. RKD, accessed 23 January 2020, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/7077>.

³⁹ RKD, accessed 23 January 2020, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/7077>.

⁴⁰ On the *tontillo*, see Amalia Descalzo and Carmen Bernis, "Spanish Female Dress in the Habsburg Period," in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014).

capital. There is no accompanying text, but the inscriptions on each plate are written in Latin, Spanish, Dutch and French—Van de Berge clearly expected his book to reach a wide audience and provide a profitable return.

4. De Fer, 1701

In an example of how representative of Spain Meunier's images had become by the turn of the century, they were reconstituted in a very different scheme in a specialised atlas made to allow its readers to keep up with unfolding events relating to the political conflict and disputed areas surrounding the Spanish succession. In 1701 the cartographer and publisher Nicolas de Fer (1647–1720) released *Cartes et Descriptions Generales et Particulieres Pour l'Intelligence Des Affaires du Temps, au Sujet de la Sucèssion de la Couronne d'Espagne, en Europe, en Asie, Afrique, et Amerique*.⁴¹ De Fer prefaced the atlas with a frontispiece bearing a portrait of Philip V in a decorative cartouche surrounded by views of Madrid drawn from Meunier's prints (fig. 4.32). These motifs include the Hermitage of San Antonio from the Buen Retiro gardens, the Plaza Mayor with the new addition of a bull fight, and the Alcázar of Madrid. De Fer reproduces the outmoded version of the frontispiece to the Alcázar's façade as depicted in Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series, which, as noted in the discussion on Milheuser, was refurbished in 1675. The fourth motif, a representation of the equestrian statue of Philip IV in the Buen Retiro gardens, appears to have been invented by de Fer or one of the printmakers in his employ. It appears to be an amalgamation of verbal reports on the formal elements of the gardens, but it bears no relation to Meunier's view of the same sculpture which is seen from the opposite angle, and the "maison du plaisir" in the distance is more akin to an Italian villa, such as the Villa Aldobrandini, than any structure that once stood in the Buen Retiro.

⁴¹ Nicolas de Fer, *Cartes et Descriptions Generales et Particulieres Pour l'Intelligence Des Affaires du Temps, au Sujet de la Sucèssion de la Couronne d'Espagne, en Europe, en Asie, Afrique, et Amerique* (Paris: Chez l'Auteur dans l'Isle du Palais sur le quay de l'orloge a la sphere Royale, 1701). For further biographical and bibliographical information on De Fer, see Mireille Pastoureau, *Les atlas français XVIe–XVIIe siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984), 167–223; Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 120–21.

De Fer's atlases reflect the changing political circumstances surrounding the Spanish monarchy and its succession at the turn of the eighteenth century. Echoing Ortelius' conception of geography as "the eye of history," de Fer's maps provided his readers with a visual setting upon which to superimpose narratives of current events.⁴² This atlas was not only a commercially astute venture considering the topicality of its content, but functioned as a propagandistic aid to the duc d'Anjou's claim to the Spanish throne, which was strongly contested by England and the United Provinces at the time of his coronation. In his frontispiece de Fer chooses examples of public and private royal buildings that had hitherto been representative of Habsburg royal power. Here, however, their meaning is transformed. By superimposing the bust of the newly crowned Philip V over these signifiers of Habsburg rule, de Fer creates an unequivocal statement of ownership at a time when the new king's position was still uncertain. Since 1690 de Fer had held a position as *géographe ordinaire de Monseigneur le Dauphin* and in 1702 he was duly rewarded for his efforts when he was appointed *géographe de Sa Majesté catholique*.⁴³ He continued to reuse the Meunier-inspired frontispiece in his *Atlas Curieux*, a popular world atlas which he published in successive editions between 1700 and 1716. De Fer announced a volume dedicated to "la grande et magnifique Espagne" in the *Mercure galant* in January 1704.⁴⁴

5. Van der Aa 1707, 1715, 1729

The public interest sparked by the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) was most likely the impetus behind the *Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, published in duodecimo format in 1707 by Pieter Van der Aa (1659–1733), who was mainly active in Leiden.⁴⁵ Like Van den Berge before him, Van der Aa relied heavily on Meunier's work for his

⁴² Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), preface.

⁴³ BnF Data, accessed 24 January 2020, https://data.bnf.fr/15287405/nicolas_de_fer/

⁴⁴ *Le Mercure galant*, 1 January 1704, Paris: Chez Michel Brunet, Grande Sale du Palais, au Mercure galant, 178.

⁴⁵ Pieter van der Aa, *Les Delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal* (Leiden: Chez Pierre Vander Aa, 1707). A second state was published the same year in Dutch entitled *Beschryving van Spanjen en Portugal*, see Sociedad

depictions of Madrid, Toledo, Segovia, Escorial and Granada, copying images from his *Differentes Veues* series and the Van Merle Iberian series (fig. 4.33 and 4.34).⁴⁶ The first edition was composed of five volumes, with the prints interspersed amid a lengthy description of Spain and Portugal written under the pseudonym, Juan Álvarez de Colmenar.⁴⁷ The publisher claimed it was the most complete treatment of the subject yet known and clearly intended it to be used by travellers. Van der Aa published an expanded edition in 1715, just after the end of the war. In 1729 the prints appeared yet again in a new incarnation under *La galerie agréable du monde, où l'on voit en un grand nombre de cartes très exactes et de belles tailles douces les principaux empires, roïaumes, républiques, provinces, villes, bourgs et forteresses*, a series of print albums in sixty-six volumes that depicted maps and topographical views without accompanying text.⁴⁸ Van der Aa cleverly repackaged the old plates from the 1707 publication by representing them within a new framing device that evokes a picture gallery (fig. 4.35).

Derivatives after Van der Aa's Publications: Coronelli, L'Honoré and Albrizzi

The wide circulation of Van der Aa's publications ensured that Meunier's images continued to be used as source material for many subsequent publications. A year after the publication of the first edition, forty-four of Van der Aa's prints after Meunier were copied in Venice by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718), a Franciscan friar, mathematician, and official

Española de Amigos del Arte, *Exposición del antiguo Madrid: catálogo general ilustrado*. (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1926), 31.

⁴⁶ Van der Aa appears to copy directly from Meunier's prints, and not indirectly from Van den Berge's versions.

⁴⁷ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 269.

⁴⁸ Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde, où l'on voit en un grand nombre de cartes très exactes et de belles tailles douces les principaux empires, roïaumes, républiques, provinces, villes, bourgs et forteresses ...les îles, côtes rivières, ports de mer...les antiquitez, les abbayes, églises, académies...comme aussi les maisons de campagne, les habillemens et moeurs des peuples...dans les quatre parties de l'univers. Divisée en LXVI tomes, les estampes aiant été dessinées sur les lieux et gravées exactement par les célèbres Luyken, Mulder, Goeree, Baptist, Stopendaal et par d'autres maîtres renommez.... Tome premier [du] Roïaume d'Espagne* (Leiden Pieter van der Aa, 1729); Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde, où l'on voit en un grand nombre de cartes très exactes et de belles tailles douces les principaux empires, roïaumes, républiques, provinces, villes, bourgs et forteresses ...les îles, côtes rivières, ports de mer...les antiquitez, les abbayes, églises, académies...comme aussi les maisons de campagne, les habillemens et moeurs des peuples...dans les quatre parties de l'univers. Divisée en LXVI tomes, les estampes aiant été dessinées sur les lieux et gravées exactement par les célèbres Luyken, Mulder, Goeree, Baptist, Stopendaal et par d'autres maîtres renommez.... Tome premier qui comprend les Roïaumes de Portugal & d'Algarve* (Leiden Pieter van der Aa, 1729).

cosmographer to the Venetian Republic.⁴⁹ Like de Fer's atlas from 1701, Coronelli's *Teatro della guerra: Gran Bretagna, Spagna, Portogallo* (Vol. II) was intended to cater for the viewing public who wanted to participate vicariously as spectators to unfolding political events. While Meunier's topographical views of plazas and palaces did not provide descriptions of the battlefield, they created a visual and contextual backdrop for the political intrigue and allowed readers to draw comparisons between the different nations involved. Coronelli's prints, while echoing some of the informal expression of Meunier's etchings, are notably devoid of the much of the activity of daily life that animates the latter (fig. 4.36). The edition housed in the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana was printed imperfectly with visible smears, areas of over-inking and of abrasion, which may suggest that this edition at least was printed in haste to keep up with demand.

Van der Aa's plates appear to have been acquired at some point in the 1730s by François L'Honoré (1673–1748), a publisher of French origin working in Amsterdam. L'Honoré's *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal* (1741) provides a reprint of Van der Aa's plates, this time with two impressions per page, and reproduces the Álvarez de Colmenar text with additional historical information (fig. 4.37).⁵⁰ Van der Aa's influence continued in Venice, where Giovanni Battista Albrizzi (1698–1777) published *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi, e popoli del mondo naturale, politico e morale* in 1745, of which Volume 14 is dedicated to Spain.⁵¹ Albrizzi was probably making copies after one of the editions of Van der Aa's *Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal*. His further remove from the original source material by Meunier is evident in his treatment of the architecture, which he expunges of the baroque ornament and the lively street scenes that animated the originals (fig. 4.38) In other instances, Albrizzi's interpretation infuses Meunier's compositions with a Rococo sensibility that is particularly evident in the elegant

⁴⁹ Coronelli appears to have copied from Van der Aa versions, rather than directly from the Meunier originals.

⁵⁰ François L'Honoré, *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal* (Amsterdam: Chez François L'Honoré & fils, 1741). See Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, *Exposición del antiguo Madrid*, 32.

⁵¹ Giovanni Battista Albrizzi, *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo naturale, político, e morale* (Venice: presso Giovambatista Albrizzi Q. Gir., 1745).

curving trees that frame the view of the Hermitage of San Antonio (fig. 4.39). Albrizzi was evidently unafraid to make changes to the composition for aesthetic appeal at the expense of topographical accuracy. His version of Meunier's Alcázar of Madrid as seen from the Casa de Campo includes a picturesque sea in the background with tall ships sailing past a tower that is vaguely reminiscent of the Tower of Belém from Stoop's print (fig. 4.40).

New Incarnations

That publishers of atlases and city views would turn to Meunier's prints for source material is of course a logical manoeuvre, considering the topographical nature of his images. Notwithstanding, Meunier's Spanish views proved fertile ground for adjacent print projects that were not necessarily pitched with the intention of providing geographic information per se. Instead, we find certain publishers turning to Meunier's work as a pictorial rather than a geographic source.

After Manesson-Mallet drew on Meunier's work in 1683 for his *Description de l'univers*, the engineer returned to these images once again in 1702 as a pictorial source for his geometry textbook, *La Géométrie pratique*.⁵² This geometry textbook is filled with approximately five hundred printed views of cities, architectural monuments and gardens, underneath which, at the base of the image, shapes such as triangles, spheres, cylinders and cones are depicted along with mathematical equations in order to demonstrate practical applications of geometry and trigonometry (see figs. 4.41–43). Although the four richly illustrated volumes contain images from various sources, the prints in Volume 2, Chapter IX: "De la tigonométrie ou mesure des distances," and Volume 4, Chapter IX: "De la stéréométrie, ou du toisé des corps mixtes," are all copied after images drawn from Meunier's *Differentes Veues* series. As in *Description de l'univers*, Meunier's etchings are not reproduced precisely according to the originals, but are

⁵² Allain Manesson-Mallet, *La Géométrie pratique*, 4 vols. (Paris: Chez Anisson Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale, rue de la Harpe, 1702).

compressed so as to fit the format dictated by the book, with new figures added to the foreground who gesture as if demonstrating the act of measuring the scenes before them (fig. 4.43)

The scenes taken from Meunier include:

Vol. 2

p. 237 The Alcázar of Madrid

Vol. 4

p. 165 Plaza de San Juan de Dios, Cádiz

p. 167 The Alcázar of Segovia

p. 169 The Alcázar of Toledo

p. 171 Toledo Cathedral

p. 173 The Casa de Contratación and the Cathedral, Seville

p. 175 The Aranjuez Palace

p. 177 The Fountain of the Tritons

p. 172 The Fountain de Neptune

p. 181 The Fountain of the Boy with the Thorn

p. 183 The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra

p. 185 The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra

p. 187 The Fountain of Apollo

The combination of city views and geometric diagrams was a strategy which Manesson-Mallet had already adopted in the 1680s in his manual on military engineering, *Les travaux de Mars ou l'art de la guerre* (1684–85). Perhaps inspired by Sébastien Leclerc's *Pratique de la géométrie* (1669), Manesson-Mallet reveals in the preface to this earlier work that he included these pictorial elements in order to inspire an interest in drawing in young noblemen:

On remarquera que la plupart des Figures de Profils, des Villes, & des Paysages, que nous avons mises au bas de nos Planches, n'y ont esté gravées que pour servir d'embellissement, & fair naître à la jeune Noblesse le desir d'apprendre à

desiner; d'autant que dans la Fortification le dessein n'est pas seulement d'une bien seance cavaliere, mais encore d'une necessité absoluë.⁵³

In parallel with the study of surveying and fortification design, and their connotations of military rank and expertise, drawing had become a fashionable recreational exercise among the noble classes, and it was expected as part of the education of young aristocratic men that they not only learn to draw the world around them, but be conversant in the mathematical principles that governed the measured relations of objects within it.⁵⁴ While the superimposition of Meunier's pictorial views with geometric diagrams may seem incongruous at first glance, it boosted the appeal of Manesson-Mallet's publication by simultaneously complementing two prestigious activities, namely the collecting of topographical print and the practice of fortification design. In this instance the utility of Meunier's Spanish views as a resource lies in their status as appealing images that exemplify an accomplished skill, even more so than their value as accurate descriptions of topographically specific locations. Manesson-Mallet's use of Meunier's source material here thus realign the iconographic focus of the images.

Meunier's Images as Vues d'optique

As Meunier's images began to circulate more widely in the mid-eighteenth century through publications such as those by Van der Aa and L'Honoré, they became ready source material for a more popular image market. With their strong receding lines of perspective, Meunier's city views proved an ideal resource for vues d'optique, prints which were intended to be viewed through an optical device that created an illusion of three-dimensional depth.⁵⁵ This device, sometimes known as a zograscope, consisted of a stand or a pyramid-shaped box that was

⁵³ Manesson-Mallet, *Les travaux de Mars, ou l'art de la guerre*, vol. 1, 8.

⁵⁴ See also Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 83–84.

⁵⁵ On vues d'optique, see Niklas Leverenz, "Vues d'optique with Chinese Subjects," *Print Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2014). The topic of vues d'optique after Meunier's prints was first explored in Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, *Exposición del antiguo Madrid*, 32–33. This class of print has been catalogued under many different terms, depending on their location, including perspective views, optical views, realetti prospettive, Guckkastenblätter or Guckkastenbilder in German, and vistas de óptica.

surmounted by a double convex lens with a mirror fixed behind it at an angle (fig. 4.44).⁵⁶ Vues d'optique prints were boldly, if often inexpertly, hand-coloured with a limited range of colours in order to enhance the impression of volume and planes of receding depth. These prints are often most readily identifiable by an inscription above the image written in reversed capital letters, usually in French, which would be corrected in the zograscope mirror (fig. 4.45). The genre first emerged in England in the 1740s and remained popular until the early nineteenth century.⁵⁷ Its subject matter—topographical views of cities, palaces and gardens—appealed to the armchair traveller, and was enjoyed by both an elite audience, who could hold private viewings, and a popular audience who encountered them as a form of street entertainment.⁵⁸ The major houses that published vues d'optique were based in London, Paris, Augsburg and Bassano, and it was conventional practice for publishers to copy images from other the competitors or from contemporary artists.⁵⁹ Print plates frequently changed hands among publishers, and while the inscription below the print could change, the image itself often remained identical.⁶⁰

One example of this type of repetition can be observed in various versions of Meunier's image of the Cárcel de Corte which was reproduced by publishers Jean François Daumont (fl. 1740–75), Jacques Chéreau, and Jacques-Gabriel Huquier (known as Huquier Fils, 1730–1805) in Paris, as well as Balthasar Friedrich Leizelt (active 1750–1800) in Augsburg (fig. 4.46 and 4.47, see cat. 6 for Meunier's original).⁶¹ In each instance Meunier's busy street scene is simplified with less figures and more precise engraving, but with the essential description of the setting and architecture retained. In order to enhance the viewing experience through the

⁵⁶ J. A. Chaldecott, "The Zograscope or Optical Diagonal Machine," *Annals of Science* 9, no. 4 (1953).

⁵⁷ C. J. Kaldenbach, "Perspective Views," *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1985): 88.

⁵⁸ See David Robinson, "Perspective Views and Their Public," *Print Quarterly* 1 (1989): 73–75. However, vues d'optique do not appear to have reached a popular audience in Spain, as in Madrid their production was dominated by the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. See Jesusa Vega, *Ciencia, arte e ilusión en la España ilustrada* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Ediciones Polifemo, 2010).

⁵⁹ Leverenz, "Vues d'optique with Chinese Subjects," 23.

⁶⁰ Leverenz, "Vues d'optique with Chinese Subjects," 25.

⁶¹ Other publishers who produced vues d'optique after Meunier's designs include André Basset (active 1749–85) and Georg Balthasar Probst (1732–1801).

zograscope, the addition of colour provides greater clarity to the composition, allowing the figures in the foreground to stand out against the brown wash of colour on the street, and in the case of the Leizelt image, the receding perspectives lines are exaggerated even further to enhance the perception of depth. Although they are coloured in very different ways, the Chéreau and Huquier fils prints were probably all printed from the same plate. Huquier fils went into business with his father-in-law Jacques Chéreau after 1758, and as such it is unsurprising that they shared plates.⁶² Leizelt, meanwhile, from his base in Augsburg would not have had access to these plates and would have engraved his own after a copy of Meunier's composition, presumably from the Van den Berge version. Curiously the Chéreau/Huquier plate appears to have been copied directly from the Meunier original, rather than an intermediary copy.

Authoritative Sources on Spain and the Effacement of Authorship

In each of these atlases, guidebooks, popular sheets and manuals that form the afterlife of Meunier's prints, it is the imagery taken from his *Differentes Vues* series which dominates the depiction of Spain that is presented to eighteenth-century readers, especially in the presentation of the kingdom's royal architecture. This is not to say that Meunier's images are the only source used by these later publishers. Stoop's etchings are just as definitive in their representation of Lisbon. Both Van den Berge and Van der Aa, as well as the Van der Aa derivatives, make extensive use of Hoefnagel's renditions of Spanish cities from the 1560s, which had been made ubiquitous by the *Civitates orbis terrarum*. A rare view of the Escorial by Gabriel Pérelle is copied by Van de Berge, while Van der Aa makes use of Spanish costume figures taken from Carel Allard's *Orbis habitabilis oppida et vestitus* (Amsterdam, 1685). Although smaller in number, Spanish sources do feature, especially those projects which had royal backing and therefore greater circulation. Teixeira's 1656 map view of Madrid had evidently achieved iconic

⁶² Peter Fuhring, "Huquier, Jacques-Gabriel [James-Gabriel] [known as Huquier fils] (1730–1805), engraver and portrait painter," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004, accessed 13 February 2020). <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14248>. Huquier fils also supplied the Spanish and Portuguese markets, where he signed his name as "Diego Gabriel."

status by the 1680s as it is copied by Manesson-Mallet, de Fer, Van den Berge and Van der Aa. De Fer and Van der Aa both reproduced Perret's Escorial prints and Pedro de Villafranca's etchings of the pantheon that were first published in Francisco de los Santos' *Descripción breve del monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (Madrid, 1657).

