

French Naval Sculpture under the *Ancien Régime*
(1650-1789)

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A Thesis
In the Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Art History) at
Concordia University
Montreal, Québec, Canada

June 2018

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CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Entitled: French Naval Sculpture under the *Ancien Régime*: How its Artistic Practice was Governed by its Functional Purpose, its Stylistic Form and its Allotted Space as part of the Ship's Architecture.

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Art History)

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Abstract

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French naval sculpture under the *ancien régime* was a significant form of art and architecture that has left almost no trace of its existence. It can however be understood, despite the scarcity of extant objects, by exploring the agents and factors that animated its production, which were legion. These agents and factors in turn were contingent on the intended function of the sculpture, which was tied to: the type and purpose of the warship; the symbolic meaning attributed to the sculptural composition; the sculpture's decorative style of the time, and; its form and fit as determined by the allotted sculptural space of the hull.

Analysis of these criteria will permit greater understanding of what I am calling the production network that surrounded, inhibited, and advanced French naval sculpture as an art form, and how certain rules, which were instrumental in the design and execution of the sculptural composition, conformed to the policy of Versailles at the time. In this dissertation I accomplish this analysis and further this understanding of an important yet under-studied aspect of French art and architecture through careful assessment of the few artefacts on display in naval museums and archival documents. This made it possible to define the production network that governed the practice of naval sculpture and those internal and external agents whose instrumentality ensured its continuation for almost two centuries.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my program supervisors Professor Emeritus Jean Bélisle and Dr Cynthia Hammond and the valuable guidance they provided, as well as to Dr Catherine MacKenzie of Concordia University and Dr Jean-Philippe Uzel of the Université du Québec à Montréal as members of the supervisory panel. I also wish to thank Dr Martine Acerra who was my supervisor during my internship at the Université de Nantes and equally provided the valuable guidance I needed. I likewise wish to thank Colonel Antoine Boulant and Captain Benoit Lagarde who made available the archival documents of the Service historique de la Défense during my research in France. My appreciation also goes to Dr Kristina Huneault who as the Graduate Program Director in Art History supported my application for the doctoral program at Concordia University and to the Concordia University Faculty of Fine Arts for the 2016-2017 Faculty of Fine Arts Fellowship Award.

Dedicated to Audrey von Restorff

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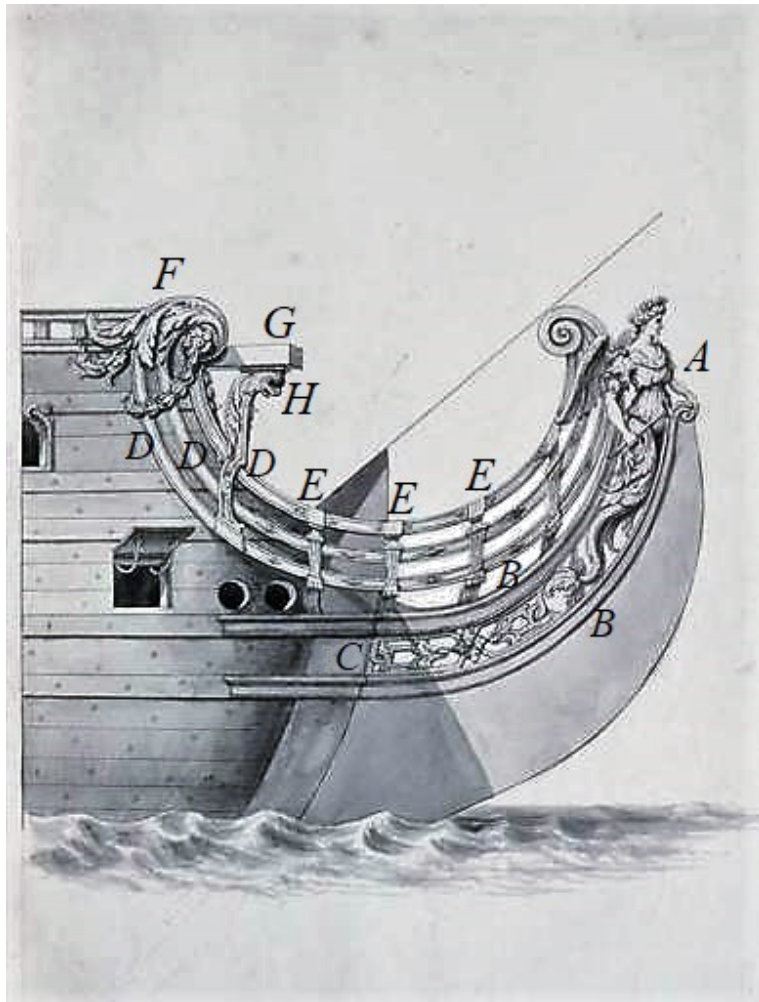
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* * *

Nomenclature

Nomenclature Concerning those Decorative Features Particular
to the Stem & Stern of the Warship's Architecture.¹



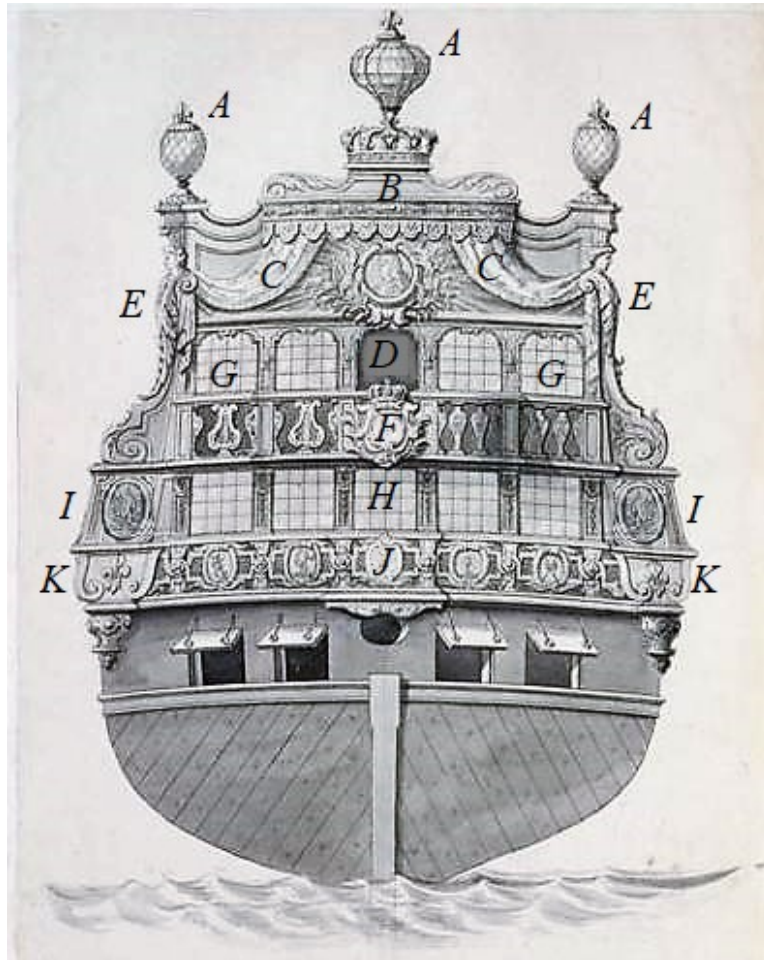
La Proue ou l'Éperon

The Bow or Head

A	Figure de proue.		Figurehead.
B	Jottereaux.		Cheeks.
C	Frise ajourée entre les jottereaux.		Open work frieze between the cheeks.
D	Herpes.		Headrails.
E	Jambettes.		Head timbers.
F	Volutes qui terminent les herpes.		Volutes at the end of the headrails.
G	Bossoir.		Cathead.
H	Arc boutant soutenant le bossoir.		Spar supporting the cathead.

¹ The descriptions and images are referenced from the display hanging at the Musée national de la Marine in Paris for the third rate warship *Le Brillant* launched in 1690.

Nomenclature

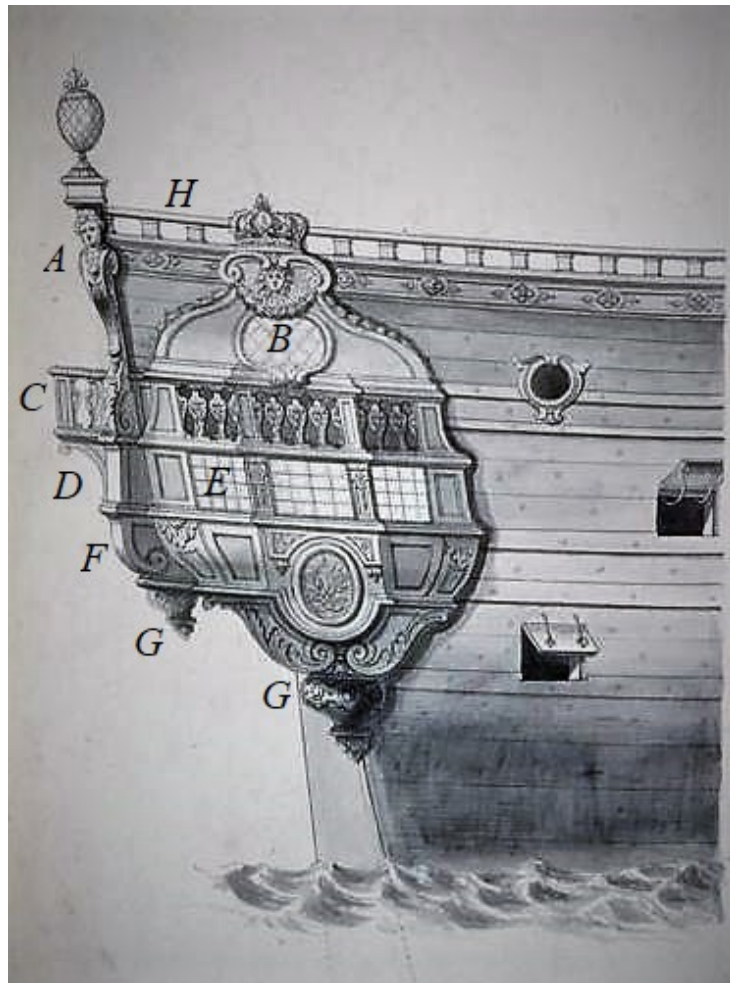


La Poupe

The Stern

A	Fanaux.	Lanterns.
B	Couronnement.	Tafferel.
C	Tableau de poupe.	Stern plate.
D	Châssis de la salle de conseil, forment les portes.	Ports of the council chamber, forming doors.
E	Figures de poupe – termes, atlantes et cariatides.	Stern figures – terms, atlantes and caryatides.
F	Ecusson central.	Central escutcheon.
G	Galerie ou balcon en débord, accessible par la sale de conseil, avec balustrades pleins.	Projecting gallery or balcony, accessed from the council chamber, with full balustrade.
H	Châssis ouvrants de la grande chambre.	Opening ports of the wardroom.
I	Partie arrière de la bouteille, avec médaillon aveugle.	Rear part of the quarter gallery with blind medallion.
J	Cartouche avec le nom du vaisseau.	Scroll with the ship's name.
K	Allège des châssis de la grande chambre.	Lower finishing of the wardroom ports.

Nomenclature



	Les Bouteilles	The Quarter Galleries or Quarter Castles
A	Terme de poupe.	Stem term.
B	Amortissement de la bouteille en trompe-l'œil.	Trompe-l'œil upper finish of the quarter gallery.
C	Galerie ou balcon.	Gallery or balcony.
D	Console.	Console.
E	Châssis simulés.	Simulated ports.
F	Retour de l'allège des châssis de la grande chambre.	Lower finishing of the wardroom ports.
G	Cul de lampe.	Lower finishing.
H	Rabattue ajourée du gaillard d'arrière.	Open rail work of the quarter gallery.

Prologue

I was compelled to write this dissertation because of the keen interest I have in anything that has to do with naval sculpture and the allegorical representations of its larger than life figurehead in the round and intricate relief sculptural narrations at the stern. I chose French naval sculpture as my dissertation topic because of my personal affinity with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French art. This stems from my own childhood, when I was living in Malta surrounded by buildings and churches highly decorated with Baroque sculpture in the French style. I was, moreover, close to the sea: I was raised next to a sea port with the harbour a walk down the hill from our house. My knowledge about ships began with my apprenticeship at the dockyard, where I acquired the discipline needed to learn about everything to do with ship propulsion, and continued to gain experience as a sea-going engineer on board ships on transatlantic voyages. All of these factors, when combined, infused in me an appreciation for anything to do with sculpture, ships, and the sea.

I have always found it satisfying as an artist to carry out drawing compositions that involve the human figure. When I was a Master's student in Art History I took immense joy in participating in a studio project led by Professor Jean Bélisle to simulate the production of a figurehead sculpture of an eighteenth-century warship built in French Canada. However, the very limited information available to reproduce the figurehead showed me that there was a need not only to carry out research on the practice of French naval sculpture, but to also understand the driving forces behind it. The research that I did in France satisfied my intellectual curiosity about how the practice of French naval sculpture evolved as an artistic endeavour in its own right. This further fulfilled my desire to understand not only how but also why French naval sculpture during the *ancien régime* lasted for almost two centuries. I use the term *ancien régime* as a

convenient shorthand; it generally refers to the period in French history of the absolutist monarchy from about 1650 to 1789.

As an outcome of this dissertation, I have put together all the information I could find about French naval sculpture, especially information that has not been taken into account by previous authors, and presented it with the goal of informing the reader about the art history of French naval sculpture. I believe that the way in which I have presented my dissertation, in particular the flow diagrams that I have created to quantify those areas where I deem the text on its own requires clarification, can serve as a model for those who want to provide similar accounts of the naval sculpture of other countries.

I compiled the information to write this dissertation mostly by carrying out hands-on research in the French naval archives. In this manner, I was able to apply my own interpretation of what I saw and not rely on someone else's narration. I believe this is crucial and recommend it to anyone who wishes to carry out similar research. This particularly applies now because previous authors gave incomplete historical accounts on French naval sculpture as I discovered in my literature review and as you will read in the text.

When compiling my research I realized that the practice of French naval sculpture as a dedicated discipline was a phenomenal feat. Its ongoing production required a complex network that not only integrated a logistical infrastructure that stretched from Versailles to the naval shipyards on the French coast, as well as to French Canada, but was also determined by external factors that were always evolving and sometimes were in conflict with the very purpose of the sculptures themselves. To try to understand this conflict, I applied both a qualitative and a quantitative review to the case studies in the dissertation. The qualitative content is primarily

contained in the studies of the particular sculptures. The quantitative content consists of the surveys I carried out that group together the concepts of the sculptural designs over a timeline.

Complementary to this, I used the Actor Network Theory method to help me synthesize the production process of naval sculpture and determine the principal agents that populated its network. However, I am a newcomer to the Actor Network Theory method and I do not consider myself an expert in its use. My purpose was not to prove its validity as a research tool. Rather, I simply used it to organize the data in my corpus in order to inform the case studies and the conclusions that I would draw.

I begin my dissertation with the Introduction that describes the intent of my topic, articulates the problem statement, formulates the research question, and lays out the research framework. This is followed by Chapter One, where the practice of naval sculpture in the naval shipyard is shown to be not simply the result of the sculptor following the drawing, but also the product of contradictory requirements as a result of the complexity of its production network. Chapter Two describes the evolution of the production setup of naval sculpture and defines those factors that influenced the design of the sculptures through a series of case studies of surviving artefacts on display in the museum and sculptural drawings in the naval archives. Chapter Three defines the “*raison d’être*” of French naval sculpture and shows how this changed under each successive regime, and also illustrates how the warship’s given name played a role in defining this “*raison d’être*.” Chapter Four shows how the application of naval sculpture and the evolution of the French ship-of-the-line were related and illustrates this with a case study of the first rate series of warships, the *Royal-Louis*. Chapter Five reviews the relationship between the warship’s given name and the use of signs and symbols and the king’s attributes in the sculptural

composition. I conclude my dissertation with a review that summarizes the practice of naval sculpture as a vibrant practice that was able to mitigate its contradictory requirements

I am hopeful that this dissertation and the accompanying figures will convey the great pleasure I had in researching, writing, and compiling the information, and hope too that it may inspire the interest, curiosity, and pleasure of the reader as well.

* * *

Introduction

Definition of the scope of the dissertation. Description of the problem statement, formulation of the research question, and layout of the research framework.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the artistic practice of naval sculpture in France during the *ancien régime*—that is, from the mid-seventeenth century with the ascent to the throne of Louis XIV up to the end of the eighteenth century, when Louis XVI was removed from the throne as a result of the French Revolution.²

The intent is to provide as full as possible an account of the artistic practice of French naval sculpture and at the same time show that its practice was not simply a straightforward exercise where the sculptors in the naval shipyards made wood carvings and mounted these on the warships of the French fleet. Rather, the practice of naval sculpture comprised complex rules of production that changed according to various circumstances that affected the sculptures from when they were conceptualized to their final installation. As a result, the practice of naval sculpture developed its own best practice rules and also appropriated rules from other artistic disciplines.³ Knowing the origin of these best practice rules and how they evolved will explain

² The phrase *ancien régime* refers to the French old order and was coined during the French Revolution. During the *ancien régime*, the political and social systems of France were under the rule of the king. All the inhabitants of France were subjects of the king as well as members of an estate and province. All rights and status flowed from a social institution divided into the first estate of the clergy, the second estate of the nobility, and the third estate of the common people led by the bourgeoisie. Larousse encyclopédie et dictionnaires: *Ancien Régime*. Alexis de Tocqueville in his publication of 1856 describes these three levels as resembling a caste system. Alexis de Tocqueville *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1856.

³ The term best practice can be described as the use of methods and manners of behavior to make an art object based on a preconceived model of execution. This behavior usually follows the use of a trade skill combined with an intuitive manner that conceptualizes, or renders, the art object by means of a series of activities that draw upon the artist's best practice model. These activities consist in the artist carrying out research to obtain information on the topic or theme; synthesizing the theme to render it into a design; and then carrying out a series of activities to make the design into an art object. Having made the art object, the artist then evaluates the outcome to confirm the manner and method how the art object was made and

how the design of the sculpture responded to those factors that influenced its practice as these changed over time.⁴

However, my objective is not simply to revisit the information pertaining to French naval sculpture and study how France devised the best manner possible to decorate its naval fleet. There is another equal objective: that of formulating an approach that breaks free from the method commonly used by previous authors who investigated naval sculpture solely as a finished decorative product without establishing any correlation to those external factors that governed its production. The approach I am applying in my dissertation consists in devising a new manner of interpreting the available information so as to extract those factors that influenced the synthesizing process and resulted in the definition of the sculptures.

The reason for this is to show that the production of French naval sculpture was governed by influencing factors that went beyond the single source attributed by the current literature, that of simply having been made according to a design based on the warship's given name and usually meant to pay homage to the monarch by making an allegorical allusion to a mythological deity. My intent is to show that, on the contrary, the designs of these sculptures were also the result of a wide-ranging series of factors that were imported from sources that were external to the internal design-making process and that in turn affected the definition of the sculptures.

The artistic contribution of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French naval sculpture has been thoroughly acknowledged through the establishment of national maritime museums in Paris

adjusts the best practice model for the next activity. See Bart Verbrugge. *Best Practice, Model, Framework, Method, Guidance, Standard: Towards a Consistent Use of Terminology*. Van Haren, 2016, p. 315.

⁴ The sculptures mounted on warships were meant for viewing by everyone. They were not confined to a stately palace and restricted for viewing by a designated few as were the sculptures at Versailles. Hence, they would be subjected to public scrutiny and as a consequence, these sculptures were made according to the contemporary thinking of that time.

and the major ports of France that display restored relics of the sculptures together with drawings and wax figurines that were originally done as preparatory studies.⁵ Accompanying these displays are reduced scale ships' models and naval paintings that show how these sculptures looked as part of the warship's architecture. Yet the museum information available to the viewer does not provide any insight into the meaning of the naval sculptures they display. In a similar manner, the exhibition catalogues do not have any in-depth commentary on these sculptures. They make brief mention of the role these sculptures played as part of France's artistic legacy. The same museums have most of the reduced scale models of the warships on display complete in every detail, including their sculptural decoration.⁶ Here, the museum visitor is provided with information about the historical development of the warships that are represented by these scale models as well as the provenance of the ship models themselves, but there is no information on their sculptures.⁷

To introduce my dissertation topic, I will briefly summarize the history of naval sculpture from its beginnings. My purpose is to show that the practice of French naval sculpture under the *ancien régime* did not occur in isolation. Rather, it was the continuation of a long-established tradition amongst the sea-faring populations of Europe dating back to ancient times and that

⁵ These are the Musée national de la Marine in Paris and the naval museums in Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon. Fine art museums such as the Louvre and regional museums also have dedicated maritime sections that show naval art.

⁶ Some of the reduced scale models were ordered by the warship's commander, used to instruct the construction and fitting of the ship, and later served for training future naval officers. Hence, attention to detail was needed. See for example "Maquette de bateau Océan," "Maquette de bateau Artésien." *La Collection Trianon*. Musée national de la Marine. The sculptural decoration of both warships is discussed later in this dissertation.

⁷ The Musée national de la Marine in Paris goes to the extent of having a computerized display for the museum visitor that describes the process for the construction and kitting of the warship, but without making any reference to the warship's sculptures.

served as an ongoing source of reference for those that carried out its practice during the *ancien régime*.

A review of the literature on early naval sculpture and the relics on display at the maritime museums shows that the history of naval sculpture is as old as that of the first warships that were built.⁸ From ancient times ship builders had an instinctive desire to decorate the stem and stern of a warship. This desire took on symbolic importance when the ship was considered as a kind of living being: if the hull was the body, then the stem was given the form of a head and the stern that of a tail.⁹

Images of ancient Phoenician, Greek, and Roman warships show that these were decorated in the form of a fish as an allusion to their god of the sea, with the bow having a beak and the rear formed as a tail. The sea trade between the Mediterranean countries and northern Europe resulted in the tradition of decorating ships being exported to the ports of northern Europe. The Vikings are the first known northerners to copy this type of decoration, when the bows of their warships were shaped to look like the heads of sea serpents and the rear like serpents' tails.¹⁰ Northern medieval ships continued this tradition as shown by the Bayeux Tapestry, with Norman ships decorated in the same manner with a sea serpent's head at the bow and a tail at the rear.

⁸ See for example Giancarlo Costa. *Figureheads: Carvings on Ships from Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century* Hampshire: Nautical, 1981 and Pierre Lucien Nègre. *Décorations et Figures de Proue*. Rochelle: Rupella, 1989.

⁹ See the exhibition catalogue by Christiane Villain-Gandossi. "The Symbolic Importance of Figureheads." *Figures de proues». Ornaments de navires*. Musée portuaire, Dunkerque, 1999.

¹⁰ The sea serpent may seem out of place for Scandinavia because its cold climate does not offer good habitat for reptiles. However, Scandinavian ships show reptile heads that besides being ornamental were almost meant to evoke alarm in possible enemies. See Hanne Poulsen, "The Figurehead in Historical Times." *Danish Figureheads*. Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1977, p. 7.

It became well-established practice to decorate a warship according to the culture of the country where it was made. This could be the representation of a deity, such as the sea god Yamm for the Phoenicians, Poseidon for the Greeks, and Neptune for the Romans, or the mythological sea serpent for the Vikings and the Normans. Figure 1 shows examples of these early ships.¹¹ Starting from the twelfth century, warships began to be decorated with symbols that showed allegiance not to a mythological deity or sea creature but to the warship's patron, usually the ruler of a principedom, kingdom, or nation-state. This was initially done by simply painting the patron's distinctive heraldic emblem or blazon onto the hull (see Figure 2).¹²

In the fifteenth century Europe began developing sea-faring trade routes—as opposed to the coastal trade it had previously practiced—and its ships began venturing out to sea for longer periods of time and in high sea states. The waves beating on the ships' hulls resulted in very rapid wear of the decorative paint, and this began to be replaced with painted relief sculptures. When the great ports of Europe started to build larger warships in the early seventeenth century, their sculptures became highly decorative, with a figurehead in the round at the stem and intricate relief sculptures along the broadsides and at the stern.

At the same time, the maritime powers of Europe began a race against each other to see whose warships would bear the most splendid decorations. At this point, the figurehead began to assume its own distinctive character. Besides serving as the ship's identifier, it brought certain pride to the ship and was considered to bring good luck during the ship's seagoing mission. Positioned at the front of the ship, the figurehead was meant to watch out for threats lurking in

¹¹ a) "Punic Warship." Muzew Marittimu, Vittoriosa, Malta. (b) "Roman Warship." Muzew Marittimu, Vittoriosa, Malta. (c) "Viking Drakkar." Nain Hochwertige Schiffsmodelle: <https://www.nain-schiffsmodelle.ch>. (d) "Tapisserie de Bayeux." Musée de la Tapisserie de Bayeux. Bayeux, France.

¹² Crusades Nava with the arms of Richard the Lion Heart. "Medieval Ships." *Naval Encyclopedia*. <https://www.naval-encyclopedia.com/medieval-ships>.

the sea and give confidence to the crew. It also served as a call to bravery for the fighters on board when doing battle.

The painting in Figure 3 shows an example of an early seventeenth-century royal warship with the broadsides of the forecastle and aftercastle decorated with heraldic emblems and with the beakhead bearing the figurehead of the ship's patron as a horseman mounting a charge.¹³

By the mid-seventeenth century the figurehead had taken on special importance. It was placed above the cutwater where the curvatures of the warship's stem converged. As a result it also played an aesthetic function to ensure a pleasing visual effect.¹⁴ Thus, the figurehead became the most prominent decoration of the warship. From the mid-seventeenth century onward France began to master with excellence the practice of decorating its warships with figureheads and relief sculptures that became the envy of Europe.¹⁵

An important published source that gives us a sense of the processes behind French naval sculpture at this time is the *Album de Colbert*, which consists of a series of drawings dating back to the 1660s with instructions for how to build a warship. When Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83), secretary of state and minister of the navy under Louis XIV launched France's naval construction program in 1668, an artistic studio in Toulon was commissioned to make a series of

¹³ Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1566-1650). "The Arrival of Frederick V of the Palts in May 1613," 1623. Oil painting. Detail. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, Holland. This is a commemorative painting of a royal event. Other commemorative paintings were done that show warships with similar types of decoration. See by the same artist the 1623 oil painting "The Return of Prince Charles from Spain." National Maritime Museum Greenwich, England.

¹⁴ Placing the figurehead on top of the cutwater also has a secondary meaning. The purpose of the cutwater was to separate the waves as the ship moved forward. The figurehead above the cutwater can also be meant to show that it was symbolically separating the waves. Discussion with Professor Emeritus Jean Bélisle.

¹⁵ Towards the end of the 17th century France had set the cultural standard for Europe to follow and people of affluence from other Europe countries would travel to Paris to see the latest fashion trends. Versailles was considered the catalyst for this. See Hervé Drévilion. *Les Rois Absolus 1629-1715*. Saint-Etienne: Belin, 2014, pp. 401-18, 420-22.

drawings that defined how a seventeenth-century French warship was to be built.¹⁶ These drawings were meant to document the manner of constructing and rigging a French first rate ship-of-the-line of three decks and eighty cannons.¹⁷ The drawings also show how the warship was to be decorated with sculptural carvings. These drawings were passed on to Colbert and compiled into an album. The album ended up in the possession of the Service historique de la Défense in Paris. A reproduction of these instructional drawings was published by Hubert Berti in 1988 under the title *Album de Colbert*.¹⁸

Of interest is the illustration of the entire warship that shows how the sculptural decorations form part of the warship's total architecture (see Figure 4). Also of interest are the forecastle, which shows an oversize figurehead, and the aftercastle, which shows a comprehensive sculptural design (see plates 48 and 50 of Figure 4). The figurehead design consists of a giant phoenix perched on the cutwater with wings partly spread ready to take flight. The use of the phoenix for the figurehead was intended to show that under Louis XIV, France was emerging as a powerful nation-state.¹⁹ The design at the stern consists of relief carvings of intricate floral motifs with the royal coat of arms as a central feature. This was meant to define a standardized layout that was to be copied for other ships of the French fleet that would later be built. These drawings are of interest not only for their visual content, but also because they show

¹⁶ Colbert's naval program is discussed in Chapter One and throughout the remainder of the dissertation.

¹⁷ The first rate ship-of-the-line became the mainstay of the French fleet. Its functionality as a warship at its time is comparable to that of the twentieth-century naval battleship, with both requiring a crew of about 1,500 officers and ratings.

¹⁸ Hubert Berti. *Album de Colbert*. Nice: Omega, 1988. There is a second album published by Michel Vergé-Franceschi and Eric Rieth, *L'Album Colbert. Voiles et Voiliers au temps de Louis XIV*. Paris: Du May, 1992. This treats the construction of smaller mercantile ships. There is supposedly a third album that treats the galley, but this could not be located. Information from Bélisle.

¹⁹ The phoenix in Greek mythology was a bird that could regenerate itself from its own ashes. See Joseph Nigg. *The Phoenix: An Unnatural Biography of a Mythical Beast*. University of Chicago Press, 2016.

that naval sculpture was deemed to be an integral feature of the warship during its construction in a similar manner to the sculptural decoration of the façade of a palace or monument.

One of the few authors who has written about French naval sculpture is Jean Bélisle with his 1982 doctoral dissertation *La sculpture navale dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*.²⁰ Bélisle is solely concerned with the practice of ship sculpture in Canada under both the French and British regimes. Yet his account of naval sculpture in French Canada is unique because it describes the interaction of the sculptor and the shipbuilder working in the naval shipyard in Québec, and also reveals the role of the intendant of French Canada, who was an intermediary with the minister of the navy in France. Indeed, the centralization of institutions and the standardization of procedures under the *ancien régime* meant that the manner of operation of a naval shipyard in Québec would be identical to that of a naval shipyard in France. Bélisle shows this by citing from correspondence between the intendant of French Canada and the minister of the navy of that time about the progress of the warships being built in Canada for the French navy, together with their sculptures.²¹

There are nevertheless some gaps in Bélisle's dissertation. Although the dissertation title specifically states that it is about naval sculpture, there is significant discussion of the construction of ships in the Saint Lawrence as a commercial endeavour. In addition, there is scant mention of the actual design of the naval sculptures during the French regime that ended with the British conquest of Québec City in 1759 and Montréal in 1760. This is primarily

²⁰ Jean Bélisle. *La sculpture navale dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*. Thèse de 3^e cycle. Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1982.

²¹ Bélisle make reference to the manuscripts pertaining to the French colonial administration in Canada. These are stored in the Archives nationales d'outre-mer, France, under Section Canada: Colonie Série C¹¹A and B. Digitized microfiche copies are also available online from Library and Archives Canada. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca>.

because of the absence of any visual documentation. There is better coverage of the sculptures of Canadian-built mercantile ships because of paintings and notarial records about the sculptures of these ships.²² Overall, there is little reference to the choice of design and minimal reference to the colour scheme used for the chromatic finish of the sculpture, and in particular, for the figurehead. Also lacking is any consideration of the role that iconography could have played, since this was always an important aspect of the sculptural theme.²³ However, these gaps can be attributed to a lack of adequate references. Here, it is fair to add in defence of Bélisle's dissertation that this was the first study ever done to include French naval sculpture under the *ancien régime*, even though it was solely concerned with French Canada. Bélisle's account is of interest because it provides insight into the practice of French naval sculpture in the naval shipyard itself, a topic which is not addressed by other authors with the same level of detail.

Bélisle followed his dissertation by co-authoring with John Porter the book *La Sculpture Ancienne au Québec*, published in 1986.²⁴ Bélisle writes about the practice of naval sculpture in Québec from the 1690s to the 1940s, which repeats much material from his dissertation, and Porter writes about the religious sculptures in the churches of Québec during the same time period. Notably, Bélisle states that the fact that the Canadian ships built in French Canada were all given Indigenous names—because the design of the sculptures would be based on these names—reveals a desire to define a local North American iconography distinct from that of

²² The portion of Bélisle's dissertation up to 1760—that is, up to the British conquest—served as a reference for my Master's thesis, in which I studied the naval sculpture of French Canada. See Ronald Portanier. *The Lost Art of Naval Decoration in Eighteenth Century French Canada*. Master's thesis. Concordia University, 2012.

²³ The word iconography is here used to denote the science of identification, description, classification, and interpretation of symbols, themes, and subject matter in the visual arts as defined by Erwin Panofsky in "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art." *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 38-41.

²⁴ John R. Porter and Jean Bélisle. *La Sculpture Ancienne au Québec: Trois siècles d'art religieux et profane*. Montréal : Les Éditions de l'Homme, 1986.

France.²⁵ However, he does not follow up on this statement and leaves this possibility unexplored.

From a different angle, Jean Boudriot wrote a series of voluminous studies and monographs between 1974 and 1995 about the development of France's ship-of-the-line from its inception in the mid-seventeenth century to its demise in the mid-nineteenth century. Boudriot's books mostly cover the structural plans of various warships.²⁶ The most noteworthy because it follows in detail the entire build process is *Le Vaisseau de 74 Canons – traité Pratique d'Art Naval* published in four volumes in 1974.

Three books by Boudriot are of direct interest to my dissertation because they contain several sculptural drawings meant for French warships. These drawings were made by the sculptural artists appointed by Colbert and his successors to define the sculptural composition and were meant to be followed by the sculptors in the naval shipyards.²⁷ These books are *La frégate marine de France 1650-1850* published in 1992, *Les vaisseaux de 50 à 64 canons (1650-1780)* published in 1994 and *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons* published in 1995.²⁸ The most relevant is *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons* because it contains the most images of sculptural drawings for the stems and sterns of the ships. These images are either reproductions from the

²⁵ Bélisle writes in *La Sculpture Ancienne au Québec*, 305: "Il apparaît évident que les sculptures des navires de guerre réalisées en Nouvelle France véhiculaient une iconographie typiquement nord-américaine." The sculptures of the Canadian-built French warships are discussed in Chapter Three.

²⁶ Boudriot is considered the leading expert on the construction of the French sailing warship. See the publisher's web page <http://www.ancre.fr>. He was an architect by profession and his books review the development of the French sailing warships from the structural aspect of its construction.

²⁷ I use the phrase "sculptural artist" here and throughout my dissertation to refer to those who undertook the design of the sculptural compositions. These individuals were centrally appointed by Colbert and were officially known as the 'king's painter' or the 'king's draughtsman.' I do not use the word "draughtsman", however, in order to avoid confusion with the "naval draughtsman" who did the plans for the hull's layout and worked independently of the sculptural composition.

²⁸ In these three books Boudriot also reproduces edicts issued by the minister of the navy at that time that were meant to regulate naval construction and that included naval sculpture. I have referenced these in my dissertation.

naval archives in France or from private collections and otherwise not accessible. Each image is usually accompanied by a brief historical anecdote about the sculpture, together with the name of the ship the drawing was intended for and the artist's name if known. Yet there is scarce explanation about the sculptural themes or why the sculptural compositions were done in a particular manner. Also, most of the drawings of the sculptures Boudriot includes in his books are put in a separate chapter without any cross-reference to the plans of the hulls they were meant for. The fitting, arming, and rigging of these warships is also not covered in detail by Boudriot. Of course, this is to be expected, because Boudriot's primary purpose was to address the construction of the warship's hull itself as this changed over time.²⁹

The sculptural drawings Boudriot included in his books can be interpreted as serving three purposes: to catalogue these drawings according to the warship's name and the sculptural artist that made the drawing when known, to show how the sculptures were to be mounted onto their allotted space on the warship's hull, and to present these drawings as part of an artistic practice. Hence, I have included these drawings as a primary source of reference for my research and when compiling data for my dissertation.³⁰

²⁹ Two more recent publications on the development of the ship-of-the-line during the *ancien régime* also give scant attention to the sculptural decorations and either treat these as a simple add-on or ignore them. The first publication is Jean-Claude Lemineur's *Les Vaisseaux du Roi Soleil*, A.N.C.R.E, 2015, under the direction of Boudriot. This book describes the creation of Louis XIV's navy and the evolution of the first rate and second rate ships. Although Lemineur adds to what Boudriot has written in terms of the warship's development and includes the importance of its armaments, there is little commentary about the sculptures even though these figured prominently as part of the warship visual architecture. Rather, Lemineur leaves the images of the sculptures in the book to speak for themselves. The second publication is Rif Winfield and Stephen Robert's *French Warships in the Age of Sail 1626-1786. Design, Construction, Careers and Fates*. Brinsley: Pen & Sword, 2017. This book consists of a history of the French sailing fleet under the *ancien régime* in terms of the different types of warship constructions, their armaments, and the naval battles they fought. Totally missing when describing their construction is the existence of their sculptural decorations.

³⁰ As part of my research I carried out a review of the main design features of these sculptural drawings. The review covers 65 images and is shown in Appendix Nine.

Another relevant source for my research is the exhibition publication by the Service historique de la Marine for the exhibition titled *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux* that was held at Vincennes in 1997.³¹ This publication describes the shipbuilding process under the *ancien régime* from cutting the trees in the forest, to preparing and transporting the lumber to the naval shipyard, to laying down the keel, building the hull, carving and mounting the sculptures, and fitting and rigging the ship. The illustrations include images copied from the *Album de Colbert* for describing the process of building the hull and fitting and rigging the ship, as well as images of sculptural drawings from the French naval archives and sculptures from the naval museums. Looking at these drawings side by side shows how the form of the sculpture changed over time as the ship's hull evolved. There is also a section that gives a historical narrative of French naval sculpture from Colbert's time to the mid-nineteenth century when it was shut down. As in the other documents I have discussed, the exhibition publication does not contain any scholarly analysis of the sculptural practice, continuing the trend of treating the sculptures solely for their visual aspect and as a finished product. However, this publication is of interest because the text summarizes quite well the history of naval sculpture, and this served as a starting point for my research.

