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A REDISCOVERED PORTRAIT OF HENRIETTA-ANNE OF ENGLAND:
MUSIC, PORTRAITURE, AND THE ARTS
AT THE COURT OF FRANCE*

1. Mysteries of a portrait: the music, the model, the painter

A few years ago, I had the good fortune to discover this portrait of a woman holding a songbook (fig. 1) kept in the Bouges castle (Indre).¹ The painting represents a young lady richly adorned, facing three quarters right. She holds a book of vocal music, pointedly showing the open page to the spectators. In the upper left corner of the musical score is the name “Mr. Lambert” (fig. 2).



fig. 1: Jean Nocret (?) Portrait of Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans (?). Oil on canvas, 1668 (?). Castle of Bouges (Indre). Photo: © Centre des Monuments nationaux



fig. 2: Painted music score with air by Michel Lambert, *J'avais déjà passé près d'un jour*. Detail of fig. 1. Photo: © Centre des Monuments nationaux

* Revised version of my contribution to the *Mélanges Massip* (Gétreau 2012). Translation by Frederick Hadley. A preliminary report has been presented at the international conference *Le corti in Europa. Iconografia musicale e potere principesco, 1400–1700*, IMS Study Group on Musical Iconography in European Art, in cooperation with Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, Torino, 23–25 May 2011.

1 Inv. Bou1995100087. Oil on canvas, 86 x 70,5 cm. – The building was bequeathed in 1971 by Henri Viguiier to the Centre des Monuments Historiques.

In the following article I will reassess the findings that were published 2012 in an homage to Catherine Massip and which have to do with the identification of the music represented and the probable identities of the painting's subject and author. But in this article, I would also like to present a diversity of literary as well as figurative 'images', according to which our protagonist is transformed into a 'heroine' and even into a dazzling 'star' of the Sun-King's Olympus,² a kind of constantly renewed incarnation of different mythological figures, and even deities.³

1.1. The music

The music and the words represented in the painting are legible, and it was easy to identify Michel Lambert's *air* 'J'avais déjà passé près d'un jour sans la voir', which Catherine Massip mentions several times in her book about the composer.⁴ She points out that the words were written by Matthieu de La Tuillière, and that Lambert's *air*, dated to 1666, also appears in the composer's *Livre d'airs* published in 1689.

In her catalogue of *Livres d'airs de différents auteurs* published by Robert Ballard, Anne-Madeleine Goulet lists seven different literary and musical versions of this piece and notes that four of them include a second verse. In addition to providing an extremely detailed description of the work from both a literary and a musical point of view, Goulet transcribes the poem's two stanzas:⁵

J'avois déjà passé près d'un jour sans la voir,
Et ma raison flatoit mon cœur du vain espoir,
Que je vivrois ainsi le reste de ma vie:
Mais sur la fin du jour, j'ay rencontré Silvie,
Et malgré mon depit, & malgré sa rigueur,
Ses beaux yeux ont seduit ma raison, & mon cœur.

Mon cœur trop méprisé s'en plaignoit en tous lieux,
Et ma raison, d'un autre objet esperant mieux,
Me reprochoit le temps que je l'avois servie,
Mais sur la fin, &c.

The oldest known version of this *air de cour* (both words and music), printed by Ballard in 1666 in the ninth *Livres d'airs de différents auteurs*,⁶ is for one voice (G clef on the second line) with a bass (F-clef on the third line) (*fig. 3*), and it features no bar lines.

2 Néraudau 1986.

3 For the metaphors of "Astre de la Cour" and "Heroïne" see below, notes 42 and 45.

4 Massip 1999: 158, 160, 161.

5 Goulet 2007: 434 (no. 1666-03). Translation: "I had already spent almost a day without seeing her, and my reason flattered my heart with the vain hope that I would live thus for the rest of my life. But, at the closing of the day, I met Silvie, and despite my disappointment and despite her strictness her pretty eyes ensnared my reason and my heart. My too despised heart complained of it everywhere, and my reason, hoping for better from another object, rebuked me for the time I spent serving her. But in the end, etc."

6 Ballard 1666, fols. 3v and 4r. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique, Rés. Vm⁷ 284 [8]. Goulet 2007: 434 (no. 1666-03, source A); Guillo 2003: 628–9.

A I R S.

'Avois déjà passé près d'un
 jour sans la voir, Et ma rai- son flatoit mon cœur du
 vain espoir, Que je viurois ain- si le reste
 de ma vi- e: e: Mais sur la fin du jour,
 j'ay rencontré Silui- e, Et malgré mon de-
 pit, & malgré la rigueur, Ses beaux yeux ont se-
 duit, ont seduit ma rai- son, ma rai- son, &
 mon cœur. cœur.

fig. 3: *l'Avois déjà passé près d'un jour sans la voir*. Ballard 1666, fol. 3^r.
 Photo: © BnF

That same year, Bertrand de Bacilly included these two stanzas of verse set to an 'Air de M. Lambert' (fig. 4) in his *Recueil des plus beaux vers mis en chant* published by Robert Ballard and Étienne Loyson, the second title page of which is *Nouveau recueil*

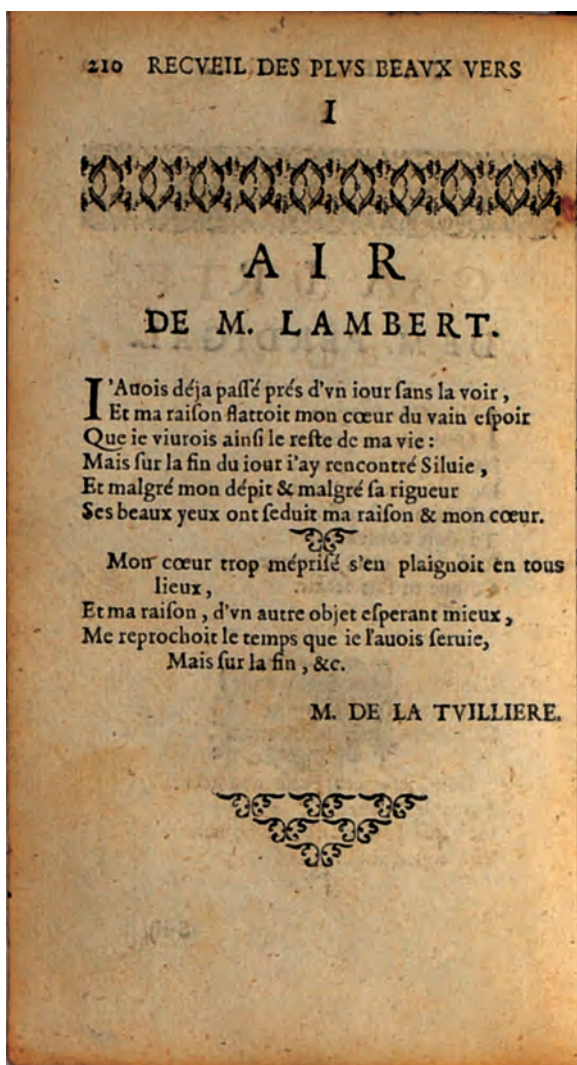


fig. 4: *J’avois déjà passé prés d’un iours sans la voir*. Bacilly 1666: 210.

Photo: © BnF

teenth or the early eighteenth century, and may represent the Duchess of Montpensier. As we shall see, however, the author of the painting, its date and the identification of the person represented must all be called into question.

There exist many effigies of Anne-Marie-Louise of Orléans, Duchess of Montpensier (1627–93), also known as ‘La Grande Mademoiselle’, even from around the time when Michel Lambert’s tune was composed, about 1666. One example is an engraving executed in 1666 by Pierre Louis Van Schuppen (1627–1702) (fig. 6)⁹ after a painting long thought to be a work of Pierre Mignard’s school but which has recently been attributed to Gilbert de Sève (1615–98) (fig. 7).¹⁰ It shows, despite the painter’s efforts, that

*des plus beaux airs de cour, I.*⁷ The volume was dedicated to Christophe du Mesnil-Montmor, Conseiller au Parlement. Christophe Ballard published the song again in *Airs de M. Lambert à 1, 2, 3 et 4 parties*, in 1689,⁸ this time in a version for two voices with the continuo and in a solo version also with bass (fig. 5).

It is Ballard’s first version (fig. 3) that seems to be closest to the hand-written music as represented in the Bouges painting. There is nevertheless a general problem: apart from “J’avois déjà passé prés d’” and “Mais”, the rest of the text in the painting is not really readable, preventing thus a detailed understanding of the differences between the two versions. When comparing the depicted hand-written version and the 1666 print, we also notice that the disposition of the different staves is not the same—the *recto* (which is invisible to the spectator’s gaze) certainly transmits part of the second stave of the vocal part.

1.2. The model

According to the documentation from the Centre des Monuments Historiques, this painting comes from Pierre Mignard’s (1612–95) workshop; it is dated from the end of the seven-

7 Bacilly 1666: 210. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique, Rés. Vm Coirault-166. Goulet 2007: 434 (no. 1666-03, source B); Guillo 2003: 793 (RVC10) and 2004: 52–79.

8 Ballard 1689: 102–3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique, Vm⁷ 509. Massip 1999: 158; Goulet 2007: 434 (no. 1666-03, source C).