The fact that these images came from such different sources, from travelling artists such as Meunier to official court cartographers, and that they were made across such an extended time period, demonstrates how publishers endeavoured to use all reliable images at their disposal to provide as complete a description of Spain as possible. In order to downplay the differences of dating, origin and approach, these sources were re-engraved in a common style and inserted into a uniform format that created a unified and coherent product for the publisher to market. While issues of copyright may have been a factor, this objective could explain why there is no mention of Meunier's name in later incarnations of his work. Moreover, it was the trusted geographic information provided by Meunier's plates that was sought after by the publishers examined above, rather than their status as the work of a particular artist.

The Creative Role of the Publisher

These creative reformulations of earlier print series exemplify the editorial, and even authorial, role of Meunier's later publishers.⁶³ Meunier's images may have been the authoritative prototypes, but this does not mean that they were immune to change, innovation and adaptation to new settings. In the workshops of successive publishers, his images, although always recognisable, were reorganised and reframed according to new viewing contexts, creating new formal and thematic resonances, or as Stephanie Porras reflected in her study on Hendrick Hondius' *Effigies*, "something that is simultaneously both a copy and a new artistic

⁶³ The role of the publisher as author in print collections is a topic that has received much attention in recent years, especially in the following studies: Rebecca Zorach, ed., *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Chicago: Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008); Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon* (Courtauld Books Online, 2015); Onuf, *The 'Small Landscape' Prints in Early Modern Netherlands*.

product.”⁶⁴ For de Fer this meant responding to new political circumstances by repackaging Habsburg Madrid as a Bourbon possession (fig. 4.32). In the case of *vue d’optique* publishers such as Chéreau and Daumont, this entailed adapting Meunier’s images to new viewing technologies. In his 1960 study *Art and Illusion*, Gombrich reminded his readers that the artist/creator “cannot escape the limitations which his time and interests impose on him.”⁶⁵ The artist’s own culture will determine the pictorial conventions in which they operate. Even though these publishers sought to faithfully reproduce the visual descriptions of Spain found in Meunier’s prints, the prevailing values and stylistic and commercial concerns of their era overwhelm exact mimesis. This is why we can observe the insertion of new staffage in Van den Berge’s copies, figures who in their gestures and interactions conform to eighteenth-century notions of sociability (fig. 4.28). Likewise, in Albrizzi’s translation of Meunier’s original pictorial style into a Rococo simulacrum which reveals more about contemporary fashion and taste in the 1740s than a concern for accurate portrayal of place (fig. 4.39).

4.3 The Endurance of Meunier’s Images of Spain

In the previous pages we have seen how Meunier’s images continued to be mined as a source by publishers as late as 1749, long after they ceased to reflect the up-to-date reality of Spanish cities. This is especially true in L’Honoré’s *Annales d’Espagne et de Portugal* from 1741, where Meunier’s renditions of the Alcázar in Madrid are reproduced in three different plates, despite the fact that the palace had been destroyed in a devastating fire on the 24th of December 1734, a rather glaring oversight considering the centrality of this building to the Spanish royal court (fig. 4.37). If many of Meunier’s images were so evidently outdated by

⁶⁴ Porras, “Repeat Viewing. Hendrick Hondius’s Effigies,” 21.

⁶⁵ Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Visual Representation*, 6 ed. (London; New York: Phaidon Press, 2003), 62.

1735, why then did geographic publishers like Beaurain, Chéreau and Albrizzi keep returning to them? This adherence to Meunier's models can be explained by three main factors: firstly, in the absence of a developed indigenous print industry in Spain until the late eighteenth century, there were very few contemporary images of the Spanish Kingdom in printed form that could offer an alternative to Meunier's images. Meunier's prints were in effect the sole visual resource from the second half of the seventeenth century that most of these publishers had at their disposal. Secondly, the perceived authenticity of Meunier's prints was enhanced by the use of specific conventions long established in the topographical print genre that were valued by collectors. These rhetorical devices ensured that Meunier's prints were quickly established as definitive depictions of Spanish cities, whether their status as such was verifiable or not. Finally, the copies after Meunier's work had a self-perpetuating effect; rather than diluting the perceived authenticity of the prints, the repetition had the outcome of instituting and confirming the iconic or definitive status of his images. In the section that follows I unpack these factors in order to better understand the longevity of Meunier's imagery, and more to the point, to probe the important role played by the derivatives after his work in cementing the status of his views as authoritative representations.

The Undercapitalised Nature of the Print Industry in Early Modern Spain

By the middle of the sixteenth century, an industry for single-sheet copper-plate prints had developed in most major European cities. Yet this was not the case in Spain, where the majority of printmaking remained concentrated on book illustration until the late eighteenth century.⁶⁶ This lack of innovation in the print industry in Spain was not necessarily due to an absence of knowledge or talent, in fact the quality of book illustration remained consistently high. It was

⁶⁶ On early modern printmaking in Spain, see Mark P. McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings Made in Spain* (London: British Museum Press, 2012); Juan Carrete Parrondo, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal Fernández, *El grabado en España: (siglos XV al XVIII)*, 2nd ed., vol. 31 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988); Javier Blas, María Cruz de Carlos, and José Manuel Matilla, *Grabadores extranjeros en la Corte española del Barroco* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España; Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011); Jesusa Vega, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de estampas* (Madrid: El Museo, Ministerio de Cultura, 1992).

one of the great strengths of the Spanish monarchy that it could draw on markets and specialists from all over its empire, however, the massive influx of imported prints from Europe had the effect of hampering the development of the indigenous print industry.⁶⁷ Of the some 3,200 prints recorded in the collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539)—one of the largest and most significant print collections of the sixteenth century anywhere in Europe—just two prints listed were likely to have been made in Spain.⁶⁸ The situation had not changed significantly over a century later when Philip II's print collection at El Escorial was sourced primarily from Antwerp and Roman publishers.⁶⁹ The documented large-scale export of prints from the rue Montorgueil in Paris to the Spanish market in the early seventeenth century shows that though there certainly was a high demand for prints in general in Spain, especially for those with devotional themes, it was a demand which the local industry could not satisfy.⁷⁰

Thanks to these imports there was little incentive in Spain to invest in the print industry and consequently there were inadequate systems in place for apprenticeships and training.⁷¹ The gap was filled by the arrival of artists who had trained abroad, such as Pedro Perret and Juan de Courbes, who tended to monopolise the industry. The prints that were executed in Spain consisted mainly of book frontispieces, portraits, which were often also intended for books, and prints of devotional themes.⁷² With the notable exception of works by Juan Valdés Leal (1622–90), Pedro Rodríguez (fl. 1640–87), Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro, María Eugenia de Beer (d. 1652), and Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) in Naples, etching, the medium preferred by Meunier, was rare in Spain until the late eighteenth century.⁷³ There was very little geographic or

⁶⁷ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 18.

⁶⁸ On Columbus' collection see Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville* (London: British Museum, 2004).

⁶⁹ Mark P. McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial" *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998).

⁷⁰ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 258–60. For documentation in the AN MC on these exports, see Marie Antoinette Fleury, ed., *Documents du Minutier central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au XVIIe siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1969), 763–65.

⁷¹ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 19.

⁷² See Fernando Checa Cremades, "La imagen impresa en el renacimiento y el manierismo," in *El grabado en España: (siglos XV al XVIII)*, ed. Juan Carrete Parrondo, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988).

⁷³ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 120.

topographical production compared to other print centres in Europe as the large presses and copperplates required for detailed map printing could scarcely be produced in Spain.

As previously discussed in Chapter Three, it was not the case that the Spanish monarchs were uninterested in printed cartographic or topographical materials. Philip II's sponsorship of Herrera and Perret's print project for El Escorial proves that he was keenly aware of the efficacy of print in disseminating messages of kingship and power. Philip IV continued this type of patronage by appointing Pedro de Villafranca (ca. 1615–84) as *tallador de las obras reales* in 1654 and commissioned further images of El Escorial and its new pantheon in Santos' *Descripcion breve del monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (Madrid, 1657). Eduardo Alaminos López and José Manuel Matilla Rodríguez and have separately noted the contradiction inherent in the Spanish monarchy's significant investment in their royal sites and yet its failure to exploit them beyond the Escorial for their propagandistic potential in printed form.⁷⁴ What these analyses fails to acknowledge, however, are the many examples of the monarchy investing in prestigious, costly and technologically advanced geographic projects which, because of multiple factors, never managed to make it to print publication.

In the introduction to this thesis, it was noted how an attempt was made in the 1570s to convert Van den Wyngaerde's topographical drawings of Spanish cities into engraved images for publication by sending them to Plantin's press in Antwerp. Probably due to the upheaval caused by the religious conflicts in the Low Countries at the time, Van den Wyngaerde's drawings never reached Plantin's workshop and thus were never circulated in print.⁷⁵ The fate of Van den Wyngaerde's city views is reflective of the circumstances of the print industry in Spain in the sixteenth century, where the lack of advanced printing presses created significant

⁷⁴ Eduardo Alaminos López in Eduardo Alaminos López, ed., *Vistas antiguas de Madrid: la colección de Estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid (1550–1820)* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1998), 33; José Manuel Matilla Rodríguez, "Grabado y Propaganda: La imagen de los palacios reales en la Europe moderna," in *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los reyes de España*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades (Madrid Nerea, 1994), 483–84.

⁷⁵ Richard L. Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 118. See also Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989).

logistical obstacles. This situation was still not resolved in the 1650s, when Teixeira had to send his map of Madrid to Amsterdam and Antwerp for engraving and printing.⁷⁶

Another major factor that prevented geographic projects initiated by the Crown from circulating in printed form was a concern for national security.⁷⁷ As early as 1538, Charles V commissioned the Sevillian cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz (ca. 1505–67) to produce an index map and twenty regional sheets drawn to scale (fig. 4.48). This unfinished project, known today as the Escorial Atlas, marked a major milestone as the first atlas of the Iberian Peninsula, but after Santa Cruz's death it was deposited in the library of the Monastery of El Escorial and had very little impact on subsequent cartographic endeavours.⁷⁸ Prior to the very public geographic display represented by Teixeira's map of Madrid, Philip IV had commissioned the Portuguese cartographer to research and produce a manuscript atlas featuring 102 maps and bird's-eye views of the entire coast of Spain (fig. 4.49). Compiled by Teixeira between 1622 and 1634, the atlas culminated in an impressive mappamundo which Pereda and Marías argue was intended to refer to the worldwide reach of the rule of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy.⁷⁹ The atlas therefore served a double function. By providing a detailed visual description of the Iberian ports and coastal cities, it enabled Philip and his officials to make strategic plans for defence against invading powers, while also serving as a source of pride in its representation of the scale and richness of the ports and cities of the Spanish Kingdom. The strategic functions of both the Escorial Atlas and Teixeira's visual survey of the Iberian coasts were undoubtedly

⁷⁶ See "Royal Patronage of Topographical Views in Spain and France" in the Introduction to this thesis.

⁷⁷ David Buisseret, "Spanish Peninsular Cartography, 1500–1700," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1085; Geoffrey Parker, "Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs," in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 125; Antonio Crespo Sanz and María Isabel Vicente Maroto, "Mapping Spain in the Sixteenth Century: The Escorial Atlas and Pedro de Esquivel's Notebook," *Imago Mundi* 66, no. 2 (2014): 159.

⁷⁸ This atlas has often been conflated with a later mapping project undertaken by Pedro de Esquivel at the behest of Philip II from the 1550s to the 1570s. Esquivel's notes and calculations, now in the Swedish Royal Library in Stockholm, were never translated into a map. Crespo Sanz and Vicente Maroto, "Mapping Spain in the Sixteenth Century: The Escorial Atlas and Pedro de Esquivel's Notebook."

⁷⁹ Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda, "El atlas del Rey Planeta: Felipe IV y Pedro Teixeira," in *El atlas del Rey Planeta: la "Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos" de Pedro Teixeira (1634)*, ed. Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2003).

key determinants in preventing either project from being developed for print, and both have remained in manuscript form.⁸⁰ These unrealised publications demonstrate that while the Spanish monarchy did indeed aim to print prestigious topographical projects of its realms, the underinvestment in the equipment, technical skills and infrastructure required for large-scale print publications often overwhelmed the political will to realise these plans.

A Question of a Lack of Demand?

This is not to imply that there were no prints published in Spain. However, in the Spanish prints that did feature topographical elements, these views tended serve as backdrops to the illustration of ephemeral events such as royal entries, ceremonies, religious festivities, local devotions or historic legends. As Kagan has argued, the absence of descriptive topographical images of cities produced by Spanish artists can be attributed to a lack of demand from local civic and religious leaders in Spain, figures whose equivalents in other European cities were generally responsible for the proliferation of chorographic images of cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁸¹ As Chapter Three examined, these leaders in Spain were more invested in seeing their cities represented as *civitas* (as a spiritual community rather than as an architectural entity), a quality which is better expressed through images of more communal manifestations of collective identity such as civic and religious festivals or local origin myths.⁸² Villafranca, who would have been the most obvious contemporary of Meunier to produce chorographic views of Spanish cities, was occupied with engraving royal portraits and commemorations. Perhaps because of the paintings by Van den Wyngaerde of Spanish cities and of the *reales sitios* by Leonardo, Agüero and Mazo that hung in the Madrid Alcázar and

⁸⁰ A facsimile edition of Teixeira's manuscript was not published until as recently as 2002, after the manuscript was rediscovered in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda, eds., *El atlas del rey planeta: la "Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos" de Pedro Teixeira (1634)* (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2003).

⁸¹ Richard L. Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain," in *Envisioning the City*, ed. David Buisseret (1998), 102; Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 205.

⁸² See for example Francisco Heylan's prints in support of Granada's mythic origins and the plomos forgeries in the Sacromonte in Granada.

other royal residences, Philip IV did not feel the need to task his royal engraver with the creation of images that communicated the architectural richness of Spain to an outside audience.

Escobar has made the point that this lack of visual representation of the early modern Spanish city continues to impact upon twenty-first-century scholarship on the architecture of Madrid. In studies that examine the urban context of Rome, a city which was so well documented in the prints of Cruyl and Falda, it has been possible to appreciate the intentional theatricality of the urban setting as analysed by Richard Krautheimer's study on the architectural projects initiated by Pope Alexander VII.⁸³ Apart from Meunier's fourteen prints of Madrid and the Buen Retiro, and a relatively small number of paintings in the Museo de Historia and private ownership, it is much more difficult to regain a sense of the urbanism of seventeenth-century Madrid due to the lack of comparable printed city views.⁸⁴ Jusepe Martínez (1600–82) in his *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* summed up the position of topographical print production in Spain in 1675:

Desdicha grande para nuestra España, que habiendo en ella edificios tan soberanos y dignos de memoria, así de pinturas como de esculturas y arquitectura, por falta de no haberlos sacado en estampa, quedan á oscuras y sin nombre para las otras naciones; y así no me admiro que toda Italia tenga á esta nación por inútil en estos artes.⁸⁵

With the exception of Perret's Escorial prints (1589) and Teixeira's map of Madrid (1656), the Habsburg topographical projects described above had very limited impact outside of the court because of the failure to bring projects to print and wide circulation. If Santa Cruz's atlas, Van den Wyngaerde's city views, or Teixeira's coastal views had been printed and circulated they would have made the Iberian Peninsula the best represented region of Europe. The influence of Meunier's etchings might have been comparably limited if they had remained as

⁸³ Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

⁸⁴ Jesús Escobar, "Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 Representation of Madrid," *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 1 (2014): 51.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Checa Cremades, "La imagen impresa en el renacimiento y el manierismo," 231.

an isolated project for Marie-Thérèse. When Meunier's plates were acquired by Bonnard and reprinted ten years later they entered the print market, and it is thanks to the practice of the exchange plates on the rue Saint-Jacques that they gained their status as a definitive representation of Spain.

Meunier's Images Supplanted

The nature and status of the Spanish print industry finally began to advance in the second half of the eighteenth century with the foundation in Madrid of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in 1744.⁸⁶ The addition of printmaking to the Academy's educational programme in 1752, as well as its inclusion in the academy prize competitions from 1757, created a framework for apprenticeships and training that had been absent for so many decades. Soon after the academy's foundation, four young artists were sponsored to travel to Paris to learn the current techniques in printmaking. These printmakers, Manuel Salvador Carmona (1734–1820), Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (1734–90), Tomás López (1730–1802) and Alfonso Cruzado (d. 1791), specialised in different areas and some such as Carmona went on to teach at the Academy along with its first Director of Engraving, Juan Bernabé Palomino (1692–1777), and thus shaped the next generation of Spanish printmakers.⁸⁷ A new awareness of the significance and utility of print, especially in the diffusion of scientific knowledge, began to emerge alongside the development of a single-sheet industry that reduced the traditional reliance on imports.⁸⁸ With Madrid at the epicentre of the revitalised print industry and a newly professionalised practice, there was dramatic transformation in the quality of the print being produced and a significant expansion of subject matter to include scientific and anatomical prints, architecture, costume, landscape, and popular subjects. This period also saw the first appearance of print series in Spain—views of royal palaces, costume, dance, bullfighting,

⁸⁶ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 189.

⁸⁷ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 198.

⁸⁸ McDonald, *Renaissance to Goya*, 198.

pastimes, etc.

The Madrid print industry soon caught up with the trend for topographical views that were so ubiquitous elsewhere in Europe. Although the vues d'optique, such as those that reproduced Meunier's prints, continued to be imported, at least when it came to publications of higher value or "de buen gusto," Meunier's images were finally supplanted by prints by this new generation of Spanish printmakers who benefitted from the overhaul of the academy system.⁸⁹ From the 1750s onwards, the Academy initiated a project to publish prints of Spain's most celebrated monuments from the engravers Hermenegildo Victor Ugarte and Juan Minguet after drawings by the architect Diego Villanueva (fig. 4.50), forming one of the first topographical view series of Bourbon Spain. This series, however, took years to produce as the Academy did not yet possess the resources necessary to sponsor this type of endeavour. Until the end of the century it was most often the Crown that supported ambitious, luxury publications of royal sites, such as Carmona's prints after drawings by Domingo de Aguirre of the newly renovated Aranjuez palace in 1773 (fig. 4.51).⁹⁰ By the beginning of the 1800s the capital was newly represented in prints by Isidro González Velázquez (1765–1840; fig. 4.52), as well as by a series engraved after designs by José Gómez de Navia (1757–ca. 1815) in the *Colección de las mejores vistas y edificios más suntuosos de Madrid* (1812, fig. 4.53).⁹¹ Meunier's prints were of a Habsburg kingdom, one which had ceased to exist one hundred years previously. New images were required to represent recent architectural interventions such as the new royal palace in Madrid, the Palaces of La Granja de San Ildefonso and the Paseo del Prado. In González Velázquez's and Gómez de Navia's new prints the prestige of the Bourbon court is represented in the

⁸⁹ Juan Carrete Parrondo, "El grabado en el siglo XVIII. Triunfo de la estampa ilustrada," in *El grabado en España: (siglos XV al XVIII)*, ed. Juan Carrete Parrondo, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988), 632. See also Álvaro Molina, "El devenir del grabado de vistas en la España de Vargas Ponce: utilidad, buen gusto y negocio" (Paper presented at "El grabado en España durante la Ilustración y el Liberalismo," Museo Casa de la Moneda, Madrid, 17–18 January 2022).

⁹⁰ Molina, "El devenir del grabado de vistas en la España de Vargas Ponce: utilidad, buen gusto y negocio."

⁹¹ On these eighteenth-century topographical prints by the new generation of Spanish printmakers, see Carrete Parrondo, "El grabado en el siglo XVIII. Triunfo de la estampa ilustrada.," Vega, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de estampas*; Alaminos López, *Vistas antiguas de Madrid: la colección de Estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid (1550–1820)*.

monumental arches and fountains, the new scientific and economic institutions, and the elegant, treelined boulevards. These images created a new image of Madrid as a modern and enlightened European capital.