A similar source comes from the art historian Marjolaine Mourot of the Musée national de la Marine, who authored the publication for the exhibition *Genie de la Mer* at the Musée du Québec in 2001. Mourot provides a description of the naval sculptures on display from both the

³¹ *Du bois dont on fait les vaisseaux - Bois et marine - De l'arbre en futaie à la figure de proue sculptée 1650-1850*. This is a publication edited by the Service historique de la Marine that served as a catalogue for the exhibition held from 10 September to 12 December 1997 at Château de Vincennes, Paris. The Service historique de la Marine became the Service historique de la Défense in 2005. This publication is referenced by the original name Service historique de la Marine.

Musée national de la Marine in Paris and the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec.³² The title reflects its contents: masterpieces of the sea. The publication has a glossy finish that impresses the reader with rich colour reproductions of the exhibits. It includes contributions by John R. Porter for the Musée du Québec and Magali Théron for the Musée national de la Marine à Paris. Here, Porter follows Bélisle in providing an account about the naval sculpture of French Canada under French rule, and extends this to the British period. However, there is no additional information beyond what Bélisle already covered in his dissertation and in *La Sculpture Ancienne au Québec*.

The purpose of this exhibition was to recall the sculptural decorations that adorned the sailing ships of France and Québec between the mid-1600s and the late 1800s.³³ The book lists seventy-seven works and includes several sculpted figureheads, allegorical forms, and decorative emblems. There are also paintings, plans, sketches, reduced scale wood models, and wax figurines, which were done as preparatory work to ensure that the sculptures were done successfully. The publication contains two parts. The first part describes how French Canada benefitted from the knowledge of naval sculpture imported from France and applied it to the ships built in Canada, even after French Canada was annexed by Britain. There is brief mention of the Indigenous themes used by French Canada for its figureheads. Thereafter, there is emphasis on the naval sculptures made during the British period, when British world commerce,

³² Marjolaine Mourot. *Les Génies de la Mer*, Québec: Musée de Québec, 2001. 37-158. Mourot previously wrote about these sculptures also without any in-depth information in a 1985 article in *Neptunia* titled “Traits de génie. Le dessin en décoration navale.”

³³ By means of this exhibition, France gave recognition to the naval sculpture of Québec and placed it at the same level as that of France. The exhibition lasted from 11 October 2001 to 17 March 2002 for a total of five months. The exhibition was also one of convenience for France because the Musée de la marine needed to move out its permanent collection to carry out extensive renovation to its museum building at Chaillot, Paris. By having this exhibition in the museum in Québec, the museum pieces would be safeguarded and not at risk of deteriorating because they would be under climate-controlled conditions.

the need for Canadian lumber, and the lower cost of shipbuilding in Québec created a flourishing shipbuilding industry right up to the advent of the steam ship and the steel hull in the early 1900s.

The second part introduces the tradition of naval sculpture in the shipyards of France, beginning with the influence of Colbert in the 1660s. There is an entire section dedicated to the gilded sculptural decorations of the galley *La Réale* built for Louis XIV, which was central to the exhibition. Mourot also describes the importance of naval decoration as a measure of the king's magnificence and the changes brought about by the French Revolution in 1789 that resulted in royal emblems on naval ships being destroyed and new figurehead designs proclaiming the newly established French Republic of 1792.

This publication provides a compelling narrative of the history of French naval sculpture and projects it as high art. The images of the gilded sculptures in particular show that these had an extremely high level of aesthetic finish equal to that of the sculptures of the royal palaces of France. This book is thus a useful reference because it shows through its images that the practice of French naval sculpture was an extension of French sculpture. Similar to other authors, however, Mourot presents naval sculpture in terms of the finished product and leaves it to the reader to deduce what influenced the sculptural compositions and how to interpret their designs. Nevertheless, although the images in the catalogue are so glossy as to appear artificial, they remain a valuable reference for exploring the visual aspect of French naval sculpture as an artistic endeavour.

One more study on French naval sculpture is Magali Théron's doctoral dissertation, *L'ornementation sculptée et peinte des vaisseaux du Roi (1670-1792)*, written in 2003.³⁴ Théron begins by giving a summary of the origins of naval sculpture from ancient times, overlapping with what previous authors had written.³⁵ She also describes the importance of Colbert's naval program to French naval sculpture. Théron next reviews the logistical support in the French naval shipyards during the *ancien régime* that permitted the practice of naval sculpture and concludes by compiling the biographies of those artists, sculptors, and painters who led the practice of French naval sculpture up to its discontinuation.³⁶ Théron published an article in 2015 titled "La Bonne fabrique et la Superbe Ornement: Pierre Puget's Ship decoration," which addresses the sculptural drawings of Pierre Puget (1620-94).³⁷ Théron's article discusses the Genoese influence on the compositions of Puget's drawings and is an indication of an emerging need to investigate in depth the practice of French naval sculpture, which is the purpose of this dissertation.

Collectively, these authors do not offer any in-depth analysis of naval sculpture as an artistic endeavour. They do not discuss how French naval sculpture was not only influenced by other artwork of the same era, but invented its own design rules, became a unique artistic practice that emulated Versailles, and surpassed the other artwork of France for bolstering

³⁴ Magali Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée et peinte des vaisseaux du Roi (1670-1792)*. Thèse de 3^e cycle. Paris : Université de Paris IV, 2015. Théron's dissertation is available in microfiche at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art. 2 Vivienne, 75002, Paris.

³⁵ Besides Costa and Nègre, see also as an example Michael Stammers, *Figureheads and Ship Carving*, 2005, which covers the period from ancient Egypt, with emphasis on the period of decoration between the late sixteenth century and the end of the sailing ship.

³⁶ Théron was also a member of the curating team for the exhibition and contributor to the exhibition catalogue *Figures de proues – Ornaments de navires. Musée portuaire Dunkerque. Exposition 11 décembre 1999 – 2 avril 2000*, which is referenced in Appendix Two and Appendix Ten.

³⁷ Théron's article "La Bonne fabrique et la Superbe Ornement: Pierre Puget's Ship Decoration." In *The Sculpture Journal*, 2015, complements Marie-Paul Vial's *Pierre Puget: Sculpteur, Peintre, Architecte*. Paris: Artlys, 2014. I will be referring to both Theron's article and Vial when I discuss Puget later in the text.

national prestige. Rather, these publications mostly emphasize the visual aspect of naval sculpture as a decorative object to be admired for its design.³⁸ In addition, they treat the topic of naval sculpture according to a delineated boundary. They do not recognize that its practice did not exist in isolation, and that it cannot be compartmentalized by the name of the ship for which the sculpture was made, the exhibition theme in the museum, or the fame of the person involved in making it.

None of these authors addresses the questions that the reader may bring up intuitively. For instance, what determined the intended function of these sculptures besides being a straightforward commission to decorate the ship? Did the composition of these sculptures go beyond their apparent meaning of making allegorical allusions to mythological deities and paying homage to the king? What about the interaction that occurred between the king, who delegated his role as patron to representatives who ordered the sculptures to be made on one side, and those involved in their production on the other side? Also, how was French naval sculpture used as an expression of national identity?³⁹ However, the most important underlying question that these authors do not address concerns the artistic practice of naval sculpture in itself. Why was it possible for this practice to continue without interruption for almost two centuries?

³⁸ I attribute this lack of scholarly attention to French naval sculpture to a perception that it is primarily associated with naval architecture and not deemed to be an artistic practice in its own right. As a result it has been bypassed by art historians. In my literature search I was only able to find two scholarly studies that considered French naval sculpture on its own merits. These were the doctoral dissertations by Bélisle and Théron, who both carried out historical studies and not art historical ones. Otherwise, the literature I found addressed a different audience. Boudriot's audience was the ship model enthusiast; the exhibition catalogues by the naval museums were done for the museum visitor; while glossy publications such as Costa, Nègre, and Stammers were done for the general reader. I can state the same for the literature review that follows on the naval sculpture of the other European naval powers, where the authors again either consider the historical aspect of naval sculpture or address the ship model enthusiast, the museum visitor, or the general reader.

³⁹ This notion stems from the premise of France thinking of itself as a nation as opposed to a group of regions. This is discussed further in Chapter Three.

This raises another question. What attention has been paid to the art history of the naval sculpture of the other European naval powers? Britain, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and Spain also had powerful navies and decorated their warships with zeal. The naval museums of these countries display their naval sculptures in a similar manner to that of France.⁴⁰ However, publications about the naval sculpture of these other European countries are even fewer, and scholarly studies are non-existent. There are in fact only five publications of merit.

The first one is L. G. Carr Laughton's *Old Ship Figureheads and Sterns*, published in 1925. This book covers the different designs of naval sculpture for the European nations engaged in shipbuilding, including the sculptural designs of France.⁴¹ Carr Laughton includes several drawings of sculptures and describes what they look like, but does not offer any in-depth commentary.

The second book is by Hans Soop titled *The Power and the Glory: The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*, published in 1986.⁴² This book documents the figure sculptures that decorated the Swedish warship *Wasa* built in 1628. These followed the northern European mannerist form, which had its origins in Ancient Rome and in the Italian Renaissance, but had German and Flemish overtones. Soop describes the design language of these sculptured figures, which

⁴⁰ The most prominent of these museums are the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England; Museo Naval, Madrid, Spain; Vasamuseet, Stockholm, Sweden; Marin Museum, Stumholmen, Karlskrona, Sweden; Het Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, Holland; and Orlogsmuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark.

⁴¹ L. G. Carr Laughton. *Old Ship Figure-heads and Sterns*. London: Halton, 1925. Besides Carr Laughton, there are two other British books about ship sculpture, but these are a modern copy of Carr Laughton. They are Andrew Peters' *Ship decoration: 1630-1780*. London: Pen & Sword, 2013, which covers European maritime sculpture, including that of Britain; and David Pulvertaft's *Figureheads of the Royal Navy*, Barnsley: Seaforth, 2011, which includes the working careers of the sculptors who worked in the British naval shipyards. Another book is by Phillip N. Thomas titled *British Figurehead and Ship Carvers*. London: Waine, 1995. Thomas simply catalogues the work done by British figurehead sculptors but does not cover the actual designs, which are otherwise covered by Pulvertaft.

⁴² Hans Soop. *The Power and the Glory: The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*. Stockholm: Kungl Vitterhets Akademien, 1986. Soop was the curator at the Swedish national maritime museum and was tasked with cataloguing and reporting on the sculptures of the *Wasa*. This book is the result of his work.

consisted mostly of Roman warriors and medieval chivalric knights, as paying homage to the Swedish king Gustav II Adolf.

The third book is Hanne Poulsen's *Danish Figureheads*, published in 1977.⁴³ Although the book's title concerns only figureheads, the text actually covers both the stem and the stern of Danish ship sculpture. Poulsen traces the history of Danish ship sculpture from the 1600s to the early 1800s with a narration that shows how its practice paralleled that of France and Britain. Poulsen provides a descriptive account and includes several sculptural drawings to illustrate how the evolution of the hull determined the composition and form of the sculptures. Poulsen also shows that the ship sculpture of Denmark was linked to that of Sweden: the lion was adopted by both countries as a major feature in their naval sculpture.

The next book is Gian Battista Rubin de Cervin's *Bateaux et Batellerie de Venise*, published in 1978.⁴⁴ In this book de Cervin addresses the construction in Venice of galleys, warships, and gondolas between the sixteenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries. Up to the sixteenth century Venice was a major maritime power with a fleet larger than that of France—until it was overtaken by the European countries that bordered the Atlantic Ocean. It had a strong shipbuilding tradition and de Cervin covers the construction methods developed by the Venetian shipbuilders and boat builders in a manner analogous to that of Boudriot. The images in the book include the sculptural decorations that adorned the Venetian galleys and warships. A full-page engraving and a full-page painting of an eighteenth-century Venetian ship-of-the-line are given prominence. These show the French style of sculptural decoration but with the lion of San Marco

⁴³ Poulsen's *Danish Figureheads* is the first and only known book that treats Danish ship sculpture on its own.

⁴⁴ G.B. Rubin de Cervin. *Bateaux et Batellerie de Venise*. Paris: Edita Lausanne - Vilo, 1978.

decorating the stern plate. Also of interest is the decoration of the ceremonial galleys, which also resembled those of France.

The last book is by Jose-Ignacio Hierro Gonzalez-Aller, titled *L'Armada: Maquettes du Musée naval de Madrid (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, translated from the original Spanish and published in 2004.⁴⁵ Hierro Gonzalez-Aller covers the history of Spanish naval construction from the latter part of the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century and includes several high-quality colour photographs of the reduced scale models of the ships that are on display in the naval museum in Madrid. Spain was a maritime power during this period and had a naval fleet comparable to those of France and England. Although there is no mention in the text of the naval decoration of these ships, the photographs of the scale models in the book provide significant detail so that it is easy to see how the figurehead of the stylized lion and the sculptural decoration for the stern kept pace with those of the other European nations of the day.

There are few other publications that cover seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European naval sculpture and these have similar content to those listed above.⁴⁶ These publications also treat naval sculpture solely for the visual appearance of its design and do not dedicate scholarly or analytical attention to the history that is the subject of this dissertation.

The authors who have tackled this subject also fall short in their consideration of the human-to-human and human-to-object interactions involved in the production of the sculptures. However, there is one author who covers this theme in a study of medieval ship sculpture.

⁴⁵ José-Ignacio Hierro Gonzalez-Aller. *L'Armada: Maquettes du Musée naval de Madrid (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*. Paris: Mengès, 2004. Hierro Gonzalez-Aller was a Spanish career naval officer and was director of the Museo naval in Madrid between 1991 and 2000.

⁴⁶ For example, two other books on naval sculpture are Tore Hallen's *Galjonsbilder*. Stockholm: Raben & Sjorgen, 1975, written in Swedish; and Hans Jurgen Hansen's *Galjonsfiguren*. Oldenburg: Stalling, 1979, written in German. Both authors rely mostly on photographic images and equally treat their sculptures without any in-depth analysis.

Barbara Auger, in a 2013 article titled “Les figures de proue zoomorphique dans l’iconographie médiévale chrétienne,” explores the ways in which, in medieval Europe, this human-human, human-object interaction in the production of figurehead sculptures was the result of the influence of Christian and pagan religious visions.⁴⁷ Auger describes the polarity that emerged by connecting the Christian vision with the Bible and the figurehead with Noah’s ark as a spiritual attachment, and the pagan vision with demonic creatures from the ancient Greeks.

In a second article written in 2013 titled “Émergence et transmission de l’image du bateau-cheval,” Auger discusses the representation, in medieval art, of the interaction between the ship’s hull and the sea as a galloping horse, which signified the physical power of strong waves, and the interaction between the sails and the air as the temporal lightness of the wind.⁴⁸ A third article by Auger from the same year titled “Navire mythiques nordiques: image et discours spatiotemporels,” concerns the ways in which ancient myths about the sea were authenticated when they were applied to the decoration of the medieval ships of Northern Europe.⁴⁹

Auger’s discussion of the interaction of the sculptor’s beliefs with the ship, its figurehead, and the cultural values of society is missing in the titles I have examined—with just one exception. This is a journal article written by Kan Jakobsson in 2010 titled “The Warship in Swedish Seventeenth-Century Society: A Cultural Construction?”⁵⁰ Jakobsson compares the design of the Swedish warship and its naval decoration to Swedish seventeenth-century cartography and shows that the signs and symbols in Swedish maps corresponded with the

⁴⁷ Barbara Auger “Les figures de proue zoomorphique dans l’iconographie médiévale chrétienne. Rhétorique de l’Incarnation” *Hommage à Gilbert Durand*. IRIS, 2013, pp. 147-162.

⁴⁸ Barbara Auger. “Émergence et transmission de l’image du bateau-cheval en Scandinavie ancienne et médiéval.” *L’Imaginaire et les techniques*. Paris, 2013, pp. 14-16.

⁴⁹ Barbara Auger. “Navire mythiques nordiques: image et discours spatiotemporels.” *Chronique d’histoire maritime*. Société Française d’Histoire Maritime, 2013, pp. 59-76.

⁵⁰ Kan Jakobsson. “The Warship in Swedish Seventeenth-Century Society: A Cultural Construction?” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 2010, pp. 225-243.

cultural values of Swedish society at that time. Jakobsson argues that the emblematic decorations used not only in cartography and naval sculpture but also in the regalia of the Swedish monarchy were represented in the warship's decoration as a manifestation of the power of the monarch.

Jakobsson's article served as the starting point for my own discussion on the production of French naval sculpture during its two centuries of practice. I began by considering the multiple purposes of the French warship: to act as a mobile fortification meant to wage war against France's enemies, to safe-guard France's commercial interests by escorting mercantile ships along the trade sea routes, and to serve as a dissuader to any potential adversary by displaying its might. Hence, these warships became mobile fortifications that sailed from harbour to harbour and across the seas to impress allies and deter would-be adversaries.⁵¹ The grandiosity and richness of their sculptures was meant to showcase the military might of France and provoke awe to the viewer.

When the time came to build the warship, its multi-functional purpose was bound to require clarification about the theme of its sculptures. If the warship was being built during peacetime, did this affect the sculpture's theme, even though the ship was still an instrument of war? What about the warship's purpose of defending the trade routes and promoting the freedom of commerce, which was a peaceful activity? In addition, how was the theme affected by the political activities that occurred inside France and by the interactions between France and its maritime neighbours? Also, how was the warship's given name interpreted by the thematic composition of the sculpture and how did the sculptures themselves instil pride of ownership in

⁵¹ André Zysberg, in "Le décor emblématique de la souveraineté : les poupes sculptées des galères de France sous le règne de Louis XIV," *Études sur l'ancienne France. Bernard Barbiche & Yves-Marie Berce*. Paris : École des Chartes, 2003, p. 491 states that the purpose of the sculptures of the French fleet was to showcase the military might of France as the fleet went from harbor to harbor to carry out its mission "de prestige et de présence."

the warship's patron, the shipbuilder, and the crew that manned the ship, regardless of its purpose or mission?

Hence, the basis of my inquiry was not confined to the rules of production of naval sculpture and the design rules that accompanied them solely in terms of the conceptual drawings, the actual sculptures, and their placement on the warship. Rather, I also explored how the warship's multifaceted and changing purpose—which was subjected to the naval policy of France at the time, the philosophical thinking emanating from Versailles, and the prevailing cultural attitude of society—affected the composition and form of the sculptures.

My research thus has a multi-fold purpose: to identify those factors that directly or indirectly influenced the practice of French naval sculpture, taking into consideration the political intent of France to showcase the greatness of the king and that of France at sea to the rest of Europe; to determine how the thematic compositions of the sculptures were influenced by other types of art; to ascertain how advances in ship design that altered the shape of the hull forced the sculptural form to change in order to fit into its new space; and to establish how the sculptural design itself was influenced by rules that were in use for other types of sculptures, namely public monuments, state buildings, and palace gardens. Investigating these influences also required defining those fixed and variable parameters that were present during the sculptural process, from the initial drawing to the final finish of the sculpture. The choice of names given to newly built ships according to the policy of the regime at that time also needed to be reviewed, especially since this policy changed in response to France changing the mandate of its navy over time. In addition, although the rich sculptural composition of French naval sculpture is attributed to the ability of those that carried out the production process, these compositions were not done

in isolation. Rather, they were also the result of those factors that combined French artistic trends and, which in turn, influenced the composition of the sculptures.

The naval sculptures that adorned the French fleet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had as their primary purpose a projection of France's military maritime power. All three monarchs during this period wanted French naval sculpture to be the best in Europe, so that France would be admired by its allies and envied by its opponents. The naval sculptures that adorned the warships of the French fleet under Louis XIV followed the policy initiated by Colbert to decorate warships with rich sculptures in the Baroque style as a demonstration of wealth.⁵² Naval sculpture under Louis XV transitioned to the Rococo style and its purpose was reoriented to that of identifying the warships of the fleet as war machines ready to protect the interests of France. Step-changes to the architecture of the warship's hull under Louis XVI resulted in a simplified Neoclassical sculptural form that still retained the sculpture's military theme. Hence, the ongoing practice of the naval sculpture of France under all three reigns is accredited to the ability of its artists to respond to the changing policies dictated by the administration at Versailles, to embrace the conventions of the time, and to accept the advances in hull design that altered the allotted sculptural space.

Finding the answers to the questions I raised on the previous page required me to carry out a series of research activities. First, I surveyed the information on French naval sculpture under the *ancien régime* provided by the displays in the French naval museums and the manuscripts in the naval archives of France, together with those from the other European maritime museums, and deduced from the information obtained those criteria that governed the production of naval

⁵² Use of the word "style" in this dissertation is meant to denote the general manner of identifying the design of a form and relate this to a specific period. Therefore, when I refer to "style" I do not intend to present a detailed discussion of its definition and its merits.

sculpture.⁵³ Next, I reviewed the manner in which these criteria were applied and quantified how and why the practice of French naval sculpture was able to react to the changes that affected its production. This required defining the production network that supported the practice of naval sculpture and identifying the internal and external factors that were instrumental in ensuring the continuation of naval sculpture as an artistic practice that lasted for almost two centuries.

I have composed a research framework based on the steps I have just outlined. This research framework is divided into two parts, a primary area and a secondary area of investigation. The primary area of investigation is directly related to the production of the warships' sculptures. That is, its sources are records of the actual work done, starting with the conceptual definition by the artist doing the sculptural drawing in the studio, followed by the production of the sculpture in the naval shipyard by the master sculptor assisted by the wood carvers, and lastly the final colouring by the master painter assisted by the ship's painters after the sculpture had been mounted on the hull. The secondary area of investigation is indirectly related to the production of the warships' sculptures. That is, it consists of sources that would have influenced the synthesis of the sculpture and not directed its definition and production. They are relevant because they served as sources of reference during the making of the sculptures.

In both the primary and secondary areas, I considered the functional purpose of the sculpture in terms of the permanence or perpetuity of its design together with its thematic

⁵³ The manuscripts in the naval archives of France consist of the king's orders, the exchange of letters between the minister of the navy and the naval administration, progress reports on ship construction programs, technical papers on ship design and behaviour at sea, the material required for ship construction, cost budgets and cost reports, and the state of readiness of the fleet. The other European maritime museums are those of Britain, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. These sources are referenced throughout the text and listed separately in the Bibliography under the section Site Research Resources.

representation and choice of theme, its stylistic composition, and by its fit within those constraints imposed upon the sculpture's size and shape. The research framework is shown below in the form of a matrix table that links the area of research with the governing factors, the sources of the information, and the sites where the information resides.

Layout of the Research Framework.

Area of Research	Governing Factors	Sources of Information	Research Site
Primary area of investigation.	Permanence of the design.	Manuscripts.	Archives nationales de France.
	Thematic representation.	Sculptures on display.	Musée national de la marine (1).
	Choice of theme.	Ships' names.	Archives nationales de France.
	Stylistic rendition.	Sculptural drawings.	Service historique de la Défense (2).
	Constraints.	Ships' construction plans and reduced scale models.	Service historique de la Défense (2). Musée national de la marine (1).
Secondary area of investigation.	Permanence of the design.	Marine paintings and illustrations.	Musée du Louvre. Musée national de la marine (1).
	Thematic representation.	Orders by the king's council.	Archives nationales de France.
	Choice of theme.	Manuals and illustrations on iconography. Explorers' journals.	Archives nationales de France.
	Stylistic rendition.	Académie art. Decorative armour. Ornamental furniture.	Musée du Louvre. Château de Versailles.
		Commemorative medallions. Cartography.	Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Constraints.	Naval edicts. Naval requirements.	Archives nationales de France.	

(1) Brest, Paris, Rochefort.

(2) Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Vincennes.

The governing factors listed in this table can be considered as having shaped the best practices applicable to naval sculpture. Any absences here can be addressed through a comparative analysis of the techniques of naval sculpture identified in my research and those of adjacent disciplines, in particular those used for the sculptures of public monuments, state buildings, and palace gardens. This will also help determine how certain best practices originating in other disciplines were intentionally changed to make them more applicable to naval sculpture.

My approach to investigating the questions I have raised involved two phases. The first phase has already been briefly described and required reviewing the existing body of research. This was done by a series of case studies that are presented in this dissertation and that describe how the artistic practice of naval sculpture resulted from a complex production network with significant constraints and contradictory requirements.

The second phase required incorporating a corrective principle to verify my interpretations and to ensure that they did not lead to misleading deductions. Thus, I relied on the self-reflexive approach postulated by Erwin Panofsky in *Studies in Iconology*, which checks the investigative process itself when analyzing the sculptures.⁵⁴ Panofsky states that the study of art “demands that the objects of its study must be grasped with necessity and not merely historically. A purely historical examination, whether it goes first to content or to the history of form, elucidates the

⁵⁴ Panofsky initially presented this method in a conference paper he gave in 1931. This was published as an article titled “Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst” in 1932 in *Logos*. Panofsky refined the method and published it in 1939 as the introductory chapter of his book *Studies in Iconology*. When he published *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, he included an updated version as Chapter 1 and titled it “Iconography and Iconology.”

phenomenal work of art only by reference to other phenomena, it does not have any higher order of knowledge on which to ground itself.”⁵⁵

By using this approach I ensured that my analysis was controlled and that I obtained a reasoned result, as opposed to one based on an intuitive deduction. Applying Panofsky’s method to examine the rules of production and to help understand how the thematic compositions of the naval sculptures were conceived required taking into consideration, as Christine Hasenmuelle states in a 1978 article titled “Concept of Structuralism from Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics,” that an art object is conceived within a framework of socially constructed codes and according to the power structures in place.⁵⁶

To apply this corrective principle in a meaningful way also required recognizing those signs and symbols that are not readily apparent in the source data. One manner of doing this was to follow W. J. T. Mitchell’s proposal in “The Idea of Imagery” in *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* published in 1986 that the analysis of an art object requires investigating its inherent ideology.⁵⁷

According to Mitchell, two levels of inquiry are needed to deduce the meaning of an art object. These involve getting to know the rhetoric of the image, and defining its ideology—that is, uncovering the meaning of the image as a concept and not simply as representing itself.

⁵⁵ See Allister Neher’s “The Concept of Kunstwollen, and Erwin Panofsky’s early art theoretical essays.” *Word & Image*, 2004. 1. Cited from the translation of Panofsky’s *Der Begriff des Kunstwollens* and reprinted in *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1964.

⁵⁶ Christine Hasenmuelle. “Concept of Structuralism from Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 36, no. 3. 1978, pp. 289-301.

⁵⁷ This follows from Mitchell’s concept in the analysis of an art object. Mitchell suggests that an art object has an inherent ideology and two levels of inquiry are needed to deduce its meaning. These are getting to know the rhetoric of the image; and from this, uncovering the meaning of the art object as a concept. See W.J.T. Mitchell’s “The Idea of Imagery” in *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Applying this method of inquiry helped to define those criteria that formulated the composition of the naval sculptures.

To further ensure a reliable qualitative review, I also considered the ways in which the rules of production evolved inside and outside the artist's studio and the sculptor's workspace. This implied determining the makeup of the production network, as well as the resources that supported it, which directly or indirectly allowed for a cohesive production process. The network method proposed by Bruno Latour in *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists & Engineers through Society* published in 1987 is one way of understanding how these roles were formed and how they evolved to govern naval sculpture within and outside the naval shipyard. Latour postulates that a production network can be regulated by events in time that may appear unrelated and not necessarily in sequence, in particular because of the presence of personages, concepts, and objects that act as external and internal agents and continuously reposition themselves according to the changing circumstances around them.⁵⁸

This model inspired an investigation of the exchanges that took place among the king as the patron, those who acted as his representatives, and those involved in actually making the sculptures. In a way, they behaved in a similar manner to the agents involved in the production of a commissioned painting, where a commercial or monetary interaction took place.

However, in all of these cases there was also a social interaction. Michael Baxandall in *Painting & Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, written in 1988, discusses this social interaction between the patron and the artist when he describes how affluent Italians of that

⁵⁸ Bruno Latour. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists & Engineers through Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987, pp. 144-146, 258-259.

period not only paid for a painting as an art object but also paid for the renowned capability of the artist and the status that this would bring.⁵⁹

The importance of this social relationship can also be read in the artistic practice of French naval sculpture. On one side there was the king as the patron and those who acted on his behalf—who commissioned the art, provided funds, gave input, regulated its cost, and ensured that upon its completion it would end up on a ship going to sea. On the other side there was the sculptural artist who made the drawing, the sculptor who carved the sculpture, and the painter that coloured it. All three wanted to excel in their work and to receive payment for it. Both sides worked within their own social conventions.

The king as patron and the artist and sculptor wanted the sculptures to be visually appealing. However, the sculptural drawings and the sculptures that were based upon them were relatively abstract and followed conventional patterns of representation. After a warship was built, there was no catalogue that explained or even commented on its sculptures—as the “livrets” of the art salons did for other visual arts. As a result, there is no master text to refer to.

Norman Bryson, in *Words and Images: French Painting of the Ancien Régime*, written in 1983 demonstrates how our mind interprets in words whatever we see in a work of art, and he suggests that the inscription or title of the image serves as a handle allowing us to interact with the art work.⁶⁰ The only handle available for naval sculpture is the warship’s given name because it is the only textual reference that can be linked to the compositional theme of the sculptures. In its own way, then, the warship’s name operates as a master text, providing information about the warship’s purpose and what the sculptures might have been designed to represent.

⁵⁹ Michael Baxandall. “Conditions of Trade.” *Painting & Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 1-27.

⁶⁰ Norman Bryson. “Discourse, figure.” *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 1-6.

This dissertation, then, is meant to demonstrate that naval sculpture in France under the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI was not simply an activity done in isolation by the sculptor who received the commission. It was also the result of a comprehensive process that was subject to a political strategy that used naval sculpture to showcase the greatness of the king and of France to the rest of Europe, and that in turn was also influenced by France's mercantile strategy.

Hence, I not only investigated the practice of French naval sculpture with the aim of integrating its visual aspect with its functional purpose according to the mandate bestowed upon it. I also explored the artistic, cultural, and political attitudes that prevailed throughout the *ancien régime*. This entailed considering factors that were outside of the production network as such, and that were as diverse as the need to have a hull design with a higher strength-to-weight ratio, or the effects of fashion trends imported into France because of its expanding maritime commerce.

When I look at the sculptural drawings—and the sculptures themselves, for that matter—as an art historian I am fully aware that I am more than two centuries removed from the actual practice of naval sculpture. My own sense of the process obviously differs from that of those who took part in it, not least because our backgrounds and conditioning are very different. Therefore, as well as learning the history itself, I need to become familiar, to the extent possible, with the attitudes and habits of those who worked within the production network that I want to study.

For instance, those who commissioned and worked on the sculptures would understand how different stages of the process affected the design. Those who were outside of this network lacked such insight. This may explain why contemporary studies on naval sculpture have solely

addressed its design as a finished product: because they were unfamiliar with the full production process of naval sculpture.

As responsible readers and researchers, however, we can understand how to read these sculptures if we attempt to retrieve the writing and reading skills of that era that have been lost. I hope to recover these historical perspectives through the work of this dissertation so that my interpretation will be as faithful as possible to the intent of those who made the sculptures over two centuries ago.

The purpose of this dissertation, above all, is to inform the reader about the history of French naval sculpture under the *ancien régime*. The dissertation will also contribute to the study of naval sculpture in other countries. Although I have created a model that is specific to the practice of French naval sculpture, the basic principles of this model can nevertheless be applied to the artistic practice of naval sculpture in countries that have not yet received the type of scholarly attention my dissertation provides. This model can also possibly be extended within the field of art history to consider other forms of visual art.

* * *

Chapter One: Reflection on the Theme of the Topic

Why the artistic practice of naval sculpture was not simply the result of the sculptor following the drawing, but was also the outcome of a complex production network with contradictory requirements.

French naval sculpture under the *ancien régime* is renowned for its highly decorative aspect and its thematic representation of the monarchy. A review of the sculptural drawings in the naval archives of France under all three monarchs shows that over a lifespan of almost two centuries naval sculpture took on different appearances that were dependent on the historical moment when the sculptures were made. Some of these are readily apparent. The most noticeable is the transition in style from Baroque to Rococo and then to Neoclassical, as determined by the trend in Versailles during that particular period. Also obvious is the change in shape of the sculpture as a result of changes to the sculptural space made available with transformations to the hull as a result of advances in shipbuilding techniques. The symbolic meaning of these sculptures is also apparent. The sculptural theme is consistent in paying homage to the king by allegorically portraying the king's high values, good qualities, and right to rule, but it also responded to the changing priorities emanating from Versailles, whether these were to represent France under Louis XIV as possessing both wealth and power, or to expand France's interest under Louis XV in mercantile commerce, or to show that France under Louis XVI was ready to go to war to defend its interests.

Colbert, as secretary of state and minister of the navy under Louis XIV, is renowned as the instigator of French naval sculpture. Colbert was appointed by Louis XIV in 1661 and entrusted with the maritime affairs of France. Charles de la Roncière writes in *Histoire de la*

Marine Française, published in 1934, that at that time France only had six warships for its fleet and Colbert sought to make France a maritime power by proposing to build a powerful navy consisting of 100 warships. Roncière cites a letter Colbert wrote to Cardinal Mazarin, Chief Minister to Louis XIV, stating that it was necessary to launch a major naval construction program to establish the glory and honour of the monarch at sea: “Rétablir la gloire et l’honneur du royaume sur mer.”⁶¹ This naval program resulted in these new ships having sculptural decorations with themes that paid homage to the monarchy.

Colbert’s ambition to launch a naval program to build 100 warships for the French fleet meant that many new sculptural decorations were needed. With this in mind, Colbert appointed some of the best artists and sculptors from the royal court to design and make the sculptures. He also set up sculptural centres in the naval shipyards to ensure that these sculptures were of the utmost quality.

The reason these artists were appointed to design naval sculptures was that Colbert had reprogrammed the naval sculpture of France to serve the needs of the state and to impress the rest of Europe. Colbert wanted the artists he had engaged to replicate the art of Versailles on France’s warships and showcase France’s artistic greatness to a wider audience, both within and outside France. Colbert’s intention was for naval sculpture to serve as a political instrument

⁶¹ Charles de la Roncière and G. Clarc-Campbel. “Colbert.” *Histoire de la Marine Française*. Paris: Larousse, 1934, pp. 83-84. The Service historique de la Défense in *Inventaire des archives de la Marine Série B Tome III: Les institutions maritimes depuis Colbert* states: “Colbert, qui fut le premier véritable Ministre de la Marine, employa plus activement qu’aucun de ses successeurs l’instrument qu’il avait su former pour arriver à la reconstitution de la Marine royale. Il fonda l’arsenal de Rochefort, développa suivant une méthode rationnelle les autres principaux établissements de la Marine, institua ou restaura divers corps d’officiers militaires ou civils, de fonctionnaires, d’agents de tout sorte, dont la plupart subsistent aujourd’hui avec les mêmes traits distinctifs. Il est l’auteur d’une organisation administrative et d’une réglementation dont l’empreinte et encore profondément marquée sur notre établissement maritime contemporain, malgré tant de changements survenus dans l’ordre politique, social, technique ou économique ... La période qu’il a ouvert il y a plus de deux siècle n’est pas encore close” (Avertissement XXI- XXII).

directed internally towards the domestic politics of Versailles and externally outside of France in support of France's foreign policy. There was also the hidden intent to flatter the king with sculptures that evoked the monarchy to ensure the continuation of funding for the naval program.

The making of these sculptures in what at that time was considered to be the best possible artistic rendition may seem apparent, in particular when one is aware that their function was not simply to decorate the fleet, but to fulfill Colbert's mandate of declaring an affirmation of power. The Service historique de la Marine in *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux* emphasizes this by stating that when Colbert instigated France's naval program in 1668, naval sculpture was purposely given the mandate of asserting France as a major maritime power: "La décoration navale se présentait avant tout comme une geste d'affirmation d'une grande puissance face à ses rivales."⁶²

This statement illustrates how decorating the fleet as a weapon of war with these sculptures was meant to ascertain that France had sufficient wealth to afford this decoration, and as such was also sufficiently wealthy to be a contending military power. These sculptures were meant to project a power that was similar to that of the highly decorative battle armour of an able and successful warrior-king, with the message that it would be unwise for any of France's potential adversaries to provoke war (see Figures 5, 6, and 7).⁶³ The use of battle armour to project the strength and success of a warrior-king is revealed in the exquisitely engraved suit of battle armour on display at the Musée d'artillerie in Paris, which Louis XIV received to

⁶² Service historique de la Marine. *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux*, p. 25.

⁶³ The decoration of French battle armour precedes Louis XIV. See Pierre Redon. "Morion et écu de Charles IX. Fer repoussé, plaqué d'or et émaillé, soie brodée de fils d'or," 1555-1560; Giovanni Paolo Negrolì. "Cuirasse. Acier, cuivre et cuir," 1540-45; and Hippolyte Boissel baron de Monville. "Plastron de cuirasse. Acier, or et argent," 1580-1585. Musée du Louvre. Paris.

commemorate his victory at Flanders (see Figure 8).⁶⁴ Palace portraits of Louis XIV and Louis XV repeat this affirmation of power by showing both monarchs wearing decorative battle armour (see Figures 9 and 10).⁶⁵

The highly decorative quality of French naval sculpture was intended to surpass in its splendour the naval sculpture of other nations and especially impress upon them the superior artistic abilities of France. The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture had an important influence in this regard.⁶⁶ The establishment of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture marked the starting point from when Colbert defined the mission of the arts in France as one of celebrating the glory of the monarch. Besides painting and sculpture, the Académie also included engraving as a discipline.

However, Colbert's ambitions went beyond the original mandate of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture as a professional artistic institution. Due to Colbert's intervention the Académie now had the added mandate to be an instrument of the state and to project France's

⁶⁴ Anonymous. "Armure offerte au roi Louis XIV après la conquête de Flandres," about 1670. Image of wrought metal decorated with engraving. Musée de l'artillerie. Paris.

⁶⁵ See Charles Le Brun (1619-90) (attributed). "Louis XIV, roi de France et de Navarre (1638-1715)," about 1662. Oil on canvas, 68 x 57 cm. Château de Versailles; and Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704-88). "Portrait de Louis XV de France (1710-1774). Pastel sur papier gris-bleu collé en plein sur une toile tendue sur châssis," 1748. 60 x 54 cm. Musée du Louvre. Paris.