9 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. LP 33-4.

10 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. 6697, MV 3476. Bajou 1998: 100–1.

VOIX SEULE.

J'Avois déjà passé près d'un jour sans la voir, Et ma raison fla-

BASSE CONTINUE.

toit mon cœur du vain espoir Que je vivrais ainsi le reste de ma vi- e :

BASSE CONTINUE.

e : Mais sur la fin du jour j'ay rencontré Silvi- e, Et malgré mon dé-

BASSE CONTINUE.

pit, & malgré sa rigueur, Ses beaux yeux ont séduit, ont séduit ma rai-

BASSE CONTINUE.

son, ma rai- son & mon cœur. cœur. Mais

BASSE CONTINUE.

Mon cœur trop méprisé s'en plaignoit en tous lieux,
 Et ma raison d'un autre objet esperant mieux
 Me reprochoit le temps que je l'avois servi:
 Mais sur la fin du jour j'ay rencontré Silvie,
 Et malgré mon dépit & malgré sa rigueur,
 Ses beaux yeux ont séduit ma raison & mon cœur



fig. 5: J'Avois déjà passé près d'un jour sans la voir. Lambert 1689: 103.

Photo: © BnF



fig. 6: Pierre-Louis Van Schuppen (after Gilbert de Sève), *Anne-Marie-Louise of Orléans, Duchess of Montpensier*. Etching, 1666.
Photo: © BnF



fig. 7: Gilbert de Sève, *Anne-Marie-Louise of Orléans, Duchess of Montpensier*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
Photo: © RMN, Daniel Arnaudet & Gérard Blot



fig. 8: Circle of Pierre Mignard (Jean Nocret?), *Anne-Marie-Louise of Orléans, Duchess of Montpensier, holding the portrait of her father, Gaston of Orléans*. Oil on canvas. Museum of Trévoux, on loan from Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
Photo: © RMN, Daniel Arnaudet & Gérard Blot

by 1666 the princess was no longer in her prime and that her features, though certainly noble, were almost unattractive. A large painting realized by Pierre Mignard's circle, perhaps by Jean Nocret, also represents her holding a portrait of her father, Duke Gaston of Orléans (fig. 8).¹¹ An oil on canvas by Pierre Bourguignon (1630–98) from around 1672, portrays her as Minerva wearing a helmet with a sumptuous panache, a grandiloquent protector of the arts who again displays the oval portrait of her father.¹²

None of these four portraits bears any resemblance to the lady of the Bouges castle. The latter has brown eyes, whereas those of the 'Grande Mademoiselle' were blue, as can easily be seen in her authenticated portraits. Furthermore, her features are much less graceful

and not as fine, and her gaze betrays nothing of the youth and vivacity of our model. Admittedly, the links between the daughter of Gaston of Orléans and Michel Lambert were numerous, as Catherine Massip (1995) has demonstrated. But surely Dominique Brème is correct in his opinion that the Bouges painting does not represent the 'Grande

11 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. 6696. MV 2163. This portrait is kept at the museum of Trévoux.
12 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3504.

Mademoiselle'. Brème wondered in 2009 if it in fact portrays Henrietta-Maria of France (Henriette-Marie de France, 1609–69), the sister of Gaston of Orléans, and wife of King Charles I of England.¹³ A great many portraits of her have also been preserved. This suggestion is interesting, given the greater resemblance seen for example in the two portrait miniatures kept at the Louvre museum (figs. 9/10). However, the queen of England's age around 1666 (she was then fifty seven years old) cannot correspond to that of the young woman depicted on our painting.



figs. 9/10: Anonymous English miniaturist, *Henrietta-Maria of France*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 30987 and RF 35731
Photos: © RMN, Gérard Blot

This age discrepancy accounts for my proposal that the Bouges painting represents in fact her daughter, Henrietta-Anne of England (Henriette d'Angleterre, 1644–70). She was regularly portrayed and, no matter the author of the painting or engraving, the strong resemblance with the Bouges model is readily observable: Claude Mellan (1598–1688),¹⁴ Nicolas Mignard (?) (1606–68),¹⁵ Jacques Grignon (c. 1640–after 1698; fig. 11),¹⁶ an anonymous author in 1663 (fig. 12),¹⁷ Gaspard (Caspar) Netscher (1639–84)¹⁸ and a member of the workshops of either Jean Nocret (1617–72) or the



fig. 11: Jacques Grignon, *Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans*. Engraving, after 1661.

Photo: © BnF

13 Written statement, November 2009.

14 Préaud 1988: 126, no. 184 (first print).

15 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3502. Bajou 1998: 86–7.

16 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, N^o.

17 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, N^o, Fol. Vol. 1410.

18 Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. PE 142.



HENRIETTE D'ANGLETERRE, DUCHESSE D'ORLÉANS.
 Dernière fille de Charles premier du Nord, Roy de la Grande Bretagne et de France.
 Mère de France, Mariée à Philippe le Grand, le 28. Juin 1662. accompagnée de sa
 Mère, les quellez se voyent par elle en France. Elle mourut le 17. Mars 1682.
 Elle fut la Grande Duchesse d'Orléans, sœur unique du Roy.

fig. 12: Anonymous, *Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans*. Engraving, 1663.
 Photo: © BnF



fig. 13: Workshop of Noret or the Beaubrun brothers, *Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans, with her dog Mimy*.
 Oil on canvas, c. 1663. Versailles, Château de Versailles et de Trianon.
 Photo: © RMN, Daniel Arnaudet & Gérard Blot

Beaubrun¹⁹ brothers (fig. 13)—all of these artists represented the princess' features not long after her wedding with the king's brother, Philippe of Orléans. The resemblance with her mother is striking, particularly the shape of the nose and mouth. Like her, she wears a short pearl necklace, which she would keep all her life, and precious ear-pendants like "grosses perles en poire".²⁰ She is often represented with her little dog Mimy, who was so famous that he is mentioned in Benserade's 1666 libretto of the *Ballet des Muses*.²¹

The last child of Charles I of England and Henriette Marie de France, Henrietta-Anne was born in Exeter just after her mother had escaped the Parliament's army. When she was two years old, Henrietta-Anne joined her mother in France, where she received an austere education at the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary (Couvent des Visitandines)

19 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 2083. Constant 1995, vol. 2: 685, no. 3854. Attributed to Jean Noret. A replica of this painting can be seen at the National Portrait Gallery in London, another is at Chantilly, Musée Condé. It is attributed to Pierre Mignard.

20 See the impressive list of jewels, rings, chains and necklaces in the inventory made after the princess's death, dated February 16th, 1671 (*Inventaire 1671*, fols. 90–115).

21 "Qu'icy tous les respects plus profonds s'assemblent / Dans un cœur, un tel cœur n'en à pas à demy, / Tous les Loups tremblent devant Mimy*." The explication to be found in the respective note (asterisk) reads as follows: "C'est le petit chien de Madame" (Benserade 1666: 33–4, "Vers sur la Personne & le Personnage de ceux qui dansent au Ballet, IV Entrée. Berger, et Bergères. Pour Madame, Bergère").

in Chaillot. She married Philippe of Orléans in the Palais-Royal in March 1661 and immediately conquered the Court's hearts with her beauty, her subtle mind, her taste for the arts and her gift for conversation. The king, too, was very attracted to her, courted her (in particular during the summer of 1661 in Fontainebleau) and often opened the Court balls with her at his side. She served as an alibi for him when he fell in love with Mademoiselle de La Vallière, one of her ladies-in-waiting, and visited the latter in her apartments. Henrietta had an affair with Anthony III of Gramont, count of Guiche (1604–78) who was quickly removed from Versailles and the Court in 1665. For her whole life, it would prove difficult to quiet the various intrigues (and the flow of satirical writings and songs) brought about by her youthful femininity, her power of seduction and her probably frivolous behavior.

Many literary accounts cover her short existence. She died in July 1670 when she was barely 26, not of poisoning—said to have been ordered by her jealous husband who had little taste for women—but more probably of peritonitis. Madame de La Fayette's biography, *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre*, written between 1665 and 1669, is probably one of the most famous, reflecting their mutual great friendship and their secrets. The famous writer praises the princess as well as her gift for pleasing, her grace and her intelligence:²²

Les charmes étoient répandus en toute sa personne, dans ses actions et dans son esprit; et jamais princesse n'a été si également capable de se faire aimer des hommes et adorer des femmes.

En croissant, sa beauté augmenta aussi; en sorte que, quand le mariage du Roi fut achevé, celui de Monsieur et d'elle fut résolu. Il n'y avait rien à la Cour qu'on pût lui comparer.

The author confirms the king's fondness for his sister-in-law, who returned his affection:²³

Comme ils étoient tous deux nés avec des dispositions galantes, qu'ils se voyaient tous les jours, au milieu des plaisirs et des divertissements, il parut aux yeux de tout le monde qu'ils avoient l'un pour l'autre cet agrément qui précède d'ordinaire les grandes passions.