The Authority of Lifelikeness: Meunier's Views of Spain and the Rhetorical Strategies of the Topographical Print Genre

Meunier's prints dominated the popular depiction of Spain in the absence of any competing images until the latter half of the eighteenth century. However, this is not the only explanation for their endurance. Their success had much to do with the conventions of the genre in which they operated. By the 1650s the topographical print genre was established as a class of document that was codified as a bearer of reliable information. The success of the genre not only challenged artists to depict the characteristics of place with increasing accuracy and naturalism, it also shaped the expectations of consumers of topographical print. The format of Meunier's prints of Spain bestowed his work with the advantage of being able to adopt an existing genre that had already cultivated a market of collectors, and which had established its own universal visual language, replete with its own codes and conventions that Meunier was able to exploit in order to underscore the truth claims of his own work. With this type of "illustrated reportage," Gombrich contended that the basis for judging the success of such images is based on their ability to accurately and naturalistically convey information visually.⁹² My interest here, however, is not so much *whether* images such as topographical views formed accurate portrayals, but rather the strategies used to make their claim to reality. This chapter now turns its focus to these formal devices that gave Meunier's images this aura of authority in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

If the value of these images lay in their ability to convey information reliably, how did the topographical view as a class of informational image come to be invested with claims to

⁹² Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Visual Representation*, 67–73.

authoritative depiction by virtue of its format? The dominant narrative of the history of cartography has stressed the growing advancement of technical instruments and surveying techniques, and the subsequent ability to compile accurate data, as being the decisive factor in investing cartographic images with an aura of authority. However, as Hilary Ballon, David Friedman, Svetlana Alpers, David Woodward and many others have pointed out, the vast majority of early modern maps and topographical views were not based on either accurate or up-to-date information.⁹³ The authority inherent in cartographic materials was therefore independent of their actual degree of accuracy or truthfulness of representation.⁹⁴ Surekha Davies has argued that the knowledge that a document was made after eye-witness experience “had limited value” for mapmakers operating in workshops.⁹⁵ One must conclude therefore that the persuasiveness of geographical prints lay not in the presentation of objective, measurable data, but in a combination of pictorial and semantic conventions.⁹⁶ These pictorial conventions were not drawn from a single type of representational system, nor were they based on specific formal qualities, or the stylistic characteristics of a certain school.⁹⁷ Rather, credibility was achieved through the deployment of specific rhetorical strategies that could be adapted to different circumstances. Such visual tactics, which Ballon and Friedman have termed “self-authorising conceits,” functioned to create an evocative viewing experience and to act as a seal of authenticity, regardless of the veracity of the representation.⁹⁸

⁹³ Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance*, 79; Hilary Ballon and David Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 690; Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1983), 133.

⁹⁴ Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 133.

⁹⁵ Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 12.

⁹⁶ Ballon and Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning,” 690.

⁹⁷ Alpers presents the “mapping impulse” as a specifically northern mode of description, however informational images operated internationally and are not specific to one nation. Gregg also implies that the pictorial conventions he describes apply specifically to an Antwerp school of topographers, but again these traits are found in the work of artists based in various cities across Europe. Ryan E. Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

⁹⁸ Ballon and Friedman, “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning,” 690.

One of the most widespread and intuitive devices used in topographical print was the incorporation of the figure of the observer into the composition. Whether cast as a self-portrait of the artist or as a conventional figure, this character acts as a testament to the alleged fact that the artist visited the city in question and made the view from direct experience.⁹⁹ We find many such characters in the foreground of Meunier's scenes, they gesture towards architectural details, acting as choric figures who enhance the vivid experience of viewing the print as they direct the response of the viewer in front of these details as if they themselves have observed them in person (figs. 4.54 and 4.55).¹⁰⁰ The composite nature of the print medium allowed for the addition of visual and textual rhetorical devices, such as crests, surveying instruments or allegorical figures, that rather than disrupting the illusionistic space, contributed to the overall credibility of the topographical image. In the case of Meunier's prints, dedications to prestigious figures such as Queen Marie-Thérèse and the duc de Liancourt and the inclusion of their respective crests functioned as a projection of legitimacy, not just in terms of the depiction of the place, but as a statement of prestige (fig. 4.56). The addition of the *privilège* inscription found in state II of Meunier's *Differentes Vues* series published by Bonnard, state V published by Rocher, and in each of the series published by Van Merle, also carried an evocation of royal sanction by suggesting that its status had been officially approved by government officials (fig. 4.57).¹⁰¹

fecit ad vivum

While the aforementioned strategies were not necessarily unique to topographical print or informational images in general, there were certain inscriptions exclusive to this class of image

⁹⁹ Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 113–15.

¹⁰⁰ Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning," 690. Such a figure was not unique to topographical images and is discussed by Alberti in his treatise *De Pictura* (1435).

¹⁰¹ Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning," 691; Scott, "Authorship, the Académie, and the Market in Early Modern France."

that singled out their epistemological function. By the end of the sixteenth century, it had become an established practice to accompany informational or *contrafactum* images with an inscription declaring that they had been made *ad vivum*.¹⁰² Most often translated into English as “from life” or “true to life,” *ad vivum* functioned as a stamp of authenticity, a claim that the artist is a direct eyewitness to the subject depicted and has recorded it with verifiable accuracy. This inscription, and its various vernacular cognates: *al vivo*, *nach dem Leben*, *naer het leven*, *au vif*, and related terms such as *au naturel* and *d’après nature*, most often appeared as part of the title page of a set of prints, or in conjunction with the artist’s signature, or indeed that of the engraver or publisher, on a single sheet.¹⁰³ The term is employed numerous times by Meunier in his topographical images of Spain, however, it does not appear to be used consistently. Not every image is accompanied by an inscription, and where they are, the inscriptions change with the different states of the prints. State I of the *Differentes Veues* series contains the most instances, with variations of the term appearing on fourteen different prints, and with less occurrences in later states. Meunier also uses it on the title page of state II of the Aranjuez series (fig. 4.58), and on the title page of the Van Merle Iberian series (fig. 4.57). “Delineavit ad vivum” and “designe au naturel” appear to be used interchangeably, depending on whether the inscription is written in Latin or French (fig. 4.58). Some of the prints associated with Rocher and Van Merle are designated “dessigné [sic] sur les lieux” or “desseignées au naturel” (fig. 4.58).

Ad vivum was not just applied to city views, but could also be used to authenticate portraits as faithful likenesses, or to confirm the veracity of accounts of battles or extraordinary events.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² The qualifier’s official status was confirmed in 1604 when Karel van Mander (1548–1606) assimilated “naer het leven” into the critical vocabulary of his *Schilder-Boeck*. Claudia Swan, “Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation,” *Word & Image* 11 (1995): 354. On this term, see especially Swan. For a recent comprehensive overview, see Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel, eds., *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800* (Brill, 2019). Parshall’s work on *contrafactum* images or “bearers of visual fact” is also essential, Peter Parshall, “Imago contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” *Art History* 16 (1993).

¹⁰³ Sheila McTighe’s recent publication on artists working from life in seventeenth-century Italy provides an excellent exploration of this concept, see especially the introduction pp. 15–40. Sheila McTighe, *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

¹⁰⁴ See Pieter Martens, “Cities under Siege Portrayed *ad vivum* in Early Netherlandish Prints (1520–1565),” in

It was a phrase that was employed extensively in ethnographic, medical, botanical and zoological illustration, where reliable visual description was essential to the task of taxonomic classification. It most often declared an image to be an accurate likeness or a bearer of reliable data. In the case of travelling draughtsmen such as Meunier, it stood as a testimony to the fact that the artist did indeed travel to the places being depicted and that the rendering of a view was made in the presence of the subject itself—or at the very least it was a claim that the image was based on eyewitness experience, even if the final image was produced in a workshop at a later date with the contribution of multiple hands. For a time when challenges of distance and the preservation of impermanent specimens created prohibitive obstacles to the observation and description of natural phenomena, the *ad vivum* phrase functioned to certify the substitutive capacity of the image.¹⁰⁵ The term indicated that the correspondence between image and subject was sufficiently direct as to stand in for the actual specimen. However the interpretations of accuracy, “truth to nature” and “true likeness” were multifarious and flexible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁶ It is this ambivalence that makes *ad vivum* such a rich term and opens up a spectrum of potential qualifying statements depending on the context and intended function of the image, from the mode of image production to qualities being captured by the portrayal, to the intended effect of the image on the viewer.¹⁰⁷

In her examination of *ad vivum* in relation to topographical views, Lucia Nuti switches her focus from the image source or creation to the lifelike qualities these views seek to conjure in the end product. She interprets the term as expressing an approach in which the aim is “not the world seen as a starting point, as one might believe, but most of all the world seen as a point of

Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800, ed. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

¹⁰⁵ Swan, “Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation,” 369.

¹⁰⁶ Jessica Maier, “A ‘True Likeness’: The Renaissance City Portrait,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012): 747.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Balfe and Joanna Woodall, “Introduction: From Living Presence to Lively Likeness – the Lives of *ad vivum*,” in *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, ed. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 2; Claudia Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 10.

arrival.”¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the Latin preposition “ad” suggests a translation of “towards or to the life,” rather than “from life” as would be more conventionally used in English.¹⁰⁹ This is also reflected in the French and Dutch usage of the term: *Au vif* and *naer het leven* also indicate towards life. If we are to take an interpretation of the term as “towards life” this would posit that the intention of the image is to capture *life-likeness* rather than physical likeness per se.¹¹⁰ From this point of view, an *ad vivum* image is most analogous to the aims of portraiture. Jessica Maier’s work on Italian prints has demonstrated how topographical views and portraiture developed along parallel courses; both genres share a memorialising function in the early modern period, whereby exact mimesis is not necessarily the overall goal, in fact it was often discouraged in favour of the idealisation of certain admired qualities, while retaining a general likeness.¹¹¹ This is why Meunier’s claim of having made his images *ad vivum* does not contradict his overt emphasis on aspects of Spanish cities that conform to classical architectural design at the expense of truly accurate depiction.

A Tool of Persuasion

At its most essential level the *ad vivum* inscription is a statement of intention in terms of an image’s truth claims. This was all the more vital for collections where the printed image was intended to substitute for direct experience, replicating the function a memory of the subject represented on paper.¹¹² The term is not so much a stamp that certifies a truthful depiction, but an entreaty to the viewer to accept the depiction as true. Denis Ribouillault has outlined how vivid, lifelike detail was employed to make what were often invented or profoundly manipulated views of gardens and appear as faithful representations. By examining the

¹⁰⁸ Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language,” 108, n.18.

¹⁰⁹ Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language,” 108, n. 18. “Vivum” is the gerund of the verb vivere “to live.”

¹¹⁰ Balfe and Woodall, “Introduction: From Living Presence to Lively Likeness – the Lives of *ad vivum*,” 5.

¹¹¹ Maier, “A ‘True Likeness’: The Renaissance City Portrait,” 715.

¹¹² Sachiko Kusakawa, “*Ad vivum* Images and Knowledge of Nature in Early Modern Europe,” in *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, ed. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 112.

phenomenological reception of garden views, he shows how they functioned as a mnemonic tool that encouraged the viewer to situate themselves virtually within a “theatre of memory.”¹¹³ Ryan E. Gregg argues that in this sense, topographical views operate analogously to the classical rhetorical practice of *enargeia*.¹¹⁴ *Enargeia* is an oratorical technique advocated by Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian whereby the speaker describes the setting and details of an event in visual terms (i.e. *ekphrasis*) and with such vividness as to create a powerful vision in the mind of the audience as if they themselves have witnessed the event, and are therefore convinced of its truth.¹¹⁵ The device of inserting an observing figure in to the foreground acts as an avatar for the viewer and underscores the sensation of witnessing. The invocation of *ad vivum* operates as an additional tool of persuasion, underscoring the vividness and reliability of the *enargaic* argument being made. It is by these means that topographical views by artists such as Van den Wyngaerde could depict as fact revisionary versions of events such as royal entries or famous sieges, and act as propagandistic encomium for rulers including Charles V and Philip II.¹¹⁶

Whatever the nature of the truth claims attached to an image, the use of the term *ad vivum* added a certain persuasiveness to the print as an epistemological object. This persuasiveness manifested in the convincing rendering of the subject in naturalistic or illusionistic terms, as well as in its value as an object worth seeking out for an important collection. The claim that an image was made *ad vivum* functioned to secure an audience, regardless of its verifiability, and was likely to have increased its economic value.¹¹⁷ Most significantly, it associated the print

¹¹³ Denis Ribouillault, “Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas,” in *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-first-century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), 208–12.

¹¹⁴ Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts*, 8–11 and *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts*, 49.

¹¹⁶ Gregg, *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts*, 49 and *passim*. Dackerman underlines the persuasive effect of print as an active agent in the *production* of knowledge, beyond their capacity for exact repeatability. Susan Dackerman, “Prints as Instruments,” in *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Dackerman (New Haven, Conn; Cambridge, Mass: Yale University Press; Harvard Art Museums, 2011), 26.

¹¹⁷ Swan, “Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation,” 358.

with the prestige of scholarship. As Swan has observed, “to invoke such terms as ‘ad vivum’ or ‘near het Leven’ was to exercise an internationally valid password in a community spread across a continent and joined by correspondence and publications.”¹¹⁸ The formula *ad vivum delineavit et fecit* or *ad viv. del. et fec.* became a standard term in drawing and printing practice, particularly for topographical prints that were intended for an international audience.

With regards to Meunier’s use of the term, it is not my opinion that the mode of representation differs between his images that are designated *ad vivum* and those that are not, or that some were rendered with greater faithfulness to the original subject. Rather, it could suggest that certain popular images were given the added inscription so that they could be sold separately as a single sheet print if required, i.e. without a title page. We can argue therefore that the addition of the phrase was meeting an expectation amongst consumers. Evidently, the declaration of the artist actually having visited the Spanish cities and gardens and recorded them according to his own observations was a selling point, an element that was essential to the perceived value of the image, and one which contributed to the endurance of these prints as representative images of Spain.

Copies and the Creation of a Definitive Image

Thanks to the persuasive truth claims inherent in Meunier’s topographical views, and the lack of any competing imagery, writers and publishers such as Manesson-Mallet, Van der Aa and Van den Berge could turn to Meunier’s work as an authoritative source on Spain. This is not to imply lazy imitation or excessive commercial cynicism on their part. The process of re-engraving copies of an existing print series involved a significant investment of capital and skills, and even the restrike of Meunier’s existing plates would have required publishers to actively acquire the plates, refresh them, and procure the services of a skilled printer.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Swan, “Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation,” 364.

¹¹⁹ Porras makes a similar argument on the re-engraving of Hondius’ *Effigies*. Porras, “Repeat Viewing. Hendrick Hondius’s *Effigies*,” 20.

Although it is tempting to dismiss the derivatives of Meunier's prints as signs of intellectual stagnation, reflecting what Nuti has described as the tendency for "iconographic inertia" in topographical print, such an overwhelmingly negative assessment of this type of printed repetition overlooks the role played by copying in the attainment and circulation of knowledge in early modern scholarship.¹²⁰ For artists and scholars alike, copying was a central practice in universities and artistic workshops that honed skills and enabled the acquisition of new information and the organising and validation of knowledge. Rather than stifling originality, repetition, especially in printed form, accumulated and enhanced knowledge by facilitating the transmission and circulation of ideas.¹²¹ Maria Loh's important study on Padovanino and copies after Titian offers a critique of the modernist fixation on originality which frames artistic repetition as a positive act in early modern visual culture. Quoting Erwin Panofsky, she demonstrates that a copy need not necessarily be interpreted as seeking to replace an original, but rather it repeats the "intention" of its prototype.¹²² A discussion of the value of the copy in art history inevitably brings to mind Walter Benjamin's famous essay from 1935, which, in the context of rising Nazi fascism and state indoctrination in 1930s Germany, argued that the production of copies diminishes the uniqueness and "aura" of the original and "detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition."¹²³ In the context of the afterlife of Meunier's images however, these emanations do not seek to counterfeit or supersede their prototypes, but to incorporate them within a wider body of knowledge, thus increasing their relevance, their correspondence with other images and their engagement with the "tradition" to which Benjamin

¹²⁰ Lucia Nuti, "The City and its Image," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne et al. (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 243.

¹²¹ Sietske Fransen and Katherine M. Reinhart, "The Practice of Copying in Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: An Introduction," *Word & Image* 35, no. 3 (2019): 217. Of particular relevance in this context is Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹²² Quoted in Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 7. Panofsky published his theory about the relationship between originals and copies in an editorial letter titled "Original und Faksimilie Reproduktion," which appeared in the German periodical *Der Kreis: Zeitschrift für künstlerische Kultur* in 1930.

¹²³ Although it must be borne in mind that Benjamin was making his arguments in the context of process print reproductions. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken, 1968), 221.

refers.

In her article on Francesco Rosselli's lost view of Rome, Maier invokes an analogy between topographical views and devotional icons that reveals the symbiotic relationship between repetition and the aura or authority of the image.¹²⁴ While a religious icon is invested with the tangible presence of the sacred, it is most often the correspondence of the icon with other venerated images that forms the basis for this aura. As Maier explains, the replication of a sacred image "enhanced, as opposed to diminishing, this authority."¹²⁵ The same can be said for topographical views, although the "ad vivum" inscription makes a claim for authoritative likeness, it is the circulation of copies that confirms it. Or as Loh similarly observes, it is the existence of the copies that confers aura upon the original.¹²⁶ This process can be observed vividly in the sixteenth century in the iconic status reached by Barbari's bird's-eye view of Venice, to the extent that a representation of *La Serenissima* was perceived as credible according to the degree to which it reproduced Barbari's prototype. According to Ballon and Friedman, "absent an objective standard of verisimilitude or any possibility of verification, the authority of a map was ultimately based on its fidelity to the pictorial tradition for the representation of a city rather than on the accuracy with which it registered the physical reality of the city itself."¹²⁷ Despite the various reinterpretations and adaptations of Meunier's paradigm to new contexts, it is the overall faithfulness to his work which, like devotional icons, reinforced this aura of authority in later derivatives, even when its links to the actual appearance of Spain became more and more tenuous.¹²⁸ Especially for international print consumers who did not have the opportunity to verify the verisimilitude of prints of Spain, it can be argued that the

¹²⁴ Maier, "Francesco Rosselli's Lost View of Rome: An Urban Icon and Its Progeny," 406. On devotional icons, see Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), especially Chapter 11 "Substitution Symbolised."

¹²⁵ Maier, "Francesco Rosselli's Lost View of Rome: An Urban Icon and Its Progeny," 406.

¹²⁶ Loh, *Titian Remade*, 9.

¹²⁷ Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning," 691; Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 34–42.

¹²⁸ Maier, "Francesco Rosselli's Lost View of Rome: An Urban Icon and Its Progeny," 406.

authority of a copy after Meunier's imagery was upheld because his images had become incorporated as part of an established tradition of the representation of Spain.

The overwhelming authority of the pictorial tradition over verifiable observation points towards the capacity of topographical images to act upon or exert agency over early modern individuals and societies. Anthropologists such as Alfred Gell have explored the ways in which material objects can be imbued with social agency, not simply representing cultures or ideas, but influencing them.¹²⁹ This thesis argues that this also holds true for images, especially those that have a far reach and reproducibility via the circulation of print. Topographical images, such as Meunier's views of Spain, did not just passively reflect the appearance of the cities, they actively shaped impressions and mental images of them. The circulation of copies after Meunier's prints cemented the authoritative status of Meunier's specific viewpoint, causing his imagery of Madrid that continued to depict the destroyed Royal Alcázar to ring more true to the city's place identity than newer, more accurate representations. Through the persuasive cultural agency of repeated images, Meunier's chorographic representations ceased to function as visual descriptions created for an outside audience, and came to form part of the shared local mental image of the city.