⁶⁶ The Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, founded in 1648 by royal decree, had as its purpose to elevate painting and sculpture from a guild status to a professional art discipline. It lasted until 1793, when it was disbanded as a result of the French Revolution. Its purpose was to group together the artists working for the French royal court and to give them a stamp of approval that the other artists' guilds did not have. Christian Michel discusses the role of the Académie throughout its life in *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*. Paris: Droz, 2012. Here, although Michel features Charles Le Brun, Pierre Puget and François Girardon as académie members who were involved in naval sculpture, he omits to review their contribution to naval sculpture even though they were engaged in its practice. Rather, any effect the académie members may have had on naval sculpture is bypassed. It is worth mentioning that other academies with similar vocations were also founded under the patronage of Louis XIV such as the Académie Royale d'Architecture, which had a leading role in influencing architectural theory and education and the Académie Royale des Sciences with its two classes of "mathématique" and "physique." See <http://www.academie-des-beaux-arts.fr/histoire/royale/architecture> and <http://www.academie-sciences.fr>.

artistic greatness. Its leading members evoked the greatness of France with illustrious portraits of the monarchy and compositions invoking ancient mythological themes that made direct and allegorical reference to the king (see Figures 11 to 15).⁶⁷ The Académie, with its three branches of painting, sculpture, and engraving, also influenced the designs of the naval sculptures, especially through those Académie artists who were also involved in directing the themes of these sculptures in a manner that responded to the edicts of Colbert and the other naval ministers that followed.⁶⁸

The priority for both the artists who made the sculptural drawings and the sculptors who executed them was to make sculptures of the highest quality. However, the administrative authorities in charge of the naval program began to be concerned about the extravagance of these sculptures and their high cost. Among those who became concerned was Colbert himself, who wrote a letter in 1669, when the first warships were being built at Toulon, to the intendant of the naval shipyard, Louis Le Roux seigneur D'Infreville, regarding the building of these warships. This letter by Colbert emphasizes his apprehension: the production of the naval sculptures had turned out to be time-consuming, costly, and even disruptive to the construction of the warships themselves. This was causing tension between those who wanted to make the sculptures as

⁶⁷ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture showcased France's national prestige through the work of its artists, who evoked the greatness of France with sumptuous portraits of the monarchy and painted compositions of ancient mythological narrations that had the king at the centre. Leading portraits of the monarchy are those by Académie artists Hyacinthe Rigaud for Louis XIV, Louis-Michel Van Loo for Louis XV, and Antoine-Francois Callet for Louis XVI. Examples of paintings with allegorical compositions by Académie artists are Nicolas Loir, "Allégorie de la fondation de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture," 1663. Huile sur toile. 1.41 × 1.85 m. Châteaux de Versailles; Jacques Dumont le Romain (1701-81). "Allégorie en l'honneur de la publication de la paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle, le 13 février 1749," 1761. Oil on canvas. 330 × 430 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

⁶⁸ The naval ministers that served under the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI are listed in Appendix One.

artistic as possible and those who wanted to build the warships in the most expedient manner.

Colbert's letter is reproduced on the next page.

Lettre à M. D'Infreville Intendant de Marine à Toulon
Saint-Germain, 19 juillet 1669.⁶⁹

“Je conviens que les ouvrages de sculpture des trois grands vaisseaux bâtis en dernier à Toulon consomment beaucoup de temps; mais vous m'avouerez vous-même qu'il n'y a rien qui frappe tant les yeux ni marque tant la magnificence du Roy que de bien orner les vaisseaux comme les plus beaux qui aient encore paru à la mer et qu'il est de sa gloire de surpasser en ce point les autres nations qui jusqu'à icy se sont les plus appliquées à la marine. Vous serez plus en peine à l'avenir de retrancher ces sortes d'ouvrage vu que vous ne devez plus faire bastir que de vaisseaux de 50 pièce de canon de 6 à 7 cents tonneaux auxquels il faut peut d'ornements.”

Colbert's letter was a reply to D'Infreville, who had found an excuse for the construction of the warships being delayed: the high cost of the naval sculptures for the *Royal-Louis*, which had just been built. The sculptures on their own had cost 10,000 livres and the painting of the same sculptures cost another 10,000 livres.⁷⁰ Compare this to the total cost for building the remainder of the ship, which amounted to 40,000 livres.

As a result, Colbert began to express doubt as to whether the high cost of these sculptures was necessary, and he wanted to prevent similarly grandiose sculptures from being produced for the other warships that remained to be built. Colbert's desire to reduce the size and number of these sculptures and control their costs was repeated by his son and successor, Jean-Baptiste Antoine Colbert de Seignelay, who also wrote to the intendant of the naval shipyard at Toulon in

⁶⁹ Pierre Clément. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, vol 3, partie 1. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1870. Archives de la Marine. Dépêches concernant la marine. 1669, f° 270.

⁷⁰ Commissaire Hayet in *Description du vaisseau le Royal-Louis*, Marseille, 1677, 11, gives the cost breakdown by trade for building the ship as follows: “charpentiers 27,000 livres; perceurs 3,500 livres; scieurs 3,000 livres; calfats 2,000 livres; menuisiers 2,000 livres; journaliers 2,500 livres; sculpteurs 10,000 livres; peintres 10,000 livres.” This comes to a total of 60,000 livres for the entire ship. Compare these very large costs to the price to purchase a bale of wheat of 40 kg at 8 to 17 livres under Louis XIV. Drévilion *Les Rois Absolus*, 65.

1686, hoping to curtail the high cost of the sculptures: “Il y a longtemps que sa majesté est persuadé qu’il se fait une dépense inutile pour les ornements de ses vaisseaux.”⁷¹

In summary, then, the time it took to make these sculptures and their high cost were in contradiction with the need to control costs and build the new fleet as expediently as possible. This produced an uncomfortable tension between the artists Colbert had appointed and the shipbuilders, and it fell to Colbert to reconcile the needs of both.

Latour’s network method, the importance of which I noted earlier, can help understand the relationship between the two groups of people involved in the shipbuilding process. The artists who defined the sculptures and the sculptors who produced them worked independently of the shipwrights and the other shipyard workers who built the ship’s hull. This can be seen from the start, when Colbert immediately set up sculptural centres in the naval shipyards. As a result, the practice of naval sculpture became autonomous from the remainder of the ship-building activity. This autonomy was reinforced when the sculptural centres took on the sons of those who worked there as apprentices. Eventually, family dynasties emerged, taking it upon themselves to provide a self-fulfilling mandate to their work. The most prolific of these dynasties was the Caffieri family, which extended over five generations, from 1687 to 1792.⁷² Another dynasty was that of the Amourette family, which lasted three generations, from 1691 to 1720. Because of these family dynasties and the autonomy they and the sculptural centres in the naval

⁷¹ Service historique de la Marine *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux*, p. 29.

⁷² The Caffieri dynasty members are listed below by the year they were born and died and where and when they practiced. These dates were provided by the archivist at the Musée national de la Marine, Paris. Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716). Worked at Le Havre from 1687 to 1691. François-Charles Caffieri (1667-1729). Worked at Dunkerque from 1695 to 1714, at Le Havre from 1714 to 1717, and at Brest from 1717 to 1729. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). Worked at Le Havre from 1720 to 1728, and at Brest from 1729 to 1766. Charles-Marie Caffieri (1736-79). Worked at Brest from 1764 to 1774. Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725-92). Worked at Versailles from 1736 to 1792.

shipyards enjoyed, there was an attitude of defiance among them, and they seemed resolved to continue making prolific sculptures in spite of decrees to the contrary throughout the practice of naval sculpture right up to the reign of Louis XVI.

The appointment by Colbert in 1668 of the king's artists Charles Le Brun (1619-90), who was a painter, Pierre Puget (1620-94), who was a sculptor and painter, and François Girardon (1628-1715), who was a sculptor, to do the sculptures for the first warships created a community of artists who were considered as excelling in their own work. They had already achieved recognition as being at the forefront of the artistic community through their work at Versailles.

Colbert's motivation in assembling these artists was primarily to ensure that the sculptural decoration of the *Royal-Louis* and the sculptures of the other first rates that were to follow would be done to the highest standard. These were the first flagships of the naval program and were meant to glorify and at the same time impress the king. Understandably, Colbert did not want to take any chances.⁷³ Puget is deemed to be foremost in terms of his artistic ability in this regard.⁷⁴ However, Puget was hostile towards those who did not follow his precise directions

⁷³ There is one other important reason that Colbert wanted France to excel in its naval sculpture. France may have purposely embarked on an extraordinary artistic program under Louis XIV to recover its prestige from the setbacks and military defeats it had endured. To do this, the French royal court had appointed about 15 renowned French artists and imported an equal number of renowned artists with the sole purpose of producing art of high quality. Francois-Marie Arouet, known as Voltaire, in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* of 1764, under "Arts Beaux-Arts," states that the proliferation of fine arts compensated for the disastrous setbacks that befell the king. "Les beaux-arts en foule compensent les erreurs désastreuses du souverain ... et forcent l'Europe à regarder avec respect Louis XIV et son siècle." See Claire Mazel. "Les beaux-arts du siècle Louis XIV" in *Penser l'art dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle: théorie, critique, philosophie, histoire*, 2013, edited by Christian Michel and Carl Magnusson. Académie de France à Rome: Villa Medecis, 2013, pp. 538, 545. Hence, according to Voltaire, during the reign of Louis XIV, there was a need to produce art that was the admiration of Europe. This would equally apply to naval sculpture.

⁷⁴ Léon Lagrange in *Pierre Puget, Peintre, Sculpteur, Architect, Decorateur de vaisseaux*, Paris: Didier, 1896, p. 108, mentions that Puget was active in naval sculpture only from 1668 to 1671. In spite of this short period, Théron states that his style influenced naval decoration throughout Europe. Théron, "La Bonne fabrique et la Superbe Ornement," pp. 141, 146. Théron adds that Puget not only synthesized Le Brun's unique iconography with rich Genoese ornamentation but also created pictorial narrations of

in the composition and execution of the sculptures, even if they were not viable as sculptures to be fitted on a warship. This created significant antagonism between Puget and the sculptors working in the naval shipyard and resulted in Matharel, the intendant of the naval shipyard at Toulon, writing to Colbert to complain that Puget was not agreeing with the common sense rules being applied by the sculptors in making sure the sculptures fitted well with the remainder of the ship:

“Il y une difficulté bien plus grande entre le Sieur Puget et Maître Rodolphe, en ce que le premier prétend que votre intentions est qu’il ait la direction entière et absolue des constructions de navires aussi bien que leurs ornements, des sortes que Maître Rodolphe et les autres maîtres charpentiers n’ayent pour partage que l’exécution de ses dessins : il s’en expliqué en ces termes en présence de Maître Rodolphe qui s’en est fort scandalisé.”

M. Matharel, Toulon, le 28 juin 1670.⁷⁵

Matharel also wrote other letters to Colbert afterwards, complaining about Puget’s intolerance with the sculptors who were executing his designs:

“Le Sieur Puget a fait refaire la plus grande partie à son arrivée en ce lieu, parce qu’il dit que l’entrepreneur n’avait pas bien suivi son dessin pendant son absence.”

M. Matharel, Toulon, le 5 septembre 1670.⁷⁶

Matharel goes on to state that it required significant effort and the intervention of Colbert to convince Puget not to continue with these sculptures and to reduce their large size, since they were interfering with the ship’s function:

“Je suis bien aise que vous ayez résolu avec M. Mariel d’Almeras et le Sieur Puget qu’on me mettrait plus dorénavant de si grande figures aux poupes des vaisseaux. Il faut éviter ces embrasse-là et y faire le moins d’ornements qu’il pourra.”

M. Matharel, Toulon, le 19 septembre 1670.⁷⁷

ambitious decorative schemes capable of competing in magnificence with those of Le Brun himself. Théron, p. 154.

⁷⁵ This citation and those that follow are extracts from correspondence in the Archives nationales de France, Registres séries MAR B³ 300. This correspondence is also copied by Boudriot in *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, pp. 360-61.

⁷⁶ See footnote 79 for reference.

⁷⁷ See footnote 79 for reference.

Puget was also an architect himself. He thus believed that he had authority over the ship's architecture.⁷⁸ He continued to insist on having the ship's aftercastle mounted with grandiose sculptures in total disregard of the ship's ability to manoeuvre properly with such a heavy load at the stern. His behaviour towards those who were executing the sculptures from his drawings and at the same trying to respect the ship's need for stability was so difficult that it prompted criticism from the king. The king wrote a letter to Matharel stating that it would be of greater benefit for the naval construction program at Toulon simply to pay Puget to stay away from the shipyard:

Mémoire du Roi au sieur Matharel, juin 1671.

“Le sieur d’Almeras se plaint fort des ornements massifs et de relief et des galeries que Puget fait faire aux vaisseaux du Roi sur ses dessins et dit qu’il vaudrait mieux que le Roi lui donne 10,000 ecus tous les ans pour ne mettre jamais les pieds dans l’arsenal.”⁷⁹

Colbert justified the money spent on naval sculpture with the same political rationale as the king had used to justify the decoration of the palace and gardens of Versailles. The results of these naval sculptures, which were often so grandiose that they overwhelmed the warship's hull, were of course not visible to the king because the naval shipyards were so far from Versailles. Yet the disruption that Puget caused was sufficient for him to be banned from being involved in directing any of the naval sculptors: “Puget, maître en chef, ayant été rayé des contrôles de la marine.”⁸⁰

The exchange of correspondence between Colbert and Matharel and D’Infreville concerns in part the abilities of those making the sculptures on the ships under construction. Matharel and D’Infreville agreed that the sculptors in the shipyards were doing their best to

⁷⁸ Marie-Paul Vial, *Pierre Puget: Sculpteur, Peintre, Architecte*, Pp. 94-106.

⁷⁹ See footnote 79 for reference.

⁸⁰ Service historique de la Marine, *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux*, p. 29.

make the sculptures fit as integrated features with the ship's hull and not interfere with the ship's navigability:

“Les nommés Rombaude et Turreau sculpteurs, avaient commencés à travailler aux sculptures de quelques poupes des vaisseaux neuf dont eux-mêmes ont fait les dessins, mais le dit Sieur Puget prétend que celâ lui appartient à lui seul, et trouvant les dits dessins mal faits. Les autres, au contraire, se tenant assez bons maîtres pour travailler de leur chef, témoignent y avoir de la répugnance.”

M. Matharel, Toulon, le 28 juin 1670.⁸¹

The two sculptors Matharel refers to are Rombaude Langueneux and Pierre Turreau, who were the master sculptor and the sculptor-in-charge, respectively, for the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* built in Toulon and launched in 1668: “Rombaude fut chargé d'exécuter d'après ces dessins la moitié des figures de la poupe du Royal-Louis, l'autre moitié, celle du côté de tribord, ayant été confiée à Turreau.”⁸²

One of the best-known drawings by Puget shows the sculptural decoration of the warship *Sceptre* and hangs now at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Angers (see Figure 16).⁸³ However, the most complex of Puget's drawings is *Design for the decoration of a Warship*, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (see Figure 17).⁸⁴ Both drawings show that Puget composed his designs as if the ship's hull was solely to serve as a support structure for the sculptures, with total disregard for the ship's navigability, but rather as if the sculptures were meant for a public

⁸¹ See footnote 79 for reference.

⁸² See “Les décorateurs de vaisseaux au port de Toulon,” *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts*. Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts. Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1890, pp. 354, 362.

⁸³ Pierre Puget (1620-94). “Le Sceptre.” Drawing. 35 x 49 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers. This was a ship-of-the-line, 90 cannons, built at Toulon by L. Coulomb. Construction was begun in 1668 and was completed in 1671. The drawing was given to master sculptor Joseph Labé for execution. See Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 312.

⁸⁴ Pierre Puget. “Design for the decoration of a Warship.” 17th century. Drawing. 52.7 x 63.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/339657>.

monument or palace garden. These drawings were evidently a means of artistic self-fulfillment by Puget rather than a guide to decorating a functional warship.⁸⁵

This conflict between Puget, as the king's artist entrusted with decorating one of the first warships to be built under Colbert's naval construction program, and the naval shipyard authorities, who were more concerned with meeting the naval program's schedule than with having grandiose sculptures, has been bypassed by those who write about French naval sculptures. They selectively cite Colbert's letter to D'Infreville to emphasize the grandiosity of the sculptures that Puget made at Toulon and ignore what appears to be a contradiction. Authors such as Bélisle, Boudriot, and Soop, as well as web sites on naval sculpture, erroneously cite Colbert's letter in part as follows: "Il n'y a rien qui frappe tant les yeux ni marque tant la magnificence du Roy que de bien orner les vaisseaux comme les plus beaux qui aient encore paru à la mer et qu'il est de sa gloire de surpasser en ce point les autres nations." This gives the impression that Colbert was in favour of these grandiose sculptures. When Colbert's letter is read in full it is chiding and meant to tell D'Infreville not to do the same thing on the next warships to be built, especially since these were not first rates and thus required lesser sculptures.

Matharel and D'Infreville had argued against Puget's grandiose sculptures using Britain and Holland as examples; these nations decorated their warships more modestly and took into account the warship's navigability. Hence, when art historians selectively cite from Colbert's letter, and in particular when they quote the statement that the decorative sculptures of these ships had to surpass those of other nations—"de surpasser en ce point les autres nations"—they do not take into consideration that the French naval administration wanted to go in the opposite

⁸⁵ This premise is supported by Théron, who writes in "La Bonne fabrique et la Superbe Ornement" that Puget's "ambitions seemed less about decorating ships than about courting Louis XIV's patronage," p. 145.

direction and did not want their warships encumbered by sculptures that made the hull top-heavy and by protruding features that would catch the ship's lines and hinder their navigability.⁸⁶ Here, it is worth mentioning that the mainstay of France's fleet was originally the galley, which primarily made use of oars for manoeuvring during combat, and had their decorative sculptures mounted on the hull above the oars and always out of the way. It was when navigation changed in favour of the sailing ship and the sculptures rose above the level of the deck at the bow and the stern that they began to interfere with the lines for the forward and aft sails.

The website of the Musée national de la Marine states that Colbert had placed naval sculpture on an equal footing with the other arts and decreed that the purpose of naval sculpture was to glorify the monarch: "Il insère la décoration navale au sein de tous les autres arts du royaume qui sont susceptibles de mettre en exergue la personne royale."⁸⁷ Here, the curator of the museum highlights the role played by the artists appointed by Colbert to execute the sculptural decoration of the French fleet and on Le Brun being put in charge of the sculptural program.⁸⁸

It makes sense that the Musée national de la Marine would show France's national artists in a favourable light, since it is an institution that forms part of France's central administration. However, the museum neglects to mention the marked divergence between the concerns of the

⁸⁶ This letter by Colbert to D'Inferville is cited out of context by Bélisle in "La sculpture navale," p 20; Boudriot in *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 294; Soop in *The Power and the Glory: The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*, p. 5; and by the site Patrimoine-histoire: <http://www.patrimoine-histoire.fr/Maquettes/SoleilRoyal.htm>.

⁸⁷ Musée national de la Marine. Paris. www.musee-marine.fr/paris.

⁸⁸ The full statement by the museum is: "Secrétaire d'état à la Marine, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) entreprend une politique de centralisation culturelle. Dès 1668, il insère la décoration navale au sein de tous les autres arts du royaume qui sont susceptibles de mettre en exergue la personne royale. Il place donc l'art naval entre les mains de Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), premier peintre du roi et directeur de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture." Musée national de la Marine. "La construction navale en bois aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles." *Le règne de Louis XIV: Un décor à la gloire du roi*. Paris: Service culturel, 2005. www.musee-marine.fr/paris.

naval authorities about the manoeuvrability of the warships and the decoration of these warships with grandiose sculptures, as typified by Puget's sculptural drawing for the *Sceptre*.

Costs were an ongoing concern for the building of warships since their budgets were consistently overrun. There was always a need to curtail costs by those who oversaw the warship's construction, as evidenced by the many decrees and edicts that were issued by successive naval ministers throughout the duration of the monarchy.⁸⁹ The prolific use of naval sculpture persisted and was always a target for reducing cost. A report about a review of sculptural drawings submitted for approval is worth reproducing because it reflects the continuing policy of the naval authorities and the divergent attitude of the sculptural artists, right up to the latter part of the eighteenth century. The example below describes a situation in which the sculptural artist submitted what he believed to be an appropriate drawing, while the reviewer found the submission to be unacceptable because of its complexity, large size, and high cost, and subsequently rejected it.

Sculpture des Vaisseaux le Fendant et le Réfléchi.
Rochefort,
Le 11 mars 1774.

“Les plans envoyés par M. Daubenton de la sculpture des deux vaisseaux, l'un de 74, l'autre de 64 canons ayant été trouvé aussi massif que surchargé d'ornements inutiles et embarrassent. Monseigneur n'a pas jugé à propos des approuvés. En informant M. Daubenton des motifs qui on détermine à prendre cette partie, on lui a demandé de faire connaitre ce qu'il en coutera pour l'exécution de chacun de ces plans. Suivant le devis du sculpteur, la sculpture du vaisseau le Fendant droit à 2400" et celle du Réfléchi à 2200." Le prix de la sculpture vaisseaux vairé en proportion de plus ou du moins d'ouvrage à faire pour l'exécution du plan approche. La sculpture du vaisseau Le Conquérant de 74

⁸⁹ See *Règlement du 4 juillet 1670* that specified the warship's rating by canon count, the *Règlement du 15 septembre 1673* that defined standard proportions for the hull and the *Ordonnance du 15 septembre 1689: De la construction des vaisseaux* that specified how ships were to be built. These remained in force up to 1765, when a new *règlement* was issued that covered the entire naval construction program. See Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 50 à 64 canons*, 16, 17, 18. These edicts were not necessarily followed. Boudriot in *Les vaisseaux de 50 à 64 canons* states: “L'Ordonnance fixe pour chaque rang les trois grandes dimensions des vaisseaux ... Elles ne seront pas suivies par les constructeurs qui varieront à l'envi les dimensions pour un même type de vaisseau,” p. 18.

canons n'a couté à Brest que 1750." Il parait qu'en obligeant les sculpteurs de moins élonger dans leurs plans de la noble simplicité infiniment préférable pour l'extérieur des vaisseaux a des ornements superflus la dépense pour la sculpture des vaisseaux deviendra moins fort. En conséquence, on le propose de demander à M. Daubenton des plans très simple si Monseigneur trouve bon qu'on prenne cette partie."⁹⁰

When Colbert wrote to the intendant in 1669 in an attempt to control the cost of the sculptures, he had a series of detailed drawings that defined how to build and decorate a warship with sculptures of an oversized figurehead and a highly decorated stern with the French coat of arms. I have already mentioned these drawings in connection with the *Album de Colbert* (see Figure 4). We do not know why these drawings were made and whether the instructions to make them came directly from Colbert. The introduction by Berti in the *Album de Colbert* states that these were likely made shortly before 1677 by a studio that specialized in making drawings on commission for important personages; the drawings were probably copied from four warships of the same size built in Toulon at that time.⁹¹ These four warships were the *Saint-Philippe*, the *Lys*, the *Sceptre*, and the *Royale Thérèse*. The drawing of the oversized figurehead mounted high above the cutwater seems to contradict Colbert's request not to have oversized and elaborate sculptures. On the other hand, the stern decoration is purposely generic and simple in design, especially when compared to the Baroque exuberance favoured by Puget in his drawing for the stem of the *Sceptre*.

The way in which these drawings represent the sculptural decorations indicates that there were two conflicting requirements that governed the official policy of the administration in terms of naval sculpture. These were the need to make grandiose sculptures that promoted the glory of

⁹⁰ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR D¹ 3.283.

⁹¹ Berti. "Présentation historique." *Album de Colbert*, Sheet 3.

the king and the greatness of France as was done for the *Royal-Louis*, and the need to control costs by limiting the size of these sculptures and standardizing their design.

The practice of French naval sculpture was somewhat directed for almost two centuries by the state policy instigated by Colbert and is aptly defined in a follow-up statement by Colbert's son Jean-Baptiste Antoine that he wrote as minister of the navy:

“Pour des ornements, quand ils ne seroient pas d'un ancien usage, je voudrais en faire un nouveau, estant ce me semble de la grandeur du Roy que les nations les plus éloignées ne reconnaissent pas sa puissance par le nombre et la force des vaisseaux, mais qu'ils connaissent encore sa richesse et sa magnificence par la beauté de leurs ornements.”

Colbert de Seignelay, 1671.⁹²

This letter by Colbert de Seignelay may seem to contradict the letter he later wrote in 1686 and which I quoted on page 37, where he asked for the costs of the sculptures to be curtailed: “Il y a longtemps que sa majesté est persuadé qu'il se fait une dépense inutile pour les ornements de ses vaisseaux.” However, these two letters must not be interpreted in isolation, but rather within the context of naval sculpture intended to glorify the king—not in terms of beauty resulting from its high cost and grandiosity, but as a composition that is rich in design of its own account, without necessarily being of high cost. This is what the reviewers for the sculptures of the *Fendant* and the *Réfléchi* were looking for when they rejected the drawings that were submitted for approval in their letter quoted on page 45.

There was a need, then, to produce sculptures that were rich in design but not of high cost. At first these objectives seem to be in conflict with one another. Knowing the range of different viewing points for a warship and the ways in which these influenced the production of the sculptures may help us to understand how this tension was reconciled. These viewing points were not only established by the artist, who designed the sculpture on the drawing board, and the

⁹² Service historique de la Marine, p. 25.

sculptor who produced it in the shipyard, but also by other viewers, whose perspectives I will consider below.

These viewing points are; first, close up when the fitting of the warship has just been completed and is tied to the wharf, with the details of the sculptures clearly standing out after having been freshly painted; second, when the warship is anchored in the middle of the harbour, so that its sculptures can be seen as complementing the ship's entire form; and finally at a distance, when the ship is out at sea and its sculptures serve as a means of identification when viewed from the lookout of another ship. As well, it is important to consider that the figurehead and the sculptures at the stern were meant to be seen at the same level when the ship was alongside, but from below by an approaching boat. These situations of viewing need to be thought through in terms of the different roles of those in the production process and the social position they occupied, especially if they deemed that they had ownership over the function or purpose of the sculptures during their synthesis and production.

Here, one must keep in mind that the purpose of naval sculpture differed according to who was viewing it, whether it was the representatives of the king as the head of state and patron of the fleet, the naval authorities who managed the fleet and its deployment, the crews that took charge of the sea-going operation of their respective warships, the naval shipyards that built these warships and hence supported the artists and sculptors that designed and made the sculptures, or the general viewer who was meant to see these sculptures as decorative objects to be admired.⁹³

⁹³ The social position of these different viewers comes into play with each viewer having their own separate perception of the function or purpose of these sculptures and as a result wanting to define the sculptural function or purpose in their own manner.

One other viewing aspect to consider is the design of the sculptures as a moving object when the warship was under full sail. The sculptural composition was meant to impress the viewer not only as a static decorative feature, but also because it was adorning a warship on its way to fulfill a mission. The colour schemes of the sculptural compositions also require consideration. The sculptural decoration with its colouring became part of the treatment of the ship's overall architectural composition and had to look right according to the convention of the time. The sculptures were intended to have a theatrical-like appearance, with rich colours, strong and dark delineations, and *trompe-l'œil* to give a deeper three-dimensional effect and look good at a set distance. The end effect was that the warship's sculptures, with their colourful decoration, distracted the viewer from the real purpose of the warship: to inflict destruction on its adversaries when in battle. Paintings of warships on parade or in harbour during this era show sculptural decorations that were carnival-like in appearance, with the painter focusing on the warship's splendour. The warship's warring mission was veiled in the beauty of its sculptural decorations.⁹⁴ This differed from military fortifications and castles with bleak ramparts that had their cannons in full view and were bare of any decoration.⁹⁵

When warships began to become fast sailers in the 1750s, some quarter castles were given a sinusoidal layout that was meant to give an illusion of a faster forward movement. So was the yellow bar that was painted over the dark background of the entire broadside of the ship's hull, and that became standard in the late 1760s. In these cases, the colourists who were

⁹⁴ When a warship was under full sail, the gun ports were shut to prevent high waves from flooding the decks. Keeping the gun ports shut and the cannons hidden, to me, the warship seems to be hiding itself as a weapon of war behind its colourful appearance.

⁹⁵ Compare also the ship-of-the-line and its colourful sculptural decoration with the stark grey colour of the modern battleship, where there is no doubt to the viewer that the battleship is an ominous weapon of war.

entrusted with directing the painting of the ship seems to have discovered how to apply a contrasting colour scheme to create a visual effect that enhanced the perception of speed.

As an outsider to the production process of naval sculpture, I also had to be cognisant of my own viewing point and the perception that was formed by the viewing points of others when I reviewed the corpus of my research. One aspect I needed to take into account was the changing perception of the viewer with the passage of time. The viewer's interpretation of the ship's sculptures was affected by the cultural state of affairs as this shifted from one era to another. At the time of their production, the sculptures were considered to be objects that fulfilled a practical purpose. They would be considered relevant by those taking part in the production process, whether directly or indirectly, because even though they added cost to the naval program and slowed down the construction of the warship, their practice was able to continue unabated for almost two centuries. This can be seen by the archival documents I referenced in this dissertation.

When the sculptures done in the Baroque style were overtaken by the Rococo style and later by the Neoclassical style the earlier sculptures would be seen as objects that were obsolete and antiquated by those adapting the sculptures to the new style. As time passed and the practice of ship sculpture was discontinued, these same sculptures would be considered as objects of curiosity, since none of the viewers had any involvement in the production process, which had in any case long ceased to exist. In our present time these sculptures are seen as objects of historical and cultural worth by art history scholars.

The timeline in the table on the next page summarizes how I considered the different perspectives on naval sculpture as they changed from one era to another.

Perception of the Viewer as this Changed Over Time.

Mid-17 th to early 18 th century.	Early 18 th to mid-19 th century.	Mid-19 th to end of 19 th century.	20 th and 21 st centuries (current time).
Use of Baroque as a contemporary practice.	New style overtook old style. Baroque to Rococo to Neo-Classical.	Practice of ship sculpture discontinued.	Practice of ship sculpture became non-existent.
Ship sculptures considered to be objects having a purpose and a function.	Ship sculptures that were done in the old style were considered objects that were obsolete and antiquated.	Although ship sculptures were discontinued, maritime tradition considered these to be objects of curiosity.	Ship sculptures considered as objects of historical and cultural worth.

The purpose of this table was to serve as a guide when I referred to the material that I mention in this dissertation. For instance, the material during the period when naval sculpture was practiced I used mostly for the case studies in the main text. This material consisted of the archival manuscripts that I cited, the drawings at the Service historique de la Défense and from Boudriot that I copied, and the sculptural displays in the museums that I described. When the metal hull replaced the wooden hull and the practice of naval sculpture was discontinued, the material I consulted consisted of historical publications and reduced scale ship models built from the original ships' plans and paintings that copied from the original ship drawing and ship sculptures. I referenced these mostly as footnotes and in the appendix. In the present time the references I have used consisted mostly of the current literature that I reviewed in the introduction of this dissertation and that I cited in the text.

The next item to consider is the way in which the ship's role as a warship influenced the sculptures. These sculptures had to fit within the space provided by the warship's hull, where their composition, which was based on a theme that was defined according to the ship's given name, also played the role of a decorative object displaying the warship's power.

How, then, did French naval sculpture fulfill its mandate of promoting the glory of France in the name of the king, while at the same time not interfering with the warship's purpose, whose power it was meant to project? Answering this question requires knowledge of those best practices that were applied during the conceptual composition of the sculpture and during its production so as to meet the requirement of being a decorative object that followed the style trends forthcoming from Paris, changed its form to be able to fit with the changing architecture of the ship's hull, and still kept sight of its original purpose of glorifying the king and projecting state power.

The conditions that surrounded the making of these sculptures were the result of the naval policy of France as this changed over time.⁹⁶ This means that the sculptures of these warships were also affected by France's naval strategy as this related to its foreign policy. Some key questions arise. How did the type of warship being constructed in support of France's warring policy affect the design of its naval sculptures? Conversely, how did the process for defining naval sculpture take into consideration France's warring policy? Also, did this policy have any effect on the type of sculpture and its design? When France's naval strategy began to favour use of the fast frigate in the mid-1700s, did this shift have any effect on the composition of the sculptures for the ship-of-the-line?

Notably, France favoured a continental policy as opposed to a maritime policy, which was the policy of Britain, Spain and the Netherlands, and this influenced the composition of the

⁹⁶ The naval policy of France was based on a perceived need to safeguard the mercantile interests of the state and defend these from any would be aggressors. This resulted in the establishment of maritime bases of operation consisting of harbours with garrisons and passages of supply. The naval shipyards became a major contributor to these passages of supply and also served as regional naval bases of operation. The naval bases along the Atlantic seaboard in particular became a central point of concentration for the expansion of commerce with the Atlantic and Pacific trade routes. Caroline Le Mao in *Les villes portuaires maritimes dans la France moderne - XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Armand-Colin, 2015, describes how these naval bases of operation served as catalysts for the expansion of France's maritime commerce.

French fleet and the type of warship being constructed. For example, during the early phase of France's naval program from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries there was a total preference for the ship-of-the-line since it could mimic a land battle at sea with the formation of a line that fronted the enemy when engaged in battle. This meant that the ship-of-the-line was considered an extension of France's continental military strategy as opposed to executing solely a sea-going military strategy. This had a bearing on the definition of the ship's sculpture, in particular for the figurehead design, which mimicked the bearer of the king's standard at the front of an army when in line formation in battle.

Within this context the warship's hull had to serve as a floating platform to support the warship's artillery in a broadside engagement in terms of stability and buoyancy, as well as providing good sailing navigability. The shape of the hull varied according to the type of warship being built as directed by the naval strategy in effect, which over time demanded more efficient firepower and better sailing. As the technology for both evolved, the hull's geometry shifted accordingly and the allotted sculptural space changed to fit.

The mid-eighteenth century saw a major shift in the naval strategy of France, which required faster sailing. As a result, the frigate began to occupy equal importance in numbers to the ship-of-the-line in the French fleet.⁹⁷ The hull of the frigate was of a simpler design than the typical ship-of-the-line. As the hull of the ship-of-the-line evolved into a sleeker form for faster sailing, it began to copy from the simpler design used for the frigate. This resulted in the sculptural space for the ship-of-the-line being reduced, following the precedent set by the frigate. Thus, the shift in naval strategy emanating from Versailles, which had begun to favour a faster sailing capability, now also resulted in the simpler sculptural design of the frigate being imported

⁹⁷ See Martine Acerra. "Effectifs de la flotte 1661- 1822." In *Rochefort et la construction navale française 1661-1815*. Paris: Librairie de l'Inde, 1993, p. 622.

into the sculptural design of the ship-of-the-line. The change in naval policy not only determined the design of the warship but also determined the form of the sculpture as set by the change in space made available by the warship's hull.

The mandate of naval sculpture that was originally founded on the requirement to pay homage to the king—as defined by artists such as Le Brun and Puget or the Caffieri family, and sculptors such as Girardon—was now affected by design factors outside of the artist's studio and the sculptor's workplace.

The warship's sculptures also had to serve the aesthetic purpose of pleasing the viewer and as such were treated as an all-encompassing work of art, or *Gesamkunstwerk*, as if they were an integral part of the warship's architecture.⁹⁸ The term *Gesamkunstwerk*, meaning total work of art, is used here to refer to the production of naval sculpture as the result of the synthesis of different art forms. That is, the conceptual definition of the sculpture copies from the style of architectural drawings, the form of the sculpture is based on monuments and the facades of stately buildings, the sculpting techniques are similar to those used for stone sculptures and ornamental furniture, and the surfaces of the sculptures were coloured as if they were paintings. It is worth noting that naval sculptures also copied from religious sculptures made from wood

⁹⁸ The term *Gesamkunstwerk* was coined by 19th-century German composer Richard Wagner, who saw his operas as a total work of art, synthesizing music, poetry, drama, theater, costume, and set design. See Krisztina Lajosi. "Wagner and the (Re)mediation of Art. Gesamtkunstwerk and Nineteenth-Century Theories of Media." *Amsterdam Institute for Humanities Research*, vol. 23 no. 2, 2010, pp. 42-60. The term is being similarly applied here to the totality of the sculptural decoration of the ship, which included drawing, sculpting, and painting, as well as naval architecture. Renaissance artists like Leonardo da Vinci had already applied this notion and saw no distinction between architecture, design, drawing, painting, and sculpture. Although the concept of *Gesamkunstwerk* began to be knowingly applied in architectural design in the late 19th century with the emergence of Art Nouveau, the architects of the 18th century had already begun to control every facet of their architectural commissions. This evolved so that architecture became totally responsible for the external definition of the building, the landscape, and the interior decoration combined with the design of the fixtures, furniture, and fabrics. See Michael A. Vidalis, "Gesamtkunstwerk – Total Work of Art," *Architectural Review*, 30 June 2010.

that were painted, while the stone sculptures for monuments and buildings were left bare.⁹⁹ In addition, the design of the sculptural decoration of the naval officers' accommodation on board ship also copied that of the interior of palace apartments.

The notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk* as applied to the practice of naval sculpture can be also extended to the naval sculptures themselves as objects that completed the architectural definition of the hull. The composition of the figurehead completed the form at the bow by serving as the focal point for the cheeks and the headrails. Similarly, the term and quarter figures and caryatides at the stern served to complete the structure of the aftercastle, while the structural definition of the quarter castle itself was defined by the form of its decorative composition.