Madame de La Fayette gives us also a subtle chronicle of the princess' feelings and of the Court's intrigues and distractions. Her closeness to the king is confirmed by the royal almanacs of 1667 and 1670, in which Henrietta appears next to her husband, always in the second row, but very close to the king and queen. In the almanac for the leap year 1668, which celebrates with a concert of nations *La Glorieuse Campagne de l'année M.D.C.67*, Hen-

22 La Fayette 1720: 38 (1988: 38–9). Translation: "Charm was spread throughout her person, was in her actions and her mind; and never was a princess so able to make herself both loved by men and adored by women. As she grew up, so did her beauty grow; in such a way that when the king's wedding was over, it was decided that she should marry his brother. There was nothing in the Court that could be compared to her."

23 La Fayette 1720: 55 (1988: 45). Translation: "Because they were both born with gallant leanings, because they saw each other every day amidst pleasures and distractions, it was clear to all that they had one for another that attraction which ordinarily precedes the greatest passions."



fig. 14: *La Glorieuse Campagne de l'année M.D.C.67*.
Royal almanac for the year 1668, etching.
Photo: © BnF



fig. 15: Portrait of Henrietta-Anne of England,
Duchess of Orléans. Detail of fig. 14.
Photo: © BnF



fig. 16: *Estrene A Monseigneur le Dauphin / Minerve déesse
des Sciences Et des Vertus*. Royal Almanac for the year 1670,
etching.
Photo: © BnF



fig. 17: Portrait of Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans.
Detail of fig. 16.
Photo: © BnF

rietta is placed immediately behind Queen Maria Theresa and the Dauphin (fig. 14).²⁴ With the exception of the king, she is the one who looks at the spectator with the most intense gaze (fig. 15). In the 1670 almanac, entitled *Estrene à Monseigneur le Dauphin or Minerve déesse des Sciences et des Vertus*, she is placed with her husband just behind the easel on which Minerva is painting the king and several virtues (fig. 16).²⁵ Here again, the spectator's gaze focuses on her (fig. 17).

1.3. The painter

Having rejected Mignard's authorship for the Bouges castle painting, or even that of his close circle, Dominique Brème encourages us to search in the direction "d'un proche de Jean Nocret, si ce n'est Jean Nocret lui-même" (see note 13). Nocret (1615–72) was indeed first and foremost the royal family's portrait painter and interior decorator: he was responsible for the decoration of the queen's home in the Tuileries between 1666 and 1669 (in which the Minerva iconography predominates) as well as the homes of the king's brother, Philippe of Orléans, and his wife, both in Saint-Cloud and at the Palais-Royal. A biographical sketch in Guillet de Saint Georges' (1624–1705) hand-written notebook kept at the Académie de Peinture²⁶ shows that Nocret was appointed to the office of painter to the king and attendant in 1649. He was also painter and attendant to the Duke of Orléans as well as financial supervisor for the home of Lady Henrietta of England. Regarding his paintings for Saint-Cloud castle we read:²⁷

En 1660 il peignit à Saint-Cloud cinq pièces de plain-pied, qui sont à présent l'appartement de madame. Dans la première pièce, qui est un passage ou étoient autrefois les bains, il fit au plafond le sujet d'Iris avec son arc-en-ciel et tous ses accompagnements; dans l'antichambre, un tableau sur le sujet de Flore; dans la chambre, un plafond où paroit le dieu Mars qui revient de ses conquêtes, accompagné de Vénus; dans le grand cabinet, quatre tableaux. Le premier représente Thétis qui fait forger les armes d'Achille par Vulcain; le second Persée et Andromède; le troisième Apollon accompagné des neuf muses; le quatrième Diane sur un char. Dans un grand salon, un plafond, où, sous des figures allégoriques, est représenté le mariage de Monsieur avec feu Madame.

The allegorical figures representing the king's brother and Henrietta's wedding could well be a now lost painting representing them as *Diane et Endymion*.²⁸ It echoes precisely

24 Paris: Balthazar Montcomet, rue Saint Jacques, 1668 (chisel, etching on copper). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Rés. Qb-201 (49), coll. Hennin 4467.

25 Paris: N. Regnesson, rue Saint Jacques (etching and chisel). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Rés. Qb-201 (50), coll. Hennin 4532.

26 Ed. by Dussieux 1854, vol. 1: 312–15.

27 Ibid., 314. Translation: "In 1660 he painted five ground floor rooms in Saint-Cloud which are now Madame's apartment. On the ceiling in the first room, which is a passage-way where the bath was before, he took as subject Iris with her rainbow and all her following; in the anteroom, a painting of Flora; in the bedroom, a ceiling where the God Mars returning from his conquests appears accompanied by Venus; in the grand cabinet, four paintings. The first represents Thetis who is having Achilles' weapons forged by Vulcan; the second Perseus and Andromeda; the third Apollo accompanied by the Nine Muses; the fourth Diana on a chariot. In the great living room, a ceiling where the wedding of Monsieur with the late Madame is represented with allegorical figures."



fig. 18: Jean Nocret, *Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans, as Allegory of Spring*.
Oil on canvas, 1660, probably painted for Saint-Cloud castle.
Photo: Galerie Jean-Max Tassel, Paris

the 1661 *Ballet des Saisons*, for which Bensarade and Lully chose the young couple. The subject of Flora could be identified with an allegory of Spring (with Henrietta's unmistakable traits) that was shown at the Jean-Max Tassel gallery in Paris in 1992 and at the Maastricht European Fine Art Fair in 1993²⁹ (fig. 18). The other painting, of monumental proportions, was made by Nocret only after the princess passed away (see below, fig. 35).

As a proof of Henrietta's fondness for Jean Nocret, we can see in the inventory made after the princess's death³⁰ (figs. 19/20) that he was among the creditors who had not entirely been paid for their supplies: "A Nocret son peintre la somme de neuf mil cinq cent trente livres" (fig. 21).



fig. 19: *Inventaire 1671*, detail of the binding spines.
Photo: © Gétéreau,
by courtesy of Archives nationales

- 28 Oil on canvas, 94 x 120 cm. Its current location is unknown. See Brème 1997: 100. It can probably be compared with the painting mentioned in the inventory after Henrietta's death: "Un tableau representant Monsieur et feu Madame en Diane et [Endymion] de trois pieds huit pouces de long sur trois pieds de haut" (*Inventaire 1671*, fol. 322).
- 29 Advertisement in *L'Estampille - L'objet d'art*, May 1992: 15 (ill.).
- 30 *Inventaire 1671*, starting on February 16th.

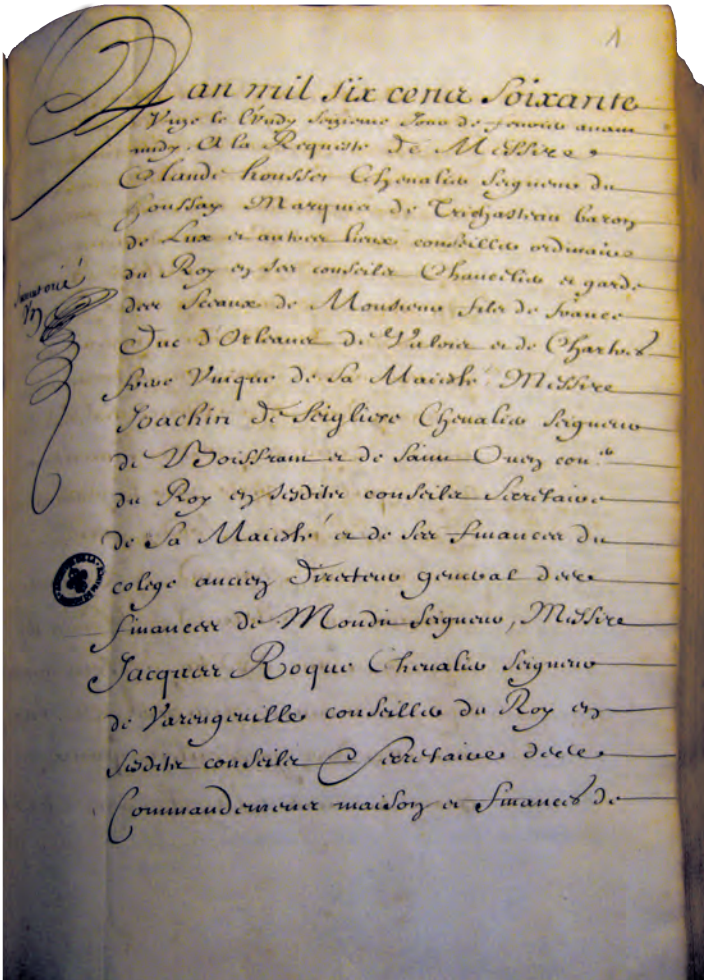


fig. 20: Inventaire 1671, fol. 4, first page of the inventory.
Photo: © Gétreau, by courtesy of Archives nationales

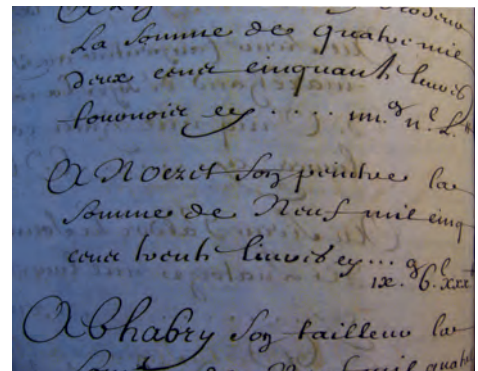


fig. 21: Inventaire 1671, fol. 393, amounts due to the painter Noret.
Photo: © Gétreau, by courtesy of Archives nationales