Conclusion

This chapter began with an exploration of the restrikes taken from Meunier's original plates, which led inexorably to an analysis of the many versions and adaptations that sprang from Meunier's prototypical compositions. The inclusion of Meunier's views by major publishers such as Van den Berge and Van der Aa in compendia that also featured the royal propaganda by Perret and Villafranca, and the canonical prints by Hoefnagel, demonstrates how in a relatively

¹²⁹ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: Towards a New Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

short period of time Meunier's prints of Spain became an iconic paradigm for imitation. In tandem with Chapter One, where Meunier's known work was enumerated and examined, the intention of this research has partly been to counteract past scholarship that has conflated Meunier's body of work with the later appropriations. By gathering together a cross-section of these subsequent incarnations, the purpose has also been to gain insight into the surprisingly impactful legacy of these prints that were made by a printmaker whose work often remains unidentified in many major print collection. By approaching Meunier's views of Spain and Portugal as a "long history," it is possible to view his images simultaneously as a coherent body of work, and as a layered palimpsest that has evolved through its multiple reinterpretations.

As this chapter argues, Meunier's images might have suffered a similar fate to many of the topographical projects initiated by the Habsburg monarchs, had it not been for the resourceful adaptation of visual sources by publishers and the circulation of plates between different workshops in the thriving print industry in Paris. I contend in Chapter Three that Meunier's images stand apart for their lack of overt cliché. Ironically, they came close to a trope in the eighteenth century when they were copied again and again as *vues d'optique*. However, these were copies of images of Spain, not copies of *Meuniers* per se, and so these repetitions are a testimony to the success of Meunier's views of Spain as representative images, even as they strayed further from their connection to their original authorship.

Conclusion

Turning over the pages of Queen Marie-Thérèse's specially bound volume of Meunier's Spanish views, housed today in the Versailles collections, it is easy to appreciate how the original prints retain their appeal. Detailed, yet animated, they provide the viewer with an impression of the architecture and physical characteristics of cities as diverse as Madrid, Segovia, Toledo, Granada, Lisbon, Cádiz and Seville, without resorting to the esoteric visual language of technical drawings. At times Meunier's views are distorted and exaggerated, especially in his efforts to capture the monumental architectural projects of the Habsburg kings from the street level (fig. C.1). Yet this does not detract from their purpose of furnishing curious readers with a topographical description of these places. These dramatic impressions of scale and grandeur are in many ways a more authentic evocation of the feelings experienced by the viewer when first taking in these buildings and spaces. In their description of urban settings combined with the human activity that occurs within and around them, Meunier's prints conjure the sounds of trickling water and human conversation, and the textures of plaster and stone, alongside the visual rendering of architectural form, in a way that is visceral and immediate (fig. C.2).

A citizen of Madrid in 2023 might not recognise some of the seventeenth-century court spaces as described by Meunier in his prints, as so many elements of this era of the city's urban heritage have since disappeared: the Royal Alcázar and its courtyards were destroyed by fire in 1734; some of the city's fountains such as that of the Plaza de Santo Domingo gave way long ago to the concrete slabs of a multi-storey carpark; the Buen Retiro gardens retain very little of the palace and hermitages that once occupied the grounds. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many scholars have turned to Meunier's prints to get a sense of what these lost structures and

spaces once looked like, even if his images are not to scale, and as we saw in Chapter Three, not always a true rendition of how these places were perceived by the people who inhabited them.

The Puerta de Sol, the perpetually bustling square at the very centre of Madrid, is kilometre zero of the country and, alongside the Plaza Mayor, it is perhaps the city's most famous and well-loved meeting place. Some of the city's most iconic monuments can be found in this square, including the Tío Pepe sign, the statue of the capital's symbol, El Oso y El Madroño, and the clock of the Real Casa de Correos that strikes the twelve chimes on New Year's Eve that mark the "Doce Uvas" tradition. Of course all of these modern icons post-date Meunier's prints and have little in common with the seventeenth-century *villa y corte*. Nonetheless, if a visitor to the Puerta del Sol today stands at the intersection of the square and any one of its ten radial streets and looks up, they will see one of Meunier's images represented on ceramic plaques attached to the corners of the buildings' façades (fig. C.3). These plaques, numbering fourteen in total, measure 60 cm in height and width, and consist of nine individual tiles. They each bear the name of the square beneath a painted rendition after Meunier's print of the same location, along with a large sun that refers to the eastern aspect of the square. It shows the Fountain of the Harpies, also known as the Fuente de la Fe, a fountain that until the nineteenth century stood in the Puerta del Sol in front of the now disappeared Church of the Buen Suceso (LIX in fig. C.4).¹ The former presence of the fountain is referenced today by the installation in the square of a replica of the Mariblanca figure that once crowned the top of the fountain. On another street, the Calle del Arenal that leads from the Puerta del Sol to the Plaza de Ópera, another of these plaques announces the street's name. The plaque is again illustrated with a painted copy after Meunier's image of the old Royal Alcázar seen from the Casa de Campo, an allusion to the fact that the Calle del Arenal once led straight to this building (fig. C.5). These ceramic plaques have become an instantly recognisable aspect of the built fabric of central

¹ Labelled in Teixeira's 1656 map as "43. Fuente del Buene Tuceso."

Madrid. The plaques made after Meunier's images are just two of hundreds that mark the streets in the central area between the Calle Gran Vía, the Paseo del Prado, and the Calle de Bailén. In addition to the lettering of the street names, in each instance these plaques illustrate the meaning of the name or the history behind the street, always with colourful and imaginative imagery that draws from diverse sources. Their popularity and iconic status is such that they are frequently sold as tourist souvenirs (fig. C.6).²

The plaques were originally designed and hand-painted by Alfredo Ruiz de Luna (1948–2013), a ceramicist from Talavera de la Reina who had established a studio in La Guindalera in the 1980s. In the early 1990s Ruiz de Luna was commissioned by the Ayuntamiento de Madrid (the city council) to make the street signs in the run up to the city's tenure as the European capital of culture in 1992 (fig. C.7a).³ Ruiz de Luna came from a prestigious dynasty of potters from Talavera de la Reina in Castilla-La Mancha, the legacy of his uncle, the master ceramicist Juan Ruiz de Luna (1863–1945) whose personal collection forms the basis for the Museo de Cerámica Ruiz de Luna. Talavera had been a great centre of the production of tin-glazed earthenware in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it experienced an expansion of production and the establishment of new workshops, instigated by the royal commission for tiles to decorate the interiors of El Escorial. The industry went into decline in the eighteenth century and almost ceased entirely in the wake of the destruction caused by the Peninsular War (1801–14).⁴ In 1908, Juan Ruiz de Luna opened a new ceramics factory with the painter and ceramicist Enrique Guijo, la Fábrica Nuestra Señora del Prado, and drawing from motifs and themes from early modern Talavera pottery, they helped spark a resurgence in the craft, and along with the work of Daniel Zuloaga y Boneta (1852–1921), they left a significant mark on the urban design of Madrid in the early twentieth century, especially in the decoration of signs

² A full list of the ceramic plaques has been compiled in José Francisco Mediavilla Lamela, *Rótulos de cerámica del viejo Madrid* (Madrid: edición personal, 2021).

³ Email correspondence, Mauri Delgado, Artesanía Talaverana S.L.

⁴ For an overview of Spanish ceramics from this era, see Natacha Seseña, *La cerámica popular en Castilla la Nueva* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975).

for shops and bars, and the interiors of houses such as that of Joaquín Sorolla, now the Museo Sorolla.⁵

Despite advances in technology such as the electric lathe, the building, enamelling and decoration techniques associated with Talavera pottery have changed very little since the sixteenth century, and the plaques depicting Meunier's imagery were all hand painted and fired using traditional materials and processes.⁶ The plaques were designed by Ruiz de Luna, and then built and painted in the Artesanía Talaverana S.L., a workshop based in Talavera de la Reina that was founded by Mauricio Delgado, a former student of Juan Ruiz de Luna (fig. C.7b).⁷ These plaques were created as a means of connecting the modern city with its past, and the choice of this traditional technique that is so representative of the city's built heritage was very deliberate. The decision to make use of Meunier's imagery on these literal place markers at the heart of the city demonstrates how his images have come to form as integral a part of the imagined landscape of Madrid as the other monuments that share the space of the Puerta del Sol.

Meunier's prints were a logical choice on Ruiz de Luna's part for source material on past visual representations of Madrid. These topographical prints were, after all, conceived from the very beginning as images with the express function of communicating the built features of the city to an outside audience. There is a key conceptual distinction here, however, that sets these twentieth-century versions apart from previous iterations. The reproduction of Meunier's images onto Ruiz de Luna's ceramic plaques represents the full journey arc of the original prints. In this instance we see Meunier's view of the Puerta del Sol being used, not to describe the city as it looks today, but as a reference to an unseen built heritage whose lingering presence

⁵ Fernando González Moreno and Julio Martín Sánchez, eds., *Renacimientos: la cerámica española en tiempos de Ruiz de Luna* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010).

⁶ In 2019 Talavera de la Reina pottery, and related traditions in Puente del Arzobispo, and Puebla and Tlaxcala in Mexico were inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. UNESCO <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/artisanal-talavera-of-puebla-and-tlaxcala-mexico-and-ceramics-of-talavera-de-la-reina-and-el-puente-del-arzobispo-spain-making-process-01462>

⁷ Email correspondence with Mauri Delgado. The workshop continues to produce and restore these tiles.

in the collective self-conception of the city's inhabitants is made manifest with the placing of the plaques in the square.

The unique first-state edition of Meunier's original set of topographical prints of Spain and Portugal, the edition that was once owned by Queen Marie-Thérèse, is a rare survivor of the ravages of the revolution that marked the end of the *ancien régime*. As a bespoke set with a personalised binding, it speaks of the cultural weight of the Spanish Habsburg origins of this French queen at court, and is a testimony to the soft power of this figure who has so often been ignored by history. Meunier was never a court artist, however, and although these prints were dedicated to the queen and the selection of scenes included in the set was likely chosen according to what would have been thought to please her, the drawings that inform the prints would have been made speculatively during the artist's journey through Iberia in 1662, and as such they are not personalised to the extent that they refer to figures or events in the former infanta's life. Especially in the views of the royal houses, they represent the image of the kingdom that the Habsburg monarchy sought to project to the world, one of order, grandeur and magnificence. This is why Meunier's prints overlap so much with Bertaut's account of the French embassy to Madrid in 1659, where royal architecture was presented as a signifier of prestige to an international court audience who themselves partook in this type of symbolic self-fashioning.

As it was explored in Chapter Three, Meunier's images were firmly chorographic in their approach to place description. His career was deeply rooted in a topographical print tradition of streetscapes that emerged out of Rome and flourished in Paris in the seventeenth century, but which served a diverse and international market of collectors. His prints were intended to provide an illustration of the built form of a city in order to educate such an international audience. He drew with the eye of an interested traveller, viewing from a removed position the idiosyncrasies of Spanish cities without fully understanding them. In this way, Meunier's images of Spain are simultaneously both specific and generic. They represent individual

monuments and places, but by translating them into the established visual mode of topographical print, he transposed them into a generic form that made them consumable for a wide audience. It is this combination of visual strategies that partly explains the resilience of his imagery. Once his plates passed into the private market, it was this dual quality that made his prints so appealing to seventeenth and eighteenth-century print collectors who wanted to obtain a visual representation of Spain that could be readily inserted, organised and compared with other topographical prints in their collections. Meunier's adherence to the forms and conventions of topographical print which he inherited from Dirk Stoop and Israël Silvestre lent his images an impression of authenticity and trusted authority that appealed to these print *curieux*, as well as to publishers who sought convincing source material for geographic compendia. The array of copies, appropriations and reformulations after Meunier's images that are assembled in Chapter Four demonstrate how for most of the eighteenth century Meunier's views became the definitive representation of Spain and a major reference for imitation. With the reproduction and circulation of his imagery, we can observe the transformation of his *Differentes Vues* series from that first edition of a first-hand account made exclusively for the queen, into a mass-produced and outdated representation of Spain. The architectural forms and stage-like perspective of his images appealed directly to publishers interested in new technologies such as the zograscope, and his views, once the exclusive purvey of the print connoisseur, were given new life as popular and ephemeral *vue d'optique* prints.

This transfer of status from 'high' to 'low' categories of print production goes some way to account for the limited academic interest in Meunier's prints beyond their usefulness as sources on the architectural form of Spanish cities in the 1660s. What has never been questioned by modern scholarship, however, is the validity and accuracy of Meunier's images; thanks to the agency of copies and their wide circulation facilitated through the print medium, the authority represented by Meunier's representations has shaped the image of the urban heritage of Habsburg Spain as remembered today. Now in their current capacity as a symbolic

representation of place and identity at the centre of Madrid, we finally witness Meunier's images of Spain cross over into the realm of communicentric imagery. No longer disinterested records of the physical characteristics of place, in Ruiz de Luna's reformulations Meunier's images are now embraced as symbols of place identity, metaphorically charged with associations of tradition, memory and character. The view from the outside has become the insider's view.

It has been the intention of this study to follow the trajectory of Meunier's prints of Spain across these very different contexts and uses in order to form a "cultural biography" of these images. The fifty-five prints that make up Meunier's *Differentes Vues* series constitute the central thread that runs through this thesis, connecting Marie-Thérèse to the Puerta del Sol in 2023. Recounting the transcultural and migratory histories of these representations of Spanish cities has necessitated a flexible and inclusive approach to the integrity of an image or a motif, as well as the concept of artistic authorship. Does a motif continue to be by the same artist when it is interpreted and transformed many times over by many different hands? At what point does it separate from the concept of individual authorship altogether and become a trope or a cliché? There is a basic tension at the heart of this dissertation that endeavours to restore a sense of artistic identity to these images, while at the same time acknowledging that this identity is just one aspect of the continuous "lives" of these images.

Certainly, the identification of authorship is essential in situating these prints in the contexts of their original intention and cultural resonances. These efforts have been hampered to an extent by the lack of original documentary sources relating to the life and career of Meunier himself. Further enquiry into the biography of this artist has unfortunately been beyond the reach of this study, especially during the years of Covid-19 induced lockdown measures when travel to archives became impossible. Future sustained research in the Minutier central des notaires de Paris in the French national archives may unearth further evidence regarding this elusive personality, but as this thesis has shown, the relevance of authorship is quickly broken

down as the imagery is transposed to new viewing contexts in which they serve very different functions. This thesis has instead posed newer and more pertinent questions regarding the interpretation of early modern Iberia that these images present, and the extent of the agency of these streetscape images when it comes to the shaping of place identity. By integrating Meunier's prints with the current debates surrounding topographical views and print history I have aspired to look beyond these prints as geo-historical sources, asking not only *what* architecture is portrayed in them, but *how* this architecture is portrayed. In doing so, my aim has been to contribute to an appreciation of the power of images to shape our concept of place, and to provide a model for future studies on the long afterlives of topographical prints.

Bibliography

Editions of Prints by Louis Meunier

VERSAILLES

Château de Versailles

V.2016.14, Différentes Veues [55 prints]

PARIS

Bibliothèque nationale de France

ED-77-FOL, Recueil. Oeuvre de Louis Meunier [221 prints]

RESERVE VE-8-BOITE FOL, Recueil. Palais, maisons et églises de France. planches gravées par Jean Marot, Israël Silvestre, Jean Lepautre, Jean-Baptiste Nolin, Louis Meunier, Michel Hardouin, et al., Collection Béringhen [2 prints]

GE BB-565, Atlas Géographique Contenant Les Cartes d’Espagne, de Portugal, et d’Italie ; où sont les Etats de Piémont, de Gênes, de Milan, de Parme, de Modène, de Mantoue, de Venise, de l’Eglise, de Toscane, des Deux-Siciles, des Isles de Corse, et de Sardaigne , et de celle de Malthe. Tome XII [9 prints]

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal

EST-1315, Différentes vues des Jardins et Palais de Plaisance des rois d’Espagne [55 prints]

EST-142, Recueil. Oeuvres d’artistes classés par ordre alphabétique, école française: de Pierre Joseph Mettais à Edme Moreau [78 prints]

Bibliothèque de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art

4 RES 2236, Différentes veues des palais et jardins de plaisance des rois d’Espagne [55 prints]

8 EST 11, Veuë du palais jardins, et fontaine d’Arangouesse, maison de plaisance du roy d’Espagne 1665 [10 prints]

4 EST 74, Recueil de onze suites de gravures d’architecture [1 print]

Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève

EST 193 RES (P.11), *Veüe du grand Portail et de l’Eglise du Val de Grace*

EST 193 RES (P.12), *Veüe du Val de Grace du Costé de la Campagne et du Couuent des Capucins*

Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne

VCR 1= 997, Cahier 80, Pièce 1, *Veüe du chateau et d’une partie de la ville de la Rochefoucaux en Angoumois*

Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris

GDUT6385, Album Ecole française, de Massard à Pascal [51 prints]

NANCY

Musée des Beaux-arts de Nancy

TH.99.15.2921, *Titre*
TH.99.15.2922, *Vue de la grande fontaine*
TH.99.15.2923, *Vue de la fontaine du Tireur d'épine*
TH.99.15.2924, *Vue de la fontaine de Dom Juan d'Autriche*
TH.99.15.2925, *Vue de l'entrée du palais Pamphili*
TH.99.15.2926, *Vue de l'entrée du palais de l'Escorial*

LYON

Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon

Rés Est 134417, Recueil factice de 29 vues d'Espagne et du Portugal, gravures de Louis Meunier [29 prints]

MADRID

Biblioteca Nacional de España

ER/5824, Vistas de España [54 prints]
ER/2974, Ouvre de Silvestre: colección de estampas representando las fiestas reales de Versailles, los palacios del rey, vistas de Francia e Italia... [10 prints]
INVENT/19415, *El Palacio de Aranjuez*
INVENT/19432, *Vista de Toledo*
INVENT/19480, *Vista de Segovia*
INVENT/19538, *Vista de Granada*
INVENT/19563, *El patio de los Leones de la Alhambra*
INVENT/19564, *El patio de los Arrayanes de la Alhambra*
INVENT/19565, *El patio de los Leones de la Alhambra*
INVENT/19649, *Vista de la gran plaza de Cádiz*
INVENT/46012, *Vista del palacio del hermano del rey de Portugal en Lisboa*
INVENT/46013, *Vista del Palacio Real de Lisboa*
INVENT/70866, *La Puerta del Sol*

Museo de Historia de Madrid

IN. 1859 *Fachada principal del Alcázar*
IN. 1860 *El Alcázar desde la Casa de Campo*
IN. 1861 *Primer patio del Alcázar*
IN. 1862 *La Plaza Mayor*
IN. 1864 *La Cárcel de Corte*
IN. 1863 *La Puerta del Sol*
IN. 1865 *La plaza de Santo Domingo*
IN. 1866 *La plaza de la Cebada*
IN. 1867 *El palacio del Buen Retiro*
IN. 1868 *El estanque grande del Buen Retiro*
IN. 1869 *El estanque pequeño del Buen Retiro*
IN. 1870 *La ermita de San Antonio en el Buen Retiro*
IN. 1871 *La ermita de San Pablo en el Buen Retiro*
IN. 1872 *La Casa de Campo*
IN. 1873 *El palacio de La Zarzuela*
IN. 1874 *El palacio de El Pardo*
IN. 2058 *Palais de Madrid*
IN. 2458 *La plaza de la Cebada*