The ship's sculptures also served to complete the overall definition of the ship's architecture. This feature was previously mentioned as one of the viewing point of the ship's sculptures, and was not limited to the naval sculpture of French warships: it was also applied by other European maritime nations. Jakobsson, who, as I mentioned, has written usefully on the seventeenth-century Swedish warship, states that although the practical potential of the warship lay in its ability to wage war, its visual potential was deemed equally important because of the symbolic reference this made to its fighting capability.¹⁰⁰ Jakobsson adds that as a consequence, the Swedish naval authorities created a strict set of rules on ship hull design for the naval shipyards, and where updates to the shipbuilding process were deemed appropriate provided that the design change followed "stylistic tendencies that were visually acceptable."¹⁰¹ Jakobsson

⁹⁹ The reasons for this can be readily explained from a technical standpoint. The porous fibre of the wood permits the paint to be absorbed, thus making it easy to adhere to the wood's surface for a lasting effect, while if the stone sculpture was painted, its imporous surface would cause the paint to peel off in a short time, thus making it look unsightly.

¹⁰⁰ Jakobsson. "The Warship in Swedish Seventeenth-Century Society. A Cultural Construction?" pp. 225-243.

¹⁰¹ Jakobsson, p. 232.

proceeds to discuss the figurehead and stern sculptures, since these defined the two-fold character of the ship—that is, “a large and strong ship required powerful symbolic references,” and the ship’s “adornments contributed to a specific identity, while reflecting collective cultural norms and adding to an overall image of the ship.”¹⁰² Jakobsson’s statement on the ways in which naval sculpture contributed to the ship’s total architecture can be equally applied to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French warships.

Hence, this *gesamkunstwerk* favoured sculptures such as those designed by Puget, since these would be seen as cultural objects meant to convey a powerful image to the overall architecture of the warship, similar to that of a public monument or the façade of a stately palace. As a consequence, when Puget, as an architect and sculptor, was asked to design the ship’s sculptures, he also saw himself as having ownership over the totality of the ship’s architecture, even though this resulted in tension between him and the ship builder.¹⁰³

Colbert also created the Académie Royale des Sciences with the intent of promoting the greatness of France through the sciences. The creation of this scientific academy was the result of a new age of discovery and a desire to look towards a future governed by the use of science. This new age of discovery in the sciences also brought about a change in the arts that resulted in artists having a freer hand, as witnessed by the new designs that began to decorate Versailles. This approach coincided with the start of Colbert’s naval construction program and the gradual replacement of the empirical method with the scientific method to design ships with improved

¹⁰² Jakobsson, p. 238.

¹⁰³ Vial, in *Pierre Puget: Sculpteur, Peintre, Architecte*, quantifies this by stating, “Puget travailla à une dizaine de vaisseaux et se retira progressivement, à partir de 1673, des travaux de l’atelier, sans doute les intérêts étaient-ils devenus trop contradictoires,” p. 82.

operability.¹⁰⁴ This scientific approach in ship design responded to France's naval policy, which sought to expand its global presence and thus required a better understanding of those maritime sciences related to flotation and wind power.

The construction of the first batch of warships under Louis XIV was based on a ship-of-the-line design that was still in its development phase and not fully standardized. It was only when there was an understanding of what the ship had to look like and the allotted sculptural space had become clearly delineated that the sculptures themselves began to be considered a subset of the ship's architecture, rather than independent objects.¹⁰⁵ In this case, the sculptural space was the primary factor that defined the sculptural composition of the form.

This can be seen in the step-change in hull design with the introduction of the round gallery in the mid-eighteenth century and with requirement for the hull to have a lighter frame. This limited the sculptural space at the stern, and the sculptural decoration responded by having a reduced weight. This reduced weight also resulted in the simplification of the sculptural form, which also complied with the desired streamlining of the ship's hull, which now began to favour a sleeker length-to-width ratio for faster sailing speed. This equally brought about a transformation in the political message of the sculptural composition: instead of being a showcase for the glory of France, it now projected the power of a contemporary France.

The transitions in the palace art of Versailles, first from Baroque to Rococo in the 1740s and then from Rococo to Neoclassical in the 1780s, were the result of respective step-changes in the decorative practice of architecture. These changes also occurred in the sculptural decoration of the warship and happened with changes to the design of the hull as a result of advances in

¹⁰⁴ See for example the calculations that began to accompany hull design where the sail area was taken into consideration when determining the depth from the waterline to the keel when deciding stability. Service historique de la Défense. Rochefort. Calculs 2G4-3 art 17, 20, 24, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 61, 81, 85.

¹⁰⁵ This standardization in ship design took place in phases. This is discussed in the chapters that follow.

naval architecture. The trapezoidal configuration of the hull's stern that was in use from the 1660s to the 1740s lent itself well to the bulkier volumetric form of Baroque. A review of the drawings of the naval sculptures under Louis XIV and Louis XV show that these persisted in having grandiose sculptures that added weight to the stern of the ship and risked interfering with the ship's lines. A good example is the similarity in the composition of the stern of the *Soleil Royal* of 1669 with that of the stern of the *Foudroyant* of 1724 (see Figures 18 and 19).¹⁰⁶ It seems as if naval sculpture had stopped being innovative and continued to apply past configurations, except for cosmetic variations to its form. This lack of innovation can be attributed to the fact that the frame of the stern did not undergo any changes, so that the layout of the aftercastle retained the same sculptural space.

In the 1740s, ship design began to rely more on scientific theories to obtain improved stability in ocean-going voyages that encountered a high sea state.¹⁰⁷ As a result, the hull's proportions were more streamlined and the aftercastle was reduced in height with the frame changing from a trapezoidal to a round configuration. The stern plate was now of lesser area. At the same time, the lighter naturalistic ornamentation of Rococo replaced the bulkier embellished form of Baroque. In this case, the use of Rococo became more practical due to its lighter ornamental style, which lent itself more readily to the roundish form of the stern.

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous. "Vaisseau le Soleil Royal," 1669. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 1. François-Charles Caffieri. "Foudroyant," 1724. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 39.

¹⁰⁷ Advances in hull design with improved stability were related to the science of the behaviour of fluids. See for example Daniel Bernoulli's *Hydrodynamica* published in 1738, where Bernoulli defined the principles of fluid flow and the fluid's potential energy. Similarly Claude-Nicolas Ledoux had a central role in the evolution of Neoclassical architecture with the use of simplified shapes as a result of advances in building science that were characterized by order, symmetry, and simplicity of style. Neoclassical paintings and sculptures also showed a similar trend and they became serious, unemotional, and sternly heroic. Regardless of the style in vogue the compositions continuously paid homage to the king with the sculptural theme often alluding to mythology.

In a similar manner, in the 1780s, the latest scientific theories were applied in ship design to increase trans-oceanic sailing speed. This resulted in ships with an even lighter construction and the introduction of the arched stern to replace the round stern. This made sculptural decoration in the Rococo style seem frivolous, and it was thus replaced with the streamlined symmetrical simplicity of Neoclassicism. The planar qualities of the Neoclassical style were also reflected in the ship's architecture, which adopted a more simplistic look, and which was seen as beneficial and practical since it made for a hull with a construction that was not loaded with a bulky frame. This simplicity resulted in sculptural decoration becoming a fully integrated subset of the hull.

This simplicity also coincided with the trend at the time of noble simplicity, "*la noble simplicité*." This is mentioned in the reviewer's report on the sculptures for *Fendant* and *Réfléchi*; sculptural drawings absolutely had to conform to this requirement. The demand for simplicity indicates one way in which naval sculpture developed alongside the warship as it transitioned from an empirical design to a scientifically based streamlined design.

A further review of the drawings of the same naval sculptures shows that each composition had three classifications of representation: the symbolic evocation of the monarch as omnipotent, the allegorical image that represented this evocation, and the elaborate ornamentation that mythicized both the symbolic evocation and the allegorical image. But towards the late eighteenth century the monarchy had started to lose its absolute authority.¹⁰⁸ There was, in turn, a diminished need to have overtly and elaborate symbolic and allegorical decorations that paid homage to the monarchy. Also, ships now began to rely on accurate

¹⁰⁸ Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire states in "L'autorité royale en question," *La France des lumières 1715-1789*, St-Etienne: Belin, 2014, that after the Seven Years' War, which ended in 1763, "Louis XV hésite en permanence entre affirmation de son autorité et recherche de l'apaisement," p. 429.

navigational tools and as a result of advances in ship construction, a ship was able to withstand heavy sea states and stay on course. There was thus less need for the ship's crew to look solely upon the ship's figurehead and the figures at the stern to invoke the symbolic protection of a spiritual power and ward off evil spirits.

Although the spiritual invocation that was represented by the figurehead in particular was still deemed necessary, the crew was now more reassured of its safety by a warship that was more seaworthy in its construction and had navigational instrumentation with improved accuracy. In other words, the initial purpose of the figurehead—to invoke a spiritual power to protect the ship from the perils of the sea—was shifting with increased trust in the sciences. Applying this logic in reverse—that is, working backward in time—suggests that the reason the figurehead and the other stern figures were so important was because there was, in those earlier days, a lack of knowhow in the maritime sciences.

Throughout its history under the *ancien régime*, naval sculpture contributed to the visual arts of France and added to French culture by providing aesthetic satisfaction. It pleased the sense of sight, served as a means of communication through its art form, inspired the individual acknowledgement and appreciation of French art, served to showcase this art, contributed to the development and growth of naval sculpture as an intellectual activity, helped serve as a means of commentary, and contributed economically by providing a means of livelihood and employment to those involved in its production.

The sculptural decoration of France's navy was at its best for those warships that were named after the monarchy. The first rate ships in particular were profusely decorated both at the bow and at the stern with thematic designs that usually eulogized the king. The king was compared to an ancient deity and represented with a sculptural design that epitomized calmness

and dignity. It was tradition to dedicate the lead flagship of the fleet to the king. This tradition persisted from Louis XIV to Charles X. The lead flagship was always named *Royal-Louis*, and as soon as one was taken out of service, preparations for the construction of its replacement were begun. There were in total six lead flagships named *Royal-Louis*, all first rate ships-of-the-line with 110 to 124 cannons, depending on which ship was in service.

The lead flagship was profusely decorated because it served as an ambassador of the king whenever the ship paraded in harbour in front of the dignitaries of other countries. On the other hand, the other first rates, second rates and lower rated ships were primarily built as war machines. Hence, their decoration was not meant to impress the viewer as much as the lead flagship and served more to carry on the tradition of having the ship's sculpture serve as the ship's identifier. This explains why Colbert cautioned the intendant at Toulon not to get carried away with the decoration of the second rate ship-of-the-line under construction: "Vous serez plus en peine à l'avenir de retrancher ces sortes d'ouvrage vu que vous ne devez plus faire bastir que de vaisseaux de 50 pièce de canon de 6 à 7 cents tonneaux auxquels il faut peut d'ornements."¹⁰⁹

The existing literature on French naval sculpture is restricted in its focus to the surviving pieces on display in the naval museums. This is problematic because these few surviving pieces represent a small fraction of what was done, with any scholarly discourse based on the pieces available and not the reasons for which these were created. This disproportionate emphasis on the visual aspect of the few surviving pieces over the process of making them requires addressing. It is necessary to look at these surviving pieces in a different manner, not solely for their visual appearance but also for what they represented. More specifically, I wanted to look at

¹⁰⁹ Extract taken from the citation on page 37.

these surviving pieces as representing a phenomenon that goes beyond the existing discourses that have up to now defined scholarly thought on the practice of naval sculpture.

Importantly, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century archival documentation, nineteenth-century publications, and more recent twentieth-century publications have to be understood differently, according to the situation that governed their perception as I defined it in the table titled “Perception of the Viewer as this Changed Over Time” on page 51.

It is important to consider, for instance, the origins of French naval sculpture. Théron writes in her doctoral thesis that French ship sculpture started in the sixteenth century when Christian Europe took on the practice of naming its ships after religious figures.¹¹⁰ To assure a safe passage an image associated with a religious personage would adorn the ship. Théron further states that this continued through the reign of Louis XIII. When Colbert took over France’s naval program, the sculptural decoration of warships took on a political purpose. This resulted in a step-change in the application of naval sculpture with a desire to copy the art of Versailles as can be seen with the appointments of Le Brun, Puget, and Girardon.

At the working level, the naval sculptors were well established in the shipyards of France. Théron lists twenty-three master sculptors who worked in the naval shipyards between the 1660s and the 1790s, with each master sculptor assisted by several wood carvers, thus ensuring continuation of the practice. This is proof of the extent of the practice and is worth mentioning; although the actual surviving sculptural pieces are very few, several sculptural drawings remain for the warships that were built.

In the early years of Louis XIV’s reign, the king’s chief minister Cardinal Mazarin had ordered the construction of a small fleet of warships from Amsterdam and Copenhagen to build

¹¹⁰ Théron. *L’ornementation sculptée*, pp. 3-8.

up France's naval capability. These French ships copied the Dutch design, except that the French design had quarter galleries that were longer and lower. In a similar fashion, the naval sculptures of the French ships built in Holland were also done in the Dutch design. This can be seen in the drawings of Willem Van de Velde the Elder and the Younger of some of these French ships in harbour, built and decorated in the Dutch mode.¹¹¹ The design of their sculptures at the stern copied the Dutch design in the way in which the heraldic coat of arms of the French monarchy was done.¹¹² There is no indication as such that at this time a particular French design existed.

When Colbert mobilized France's naval program he brought into the country renowned shipbuilders from Holland to ensure that the French naval shipyards applied the best shipbuilding technology available. During this time France relied on Dutch knowhow for the building of its warships and this became the foundation of French early ship construction.

One of the Dutch shipbuilders brought to France by Colbert was Rodolphe Gédéon. His first major task was the construction of the first rate *Royal-Louis* launched in 1668 at Toulon. Here, the sculptural composition combined the Dutch style with the new French Baroque style (see Figures 20 and 21).¹¹³ The composition at the stern plate has the royal coat of arms of France and Navarre and the coat of arms of the admiral of the fleet below it, according to the Dutch manner. The remainder of the sculptures are presumed to have been designed by Le Brun

¹¹¹ As examples of French warships with the Dutch method of representation see the drawings of Figures 315, 316, 418, 419, 420, 423, and 424 in *Van de Velde Drawings: A Catalogue of Drawings in the National Maritime Museum made by the Elder and the Younger Willem van de Velde*. Cambridge: National Maritime Museum University Press, 1958.

¹¹² Roncière in *Histoire de la Marine Française* reproduces a drawing by van de Velde of a French ship built in Holland: "Willem van de Velde. Vaisseau de ligne construit par Sluijck a Saardam pour Louis XIV (1667)," p. 84.

¹¹³ The sculptural drawing for the *Royal-Louis* is from Boudriot *Les Vaisseaux de 74 à 120 Canons*, 308. It is a crude drawing and not done to a high artistic standard. It was most likely copied either from the original or after the ship was built. Boudriot states that the drawing is at the Universtà di Bologna, Italy, and authenticates it as being for the *Royal-Louis* because of its strong resemblance to the ship's drawing by commissaire Hayet in his book *Description du vaisseau le Royal-Louis*.

since they carry his grandiose, Baroque style. Sculptures of oversized figures of Neptune and Renommée decorate the quarter sterns. Several mermaids with twin tails, *bifides*, serve as caryatides to support the second gun deck, and below the third gun deck there is a winged horse at each quarter.

Another first rate built at the same time is *La Reine*, which was launched at Brest in 1670. Here, the sculptural drawing that laid out the design of the stern shows a simpler composition with a modest royal coat of arms in an oval shield (see Figure 22).¹¹⁴ However, a drawing by Van de Velde of *La Reine* in harbour shows a significantly modified stern that replaces the rectangular stern plate on the original drawing with one that has an arched taffarel, thus creating more surface space (see Figure 23).¹¹⁵ As well, the royal coat of arms of France and Navarre is much larger and follows the Dutch style in its composition.¹¹⁶ In both drawings, the sculptures are hugging the stern. This means that none of the sculptures on *La Reine* protruded outwards, so they did not risk snagging any of the ship's lines; this was in contrast to the erect sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* and similar warships that were to follow.

When the drawings of *La Reine* are compared with those of the *Royal-Louis* and the other French warships that followed, it becomes clear that the Dutch manner of composition was overtaken by the compositional style set by Le Brun and the other centrally appointed artists: warships with grandiose sculptures. The composition at the stern plate that had the heraldic emblem of the ruling monarch was discontinued and the French manner of dedicating the

¹¹⁴ Sieur Bellevüe-Dumain. "La Reine." 1670. Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, 310. Boudriot attributes the sculptural drawing to Bellevüe-Dumain. Bellevüe-Dumain was the master sculptor at the naval yard at Brest at the time. Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, 699.

¹¹⁵ William Van de Velde. "La Reine," 1673. *Van de Velde Drawings*. Figure 418.

¹¹⁶ A comparison between the sculptural drawing done in France for the stern of *La Reine*, which was meant to instruct the sculptor, and the actual drawing of *La Reine* in harbour by Van de Velde shows that the final rendition of the sculptures did not completely abide by the original sculptural drawing. Rather, the Van de Velde drawing shows that the Dutch manner of composition took over.

sculptural composition solely to eulogizing the king, as decreed by Colbert, became common practice. This was why Le Brun and the other centrally appointed artists imposed their manner of composition, regardless of the consequence of having top-heavy and protruding sculptures that affected the operability and navigability of the ship.

The introduction of the first rates with a protruding gallery at the aftercastle and that wrapped itself around the quarters of the stern increased the surface area, which allowed for more sculptures. This extended gallery was the predecessor to the quarter castle that came into being in subsequent ship designs—and, in fact, added further to the surface area, making space for even more sculptures. The change in composition from the Dutch to the French manner, then, can be attributed to Colbert's appointment of artists from the king's court to impress other European countries with France's unique artistic greatness and the increase in surface area of the aftercastle for the sculptures.

The aftercastle has its beginnings in the platform at the stern of the carrack, and gradually transformed into a small house. The galleon added a gallery that was extended to the broadside. The ship-of-the-line introduced an enclosure to the quarter sides of the gallery. This enclosure became self-contained and took on the form of the quarter castle as we know it today. Initially, the quarter castle projected outboard to the width of the gallery itself. When the form of the hull became subject to strict proportions, resulting in a more streamlined shape, the length to breadth to depth ratios of the hull began to be pre-set. This affected the design of the quarter castle, which now had to conform to the streamlines of the hull, so that the overhang was significantly reduced.

This change was readily accepted by the shipbuilder, but not so much by the sculptural artist, whose drawings still showed a strong outboard projection. Eventually, artists began to

draw the quarter castle with noticeable shading, to give a false three-dimensional effect. In turn, when the sculpture of the quarter castle was completed, the colourist applied a darker colour in the shaded area as *trompe-l'œil* to suggest that the quarter castle was wider than it actually was.

The drawing for the first rate *Le Victorieux*, built in 1678 at Rochefort, shows the transition from a gallery that was open at the quarters to one combined with a quarter castle. The drawing for the first rate *L'Ambitieux*, built in 1692 also at Rochefort, converted the open gallery into the quarter castle. This design of the quarter castle became the standard up to the advent of the arched stern in the late eighteenth century (see Figures 24 and 25).¹¹⁷

Although later reports decried the extravagance of these sculptures for being of high cost and for interfering with the navigability of the ship, it is worth mentioning that Colbert's strategy to profusely decorate the new warships of the French navy with grandiose sculptures impressed Britain to such an extent that Charles II ordered the French manner of design to be copied for the sculptures of his own new flagship.¹¹⁸

A search in the Archives nationales de France in Paris yielded a document translated from the Dutch in 1670 about the history of shipbuilding from the times of the Phoenicians.¹¹⁹ The Dutch version of the document was meant to serve as a reference for Dutch naval sculptors because it discusses ancient mythology and the choice of theme of the figurehead sculptures for Phoenician, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman ships. The French translation was meant to be read by

¹¹⁷ Claude Buirette. "Le Victorieux." Rochefort, 1678. Boudriot *Le vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 317 and Jean Bérain. "L'Ambitieux. Ornement de la bouteille" Rochefort, 1692. 32 x 37 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹69 f⁰⁸⁷. See also Boudriot, p. 321. Note, in Figures 24 and 25, how the enclosed aftercastle of *L'Ambitieux* provides a more solid structure and gives shelter from high waves, whereas the combined open gallery and half-enclosed structure of *Le Victorieux* appears flimsy, cluttered with decoration, and in danger of being swept away by high waves.

¹¹⁸ Brian Lavery. *The Ship of the Line Volume II: Design, construction and fittings*, London: Conway, 1984, p. 55.

¹¹⁹ *L'architecture navale ancienne & moderne. Traduit d'un Traité hollandaise compose par le sr. Witszon*. 1670. Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR D¹ 25 n^o. 25-26.

those working on the naval sculptures of French warships and demonstrates that French naval sculpture also made reference to the same literature as Dutch sculptors. This premise is illustrated in the sculptural themes of the warships built in France under the reign of Louis XIV—that is, since when Colbert launched his naval construction program in the 1660s. The *Foudroyant* of 1724 is a good example to review. The sculptural drawings for the stern show Jupiter riding his eagle to deliver his wrath (see Figure 26). The composition resembles the drawing of the Dutch warship *Jupiter* by Willem van de Velde the Elder of 1666 (see Figure 27).¹²⁰ This suggests that the French artists made conscious reference to Dutch warships when planning their designs.¹²¹

The sculptural themes of the French warships also reference, at least in part, the names of the warships. This can be confirmed by comparing the names of the warships with the theme of their figurehead sculpture. An inventory of the warships of the French fleet built between 1650 and 1792 indicates a total of 438 ships.¹²² These include mostly warships having from 120 cannons to 74 cannons, with some warships having 64 or 50 cannons. The catalogue publication by the Musée national de la Marine states that Colbert had wanted the iconography of all naval decorations to be an epigraph to the monarch: “mettre en exergue la personne royale.” Théron adds to this by stating in her dissertation that Colbert had also requested all forms of art—including naval sculpture—to celebrate the glory of Louis XIV in an allegorical manner: “Célébrer sous forme allégorique la gloire du Louis XIV.”¹²³

¹²⁰ William van de Velde the Elder. “Jupiter,” 1666. *Van de Velde Drawings*. Photo 277.

¹²¹ The composition at the stern plate of the Dutch ship *Jupiter* shows a curious deviation from the Dutch convention by having an ancient deity replace the ruling monarch’s coat of arms.

¹²² Jacques Vichot, *Répertoire des navires de guerre français*. Paris: Musée de la Marine, 1967.

¹²³ Théron. *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 7.

These requirements—glorifying the king and making reference to the gods of antiquity—become readily apparent regarding the French fleet. During the reign of Louis XIV—that is, up to 1715—188 ships-of-the-line were built, with the majority referring to the monarchy. Some names that made reference to the monarchy repeated themselves, often containing the words Royal, Louis, Dauphin, and Princesse. The names that associated the monarchy with Greek and Roman deities either had a connection with water, such as Neptune and Tethys, or had celestial connotation, such as Mercury and Mars. The interpretation of these names as an epigraph of the monarchy and that invoked a mythological deity is straightforward, with the sculptural design referencing a legacy representation of the same theme, whether it was an image of the king or the king's family, the painting of a mythological subject or the statue of a deity. This is readily verified by looking at the sculptural drawings and the sculptures exhibited in the naval museums.

The records of warships built during the reign of Louis XV show that between 1715 and 1774 there were 148 ships-of-the-line built. The same type of names were given to the ships as under Louis XIV, with some names that directly referenced the monarchy, and some names making reference to a deity. The names that make a direct reference to the monarchy were repeated from Louis XIV, again using words such as Royal, Louis, Monarque, and Dauphin. Some of the names seem to have a random pattern, and the ships with a lower rating—that is, those classed as third rate and lower—seem to follow a less coherent naming convention.

An inventory of the names of warships built during the reign of Louis XVI, from 1774 to 1792, lists seventy-five ships-of-the-line built. This reduction in new construction is combined with the introduction of the class category. Here, no fewer than nine simultaneous classes of builds emerged, with each class being the result of particular naval shipyards striving to develop their own improved build. Again, most of the names refer in some way to the monarchy,

although curiously, under Louis XVI there are only five names that make direct reference to the king. These are Royal-Louis, Majestueux, Couronne and Illustre. Twelve names, meanwhile, are associated with mythology. Some names are repeated several times from the start of the reign of Louis XIV to the end of the reign of Louis XVI; for example, the name Brillant is repeatedly used under all three monarchs.

Although the names given to French warships clearly have some relation with the monarchy, they also vary widely in meaning. Since only a portion of the sculptural drawings and very few sculptures have survived, it is not known how the remainder of the sculptural designs interpreted their respective names to comply with the original requirement made by Colbert, to glorify or pay homage to the king. It would be easy, without this evidence, to come to erroneous conclusions about the themes and purpose of French naval sculpture.

Hence, it was important in my research to investigate in a disciplined and rigorous manner those sculptural drawings and sculptures that have survived. Here, I applied Panofsky's method of analyzing the symbolic representation associated with the visual appearance of an art object by linking the sculptural composition and its conventional meaning to similarly related images in other forms of art, so as to extract its intrinsic meaning as if it was a philosophical inquiry. The intent was to obtain an outcome that was the result of a synthesis more than that of an analysis.¹²⁴ This permitted a more informed understanding of the sculptural composition, especially where the deeper sense of the composition might have been different from what the artist produced. This manner of investigation is discussed further in the next chapter.

The choice of names given to newly built ships was also reviewed in terms of the policy of the regime at the time, especially as this policy shifted in response to France changing the

¹²⁴ Panofsky. "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art." *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, pp. 25-41.

mandate of its navy. This required taking into consideration those fixed and variable parameters that were present during the sculptural process, from the naming of the ship to the final definition of the ship's sculpture. Here, a comparative study of the sculptural decoration for all the six builds of the warship *Royal-Louis* is of particular interest, because it helped to trace those influences that affected the rendition of the sculptural design over time while each warship's name remained the same. This became especially relevant after the responsibility for the sculptural drawings was transferred from a central appointed artist working in Paris to the master sculptor working in the naval shipyards. This comparison is done in Chapter Four of this dissertation as a major case study.

As can be seen from what has been described so far, the study of French naval sculpture requires more than a review of the various sculptural drawings, reduced scale models, and sculptures that have survived. It also requires a qualitative review that takes into consideration those influencing factors that formed and evolved inside and outside of the sculptural artist's studio and the naval sculptor's workspace. This implies investigating how these influencing factors made up the production network of naval sculpture within and outside the naval shipyard and how, in turn, they directly or indirectly generated a cohesion that maintained its ongoing production.

The process that governed this production network can be likened to an ongoing workshop that was continuously experimenting with itself in order to produce naval sculptures that were appropriate for the era in which they were made. There were two primary gatekeepers who regulated the process of the practice. These were the review board, which accepted or rejected the design according to the funds allocated to make the sculpture, and the shipwright,

who defined the shape of the hull and as a result determined the space in which the form of the sculptural composition had to fit.

The notion of an ongoing workshop that was continuously experimenting with itself is similar to what Latour, in *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists & Engineers through Society*, defined as a laboratory of inventors with participants providing a series of inputs and other participants processing these into a series of outputs.¹²⁵ Applying this to the production of naval sculpture, the output of this experimental laboratory was not solely the production of the sculptural form, but also the different perceptions that would be conveyed by the sculpture after it was fitted on the ship. Considered in this way, the fitted sculpture on the ship, instead of being treated as a monophonic rendition—that is, with a singular output—as previous authors saw it, can be treated as a stereophonic rendition—that is, with the result consisting of several outputs.¹²⁶

The practice of French naval sculpture has been considered by other scholars as a closed black box where only the inputs and outputs were taken into account.¹²⁷ It has been the intention of my dissertation to get inside this so-called black box and unpack its contents. To understand how the practice of naval sculpture functioned like an experimental laboratory, I had to consider the production network in its entirety, not just the production of naval sculpture in isolation. This

¹²⁵ Latour describes how seemingly unrelated experiments converge over time in the invention of a particular product. He gives as a primary example the invention of the Diesel internal combustion engine. Latour, *Science in Action*, pp. 180, 138.

¹²⁶ The terms monophonic and stereophonic as applied here were appropriated from Latour, who similarly describes the outcome of a set of experiments that took place in a laboratory and that resulted in the invention of the desktop computer, with its multiple uses. Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 100.

¹²⁷ The term black box defines a system that is opaque and can only be viewed in terms of its inputs and outputs without any knowledge of its internal workings. To analyze an open system with a black box approach requires knowing only the behaviour of the input as a stimulus and the output as a response. The opposite of a black box is a system where the inner components or logic are visible for inspection; this can be referred to as a white box. See Kartika Sari Dewi. *Black Box Theory of Behaviorism*. Scribd, 2016.

production network was considered as being subjected to its own rules and included those best practices applicable to the production of the naval sculpture itself. In turn, these rules were deemed to have been regulated by the various agents who occupied positions within the network; of course, their priorities and behaviour altered over time according to their changing circumstances, but it always either drove or influenced the design-making process of naval sculpture.

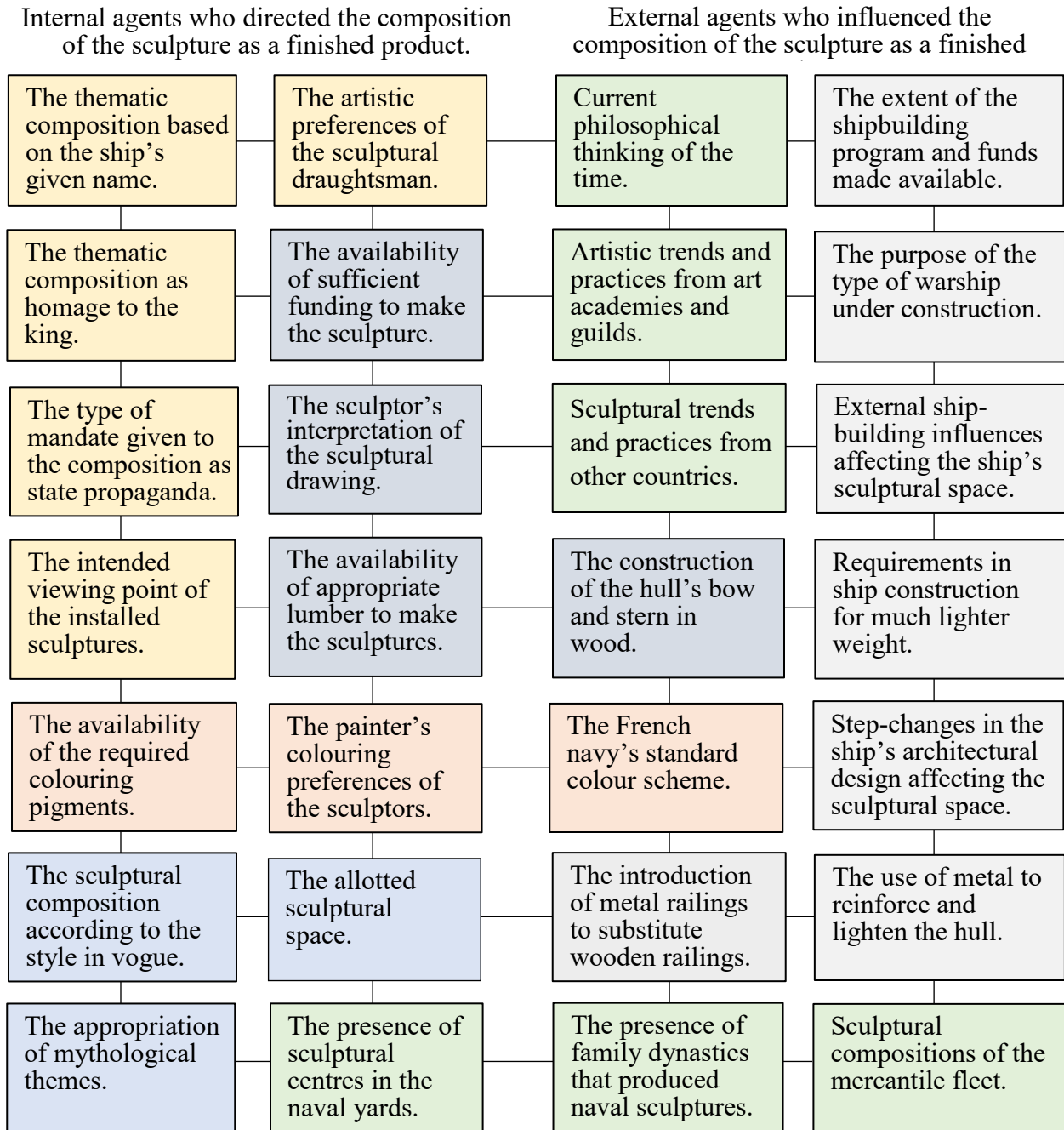
For example, there were regulations and written instructions emanating from Versailles and the naval authorities in the shipyard that directed the choice of composition. These regulations and instructions were in turn integrated into the drawing by the sculptural artist for the naval sculptor to follow. There would also be verbal instructions from those who deemed themselves to be authorities during the actual production of the sculptures in the shipyard, including those who decided on the building of the ships that would accommodate the sculptures, those who allocated the funding to make the sculptures, those who administered the sculpting facilities in the shipyard, and last but not least those who supplied the lumber and colouring pigments.

The internal process that was solely concerned with the artistic practice of the sculptures themselves, meanwhile, was nestled among these other processes. In other words, the production of the sculptures was not an isolated effort by the sculptor, but included the sculptor's whole art world and ranged from the supplier of the artistic materials to those who came to review and criticize the finished work.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Howard Baker, in *Art Worlds*. University of California Press, 1984, similarly argues that the finished art product is not only the creation of an isolated individual performing the role of the artist but also the result of cooperation by the supplier of the art material, the artist's critics, and those around the artist, who together make up the artist's world. This situation can be similarly read across to naval sculpture.

After reviewing the documentation in the naval archives of France including reports by the naval shipyards, the king's orders, as well as several ships' plans and their sculptural drawings, I was able to develop a model of the production network that regulated the practice of naval sculpture together with the principal agents who populated the production process. These agents were all actors in the network. However, their role in the network was not necessarily stable and could shift because of changes to their terms of reference. This production network is shown on the next page. The chart is colour coded to show how the network's key agents formed clusters of interaction with each other within the network.

The Production Network of Seventeenth- & Eighteenth-Century French Naval Sculpture



By knowing the composition of this production network it became possible for me to enter into the black box of naval sculpture and discover its contents. This entailed investigating the composition of the network and describing the role of its internal and external agents.

Understanding their roles also helped me discover the phenomena that guided the practice of

naval sculpture, how it was adept in overcoming those constraints that deterred its production, and why it was able to last for almost two centuries.

The production network of naval sculpture that I have constructed can be considered a kind of experimental laboratory that resides within its own black box. The authors I mentioned in the literature review in the introduction had created their own black box of naval sculpture as a monophonic version of the production process. My intent in this dissertation is to counter the black box built by these authors by describing how the inputs into the black box I have created—as represented by the production network—can be processed into a series of results to create a stereophonic output concerning French naval sculpture.

The most applicable reference when investigating the production network of naval sculpture is Actor Network Theory. The use of Actor Network Theory permits one to explore distinct phenomena residing within a network to obtain a description of those mechanisms at work that hold the network together. This method has its origins with John Law and John Hassard who in *Actor Network Theory & After* published in 1999 describe how it is best to carry out a series of case studies rather than attempt to apply an abstract theory to understand how a network functions.¹²⁹ One of the foremost proponents of Actor Network Theory is Latour, who in *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, published in 2007 discusses how using controversies within the network renders associations traceable and proposes that it is better to describe a social activity rather than to explain it.¹³⁰ A more recent

¹²⁹ John Law and John Hassard in *Actor Network Theory & After*. Newcastle: Sociological Review, 1999, present studies by different authors that include Latour to show how relationships can be described as being simultaneously material and semiotic and can bypass the tension created between centering and displacement.

¹³⁰ Latour in *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, redefines the composition of the social under the chapter headings “How to Deploy Controversies” and “How to Render Associations Traceable Again.”

author is Mike Michael who states in *Actor Network Theory: Trials, Trials & Translations* published in 2017 that the study of the tensions between the ordered and the disordered will enable one to reconfigure the process that shaped the social activity in the network.¹³¹

The Actor Network Theory method as defined by these three authors was applied to the production network diagram on page 74. This method was a useful reference when investigating those persons, objects, and concepts that were agents of the production network, because it allowed me to describe rather than analyze the role of each actor in the process. This permitted an understanding of the mechanisms they generated that held the network together and that resulted in the continuing practice of naval sculpture.

Hence, the Actor Network Theory method was applied as proposed by Law and Hassard, Latour and Michael by carrying out a series of case studies that follow the agents in action rather than trying to analyze them; by describing these case studies in terms of the controversies they generated within the network to uncover how each action added to the process rather than by trying to explain why it occurred; and by examining the process in terms of the ordered and the disordered, that is by how it was organized and where it was disorganized, so as to configure the process that shaped the activity. This revealed how the various groups functioned within the network. However, as mentioned in the Prologue, I do not consider myself an expert in the use of the Actor Network Theory method. My purpose was not to prove its validity as a research tool, but to use the method to help me organize the data in my corpus.

As a whole, the elements above act according to what Latour in *Science in Action* refers to as the diffusion model, which is composed of groups, facts, and objects with interests, as

¹³¹ Michael in *Actor Network Theory. Trials, Trials & Translation* London: Sage, 2017, discusses how Actor Network Theory is not a static theory but rather lends itself so that its principles can be aptly adapted to suit empirical studies.

opposed to the linear model made up of obligatory single points of passage that the other authors I reviewed in the introduction have used.¹³² This approach also subscribes to Panofsky's corrective principle method that I discussed on page 26 that demands that the art object being studied "must be grasped with necessity and not merely historically."

The exercise I carried out on pages 40 to 42 concerning the activities of Puget in the naval shipyard at Toulon helped me understand some of the nuances that resided in the black box of the production network. I have carried out similar exercises throughout the remainder of the dissertation to obtain as full an account as possible of the history of French naval sculpture.

My study of French naval sculpture did not solely require the interpretation of its sculptural composition as a finished product, but also demanded that I understand the many elements that influenced and contributed to its composition and its production. These ranged from the social, economic, cultural, and political forces that prevailed at the time when the composition was being synthesized, to the state of the sculptural practice during the production process, which included the competencies of those involved.