The somewhat suave style and the undeniable elegance which characterize the painter's official portraits³¹ are not very different from the Bouges painting. In addition to considerations of Noret's gallant, refined style, as well as his career (since the painter dedicated nearly all his artistic output to members of the family of Orléans), another

31 "Mièvrerie courtoisane", to use Thierry Bajou's term (1998: 124).

element argues in favor of such an attribution. Charles Robinet, the gazetteer who succeeded Jean Loret in May 1665, dedicated his February 11th, 1668 *Lettre en vers à Madame* to a portrait of Her Highness painted by Nocret that he had just received from the model herself (either as a real ‘gift’ or, more probably, handed over by Henrietta for the only purpose to make him compose an eulogy on her beauty as mirrored in the canvas):³²

Dans un Cadre poli, Cadre d’or fort luisant,
Ayant fait colloquer votre illustre Peinture,
Pour honorer ce cher Présent
Du plus digne Rival qu’on voye à la Nature,
MADAME, avec respect, en m’inclinant tout bas,
Je demande audience à ses rares Appas
Et commençant les Vers dont je vous doit l’offrande;
Et, semblant favorable à mes justes souhaits,
Voici comment je viens, belle ALTESSE, à peu près,
De lui réciter ma légende

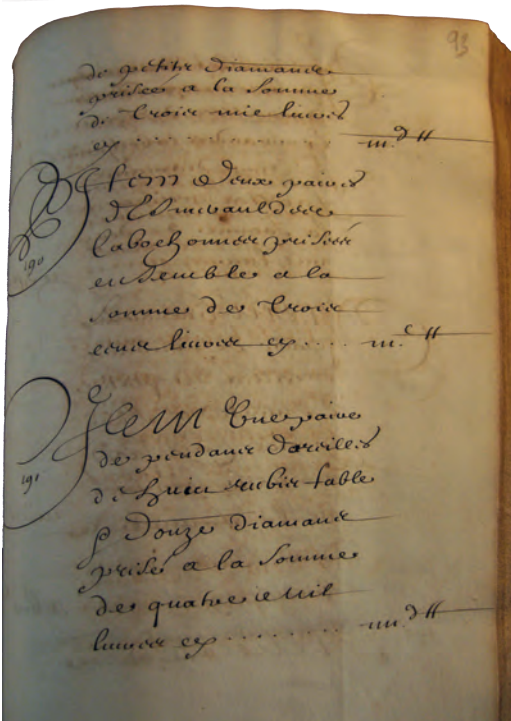


fig. 22: *Inventaire* 1671, fol. 93, mention of jewelry.
Photo: © Gétreau, by courtesy of Archives nationales

Merveilleux & charmant Portrait,
Fameux Ouvrage de NOCRET,
Par qui, comme d’un autre Appelle,
Sa gloire doit être immortelle,
Vôtre divin Original
A Samedi, donné le Bal
Dans sa magnifique Antichambre
[...]
Madame, voilà ma Légende,
Qu’à toute ouye, enfin, vôtre obligeant Portrait,
Avec attention si grande
Que j’en suis plus que satisfait [...].

Robinet also mentions “éclatans Ornaments De Perles & de Diamans”.³³ In this respect, what is described as “Quatre vingt pierres de chaisne de petits diamants a table et a facettes” in the *Inventaire*³⁴ (fig. 22), perfectly corresponds to the diamond necklace depicted in the Bouges portrait (see above, fig. 1)—at least more closely than to the painting in Versailles that is sometimes attributed to the same artist (see above, fig. 13). In any case, here is an attrac-

32 *Continueurs de Loret* 1899: 43–50 (quotations to be found on pages 43 and 50). Translation: “In a polished frame, frame of brightly shining gold, having dialogued with your celebrated painting, to honor this dear gift of the most worthy rival one can see to nature, Madame, with respect, I bend down low. I beg for an audience to its rare charms, and starting the verses which I owe you the gift of. And, seeming to agree to my just wishes, here is how I have, beautiful Highness, approximately recited my caption. Wonderful and charming portrait, famous work by Nocret through which, like another call, his glory must be immortal. Your divine original, on Saturday gave the ball in her beautiful anteroom [...]. Madame, here is my caption, for which your obliging portrait finally listened to with such great attention that I was more than satisfied [...].”

33 *Ibid.*, 45.

34 *Inventaire* 1671, fol. 102.

tive hypothesis: that the painting is a work of the official painter of the Duke and Duchess of Orléans, and that it is the one that she gave her faithful gazetteer in 1668, two years after Lambert had composed the *air de cour* seen in the pretty princess's hands—leaving open the additional question of what sort of love is hidden within the hand-written songbook of Lambert's *plus beaux airs de cours*, a love that languishes for its mysterious Silvie?³⁵ Could it refer to Anthony III of Gramont, Count of Guiche? Or even to the king?

2. Henrietta, the arts and the gods

2.1. The music

Sir John Resesby was the first to provide a few details on the princess' education and talent. In his *Memoirs*, first published in 1734 and reprinted in 1813, Resesby describes how he first met the young lady during his stay in Paris in 1652:³⁶

Besides, speaking the language of that country and dancing passably well, the young Princess, then aged about fifteen years, used me with all the civil freedom that might be, made me dance with her, played on the harpsichord to me in her highness's chamber, suffered me to attend upon her as she was walked in the garden with the rest of her retinue, and sometimes to toss her in a swing made of a cable which she sat upon, tied between two trees, and in fine suffered me to be present at most of her innocent diversions.

A solid musical education was the basis of the ease with which this king's daughter took part in her husband's private music. From 1657, the Duke of Orléans had in his service Étienne Richard (c. 1621–69), a member of the famous family of organists. Richard was a violinist and *maître joueur d'épinette de la Chambre* (he taught the king the harpsichord) starting in 1657³⁷; he became the harpsichordist attached to Madame's home from 1663.³⁸

Henrietta's correspondence with her brother Charles II, king of England, reveals that she also practiced singing and playing the guitar. He thus wrote on April 29th, 1660 to his "Dear Minette":³⁹

Thank you for the song that you have sent me, I do not know if it is pretty, as Janton has not yet learned it [...].

Her taste for *airs de cour* must have been genuine, as Bertrand de Bacilly dedicated his *Premier livre d'airs* in 1662 to her.⁴⁰ On May 29th, 1665, Charles II announced that he was sending guitar studies by Francesco Corbetta to his adored sister:⁴¹

35 In the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly the years 1658–61, be it noted, the pretty Silvie was an incarnation of unreachable love—evoked over seventeen times in the *airs de cour* of composers such as Michel Lambert, Bertrand de Bacilly, Étienne Moulinié, Sébastien Le Camus, Jean Mignon, and Robert Cambert. See Goulet 2007: 148–280.

36 Resesby 1875: 42–3.

37 Archives nationales, KK 213, fol. 12. Quoted by Dufourcq 1954: 125.

38 Archives nationales, Z¹³ 519. Dufourcq 1954: 125.

39 Paris, Archives diplomatiques, Archives des Affaires étrangères, Fonds Angleterre (26). Published in Norrington 1996: 36.

40 Bacilly 1662. Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. Partition 8° 2 (previously Cortot no. 39). See Herlin 1995: 11, no. 38.

41 Norrington 1996: 117. For Corbetta, see below.

[...] I have here sent you some lessons for the guittar, which I hope will please you; the Comte de Gramont did carry over with him others, which it may be you have, and as Francesco makes any more that pleases me, I will send them to you [...].

Charles Robinet was a devout admirer of the king's sister-in-law. He chose, admittedly in a chivalrous and obsequious, if not opportunistic approach, to write his bi-monthly chronicles under the title *Lettre en vers à Madame*. The first is an excessive, almost extravagant eulogy, but which demonstrates the princess' growing fame:⁴²

C'est à la Divine Henriette,
A ce grand Astre de la Cour,
Que tu dois écrire en ce jour;
C'est à cette belle Princesse
Que chacun admire sans cesse,
Et qui fait si bien dans ses yeux
Voir qu'elle est du pur Sang des Dieux;
C'est à la Première Madame,
Que joint une sortable Trame, [...]
Elle a plus d'esprit que Minerve [...]

These rather convoluted chronicles have at least the virtue of highlighting the princess' musical activities, while asserting her character and her almost divine ascendancy. Thus, on December 12th, 1665, Robinet recounts a concert given by Leonard Ithier, a lute and viol player, lute master for the choirboys of the Chapel and of the pages of the Chamber from 1664 to his death in 1722.⁴³ According to the libretto of *Princesse d'Élide*, Ithier had taken part in the sixth interlude of Lully's *Les plaisirs de l'île enchantée* on May 7th, 1664,⁴⁴ along with Jean-Henri d'Anglebert, Estienne Richard (both harpsichordists), Pierre Chabanceau de la Barre, Claude Tissu (theorbo) and Antoine Lemoine (bass viol). The lutenist's new fame was confirmed by his invitation to play at Madame's home. According to Robinet's description, only a chosen few, apparently almost all of them women, took part in this *soirée*:⁴⁵

Ne soyez pas, petite Muse,
Ni si folette ni si buse
Qu'en cette Lettre d'oublier

42 *Continueurs de Loret* 1881: 7–9. Translation: "It is to the divine Henrietta, to the great star of the Court, that you must write on this day. It is to this pretty princess that everyone endlessly admires and who shows so well in her eyes that she is of the pure blood of the Gods. It is to the First Lady that I include a presentable plot [...]. She has more wit than Minerva [...]."