IN. 4071 *La fuente de las Locuras y los jardines. Aranjuez*
IN. 4072 *La fuente de Don Juan de Austria. Aranjuez*
IN. 5003 *Profil de la Ville de Madry*
IN. 5005 *La fuente de Hércules. Aranjuez*
IN. 8233 *Profil de la Ville de Madry*

Biblioteca de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid

CEBRIAN T-91, Vistas de España, Portugal, Francia e Italia [84 prints]

Museo Lázaro Galdiano

14858-064, *Vista del palacio real de Lisboa.*

LONDON

British Library

General Reference Collection 74/559*.b.33.(4.), *Diversas vistas ... Differentes veues des palais et jardins de plaisance des Rois d'Espagne* [55 prints]

General Reference Collection 118.c.2., *Veües et Perspectives Françoises : Des Maisons, Jardins, et Pieces d'Eau, du Roy, des Princes et Seigneurs, Des Batimens à Paris, dans les Environs, et enProvinces, Des Villes, et antiquité Romaines, et Ecclesiastiques, Avec quelques pieces Etrangères, Gravées, Ou Desineés Par des mains différentes. /Recueillées en Voyages et reliées au depens et pour l'usage de Monsr. Gautier Bowman Ecossois a'Egham. Dans le comte de Surry en Angletere.*

MDCCLXVI [2 prints]

Cartographic Items Maps * 18055.(1.), *Veue du Château et d'une partie de la Ville de la Rochefoucaux en Angoumois... Par L. Meunier*

Cartographic Items Maps * 18410.(4.) *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SEVILLE EN ESPAGNE // PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE MADRY, CAPITALLE DU ROYAUME D'ESPAGNE*

Cartographic Items Maps * 18445.(3.), *Profil de la Ville d'Esia en Espagne.--Profil de la ville de Turin.--Profil de la Ville de Sigovie, en espagne*

Cartographic Items Maps * 18840.(5.) *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SEVILLE EN ESPAGNE // Profil de la Ville de Madry, Capitalle du Royaume d'Espagne*

Cartographic Items Maps * 19020.(1.) *Profil de la Ville de Badaios, en Espagne. --Profil de la Ville de Grenade, Capitalle du Royaume de Grenade en Espagne*

Maps K.Top.72.15., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE D'ESIA EN ESPAGNE*

Maps K.Top.72.17., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SEVILLE EN ESPAGNE*

Maps K.Top.73.15.a., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE MADRY, CAPITALLE DU ROYAUME D'ESPAGNE*

Maps K.Top.73.19., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SIGOVIE, EN ESPAGNE*

Maps K.Top.73.40.a., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE BADAIOS EN ESPAGNE*

Maps K.Top.73.51., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE GRENADE CAPITALLE DU ROYAUME DE GRENADE EN ESPAGNE*

Maps K.Top.73.41.2., *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SAFRA, EN ESPAGNE*

British Museum

M,35.29, *Veüe d'une partie de la ville de Cadis en Espagne, du costé du port*

M,35.63, *Veüe du palais des anciens Roys Mores de Grenade, et de la fontaine de lion*

M,35.64, *Veüe et perspective du palais et des bains, des anciens Roys Mores, a Grenade*

M,36.45, *Vue et perspective du palais du Roy de Portugal a Lisbonne*

M,36.48, *Vue et perspective du palais du frère du Roi de Portugal a Lisbonne*

M,36.51, *Veüe du palais, jardins, et fontaine Darangouesse, maison de plaisance du roy d’Espagne...*
X,9.191, *Vue et perspective du palais du frère du Roi de Portugal a Lisbonne*
X,9.182, *Vue et perspective du palais du Roy de Portugal a Lisbonne*
1868,0612.1484, *Veüe du chasteau de Durestalle en Anjou appartenant a Mr le Duc de Liencourt*

Royal Academy

03/2758, *Veues Des Plus Beaux Bastimens De France* [1 print]

Senate House Library

[E.P.] MQ3 [Meunier], *Diversas vistas diferentes : Ueues des palais et Jardins de plaisance des Rois despagne dedie a La Reine* [55 prints]

British Architectural Library (RIBA)

E.f.355(1), *Veu* du palais jardins, et fontaine [sic] d’Aranguouesse* [8 prints]

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

Radcl. e.37, *Veüë du palais, jardins, et fontaine Darangouesse* [10 prints]

AYLESBURY, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Waddesdon Manor

3241.3, “*Israël Silvestre, Toutes les oeuvres*” [8 prints]

EDINBURGH

Edinburgh University Library

Special Collections JZ 347, *Veues des plus beaux batimens de France / fait par Perelle*. [1 print]

WEIMAR

Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek

Ku 4° X - 52, *Vues de Paris et Environs* [1 print]

BRUNSWICK

Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum

LMeunier AB 3.1, *Veue du Chasteau de Durestalle en Anjou*

LMeunier AB 3.2, *Veue de dessus le petit Pont de la ville de Liege*

ISilvestre AB 2.6, *PROFIL DE LA VILLE D’ESTIA EN ESPAGNE; PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE TURIN*

ROSTOCK

Universitätsbibliothek Rostock

Dh-1029, *Veës Differentes De plusieurs Palais et Villes D’Espagne, De Madrid, l’Escorial, Seville, Grenade, Toledé, Lisbonne, et autres lieux. Dediées à la Reyne* [54 prints]

WARSAW

Biblioteka Narodowa

A.612/G.XVII/II-11 adl. 17, *Veüe du palais, jardins, et fontaine Darangouesse, maison de plaisance du roy d’Espagne...* [8 prints]

AMSTERDAM

Rijksmuseum

RP-P-1966-487, *Veüe de dessus le petit pont de la ville de Liege*

BRUSSELS

De Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (KBR)

Verbouwe (335), *Veuë du chasteau de Dinan, appartenant au prince de Liege, sur la riviere de Meusse*

STOCKHOLM

Kungliga biblioteket (KB)

179 Ba, Samling vyer över byggnader och landskap i Italien och Frankrike [6 prints]

161 B 2 g Barrière, D., Villa Aldobrandino. 1647. Fol. [9 prints]

NORRKÖPING

Norrköpings stadsbibliotek

1546 Fol., *Veue du palais, jardins et fontaine Darangouesse, maison de plaisance du roy d’Espagne...* [9 prints]

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

RBR O-2-3 MEU, *Veuë du palais jardins, et fontaine d’Arangouesse* [10 prints]

NEW YORK

Morgan Library

PML 152739.2, *Veuë du Palais Jardins, et Fontaine Darangouesse, Maison de plaisance du Roy d’Espagne* [10 prints bound with PML 152739.1]

LOS ANGELES

The Getty Research Institute

87-B9594, *Veues des plus beaux bastimens de France / fait par Perelle* [1 print]

MONTRÉAL

Le Centre canadien d’architecture (CCA)

WM9611; ID:86-B3879, *Differentes veues de Lescuriel a sept lieux de Madrid* [8 prints]

NE89.P437 P4 1691, *Collection of views of Paris, châteaux of France, views of Rome, etc.* [1 print]

Primary Sources

AN 383 AP Papiers Silvestre

Aa, Pieter van der. *Les Delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal* Leiden: Chez Pierre Vander Aa, 1707.

———. *La galerie agréable du monde, où l'on voit en un grand nombre de cartes très exactes et de belles tailles douces les principaux empires, royaumes, républiques, provinces, villes, bourgs et forteresses ... Tome premier [du] Royaume d'Espagne*. Leiden Pieter van der Aa, 1729.

———. *La galerie agréable du monde, où l'on voit en un grand nombre de cartes très exactes et de belles tailles douces les principaux empires, royaumes, républiques, provinces, villes, bourgs et forteresses ... Tome premier qui comprend les Royaumes de Portugal & d'Algarve*. Leiden Pieter van der Aa, 1729.

Albrizzi, Giovanni Battista. *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo naturale, politico, e morale* Venice: presso Giovambatista Albrizzi Q. Gir., 1745.

Allard, Carel. *Orbis habitabilis oppida et vestitus, centenario numero complexa, summo studio collecta, atque in lucem edita à Carolo Allard*. Amsterdam: C. Allard, 1700–09.

Aulnoy, Madame d'. *Travels into Spain: Madame d'Aulnoy*. Edited by R. Foulché-Delbosc. London: Routledge, 2005.

Berge, Pieter van den. *Theatrum hispaniae exhibens regni urbes, villas ac viridaria magis illustra....* Amsterdam: Pieter van den Berge, ca. 1694.

Bertaut, François. *Relation d'un voyage d'Espagne: où est exactement décrit l'estat de la cour de ce royaume, & de son gouvernement*. Paris: Chez l. Billaine, 1664.

———. *Journal du voyage d'Espagne, contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l'estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, etc., contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes et de ses principales villes, avec l'estat du gouvernement et plusieurs traittés curieux, touchant les regences, les assemblées des Estats....* Paris: Chez Claude Barbin: Au Palais, sur le Per ron de la sainte Chapelle, 1669.

Braun, Georg, and Franz Hogenberg. *Cities of the World: Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572–1617*. Edited by Stephan Füssel. Köln; London: Taschen, 2008.

Brunel, Antoine de. *A Journey into Spain*. Translated by François van Aerssen. London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1670.

Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis. *Filipe Segundo, Rey de España*. En Madrid: por Luis Sanchez ... 1619.

Castillo, Leonardo del. *Viage del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia: funciones reales, del desposorio, y entregas de la Serenissima Señora Infante de España Doña Maria Teresa de Austria...* Madrid: En la Imprenta Real, 1667.

Catalogue de la bibliothèque de défunt M. Boucot, garde-rolle des offices de France. Composée de plus de dix-huit mille volumes de livres imprimez... De plus de soixante & dix mille estampes... D'un tres-grand nombre de livres e'arts, d'elogs, de descriptions, de médailles, d'emblèmes, de plantes, & d'autres remplies de figures. Et de plusieurs manuscrits en velin, ornez de tres-belles mignatures. La vente s'en fera au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur. Le 16 Novembre 1699. & autres jours suivans.. Paris: Moette et Boudot, 1699.

Coronelli, Vincenzo. *Teatro della guerra*. Venice: Coronelli, n.d.

Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Edited from the original MSS. by William Bray Vol. 1, New York; London: M. W. Dunne, 1901.

Fer, Nicolas de. *Cartes et Descriptions Generales et Particulieres Pour l'Intelligence Des Affaires du Temps, au Sujet de la Sucésion de la Couronne d'Espagne, en Europe, en Asie, Afrique, et Amerique* Paris: Chez l'Authéur dans l'Isle du Palais sur le quay de l'orloge a la sphere Royale, 1701.

Flandrin, Auguste. *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz*. Edited by Joseph B Guibert. Paris: Impr. de J. Dumoulin, 1903.

Fleury, Marie Antoinette, and Martine Constans. *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris: peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs au XVIIe siècle, 1600–1650*. rev. ed. Paris: Archives nationales, 2010.

García, Carlos. *France and Spain naturally enemies. Or, several reasons to prove it impossible they should long be friends. Discovering the constant Contrariety that has ever been, and still is, between those two Rival Nations, in their Temper, Apparel, Fashions, &c. Written originally in*

- Spanish, by Don Carlos Garcia. Englished with large additions and improvements. By Mr. Tho. Brown.* London: J. Hartley; T. Hodgson; R. Gibson, 1704.
- Gramont, Antoine Charles de. *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont, duc et pair de France ... Donnez au public par le duc de Gramont, son fils.* 2 vols. Paris: Chez Michael David, Quay des Augustins, 1716.
- Guiffrey, Jules. *Comptes des bâtimens du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV.* 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881–1901.
- Huber, M., and J.G. Stimmel. *Catalogue raisonné du cabinet d'estampes de feu monsieur Winckler ...: contenant une collection des pièces anciennes et modernes de toutes les écoles, dans une suite d'artistes depuis l'origine de l'art de graver jusqu'à nos jours.* 5 vols. Leipzig: Impr. de Breitkopf et Härtel, 1801.
- Le Comte, Florent. *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, et graveure. Ou, Introduction à la connoissance des plus beaux Arts, figurés sous les tableaux, les statuës, & les estampes. Dedié à M. Mansart Sur-Intendant des Bâtimens du Roy, &c. Par Florent Le Comte Sculpteur & peintre à Paris, ruë Saint Jacques, proche la Fontaine S. Benoist au Chiffre Royal.* A Paris, Chez Estienne Picart Graveur du Roy, ruë Saint Jacques, au Buste de Monseigneur, près les Mathurins. Nicolas Le Clerc, Quay des Augustins du côté du Pont Saint Michel, à l'Image Saint Lambert. M. DC. XCIX, 1699–1700.
- L'Honoré, François. *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal* Amsterdam: Chez François L'Honoré & fils, 1741.
- Magalotti, Lorenzo. *Viaje de Cosme de Medicis por España y Portugal (1668–1669).* Edited by Ángel Sánchez Rivero and Angela Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1933.
- Manesson-Mallet, Allain. *Description de l'univers contenant les differents systèmes du monde.* Paris: Chez Denys Thierry, ruë S. Jacques, à l'Enseigne de la Ville de Paris, devant la ruë du Plâtre, 1683.
- . *Les travaux de Mars, ou l'art de la guerre.* 3 vols. Paris: D. Thierry, 1684–85.
- . *La Géométrie pratique.* 4 vols. Paris: Chez Anisson Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale, ruë de la Harpe, 1702.
- Mariette, Pierre-Jean. *Abecedario de Pierre-Jean Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes.* Edited by Philippe de Chennevières and Anatole de Montaiglon. 6 vols. Paris: Dumoulin, 1851–60.
- . *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal.* Edited by Jacques Thuillier, Marie-Thérèse Mandroux-França and Maxime Préaud. Paris; Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Bibliothèque nationale de France; Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1996–2003.
- Marolles, Michel de. *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille-douce. Avec un dénombrement des pièces qui y sont contenües. Fait à Paris en l'année 1672. Par M. de Marolles, abbé de Villeloin.* Paris: impr. de J. Langlois fils, 1672.
- . *Le livre des peintres et graveurs.* 2 rev. ed. Edited by Georges Duplessis. Paris: P. Daffis, 1872.
- Motteville, Françoise de. *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria... by Madame de Motteville, her Chief Favourite and Confident.* 5 vols. London: printed for J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, 1725.
- Piles, Roger de. *The Art of Painting: and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: With Reflections on the Works of the most Celebrated Painters, and of the several Schools of Europe, as well Ancient as Modern. Being the Newest, and most perfect Work of the Kind extant. Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-School, With the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters.* rev. ed. London: printed for J. Nutt near Stationers-Hall, 1706.
- Pinet, Antoine du. *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l'Europe, Asie, & Afrique, que des Indes, & terres neuves: Leurs fondations, antiquitez, & manieres de vivre: Avec plusieurs cartes generales & particulieres, servans à la Cosmographie, iointes à leurs declarations: deux tables fort amples, l'une des chapitres, & l'autre des matieres contenues en ce present livre. Le tout mis par ordre, region par region, par Antoine du Pinet.* Lyon: Par Ian d'Ogerolles, 1564.

- Ptolemy, Claudius. *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Translated by J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Puget de la Serre, Jean. *Le panegyrique de la paix. Dedié a Son Eminence Monseigneur le cardinal Mazarin, et a Son Excellence Monseigneur dom Louis Mendez de Haro, et Gusman*. Paris: Nicolas Pépingué, 1660.
- Quiccheberg, Samuel. *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's Inscriptiones, 1565*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013.
- Rambaud, Mireille. *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700–1750)*. 2 vols. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964.
- Tessin, Nicodemus. *Catalogue Des Livres, Estampes & Desseins du Cabinet Des Beaux Arts & Des Sciences, Appartenent au Baron Tessin, Maréchal de la Cour du Roy & Sur-intendant de Battiments & Jardins Royaux de Suede*. Stockholm: Chez Jule George Matthieu, 1712.
- Villars, Pierre marquis de. *Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne: depuis l'année 1679 jusqu'en 1681; où l'on verra les ministeres de Dom Juan & du Duc de Medina Celi, et diverses choses concernant la monarchie espagnole*. Paris: Chez Jean-Fr. Josse, 1733.
- Williams, Lynn, ed. *Letters from the Pyrenees: Don Luis Méndez de Haro's correspondence to Philip IV of Spain, July to November 1659*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000.

Secondary Sources

- Aguerri Martínez, Ascensión, and Eduardo Salas Vázquez. *Catálogo del Gabinete de estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid II: Estampas extranjeras (ca. 1513–1820)*. 2 vols. Madrid: Museo Municipal, 1989.
- Agulló y Cobo, Mercedes. *Madrid hasta 1875: testimonios de su historia*. Madrid: Museo Municipal: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Delegación de Cultura, 1980.
- Alaminos López, Eduardo, ed. *Vistas antiguas de Madrid: la colección de Estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid (1550–1820)*. Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1998.
- Alfonso Caffarena, Margarita de. “Las relaciones artísticas Hispano-Francesas en torno a la reina María Teresa de Austria (1660–1683).” PhD, Universidad de Granada, 2016.
- Alpers, Svetlana. *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada*. London; New York: Phaidon; Distributed by Praeger, 1971.
- . *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. London: John Murray, 1983.
- Álvarez López, Ana. “Nuevas perspectivas en el análisis de algunas tradiciones historiográficas: El tema de la imagen de España en el extranjero.” In *Las monarquías española y francesa (siglos xvi-xviii)*, edited by Anne Dubet and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010. <http://books.openedition.org/cvz/1007>.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Balfe, Thomas, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel, eds. *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*. Brill, 2019.
- Ballon, Hilary. *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: M.I.T. Press, 1991.
- . “Vaux-le-Vicomte: Le Vau's Ambition.” In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 271–93. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Ballon, Hilary, and David Friedman. “Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning.” In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Vol. 3, 680–704. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Barbeito, José Manuel. *El Alcázar de Madrid*. Madrid: Comisión de Cultura, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1992.