Investigating this range of elements required getting to know those agents that drove the production network of French naval sculpture, defining the rules of production that regulated its practice, and knowing how the use of best practices were applied and how these changed over time as the situation around them changed. These are discussed further in the next chapters.

* * *

¹³²See Latour *Science in Action*, pp. 132, 140-141.

Chapter Two: The Production Setup of French Naval Sculpture

Factors that influenced the design of the sculptures through a series of case studies of surviving artefacts on display in the museums and a review of sculptural drawings in the naval archives of France.

The basic requirements that directed or influenced the artistic practice of French naval sculpture from when Colbert launched France's naval program under Louis XIV were previously defined as based on the sculpture's purpose as a political statement, the function of its composition according to those who had ownership of it, its stylistic form as a decorative object according to the artistic trends in vogue set by Versailles, and the sculptural shape that had to fit onto the allotted space at the bow and the stern of the ship's hull.

In this chapter I explore the requirements that determined the rules of production of naval sculpture. To do this, I have treated these requirements with equal importance—that is, regardless of any previous traditional hierarchal ranking where one takes precedence over the other. This is in line with the Actor Network Theory method, which proposes a flat ontology where all agents, whether persons, objects, or concepts, are endowed with the same level of autonomy and have the same relevance in terms of their capability to create and foster relationships amongst themselves.¹³³

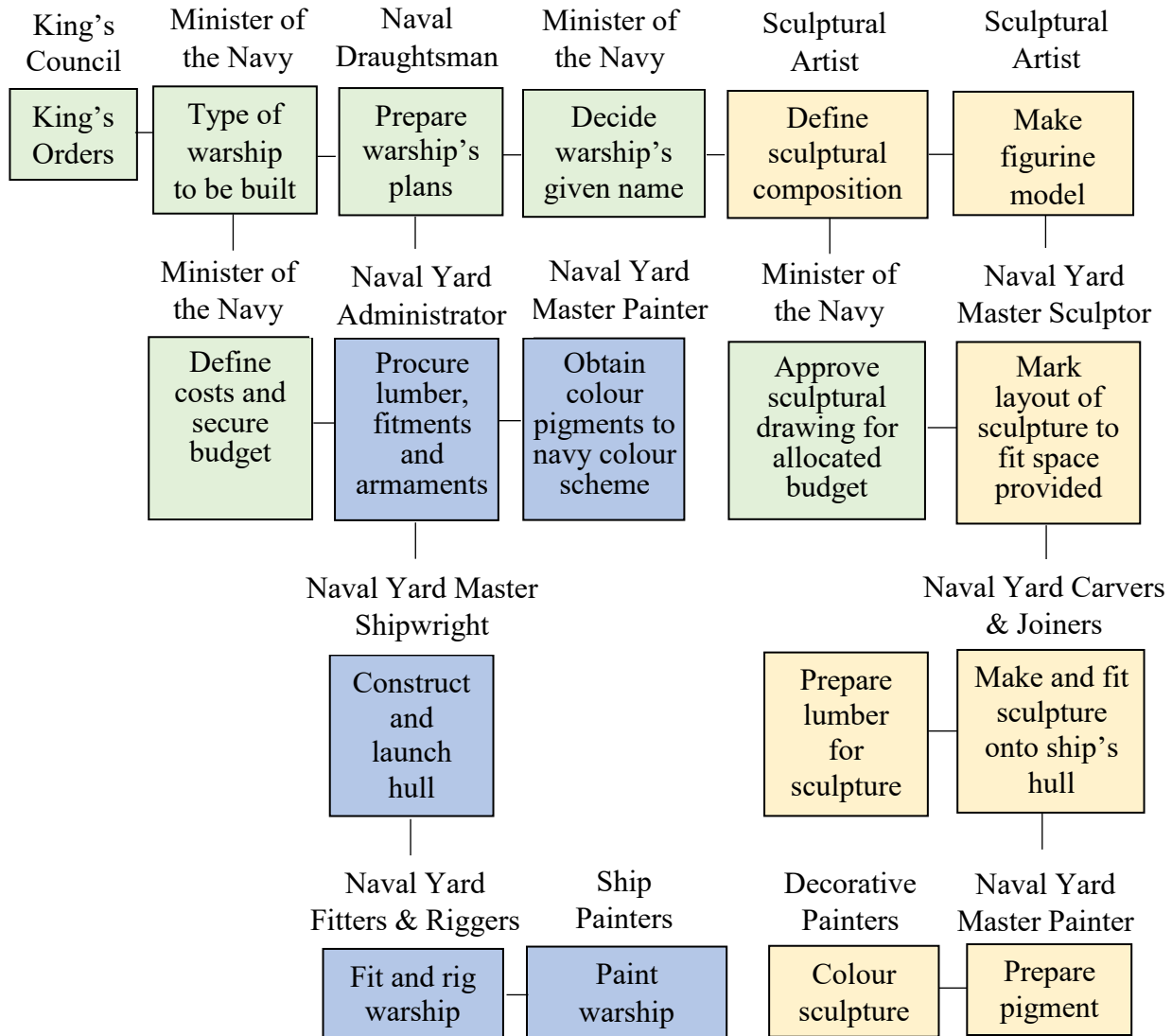
¹³³ Michael Callon and Bruno Latour. "Unscrewing the Big Leviathan." *Advances in Social Theory & Methodology*, 1981. Editors Karin Knorr-Cetina and A.V. Cicourel. London: Routledge, 1981, pp. 280, 286. The term flat ontology was originally defined by Manuel DeLanda in *Intensive Science & Virtual Philosophy*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2010, p. 47. DeLanda describes flat ontology as an ontology where general types and particular instances that are hierarchical, with each level representing a different ontological category, such as organism, species, and genera, become interacting parts and emerge as a whole, leading to a flat ontology, one made exclusively of unique, singular parts, differing in spatio-temporal scale but not in ontological status.

This is different from the so-called closed black box notion used by previous authors, which takes into consideration mostly the warship's name as the primary input and the finished sculpture as the sole output. The method I am applying makes visible for inspection the hidden components of the black box that I have opened by means of the production network diagram (see page 74), and I am now able to inspect how these functioned in the production of naval sculpture. Hence, the political purpose of naval sculpture together with its composition, decorative function, style, and shape, as mentioned on the previous page, can be considered as entities that associated with each other. In other words the production process involves far more than just the patron and the artist, and this chapter emphasizes those other players.

When Colbert started the naval program, he instituted an infrastructure for making naval sculpture that was set apart from the construction of the warships themselves. He put in place an organizational structure that functioned on its own, with the sculptural artist tasked to conceptualize the decorative work, the master sculptor having direct control of the tradespeople who worked for him in making and fitting the sculptures, and the master painter being in charge of painting the surface of the sculpture. This mode of operation separated naval sculpture from the remainder of the work being done on the warship in the naval shipyard.

The organization of the process is shown in the flow chart on the next page. The chart is colour-coded to demarcate the separate roles of the executive authority and the naval shipyard production line from the sculptural production line.

Set-Up for the Production of Naval Sculpture.



A closer examination of the chart through the lens of Actor Network Theory shows that it is populated by concepts, personages, and objects, and illustrates how these different participants played their own unique role, with each role able to contribute equally its own process to the experimental laboratory that resided within the production network of naval sculpture. I will examine these notions of concept, personage, and object one at a time.

The notion of concept can be found in the collection of sculptural drawings stored in the naval archives of the Service historique de la Défense at Vincennes, Toulon, and Rochefort, and in other sculptural drawings owned by foreign museums or in private collections and reproduced by Boudriot. These can be considered as records that documented the practice of naval sculpture as a conceptual endeavour. These drawings represent the concept as a medium that determined how function, decorative style, and form responded in unison to the production process of naval sculpture.

The function of the sculptural composition and its symbolic reference to the monarch were examined by reviewing the themes of the sculptural drawings. These showed that the theme usually implied a preference directly or indirectly to represent the ruling monarch. There are no instances where the theme of a new sculpture was dedicated to a previous monarch. Hence, the theme of the sculpture was always current according to the policy put forward by Versailles, which changed for each regime. Versailles also set France's mercantile strategy and established the composition of its naval fleet. This determined the type of warships needed to carry out this strategy, which then decided both the architecture of the warships and the thematic composition of the sculptures.

The decorative style of these sculptures was also examined by reviewing the drawings to see how these followed the trends of the palace art of Versailles, with Rococo replacing Baroque and Neoclassicism replacing Rococo. When these sculptural drawings were reviewed in conjunction with the construction plans of the warships for which they were intended, they also showed that the shift from one artistic style to the other coincided with step-changes in the design of the hull as a result of developments in ship construction.

Reviewing these sculptural drawings also showed how changes to the ship's hull impacted the shape of the sculptures, because these had to fit into the allotted sculptural space provided by the hull at the stem and the stern. The sculptural compositions had to be adjusted to conform to these constraints as they were modified over time. These drawings confirm that changes to the sculptural composition as a result of the hull's geometry were solely concerned with the sculptural space at the bow and the stern. Any decorative sculptures for the broadsides were not subject to the thematic requirements of the sculptures for the bow and the stern. Rather, where drawings exist, these show that the decoration of the broadsides copied from standard designs for building and furniture decoration.¹³⁴ A review of the drawings of later designs also shows that as the space became tighter the sculptural composition of the figurehead at the bow resorted to circumventing these constraints while the sculptural composition of the figures and ornaments at the stern was integrated within these constraints.

The notion of concept can be also seen in the combined use of best practices for the actual making of the sculpture. Although the theme of the sculptural composition throughout all three reigns was determined by its political function, the style of the period, and the type of warship and its architecture, with all three seemingly independent of each other, there was also an interrelationship that played a part during the synthesis of the sculptural composition. This inter-relationship also affected the production process that combined the skills of the sculptural artist with those of the sculptor and the colourist, so that each brought with them their respective best practices. Knowing the best practices they applied and how and when these changed made it possible to get to understand the composition of the sculptures and the changes that occurred in a

¹³⁴ See Carr-Laughton. "French Gun Ports" and "Broadside Details French." *Old Ship Figure-Heads & Sterns*, pp. 187, 197.

more meaningful manner than would be possible through an intuitive deduction from a straightforward visual observation.

These best practices did not develop in isolation, but were rather adapted from other artistic best practices outside of naval sculpture. The artists whom Colbert and his successors hired to work on the ships had also defined the themes of the sculptures at Versailles and had overseen their production, and they applied what they had learned to the sculptures in the naval shipyards.

For example, a review of the sculptural drawings shows that these initially did not follow a standard manner of representation. Instead they were done according to the personal preference of the artist. Foremost is Puget's drawing for *Le Sceptre* (see Figure 16), where the warship's sculptural definition is drawn as a three-dimensional panoramic view in freehand with the drawing ability of the sculptural artist at the forefront. Another method of representation, copied from Figure 4 of the *Album de Colbert*, combined the geometry of the hull with the drawings of the sculptures (see Figure 28).¹³⁵ One other method copied from figure 4 plate 48; see Figure 31 of the *Dauphin-Royal*, possibly by Jean Bérain (1640-1711), which approximated to a reduced scale the sculptural composition of the stern and its quarters. In addition, there were also drawings that indicated without any ambiguity what the sculptures had to look like as decorative objects by showing them in face view and side view. This type of drawing is for the most part reproduced in this dissertation, starting with the drawing for the *Soleil Royal* of 1669, shown as Figure 18.

¹³⁵ This hull drawing for a French built ship was made in 1686 by master shipwright P. Chaillé. See P. Chaillé. "Frégate de 40 pièces de canons, 1686" in Jean Boudriot. *La frégate: Marine de France*, pp. 26-27. This drawing is of interest because it is one of a very few that combine the geometry of the hull with the drawings of the sculptures as shown in the layout of the *Album de Colbert*. Although it is crude in comparison to later drawings, it is one of the few drawings that show that the ship constructor considered the sculptural design as part of the hull's geometry.

Eventually these various methods of drawing became standardized into a pre-designated format consisting of a two-dimensional representation that was clear in its instructions about how the finished sculptures were to look. The manner of laying out the composition as a flat side view and face view elevation was stipulated by edict in 1683 and 1685 and became the standard drawing practice that lasted throughout the remaining history of naval sculpture, regardless of the sculptural composition.¹³⁶

Also around the 1690s standard plans began to be used to direct the construction of the hull. The originals of several of these plans are stored at the Service historique de la Défense at Vincennes, Toulon, and Rochefort. It was the norm for the construction plans of the hull to show an empty space where the decorative sculpture was meant to be (see Figures 30 and 31).¹³⁷ This is a continuing indication that the decorative sculpture of the ship was undertaken separately from the construction of the ship's hull, even though the sculpture became an integral feature of the hull when it was installed.

This leads to the notion of personages and their role as agents in the production network of naval sculptures. These people were equal participants with the concepts and objects in the so-called black box for their ability to create and foster a relationship with the requirements that regulated the production network. Le Brun was the first artist appointed by Colbert in 1677 to carry out the sculptural program for the first batch of warships to be built in France.¹³⁸ He was a painter who was influenced by Nicolas Poussin and followed the Italian Baroque style in his

¹³⁶ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B⁴ 25b f^o 262-264.

¹³⁷ See for example Boudriot, "Plan en gabarit sur les proportions du Royal-Louis, 1692." *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, pp. 26-27; "Plan d'un vaisseau de 60 canons Le Serieux, 1738." Service historique de la Défense, Toulon. 1L 4433, n^o 29. The empty sculptural spaces shown on these drawings is normal for the majority of the ship's plans. This type of layout was adopted in the late seventeenth century and continued throughout the construction of the French sailing warship.

¹³⁸ The narration that follows was composed using as references Théron's *L'ornementation sculptée* and Acerra's *Rochefort et la construction navale française*.

work. He would have made similar use of the Baroque style for the sculptures.¹³⁹ The drawing by Bérain of the aftercastle for the *Dauphin-Royal*, launched in 1670, is typical of the type of drawing done (see Figure 29).¹⁴⁰ Le Brun's appointment was accompanied by that of Puget, who followed Le Brun's manner of composition, and by Girardon, who was the king's sculptor and charged with overseeing the execution of the sculptures in the naval shipyards.¹⁴¹ Puget was also a painter, but considered himself to be an architect as well.

In 1686 Bérain replaced Le Brun. The appointment of Bérain, who was the king's decorator and a colourist, not a painter or sculptor, resulted in some simplification to the sculptural designs, with massiveness replaced by human-size proportions. Here, Bérain's work was complemented by the appointment of Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716), who was a decorative sculptor and produced several drawings for the warships' sculptures. Bérain died in 1711 and Antoine-Francois Vassé (1681-1736), who was a decorative designer and sculptor, succeeded him in 1715. In 1733, Millicent (d. 1739) replaced Vassé as "dessinateur générale de la Marine." At Millicent's death, the function of central artist—"dessinateur du Roi"—was distributed amongst the sculptors in the naval shipyards, and they started doing their own sculptural drawings. For instance, the sculptural drawings for *Le Tonnant* by Gaspard Doumet, done in 1740, are typical (see Figure 32).¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Colbert had appointed Le Brun, who besides being the king's foremost painter, was also director of the Académie Royal de Peinture et de Sculpture, to lead the sculptural program because of Le Brun's palace art where he placed the king at the centrepiece of his historical and mythological narrations. This relationship between the king and Le Brun is reviewed by Wolf Burchard in *The Sovereign Artist: Charles Le Brun and the Image of Louis XIV*. London: Paul Holberton, 2017. Le Brun's image-making of the king is covered later in this text.

¹⁴⁰ Jean Bérain. "Le Dauphin-Royal," 1667-70. Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 311.

¹⁴¹ Boudriot writes about Girardon, "La réalisation des projets nécessite l'envoi à Toulon du sculpteur F. Girardon." "Cet artiste est commissionné pour suivre l'exécution et même y participer." Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 294.

¹⁴² Gaspard Doumet, "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le Tonnant, 1740." 145 x 46 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. IL 4433, f°26.

During the administration of Colbert, the instructions for the sculptural designs were well understood by Le Brun and Puget, because Colbert had specifically appointed them to create sculptures that celebrated the monarch with allegorical references to mythology. However, their overenthusiasm for excessively elaborate sculptures to represent the greatness and magnificence of the king had to be curtailed. The designs by Puget in particular were considered to be complex, cumbersome, and impractical, and his drawings were not fully followed through (as described in the reports about him in Chapter One).¹⁴³

As time went by, the composition of the sculptures began to be directed by written instructions from the authorities and overseen by a supervising shipyard officer.¹⁴⁴ That said, the sculptural artist and the sculptor working in the naval shipyard still enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. They would have their own artistic preferences, especially since they also did sculptures for other institutions, including churches, as well as mercantile ships.¹⁴⁵ Hence, both the artists and the sculptors would apply the personal best practices that they had acquired from other work to naval sculpture, regardless of any written instructions.

Here, the status of naval sculpture as an art during the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI requires clarification. The Musée national de la Marine makes the assertion that Colbert placed naval sculpture on an equal footing with the other arts: “Dès 1668, il insère la décoration navale au sein de tous les autres arts du royaume.”¹⁴⁶ The appointment of artists such

¹⁴³ Théron gives Puget’s point of view and states that “Puget’s experience at the shipyards was short-lived.” She cites J. Bougerel, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de plusieurs hommes illustres de Provence*, Paris, C. Herissant, 1752, and writes that “he ended up being disgusted with himself over it.” Théron “La bonne fabrique et le superbe ornement,” p. 146.

¹⁴⁴ Théron qualifies these as “officiers de la plume.” Théron, *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ Alain Demerliac in *Nomenclature des navires françaises de 1715 à 1774*. Nice: Éditions Omega, 1995, 16, lists 150 ships of 500 to 1800 tonneaux that were built between 1719 and 1770 for the *Compagnie des Indes*. These would also require sculptures, except that the themes of the sculptures would be related to the business of the company.

¹⁴⁶ See page 44 footnote 93 for the full quote.

as Le Brun and Puget and sculptors such as Girardon to do the naval sculptures reinforced this status. This statement by the Musée national de la Marine can be interpreted as a way for the museum to promote the artistic aspect of France's naval heritage.

However, the Service historique de la Marine, in *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux*, contends that naval sculpture was not considered to be an art as such at the time it was practiced but rather an extension of architecture, and was thus considered to be a skilled trade similar to that of the stone carvers who decorated the façades of buildings: “Sous l’Ancienne Régime, la décoration navale ne fut jamais considérée comme un art a part entiere. Elle ne connut aucune théorisation ... elle les puisa aussi bien à l’architecture civile.”¹⁴⁷

Although naval sculpture may have been deemed a branch of architecture and not of art, and the sculptors that worked in the naval shipyards were not appointed artists but considered carvers who belonged to a general trade group and followed standard rules intended for sculptors, they would have still generated their own best practices and design rules. For example, those who worked under the direction of Girardon would have been instructed in the use of best practices for sculptures of monuments and buildings but would have also developed their own best practices for naval sculpture for the simple reason that naval sculpture had its own viewing points that differed from the viewing points of monuments and buildings. The uniqueness of naval sculpture and the independence of its best practices stems from Colbert setting up dedicated sculptural centres in the naval shipyards, where the master sculptor led a small group of sculptors, assisted by wood carvers, to execute the sculptures from the conceptual drawings prepared by the centrally appointed artists.

¹⁴⁷ Service historique de la Marine. *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux*, p. 25.

This arrangement meant that the conceptual drawings made by the centrally appointed artist were entrusted by the master sculptor to a skilled group of artisans, who then produced the sculptures. This set-up was identical to that for making the palace sculptures of Versailles, as stated by Bernard Teyssède in *L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV*: “Le Premier Peintre fournit aux sculpteurs ses dessins. L'exécution collective conduit a une nouvelle artisanat.”¹⁴⁸ The finished sculptures were then painted, or coloured, by the naval shipyard painters—here, again, the work was done by a skilled group of artisans as opposed to an artist who would make a painting on a canvas. Nevertheless, the sculptural centres in the naval shipyards became artistic centres that developed their own best practices.¹⁴⁹

When the sculptural drawings in the naval archives are compared with the drawings of the sculptures at Versailles, their rendition is of comparable merit. However, it is not clear what the final renditions of the naval sculptures looked like. The palace art of Versailles was done to a very high finish and can be appreciated when the viewer is close to the sculptures. Teyssède states in *L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV*: “Mais si les sculpteurs mal à propos emperuqués sont de merveilleux praticiens, s'ils attachent un tel prix à l'absolue perfection de détail c'est à condition qu'il soit vu, et vu des près.”¹⁵⁰ The intent for the naval sculptures might not have been the same, since their installation generally permitted them to be viewed close up only when the ship was tied at the jetty to load provisions or when the viewer was alongside on another ship or boarding the ship by boat. Rather, the sculptures were usually viewed from some distance, when the warship was anchored in the middle of the harbour, and this meant that the sculptures would be

¹⁴⁸ Bernard Teyssède. *L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1967, p. 96.

¹⁴⁹ Théron describes how the practice of naval sculpture in the naval shipyards resulted in the foundation of residential artistic centres that also opened their own art schools. Théron, *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 11, 85.

¹⁵⁰ Teyssède, p. 97.

appreciated as part of the warship's whole architecture (as previously discussed on pages 48 to 50 about the different viewing points).

That the ships' sculptures were intended to be viewed at a distance is further demonstrated by the colourist's use of *trompe l'oeil* to accentuate the form of the sculptures from a distance as well as to darken the crevices and give the relief sculptures a stronger three-dimensional effect that would otherwise not have been achieved when the sculptures were viewed up close.¹⁵¹ And yet, the usual set viewing distance for these sculptures is not as clear as that, because the high level of anatomical detail of the few surviving sculptures on display in the naval museums in France indicates that these were actually made to be viewed close up.

The role played by physical objects as equal participants in the production process needs to be considered, primarily because of their capability to create a relationship with the requirements of function, style, and form. The wax figurines of the figureheads bridged the gap between the sculptural drawing and the actual production of the sculpture. There was an important relationship between the sculptor who made the wax figurine, the wax figurine itself as the object, and the concept expressed by the composition of the figurine that represented the actual sculpture (see Figure 33).¹⁵² The model of the figurehead would allow the sculptor to obtain approval for the sculptural design from the naval authorities, in particular for the more

¹⁵¹ This viewing distance is also mentioned by the Musée national de la Marine, which cites on its website a letter written by the secretary of state for the navy Antoine Sartine (1729-1801) to the intendants of all the naval yards: "Les figures allégoriques qui étaient nombreuses sur l'avant des vaisseaux étaient d'une exécution lente et dispendieuse, et pouvaient servir à les faire reconnaître de loin." *Ordonnance du 7 janvier 1777*. Hence, the distinctiveness of these sculptures also became a drawback because it negated the strategy of surprise when approaching an enemy warship.

¹⁵² The Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest has wax figurines on display that are attributed to Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). Figure 33 shows photos of these wax figurines in their original state painted white before they were restored by the museum. See: mnm.webmuseo.com/ws/musee-national-marine/app/collection. See Appendix Two for the history of the wax figurines pertaining to naval sculpture.

important ships. It was also essential to verify how the sculpture fitted over the shape of the cutwater to ensure that the sculptural space was filled in good taste, especially with the transition from the round bow to the elliptical bow. Last but not least, the figurine helped to assure that the sculptor properly interpreted the sculptural drawing. Similar models were also done for the sculptural designs at the stern with the same purpose as the ones for the figurehead. Those on exhibit in the museums are made from wood (see Figure 34).¹⁵³

There is no surviving evidence of French figurine figureheads made from wood. However, an example described by Richard Hunter in an article titled “With Royal Approval, the Figurehead of HMS *Queen Charlotte*” reveals why Britain might have used wood figurines and supports the suggestion that France might have done the same. This article reviews a recently discovered reduced scale wood model of the figurehead for the British first rate H.M.S. *Charlotte*, launched in 1790 in Chatham, England.¹⁵⁴ The figurehead model consists of a representation of Queen Charlotte in regal coronation attire and wearing a crown with the curtain of a canopy behind her. She is shown erect, looking ahead and standing on the crest of a wave. However, the queen’s arms are missing, with a cavity at each shoulder. This was to show the sculptor that the arms had to be removable in order to avoid becoming damaged during stormy weather or when in battle, but could be assembled onto the figurehead when the ship was in

¹⁵³ Figure 34 shows typical relief sculptures for the stern plate as standalone models made from wood. These are on display at the Musée national de la Marine du Château de Brest. The practice of using figurines and wood models was copied from sculpture. These were usually done before the drawing was accepted by the minister and the intendant. These wax and wood models were also used by the master sculptor to instruct the woodcarvers. Following the precedent set by Puget in 1668 where he did not want to use his hands to do the actual sculptures, but resorted to make figurines from his own designs, the master sculptor and master painter preferred not to work on the actual sculptures themselves but gave the work to the tradespeople - that is, the woodcarvers and the journeyman painters. Puget’s refusal to make the sculptures themselves is reported by Théron states that Puget “Requiring an assistant, he refused to work on wood himself.” Théron, “La bonne fabrique et le superbe ornement,” p. 145.

¹⁵⁴ Richard Hunter. “With Royal Approval, the Figurehead of HMS *Queen Charlotte*.” *Apollo*, 2005.

harbour. This explains why the figurine was made from wood and not wax—removing and inserting the arms to show how it was done would have damaged the wax. There is no indication that the same was done for French figurehead figurines. Yet several of the French sculptural drawings show figureheads with outstretched arms, which suggests that they, too, might have made these removable when at sea.

The reduced scale models of the warships on display in the naval museums at Paris, Brest, and Rochefort can be deemed to contribute similarly as physical objects, according to what has been stated so far in terms of the Actor Network Theory method. These models connected the ship's drawings to their actual construction, and as a result were an influencing factor on the sculptural design itself. The ships' models on display can be divided into two groups. The first group covers those that are bare of any sculptural decoration and were solely based on the ship's construction plans. Their primary purpose was to show how the warship would look when built and to indicate whether any changes were needed to the construction plans. The same model was then used to instruct the construction of the warship itself in the naval shipyard. Although these models do not include any sculptural decoration, they do show the empty sculptural space that was available for use by the sculptor.

The second group of models includes those that are fitted with their sculptural decorations. These models can be further divided into two sub-groups. First, there are models that are fully rigged and kitted; these were usually built either when the ship was under construction or right after and were meant to instruct the ship's officers or to present to the ship's patron—who could be the king, or a wealthy entity that funded the construction of the ship in support of the monarchy. These models were done in accurate detail, were highly visually pleasing, and were meant to gratify the warship's patron and justify the warship's construction

costs. The second sub-group consists of models built as an exercise much later, after the ship was in service. They often used the ship's construction plans and possibly the original sculptural drawings, though not always. In these cases, reference may have also been made to previous paintings or drawings of the warship in question.

The models that were built when the ship was under construction or immediately thereafter are the most reliable reference in terms of investigating the factors that influenced the design of their sculptures and the development of their best practices. The Musée national de la Marine's Trianon collection has two ship models that fit this category. Both were built by the model shop of the naval shipyard at Brest. These are the *Artésien*, built in 1765, and the *Océan*, built in 1794.

The *Artésien* was named after its benefactor, the province of Artois.¹⁵⁵ The figurehead shows a young woman whose hair and dress are fashioned in the ancient Greek style. She is holding an unrolled scroll as if in possession of a message bearing an announcement. The stern plate shows a relief sculpture featuring a seated woman wearing an ancient classical robe and holding an infant. A kneeling woman is offering a model of the ship to the infant. The composition is flanked by two mermaids, emphasizing the connection with the sea (see Figure 35, upper part). The seated woman is the same woman who is in the figurehead. The composition of the sculpture at the stern plate makes it clear that the construction of the *Artésien* was funded by a donation—"don des vaisseaux"—from the province of Artois. Both the figurehead and the seated woman at the stern plate arguably represent France, while the infant represents the future Charles X, and the kneeling woman represents the province of Artois. More specifically, it is

¹⁵⁵ Sébastien Cupin (1715-75). "Maquette de bateau Artésien, vaisseau de 64 canons, 1765." Atelier de l'Arsenal de Brest, 1765. Collection Trianon. <http://mnm.webmuseo.com/ws/musee-national-marine/app/collection/record/8954>.

possible that the kneeling woman is the comtesse d'Artois Marie-Thérèse de Savoie, wife of the comte d'Artois, brother to Louis XVI and the mother of the infant.¹⁵⁶

The construction of the *Océan* was also funded by a donation. Its benefactor was the États de Bourgogne. The figurehead for *Océan* shows a bearded man wearing a *chiton* and pouring water out of a vase.¹⁵⁷ The stern is decorated with repetitive patterning according to the style introduced in the late part of the eighteenth century, leaving little room to mount any sculptural compositions (see Figure 35, lower part). The figurehead of the *Océan* can be interpreted as a representation of the Greek sea god Nereus, with the water being poured out of the vase symbolizing the ocean.¹⁵⁸ The figurehead composition probably makes reference to a statue at the Vatican Museum in the ancient Greco-Roman style and a print by Theodoor Galle (1571-1653) of the river god Tiber.¹⁵⁹ Both the statue and the print also show a bearded male pouring water out of a vase. The stern plate is too small to have any meaningful relief sculpture and simply has a medallion showing the bust of a person who is not identifiable. It is plausible that the medallion originally contained the royal Fleur-de-Lys and this was replaced when the decorations of the model were redone in 1807, as a result of the downfall of the monarchy.

When the ship models of the *Artésien* and the *Océan* are compared, they show the change that took place over a short period of time, directly impacting the sculptures at the stern. By the

¹⁵⁶ This interpretation was deduced by referring to the ages of those that best fitted the composition of the sculpture.

¹⁵⁷ Anonymous. "Maquette de bateau Océan, vaisseau de 118 canons, 1790." Atelier de l'Arsenal de Brest. In 1807 the original model had its decoration that was originally done in soft wood replaced by ivory and ebony in conformance to the convention of the time. Collection Trianon. <http://mnm.webmuseo.com/ws/musee-national-marine/app/collection/record/8952>.

¹⁵⁸ See as reference "Red Figure Amphora." Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge. Catalogue No. Harvard 1927.150. Late archaic period about 490 B.C. Nereus, the old man of the sea, is depicted with the upper body of a man and the serpentine tail of a fish in place of legs. He wears a *chiton* and holds a sceptre and small dolphin in his hands. The image shown is a montage of several photos of the vase.

¹⁵⁹ See "Imperial Rome sculpture of the River God Tiber." Ancient Greco-Roman marble sculpture Vatican Museum, and Theodoor Galle after Jan van der Straet. "The River God Tiber with Urn and Vestal Tuccia," about 1630. Engraving. 21.7 × 28.3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

time the *Océan* was constructed, the stern had evolved into an arched structure, and as such had a lighter weight to load ratio. This reduced the stern plate to a much smaller size, causing in turn the relief sculptures to be reduced. However, the space above the cutwater remained the same as in previous ships and the form of the figurehead did not have to change.

In the early to mid-1700s the navies of France, England, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries began to standardize their own warship designs to reduce costs and shorten construction time. This approach seemed to harmonize changes in ship design across all navies, with crossovers in changes to the design of the hull between the European maritime powers as a result of the mobility of leading ship constructors. Changes to the shape of the bow and the cutwater profile, and the accompanying alterations to the cheeks and the rails, thus followed each other amongst the respective navies. The same occurred with the stern in the transition from a box structure to a semi-circular structure, changes to the gallery, and the introduction of the quarter castle and its later integration into the aftercastle (see Figures 36 and 37).¹⁶⁰ Changes to the sculptural decorations at the bow and the stern also followed each other around Europe, except that each navy held on to its own particular manner of representation, whether it was the king as the central theme for the leading French warships, an equestrian theme for the leading English warships, the lion for the Scandinavian warships, or a religious personage or the lion for the Spanish warships.

The evolution of the ship-of-the-line and the introduction of changes to the aftercastle, the gallery, and the quarter castle followed a similar progression in the different navies. The naval sculptures responded to every change. Discreet changes—as long as they were good ideas—were adopted without much fanfare, as shown by the use of simple straight metal railings

¹⁶⁰ From Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 128 canons*. Photo. Detail, pp. 25, 63, 89 and 26, 118, 143.

to replace the more intricate wood carved balustrades for the gallery of the French warship *Algonquin*, built in Canada in 1753.¹⁶¹ The structural changes to the stern as these occurred over time began to favour innovative sculptural compositions and the use of metal railings became part of this innovation. What initially began as an enclosed gallery in the mid-seventeenth century became an open gallery in the mid-eighteenth century with the metal railings becoming a natural fit (see Figure 38).¹⁶²

The way in which changes to the construction plans for both the bow and the stern affected the sculptural space can be seen by comparing the evolution of the sculptural drawings over time. The step-changes in the form of the hull coincided with the step-changes from Baroque to Rococo and to Neoclassicism. The switch to Rococo was introduced by the desire to replace the heavily sculpted and delineated forms of Baroque with the lighter shapes evoked by Rococo, and thereafter, with the simpler shape of the Neoclassical style. Here, the style of the figurehead sculpture was made to conform to the changes of the cheeks and the rails. This can be seen by comparing the changes to the figurehead composition done in the Baroque style for the 1692 drawing of *L'Ambitieux* and the 1708 drawing of *Pompeux*, those done in the Rococo style for the 1721 drawing of *Éclatant*, the 1741 drawing of *Alcide*, and the 1751 drawing of

¹⁶¹ The use of metal railings to replace wooden balustrades was initially tried on the first rate *Magnifique* that was built in 1685, but was discontinued due to the high cost. A second try on the *Sirènes*, built in 1740, made the argument for the use of metal railings more plausible. This was followed by *Algonquin*, built in Québec in 1753: “L’Algonquin, dernier gros vaisseau bati au Canada en a un, on dit qu’elle fait tres bien.” Service Historique de la Défense, Toulon. IL 216, f° 162v. When metal railings began being used instead of wooden balustrades, these were adorned with Greek motifs and painted in a gold colour. See Théron *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 347. From then on it became standard practice. See *Artesian*, built in 1765.

¹⁶² Boudriot. “De la genèse du vaisseau de haut bord.” *Deux siècles des constructions et chantiers navals: milieu XVIIe-milieu XIXe siècle*. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002, pp. 18-19.

Courageux, and the Neoclassical style for the 1779 drawing of the *Royal-Louis* (see Figure 39).¹⁶³

The sculptures at the stern underwent similar changes in style. Referring to the 1678 drawing of the *Victorieux*, one can compare the changes that occurred right up to the *Royal-Louis* drawings of 1759 and 1779 (see Figure 40). Here, regardless of the change in style, the form of the sculpture was made to fit onto the spaces and surfaces made available by the shape of the bow and the stern.

It is not known whether the few surviving naval sculptures are truly representative of the actual sculptures that were installed on the warships of the French fleet. An important indication that these surviving pieces were not actually salvaged from warships that were broken up is that they do not show any exposure to the elements. Rather, they are highly refined in detail, with any chip marks smoothed over, and the surfaces coated with varnish for protection and to enhance their finish. The quality of their finish resembles that of sculptures made from stone or marble, which are best appreciated at a close distance, similar to the palace sculptures of Versailles. The museums attribute most of the sculptures on display not to a particular warship but to the sculptural workshops of the naval shipyards. Although a match may be made between the theme of a particular sculpture on display and a ship's given name, these sculptures seem to have been made to showcase the sculpting capabilities of their artists rather than to represent what was installed on the ships themselves.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ See the drawings from Boudriot in *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons* for the bow "Ambitieux, 1692," "Pompeux, 1708," "Eclatant, 1721," "Alcide, 1741," "Courageux, 1751," "Royal-Louis, 1779," pp. 321, 326, 327, 337, 338, 365, and for the stern "Victorieux, 1678," "Magnifique, 1685," "Saint-Philippe, 1694," "Foudroyant, 1724," "Royal-Louis, 1759," and "Royal-Louis, 1779," pp. 317, 319, 323, 329, 343, 365.

¹⁶⁴ There is also the possibility that the sculptures on display in the Musée national de la Marine were duplicates that were never mounted on their ships but were stored ready for use as replacements and were later found handy for display because of their good condition. Alternatively, the sculptures could have

The large size of the sculptures on display shows that many of them were intended to be mounted on a ship-of-the-line. Most of them date from the early nineteenth century—that is, later than the period covered by this dissertation. However, there are some exceptions. These are said to have been done in the eighteenth century. The naval museum at Brest has a set of twin sculptures in the round that were made as stern figures for mounting at the starboard and port sides of the aftercastle. These are titled “Minerve” and “Mars” and attributed to Collet (see Figure 41).¹⁶⁵ Also on display in the museum at Brest is a high relief sculpture for mounting on the stern plate titled “Décor de poupe; Haut-relief, Indien d'Amérique” and dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see Figure 42).¹⁶⁶ The sculptor is unknown but was apparently the product of the sculptural school in the naval shipyard at Brest. No ship is designated as the home of any of the three sculptures.

Another notable display is the sculpture of a caryatide for the stern at the naval museum at Toulon titled “Cariatide en forme de sirène” and done in 1779 by Antoine Gibert. The museum states that it was meant for a frigate, but again the ship’s name is not given (see Figure 43).¹⁶⁷ Beyond that, there is one figurehead sculpture in the round at the naval museum at Rochefort, which is supposed to be the earliest figurehead to have survived. This sculpture is titled “Figure de proue de la Poursuivante,” and it was made by Jean Elshoecht and Benjamin

been in service for a short time and retained their good condition because of the protective coating of the paint. When they were salvaged, their paint was stripped to give them a pristine appearance.

¹⁶⁵ Yves-Etienne Collet. “Mars, Terme de poupe d’un vaisseau non identifié. XVIIIe siècle.” 185 × 45 × 45 cm. “Minerve. Terme de poupe d’un vaisseau non identifié. XVIIIe siècle.” Approximately 200 × 45 × 90 cm. Wood sculptures. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Mourot. *Les Génies de la Mer*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁶ “Indien d’Amérique 4e quart XVIIIe siècle. Décor de poupe en haut-relief.” Wood sculpture. 191 × 167 × 35 cm. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest.

¹⁶⁷ Antoine Gibert. “Cariatide en forme de sirène,” 1779. Wood sculpture. 169 × 99 × 76 cm. Musée national de la Marine, Toulon.