43 Benoit 1971: 10 ff and 474; Duron 1986: 41.

44 Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Les plaisirs de l'île enchantée* [...], MS copy by Philidor L'ainé. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. F-531, fol. 168r; see Powell 1996: 17.

45 *Continueurs de Loret* 1881: 484–85 (*Lettre en vers à Madame*, December 12th, 1665). Translation: "Do not be, little Muse, neither foolish nor thick enough to forget in this letter to say that Saturday, Milord Ithier, while playing nearly divinely before our heroine, made the cords of his instrument speak so tenderly [in his hands the King of the theorbos] that, all together, the celestial orbs could not produce sounds as charming as his sweet humming. I dare say more boldly still that Phoebus with his lyre spreads much less sweetness in the learned sisters' ears than Ithier had flowing into those of Madame and her many beauties who in her *ruelle* formed a circle of captivating charms. As I was with these wonders and I was filling my ears, I thought, to speak plainly, that I owed them these verses." (For the meaning of *ruelle*, see below, note 82)

Que, Samedy, le sieur ITHIER,
 Jouant devant nôtre HÉROÏNE
 D'une façons presque divine,
 Faisoit parler si tendrement
 Les cordes de son Instrument
 [Dans ses Mains le Roy des Théorbes]
 Qu'ensemble les célestes Orbes
 Ne pourroyent produire des sons
 Si charmans que ses doux Frédons.

J'ose encor plus hardiment dire
 Que Phoebus avecque sa Lyre
 Distille bien moins de douceurs
 Dans l'Oreil des Doctes Sœurs,
 Qu'Itier n'en fit couler en celles
 De Madame & de maintes Belles
 Qui dans sa Ruelle formoyent
 Un Cercle d'Appas qui charmoient.
 Comme j'estois à ces Merveilles
 Et que j'en remplis mes Oreilles,
 J'ay pensé, pour parler sans fard,
 Lui devoir ces Vers pour ma part.

A week later, Robinet went on again about a concert given at Her Highness:⁴⁶

L'aimable et charmante Uranie
 Par une fine Symphonie
 Et les miracles qu'elle fit,
 N'aguère encor vous y ravit;
 Que ses Violons, ses Violes,
 Qui sembloient former des Paroles,
 Ses Théorbes, ses Clavessins,
 Touchez par de maîtresses mains,
 Sous ses loix faisoient de merveilles
 Pour vos délicates oreilles
 Et que l'on jugeoit aisément,
 Dans ce Concert doux & charmant,
 Qu'elle, ainsi que toute la Troupe,
 Estime avoir le Vent en poupe
 Lors qu'elle peut vous divertir,
 Et c'est aussi, sans en mentir,
 Une Félicité divine
 De vous plaire, ô sage HÉROÏNE.

From 1669 on, Leonard Ithier was ordinary musician of the *Musique de la Chambre* of the Duke of Orléans: first *haute-contre* (high tenor voice) until 1688, then singing *taille basse* from 1689 to 1699.⁴⁷

46 *Continueurs de Loret* 1881: 509 (*Lettre en vers à Madame*, December 20th, 1665). Translation: "The amiable and charming Urania again ravished you with a fine symphony and the miracles she performed. How her violins, her viols, which seemed to form words, her theorbos and her harpsichords, touched by masterful hands under her laws, made wonders for your delicate ears. And it was easily judged in this sweet and charming concert that she, as well as all her company, saw her riding high as she entertained them. And it is also, in truth, a divine bliss to please you, o wise heroine."

47 See Kocevcar 2003: 114 ff.

A testimony of Ithier’s intimacy with the Duke of Orléans and his wife Henrietta is a delightful fan—Henrietta’s *toilette* (fig. 23)—that shows in lush detail her bedroom and furniture, with paintings decorating the walls, and her little cavalier King-Charles spaniel wearing his usual red bow around his neck. In all likelihood, Leonard Ithier himself is comfortably sitting in a high-back chair, with his legs crossed and playing the theorbo, while Henrietta, in the midst of having her hair done, turns quite naturally towards him (fig. 24).⁴⁸

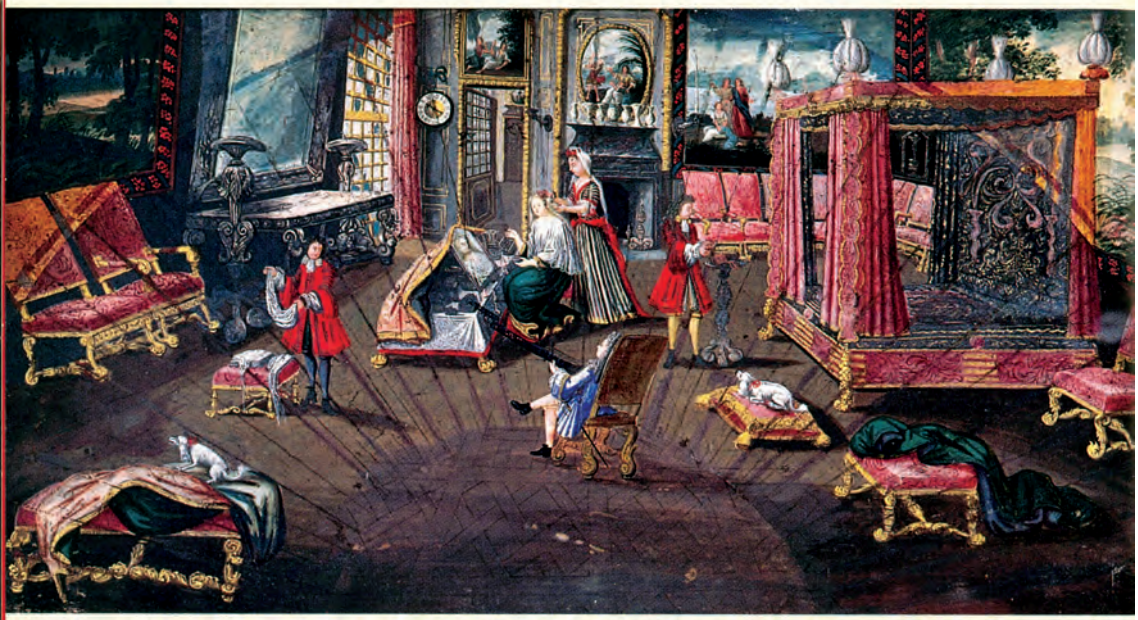


fig. 23: Anonymous, *Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans, at her toilette in the Palais Royal*. Fan leaf, c. 1665. Private collection.
Photo: after Cowen 2003

Philippe of Orléans and his wife not only organized receptions in their palace but also went to listen to (Estienne?) Richard in the Saint-Jacques church, as noted in the *Lettre en vers à Madame*, dated January 14th, 1668.⁴⁹

Also revealing the respect held by musicians for the musically gifted princess are several works of great depth dedicated to her after her death. Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (c. 1601–1672) published his first book of *Pièces de clavessin* in 1670 and included a *Courante de Madame*, a sublime lamentation in the style of a *tombeau* (figs. 25–27).⁵⁰ As Denis Herlin noted in our article on “Portraits de clavecins et de clavecinistes”,⁵¹ the booklet’s title page was not engraved by a member of the Jollain family but by Jean Lepautre (1618–82), the author of a beautiful engraving entitled *Tombeau de Madame* which frames a sonnet in her memory (fig. 28).⁵²

48 This fan belongs to a private collection. It was displayed at the Fan Museum in Greenwich. Cowen 2003: 78–83.

49 *Continueurs de Loret* 1881: 1100. Quoted by Dufourcq 1954: 127.

50 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique, Rés. VMB-95(1).

51 Gétreau & Herlin 1996: 96–7.

52 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Ed 42b, p. 16. Préaud 1993: 136–37, no. 238.



fig. 24: Leonard Ithier, theorbist. Detail of fig. 23.
Photo: after Cowen 2003



fig. 25: Jean Lepautre, title page to Champion de Chambonnières 1670.
Photo: © BnF

Florence
Gétreau

25

*Courante de
Madame*

26

Reprise



fig. 28: Jean Lepautre, *Tombeau de Madame*. Etching, 1670.
Photo: © BnF

As for Francesco Corbetta (Francisque Corbett, c. 1615–1681), who was so liked by Charles II of England and his sister, he flourished in Paris starting in 1670. The year after he published his *Guitarre Royale dédiée au Roy de la Grande Bretagne* (fig. 29),⁵³ which includes *Le tombeau sur la mort de Madame d'Orléans*, a piece of moving solemnity (figs. 30), followed by Madame's *Sarabande*. A vocal adaptation of the latter for three voices accompanied by the guitar figures at the end of the book (fig. 31). One more *Tombeau de Madame* is also preserved, composed by Jacques Gallot (dit le vieux Gallot de Paris, c. 1625–c. 1695; fig. 32).⁵⁴



fig. 29: Title page to Corbetta 1671.
Photo: © BnF

Unfortunately, the 1671 inventory compiled after the princess' death fails to mention any musical instruments or books from her library. Only three volumes have been uncovered so far: *Les Offices de la Semaine sainte* (1662),⁵⁵ *Les heureux augures du triomphe de*

53 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique, Rés. 333.