- Barber, Giles, and Graham Pollard. *Printed Books and Bookbindings: The James A. de Rothschild Bequest at Waddesdon Manor, the National Trust*. Edited by Rosamund Griffin, Julie Fitzsimons, Kristina Petri and Helena Pickup. 2 vols. Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire: The Rothschild Foundation, 2013.
- Barber, Peter. "King George III's Topographical Collection: A Georgian View of Britain and the World." In *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, 158–65. London: British Museum Press, 2003.
- . "“Context is everything...”: Ruminations on Developments in the History of Cartography since the 1970s and Their Consequences." *Imago Mundi* 72, 2 (2020): 131–47.
- Bass, Laura R. *The Drama of the Portrait: Theater and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.
- Bass, Laura R., and Amanda Wunder. "Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid ". In *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, edited by José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo, Vol. 1, 363–84. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014.
- Beaumont-Maillet, Laure. "Les collectionneurs au Cabinet des estampes." *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, no. 132 (1993): 5–27.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Translated by E. F. N. Jephcott. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Beneš, Mirka, and Dianne Harris, eds. *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*. Edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, Translated by Harry Zohn. 217–52. New York: Schocken, 1968.
- Berkvens-Stevelinck, Christiane et al., ed. *Le magasin de l'univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.
- Bermúdez Pareja, Jesús. "La Fuente de los Leones." *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 3 (1967): 21–29.
- Bertiére, Simone. *Les reines de France au temps des Bourbons*. Paris: Eds. de Fallois, 1998.
- Black, Jeremy. *Maps and Politics*. London: Reaktion, 1997.
- Blas, Javier, María Cruz de Carlos, and José Manuel Matilla. *Grabadores extranjeros en la Corte española del Barroco*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España; Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011.
- Blumin, Stuart. *The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008.
- Bonnaiffé, Edmond. *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: A. Quantin, 1884.
- Bonnardot, Alfred. *Histoire artistique et archéologique de la gravure en France: dissertations sur l'origine, les progrès et les divers produits de la gravure*. Paris: Deflorenne Neveu, 1849.
- Brothers, Cammy. "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V." *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 79–102.
- Brown, Jonathan, and J. H. Elliott. *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*. Rev. and expanded ed. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Bryan, Michael. *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical*. revised and enlarged by Walter Armstrong and Robert Edmund Graves ed. London: George Bell and Sons Bell, 4 York Street, Covent Garden, 1886.
- Buisseret, David. "Monarchs, Ministers and Maps in France before the Accession of Louis XIV." In *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, edited by David Buisseret, 99–123. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- . "French Cartography: The ingénieurs du roi, 1500–1650." In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Part 2: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Vol. 3, 1069–94. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- . "Spanish Peninsular Cartography, 1500–1700." In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Vol. 3, 1069–94. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Burke, Peter. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- . *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Books, 2001.
- Bury, Michael. *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620*. London: British Museum Press, 2001.
- Campell Orr, Clarissa, ed. *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Carrete Parrondo, Juan, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal Fernández. *El grabado en España: (siglos XV al XVIII)*. 2nd ed. Vol. 31, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988.
- Carrete Parrondo, Juan, Jesusa Vega, and Gloria Solache. *Catálogo de la colección de estampas de la Fundación FOCUS*. Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1996.
- Chaldecott, J. A. "The Zogrscope or Optical Diagonal Machine." *Annals of Science* 9, no. 4 (1953): 315–22.
- Checa, Fernando. "Comment se représente un Habsbourg d'Espagne?" In *¿Louis XIV espagnol?: Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*, edited by Gérard Sabatier and Margarita Torrione, 17–37. Versailles; Paris: Centre de recherche du château de Versailles; Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009.
- Checa Cremades, Fernando, ed. *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los reyes de España*. Madrid: Nerea, 1994.
- Chías Navarro, Pilar. "Dos siglos de revitalización en la iconografía del monasterio de el escorial, 1600–1800." *EGA Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica* 22, no. 29 (2017): 28–37.
- Chías Navarro, Pilar, and Tomás Abad Balboa. "La cartografía y otras fuentes gráficas para el conocimiento del territorio y del paisaje. Los Reales Sitios en torno a Madrid." *CT Catastro*, no. 96 (2019): 11–42.
- Churchill, W. A. *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries, and their Interconnection*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co, 1935.
- Colomer, José Luis. "Paz política, rivalidad suntuaria: Francia y España en la isla de los Faisanes." In *Arte y diplomacia de la monarquía hispánica en el siglo XVII*, edited by José Luis Colomer, 61–88. Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2003.
- Colomer, José Luis, and Amalia Descalzo. *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*. 2 vols. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014.
- Conan, Michel. "Promenade, Conversation and Courtship: The Social Construction of Self and Privacy in Seventeenth-Century Gardens in France." In *Privatheit, Garten und politische Kultur: Von kommunikativen Zwischenräumen*, edited by Marie-Theres Tinnefeld Siegfried Lamnek, 95–129. Olpladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003.
- Conihout, Isabelle de, and Pascal Ract-Madoux. *Reliures françaises du XVIIe siècle: chefs-d'œuvre du Musée Condé*. Paris; Chantilly: Somogy; Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, 2002.
- Contadini, Anna. "Changing Perceptions of Middle Eastern Objects and Cultures in Eighteenth-century Europe." In *Rediscovering Objects from Islamic Lands in Enlightenment Europe*, edited by Isabelle Dolezalek and Mattia Guidetti, 23–54. London: Routledge, 2021..
- Coudert, Allison P. "Orientalism in Early Modern Europe?" In *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 715–55. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2013.
- Courtin, Nicolas. *Corpus des hôtels parisiens du XVIIe siècle. Inventaires après décès de 24 hôtels*. Paris: Centre André Chastel, 2011. <http://www.centrechastel.paris-sorbonne.fr/page/corpus-des-hotels-parisiens-du-xviiie-siecle-inventaires-apres-deces-de-24-hotels>
- Crespo Sanz, Antonio, and María Isabel Vicente Maroto. "Mapping Spain in the Sixteenth Century: The Escorial Atlas and Pedro de Esquivel's Notebook." *Imago Mundi* 66, no. 2 (2014): 159–79.
- Cruz Yábar, Juan María. "Las ermitas del Buen Retiro. Arquitectura y decoración." Paper presented at the El Paseo del Prado y el Buen Retiro, Paisaje de las Artes y las Ciencias, Madrid, 2020.
- Cugy, Pascale. *La Dynastie Bonnart. Peintres, graveurs et marchands de modes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016.
- Dackerman, Susan. "Prints as Instruments." In *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Susan Dackerman, 19–35. New Haven, Conn; Cambridge, Mass: Yale University Press; Harvard Art Museums, 2011.
- Daston, Lorraine, ed. *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*. New York; Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books, 2004.
- Daston, Lorraine, and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. New York; Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books. Distributed by the MIT Press, 2007.
- Davies, Surekha. *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Delaforce, Angela. *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-century Portugal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Delaforce, Angela, and Diana Davies. *The Lost Library of the King of Portugal*. London: Ad Ilisum, 2019.
- Delbourgo, James. *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane*. London: Allen Lane, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2017.
- Deutsch, Kristina. “‘Marot. Il se nommait Jean...’.” *Nouvelles de l’estampe* 236 (2011): 4–23.
- De Vitis, Mark. “The Queen of France and the Capital of Cultural Heritage.” In *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, edited by Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2017.
- Dutuit, Eugène. *Manuel de l’amateur d’estampes*. 6 vols. Paris: Lévy, 1881–88.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Court Society*. Edited by Stephen Mennell. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006.
- Elkins, James. “Art History and Images that are not Art.” *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 4 (1995): 553–71.
- Elliott, John H. *Richelieu and Olivares*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- . *Spain and its World, 1500–1700: Selected Essays*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.
- . *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716*. London: Penguin Books, 2002.
- Escobar, Jesús. *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . “Antonio Manzelli: An Early View of Madrid in the British Library, London.” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 17 (2005): 33–38.
- . “Toward an *urbanismo austriaco*: An Examination of Sources for Urban Planning in the Spanish Habsburg World.” In *Early Modern Urbanism and the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context: Exchanges in Theory and Practice, 1550–1800*, edited by Piet Lombaerde and Charles van den Heuvel, 161–75. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.
- . “Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira’s 1656 Representation of Madrid.” *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 1 (2014): 50–69.
- . *Habsburg Madrid: Architecture and the Spanish Monarchy*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022.
- Estella, Margarita. “Sobre las esculturas del Jardín de la Isla de Aranjuez.” In *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo: V Jornadas de Arte*, edited by Enrique Arias Anglés, 333–48. Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1991.
- Fairchild Ruggles, Dede. “The Stratigraphy of Forgetting: The Great Mosque of Cordoba and its Contested Legacy.” In *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*, edited by Helaine Silverman, 51–67. New York; London: Springer, 2011.
- Faucheux, L. E. *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l’œuvre d’I. Silvestre, précédé d’une notice sur sa vie*. Paris: Veuve Jules Renouard, 1857.
- Fernández Bayton, Gloria. *Inventarios reales: testamentaria del Rey Carlos II 1701–1703*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, Patronato Nacional de Museos, 1975.
- Fiorani, Francesca. *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- . “Cycles of Painted Maps in the Renaissance.” In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, 804–30. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Flor, Susana Varela. ““Que las riquezas del mundo parecian estar alli cifradas”: Catherine of Braganza’s Wedding Festivities in the Context of the Portuguese Restoration (1661–1662).” *Archivo Español de Arte* LXXXVIII, no. 350 (2015): 141–56.
- . “Queen Catherine, a Bragança in Seventeenth-Century London: Cultural Legacy, Identity and Political ‘Individuality’.” In *Representing Women’s Political Identity in the Early Modern Iberian World*, edited by Jeremy Roe and Jean Andrews, 293–319. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021.
- Frangenberg, Thomas. “Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century.” *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 41–64.
- Fransen, Sietske, and Katherine M. Reinhart. “The Practice of Copying in Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: An Introduction.” *Word & Image* 35, no. 3 (2019): 211–22.
- Fraser, Antonia. *Love and Louis XIV: The Women in the Life of the Sun King*. London: Phoenix, 2007.
- Friedrichs, Christopher R. *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750*. London; New York: Longman, 1995.

- Fuhring, Peter. "The Print Publishing Privilege in Eighteenth-century France. Part I." *Print Quarterly* 2, 3 (1985): 175–93.
- , ed. *L'estampe au grand siècle: études offertes à Maxime Préaud*. Paris: Ecole des chartes, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2010.
- Fuhring, Peter, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, eds. *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015.
- Gady, Bénédicte, and Juliette Trey. *La France vue du Grand Siècle: Dessins d'Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)*. Paris: LienArt, 2018.
- Gámiz Gordo, Antonio. *Alhambra. Imágenes de ciudad y paisaje (hasta 1800)*. Sevilla: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2008.
- Gámiz Gordo, Antonio, Ignacio Ferrer Pérez Blanco, and Juan Francisco Reinoso Gordo. "The Pavilions at the Alhambra's Court of the Lions: Graphic Analysis of Muqarnas." *Sustainability* 12, no. 16 (2020): 6556.
- Gascoigne, Bamber. *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet*. rev. ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
- Gaudriault, Raymond. *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des paperis fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995.
- Gautier Dalché, Patrick. "The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)." In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Vol. 3, 285–364. Chicago; London, 2007.
- Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: Towards a New Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Goberville, O. *Guiscard ancien et moderne, chef-lieu de canton (Oise)*. Compiègne: impr. de F. Valliez, 1866.
- Gombrich, Ernst H. *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Visual Representation*. 6 ed. London; New York: Phaidon Press, 2003.
- González Moreno, Fernando, and Julio Martín Sánchez, eds. *Renacimientos: la cerámica española en tiempos de Ruiz de Luna*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010.
- Gregg, Ryan E. *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Griffiths, Antony. "Print Collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the Early Eighteenth Century." *Havard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, 3 (1994): 37–58.
- Griffiths, Antony, and Hugo Chapman. "Israel Henriët, the Chatsworth Album and the Publication of the Work of Jacques Callot." *Print Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2013): 273–93.
- Griffiths, Antony, and Robert A. Gerard. *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.
- Grivel, Marianne. *Le commerce de l'estampe: à Paris au XVIIe siècle*. Genève: Librairie Droz, 1986.
- . "Éloge d'un 'graveur paresseux,' Israël Silvestre (1621–1691)." In *Fort docte aux lettres et en l'architecture. Mélanges en l'honneur de Claude Mignot*, edited by Alexandre Gady, 459–513. Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses, 2019.
- Guarino, Gabriel. "'The Antipathy between French and Spaniards': Dress, Gender, and Identity in the Court Society of Early Modern Naples, 1501–1799." In *Dress and Cultural Difference in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Aust Cornelia, Klein Denise and Weller Thomas, 13–32. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019.
- Gué Trapier, Elizabeth du. "Martínez del Mazo as Landscape Artist." *Gazette de Beaux Arts* (1963): 293–310.
- Haan, Bertrand. "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont." In *Ambassadors in Golden-age Madrid: The Court of Philip IV through Foreign Eyes*, edited by Jorge Fernández-Santos and José Luis Colomer, 147–71. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2020.
- Harley, J. Brian. "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe." *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57–76.
- Harris, Dianne. "Landscape and Representation: The Printed View and Marc'Antonio Dal Re's Ville di Delizie." In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 178–204. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Harris, Enriqueta. "Angelo Michele Colonna y la decoración de San Antonio de los Portugueses." *Archivo Español de Arte* 34, no. 134 (1961): 101–05.

- Harris, Katie A. *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Harvey, P. D. A. *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- Herman, Sandrine. *Estampes françaises du XVII^e siècle: Une donation au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy*. Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2008.
- Hertel, Patricia. *The Crescent Remembered: Islam and Nationalism in the Iberian Peninsula*. Translated by Ellen Yutzy Glebe. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015.
- Hillgarth, J. N. *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Hillman, Jennifer. "Pious Sociability and the Spiritual Elite in Seventeenth-century France c.1650–1680." PhD, University of York, 2011.
- Hofmann, Catherine. "Publishing and the Map Trade in France, 1470–1670." In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Part 2: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Vol. 3, 1569–88. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Hollstein, F. W. H., Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer, and George S. Keyes. *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca.1450–1700. Louis Spirinx to M. Suys*. Edited by Karel G. Boon. Vol. 28, Blaricum: Van Gendt, 1984.
- Howard, Deborah. "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's View." *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997): 101–11.
- Jackson, Timothy R., ed. *Frozen in Time: The Fagel Collection in the Library of Trinity College Dublin*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2016.
- Jansen, André. "François Bertaut et son 'Journal du voyage en Espagne.'" *Bulletin Hispanique* 50, no. 2 (1948): 172–86.
- Jouberton, Jean. "Une relecture du Livre des Peintres et Graveurs de Michel de Marolles." *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 249 (2014). Published online 15 October 2015, <http://journals.openedition.org/estampe/659>.
- Kaldenbach, C. J. "Perspective Views." *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1985): 87–104.
- Kagan, Richard L. "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 115–35.
- , ed. *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989.
- . "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spain." In *Envisioning the City*, edited by David Buisseret, 75–108, 1998.
- Kagan, Richard L., and Fernando Mariás. *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Kagan, Richard L., and Marianna S. Simpson. "Dos vistas de jardines del siglo XVII procedentes del Palacio Real de Aranjuez." *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 36, 54 (2018): 61–74.
- Kamen, Henry. *Spain 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- Keller, Marcus. "The Turk of Early Modern France." *L'Esprit Créateur* 53, no. 4 (2013): 1–8.
- Konvitz, Josef W., and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. *Cartography in France, 1660–1848: Science, Engineering, and Statecraft*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Kostroun, Daniella J. *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism: Louis XIV and the Port-Royal Nuns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Kuhn münchen, Jacques. "Le commerce de la gravure à Paris et à Rome au XVII^e siècle." *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 55 (1981): 6–17.
- Labrador Arroyo, Félix, and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz. "The Magnificence of the Royal Household and Royal Sites: The Case of the Spanish Monarchy." In *Magnificence in the Seventeenth Century: Performing Splendour in Catholic and Protestant Contexts*, edited by Gijs Versteegen, Stijn Bussels and Walter Melion, 135–61. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021.
- Lasso de la Vega Zamora, Miguel, ed. *Arquitectura y desarrollo urbano: Comunidad de Madrid Vol. IX*. Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda; Consejería de Medo Ambiente y Ordenación del Territorio; Fundación Caja Madrid; Fundación COAM, 2004.
- Lavedan, Pierre. *La représentation des villes dans l'art aux moyen age*. Paris: Van Oest, 1954.

- Le Blanc, Charles. *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes: contenant le dictionnaire des graveurs de toutes les nations*. Paris: É. Bouillon, 1854.
- Lesaulnier, Jean. "Les Liancourt, leur hôtel et leurs hôtes (1631–74)." In *Images de La Rochefoucauld: Actes du tricentenaire 1680–1980*, edited by Jean Lafond and Jean Mesnard, 167–200. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984.
- Leverenz, Niklas. "Vues d'optique with Chinese Subjects." *Print Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2014): 20–44.
- Links, J. G. *Townscape Painting and Drawing*. London: Batsford, 1972.
- Loh, Maria H. *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007.
- Lynn, John A. *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714*. London; New York: Longman, 1999.
- MacGregor, Arthur, ed. *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press; Alistair McAlpine, 1994.
- MacGregor, William. "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective." *Art History* 22, no. 3 (1999): 389–420.
- Maier, Jessica. "Francesco Rosselli's Lost View of Rome: An Urban Icon and Its Progeny." *The Art Bulletin* 94, no. 3 (2012): 395–411.
- . "A 'True Likeness': The Renaissance City Portrait." *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012): 711–52.
- . *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Malcolm, Alistair. *Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640–1665*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Mansel, Philip. *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV*. London: Allen Lane, 2019.
- Mariás, Fernando. "Haz y envés de un legado: la imagen de lo islámico en la cultura del Renacimiento y el Barroco." In *La imagen romántica del legado andalusí*, edited by Mauricio Pastor, 105–13. Madrid: Lunberg, 1995.
- . "From the 'Ideal City' to Real Cities: Perspectives, Chorographies, Models, Vedute." In *The Triumph of the Baroque*, edited by Henry A. Millon, 219–39. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
- Mariás, Fernando, and Felipe Pereda, eds. *El atlas del Rey Planeta: la "Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos" de Pedro Teixeira (1634)*. Hondarribia: Nerea, 2003.
- Marin, Louis. *Portrait of the King*. Translated by Martha M. Houle. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.
- Martens, Pieter. "Hieronimus Cock's view of Antwerp (1557): Its Genesis and Offspring, from Antwerp to Italy." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 39, no. 3 (2017): 171–96.
- Martínez-Correcher y Gil, Consuelo. "Jardines del barroco español. Siglo XVII." In *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, edited by José Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano and Ernest Belenguier Cebrià, Vol. 2, 351–413. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2001.
- Martínez Díaz, Ángel, and María Teresa García Sánchez. "Louis Meunier: Engraving and Heritage in the Decline of the Spanish Golden Century." In *Graphical Heritage: XVIII International Congress of Architectural Graphic Expression: Volume 2 – Representation, Analysis, Concept and Creation*, edited by Luis Agustín-Hernández, Aurelio Vallespín Muniesa and Angélica Fernández-Morales, 166–77. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020.
- Martínez Leiva, Gloria. "El 'Salón' o Galería de paisajes del palacio real de aranjuez bajo el reinado de Felipe IV." *Reales Sitios*, no. 159 (2004): 26–45.
- . "La galería paisajes de Aranjuez en tiempos de Felipe IV." In *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV: Jornadas de iconografía y coleccionismo*, 271–303, 2006.
- Matilla, José Manuel. "Grabado y Propaganda: La imagen de los palacios reales en la Europa moderna." In *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los reyes de España*, edited by Fernando Checa Cremades, 460–85. Madrid Nerea, 1994.
- Matilla, José Manuel, and Hilary Macartney, eds. *Copied by the Sun: Talbotype Illustrations to the "Annals of the Artists of Spain" by Sir William Stirling Maxwell: Studies and Catalogue Raisonné*. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016.
- Mazouer, Charles, ed. *L'Âge d'or de l'influence espagnole: la France et l'Espagne à l'époque d'Anne d'Autriche, 1615–1666: actes du 20e Colloque du C.M.R. 17, placé sous le patronage de la*

- Société d'étude du XVIIe siècle et de l'Université de Bordeaux III*. Mont-de-Marsan: Editions InterUniversitaires, 1991.
- McDonald, Mark P. "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial." *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998): 15–35.
- . *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville*. London: British Museum, 2004.
- . *Renaissance to Goya: Prints and Drawings Made in Spain*. London: British Museum Press, 2012.
- . *The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo: Architecture, Topography and Military Maps*. London: Royal Collection Trust and The British Library in association with Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019.
- McSweeney, Anna. *From Granada to Berlin: The Alhambra Cupola*. Berlin; Florence; Dortmund: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz; Verlag Kettler, 2020.
- McTighe, Sheila. *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
- Mediavilla Lamela, José Francisco. *Rótulos de cerámica del viejo Madrid*. Madrid: edición personal, 2021.
- Merlos Romero, María Magdalena, and Sergio Román Aliste. "Una propuesta de reconstrucción digital del jardín de la Isla (Aranjuez) según Louis Meunier (1665): los parterres y fuentes de las Folias o las Locura." In *Efímero y virtual: Rescates digitales de artefactos provisionales*, edited by María Victoria Soto Caba and Mercedes Simal López, 189–214. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, UJA Editorial, 2022.
- Meyer, Véronique. "Sébastien Pontault de Beaulieu et la représentation des cérémonies de l'île des Faisans." In *Delineavit et sculpsit: dix-neuf contributions sur les rapports dessin-gravure du XVIe au XXe siècle: mélanges offerts à Marie-Félicie Perez-Pivot*, edited by Francois Fossier and Marie Félicie Pérez, 73–87. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2003.
- . "Louis Odespung de La Meschinière (1597–1655)." *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 240 (2012): 4–30.
- . "Spanish Dress in French Engravings from 1630 to 1715: Between Satire and Reality." In *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, edited by José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo, Vol. 2, 341–62. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014.
- . "Collectors and Collecting." In *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, edited by Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis and Vanessa Selbach, 36–44. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015.
- Miller, Naomi. *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance*. London: Continuum, 2003.
- Mireur, Hippolyte. *Dictionnaire des ventes d'art faites en France et à l'étranger pendant les XVIIIe & XIXe Siècles*. 7 vols. Saint-Romain-au-Mont-d'Or: Artprice.com, 2002.
- Mitchell, Silvia Z. "Marriage Plots: Royal Women, Marriage Diplomacy and International Politics at the Spanish, French and Imperial Courts, 1665–1679." In *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James, 86–106: Routledge, 2016.
- Montaner, Emily. "Politics and Diplomacy: Emblems during the War of Devolution in the Minority of Charles II of Spain." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 287–306.
- Moracchini, Pierre. "Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, Reine de France et Tertiaire Franciscaine." *Carthaginensia: Revista de estudios e investigación* 31, no. 59–60 (2015): 1027–57.
- Mukerji, Chandra. *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Mulcahy, Rosemarie. "Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville: The Fiestas for the Canonization of King Ferdinand III." *Hispanic Research Journal* 11, no. 5 (2010): 393–414.
- Nagel, Alexander, and Christopher S. Wood. *Anachronic Renaissance*. New York: Zone Books, 2010.
- Nuti, Lucia. "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye." *Word and Image* 4 (1988): 545–70.
- . "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language." *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 105–28.