Tellier in 1796 at the naval shipyard at Dunkerque for the frigate *Poursuivante* (see Figure 44).¹⁶⁸

The Musée national de la Marine cites on its website a letter written in 1777 by Antoine de Sartine, minister of the navy to the intendant at the naval shipyard at Brest. In this letter, Sartine wants to diminish the high level of detail that the sculptors applied to their work: “L’art de la sculpture n’est pour la Marine qu’un accessoire dont la perfection importe peu a ses succès et je crois que c’est sur les dépenses de cette espèce qu’il convient d’apporter une économie scrupuleuse.”¹⁶⁹ Evidently, the sculptures being reviewed here did not comply with the official edict to keep costs down. All are done to the highest level of detail—which was precisely what Sartine was complaining about. However, because of their pristine condition it is not certain if they were installed on an actual warship or simply displayed to showcase the capabilities of the sculptor or the sculpting school in the naval shipyard.

There is a clear incongruity between the appearance of these sculptures and what the sculptures on an actual warship would have looked like. The ship’s sculptures were not meant to be viewed up close and would have had intentionally disproportionate or exaggerated features that would shrink to the right size when viewed from a distance. This manner of design is also present in sculptures that are mounted on the top of a monument or a high column. These monuments approximate the same viewing distance as that of a warship at anchor in harbour or being approached at sea. However, the anatomical features of the sculptures on display at the naval museums done to exact proportions and to a high level of detail indicates that they

¹⁶⁸ Jean Elshoecht and Benjamin Tellier. “Figure de proue de la *Poursuivante*.” Wood sculpture. 220 × 92 × 110 cm. Dunkerque 1796. Musée national de la Marine, Rochefort.

¹⁶⁹ *Lettre d’Antoine de Sartine du 4 mai 1777*. Musée national de la Marine. Website posting.

followed the style of sculptures for stately palaces, where the viewer can observe their form up close at leisure.

I will now review the sculptures on display at the naval museums, as mentioned above, in detail, one at a time.

The first sculptures to review are “Minerve” and “Mars.” Their mythological theme is one that other sculptural compositions used throughout the history of naval sculpture. The allusion to Minerva and Mars as ancient deities was an allegorical reference meant to imply the king’s divine right to rule. This mythological aspect of French naval sculpture in general is reinforced by the Musée national de la Marine, which displays on its website images taken from Greek pottery that imply a connection between Greek deities and the naval sculpture of France. This connection can be seen not only in the choice of titles—“Minerve” and “Mars”—but also when one compares the posture and attire of the images on the Greek vases with those of the sculptures (see Figure 45).¹⁷⁰

The sculptures also show the two deities clad in armour, and this implies the warring theme of the sculptural composition. The warring theme associated with “Minerve” and Mars” can be also found in two paintings done around the same time in the Rococo style, which might have served as a reference for the sculptures. Both show Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, winning in combat over Mars, the god of war. These paintings are “Combat de Mars contre Minerve,” 1771, by Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) and “Le combat de Minerve et de Mars,” 1771, by Joseph Benoît Suvée (1743-1807)” (see Figures 46 and 47, respectively).¹⁷¹ Another

¹⁷⁰ “La mythologie inspire l’iconographie navale.” La sculpture navale et le décor des vaisseaux de guerre français. Musée national de la Marine. La sculpture navale du XVII - musee-marine.fr.

¹⁷¹ Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825). “Combat de Mars contre Minerve,” 1771. Oil on canvas, 146 x 181 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. See also Joseph Benoît Suvée (1743-1807). “Le combat de Minerve et de Mars,” 1771. Palais des beaux-arts de Lille. Both paintings take their subject from Homer’s *Iliad*. At the

possible source for the sculptures are two sculptures by Girardon that were copied as a twin set of miniature marble sculptures in the mid-nineteenth century titled “Mars et Minerve d'après Girardon” (see Figure 48).¹⁷² The upper part of these marble sculptures resembles the upper part of the wooden sculptures at the museum in Brest in terms of posture and attire.¹⁷³

The lower part of the sculptures of “Minerve” and “Mars” on display at the museum ends in the tail of a sea creature. This alludes to the king as ruler of the sea. This topic was fairly common under Louis XIV, beginning with the figureheads for the *François* and the *Soleil Royal* and repeated through various different symbols on other warships (see Figures 49 to 52).¹⁷⁴ The use of the figurehead with the tail of a sea creature continued up to the end of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, as shown by the figurehead drawing that shows a hippocampus for the first rate frigate *L'Auguste*, done in 1740 (see Figure 52).¹⁷⁵ After this date, however, the use of the figurehead with the tail of a sea creature lost its popularity and figurehead drawings began to show full persons or animals, up to the introduction of the bust figurehead towards the beginning of the nineteenth century.

time of the Trojan War, Minerva, goddess of wisdom and supporter of the Greeks, defeated Mars in battle, the god of war and an ally of the Trojans.

¹⁷² “Mars et Minerve d'après Girardon,” mid-19th century. Marble. 43 x 12 cm. These sculptures are stated as having been made from the models by Girardon. Images of Girardon’s models could not be located. These two sculptures were recently up for auction and the auctioneer’s website described them as follows: “Ces deux sculptures à l’antique sont dans la continuité des bronzes italiens de la renaissance.” <http://www.fligny-haute-epoque.com/fr/mars-et-minerve-en-bronze>.

¹⁷³ This sculpture copied from Girardon as an art object of curiosity as I mentioned in the table “Perception of the Viewer as this Changed Over Time” on page 51.

¹⁷⁴ See Philippe Caffieri. “Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le François, 1688.” 29 x 44 cm. Detail. Vincennes: Service historique de la Défense. G¹ 87, f^o 86 V^o.7; Anonymous. “Vaisseau le Soleil Royal, 1669.” 38 x 60cm. Detail. Vincennes. Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 67, f^o 1; Charles-Philippe Caffieri. “Vaisseau le Triton, 1724.” 98 x 39 cm. Detail. Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 67, f^o 2 Cl 7368-7369; Charles-Philippe Caffieri. “L’Auguste, 1740.” Vincennes: Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 67, f^o 6.

¹⁷⁵ See footnote above for reference to *L’Auguste*.

I did a comparative review of the sculptural drawings for the stern, looking at figures with the tail of a sea creature. The drawing for the first rate *Royal-Louis* of 1668 is the most prolific, with its caryatides of sirens, or mermaids (see Figures 19 and 20). The drawing for the third rate *Trident*, built in 1696, shows twin mermaids decorating the stern plate (see Figure 53).¹⁷⁶ Likewise, the drawing for the third rate *Prudent* of 1698 shows a triton at each quarter of the stern (see Figure 54).¹⁷⁷ Then, I performed the same exercise for the frigates. I reviewed all the available sculptural drawings, but in this case I only found three drawings that had a sea creatures at the stern. These were the drawings for the frigates *Aurore*, built in 1687, *Licorne*, built in 1775, and *Calypso*, built in 1785.¹⁷⁸ These have at their quarter stern a female figure with the tail of a fish (see Figures 55, 56, and 57). Otherwise, no other drawings could be found. Notably, *Licorne* and *Calypso* were built within the same time period as the sculptures “Minerve” and “Mars,” and can thus be considered to show where “Minerve” and “Mars” would have been positioned at the quarter of the stern.

French naval sculpture is usually associated with the sea. Yet this scarcity of examples of fish-tailed creatures, in particular when there are no corresponding figureheads for the time when “Minerve” and “Mars” were made, makes their connection with the sea appear isolated.

“Minerve” and “Mars” both followed the Baroque style that had been imported into France from Italy and was used by Girardon on the palace sculptures at Versailles in the late seventeenth century. The museum’s dating of the sculptures as eighteenth century is too wide a

¹⁷⁶ Anonymous “Dessin du Trident,” 1696. Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 50 à 64 canons*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁷ Jean Bérain “Poupe de vaisseau le Prudent troisième rang” 1698. Service historique de la Défense D¹ 69, f^o 8 67-68.

¹⁷⁸ Philippe Caffieri. “Aurore, 1687.” Havre. 29 x 44 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. G¹ 87, v^o 29; “La Licorne, 1755” C.-P. Caffieri. Brest. 93 x 37 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 68, f^o 4; Anonymous. “La Calypso, 1785.” Brest. 108 x 38 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 68, f^o 8.

range to be able to determine for which ship they were meant. However, the style of the two sculptures and their embellished garments recalls similar sculptures that were done later by Collet (see Figure 58).¹⁷⁹ This suggests that they were made by Collet.

The allusion of the two sculptures to Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, and to Mars, the god of war, reflected the way in which Louis XVI governed. He sought good internal governance, and at the same time wanted to defend the interests of France against its adversaries. The two sculptures were also made around the same time as the paintings by David and Suvée, mentioned above. This may be coincidental, but the sculptures' allusions to wisdom and war suggest that they were made during the reign of Louis XVI. To be more exact, because of their attribution to Collet, they were probably made sometime between 1780, when Collet began his working career, and 1789, when the French Revolution occurred and Louis XVI was removed from all authority.

The size of these sculptures makes them suitable to fit on the quarter stern of a second or third rate ship-of-the-line, or even a first rate frigate. However, the outward arm of "Minerve" does not follow the convention of having the sculptures at the stern integrated with the supporting structure of the galleries. Observe how the drawings in the other figures show the form of the sculpture being pushed against the quarter of the stern. Hence, it is uncertain whether these sculptures had a host ship, and they may truly have been a sculptural exercise, and not, after all, objects that were salvaged when the ship was broken up.¹⁸⁰ Regardless, though, both

¹⁷⁹ See the sculptures "Neptune" and "Amphitrite" of Figure 58 on display at the naval museum at Brest that are attributed to Collet. These are dated as early 19th century.

¹⁸⁰ The only contending warship named "Minerve" built around the date the sculptures were made and that was not lost at sea or taken as prize by the British was a frigate built at Saint Malo in 1777. Similarly, there is only one contending warship named "Mars" and this was a second rate built at L'Orient in 1769-1770. The sculptural drawings for these two warships could not be found.

sculptures were credibly made as stern figures and probably meant for mounting one at each side at the quarter of a warship or frigate.

In summary, the sculptures “Minerve” and “Mars” celebrated the king as ruler of the sea by making an allusion to a mythological deity that had a warring theme and a maritime connection. Their high level of detail and the high quality of their surface finish shows that the naval administration’s desire to have simplified sculptures of low cost was ignored. However, because the host ships for these sculptures was not found, they could have simply been an exercise by Collet to showcase his capabilities as a sculptor.¹⁸¹ This is likely, because Collet was quite prolific in making sculptures as studies, as can be seen by the wax figurines that are on display in the museum at Brest.

The next review is of the relief sculpture “Décor de poupe; Haut-relief, Indien d'Amérique,” which shows an Indigenous inhabitant of New France. Its size is typical for mounting on the stern plate and it would fit well on a first rate ship-of-the-line. However, the design of the stern underwent a significant step-change prior to the date given by the museum—that is, the last quarter of the eighteenth century—with the space of the stern plate becoming very restrictive so that it would not be possible to fit this size of sculpture. The constraints imposed on the sculpture in terms of its dimensions makes it more suitable for mounting on the stern plate of a ship built before the introduction of the round stern—that is, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Collet may have also been showcasing his skills to obtain commissions. During this time the *Compagnie des Indes* was active in its ship construction program and naval sculptors were known to seek private commissions to do the sculptures for these ships.

¹⁸² Prior to the 1730s the ship-of-the-line had its stern built on a boxed frame, resulting in the stern plate having ample space to accommodate large relief sculptures. The introduction of the round stern as a result of the extension of the galleries to provide more comfort for the ship’s officers resulted in a significantly reduced stern plate that only had one third of the space that was previously available.

The style used by the sculptor can be summed up as approaching Baroque, with the anatomical features of the Indigenous male following the standard canonical proportions and the details clearly delineated. The male figure holds a classical pose and has the muscular anatomy found in prints of males of ancient times, such as the “Judgement of Paris” by Raphael.¹⁸³ The male warrior resembles an ancient Greek or Roman soldier more than an Indigenous North American. The composition of the figure suggests that the sculptor was influenced by the concept of the noble savage—“le bon sauvage.”¹⁸⁴

The theme of the sculpture aligns with its name, “Indien d'Amérique.” However, this name was given to the sculpture by the museum because the sculptor is unknown, and so is the name of the ship for which it was made. Curiously, France did not have any North American territories during the time period the museum gives to this sculpture, the late eighteenth century. Yet its composition clearly addresses North American Indigenous mythology.¹⁸⁵ It may be that the sculpture was done earlier and meant for the Canadian-built ship-of-the-line *Algonquin*, which was launched in 1753 in Québec and sailed directly to Brest for induction into the French fleet. As part of the research carried out for this dissertation, a search in the archives of the Service historique de la Défense specifically for sculptural drawings of the *Algonquin* resulted in

¹⁸³ The “Judgement of Paris” was engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi between 1510 and 1520. A digitized copy is available at The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Online. <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337058>.

¹⁸⁴ The concept of the noble savage alludes to the Indigenous inhabitants of the overseas territories of the European powers and was a dominant theme in the Romantic writings of the 18th and 19th centuries. Hugh Honour writes: “L’Indien, idéalisé, devient le noble sauvage” in “Le bon sauvage.” *L’Amérique vue par l’Europe*, Paris: Commissaire général scientifique. Éditions des musées nationaux, 1976,” p. 168.

¹⁸⁵ Iroquois mythology legend gives the origin of the earth as a great turtle: “When the world was new - Sky Woman pushed from the land of the sky people through a hole opened up by the uprooting of the great tree of light, was borne on the wings of birds to a safe landing on the back of a great turtle.” Janet C Berlo. *Native North American Art*. Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 71. The turtle is also one of the three basic clan animals, the other two being the bear and the wolf. These exist for each of the Iroquois nations. See Carnegie Museum of Natural History, *American Indians and the Natural Worlds*. “Clan Animals.” <http://www.carnegiemnh.org/online/indians/iroquois/animals>.

the discovery of a preparatory drawing of the stern of a ship that could be attributed to the *Algonquin* (see Figure 59).¹⁸⁶ This drawing has a person on the stern plate in a similar pose to the figure in the sculpture of “Indien d'Amérique,” and it would have the right amount of space to accommodate the sculpture.¹⁸⁷ The size and composition of this figure, in other words, suggest that it could well have been meant for the *Algonquin*. This means that either the production date of the sculpture given by the museum, late eighteenth century, is incorrect, or the sculpture was simply a later exercise done by the naval shipyard sculptural centre at Brest.

The cultural exchanges that occurred between France and her neighbours and that influenced France's naval sculpture were not limited to the European continent. North America was also a contributor. France embarked on a naval program in Canada between 1738 and 1759 that resulted in the construction of twelve warships in the naval shipyard at Québec. These were all given Indigenous proper names, which made them somewhat unique because it distinguished the ships built in France from those built in Canada.¹⁸⁸ I mentioned earlier that the name given to a ship influenced the thematic composition of its sculptural decorations. Of course, the appropriation of Canadian Indigenous names for the warships built in Canada was bound to influence the themes of those sculptures, which often had North American subjects. “Indien d'Amérique” is a representative example, with its interest in North American Indigenous

¹⁸⁶ See Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes: Anonymous, D¹ 69, f^o 110a. This correlation is based on the composition of the sketch which consisted of a preparatory study. However, there is no mention of the ship's name on the sketch.

¹⁸⁷ The drawing shows a raised right arm. The sculpture on display at Brest shows a truncated arm that either broke off or was never completed.

¹⁸⁸ France built 12 warships in its naval yards at Québec between 1738 and 1759. Their given names are in the order of their build; *Canada*, *Caribou*, *Castor*, *Carcajou*, *Martre*, *Saint-Laurent*, *Orignal*, *Algonquin*, *Abenakise*, *Iroquoise*, *Outaouaise* and *Québec*. See Jacques Mathieu, *La Construction Navale Royale à Québec 1739–1759*. Québec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1971, pp. 217-41. The naval yard at Québec was run in an identical manner as the naval yards in France, and with the preparatory sketches for the sculptural designs for the Canadian-built ships most likely done in France while the sculptures themselves were done in Québec. The French naval program in Canada in terms of its sculptural decoration is discussed in detail later in this dissertation.

mythology. The theme of the sculpture implies that France's North American territories should be seen as a sign of conquest and power. Interestingly, France had relinquished its North American territories many years prior to the date the museum gives for this sculpture.¹⁸⁹

At first glance the composition of "Indien d'Amérique" seems authentic in its representation of Indigenous North America (see Figures 60 and 61).¹⁹⁰ Upon closer scrutiny, however, some inaccuracies come to light. The feathered headdress worn by the Indigenous warrior is stylized and bears resemblance to a crown. Other images of North American Indigenous warriors depicted as "le bon sauvage" by Europeans also show a warrior with a feathered headdress.¹⁹¹ The turtle upon which the Indigenous male warrior is sitting seems out of place as well, because it resembles a land turtle more than the sea turtle that is part of North American Indigenous mythology—especially with its fins and tail, which are features of a land turtle.

Also, the rendition of the turtle's head has the facial features of a man and not the reptilian snout of a turtle (see Figure 62). It was common practice amongst the European navies to give facial features to sculptures of the lion, especially when this was a figurehead.¹⁹² The lion had been adopted by France as a figurehead for many of its second- and lower-rate warships throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many catheads, rudder heads, and stern

¹⁸⁹ The conquest of Canada in 1760 by Great Britain resulted in The Treaty of Paris of 1763 and Canada becoming a British possession.

¹⁹⁰ The composition of "Indien d'Amérique" bears a resemblance to two previous drawings. The first one was done in 1595 by the Italian artist Paolo Farinati (1524-1606) titled "Allégorie d'Amérique." See *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*, 94. The second one was done in 1700 by the Flemish artist Godfried Maes (1649-1700) titled "America" See *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*, p. 124.

¹⁹¹ See "Le bon sauvage" in *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*, pp. 167-86.

¹⁹² The lion was also given human facial features in the naval sculpture of the European navies. Brian Lavery, in *The Ship of the Line Volume II: Design, construction and fittings*, writes about the lion figurehead: "They often had little resemblance to the beast of that name, but had an almost human face, with long hair, and often a rather emaciated body," p. 48. Hence, the sculptor seems to be applying this principle to the sculpture of the turtle's head.

figures also had sculptured lion heads. It was meant to transfer the qualities of speed and courage to the ship. Reading “Indien d'Amérique” in a similar way, the design was intended to transfer to the ship the qualities of courage and fortitude, as embodied by the noble savage; of nationhood, as symbolized by the clan turtle; and of steadfastness and stalwartness, as represented by the turtle’s mythological characterization as Mother Earth.

The analysis of this sculpture shows that there were influences imported into the sculptural schools of the naval shipyards of France from external sources. These consisted of information about its overseas territories gleaned from the accounts of explorers and illustrations, regardless of whether these were accurate, and where such material was lacking, from references to similar local items or objects.

In *La sculpture ancienne du Québec*, Bélisle alludes to the choice of theme of the sculptures of the Canadian-built French warships, which have a unique North American iconography: “il apparaît évident que les sculptures des navires de guerre réalisées en Nouvelle France véhiculaient une iconographie uniquement nord-américain.”¹⁹³ There is no accurate information on what these naval sculptures looked like and Bélisle makes his assertion on the basis of the Indigenous names given to these ships.¹⁹⁴ My review of the “Indien d’Amérique” has permitted me to establish how design rules were applied to define the concept of the composition—namely, that information from overseas territories was blended with ancient references to create a hybrid composition that would not necessarily have the unique North American iconography mentioned by Bélisle.

¹⁹³ Porter and Bélisle. *La sculpture ancienne du Québec*, p. 305.

¹⁹⁴ These sculptures are known to have existed from archival documents of the lumber used, the payments made, and mentions in dispatches. See Bélisle *La sculpture navale dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*.

The next sculpture to review is “Cariatide en forme de sirène,” which was supposedly once one of a set that decorated the stern of a frigate. Sculptural drawings of frigates with caryatides as mermaids could not be found. My review of the sculptural drawings of the French frigates concerning “Minerve” and “Mars” only turned up drawings of quarter sculptures. Drawings with caryatides did not have the shape of a mermaid. It seems that the mermaid was not widely used as a symbol on French warships, even though it was believed to calm the waves.¹⁹⁵ The only exception was the *Royal-Louis* and its several caryatides of mermaids, but this never seems to have been repeated.

Yet the royal barges that were used for inshore transportation by the monarchy have mermaid sculptures decorating their bows. The queen’s barge built in 1777 on display at the Musée national de la Marine, which was used by Marie-Antoinette to cruise the waterways of Versailles, shows a figurehead sculpture of a mermaid.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, Prince Frederick’s barge, built in London, England in 1732 and on display at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, England, has a carving at the side of the bow of a mermaid that has some features that resemble the sculpture “Cariatide en forme de sirène” (see Figures 63 and 64).¹⁹⁷

French artworks with mythological subjects seemed to take their inspiration from ancient Greek vases and Roman mosaics about ancient Greek mythology. One particular Greek vase on display at the British Museum depicts the voyage of Ulysses when he was being subjected to enchanters that are shown as half-human, half-bird, circling in the air around him (see Figure

¹⁹⁵ When mermaids began to be commonly used as figureheads in the early nineteenth century, sea farers believed that the mermaid as a figurehead seduced the sea and had a calming effect on the waves.

¹⁹⁶ See “Une sirène en figure de proue. Petite Venise, Versailles : Avant de canot de promenade de la reine Marie-Antoinette, avec une sirène en figure de proue, 1777.” Wood, painted and gilded. Musée national de la Marine, Paris.

¹⁹⁷ See “Prince Frederick’s Barge, 1732.” Passenger barge with ornate carvings and gilded. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich England.

65).¹⁹⁸ These are referred to as *sirènes* in French literature, and can be considered predecessors to mermaids as we know them.¹⁹⁹ The drawing for the sculptures of the first rate *Le Paris* of 1667 shows a half-female, half-bird figure at the quarter of the stern (see the enlarged detail of Figure 66).²⁰⁰ This figure was inspired by the voyage of Ulysses.²⁰¹

However, this form was eventually replaced with the current definition of the siren or mermaid as a zoomorphised female figure with the lower half of a fish.²⁰² This representation became common in medieval times. Stone sculptures of typical mermaids—mermaids in the form with which we are now familiar—decorated the buildings of France throughout the Middle Ages (see Figure 67).²⁰³ Several of these representations showed the mermaids as melusines, or twin-tailed. The twin-tailed mermaids were popular in mythological literature (see Figure 68).²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ Anonymous. “Ulysses tempted by the sirens.” Vase detail. Attica, Greece. 480 BC. British Museum. Museum no.1843, 1103.31.

http://britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/

¹⁹⁹ Sirens in Greek mythology were known to lure ships upon rocky shores and sailors to their death with their irresistibly seductive singing. These sirens were shown as half-woman half-bird, but because of their association with the sea they later began to be shown as half-woman half-fish.

²⁰⁰ Anonymous. “Le Paris, 1667.” Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 314.

²⁰¹ This theme is also repeated in the mosaic at the Bardo museum depicting the Odyssey. The museum inscription in Italian states: “Ulisse e le sirène: questa opera è ispirata all'Odissea: a bordo di uno battello a due vele, ornato di una testa umana e di uno ramo di palma appare l'eroe greco con le mani legate all'albero maestro per evitare di soccombere allo charme fatale della musica delle sirène. Attorno ad Ulisse sono seduti i suoi compagni di viaggio con le orecchie tappate con la cera come riporta la leggenda. Ai piedi di alcune rocce si vedono tre sirène rappresentate con il busto di donna al quale sono attaccate delle ali e delle zampe da uccello. Una di queste regge un doppio flauto, l'altra una lira, la terza, senza strumenti, è considerata come la sirena incantatrice. L'opera, che proviene dal sito Dougga, è datata circa al 260.”

²⁰² See also “Poséidon sur son chariot tiré par deux hippocampes” Chebba, 3rd century A.D. Mosaic in marble. Bardo, Tunisia. This is copied in an engraving titled “Le navire de la Ville de Paris. Chanson de triomphe a l'arrivé du Roy Louis XIII au Paris le 23 novembre 1625.” Bibliothèque nationale de France. Photo. GA 52665.

²⁰³ Collégiale de Candes Saint-Martin. “Sirène sculptée du portail XIIIe siècle.” Saint-Martin de Candes-Saint-Martin, Indre-et-Loire.

²⁰⁴ Sirens with twin tails were popular in medieval European folklore and came to be known as melusine. See for example “Von dem Meerfröuwlin,” picture of a double-tailed mermaid in *Gaius Plinius Secundus: Naturalis historia*. Frankfurt 1565, p. 309. Libri rari Deutsches Museum München, Germany. Mélusine in French legend is defined as a fairy who changed from the waist down into a serpent or became a mermaid with a twin tail. Misty Urban in *Melusine's Footprint. Tracing the Legend of a Medieval Myth*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 21-23, states that in the cover sheet illustration of Estienne de

The 1777 figurehead sculpture for the royal barge used by the queen to cruise the waterways of Versailles also shows a mermaid in the classical sense.²⁰⁵ When viewed from the side, the mermaid has a single tail, but when viewed from the front, the mermaid has twin tails. This can be seen by the three-quarter front view of Figure 69.

The sculpture “Cariatide en forme de sirène” has its arms and tail truncated. There are two possible reasons for this: to prevent any protruding parts from breaking off when the ship was alongside, and to make the sculpture fit into the restrictive space provided, to perform the function of a caryatide. If the original sculpture had its hand outstretched, this would be a symbolic gesture to push away any bad omens that might put the ship in peril.²⁰⁶ Closer examination reveals that the sculpture began with a twin tail. The twin-tailed mermaid is considered to symbolize eloquence and vanity. Hence, the composition of the sculpture “Cariatide en forme de sirène” went beyond the apparent face value of a caryatide in the form of a mermaid decorating the stern of a warship. It was also about seeking protection from the seas while projecting eloquence and vanity when accompanying the warship in its mission. Similar to all the other sculptures, the finish of “Cariatide en forme de sirène” is done to a high level of detail and the intricacies of the design, especially for the lower part, would be lost when viewed at a distance.

The next sculpture to review is the figurehead “Figure de proue de la Poursuivante,” made in 1796. The sculpture follows the theme and style of “Minerve” and “Mars.” The *Poursuivante*, meaning chaser or pursuer, was a first rate frigate of 40 cannons. One would

Chyphre de Luisgnan (1586), Melusine is pictured with two snake tails, A similar variant with two fish tails can be seen in late medieval text such as *The Azoth* (1624). By the seventeenth century, the form of Melusine with two fishtails primarily became a Germanic heraldic image.”

²⁰⁵ “Une sirène en figure de proue. Petite Venise, Versailles, 1777.” Musée national de la Marine. Paris.

²⁰⁶ The composition of “Cariatide en forme de sirène” resembles the caryatides of the *Royal-Louis* of 1669, except that the caryatides for the *Royal-Louis* are holding up their arms.

expect such a ship to feature a fierce warrior in hot pursuit rather than a female figure in traditional ancient Greek attire. There is a connotation of war, however, with the figurehead wearing a warrior helmet that is heavily plumed, and which can be found in allegorical paintings, such as those previously referenced for the sculptures of “Minerve” and “Mars.”

The museum states that the figurehead was salvaged when the ship was broken up at Rochefort in 1806, and as such it is the only authentic figurehead from the eighteenth century. Its finish is identical to the sculptures of “Minerve” and “Mars” with the attire showing detailed features. Particularly curious are the sandals, which show in exact detail the laces tied around the feet and ankles. These laces are barely visible at first view when close up, let alone at a distance.

The sculptor evidently totally ignored edicts, such as Sartine’s in 1777 that called for simplicity to reduce costs. Rather, the sculptor produced an accurate rendition as if the sculpture was meant to be placed in the grand hall of some stately palace for inspection and appreciation. In spite of this, cost-saving measures were taken when the cutwater changed profile. The Musée national de la Marine at Brest has on display wax figurehead figurines attributed to Collet that show how different designs were adapted to fit over the cutwater. It is interesting to compare two of the figurehead designs and note that the earlier first wax figure is integrated with the lower and upper cheeks, while the second wax figure is standing on the lower cheek above the cutwater (see Figure 70).²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ The first wax sculpture by Yves-Etienne Collet is “Figure de proue, Minerve. Projet de figure de proue pour un bâtiment non identifié. Œuvre préparatoire. Brest” and is dated as early to mid-18th century. The second wax sculpture is titled “Figure de proue, Femme portant un panier de poissons et de crustacés. Œuvre préparatoire. Brest” and is dated as mid-18th century. This change in mounting the figurehead is also evident by the ship models on display in the naval museums. See *Maquette de bateau Artesian, vaisseau de 64 canons, 1765*, that shows the figurehead straddling the cutwater; and *Maquette de bateau Foudroyante, prame d’artillerie de 20 canons, fin du XVIIIe siècle* that shows the figurehead mounted on top of the cutwater. Musée national de la Marine. *La Collection Trianon*.

This later method of mounting circumvented any dependency on the curvature of the rails and bypassed changes to the cutwater profile that resulted from the round bow changing to a curved elliptical bow. This simplified the mounting of the figurehead, sped up the installation, and reduced the cost.

A comparison of the figurehead for the *Poursuivante* with drawings of figurehead compositions done a century earlier, as well as drawings for the stern, show that basic design rules remained for the most part unchanged. That is, the sculptures were custom-made according to the sculptural space that was available as determined by the geometry of the bow and the stern, and upon which the sculptural artist based the layout of the drawing. When changes to the hull's geometry occurred, the artist referred to the ship's plans and adjusted the form of the sculpture, whether it was for the bow or the stern and the sculptor made the sculpture as a best fit for the space provided. The form of the figurehead also needs to be considered: it had to be sufficiently large and delineated so as to be coherent from a viewing distance that usually equalled the focal distance of the lookout's telescope on an approaching ship. I already discussed how this viewing distance was unique because the ship when at sea was a moving object. All of this implies that because of its unique viewing, naval sculpture had to evolve its own best practices in terms independent of the sculptures meant for buildings and monuments.

Regardless of when these naval sculptures were made, their production was highly regulated in the true French manner. The procedure for approval of the drawings were clearly stated and responsibilities were well defined. This ensured that from the time when, in 1668, Colbert accorded naval sculpture an equal footing with the other arts, its purpose as state art was rigorously followed. This can be seen in the themes of the sculptural drawings stored in the naval archives, where allegorical references to ancient deities abounded and where the composition of

the drawings required that the sculptures were made to the best quality possible, even when funding was curtailed and cost-cutting measures were introduced.

Colbert's influence on naval sculpture as minister of the navy under Louis XIV needs to be considered, since it was his intervention that determined the starting point of French naval sculpture.²⁰⁸ Colbert wanted to define the mission of naval sculpture as one that specifically asserted France's presence as a major maritime power and at the same time celebrated the glory of the monarch: "de mettre en exergue la personne royale."²⁰⁹ This statement reinforces Colbert's intention not only to showcase France as a maritime power by richly decorating the French fleet, but also to have these same sculptures project the wealth and power of the monarchy. Indeed, this is why Colbert appointed Le Brun, Puget, and Bérain as artists and Girardon as sculptor at the beginning of the naval programme: so that they would make the best possible sculptures for the French fleet.²¹⁰

One motivation for Colbert's actions and an important reason that France wanted to excel in its naval sculpture was to recover from its lost stature. Excelling in naval sculpture through the appointment of Le Brun, Puget, Bérain, and Girardon became part of France's extraordinary artistic program, which was launched by bringing into the royal court a number of renowned French and Italian artists. The sole objective of these artists was to produce art of the highest quality, so that it would be admired throughout Europe. Le Brun, Puget, Bérain, and Girardon

²⁰⁸ Authors on naval sculpture are in agreement on this with the latest assertion by Théron, who states that Colbert sought to create a mandate that allegorically celebrated the glory of the king: "célébrer sous forme allégorique la gloire du Louis XIV." *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 7.

²⁰⁹ See page 45 and footnote 91.

²¹⁰ Colbert had initially appointed Le Brun to launch this mission. Le Brun was the king's painter and also the director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. By having Le Brun as his first lead artist, Colbert not only made sure that only the best quality work was made, but also that it would have royal support, because Le Brun designed the sculptural compositions as part of his artistic duties to the king.

travelled in the same circles as the other artists in the royal court and the high artistic quality of their naval sculptures clearly fulfills this mandate.

The actual role that Colbert played in influencing the composition of French naval sculpture is not easily quantifiable. It is possible, however, to understand the influence that he may have exerted on the design of these sculptures in terms of the factors that governed their execution. These factors fit into three distinct streams: the manner in which the king as the ruler of France addressed those who saw themselves as having the authority to issue edicts and instructions on his behalf; the artists' interpretations of these instructions when formulating the thematic composition of the sculptures; and the interpretation, in turn, of these instructions by the sculptors who made the sculptures. These individuals all contributed as agents in the production process.

The governing factors that regulated the conceptual drawings of the sculptures were also agents that took on the semblance of concepts. These governing forces were listed in the table on page 25 and can be summarized as consisting of the permanence of the design, the thematic representation, the choice of theme, the stylistic rendition, and the constraints on the form. The roles these played as concepts in the production network are discussed below.

The permanence of the design: The warship and its naval sculpture projected the power and glory of the king and represented France at sea. To do so, the monarch and state were represented in a consistent manner, regardless of the changing sculptural space. This consistency of representation was also dominant in the palace art of Versailles. For example, the palace portraits of Louis XIV by Rigaud of 1701, of Louis XV by Van Loo of 1750, and of Louis XVI by Callet of 1779 show all three kings as projecting affluence, authority, and power (see Figures 11, 12, and 13). The king was represented with similar consistency in naval sculpture, in

particular in the figurehead, which showed him as a glorious and powerful ruler. This was similarly reflected in the consistent representation of the royal coat of arms as part of the figurehead or as part of the sculptural composition at the stern plate (see Figures 71 and 72).²¹¹ Notably, the involvement of artists such as Le Brun and Girardon and those that followed in making the drawings and sculptures for the new warships also made paintings and sculptures for Versailles. This ensured that the consistent style they applied to their work at Versailles was equally applied to naval sculpture. The repeated use of the same names for new warships that replaced old ones also indicated the importance of continuity throughout this period.

The thematic representation: Some sculptural themes were constant and others changed regularly. Constant themes represented the king's power and referenced Greek and Roman personages, or consisted of the lion as the emblematic royal beast. Themes that changed made direct reference to the image of the king and the naval policy of France as this changed over time. Towards the mid-eighteenth century, other themes were introduced, including overseas territories, indicating a deviation from the established convention. An example of an external influence is the figurehead drawing "Ville de Paris" done in 1764 (see Figure 73).²¹² One other example are the sculptural drawings "Poupe de la Flute L'Eléphant" and "Epron de la Flute L'Eléphant," both done in 1717 (see Figure 74).

²¹¹ See as examples the figurehead drawing by Philippe Caffieri for "Le Lis, 1745." 121 x 47 cm. Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 69, f^o 52.2; and the stern drawing by Charles-Philippe Caffieri for "L'Illustre, 1759." 133 x 53 cm. Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 67, f^o 16.

²¹² "Ville-de-Paris, 1764. Vaisseau-de-ligne de 90 canons. Dessin pour la figure de proue." Illustration. Musée national de la Marine, Paris. This warship was funded by the business community of Paris and omits any reference to the king. Another example indicating external influences are the drawings for the flute *L'Eléphant*, which was built by Etienne Hubac and launched in 1718. See Demerliac *Nomenclature des Navires Français*, p. 78. One other external influence previously reviewed was the sculpture "Décor de poupe; Haut-relief, Indien d'Amérique." Asian influence was also present and this manifested itself in the figurehead of the lion being given Chinese features. See for example the figurehead of the frigate *L'Hermione*, launched at Rochefort in 1779. <http://www.hermione2015>.

The influences that affected the choice of themes: These influences, which included both contemporary references and ancient historical narratives, fomented themes that were also encapsulated by the warship's given name. These names were different under each ruler: some names under Louis XIV made reference to deities of antiquity as a declaration of the king's desire to be close to God; under Louis XV, some names made reference to philosophical personages as a sign of the intellectual pursuit and commerce encouraged by the king; while under Louis XVI, some names made reference to Greek and Roman conquerors to show the re-emergence of the king as a leader of warriors.²¹³ For example, the figurehead drawing for the warship *Le François* by Philippe Caffieri made in 1668 has a composition that makes an allegorical reference to Louis XIV as ruler of the seas; the figurehead drawing for the *Royal-Louis* by Charles-Philippe Caffieri made in 1758 makes reference to Louis XV as promoting peace and commerce; and the figurehead drawing of the *Royal-Louis* by Pierre-Philippe Lubet in 1779 makes reference to Louis XVI as a warrior ready to defend the interests of France (see Figures 75, 76, and 77).²¹⁴

The stylistic rendition: The transition in style from Baroque to Rococo to Neoclassical that took place in the palace art of Versailles also affected naval sculpture. This artistic style shifted from the forceful and bold delineations of Baroque to the fluidity of Rococo and then to the simplistic lines of Neoclassicism. Under the reign of Louis XIV, the artists that were centrally appointed by Colbert and his successors also gave direction for how to apply the style

²¹³ Théron, defines this shift with examples of the ships' given names before and after the mid-eighteenth century. Up to the mid-eighteenth century there was a preference for ancient deities: Apollo, Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva. From the second half of the eighteenth century there was a preference for famous warriors: Alexander, Augustus, Caesar, and Trojan. Théron, *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 351.