54 Gallot 1699, fol. 414: "Courante du V. Gallot, Tombeau de Madame"; <<http://culture.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011284026247SoXA9H/1/1>>, 09/04/2013.

C. fol. ut fa. b. mol.
*Le tombeau
 sur la mort
 de Madame
 d'Orléans*

10

fig. 30: *Le tombeau sur la mort de Madame d'Orléans*. Corbetta 1671: 10.

Photo: © BnF

Louis XIV (1665)⁵⁶ and, finally, a copy of Henry Du Mont's *Motets et Élévations* (1670) published by Robert III Ballard only after the princess's death, but bearing her arms⁵⁷ (fig. 33).

- 55 The extant copy in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. B 12615 bears the arms of Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans. Olivier 1934: pl. 2563 (Fleuron no. 1).
- 56 Cassillac 1665. The extant copy in Chantilly, Condé Library, 1x G 24, bears Henrietta's arms. Olivier 1934: pl. 2563 (Fleuron no. 2).
- 57 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Rés VM 18 (1); Guillo 2003: 689.

*Sarab.^{de} Tombeau
de Madame* *Paroles de M^{lle}
des Jardins* 93

*Dal Cielo d'Amor
Vn bel Sole e Sparito
Suo raggio e Suanito;
La Sorte,
La Morte
Tal Nume
Dal Mondo ne rapi.*

*Paroles Italiennes sur la mesme
Sarabande du Scig^e Cantic*

fig. 31: Sarabande. Tombeau de Madame. Corbetta 1671: 93.

Photo: © BnF

2.2. The ballet

Practitioner, patron, and protector of musicians, Henrietta also conquered her contemporaries by her astounding gifts as a dancer. When she was barely ten years old, she was chosen to personify Music among the Nine Muses, and thus to dance the role of Erato in *Les noces de Pélée et de Thétis*.⁵⁸ Still extant is the draft of a costume drawn for her in the workshop of Henri de Gissey (c. 1621–1673; fig. 34).⁵⁹ In it she holds a small lute in her

58 *Noces de Pélée et de Thétis*, 1654, 1^{ère} entrée du prologue. Benserade 1659: 5 (“Mademoiselle la Princesse d’Angleterre: Erato”) and 7.

59 Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France, ms. 1005, fol. 2. Christout 2005: pl. VI, 76, 79, 290. – Ac-

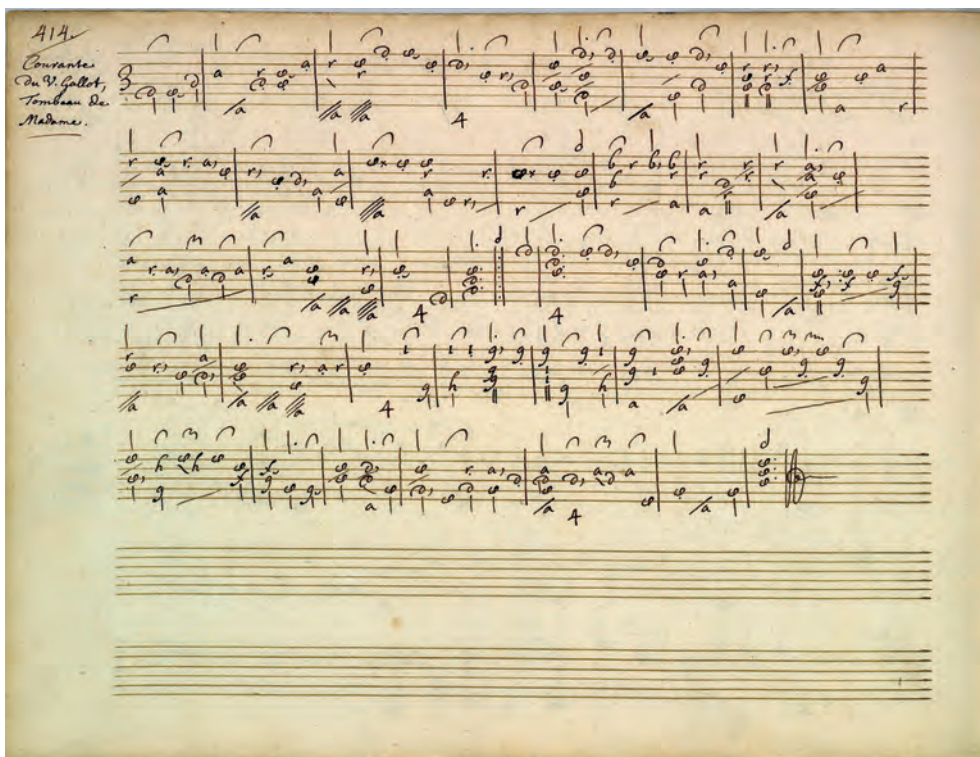


fig. 32: Courante du V. Gallot, Tombeau de Madame. Gallot 1699, fol. 414.
Photo: © Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale-BM 279152



fig. 33: Arms of Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans,
on motet volume by Du Mont [1670].

Photo: © Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Nabil Boutros

left hand while a large cloth band at the bottom of her dress is decorated with musical trophies. This iconography uses the common codes of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* that were much employed by seventeenth-century artists.⁶⁰

As Marie-Françoise Christout notes, following her brillants *débuts*, Henrietta played an extraordinarily important role after her wedding with the king's brother.⁶¹ Jérôme de La Gorce also rightly asserts that the king, a dancer if ever there was one, "s'était empressé, au mois de mars 1661, d'établir à Paris une Académie royale de danse [...]. Grâce à cette institution, la qualité des chorégraphies dont la France pouvait s'enorgueillir fut longtemps assurée et contribua jusqu'en 1670 au succès des ballets où continuait de se produire Louis XIV".⁶² Those ten years, let it be noted, are those during which the young Henrietta unfurled her charms and her talents at the Court of France. In February 1660, Sir John Resesby did not fail to notice the great sensation she made by dancing with the monarch, and that, within the entertainments in the Palais-Royal, she easily surpassed the queen:⁶³

The Court of France was very splendid this winter (1660); a great mask was danced at the Louvre, where the King and the Princess Henrietta of England danced to admiration. But there was a greater resort to the Palais Royal than to the French Court; the good humour and wit of our Queen Mother, and the beauty of the Princess her daughter, giving greater invitation than the more particular humour of the French Queen, being a Spaniard.

From 1661 onwards, the king took pleasure in opening the ball with Madame, be it in his Château or at the Palais-Royal.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Henrietta, in roles specially chosen to show how close she was to the king, participated in most of the great *ballets de court* of that decade, a comprehensive list of which has been drawn up by Philippe Hourcade.⁶⁵ In *Le Ballet des Saisons* (1661), she represented Diana, and Benserade's libretto is a transparent praise of her as Monsieur's young bride:⁶⁶

Diane dans les bois, Diane dans les cieux,
Diane enfin brille en tous lieux,
Elle est de l'univers la seconde lumière,
Elle enchante les cœurs, elle éblouit les yeux.

ording to the caption, "les autres huit estoient vestues demesme, distinguées Seulement par les Couleurs des habits etc."

60 See Ripa 1643: 185 ("Seconde partie, Musique"): "Elle est couronnée d'une Guirlande de fleurs, & vestuë d'une Robe toute semée de diverses Notes, dont on se sert ordinairement pour apprendre à chanter." Translation: "She is crowned with a garland of flowers and dressed with a robe all sprinkled with various notes which are ordinarily used to teach how to sing."

61 Christout 2005: 168.

62 La Gorce 2002: 415.

63 Resesby 1875: 45.

64 Levantal 2009, vol. 1: June 3rd, 1661; January 19th, 1662; January 31st, 1663; February 2nd, 1663.

65 See Hourcade 2002: 244, for the index of the Court's dancers.

66 Lully 2004: 4. See Christout 2005: 104. Translation: "Diana in the woods, Diana in the skies, Diana shines in all places. She is the universe's second light. She charms the hearts, she bedazzles the eyes. Glorious without being proud, adorable in all ways, one has such good opinion of her virtue that there is never anything else to add. However, as all must be said, she spends her nights with Endymion."



fig. 34: Henri de Gissey (workshop), Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans, in the costume of Erato. Draft of a costume. on motet volume by Du Mont [1670].

Photo: © Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

Glorieuse sans être fière,
Adorable en toute manière,
L'on a de sa vertu si bonne opinion
Qu'on ne saurait jamais y trouver à redire;
Cependant puisqu'il faut tout dire,
Elle passe les nuits avec Endymion.

The *Ballet des Arts*, danced on January 8th, 1663 at the Palais-Royal, provided her with the opportunity to lead four shepherdesses behind the king; once again, Benserade's libretto praises her charms and her virtues:⁶⁷

Quelle Bergere, quels yeux
A faire mourir les Dieux
Aussi comme eux on l'adore
Elle est de leur propre sang
Mais sa personne est encore
Bien au dessus de son rang
[...]
Il est vray tout le monde l'aime
Mais apres son devoir, ses moutons et son chien
Je pense qu'elle n'aime rien.