- . “The City and its Image.” In *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, edited by J. R. Mulryne et al., Vol. 1, 242–49. Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- O’Donoghue, Freeman M. *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1908.
- Oliveira Marques, Antonio Henrique de. *History of Portugal*. 2 vols. New York ; London: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Onuf, Alexandra. *The ‘Small Landscape’ Prints in Early Modern Netherlands*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Orgeix, Émilie d’. “Alain Manesson Mallet (1630–1706) Portrait d’un ingénieur militaire dans le sillage de Vauban.” *Bulletin du Comité français de cartographie*, no. 195 (2008): 67–74.
- Orso, Steven N. *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Páez Ríos, Elena. *Repertorio de grabados españoles en la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, 1981.
- Palos, Joan-Lluís. “Bargaining Chips: Strategic Marriages and Cultural Circulation in Early Modern Europe.” In *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, edited by Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2017.
- Palos, Joan-Lluís, and Magdalena S. Sánchez. *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2017.
- Parker, Geoffrey. “Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs.” In *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, edited by David Buisseret, 124–52. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- . *Success is Never Final: Empire, War, and Faith in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Parrott, David. “The Causes of the Franco-Spanish War of 1635–59.” In *The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jeremy Black, 72–111. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987.
- Parshall, Peter. “The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol.” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 88 (1982): 139–84.
- . “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance.” *Art History* 16 (1993): 554–79.
- . “Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe.” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): 7–36.
- . “Introduction: Art and Curiosity in Northern Europe.” *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (1995): 327–31.
- . “Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe.” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1998): 19–36.
- . “Antonio Lafreri’s ‘Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae.’ ” *Print Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (2006): 3–28.
- Pastoureau, Mireille. *Les Atlas français XVIe–XVIIe siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984.
- Petto, Christine Marie. *When France was King of Cartography: The Patronage and Production of Maps in Early Modern France*. Lanham, Md.; Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007.
- Pinto, John. “Origins and Development of the Iconographic City Plan.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 35–50.
- Pollak, Martha D. *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Pomian, Krzysztof. *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*. Translated by Elizabeth Wiles-Portier. Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1990.
- Poulson, Elizabeth. “Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels: Reproductive Engraver.” *Woman’s Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1985): 20–23.
- Préaud, Maxime. “Jacques van Merle A Flemish Dealer in Paris.” *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1984): 81–95.
- . *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d’estampes à Paris sous l’Ancien Régime*. Paris: Promodis/Cercle de la librairie, 1987.

- . *Les effets du soleil: Almanachs du règne de Louis XIV*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995.
- . “Les arts de l’estampe en France au xviii^e siècle: Panorama sur trente ans de recherches.” *Perspective* 3 (2009). Published online 4 August 2014, <https://doi.org/10.4000/perspective.1308>.
- Prestage, Edgar. *The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland from 1640 to 1668*. Watford: Voss and Michael Ltd, 1925.
- Portús, Javier, Jaime García-Máiquez, and María Álvarez-Garcillán. “La Vista de Zaragoza, de Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo. Notas al hilo de su restauración.” *Boletín del Museo el Prado* 33 (2015): 60–77.
- Raedt, Nele De. “Beholding a Building in Admiration: Leon Battista Alberti’s De Re Aedificatoria and the Renaissance Discourse on Magnificence.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 81, no. 1 (2018): 239–48.
- Reed, Sue Welsh. *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers*. Boston, Mass: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998.
- Reitz-Joosse, Bettina. “The City and the Text in Vitruvius’s ‘de Architectura: uti ordo portulat’: The Arrangement of Material in ‘de Architectura.’” *Arethusa* 49, no. 2 (2016): 183–97.
- Ribouillault, Denis. “Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas.” In *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-first-century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee, 203–32. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011.
- Río Barredo, María José del. *Madrid, Urbs regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000.
- Robert-Dumesnil, Alexandre-Pierre-François. *Le peintre-graveur français, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l’école française: ouvrage faisant suit au Peintre-graveur de M. Bartsch*. 11 vols., 1835–71.
- Robinson, David. “Perspective Views and Their Public.” *Print Quarterly* 1 (1989): 73–75.
- Romero Díaz, Nieves. “Emociones y autoridad de la reina consorte María Teresa de Austria en la correspondencia con sor Mariana de la Cruz.” *Arenal: Revista de Historia de las Mujeres* (2021): 61–79.
- Roosen, William. “Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach.” *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 452–76.
- Rosen, Jochai. “Fantasy Caves: Dutch Grotto Painting of the Golden Age.” In *Liber amicorum Marijke de Kinkelder*, edited by Charles Dumas, Marijke de Kinkelder and Jennifer Kilian, 291–304. The Hague: The Netherlands Institute for Art History, 2013.
- Sabatier, Gérard, and Margarita Torrione, eds. *¿Louis XIV espagnol?: Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*. Versailles; Paris: Centre de recherche du château de Versailles; Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2009.
- Sahlins, Peter. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1989.
- Sánchez Cano, David. “Naumachiae at the Buen Retiro in Madrid.” In *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.R. Mulryne*, edited by Margaret Shewring and Linda Briggs, 313–27. Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.
- Sancho, José Luis. “‘S.M. ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se hace’: Felipe IV y las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla.” *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 146 (2000): 26–39.
- Santiago Páez, Elena, and Juan Manuel Magariños. “El Escorial, historia de una imagen.” In *El Escorial en la Biblioteca Nacional: IV Centenario del Monasterio de El Escorial*, edited by Elena Santiago Páez, 221–366. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Libro y Bibliotecas, 1985.
- Schaub, Jean-Frédéric. *La France espagnole: Les racines hispaniques de l’absolutisme français*. Paris: Seuil, 2003.
- Schirg, Bernhard. “(Re)writing the Early Biography of the Alhambra’s Fountain of the Lions: New Evidence from a Neo-Latin Poem (1497).” *Muqarnas* 34 (2017): 259–71.
- Schnapper, Antoine. *Curieux du grand siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVII^e siècle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1994.

- Schulz, Juergen. "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500." *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (1978): 425–73.
- Scott, Katie. "Authorship, the Académie, and the Market in Early Modern France." *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (1998): 29–41.
- Serrera, Juan Miguel, Alberto Oliver, and Javier Portús. *Iconografía de Sevilla 1650–1790*. Madrid: El Viso, 1989.
- Seseña, Natacha. *La cerámica popular en Castilla la Nueva*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975.
- Silvestre, E. de. *Renseignements sur quelques peintres et graveurs des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Israël Silvestre et ses descendants*. Paris: Mme Ve Bouchard-Huzard, 1868.
- Smentek, Kristel. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-century Europe*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014.
- Smith, Pamela H. *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte. *Exposición del Antiguo Madrid: catálogo general ilustrado*. Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1926.
- Sol Díaz Díaz, María del. "Fuentes públicas monumentales del Madrid del siglo XVII." *Villa de Madrid: revista del Excmo. Ayuntamiento*, no. 53 (1976): 39–50.
- Stratton-Pruitt, Suzanne L. *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Stijnman, Ad. *Engraving and Etching, 1400–2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes*. London: Archetype, 2012.
- Swan, Claudia. "Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation." *Word & Image* 11 (1995): 353–72.
- . *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Swillens, P. T. A. "De Utrechtsche Schilders Dirck en Maerten Stoop, I." *Oud Holland* 51 (1934): 116–35.
- Táin Guzmán, Miguel. *A Medici Pilgrimage: The Devotional Journey of Cosimo III to Santiago de Compostela (1669)*. Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2018.
- Tolias, George. "Ptolemy's Geography and Early Modern Antiquarian Practices." In *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance*, edited by Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett, 121–42. London; Turn: Warburg Institute; Nino Aragno, 2011.
- Urquizar Herrera, Antonio. *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Van Lakerveld, Carry, ed. *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources*. Amsterdam; Toronto: Amsterdam Historisch Museum; Art Gallery of Ontario, 1977.
- Vega, Jesusa. *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de estampas*. Madrid: El Museo, Ministerio de Cultura, 1992.
- . *Ciencia, arte e ilusión en la España ilustrada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Ediciones Polifemo, 2010.
- Véliz Bomford, Zahira. "The Authority of Prints in Early Modern Spain." *Hispanic Research Journal* 9, no. 5 (2008): 416–36.
- Vilacoba Ramos, Karen María. "Cartas familiares de una reina: relaciones epistolares de María Teresa de Francia y las descalzas reales." In *Mujer y cultura escrita: Del mito al siglo XXI*, edited by María del Val González de la Peña, 199–212. Somonte-Cenero, Gijón, Asturias: Ediciones Trea, 2005.
- Warner, Nicholas. *The True Description of Cairo: A Sixteenth-century Venetian View*. London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen, and Adam Morton. *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500–1800*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Welu, James A. "The Map in Vermeer's 'Art of Painting'." *Imago Mundi* 30 (1978): 9–30.
- Wilkinson-Zerner, Catherine. *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Wilson, Bronwen. *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Wood, Denis, and John Fels. *The Power of Maps*. London: Routledge, 1993.

- Woodall, Joanna, and Stephanie Porras. *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*. Courtauld Books Online, 2015. <https://courtauld.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/netherlandish-canon-full-document.pdf>.
- Woodward, David. *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers*. London: The British Library, 1996.
- . “Cartography in the Renaissance: Continuity and Change.” In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Vol. 3, 3–24. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Wunder, Amanda. “Murillo and the Canonisation Case of San Fernando, 1649–52.” *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1184 (2001): 670–75.
- . “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2015): 133–86.
- Zanger, Abby E. *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Ziegler, Hendrik. “Image Battles under Louis XIV: Some Reflections.” In *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661–1715*, edited by Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, 25–36. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015.
- Zorach, Rebecca, ed. *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Chicago: Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008.

Appendix

Differentes Veues Series

ca. 1662/3

Cat. 1 Titlepage

Differentes Veues / Des Palais de plaisance / Du Roy D'Espagne / Dedie' ala Reine / Par Louis Meunier // Diversas Vistas / De las Casaa Reales / Del Rej d'España / Dedicata ala Rena / Por Louis Meunier

Cat. 2 The Alcázar of Madrid

Veue de LeNTRe du pALAiS de MADRid viLLE cHoiSi pouR la dEmeuRe des Rois / despAgNe povR la BoNTe de son AiRe ET dE sA siTuATioN AU MiLiEU dEs espAgNEs // visTA de LA ENTRAdA dEL pALLATio deL REi despANA en LA ciuTade dE MADRid

Cat. 3 View of the Courtyard of the Queen, the Alcázar of Madrid

PALAIIS DE MADRID // VEUE dU dEDANS DU PALAIIS DU ROi DESpAgNE A MADRID // ViSTA dEL pATio DEL pALATio dEL REI DESpANA eN MADRid

Cat. 4 View of the Alcázar of Madrid, seen from the Casa de Campo Royal Estate

El pallatio de Madrid // VeUe dU pALAiS dU ROi despAgNe A MADRid dU coste de LA caNpAgNe // vista deL pALATio deL Rei despaña eN MADRid de LA pARTE dE LoS cANpos

Cat. 5 The Plaza Mayor, Madrid

Placa major de madrid // Veue de La gRANde place de Madrid ou Se celebre la / feste DeS taureaux / vista de La placa maior en Madrid // L. MeuNieR deL ad vivum et scupsit [illegible lettering at bottom left of image – L Meunier del et ?]

Cat. 6 View of the Cárcel de Corte and the Plaza de la Provincia, Madrid

VEUE DE LA GRANDE pRiSON DE MADRid ApELE LA pRiSON ROIALE // VISTA DE LA CARSEL REYAL [5 letters crossed out] MADRid // DESiGNE AU NATUREL ET GRAVE PAR LOUIS MEUNiER

- Cat. 7 View of the Fountain of the Harpies in the Puerta del Sol
VEUE dE LA pLACE ET dE LA fONTAiNe DU SOLEiL A MADRiD // ViSTA DE LA PLACA i DE LA fOUENTE dEL SOL A MadRid // dESigNe AU NATUREL ET GRAVE pAR LOUiS MEUNiER
- Cat. 8 View of the Plaza de Santo Domingo, Madrid
VEUE de LA fONTAiNE ET dE LA pLACE de SAiNT doMINqUE dANS MADRiD / dESigNE AU NATUREL ET gRAVe pAR LOUiS MEUNiER // ViSTA dE LA fOUENTE i dE LA pLACA dE SAiNCT dOMiNqUE EN MAdRid / dELiNEAVIT Ad ViVUM ET SCULPSiT L MEUNiER
- Cat. 9 View of the Plaza de la Cebada, Madrid
VEUE de LA fONTAiNe ET dE LA pLACe dE LA SiVAdE OU SE VENT / LAVOiNE A MAdRid // ViSTA dE LA fOUENTE i dE LA pLACA dE LA SiVAdE EN MAdRid
- Cat. 10 The Zarzuela Palace
Veue de LA MAiSON de LA SARSOUELLe pALAiS de pLaiSANCE dES / ROiS dESPAGNe A UNE LiEUZ ET dEMi dE MAdRid / BATi pAR pHiLipE IIII ROi dES EpAgNES
- Cat. 11 The Royal Palace of El Pardo
VEUE du pALAiS du pARde MAiSON dE pLaiSANCE dES ROiS dESpAGNe / bATi pAR LEMpEREUR CHALLEqUiNT A dEUX LiEUX dE MAdRid // VISTA dE LA CASA REAL dEL pARdE CASA dE pLASER dEL REJ / dE^spANA A dEUX LeUXAS dE MAdRid
- Cat. 12 Titlepage (El Escorial)
eSCURIAL // Veue De L'Escorial / a Sept lieues de Madrid / monasti^re dedie a S^t Laurent / Lieu de Sepulture des Roys / DEspagne // Differentia vistas De l'Escorial / a siete leuius de Madrid / monastirium Dedicado a S^t / Laurens Casa muy Estimada / por sus Edificios grande
- Cat. 13 View of the Western Façade of El Escorial
Intrada de lescorial // VEUE de LENTRe de LeSCURiAL EN pERpECTiVe // ViSTA de LA iNTRAdA de LeSCURiAL // grave et designe au natural par Louis meunier
- Cat. 14 Courtyard of the Kings and the Basilica, El Escorial
VEUE dE / LEgLiSE ET dE / LA pREMiERE / COUR dE LESCURiAL / ViSTA dE LA / EgLESiA / DE / LESCURiAL

- Cat. 15 Courtyard, El Escorial
*UN DES SEpT / CLOiSTRE / DE LESCURIAl // VeUe dUN deS CLOiSTRe de LeSCURIAl
i eN AIANT SepT TOUS ESgAUX // ViSTA deL CLOSTRe de LESCURIAl AVieNdo 7
TOTOS IgUALeS*
- Cat. 16 The Courtyard of the Evangelists, El Escorial
*eSCURIAl // VEUE dU GRAND CLOiSTRE de LesCURial // Vista del grande clostRe de
LesCURial*
- Cat. 17 View of El Escorial, seen from the East
*Veue du derierE de LescuRIAl EN pERSpecTiVe // Vista de LescuRIAl peR de TRase // L
meusnier fecit ad vivum*
- Cat. 18 View of El Escorial Monastery and Palace seen against Mount Abantos
Veue du dERieRe de LescuRIAl // ViSTA de LescuRIAl peR dE TRAS
- Cat. 19 Bird's-eye View of El Escorial after Perret
*L meunier del et sculpsit a cugnac // VEUE de LESCURIAl COMME iL APAROIT de
dESUS LA MONTAGNE // ViSTA DE LESCURIAl*
- Cat. 20 View of the Eastern Entrance to the Alcázar of Segovia and the Tower of Juan II
*VEUE dU CHATEAU de SigOVie A qUiNZE LIEUX dE MAdRid ANCiENNE dEMEURE
dES ROiS dESPAGNE // ViSTA DE LA CASA REAL DE SigOVie A qUiNZE LEUCAS dE
MAdRid*
- Cat. 21 The Alcázar of Segovia
*VEUE DU CHATEAU DE SiGOViE pAR LE dERIERE ET dUN COiN dE / LA ViLLE DE
SiGOViE OU SE FABRiCqUE TOUS LES BEAUX DRApS DESpAGNE // ViSTA DE LA
CASA REAL DE SiGOViE pER DE TRAS*
- Cat. 22 The Royal Palace of Aranjuez
*Veue du palais daRangoise maison de plaisance / des RoiS deSpagne a Sept lieux de
madrid tres / estime pour la verdure de SeS arbreS la baute de Ses iardins et la grande
abondance de SeS eaux // vista del pallatio darangoiSe casa de placer / del Rei despana a
Siete leucas de Madrid*