²¹⁴ Philippe Caffieri. "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le François, 1688." 29 x 44 cm. Service historique de la Défense. G¹ 87, f^o 86 V^o 7. Charles-Philippe Caffieri. "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, 1758." 182 x 58 cm. Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 69, f^o 70. Pierre Philippe Lubet. "Décor du vaisseau le Royal-Louis," 1779. Photo. Boudriot *Les vaisseaux 74 à 120 canons*, p. 365.

in use to the sculptors working in the naval shipyards. Under Louis XV, the practice of centrally appointing artists was discontinued and instead the responsibility of providing the designs of the sculptures was thrust upon the master sculptor in the naval shipyard.²¹⁵ This shift in responsibility did not mean that the sculptors no longer used the style in vogue. The presence of family dynasties in the naval shipyards and the resulting family apprenticeships ensured continuity, especially with the Caffieri dynasty dominating (they also worked outside the naval shipyard, where they certainly would have considered the style in vogue). In addition, under Louis XVI the naval shipyards sponsored young naval sculptors to undertake artistic training in Paris, thus ensuring that when they returned to the naval shipyards they would bring back with them the trends that were in fashion.²¹⁶

The constraints that affected the design theme: There were two types of constraints: the physical constraints imposed by the limited space the sculptures could occupy, and what can be termed administrative constraints, which were a result of the various edicts intended to regulate the practice of naval sculpture in order to reduce their weight and cost. These constraints were compounded in the second quarter of the eighteenth century by the limitations imposed by the shape of the hull at the stern with a significantly revised aftercastle and quarter castle as a result

²¹⁵ Théron, states: “Sous le règne de Louis XV la décoration navale est décentralisée de Paris vers les principaux arsenaux. Les maîtres sculpteurs deviennent à leur tour des concepteurs et non plus des simples exécutants.” Théron *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 27. This autonomy was still subject to the approval of the authorities in the naval yards, as a means of controlling costs.

²¹⁶ The sponsorship of promising sculptors had an early beginning under Louis XV, when Pierre-Noël Levasseur was sent from Québec to Rochefort in 1743 to work as an apprentice sculptor - “apprenti sculpteur.” The purpose of this apprenticeship was for Levasseur to acquire skills pertinent to naval sculpture, with the intent of applying them in Canada. See Jean Bélisle. “Un Levasseur à Rochefort,” in *Jacques Cartier et le nouveau monde*, vol 29, no. 115, 1984. Sending Levasseur to train in France shows that the colonial authorities in French Canada were thinking of having a permanent sculptural setup similar to that of the French naval shipyards.

of the increased size of the cabins. In addition, the sculptures, once mounted, also had to take into consideration the multiple viewing points that needed to be accommodated.

The above factors are relevant in numerous other modes of design, in particular the decoration of monuments and buildings. However, what makes them unique in the practice of naval sculpture is that they developed their own processes, separate from those used outside of naval sculpture.

There are no surviving French warships from this era to testify to the ways in which their naval sculpture presented a display of power. Hence, the sculptural drawings, reduced scale models, paintings, and the biographies of the participants must serve as substitutes. The role of the physical object as an equal participant in the production network was therefore further investigated by making reference to the Swedish warship *Wasa*, launched in 1628, which floundered during its sea trials. The *Wasa* is the only sailing warship whose original sculptures are available through restoration (see Figure 78). Although the *Wasa* precedes the timeframe of this dissertation, it is relevant as an example of naval sculpture because there is no need to rely on archival drawings to appreciate the visual appearance of the various sculptural compositions in terms of composition, rendition, and colouring.

The figurehead of the *Wasa* is a lion, which was typical for warships from many nations, including France, at that time, and the stern carries the heraldic emblem of the Swedish monarchy. Adorning the stern are relief sculptures of Roman warriors and warring knights that were meant to connect the mission of the *Wasa* with a noble cause, similar to that of the Roman Empire and the chivalric knights of old. The sculptures of French warships shared a similar

intent. The *Wasa* is decorated with richly coloured sculptures that present a preview of the colouring applied to French warships (see the reduced scale model of the *Wasa* of Figure 78).²¹⁷

In *Le vaisseau de 74 canons* Boudriot reproduces the French naval colour scheme, but this was only applicable to the actual painting of the ship. There is no known standard colour scheme for the sculptural decoration, especially since the sculptural drawings were done with black ink on white paper and the figurines of the sculptures were usually done in red wax and painted white.²¹⁸ The figurehead of the queen's barge may be an indication of how the colouring was applied. This shows how the colourist excelled in mixing the pigments in the right proportions to obtain the right skin colour and mimic the gilding. However, some marine paintings of warships also show that the figures of the sculptures were painted in an imitation gold colour. See as an example the painting of the *Foudroyant* (Figure 79).²¹⁹

The practice of decorating French warships as objects of war was common prior to Colbert's time. In the early seventeenth century French warships were also highly decorated. The purpose of this was always to enhance the prestige of the king, impress any would-be adversary and project France as a warring nation to be feared in battle. The best early example is represented in the engraving by Hendrik Hondius of the French first rate *Le Grand Saint-Louis*, laid down in Amsterdam in 1626.²²⁰ In addition, a Dutch painting by Jacob Gerritz, hanging at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, of an unnamed French first rate warship built in Holland at the

²¹⁷ See also Björn Landström. "Stern Reconstruction," 1980. Plate 17. Illustration. In Soop. *The Power and the Glory. The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*.

²¹⁸ White paint was used to make the features stand out.

²¹⁹ Auguste Mayer (1805-90). "Foudroyant, 1724." Oil painting. Detail. Musée de Beaux Arts. Brest.

²²⁰ Anonymous. "Navire Royal, 1626." Amsterdam. Engraving. 19 x 13.5 cm. Soop. *The Power and the Glory. The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*, p. 9.

same time, resembles *Le Grand Saint-Louis* and complements the engraving by Hondius (see Figure 80).²²¹

In the searches I carried out, I could not find any information about the artist who designed the sculpture for *Le Grand Saint-Louis* or the sculptor who produced it. Neither could I determine if the sculptures were defined by specifications from someone in France or in Holland. However the engraving by Hondius has sufficient detail that it is possible to make out what the sculptures looked like. In *The Power and the Glory* Soop gives the following description for the sculptural decorations of *Le Grand Saint-Louis*: “The beakhead has a figurehead of Jupiter riding on an eagle. The upper section of the aftercastle, above the gallery, is decorated with French fleur-de-Lys and cartouches carrying the letter ‘L,’ for Louis XIII. The same sort of emblem can be seen on the gun port lids.”

The figurehead of *Le Grand Saint-Louis*, showing Jupiter riding an eagle, can be interpreted in two ways, either as a means of installing fear in the enemy, similar to the sea dragons of Viking ships, or as an allegorical reference that connected the king to a Greek deity. It is not certain how allegorical compositions were introduced into the sculptures for French warships. There are no records showing that Colbert requested the sculptural compositions to represent Greek deities. What is certain is that these became a major theme within Colbert’s naval program. Ships of the ancient Mediterranean usually had the carving of a deity at the bow or the stern.²²² Later, early Christian ships replaced the images of deities with those of saints and named the ship after the saint it carried. Ships with recurring images illustrating Christian themes prevailed right through the Renaissance up to Louis XIII. This practice changed under Louis

²²¹ Jacob Gerritz Loef. “French man-of-war escorted by a Dutch ship in quiet water,” 1626. Oil on wood panel. 98 x 55 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

²²² Nègre. “Histoire d’étraves.” *Décorations & Figures de Proue*, pp. 11-26.

XIV when the sculptural decoration of French warships began more explicitly to affirm allegiance to the king.²²³

France depended on Holland to build its warships prior to starting up its one hundred-ship naval program. This meant that French warships up to the mid-1660s were decorated in the Dutch manner, except that they had the French royal coat of arms as the central feature at the stern. The painting by Claude Lorrain, “Port de mer au soleil couchant,” done in 1639 and hanging at the Musée du Louvre, of a French ship in harbour gives an early indication of the stern decorated with a shield bearing the three fleurs-de-Lys (see Figure 81). After using the Dutch ship *Jupiter* as an example of a mythological theme, however, French sculpture began to use ancient deities of its own design for its compositions (see Figure 27).

The use of a figurehead mounting a charge is not unusual on warships of that era, as can be seen in the painting by Vroom in Figure 3. What is different is that instead of riding a horse, the figurehead of *Le Grand Saint-Louis* is riding an eagle as the mythological representation of Jupiter. The use of Jupiter as the figurehead of *Le Grand Saint-Louis* shows that besides using the symbolic decorations of sculptures to display wealth and power, the French fleet also hoped to express aggression through the symbolic representation of Greek war gods in menacing poses.²²⁴

A review of the sculptural drawings showed that there were some compositions that illustrated these motifs of aggression during all three reigns.²²⁵ Drawings with a manifestation of

²²³ Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 4-8.

²²⁴ The representation of Jupiter as the god of sky and thunder in Roman mythology and Zeus in Greek mythology dates back to ancient times, with Egyptian lamps and Roman medallions showing similar compositions. The choice of Jupiter was meant to show that the French king, too, was capable of inflicting his wrath on whoever opposed him, just like Jupiter or Zeus in ancient mythology.

²²⁵ This expression of aggression in the sculptures was not widespread but was persistent throughout all three reigns.

outright aggression are the figurehead for *Le Furieux*, done in 1684 and consisting of a warrior brandishing a torch; the stern for *Foudroyant*, done in 1724, which shows an aggressive Jupiter riding his eagle in a similar composition to that of the Dutch warship Jupiter built in 1666; the figurehead for *Le Thésée* done in 1757, which shows the legendary king of Athens in a combative mode; and the figurehead for *Le Tonnerre*, built in 1795, which has an ancient wrestler with a strong frown about to hurl a sphere (see Figures 82 to 85).²²⁶

When Colbert instigated his one hundred-ship naval program the magnitude of the sculptural decorations that were required for these new ships was significant. This started a distinction between the sculptural compositions of French warships and those of the Dutch and the English, who also followed Dutch practice. The sculptural decorations at the stern of the French warships were grandiose and imposing as if the ship was a floating platform meant to hold these sculptures, rather than a warship whose mission was to fight the enemies of France. See as examples the drawings by Puget and Bérain in Figures 16 and 29, respectively. Colbert intentionally appointed artists from the king's court in order to brand the new French fleet with France's own version of sculpture, distinct from that of Holland and the other European maritime nations. Colbert was very explicit in his initial requirement to decorate French warships in honour of the king. This was evident in 1699 when Colbert wrote to the inspector of the navy d'Infreville to remind him of the purpose of the naval sculptures for the warships under construction: "Il fallait que non seulement leur bonté, main meme leur beauté donnait quelque idée de la grandeur du Roy."²²⁷

²²⁶ Attributed to Nicolas Renaud. "Le Furieux, 1699". 36 x 56 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 8 45. François-Charles Caffieri. "Foudroyant, 1723." 126 x 56 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 39. Charles-Philippe Caffieri. "La Thésée, 1757." 128 x 53 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 25. Yves-Etienne Collet. "Le Tonnerre, 1795". 47 x 41 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 8 46.

²²⁷ Service historique de la Marine, p. 27.

The Service historique de la Marine mentions that Colbert was very much involved in the sculptural decorations of the first warships that were built under his programme: “La mise en chantiers à l’arsenal de Toulon des trois grands vaisseau de première rang, le Royal-Louis, le Dauphine Royal et le Monarque à partir des années 1668, qui marqua la véritable implication de Colbert dans l’art de la décoration navale.”²²⁸

Colbert was told by the naval shipyards that having profuse and elaborate sculptures to decorate the warships was slowing down progress and risked jeopardizing the program. The Service historique de la Marine makes the statement that: “Le grand programme de construction navale lancé par Colbert, qui devait donner à la France une flotte compose de cent vaisseaux semblait menacé.”²²⁹ The naval program that Colbert had undertaken had as its principal purpose to build an efficient and capable fleet that was better than the fleets of the other European countries. His intent was to make France a feared naval power and part of his strategy was to impress the other European countries by extravagantly decorating the fleet. However, when the first batch of warships joined the French fleet, complaints were made about the added weight of the sculptures and how these encumbered the manoeuvrability of the ship.²³⁰

Colbert thus sought to reconcile having an efficient warship that was manoeuvrable but also had imposing sculptural decorations that risked encumbering its operation. He sent spies to England, Holland, and Italy to find out what these countries did.²³¹ The answers that came back

²²⁸ Service historique de la Marine, p. 26.

²²⁹ Service historique de la Marine, p. 27.

²³⁰ The height and massiveness of the sculptural decorations at the stern of the seventeenth-century ship-of-the-line seems justifiable because they made the ship more imposing, especially from a farther distance. However, this risked making the ship top-heavy when combined with the higher mass centre of the hull. Fredrick Chapman in *Architectura Navalis Mercantoria* Stockholm, 1768, Mineola New York: Dover, 2006, p. 127, discusses this effect and describes how a ship that is top heavy at the extremity “produces heaving, sending and pitching.”

²³¹ Service historique de la Marine, p. 27.

disappointed him. These countries did not decorate their ships very much and did not even have any galleries. The Service historique de la Marine states: “Hollandais et Anglais ne mettaient plus trop d’ornement à leurs vaisseaux et observaient de ne point faire de tous de galeries.”²³² To accomplish this double objective of building effective fighting ships while at the same time honouring France and glorifying the king with grandiose decorative sculptures, Colbert set up an approving authority, or “Conseils de construction,” that had as one of its mandates to control the design of the sculptures. This was the result of decrees issued in 1670, 1671, and 1673 that directed the construction of the different rates; the decree of 1673 also demanded an immediate simplification of the sculptures.²³³ Hence, Colbert’s ambition to have a French fleet that displayed its might by decorating its warships with imposing sculptures only lasted from the time he appointed Le Brun in 1667 to begin doing the sculptural decoration for the first batch of warships until the issue of the decree of 1673—that is, for a total of six years.

After the decree, a review of the sculptural drawings was issued to reduce the number and size of the sculptures. The stern still had five major pieces of sculpture but they were reduced in size; the size of the figurehead remained the same, however. Hence, the decree of 1673 was partly successful. The reduction in cost and weight became pressing, especially because the sculptural centres, which enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, seemed not to take full heed of these edicts. As a consequence, the “Conseils de construction” had to issue another edict to the naval shipyards in 1674, titled “Article 2: Règlement sur la police des arsenaux,” that stated: “Les

²³² Service historique de la Marine, p. 27.

²³³ Boudriot summarizes the section in the decree about reducing the ship’s sculpture as follows: “Le règlement réduit l’abondance du décor.” *Règlement de 15 septembre 1673 à Nancy*. Boudriot, *Les vaisseaux de 50 à 64 canons*, p. 18.

dessins des dits sculpteurs et peintres seront présentés par eut a l'intendant ou commissaire générale.”²³⁴

It became standard practice that Colbert and the members of the “Conseils de construction” had to grant approval of the sculptural drawings before construction on the ship could begin; this procedure continued beyond Colbert’s administration as well. Similar edicts were issued over time to control the cost of the sculptures by attempting to standardize their composition. However, the sculptural centres in the naval shipyards still maintained their autonomy in terms of the theme of the composition and its rendition. Mention was previously made of the Caffieri dynasty; the high number of sculptural drawings that they produced clearly indicates their importance. What Colbert started in 1667 by appointing famous artists and sculptors and establishing sculptural centres in the naval shipyards that were instructed to make grandiose sculptures to pay homage to the king and to glorify France set in motion an ethos amongst naval sculptors that lasted for almost two centuries.²³⁵

The changes that did occur in the rendition of the naval sculptures were self-imposed by the artist and sculptor over time to accommodate changes in the architecture of the warship, not because they were mandated by edicts. In particular, changes to the sculptural designs occurred because of step-changes to the design of the bow and the stern. These physical changes were coupled with shifts in style from one era to another—that is, from Baroque to Rococo to Neoclassicism. This can be seen by comparing examples of drawings for the bow and stern of

²³⁴ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B⁴ 25b f^o 262-264. The *Règlement* of 1674 also appointed master sculptors and master painters in the naval yards, and to ensure that a certain quality was maintained, Le Brun was given the role of advisor and checker: “Charles Le Brun tenait lieu de conseiller et de correcteur.” Service historique de la Marine, p. 28.

²³⁵ A review of the sculptural drawings over time shows that the overriding theme remained consistent from the start, that of paying homage to the king, either by mythological allegories or by portraying the king’s high values and noble qualities.

warships whose sculptures underwent this transition. The table below shows in a simplified and generic manner how these changes were sequential and linked to each other as concepts and objects in the production network.²³⁶ Figures 86 to 90 show how these transitions occurred over time.

Step Changes in Hull Design and Shifts in Style.

Reign	Bow Geometry	Head	Cutwater Profile	Number of Rails	Stern Frame	Type of Gallery	Style of Composition
Louis XIV	Spherical	High	Curved	Two; Three	Trapezoidal support	Overhung	Baroque
Louis XV	Spherical	Low	Curved	Three	Top circular, bottom box support	Deck extended outwards	Rococo
Louis XVI	Ellipsoidal	Low	Curled	Three	Integrated arch support	Integrated	Neo-Classicism

Colbert’s role as minister of the navy in the actual composition of the sculptures produced during his administration is not known. It is also uncertain whether he established any precedent for those that succeeded him in terms of the composition of these sculptures as allegorical representations of the king and symbolic representations of France. The several drawings by Willem van de Velde the Elder and the Younger of French ships built in Holland confirm that these had their sculptures done in the Dutch manner. Most noteworthy is the 1667 drawing of the unnamed French first rate built at Saardam, Holland, which shows the typical sculptural decoration in the Dutch manner of a French warship of that time (see Figure 91).²³⁷

²³⁶ Sculptural drawings that illustrate this table are referenced in the same order they are listed from top to bottom: Philippe Caffieri “Le François, 1687.” 44 x 30 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. G¹87, f^o 7. 84. François-Charles Caffieri. “Assuré, 1723.” 53x 119 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 55. Charles-Marie Caffieri. “Le Vengeur, 1766.” 55x 155 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 86. Philippe Lubet. “Royal-Louis, 1785.” 43x 136 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 30.

²³⁷ Willem van de Velde. “Vaisseau de ligne construit par Sluijck a Saardam pour Louis XIV (1667).” Roncière. *Histoire de la Marine Française*, p. 84.

The sculptural composition at the stern plate of the Dutch-built ship has as its centrepiece a relief sculpture of the heraldic arms of the French monarchy with a medieval crown and three fleurs-de-Lys, supported by an angel at each side.

By comparison, the *Dauphin-Royal* has as its centrepiece a relief sculpture of Louis XIV, with the heraldic arms significantly reduced in size. The drawing of the *Royal-Louis* under sail in the treatise written by Commissaire Hayet in 1677 after the ship was commissioned also shows as its centrepiece a relief sculpture of Louis XIV at the stern (see Figure 21).²³⁸ Although the drawing is pocket-sized and the sculptures are not drawn in detail and appear somewhat crude and infantile, the representation of Louis XIV at the stern is apparent. Hayet's composition approximates the drawing of the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 built at Toulon of Figure 20 copied from Boudriot, giving credibility to its representation of the sculptural composition at the stern.

When Colbert launched his shipbuilding programme in the naval shipyards of France, he had brought Rodolphe Gédéon from Holland to begin building French warships.²³⁹ This resulted in the construction of the first rate *La Reine* in 1669. Although this warship was built in France, it was decorated in the Dutch manner, with its sculptural decoration integrated into the upper hull of the ship (see Figure 23).²⁴⁰ This is in contrast with the *Royal-Louis*, built at the same time, where the manner of work of Le Brun and Girardon can be recognized in the sculptural

²³⁸ Commissaire de la Marine Hayet. *Description du vaisseau le Royal-Louis. Marseille: Brebion. 1677.* Bibliothèque nationale de France. p.V 370, 1. There were other treatises written for particular warships. However none were found that contain images or describe their sculptural decoration. See for example Gustav Labat, *Le Fleuron.* Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. M8273.

²³⁹ When Louis XIV ascended to the throne in 1661 France only had six warships of low firepower. To bolster the fleet, Cardinal Mazarin, Chief Minister to the king, immediately ordered 8 warships from Amsterdam and Copenhagen. When Colbert mobilized the naval yards of France he brought to France those leading shipbuilders from Holland that had worked on the French ships. This was done to ensure that the French naval yards applied Dutch ship-building techniques, since this was considered the best technology available. Roncière. *Histoire de la Marine Française*, p. 84. This meant that France relied on Dutch knowhow for the building of its first warships and this became the foundation of French early ship construction.

²⁴⁰ Jean Legeret. "La Reine, 1669." 54 x 41 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 69.

decorations superposed onto the hull.²⁴¹ The sculptures of Neptune on the starboard side and Renommée on the port side in particular extend beyond the envelope of the other sculptures, causing them to interfere with the ship's lines and making them susceptible to damage when the ship came alongside (see Figures 20 and 21).

This step-change in composition from the Dutch manner to the French manner can be attributed to Colbert's desire to make an impression on the other European maritime powers. The introduction of the protruding gallery at the stern covered with richly decorated sculptures can be similarly interpreted as an effort to impress the other European countries. Here it is worth mentioning that Colbert's new French navy impressed Britain and so did the manner how the French ships were decorated. Brian Lavery, in *The Ship of the Line*, writes:²⁴²

The French had put great artistic effort into the design of their ships, and in appearance they were very different from the English ones: much more angular on the stern and quarters, more florid and rounded in the bows. The carvings were perhaps a little less numerous, but generally more elaborate, and they carried open galleries in the stern for the comfort of all officers.

He adds:

The French style of decoration first began to have effect in England in 1673, when Charles was so impressed by the *Superbe* that he ordered her design to be copied by Deane. Deane's two ships, the *Harwich* and *Swiftsure*, took much of their decoration from the French style, both in the method of placing the carvings and in the use of stern galleries.

Evidently, Colbert had managed to impress the British King Charles II to the extent that British compositions began to copy from the French. Colbert was also familiar with the decoration of the king's galleys built at Marseille. The sumptuous decoration of the galley *La*

²⁴¹ Boudriot states that the building of the *Royal-Louis* by the renowned Dutch shipbuilder Gédéon Rodolphe was considered to be a notable result with its 118 canons, and it was admired for the richness of its sculptural decoration: "Comparable aux plus riches retables baroques" Boudriot, *Le vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 308.

²⁴² Lavery. *The Ship of the Line*, pp. 54-5.

Réale de France, designed and built by Jean-Baptiste Chabert in 1694 for the General of the galley fleet, knew no precedent. Colbert had even taken it upon himself to visit the naval shipyard to inspect its progress (see Figure 92).²⁴³ This visit by Colbert to the naval shipyard indicates that he had taken a personal interest in the actual construction of the galley, which would include its rich sculptural decoration. This would have influenced his appreciation for what was considered good taste in terms of naval sculpture at that time.

Colbert's political motivations for promoting the practice of naval sculpture to decorate the French fleet are quite evident. The drawings in the *Album de Colbert* illustrate the typical generic composition; they were done using as reference the warships that were under construction in the naval shipyard at Toulon. Michel Vergé-Franceschi in *Voiles et Voiliers au temps de Louis XIV* states that although these drawings were meant to define how a warship was to be built, there was no doubt that they also served for Colbert to benefit politically by showing off what he had done: "Ces albums semblent relever d'un véritable programme documentaire résultant, à n'en pas douter, d'une décision politique derrière laquelle se profile Colbert."²⁴⁴

Yet the extent of Colbert's influence on the actual compositions of these sculptures is not so clear, even for the ships built during his administration. Besides the *Album de Colbert* there are no instructions from Colbert that indicate what these compositions had to look like. Colbert had specifically asked for the sculptural drawings to be submitted to the "Conseils de construction," with himself on the review committee, as mentioned earlier. Yet there are no records of any instructions about the drawings or any changes that he might have wanted to

²⁴³ See the painting commemorating Colbert's visit to the naval shipyard at Marseille by Jean Baptiste I de La Rose. "Jean Baptiste Colbert Marquis de Seignelay et Louis Victor de Rochechouart Duc de Vivonne visitent le galion Réale de France dans l'Arsenal de Marseille en 1669." Oil on canvas. Château de Versailles.

²⁴⁴ Michel Vergé-Franceschi and Eric Rieth. "L'Album Colbert." *Voiles et Voiliers au temps de Louis XIV*. Paris: Du May, 1992, p. 87.

make. Colbert seems to have been satisfied with allowing Le Brun, Puget, Bérain, and other artists to define the composition as they deemed best and left it up to them to compose a theme that made a direct or allegorical reference to the greatness of the king.²⁴⁵

Hence, any involvement by Colbert in directing the conceptual compositions of the sculptures was probably indirect. The sculptural decoration at the stern of the *Soleil Royal* of 1669 offers a good example of the different sources from which artists drew in their designs. In this case, the composition seems to copy from two different sources. The first is the Roman mosaic at the Bardo museum in Tunis, of Neptune being pulled on a chariot by four horses and surrounded by four figures, each representing one of the four seasons (see Figure 93).²⁴⁶ The second reference is the 1664 drawing “Louis Quatorze en Apollon conduisant son char” by Joseph Werner le Jeune (1637-1710) (see Figure 94).²⁴⁷ The artist that did the preparatory drawing for the sculptures at the stern of *Soleil Royal* is anonymous and it is not certain if the mosaic or drawing were available as a reference, but the similarities are too close to be ignored. There may have been an image of the mosaic as a drawing or in a book on Roman art. It is quite plausible that the drawing by Werner was more available. Another possibility, however, involves the influence of Colbert. He had an immense personal library with two personal librarians and

²⁴⁵ This absence of instructions from Colbert about the image of the king’s greatness appears to stem from Colbert’s subtle approach of letting Le Brun and the other artists take charge of defining the king’s greatness. This image-making took place mostly in palace art and changed over time according to the political stance of each king. This political stance and its effect on the king’s image is discussed by Thomas Kirchner in *Le héros épique*. Paris: Édition de la Maison des science de l’homme, 2008. It is also discussed by Hendrik Ziegler in “Image Battles under Louis XIV: Some Reflections,” in Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, *Louis XIV outside in: images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715*, Farnham, 2015.

²⁴⁶ The sculptural composition at the stern of *Soleil Royal* stands out in this regard because it mimics the mosaic of Neptune riding his chariot flanked by the four seasons. See “Triomphe de Poséidon et les quatre saisons.” Chebba, 3rd century AD. Mosaic in marble. National Bardo Museum, Tunisia.

<http://www.bardomuseum.tn>

²⁴⁷ Joseph Werner le Jeune (1637-1710). “Louis Quatorze en Apollon conduisant son char. Gouache sur papier, vers 1664.” Versailles. Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et Trianon. http://ressources.chateauversailles.fr/IMG/pdf/louis_xiv_en_apollon_dans_le_char_du_soleil.

had stocked the Louvre with hundreds of paintings, drawings, and statues. Hence, he was well informed on the classics and the arts. It is conceivable that he directed the artists who did the sculptural drawings to an appropriate allegorical reference for them to make their compositions.

A drawing attributed to Le Brun done in 1678 for the façade of the château de Marly has a similar composition to the stern of the *Soleil Royal*. The drawing for the theme of the water fountain at Versailles with Apollo being pulled by four horses, which was begun in 1668 and completed in 1671, is also said to have been done by Le Brun. This makes Le Brun a leading contender for the composition of the relief sculpture at the stern of the *Soleil Royal*.

Regardless of the actual identity of the artist, this analysis of the origins of the sculptural composition on the *Soleil Royal*, like my earlier discussion of the *Foudroyant*, demonstrates that the sculptural compositions were not done in isolation, but were the result of a series of references from other works of art that had similar themes.

Describing the production process of these sculptures also helps to show what determined the sculptural composition. This process is summarized based on documents found in the Archives nationales de France and from information in Bélisle, Boudriot, and Théron.²⁴⁸ As well, the ship's name as a concept usually directed the composition, so it is relevant too. The space at the bow and the surface of the stern also determined the size of the composition, with larger ships having room for more complex designs.

The royal coat of arms was always present as part of the composition. Its design was standard in every detail, as depicted in the *Album de Colbert*, with the three-gilded fleur-de-Lys on an oval blue background. The style of the design was the one in vogue at the time, whether Baroque, Rococo, or Neoclassical. The name given to the ship was decided or approved by the

²⁴⁸ See the hierarchical chart Set-Up for the Production of Naval Sculpture on page 80.

minister of the navy sitting on the king's council, the "Conseil du Roi," and was then communicated to the naval shipyard. The drawings of the ship's hull were made by the naval draughtsman, with the sculptures left out. In parallel, the artist entrusted to do the sculptural drawings would be informed of the ship's given name, and once the sculptural drawings were done these were submitted for review.

The warships' names never had religious connotations. The presence of religious names in the French fleet are those related to military orders under the patronage of the king, such as the orders of Saint-Michel, Saint-Louis, Saint-Philippe, and Saint-Esprit. For example, this last name makes reference to "L'ordre du Saint-Esprit," an order of knights that looked to the king as grand master. There was never any attempt to invoke religion on behalf of the king, and the names of the warships followed this rule. The total exclusion of religious names allowed the sculptural compositions to reference non-Christian themes without the risk of being in conflict with the religious establishment of France.

Colbert would have been well aware of this situation and it is possible that he made sure the sculptural artist was equally aware of it when it came time to do the sculptural composition. However, there is no evidence that he did so, and we only know this rule was followed by going down the list of names of the warships that were built at that time and matching these with the drawings of their sculptures. The warships' given names in their majority reference the king as a sign of homage, and in many instances their sculptures invoked mythological deities as an allusion to the king's divine right to rule. This manner of representation was common throughout both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One aspect to emphasize in terms of the choice of the theme is that it always addressed a living king. There never was any attempt to commemorate

a deceased king. To me, this illustrates the desire of those in the production network to portray the king as always in the present, as if he were immortal.²⁴⁹

The use of allegorical references to Greek deities in the sculptural compositions of French warships was briefly discussed on page 120. These became a major theme with the launch of Colbert's naval program. It is probable that Le Brun and Girardon instigated the concept of referencing a mythological deity by simply copying the compositions at Versailles that had mythological themes. I previously mentioned the possible influence on the choice of theme with the representation of Jupiter riding his eagle on the French warship *Le Grand Saint Louis* of 1627 during the reign of Louis XIII. It is also possible that the composition of Jupiter riding an eagle at the stern of the Dutch warship *Jupiter* built in 1666 also influenced the introduction of ancient deities in French naval sculpture. There are no indications that Colbert or his successors specifically requested these themes. However, the *Album de Colbert* does show a figurehead of the mythological phoenix, and this may have contributed as an implied instruction for Greek mythology to become a major theme for the sculptures.²⁵⁰ Otherwise, no specific instructions could be found that request mythological themes for the sculptural compositions.

The artists appointed by Colbert were members of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, or circulated with its members. The Académie artists made paintings that referenced Greek deities with the king as the central figure. The two compositions that stand out are the painting "Allégorie de la fondation de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture" by Loir

²⁴⁹ Robert Wellington, in *Antiquarianism & the Visual Histories of Louis XIV: Artifacts for a Future Past*, Routledge, 2017, p. 2, states that Louis XIV was presented with the proposal of writing a contemporary history of himself by way of medals, inscriptions, and public monuments, and this met with his approval. This proposal inspired the king's image-makers to produce objects and images as visual histories of Louis XIV for the benefit of posterity. Likewise, in naval sculpture, the images of the king reflected the intent of projecting this posterity, even though the ships and their sculptures were ephemeral.

²⁵⁰ The figurehead as the phoenix can also be interpreted as symbolizing the rebirth of France.

and the painting “Allégorie en l'honneur de la publication de la paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle, le 13 février 1749” by Dumont le Romain (see Figures 14 and 15 and the discussion on page 36).

When Colbert founded the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture he did not interfere with its artwork and so it is plausible that he did not interfere with the artwork of the naval sculptors either. The review committee he put in place in the naval shipyards made sure that the sculptures were not too grandiose and costs were controlled by establishing a set budget. Hence, Colbert does not seem to have played any direct role in the composition of the sculptures for the warships built during his administration. Colbert’s minimal influence reinforces the notion that the so-called black box of the production process of naval sculpture was an experimental laboratory with the finished product determined by the various inputs and outputs of numerous people, concepts, and objects within the production network.

The way in which this experimental laboratory determined the best practices of naval sculpture is next reviewed through the interactions that took place amongst its various agents during the production process. Concepts and objects are considered here to be agents with equal autonomy and influence to the human actors who undertook the work.

The first batch of warships built during Colbert’s administration had the most leeway in terms of fitting the sculptural composition onto the hull in the manner they deemed best, even though this affected the ship’s operation. Furthermore, Colbert appears to have condoned this freedom in disregard to what constituted good naval architectural practice. Indeed, for the first batch of warships, Colbert left it up to Le Brun and Puget to compose the conceptual definition of the sculptural drawing, and left Girardon and the naval shipyard sculptural centre to mount the sculptures on the warship, regardless of whether this affected the warship’s functionality as an artillery platform and its operability as a navigable sailing ship. Later, it was the external

pressure put on Colbert by the shipbuilder in the naval shipyard and the French naval authorities that forced him to regulate the size of the sculptures, asking them to be scaled down to become a subset of the ship's architecture.

Otherwise, changes to the form of the sculptures were the result of changes to the ship's architecture and the geometry of its hull. When the hull became more streamlined and the bow and the stern changed shape, the sculptures were made to fit into the new space. This meant that the sculptures became integrated with the ship's architecture, which reduced their interference with the ship's navigability, and as a consequence they became an accepted feature of the ship's architecture by the naval authorities. Hence, it was the ship's architecture that directed the form of the sculpture, with the sculptural artist and sculptor complying to ensure an aesthetically pleasing result.

The need to control costs was always pressing and this resulted in a series of procedures put in force between 1683 and 1685 to approve the sculptural drawings.²⁵¹ The intent was to avoid having overly elaborate drawings that were difficult to interpret and could result in cost overruns. This procedure is summarized from the Archives nationales Fonds Marine and from Théron as follows: (1) Two identical drawings are to be done and these have to show the sculptural composition for the designated spaces at the bow and the stem. (2) The drawing is to

²⁵¹ From 1673, the members of the "Conseil de construction" and Colbert himself were on the review committee. Colbert wanted to see the drawings before the ship construction began. The intendant and the "commissaire générale" judged the work according to the 1674 edict: *Article 2. Règlement sur la police des arsenaux* : "Les dessins des dits sculpteurs et peintres seront présente par eut a l'intendant ou commissaire générale." Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B⁴ 25b. f° 262-264. This approval process was reinforced with the edict of 23 March 1765. "Le maître sculpteur fera un plan en double de la sculpture de chaque vaisseau ou autre bâtiment qu'il présentera au commandant et à l'intendant ou ordonnateur, pour être ensuite envoyez par l'intendant au Secrétaire de l'État ayant le Département de la Marine. Le plan double avant été renvoyé dans le port approuve, ou des doubles, sera remis par l'intendant au contrôle de la Marine et l'autre au maître sculpteur pour en suivre l'exécution." Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 26-27.

be done to scale to suit the new naval architectural practice of scaling. (3) The details on the drawing are to be arranged in a particular order, with the bow as a side view and the stern as a face view and side view. (4) The drawing has to include the ship's name, the number of cannons, the scale, and the name of the person who did the drawing. (5) This is to be complemented by a specification sheet that describes the main features of the sculptures. (6) Perspective and freehand sketches are not allowed.²⁵²

Colbert's initial ambition when the naval program was launched was to ensure that the sculptures of the warships had a theme that paid homage to the greatness of the king and the glory of France. This resulted in grandiose sculptures of a high artistic quality. It is thus reasonable to assume that Colbert was initially supportive of having extravagant sculptures decorate French warships, but did not necessarily condone such grandiosity that they would overwhelm the stability of the ship and overrun the budget. Indeed, the sculptures' symbolism was not affected when Colbert ordered them to be scaled down in size and limited the budget to control their cost. These methods of control were followed by his successors. Yet the high artistic quality of French naval sculpture was retained throughout the *ancien régime* period, as can be seen by the drawings that have been referenced and the surviving sculptures that have been reviewed in this dissertation.

Under the reign of Louis XV, the practice of centrally appointing artists in Paris was discontinued, and instead the master sculptor in the naval shipyard had to conceptualize the composition of the sculptures, though they were still subject to approval by the reviewing committee: "Sous le règne de Louis XV la décoration navale est décentralisée de Paris vers les

²⁵² Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B⁴ 25. Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 27-28.

principaux arsenaux. Les maîtres sculpteurs deviennent à leur tour des concepteurs et non plus des simples exécutants.”²⁵³

The appointment of the master sculptor to make the conceptual design instead of the centrally appointed artist increased the sculptor’s status and also changed the manner of work by reducing central artistic influences on the definition of the sculptures. Here, regional influences started to affect the detail designs of the sculptures and this began to show a certain decline in the quality of their work. To rectify this, a training program was set up under Louis XVI to enable those who aspired to become naval sculptors to be sent to study sculpture in Paris.²⁵⁴ As a result, they were trained in the latest artistic trends, which at the time encompassed the resurgence of classical antiquity in architectural decoration and its subsequent use in naval sculpture.²⁵⁵

The king as absolute ruler left the naval shipyard administration under the direct authority of the minister of the navy, who made all the major appointments and established their remuneration.²⁵⁶ The intendant of the shipyard gave all the orders and administered all personnel. Daily decisions such as payments to be made and debts to be incurred were made by the intendant. Every decision the intendant had to make that involved the operation of the naval shipyard required an exchange of correspondence with the minister of the navy and the port authorities.

The appointment of sculptural artists and master sculptures in the naval shipyard was done at the discretion of the minister of the navy and the intendant, and was not determined by length of service. Artists were appointed from outside the naval shipyard on the basis of the

²⁵³ Théron *L’ornementation sculptée*, pp. 16-17.

²⁵⁴ The most promising students were also sent to Rome. Théron, pp. 82-83.

²⁵⁵ In spite of this training scheme, there are reports about a lack of skill as stated in a letter by the ordonnateur of Brest who complained about the mediocre skills coming from those who supposedly trained in Paris. Service historique de la Défense, Brest. IE 534 f° 446.