After having led the shepherdesses, she played Pallas in the seventh *entrée*, having “la dignité, La Pompe, Les Richesses / L’Eclat de la personne et la Splendeur du nom / Et tout ce qui convient aux premières Déesses [...] C’est Pallas [...] qui cache sa fierté sous beaucoup de douceur / Et sans en affecter la redoutable mine / Elle en a les vertus, l’esprit, le noble cœur.”⁶⁸ Given the intricate game of mirrors understood by all, there is no better way to pay homage to the princess’ intelligence and moral qualities.

On January 26th, 1665, she played the role of Venus in the *Ballet royal de la naissance de Vénus*.⁶⁹ The *Ballet de Madame*, a thinly-veiled homage to the king and his sister-in-law, was danced at the Palais-Royal. As Benserade’s libretto states:⁷⁰

Les plus célèbres Heros de la terre avec Heroïnes, dont ils sont espris, font connoistre que l’Amour est la plus noble de toutes les passions [...] Ce sujet estoit capable d’une plus grande estenduë; mais le lieu où il se représente ne le souffrant

67 Benserade 1663a: 9 et 10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. F-525. Translation: “What a shepherdess, what eyes that could kill the Gods. Thus like them we adore her. She is of their own blood, but her person is even better than her rank [...]. It is true, everyone loves her. But besides her duty, her sheep and her dog, I believe that she loves nothing else.”

68 Translation: “the dignity, the pomp, the riches, the sparkle of her person and the splendor of the name and all that befits the first Goddesses [...] It is Pallas [...] who hides her pride beneath layers of sweetness. And without pretending to wear its fearsome look, she had her virtues, her wit, her noble heart.”

69 Schneider 1981: LWV, no. 27; Christout 2005: 115–16; La Gorce 2002: 418–19.

70 Benserade 1665: 6–7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés YF-1037. Translation: “The most famous heroes on earth and the heroines whom they fancy let us know that love is the noblest of all passions [...]. This subject was capable of the widest scope; but as the place in which it is held could not suffer it, Madame to whom the King had given the command, has judged it fit to enclose it in twelve *entrées*: those who know the beauty of this admirable princess’s mind will easily judge that the most agreeable inventions are due to her. She ordered the Duke of Saint Aignan to use his skill; both from the nice gallantry that is natural to her as from his office’s function, it therefore belongs to him to organize celebrations of this quality that the King honors with his presence.”

pas, madame a qui le Roy en a laissé la conduite, a jugé à propos de le renfermer en douze Entrées: Ceux qui connoissent la Beauté de l'Esprit de cette admirable Princesse, jugeront aisément que les plus agreables inventions luy en sont deuës. Elle a ordonné au Duc de S. Aignan d'y employer ses soins; aussi luy appartient-il autant par la belle galanterie qui luy est naturelle, que par la fonction de sa Charge de regler les Festes de cette qualité, que le Roy honnore de sa presence.

Henrietta's involvement can hardly be overstated, whether in the danced or sung parts of this show. She is at once Venus, listening to the Three Graces (second part) to Michel Lambert's famous tune⁷¹, and, later on, Roxane before the king when he dances as Alexander in the sixth *entrée*:⁷²

Il n'est rien de si doux, ni rien de si charmant,
Que le plus malheureux la regarde un moment
C'est un moment pour luy d'allegresse & de feste:
Elle mesme copie Alexandre le Grand,
Elle entasse toujours conquete sur conquete,
Et ne veut rien garder de tout ce qu'elle prend.

Catherine Massip has shown, in all its details, Lambert's admirable musical refinement and his mastery of the dramatic art in his touching tale of the *Récit des Trois Grâces*.⁷³

After the *Ballet de Villers-Cotterêts* (September 25th, 1665) the king and Madame were again central to Benserade's and Lully's *Ballet des Muses*, performed on December 2nd, 1666, in Saint-Germain.⁷⁴ Madame was alternatively a shepherdess (protected from the wolves by her little dog Mimy), a Spaniard, a Pieride, and even a Moor facing the dangerous force of the king's eyes and his "ardans rayons [des] Soleils d'Afrique".⁷⁵

Though she was to shine again in the 1669 carnival ballet, Henrietta could not know that she would never again have the opportunity to dance at the Court and with the king. Indeed, for the *Ballet royal de Flore dansé par Sa Majesté le mois de février 1669*,⁷⁶ the Duchess of Sully danced "en la place de Madame". As Benserade argues, "Madame, qu'un heureux accident a empêché d'y remplir le personnage de Flore, est la seule qui reste à désirer pour la perfection de ce spectacle".⁷⁷ Rehearsals, however, had gone on for almost two months.⁷⁸ A year later, when Madame had left this world, Jean Nocret was finishing his big commemorative painting of the family of Louis XIV in mythological disguise,

71 "Admirons notre jeune et charmante déesse, Parlons de sa beauté, parlons de son esprit." Translation: "Let us admire our young and charming goddess, let us speak of her beauty, let us talk of her spirit."

72 Translation: "There is nothing as sweet or anything as charming. Let the saddest one look at her for a moment. It is for him a moment of joy and celebration: She herself copies Alexander the Great, she piles conquest upon conquest and desires to keep nothing of all she takes."

73 Massip 1999: 211–13.

74 Schneider 1981: LWV, no. 32. Christout 2005: 117–20.

75 On the symbolic importance of dancing for the king, see Néraudau 1986: 119–26.

76 Schneider 1981: 163 (LWV, no. 40).

77 Translation: "Madame, who was prevented by a happy accident from playing Flora's character, is the only one still to be desired to make this show perfect." – Schneider 1981: 161 (LWV, no. 40). Henrietta was about to give birth to her second daughter.

78 La Gorce 2002: 419; Christout 2005: 123.

presented as the assembly of the Gods of Olympus in mythological clothing (fig. 35).⁷⁹ It is impossible not to think that he purposely chose to represent her as gracious Flora in the midst of the Gods (fig. 36)—precisely the role that she should have danced in the *Ballet de Flore*. Painted for the Saint-Cloud château, this monumental group portrait is a kind of legacy on behalf of the painter who had worked so frequently for Monsieur and Madame since their wedding.



fig. 35: Jean Nocret, *The family of Louis XIV in mythological disguise*. Oil on canvas, 1670. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Draft of a costume. on motet volume by Du Mont [1670].

Photo: © RMN

However, one portrait more than any other summarizes the pre-eminent role the princess embodied for the sciences and the arts: it is the one from 1664 representing her ‘en Minerve’,⁸⁰ holding the medallion portrait of her famous husband, Duke Philippe of Orléans (fig. 37). Thanks to this rather theatrical representation, its painter, Antoine Matthieu the Elder (1631–73), became a member of the Academy. He rendered Henrietta surrounded by the symbols of the arts, notably a clearly visible lyre and scroll representing the art of music in general and of singing in particular, as well as a bust reminiscent of the Belvedere torso, a palette standing for the art of painting, a compass for the architect’s proportions and a celestial globe for astronomy.⁸¹ A lute and a viol can be made out in the background. We are reminded of how Charles Robinet, in his *Première lettre à Madame* in May 1665, had insisted almost over-emphatically that she was the Court’s

79 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 2157. Bajou 1998: 124–25.

80 See Goodman 2008, chapter 4: 75–90 (particularly 83–87): “Making Modern Minervas: Anne of Austria and Henriette d’Angleterre”.

81 Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3503. *Peintres du roi* 2000: 226, R. 38.



fig. 36: Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans, as Flora. Detail of fig. 35.

Photo: © RMN



fig. 37: Antoine Matthieu the Elder, *Henrietta-Anne, Duchess of Orléans, presenting the portrait of her husband, Duke Philippe of Orléans*. Oil on canvas, 1664. Versailles, Château de Versailles et de Trianon.

Photo: © RMN, Gérard Blot

star (“grand Astre de la Cour”), that she was of the pure blood of the gods (“du pur Sang des Dieux”), and that she had more wit than Minerva (see above, note 42).

2.3. The arts

Robinet, so often grateful for his own fortunes, was of course aware of what men of arts owed to Madame:⁸²

82 *Continueurs de Loret* 1899: 370 (*Lettre en vers à Madame*, December 22nd, 1668). Translation: “The Molières and the Boyers, the Corneilles, the Benserades, so worthy of immortal rents and great comrades of Apollo. All the most brilliant authors tremble as they bring their talents to the famous pol-

Les Molières et les Boyers
 Les Corneilles, les Benserades,
 Si dignes d’immortels loyers,
 Et d’Apollon grands camarades,
 Tous les auteurs les plus brillants
 Tremblent en portant leurs talents
 Au fameux polissoir de sa belle ruelle.

Certainly, eminent artists did not hesitate to ask for her protection: Molière dedicated *L’École des Femmes* to Madame and noted that “it is not hard to praise her”:⁸³ (“On n’est pas en peine [...] pour [la] louer”):

De quelque côté qu’on vous regarde, on rencontre gloire sur gloire, et qualités sur qualités. Vous en avez, Madame, du côté du rang et de la naissance, qui vous font respecter de toute la terre. Vous en avez du côté des grâces, et de l’esprit et du corps, qui vous font admirer de toutes les personnes qui vous voient. Vous en avez du côté de l’âme, qui, si l’on ose parler ainsi, vous font aimer de tous ceux qui ont l’honneur d’approcher de vous: je veux dire cette douceur pleine de charmes, dont vous daignez tempérer la fierté des grands titres que vous portez; cette bonté tout obligeante, cette affabilité généreuse que vous faites paraître pour tout le monde.