- Cat. 23 The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra, Aranjuez
LA GRANDA FOUENTE DAR // VEUE de La gRaNde Fontaine darangoiS ou iL i A pLUS de deux mille iAiT deAUx // ViSta de la granda fouente en arangoisse
- Cat. 24 The Fountain of Apollo, Aranjuez
Veue de la Fontaine des dauphins a arangoisse // ViSta de la founte de los delphinos en arangois
- Cat. 25 The Fountain of Diana & The Fountain of the Boy with the Thorn, Aranjuez
LA FOUENTA DE DOM IOUAN DAUTRICH // VEUE de la foNTaine de dom / JouaN dautriche a arangoise // vista de la fouente de dom / Jouan dAUTRiCHE EN ARANgoise ViSTA DE LA FOUENTA DE LEPINE // Veue de la foNTAiNE de LEpiNe / a aRangoiSe // VISTA de la fouente de LEpiNe / a arangoiSe
- Cat. 26 The Fountain of Neptune & The Fountain of Bacchus, Aranjuez
VEUE DE LA FONTAiNE DE NEP / TUNE A ARANGOiSE // ViSTA DE LA FOUENTE DE NEP / TUNE EN ARANGOISE // DESiGNE ET GRAVE pAR LOUiS MEUNiER VEUE DE LA FONTAiNE DE BACHUS / A ARANGOiSE // VISTA DE LA FOUENTE / DE BACHUS EN ARANGOiSE // DESIGNNE AU NATUREL ET GRAVE / pAR LOUIS MEUNIER
- Cat. 27 The Fountain of the Tritons, Aranjuez
VEUE DE LA FONTAiNE DES TRiTons A ARANGOiSE // ViSTA DE LA FOUNTE DE LOS TRiTons A AR⁴NgOiSe // [partially cut from the plate] L Meunier(?) DELINEAViT AD VIVUM ET SCULPSiT CUM pRiViLEGiO REGiS
- Cat. 28 Titlepage (Buen Retiro)
Retire // Diferentis veues du bon / Retiro de Madrid: Scitue / au faubour D'alcala de / madrid maison du Roy / DEspagne tres Estimee pour / Ses Jardins palais et Estang // Differentia Vistas / del bouen Retiro de madrid / Situada al burgo d'alcala / Cassa del Re de Spana muy / Estimado por Sus Jardines / palatios y Estanques.
- Cat. 29 The Queen's Garden with the Equestrian Statue of Philip IV, the Buen Retiro
VEUE de LENTRE du RETiR ou EST RepRESENTE pHiLipE IIII Roi dES ESpAgNES // ViSTA dE LA iNTRAdA dEL BUEN RETiR EN MadRid
- Cat. 30 The Great Lake in the Buen Retiro Gardens
Veue du / grand es / Tang du / ReTire // VEUE du gRaNd esTaNg du RETiR ou LES ROiS deSpAgNe / se diVERTiSENT dANS Les gALERES ET NAViRS // ViSTA deL gRaNde ESTANq dEL BUEN RETiR de MAdRid / dELiNeAVit Ad vivum ET iNcidit L. meunieR

- Cat. 31 The Octagonal Pond in the Buen Retiro Gardens
Veue DU pETiT ESTANC du RETiR // ViSTA DEL pEqUiNO ESTANq DEL RETiR
- Cat. 32 The Hermitage of San Pablo, Buen Retiro Gardens
VEUE DE LHERMiTage de SAiNCT pAUL dANS LE RETiR dE MAadrid // ViSTa de LHERMiTAGE dE SAiNCT pAUL EN EL RETiR dE MAadrid
- Cat. 33 The Hermitage of San Antonio, Buen Retiro Gardens
VEUE DE LHERMiTAGE DE S.^T ANTOiNE DANS LE RETiR pALAIS BATI pAR LES / pORTUGAiS pOUR LE DiVERTiSEMEN DES ROiS DESPAGNE // ViSTA DE LHERMiTAGE DE S.^T ANTHOiNE EN EL RETiR DE MADRiD
- Cat. 34 The Casa de Campo Gardens with the Equestrian Statue of Philip III
VEUE du iARdiN dE LA mAiSON dE CAMpAgNE OU EST REpRESENTE PHiLipE II / iARdiN de pLaiSANCE du ROi dESpAgNE SiTUE dEHOR MADrid EN gace du palais RoIAL // ViSTA dEL iARdiN dE La casa dEL CANpO A fUERA dE MADrid
- Cat. 35 The Alcázar of Toledo
VEUE dE LENTRE du pALAiS du ROi despAgNE A TOLEdE A douse LiEu dE MADrid // vista de La iNTRada dEL paLaTIO deL REI dEspaNa EN TOLEdE
- Cat. 36 The Alcázar and the Alcántara Bridge, Toledo
CASA REAL DE TOLEdE // AUTRe VEUE du pALAiS du ROI dESpAgNe a TOLEde ET dUNE pARTiE dE LA ViLLE // OTRA ViSTA dEL pALLATiO dE TOLEdE
- Cat. 37 The Cathedral of Toledo
VEUE DE LA gRANDE EGLiSE DE TOLEDE // ViSTA DE LA GRANDA EGLESiA DE TOLEDE
- Cat. 38 The Montería Courtyard in the Alcázar of Seville
Veue de lalcasaR maison du Roi dEspAgNe A SEVILLE pALAIS BATI A LA MOSAICque / paR LES MAURS AfRiCqAiNS pANdANT quILS OCUpOINT LESpAgNe // ViSTa De LaLcasaR casa dEL REI dESpANA EN SEVILLE
- Cat. 39 The Plaza de San Juan de Dios, Cádiz
VEUE DE LA GRANDE PLACE DE CADIS ET DE LA MAISON DU ROI ViLLE ESTiME UNE DES CLEF DESPAGNE / EST SiTUE A 7 LiEUX DY DETROiT DE GiLBRATAR ET

*A CENT LiEUX DE MADRiD // ViSTA DE LA GRANDA pLACA I DE LA CASA DEL Rei
DESpAGNA EN CADIS*

- Cat. 40 Titlepage (Granada)
*Différentis veues De / Grenade situe au pied dune / haut Montagne, ville tres / Estimee
pour sis Edifices et Palais / principalement de Celluy des / Roys Affricains basti ala /
mosâique // Differentis vistas de Grenada / scituada al pie de una muy alta / montana i
villa muy Estimada / por sus Edificios y palatios / Principalmenti de el de los Rees / de
Affrica fabricado ala Mosâica*
- Cat. 41 View of the Alhambra and the Bermejas Towers
*VEUE DU GRAND CHATEAU APELE LALAMBRE DE GRENADE ET DU / CHATEAU
APELE LA TOUR VERMEiLE // ViSTA dEL CASTEL dE LALANBRE I dE LA TOUR
VERMEiL EN gRENAdA // MEUNiER AD ViVUM DEL ET SCULpSIT*
- Cat. 42 View of the Alhambra, the Torre de la Vela and the Cathedral of Granada
*AUTRE VEUE DU CHATEAU DE LALAMBRE DE gRENADE ET DUNE pARTiE DE LA
ViLLE // OTRA ViSTA DEL CASTEL DE LALANBRE DE gRENADE i DE UNA pARTE DE
LA CiUTADE*
- Cat. 43 View of the Bermejas Towers with the Cathedral of Granada in the Background
*VEUE DU CHATEAU DE LA TOUR VERMEiL ET DE LA GRANDE / EGLiSE DE
GRENADE DESiGNE AU NATUREL ET GRAVE pAR L MEUNIER // ViSTA DEL
CALSTEL LiAMADO LA TOUR VERMEILE / i DE LA GRANDA EGLESiA DE GRENADA*
- Cat. 44 View of the Entrance to the Charles V Palace, the Alhambra
*VEUE de LeNTRE du palais des Rois despagne daNS Le / CHATEAU de LAlaNbRe de
gReNade // ViSTa de La iNTRada deL pallatio del Rei despana en gRENada*
- Cat. 45 The Courtyard of the Charles V Palace, the Alhambra
*VEUE DU PALAiS DES ROiS DESpAGNE DANS LALAMBRE DE GRENADE / pAR DE
DEDANS // ViSTA DEL pALLATiO DE LOS REyES DESpANiA pER DiNTRE /
LALAMBRE DE GRENADE // DESiGNE AU NATUREL ET GRAVE pAR LOUiS
MEUNiER*
- Cat. 46 The Court of the Lions Viewed from one of its Pavilions, the Alhambra
*VEUE dE LeNTRE du pALAiS des ROiS AFRiCqUaiNS ApeLLe La couR des LiONs /
AUTReMeNT Le coRps Logis descouveRT dAns Le CHATEAU de LALAMBRede gReNade*

*// ViSTA DE LA iNTRADA DEL pALLATiO DE LOS REiES AFRIcQUAiNS / EN EL
CASTEL DE LALAMBRE DE GRENADA*

- Cat. 47 The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra
EL PATiO / DE / LOS LiONES / iN gRENAD // AUTRE VEUE dE La COUR dES Lions //
OTRa ViSTa dEL patio dE LOS LiONES
- Cat. 48 The Court of the Myrtles, the Alhambra
*Veue de LeTanc Roial daNs LE palais des Rois africquains // VisTa del eStanq Real en el
pallatio del Rei chicquE / de grenada // designe au natural et grave par Louis meunier*
- Cat. 49 View of the Generalife Palace and the Sierra Mountains
*Veue du palais generalife maison de plaisance des Rois mAuRs AfRiquAins / dehors La
ville de grenade // vista del pallaTio generalif de gRenada*
- Cat. 50 View of the Royal Chancellery of Granada
*VEUE DE LA MAISON DE LA CHANCELERiE DE GRENADE ET DE LA TOUR / DE
LA VEL DANS LE CHATEAU DE LALAMBRE DEHORS GRENADE // ViSTA DE LA
CASA DE LA CHANCELERiE DE GRENADE i DE LA TOUR / DE LA VELA DiNTRE
LE CASTEL DE LALAMBRE FOR LA CiUTADE DE GRENADA*
- Cat. 51 View of the Torre del Oro and the San Jorge Castle
*VEUE DE LA TOUR DE LOR ET DU CHATEAU TRIENNE BATi pAR LEMpEREUR /
TRAiAN A SEViLLE LiEU DE SA NAISSANSE ViLLE TRES RECOMANDABLE
pOUR / AVOiR DONNE TROiS EMpEREUEURS AUX ROMAiNS ET Si ESTiME pOUR
LA BAUTE / DE SES EDiFiCES ET Si CELEBRE pOUR SON GAND pORT OU SE
FAiSOiT LA DESENTE / DE TOUS LES TRESORS DES iNDES qUiL ESE DiT pAR
TOUT LESpAGNE qUi NA POINT VEU / SEViLLE NA PONiT VEU MERVEiLLE EST
SiTUE A 80 LiEUX DE MADRiD // Vista del Castel de trienne i de la / tour de lor a
Seville*
- Cat. 52 View of the Cathedral of Seville and the Giralda
*VEUE de La gRande egLise de SeviLLe eT de la giRalde estime La pLus auTe TouR des
espagnes / VisTa de La gRanda egLEsLa i de La TouR de LA giRALde en SEViLLe*
- Cat. 53 The Casa de Contratación and the Cathedral, Seville
*Veue de La maison de La coNTRETaTiON ET de La gRande eglise de SeviLLe pAR LE
dERiERE // ViSTa de La casa de La bouRse i de La gRanda igLesia de SeviLLe*

- Cat. 54 The Plaza de San Francisco, Seville
 VEUE dE LA PLACE dE SAiNCT FRANciSQUE ET dE LA MAiSON dE LHAUTEL dE
 ViLLE A SEViLLE // ViSTA dE LA pLACA dE S^T FRANciSQUE EN SEViLLE
- Cat. 55 View of the Ribeira Palace and the Palácio do Principe, Lisbon
*Veue du pALAiS de LisboNNe SEioUR oRdiNAiR des Rois poRTUGAle / VISTA deL
 PALLATiO dEL Rei de poRTUGALe eN LISBOA*

The Aranjuez Series

before 1665

- Cat. 56 Titlepage
*Veüë du Palais Jardins, et Fontaine / Darangouesse, Maison de plaisance du / Roy
 d'Espagne, lieu tres curieux pour la grand^e / abondance de ses Eaux, et pour la grande /
 quantité des figures de Bronze, et de Marbre. // Dedié a haut et puissant Seigneur / Messire
 Roger du Plessis, chevalier des / Ordres du Roy, premier Gentilhomme / de la chambre de
 sa Majesté, Seigneur / de Liancourt Duc de la Rocheguion / Comte de Durestal. // L.
 Meusnier del. et, Sculp.*
- Cat. 57 The Royal Palace of Aranjuez
Veüë du Palais D'arangouesse
- Cat. 58 The Fountain of Hercules and Hydra
Veüë de la grande Fontaine D'arangouesse
- Cat. 59 The Apollo Fountain
Veüë de la Fontaine de Gongre, à Arangouesse.
- Cat. 60 View of the Central Allée in the Jardín de la Isla, Aranjuez
*Veüë des Parterres, et Fontaines appellé les follies; à Arangouesse , à quatre lieüe de
 Madril.*
- Cat. 61 The Fountain of Neptune
Veue de la Fontaine de Neptune, à Arangouesse .
- Cat. 62 The Fountain of the Tritons
Veüë de la Fontaine des Tritons, à Arangouesse .

- Cat. 63 The Fountain of Bacchus
Veüë de la Fontaine de Bachus, à Arangouesse .
- Cat. 64 The Fountain of the Boy with the Thorn
Veüë de la Fontaine de Lépine
- Cat. 65 The Fountain of Venus
Veüë de la Fontaine de Dom Jouan D'autriche, à Arangouesse .

The Profile Views Series

ca. 1665–68

- Cat. 66 View of Madrid
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE MADRY, CAPITALLE DU ROYAUME D'ESPAGNE // avec privilege du Roy
- Cat. 67 View of Toledo
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE TOLEDE CAPITALLE DU ROYAUME DE LA VIELLEE CASTILLE . // Avec privilege du Roy
- Cat. 68 View of Segovia
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SIGOVIE, EN ESPAGNE . // Avec privilege du Roy .
- Cat. 69 View of Zafra
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SAFRA, EN ESPAGNE . // Avec privilege du Roy .
- Cat. 70 View of Badajoz
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE BADAIOS, EN ESPAGNE . // Avec privilege du Roy .
- Cat. 71 View of Granada
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE GRENADE CAPITALLE DU ROYAUME DE GRENADE EN ESPAGNE . // Avec privilege du Roy .
- Cat. 72 View of Seville
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE SEVILLE EN ESPAGNE // Avec privilege du Roy .

Cat. 73 View of Écija & View of Turin
PROFIL DE LA VILLE D'ESSIA EN ESPAGNE . // PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE TURIN . //
Avec privilege du Roy .

Cat. 74 View of Florence
PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE FLORANCE . // avec privilege du Roy .

The Van Merle Iberian Series

1668

Cat. 75 View of the Cathedral and the Torre del Oro, Seville
Veüe et perspective de la grand Eglise de Seville en Espagne, et dune partie de la ville. // A
Paris chez van Merle, rue S. Iacques a la ville d'Anvers. // Dessigné et gravé sur les lieux
par L. Meusnier. 1668 // Avec privil. Du Roy

Cat. 76 View of the Port of Cádiz
Veüe dune partie de la ville de Cadis en Espagne, du costé du port. // van Merle exc.

Cat. 77 View of the Ribeira Palace and the Praça do Comércio, Lisbon
Veüe et Perspective du Palais du Roy de Portugal a Lisbonne. // van Merle excudit

Cat. 78 View of the Palácio do Principe, Lisbon
Veüe et Perspective du Palais du frere du Roy de Portugal a Lisbonne. // van Merle exc.

Cat. 79 The Court of the Myrtles, the Alhambra
Veüe et perspective du Palais et des Bains, des anciens Roys Mores, a Grenade. // van
Merle excud.

Cat. 80 The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra
Veüe du Palais des anciens Roys Mores de Grenade, et de la Fontaine des Lions // van
Merle excud.

Views of Paris and Italy

after 1670

- Cat. 81 The Cour Carrée, the Louvre Palace
Veüe du Louvre par le Dedans.
- Cat. 82 View of the Val-de-Grâce Church Façade
Veüe du grand Portail et de l'Eglise du Val de Grace // van Merle ex.
- Cat. 83 View of the Tuileries Palace from the Left Bank
L. Meunier del. et Sculp // Veüe du Palais des Thuileries du Costé des Parteres.
- Cat. 84 View of the Luxembourg Palace, Paris
Veüe du Palais d'Orleans du Costé du Parterre // avec Privil du Roy.
- Cat. 85 View of the Church and Monastery of Val-de-Grâce, Paris
Veüe du Val de Grace du Costé de la Campagne et du Couuent des Capucins
- Cat. 86 View of the Triumphal Arch of Saint-Antoine
Arc de la Corte S^t. Antoine [handwritten inscription]
- Cat. 87 View of the Collège des Quatre-Nations
Veüe du College et de l'Eglise des quatre Nations. // van Merle ex.
- Cat. 88 View of the Façade of the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, after Barrière
Veüe de l'Entreé du Palais de Frascati proche de Rome.
- Cat. 89 View of the Rear Façade and Gardens of the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, after Barrière
Veüe du Palais de Frascati du costé du Jardin à Rome.
- Cat. 90 View of the Entrance Façade of the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome
van Merle ex. Avec privil. // Veue de l'Entreé du Palais de Pamphile à Rome. // L. Meunier Sculp.
- Cat. 91 View of the Amphitheatre in the Gardens of the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome
Veue de l'Amphiteatre du Palais de Pamphile à Rome.

- Cat. 92 Veue de la Grotte dans le Jardin de la Vigne Pamphile, à Rome
[untraced – cited by Mariette, *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V*, vol. 2, p. 410]
- Cat. 93 View of the Principal Façade of San Lorenzo de El Escorial
Veüe de l'Entreé de Lescurial en Espagne.

The Walloon Series

before 1682

- Cat. 94 View of the Château de Durtal, Maine-et-Loire, with a hunt in the foreground
Veüë du Chasteau de Durestalle en Anjou appartenant a M^r. le Duc de Liencourt. // L. meuNier fe. // Le Meunier ad vivum delin. Et Sculp.
- Cat. 95 View of the Canal de la Sauvenière from the Pont d'Île in Liège
Veüë de dessus le petit pont de la ville de Liege. // Le Meunier ad vivum delin. Et sculp.
- Cat. 96 View of Walzin Castle from the banks of the River Lesse, Dinant
Veüë du Chasteau de Dinan, appartenant au Prince de Liege, / sur la Riviere de Meusse.

Uncategorised

- Cat. 97 View of the Château de La Rochefoucauld, Charente
Veüe du Chateau et d'une Partie de la Ville de la Rochefoucaux en Angoumois. Designé au natural et gravé par Louis Meunier.
- Cat. 98 View of the Château de Magny, Guiscard, Oise (demolished 19th century)
Veüe du Chasteau de Magny en Picardie // Dessigné sur les lieux et Gravé par L. Musnier
- Cat. 99 View of the Château de Magny, its Moat and Gardens
Veüe du Chasteau de Magny du coste des parterres. // Dessigné au Naturel et gravé par L. Musnier

- Cat. 100 Plan or Bird's-Eye View of the Château de Magny, its Gardens and Avenues
Plan general en vue d'oyseau du château, jardins et avenues de Magny, en Picardie, dessiné sur les lieux et gravé par L. Musnier
[BnF le "pré-inventaire" des graveurs français du XVIIe siècle; cited by Mariette, *Catalogues de la collection d'estampes de Jean V*, vol. 2, p. 410]
- Cat. 101 View of Lisbon
Profil de la Ville de Lisbonne Capitalle du Royaume de Portugal et la plus célèbre de toutes les Espagnes // Vista de real Ciudad Lisboa // Designé et gravé par Louis Meunier. // Designé au natural et gravé par Louis Meunier
[BnF le "pré-inventaire" des graveurs français du XVIIe siècle; cited by Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, no. 79 p. 295]
- Cat. 102 Grotte de Vallon des Carmes, Barjols, Var
Veüé de la Chapelle de Nostre dame de bon Refuge de la ville de Barioulx en Povençe.
[untraced – cited by Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 5, no. 88 p. 299]