Guilleragues, soon to be famous for his *Letters of a Portuguese Nun*, received her patronage beginning in 1666. And two years later, Racine, in his dedicatory epistle to *Andromaque*, praised the personal involvement she seems to have had from the start of his work:⁸⁴

On savait que Votre Altesse Royale avait daigné prendre soin de la conduite de ma tragédie; on savait que vous m’aviez prêté quelques-unes de vos lumières pour y ajouter de nouveaux ornements: on savait enfin que l’aviez honorée de quelques larmes dès la première lecture que je vous en fis. [...] Mais, Madame, ce n’est pas seulement du cœur que vous jugez de la bonté d’un ouvrage, c’est avec une intelligence qu’aucune fausse lueur ne saurait tromper. [...] Et pouvons-nous concevoir des sentiments si nobles et si délicats qui ne soient infiniment au-dessus de la noblesse et de la délicatesse de vos pensées?

How surprising could it be, then, that her death provoked so many funeral orations, so many musical *tombeaux*, such devotion? Without a doubt, the likes of Feuillet, Bertier

ishing sessions in her nice *ruelle*.” (*Ruelle*—literally a ‘small street’—is the bedroom of the *précieuses* where erudite meetings were welcomed [see Goodman 2008, chapter 3: “Ruminating on the *Ruelle*: The *Précieuses*, Bosse, and Molière”]. Within such a context, *hommes de lettres* would use meetings with Henrietta in order to improve their most recent works before having them printed or performed.)

83 Molière 2010: 395–96 (*L’École des Femmes*, ‘A Madame’). Translation: “From whatever side we look at you, we meet glory upon glory, and qualities upon qualities. You have some, Madame, from rank and birth that make you respected the world over. You have some, in the shape of graces of the mind and the body, that have you admired by any person who sees you. You have some from the soul which, if one can say so, makes you loved from all those who have the honor to approach you: I want to say the kindness full of charms with which you deign temper the pride of the grand titles you hold; that obliging goodness, that generous affability which you show to all.”

84 Goulet 2004: 469. Translation: “We knew that Your Royal Highness had deigned to care about my tragedy’s development; we knew that you had given me a few of your insights to add new ornaments: and well we knew that you had honored it of a few tears from the first reading I made of it to you. [...] But, Madame, it is not only with your heart that you judge a work’s quality, it is with an intelligence which no false flicker can mislead. [...] And is it even conceivable that any such noble and delicate feelings be above the nobleness and delicateness of your thoughts?”

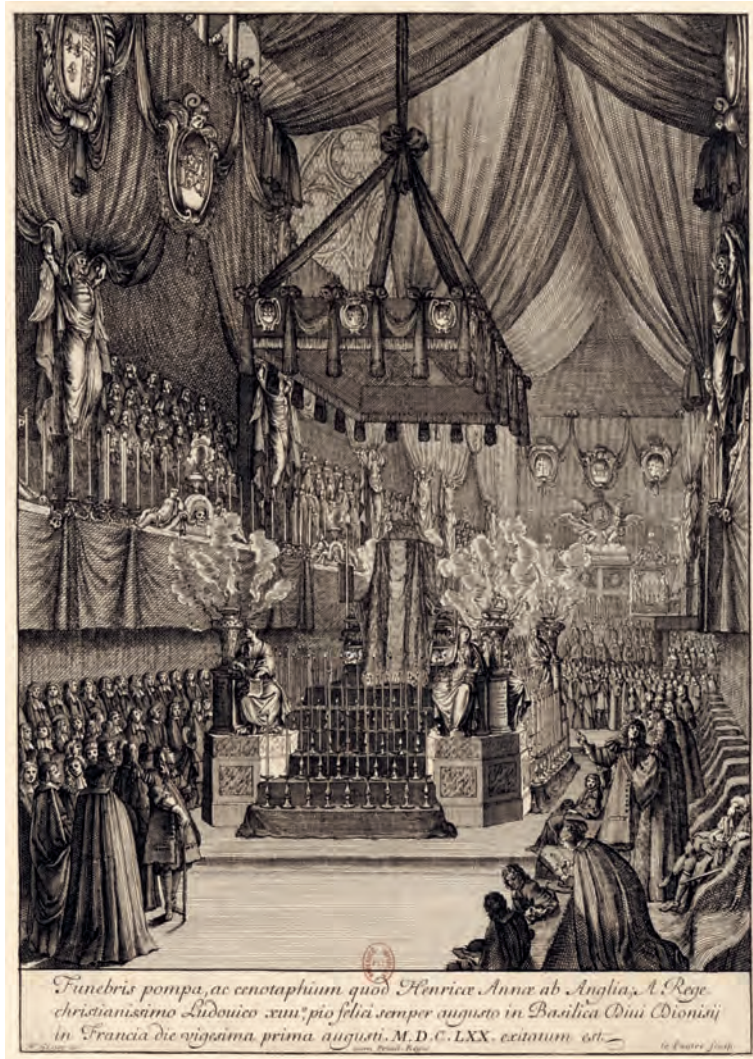


fig. 38: Jean Lepautre (after Henry de Gissey), Obsequies and catafalque of Henrietta-Anne of England, Duchess of Orléans, in the Basilica Saint-Denis, August 21st, 1670. Engraving, 1670.

Photo: © BnF

and Le Maire fell far short of reaching the rhetorical heights of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's grandiloquent funeral oration:⁸⁵

ô nuit désastreuse! ô nuit effroyable, où retentit tout à coup, comme un éclat de tonnerre, cette étonnante nouvelle: Madame se meurt! Madame est morte!

For the formal funeral service held in the Basilica of Saint-Denis on August 21st, 1670, Henrietta's mausoleum (for which we still have an engraving from Jean Lepautre after a drawing by Henry de Gissey⁸⁶) was notably made up of four allegorical figures repre-

85 Bossuet 1699: 121 ("oraison funèbre de Henriette Anne d'Angleterre, duchesse d'Orléans. Prononcée a Saint Denis le 21. jour d'Aoust 1670"). Translation: "O disastrous night! O dreadful night in which suddenly like a thunderbolt resounds with this surprising news: Madame is dying! Madame is dead!"
86 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Rés. Fol. Qb-201 (50), coll. Hennin 4544. Préaud 1993: 136, no. 237.

senting Nobleness, Youth, Poetry and Music (fig. 38), clad as nymphs crowned by laurels with books and instruments lain at their feet. A now lost grand motet by Henry Du Mont (1610–84), *De profundis*, was probably played.⁸⁷ Numerous pages were written for this impressive display of grief. But men of letters will rather remember “Cet Esprit admiré des Maistres du Sçavoir,” lauded by the *Tombeau* engraved by Jean Lepautre (see above, fig. 28), while musicians will prefer Chambonnières’ beautiful melodies (see above, figs. 26/27).



In a study entitled “Portrait historié et morale du Grand Siècle”, Dominique Brème unlocks the persistent identification of members of the Royal family with the Greek gods through a constantly represented, renewed and experienced rhetorical discourse.⁸⁸

Que pouvait bien signifier, pour un homme du Grand Siècle, la fantaisie de se faire peindre avec les attributs d’Apollon ou de Neptune, et pour une femme de paraître sous les traits de Vénus ou de sainte Catherine?

In the case of Henriette, could one add representations as Silvie (see above, note 35), Erato, Diana, Pallas, Urania, Minerva or Flora? Brème points out that the highest ranking characters are represented as gods, which brings up the question of what Roger de Piles, in his *L’Idée du peintre parfait* (1699) called “[la] représentabilité des choses divines sous des figures humaines”:⁸⁹

Car les fausses Divinités peuvent être considérées de deux manières, ou comme Dieux, ou comme figures symboliques. Comme Dieux, le Peintre ne les peut représenter que dans les sujets purement profanes, ou il en est question en cette qualité; & comme figures symboliques, il peut s’en servir avec discrétion en toute autre rencontre comme il jugera nécessaire.

Beyond the use of codes and other norms, Henrietta appears to have been a kind of constantly renewed incarnation of allegories in the tradition of the *Rhétorique des Dieux*.⁹⁰ She amplified Louis XIV’s image as the kingdom’s foremost musician, as a protector of the arts, and even as the very symbol of the arts. She thus brilliantly contributed to the royal family’s splendor, the splendor of a great reign and of the entire nation.

87 Decobert 2011, chapter XI-1: 253–65.

88 Brème 1997: 91 ff. Translation: “What could signify, for a man of the Great Century, the fancy to be portrayed with Apollo or Neptune’s symbols and, for a woman to appear with Venus or Saint Catherine’s features?”

89 Brème 1997: 94. Translation: “For the false divinities can be considered in two ways, either as Gods or as symbolic figures. As gods, the Painter can only represent them in purely profane subjects in which they are treated as such; & as symbolic figures, he can use them at will in any other circumstance he will judge necessary.”

90 See Buch 1990 and Gautier 1991.

Florence
Gétreau

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