²⁵⁶ Théron *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 18.

portfolio of their prior work, even if they had no existing knowledge of naval sculpture. Jean-Baptiste de La Rose and Jean-Baptiste Amourette are examples.²⁵⁷ In contrast, an order under Henry III that created the post of master shipwright in 1584 ensured this position would be filled by someone with the required skill.²⁵⁸

In the early to mid-eighteenth century, dynasties began to be formed, with the sons of master artists taking over from their fathers. This practice was supported by an edict that stated that this was the preferred manner of recruitment. The result was that talented artists from outside the shipyard were not able to work there, or stayed away.²⁵⁹ Up to 1776 the intendant recommended appointments, “mainstrance,” to the minister. After 1766 the “Conseil de Marine” was given the power of making appointments. However, the criteria did not change and the incumbents still had to have prior service in the shipyard.²⁶⁰ It was not until 1798 that this changed so that all French citizens were able to apply for public posts.²⁶¹ The hierarchical organization that was implemented under Louis XIV by royal decree in 1689 is shown on the next page as an organizational structure, with the intendant having full authority over the naval shipyard.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Théron, p. 18.

²⁵⁸ Théron, p. 18.

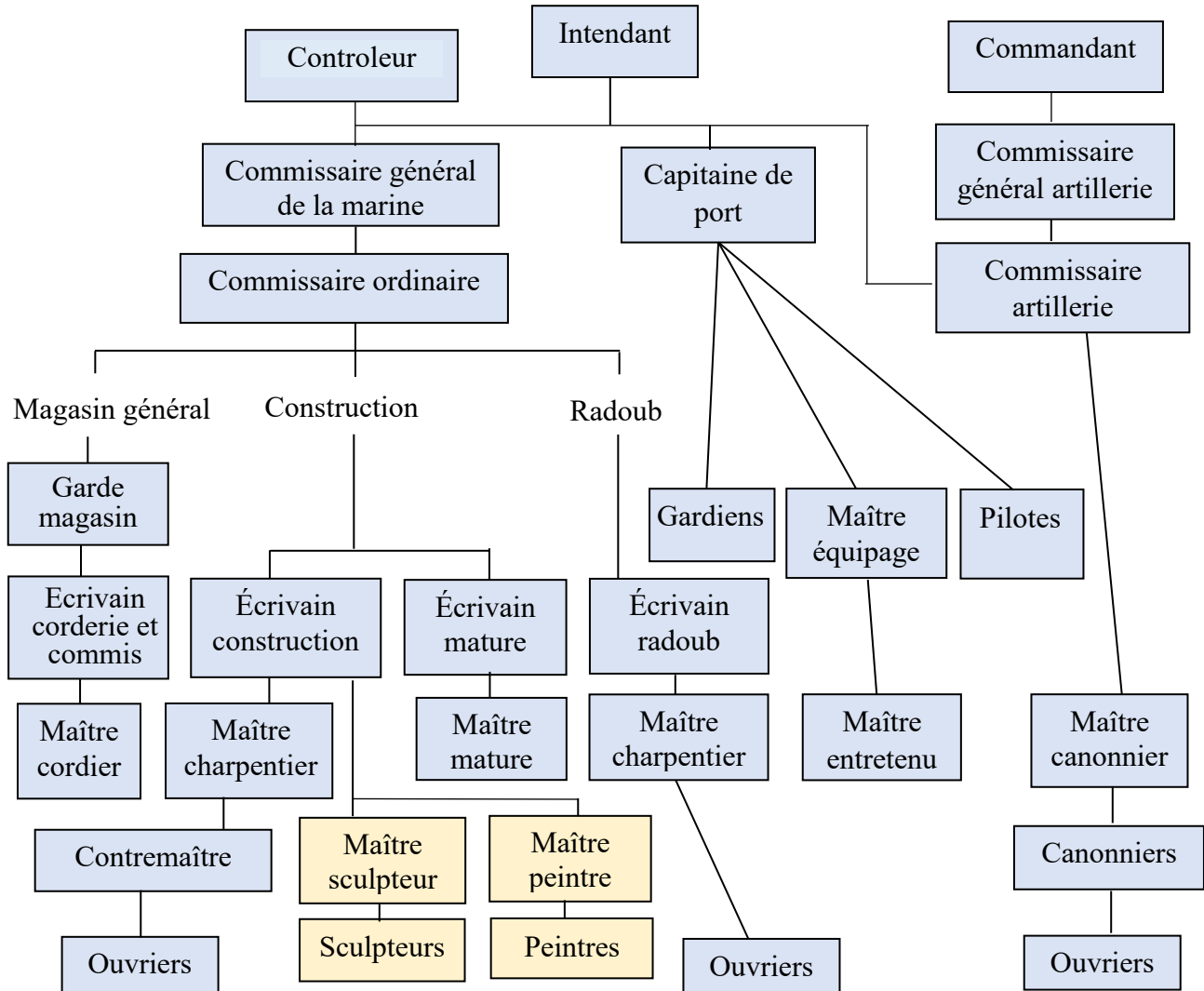
²⁵⁹ Théron, p. 22.

²⁶⁰ Théron, p. 23.

²⁶¹ Théron, p. 24.

²⁶² Adapted from Acerra “Organigramme de l’arsenal – Ordonnance de 1689.” *Rochefort et la construction navale Française*, 108. Acerra does not mention the sculptural activity that took place in the naval shipyard and omits those who worked on the sculptures. I have included these for completeness.

Naval Shipyard Organizational Structure Based on the Decree of 1689



The royal decree of 1689 remained in place until Louis XVI issued an order in council on 27 September 1766 titled “L’ordonnance concernant la Régie en Administration Générale et Particulière des Ports et Arsenaux de la Marine.” The decree restructured the organizational configuration of the naval shipyard in terms of the executive authority, the shipbuilding production line, and the sculptural centres. Authority over the naval shipyard was now transferred from the intendant, who was a civilian administrator, to the naval commander residing in the shipyard. Acerra argues that this occurred because of a series of bad decisions by

the intendant of that time, which had resulted in a hostile relationship between him and the naval authorities. The royal decree of 1776 was a response by the king to correct this state of affairs. The intendant and those who reported to him were now constrained to administrative responsibilities that mainly dealt with fiscal control, resourcing, and the upkeep of the naval shipyard's infrastructure. This redefined the line of command within the naval shipyard's hierarchy and placed the master sculptor and the master painter as subordinates to the foreman.²⁶³

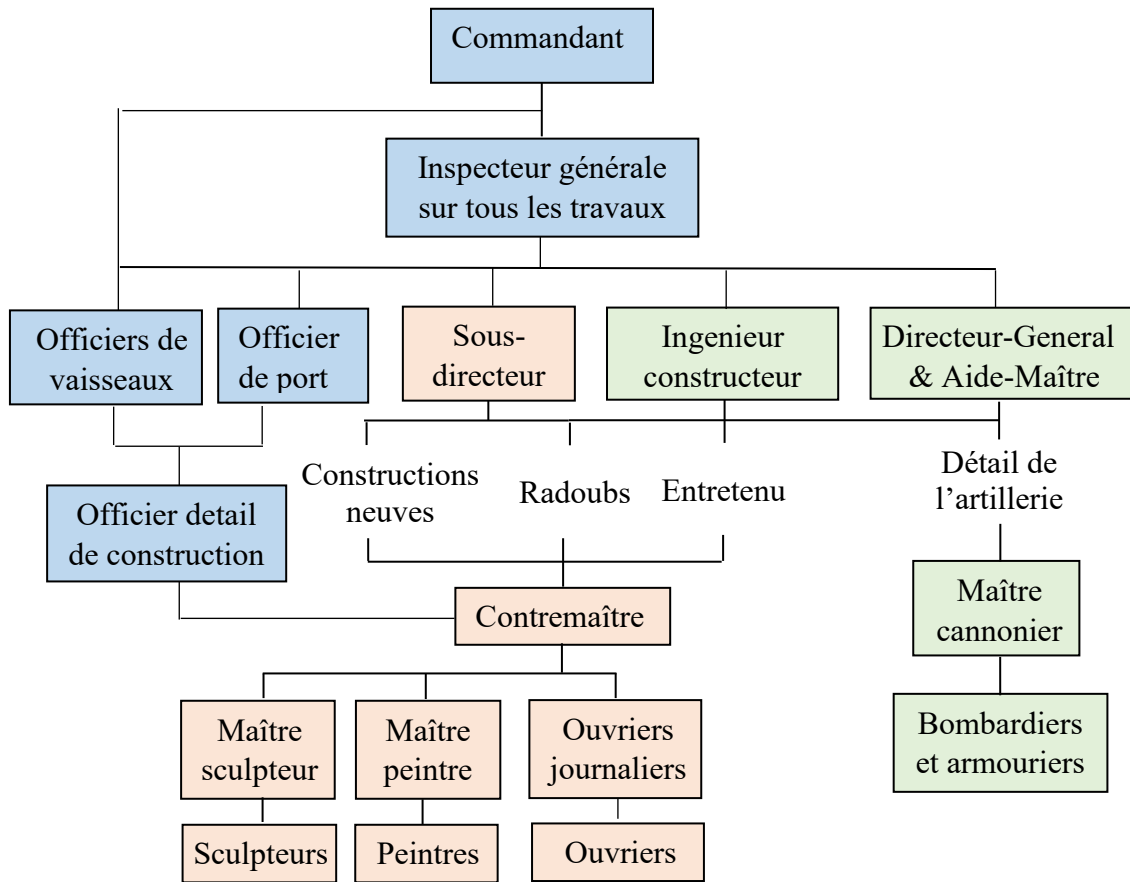
The chart on the next page shows the hierarchy that resulted from the decree of 1776 and the transfer of authority from the civilian administration to the naval administration.²⁶⁴ The chart is colour-coded to show how the operation of the naval shipyard was split between the naval administration, the civilian authority and the military authority, with the master sculptor ("*maître sculpteur*") and master painter ("*maître peintre*") reporting administratively to the shipyard foreman ("*contremaître*"), and with a supervising detail officer ("*officier détail de construction*") to ensure that the work was properly done. This hierarchical structure remained in force until

²⁶³ Regardless of these organizational changes, French naval shipyards retained their distinct characteristics that governed their operation and that separated them from commercial shipyards and other entities. They were institutional organizations run by the state and were accustomed to being a monopoly in the construction of warships for the French fleet. They had their own budget that allowed them to be autonomous in their operation and become specialized work centres. As institutional organizations, they were jealous of others who might acquire their capabilities; they wanted their autonomy to stay intact. As a result, naval yard personnel always considered themselves as a distinct group. Although those who worked in the naval yard were not public servants, they were employed as if they were and treated as such by the ministry of the navy. Le Mao. *Les villes portuaires maritimes dans la France moderne*.

²⁶⁴ This consists of a composite chart that shows the matrix organization of the naval yard. It is not meant to be absolute, but rather to illustrate the new division of authority in a generic manner. The chart was composed by making reference to the "Ordonnance concernant la Régie en Administration Générale et Particulier des Ports et Arsenaux de la marine. 27 septembre 1776" in the Archives nationales de France referenced by Acerra in "La gestion du Personnel." *Rochefort et la construction navale française*, pp. 540-50, and Théron in *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 16-17.

1791 when, as an outcome of the French Revolution, the executive authority was returned to a civilian administrator, called an order giver (“*ordonnateur*”).²⁶⁵

Naval Shipyard Organizational Structure According to the Decree of 1776.



Organizational Structure Function Translation

- Naval Administration appointments: *Commandant* = Naval shipyard commander; *Inspecteur générale sur tous les travaux* = Inspector General on all works; *Officiers de vaisseaux* = Naval officers; *Officiers de port* = Harbour officers; *Officiers detail de construction* = Officer in charge of ship construction.
- Civilian appointments: *Sous-directeur* = Assistant director (in charge of *Constructions neuves* = new builds; *Radoubs* = Repairs); *Contremaître* = Shipyard Foreman; *Maître sculpteur* = master sculptor; *Sculpteurs* = sculptors, including woodcarvers; *Maître peintre* = master painter; *Peintres* = Painters; *Ouvriers journaliers* = skilled tradespeople (shipwrights, cabinet makers, riggers, fitters, caulkers); *Ouvriers* = labourers.

²⁶⁵ Under Napoleon, the workshop foreman reverted back to the pre-1776 situation but reported to the “*préfet*” instead of the intendant. The Revolution resulted in a shift in the iconography where reference to the king was replaced by reference to the Republic. Théron. *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 170.

- Military appointments: *Ingenieur constructeur* = Build engineer; *Entretenu* = Naval shipyard works; *Directeur-Generale & Aide-Maître* = Director General and Master Assistant (to the Inspector General); *Detail de l'artillerie* = Land artillery detail; *Maître cannonier* = master gunner; *Bombardiers et armouriers* = Gunners and armory personnel.

The master sculptor had already absorbed the role of the centrally appointed artist before the decree was issued. The presence of family dynasties in the naval shipyards, typical of which was the Caffieri dynasty that lasted five generations, reinforced the autonomy that had previously been enjoyed in the execution of the sculptures. With this new set-up, the production of naval sculpture became integrated within the organizational hierarchy of the naval shipyard, but because of the unique skills that naval sculpture required, it nevertheless retained what can be termed as its artistic autonomy.

This was possible because the skilled tradespeople required for the decorative aspect of naval sculpture needed qualifications beyond those of helpers working in a painter's or sculptor's studio. The skilled tradespeople were not assistants, but they were rather an essential part of the process of patterning, carving, fitting, and colouring the sculptures. These skilled tradespeople would take pride in the excellence of their work, which was indeed of high quality, as can be seen in the sculptural exhibits on display in the naval museums. These skilled tradespeople would have also developed their own respective best practices, initially by receiving instructions from the centrally appointed artists, and later, from the master sculptors in the naval shipyard. The master sculptor also did the patterning from the sculptural drawing onto the raw wood according to the intent of the design, while supervising the woodcarvers in shaping the contours and delineating and accentuating the features to bring out the form of the sculpture. The master painter, meanwhile, had to mimic the gild coating, apply contrasting colours to provide a

pleasing colour scheme, and use a *trompe-l'œil* effect to exaggerate the relief of the sculptures and make them appear more than what they really were.

Although there was a rigid hierarchical set-up that regulated those who worked in the naval shipyard to make these sculptures, this did not affect the artistic quality of their work, as can be witnessed in the displays in the naval museum. Rather, the production of these sculptures can be considered as an art form of its own that developed its own best practices analogous to decorative art and similar to the sculptural decoration of buildings and monuments. These best practices were initially based on those of the centrally appointed artists such as Le Brun and Girardon, and were later developed by regional family dynasties such as the Caffieri family.

In summary, conceiving of concepts and objects as serving alongside human actors as agents of change, with all three considered to have participated equally in the production process of naval sculpture, has helped to describe the contents of what was previously defined as the black box of naval sculpture. Treating these three agents as equals, as postulated by the Actor Network Theory method, with each activity contributing something of value to the process as opposed to simply transmitting information, shows how each activity added elements to the process, thus strengthening it. This has made it possible to qualify the practice of naval sculpture as stereophonic, with its multiple outputs related to its political, social, and artistic purposes, as opposed to the monophonic definition of previous authors, where only the finished sculpture on its own was considered.

* * *

Chapter Three: The “*raison d’être*” of French Naval Sculpture

How the “*raison d’être*” of French Naval Sculpture changed under each successive regime. The role of the warship’s given name in defining this “*raison d’être*” and its influence on the sculptural composition. How the evolution of the sculptural composition was determined by the attitude from Versailles, the type of naval platform in use, the sculptural space this provided, and the sculptor’s preference.

The use of grandiose sculptures to decorate the French fleet fitted with the thinking of French society of the time, which sought to display its affluence. The richly decorated costume that Louis XIV, “*le roi soleil*,” wore at Versailles during his participation in the palace performance *Le Ballet royal de la Nuit* in 1653, which showed his interpretation of Apollo, can be considered an erotic desire by the king to take on the role of the Sun King and adorn himself accordingly (see Figure 95).²⁶⁶ The king’s attire during his appearances at the palace ballet became an attraction in themselves and made him the centre of the performance.²⁶⁷ The other participants at the palace ballet also wore richly decorated customs aligned with the theme of the performance (see Figure 96).²⁶⁸ This behaviour reflected the tone of French high society, in which rich attire demonstrated high social status and showed off affluence.

The king’s desire to be richly attired manifested itself not only on special occasions but also in his state wardrobe. The palace portrait of Louis XIV by Rigaud (see Figure 11) shows the

²⁶⁶ Henri Gissey (1621-1673). “Louis XIV en Apollon. En apparaissant à l’âge de 14 ans costumé en Apollon, dieu grec du Soleil, dans le Ballet de la nuit (1653), Louis XIV se voit décerner le titre de Roi-Soleil.” Gouache with graphite and gold paint on vellum. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Reference image 00-020079.

²⁶⁷ From then onwards, Louis XIV adopted the sun as his favourite emblem as can be seen by several images that represent him, including the sculptural compositions of the fleet.

²⁶⁸ Anonymous. “Année Louis XIV: Les spectacles au château de Versailles.”

<http://www.chateauversailles.fr/decouvrir/histoire/grandes-dates#le-regne-de-louis-xiv>

king in his official coronation costume, his “*tenue de sacre.*” In this portrait, the king’s coronation robe is adorned with an embroidered pattern of golden fleur-de-Lys against an azure background. He is standing in front of his throne on rich carpeting, under a billowing canopy of red silk curtains, which created a luxurious environment worthy of the king’s presence. He wears the Ordre du Saint-Esprit, which was founded by his great-grandfather Henri III, and in his right hand he clasps the sceptre that belonged to his grandfather Henri IV, indicating his inherited right to rule. He carries the royal sword at his side as a display of power. To the left, the royal crown rests on a cushion. Behind it there is a marble column supported on a gilded base, symbolizing the strength and wealth of the monarchy. The king wears a shirt with cuffs in lace, white silk breeches, and contrasting red shoes that have buckles decorated with diamonds. Thus, the portrait not only shows the king’s inherited right to rule by including signs and symbols related to power, but also displays his affluence through his wardrobe.²⁶⁹

Paintings of the king holding court and receiving ambassadors equally show the king wearing extravagant and opulent attire. The tradition of portraying the king in such a manner continued throughout the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI (see Figures 12 and 13), who equally strove to project the king’s inherited right to rule, his power, and his wealth through the attire he wore.²⁷⁰ This desire to portray the king in richly decorated attire became so entrenched

²⁶⁹ Rigaud’s portrait was originally commissioned as a gift for Louis XIV’s grandson, Philip V of Spain. The king received the portrait so well that he chose to keep it and instead had a copy made and sent it instead. Rigaud was so successful in capturing the absolute power that Louis XIV wanted to have that the king ordered the painting to be placed over the throne and during the king’s absence, the painting served as his proxy. Musée du Louvre. <https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/louis-xiv-1638-1715>

²⁷⁰ This manner of painting portraits of other monarchs was copied by other countries, as can be seen by portraits of Philip III of Spain and King Charles II of England. However, I find that their renditions were not as opulent and rich as those for the French monarchy.

that it was also used in the palace portraits of the king in early childhood. The best example is the portrait of Louis XV when he was five years old (see Figure 97).²⁷¹

These high standards of decoration were equally applied to the king's palaces, especially Versailles. The king's desire to decorate himself and his surroundings with the signs and symbols of personal power and extravagant wealth were a way for him to assert his status as the absolute monarch with an inherited and divine right to rule. Hence, it is to be expected that Louis XIV's desire to project his assertion of power and wealth would be extended beyond the confines of his stately palaces by decorating the French naval fleet to the highest artistic level possible. This was done with grandiose sculptures and was so successful that other European maritime countries felt compelled to follow out of envy.²⁷²

The rich and elaborate sculptural decorations that began to adorn the French fleet when Colbert launched his naval construction program were in line with the king's desire to seek a higher status amongst the other European rulers through the arts. The use of elaborate decoration to display one's status became important in the Middle Ages with heraldic designs that showed noble lineage by means of a family emblem. The purpose of the heraldic design was to display the legacy of power that was inherited by the bearer. When this legacy was passed down from both sides of the family, the heraldic emblem took on a composite design that had the coat of arms of both families.

The heraldic emblem of the French monarchy displayed its powerful lineage through a composite design that combined the kingdoms of France and Navarre (see Figure 98).²⁷³ This

²⁷¹ Hyacinthe Rigaud. "Portrait de Louis XV en tenue de sacre, âgé de cinq ans," 1715. 189 x 135 cm. Château de Versailles. Musée National de Versailles, Catalogue. *Les peintures*, vol. II, Paris, 1995, n° 4260, 755.

²⁷² See page 128 about Lavery.

²⁷³ Denis Diderot (1713-84). "Louis seize Roi de France et de Navarre." *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris : Briasson, David, Le Breton, Durand, 1751.

heraldic design showing the unification of the two kingdoms under one king gained more importance when it began to be used as a relief sculpture on the stern of the French ships that were built in Holland. A good example is the first rate *La Reine*, built in 1663, as shown in the Van de Velde drawing of Figure 23. A close-up of the stern showing the details of the heraldic design is shown in Figure 99.²⁷⁴ Another example is the French warship built in Holland of Figure 91, which is also a drawing by Van de Velde. Curiously, the *Album de Colbert* drawing for the sculptures at the stern does not show the composite heraldic design of the monarchy, but rather a simplified design of a shield with three fleur-de-Lys (see Figure 4, plate 48). The painting by Lorrain of 1639 shown in Figure 81 also shows a simple design of a shield with three fleur-de-Lys.

The representation of the blazons of both kingdoms was different under each monarch, as can be seen by comparing the coins of France, on which it appeared, throughout the *ancien régime* (see Figure 100).²⁷⁵ Notably, then, the monarch's heraldic emblem, which combined France and Navarre, and the monarch's coat of arms, which consisted solely of the three fleur-de-Lys, differed in their use.

The heraldic emblem of the medieval warrior-king or warrior-prince was always present on the battlefield, both as a pennant and as a painted design on the fighters' shields, whether they were on horseback or foot soldiers. Medieval warships that served as sea-going floating platforms and made war against their adversaries also displayed the colours of their warrior-king or warrior-prince on their pennants. They equally had their hulls painted with their heraldic blazons to make them distinguishable, to assert their presence as war machines to their

Bibliothèque nationale de France. The contemporary simulation of the Coat of Arms of France and Navarre is being shown to provide clarity to that of Diderot.

²⁷⁴ Willem Van de Velde. "La Reine, 1673." *Van de Velde Drawings* (Figure 418). Detail of the stern.

²⁷⁵ Anonymous. "Monnaies Royales Françaises." <http://www.cgb.fr/>.

adversaries, and to show their willingness to fight (see Figure 101).²⁷⁶ Indeed, when a kingdom or principedom was at war, these warships represented their king or prince at sea just as their army represented them on the battlefield with their heraldic emblem present in both cases as a sign of readiness for combat.

When sailing ships began going further out to sea and staying out for longer periods of time, this exposed them to heavier sea states for longer durations and resulted in the painted emblems on the hull being washed away. Hence, the transition from the sixteenth century carrack, with its hull in the shape of a round half shell and the stem and the stern supporting forward and aft platforms, to the seventeenth-century galleon, with its hull starting high at the stern and finishing at the stem as a beakhead, changed the mode of decoration of the warship.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ “Combat d’un vaisseau de guerre contre une batterie de trois pieces a terre. Fin du XV^e siècle.” Manuscript. Bibliotheque nationale manuscrit francais 6440. Photo. Roncière. *Histoire de la Marine Française*. The “Crusades Nava” of figure 2 with the arms of Richard the Lion Heart is a contemporary illustration. The image of figure 101 is a photo of an actual illustration done at its time.

²⁷⁷ This change in ship design occurred as a result of advances in artillery technology. The main purpose of the carrack as a war machine with a supported platform was to mimic a land battle. That is, the platform on the carrack permitted the ship to accommodate a large contingent of fighting men able to mount an attack against the enemy’s ship that likewise had a large contingent of fighting men, or carry out a seaborne invasion on land. At this time, archery was the acknowledged weapon of distance. Advances in the use of cannon firepower with a shot that could make a projectile travel a longer distance with fair accuracy resulted in a step-change in operational strategy. The carrack and its large contingent of fighting men now became obsolete, since it would only take a few well-placed cannon shots to cause havoc amongst a tight group of soldiers constrained on the platform of a ship, and possibly also pierce the hull at the waterline, causing the ship to take in water and sink. The design of the galleon took this new operational reality into consideration. The hull was now designed to accommodate an artillery platform with significant broadside firepower. The battle strategy was still the same as before, but well-placed cannon shots replaced large volleys of arrows. The intent was to disable an enemy ship from a distance and then to board it with fighting men to take control of the ship, rather than create attrition amongst the enemy’s fighting men by firing volleys of arrows. This new manner of marine warfare required an observation platform high above the deck that would serve to direct the battle against the enemy, initially from a distance with the use of its artillery, and then during boarding by directing the boarding party towards the enemy’s weaker defence. This led to the introduction of the aftercastle that now also housed the ship’s officers and as such created the stern of the galleon as we know it. The height of the stern on a sixteenth-century galleon may seem out of proportion. This needs to take into account the thinking of that time that justified this height as an observation tower used to direct the battle. The larger height of the stern also added to the ship’s sailing surface, and thus to the notion that it contributed to the ship’s forward movement.

The newer stem design of the galleon did not favour blazons, as had the carrack, but provided ample room to introduce the sculpture of a figurehead at the tip of the beakhead. The use of painted blazons on the broadsides may have continued for a short while (see Figure 102), but these eventually gave way to gun ports (see Figure 103).²⁷⁸ In turn, the frames of these gun ports also began to be decorated, usually with floral motifs, but sometimes with the head of a lion with an open mouth that served as the gun port.²⁷⁹ For reasons of economy, the decoration of gun ports ceased towards the end of the seventeenth century.

When the aftercastle of the galleon began to be enclosed and increased in size this provided a good surface area to accommodate a complex sculptural composition. This meant that when the ship's patron was the ruling monarch or the government of a nation-state, the heraldic emblem of the monarch or the nation-state was included as a relief carving at the stern.

The stern was ideal for relief sculpture because it was high, broad, flat, and had a large surface, not dissimilar to that of a public monument that had a composite relief sculpture, and similar in size to that of a majestically commemorative painting destined for the grand hall of a stately palace. Likewise, the free space at the beakhead offered scope for a large size free-standing sculpture and resulted in the introduction of the figurehead sculpture either as a representation of or as an allusion to the ship's patron. An example of this is the figurehead for

²⁷⁸ W. "Carraque (1490 -1480)." Engraving. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Photo. Roncière. *Histoire de la Marine Française*. Brughel le Vieux. "Galion et galère (1564-1565)." Brussels. Engraving. Photo. Roncière. *Histoire de la Marine Française*.

²⁷⁹ The gun port framed with the lion's open mouth was meant to produce the image of a roar as a warning.

Le Grand Saint-Louis (see Figure 80).²⁸⁰ See also Figure 104 for a close-up detail of the figurehead at the beakhead that shows how this complemented the space around it.²⁸¹

When the galleon was replaced by the man-of-war, which later came to be known as the warship, “*le vaisseau de guerre*,” the hull sat higher in the water, thus offering more sculptural space, mostly because of the higher forecastle and aftercastle. The open sculptural space at the bow and the larger surface of the ship’s stern encouraged more elaborate compositions that were also discernible from a distance. This became standard practice from the mid-seventeenth century and can be particularly noted in marine drawings and paintings. The drawings by Willem van de Velde the Elder and the Younger of Dutch, French, and British warships are good examples.²⁸²

The transition from the galleon to the man-of-war and to the ship-of-the-line were not necessarily step-changes from one configuration to another, but occurred as a result of a progressive evolution in ship design. This situation is illustrated by Figures 79, 102, and 103: elements from the earlier galleon are carried over to the man-of-war and elements from the man-of-war are carried over to the ship-of-the-line.

In a similar manner, there is no certainty that the switch from painted designs to relief sculptures was sudden. A painting of the Danish first rate *Friderich* built in 1649 has a combination of relief carvings and illustrative paintings (see Figure 105).²⁸³ Although it is not

²⁸⁰ This manner of representation was also present in other navies, as can be seen by the figurehead sculpture of the British 102-cannon *Sovereign of the Seas*, launched in 1637. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Collections Online. collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/231209.

²⁸¹ “Navire Royal.” Amsterdam, 1626. Engraving. 19 x 13.5 cm. Soop *The Power and the Glory. The Sculptures of the Warship Vasa*, 9. Detail. Beakhead.

²⁸² See the illustrations in *Van de Velde Drawings*.

²⁸³ “Friderich, 1649,” Newstadt. Denmark. Detail. Photo. Poulsen. *Danish Figureheads*, p. 10.

always possible to tell with certainty which is which from the painting, the composition of the elephants and the scenery above the water line are clearly painted and not sculpted.

Boudriot, in *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, mentions that some of the earlier sculptural drawings for the stern were possibly rendered as paintings similar to that of the *Friderich*. Boudriot states: “Un décor peint en trompe-l’œil, simulant un relief, pouvait être exécuté notamment sur la voûte d’arcasse et entre les rabattues du gaillard d’arrière. Travail effectué par l’atelier de peinture du port.”²⁸⁴ Here, it is necessary to remember that the costs associated with sculptures were always deemed to be excessive, and so to minimize the sculpting costs, the Danish shipbuilders used *trompe-l’œil* to give the illusion to a low relief sculpture that it had a deeper three-dimensional relief.²⁸⁵

There is a strong possibility that the warships of the French fleet also had painted surfaces instead of relief sculptures to cut costs—perhaps not to the extent of the *Friderich*, but in significant ways nonetheless. The use of *trompe-l’œil* to minimize sculptural costs was common practice in French naval shipyards, especially as a result of the many decrees that sought to reduce the cost of building a warship by standardizing the shape of the hull. This standardization included restricting the overhang of the gallery and integrating the quarter castle with the remainder of the aftercastle.

²⁸⁴ Boudriot *Le vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. 317. A review of the composition at the stern plate for *La Therese-Royale*, *La Madame*, and *Le Paris*, all built between 1667 and 1668, shows a flat drawing meant to be painted as opposed to a drawing meant to be made into a relief sculpture. Hence, we shall never know if the ships’ models that are on exhibit in the Musée national de la Marine are actual copies of the sculptures at the stern, since these may have been painted rather than sculpted on the real ship.

²⁸⁵ This practice of painting the ship’s sculptures by using *trompe-l’œil* to provide a false perception was not questioned because after the ship was launched, all the dignitaries that attended would not likely see the ship when it returned from its sea journey with the painted surfaces eroded.

To circumvent these constraints, artists began to add a dark wash to the sculptural drawings to show the sculptor where the sculpture was meant to be three-dimensional, and also to indicate where darker colours were to be applied to give a more pronounced outboard effect.

Throughout this time, naval sculpture was developing its own set of rules—best practices—independent of the sculptures that were made for buildings and monuments. The use of these best practices, once they took root, were difficult to discontinue, even though the sculptural composition had to conform to new regulations concerning the construction of the hull. The most prominent of these best practices was that the sculpture of a ship had to be sufficiently delineated so as to allow the form to be discernible from a certain viewing distance. This delineation was achieved by applying contrasting colours and the use of *trompe-l'œil*.

The drawing of *L'Océan*, built in 1752, shows the aftercastle flush with the broadside (see Figure 106).²⁸⁶ This drawing is unusual because it provides a three-quarter view of the stern that had been long discontinued as a method of defining the sculptural composition. The way in which the quarter castle is defined in the drawing of *L'Océan* makes it a relatively straightforward candidate for the use of *trompe-l'œil* to create an outboard impression of the structure to the viewer. This drawing is also unique because other drawings were usually done flat as a sideview and face view elevation. Nevertheless, it provides insight into the way in which the low relief of the sculpture could have used contrasting light and dark colours to create an illusion of shading and project a pseudo-outboard effect for the quarter castle.

When Colbert launched France's naval program and began building ships in the naval shipyards of France, a step-change in the sculptural composition took place. The monarch's heraldic emblem, which was commonplace at the stern, was now replaced with a thematic

²⁸⁶ Anonymous. "L'Océan, 1752." Brest. Photo. Detail. Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 121.

composition that paid homage to the king. This was done by having an allegorical representation that invoked an ancient deity directed towards the king himself as the ruler of France. This change from a heraldic emblem to an allegorical reference to the ruling monarch only took place in France; the other navies continued to display the heraldic emblems of their respective rulers.

French warships that would originally have had the king's heraldic emblem at the stern to indicate that this was the king's warship would now have a coat of arms consisting of an oval shield with three stylized gilded fleur-de-Lys on an azure background. This was initially only at the stern, usually on its own, and either below the stern plate, separate from the overall composition, or as part of the quarter castle decoration. Before long many of the figurehead sculptures of French warships would also begin to carry a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys.²⁸⁷ This manner of representation to affirm that the ship was in the service of the king by having a simplified coat of arms become an established feature. A review of marine paintings and colour illustrations supported by sculptural drawings show that use of the king's coat of arms with the three gilded fleur-de-Lys on an azure background was commonplace across the entire French fleet from the time of Colbert up to the French Revolution.

Laurent Hublot in an article titled "Le décor emblématique chez les princes de la fin du Moyen Âge" discusses the use of the heraldic emblem as the method of representation for a royal

²⁸⁷ It is not certain when the combined heraldic emblems of Navarre and France began to be used on French warships, considering that the two kingdoms amalgamated in 1589. An illustration showing both emblems side by side is dated as 1609. When Louis XIV assumed absolute control over his reign upon the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1643 by becoming his own chief minister, the combined heraldic design of France and Navarre was in use, as can be seen by the Van de Velde drawings. However, the three fleur-de-Lys as the arms of France on French ships was already in use elsewhere, as can be seen by the 1639 harbour painting by Lorrain of Figure 81. We know from the sculptural drawings that the three fleur-de-Lys on its own displaced the combined heraldic emblems of Navarre and France and came back into use on French warships when Colbert launched his one hundred-ship naval program in 1670. The three fleurs-de-Lys as a symbol of France remained in use until 1792.

or princely person.²⁸⁸ Hublot states that initially the heraldic emblem on its own was deemed insufficient as a sign of power and authority due to its overt simplicity, and thus from the mid-fourteenth century, efforts were made to expand this mode of representation by adding emblematic images that projected a feudal authority with the power of personal patronage. Hublot mentions that the emblematic representation in the heraldic design of a monarch or ruler contained layered meanings meant to provide as complete a description as possible of the person, the person's function, and the power the person wielded. He adds that this visual representation was deployed so as to saturate the allotted decorative space, with the intent of promoting an affirmation of personal power.

Although Hublot's article discusses the heraldic emblem as a medieval phenomenon, his premise can also apply to the composition of French naval sculpture and its mode of representing the king. A review of the sculptural drawings under Louis XIV shows that the allotted sculptural space of French warships was saturated with detail, and every possible surface was occupied by some design, even if it was a simple floral motif. The same can be said for the sculptural drawings during the reign of Louis XV, even after the switch from Baroque to Rococo. Every available surface was subjected to some sort of decoration, including repetitive patterning.²⁸⁹ In a similar manner, under Louis XVI all the available surface was also covered either with decorative relief sculptures or repetitive patterning in the Neoclassical style.

²⁸⁸ Laurent Hublot. "Le décor emblématique chez les princes de la fin du Moyen Âge: un outil pour construire et qualifier l'espace." *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations*. Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. 37^e congrès, Mulhouse, 2006, pp. 147-65.

²⁸⁹ Under the Regency, between 1715 and 1723, when Vassé was appointed "dessinateur general de la Marine" working in Paris, his appointment was not made by the king but by the admiral of the navy, "l'Admiral de France." Vassé immediately made his mark when he began to use Rocaille that later became Rococo. This was seen as picturesque decorative art and considered as degenerative Baroque by some. Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 308-309. The use of Rocaille by Vassé took on the form of repetitive serpentine shapes that seemed more natural for patterning. This came into use to reduce costs.

The desire to display personal power by saturating the allotted space with elaborate decorations can be construed as vanity on the part of the king, but a certain measure of pride had been well earned by the French navy, which had become successful in constructing warships that were deemed to be superior in performance when compared to other countries, including their worst adversary, Britain.²⁹⁰ This superiority in French naval technology instilled in the French navy pride of ownership and a shared purpose with the monarchy to have richly decorated warships that reflected both the greatness of the king and the power of the fleet.

Besides the individual thematic sculptural design associated with the ship's given name, the lion as figurehead was also commonly used in France up until the mid-eighteenth century. The lion was meant to convey to the viewer its ferocity and swiftness as the king of beasts. However, the lion as figurehead, although popular, did not dominate. The large size of the French naval fleet provided opportunities for the use of diversely creative names. There was scope for giving ships a variety of original names that would permit unique thematic sculptural designs. The stylized lion either as the figurehead or as a relief carving at the stern was more common on the ships-of-the-line of Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Spain. The relief sculpture of

²⁹⁰ Robert Gardiner, in his article "Les frégates françaises et la Royal Navy," published in two parts in the spring of 1977 and the autumn of 1978 in *Le Petit Perroquet*, describes how mid-eighteenth-century French-built warships were better in speed when compared to their counterparts in the British fleet. Gardiner attributes this to the difference in philosophy between the French and British designs and analyzes the drawings of French warships, namely naval frigates that had a lighter weight design and a sleeker hull, which resulted in a reduced drag and faster sailing speed. Gardiner goes on to state that the British tried to copy from the French to improve the design of their fleet, but this was not successful because they still used the British method of construction for a design that was meant to be made according to the French method of construction. Gardiner continues that the British overcame this dilemma by going through an experimentation program to adapt the French type of design to the British method of construction. Gardiner states that in the meantime French naval shipbuilding continued to apply a cohesive and integrated strategy to develop its warships and retain superiority in sailing performance. This is supported in a later article by James Pritchard titled "Shipwright to Naval Constructor: The Professionalism of 18th-Century French Naval Shipbuilders," in *Technology & Culture*, 1987, which describes how eighteenth-century French warships were superior to British warships in sailing speed and firepower.

the lion at the stern of ships from these other countries was generally a representation of the royal coat of arms that was part of the heraldic emblem of the ruling monarch or government at the time. Meanwhile, British ships began to adopt the figurehead of the crowned lion as their emblem and later to have the lion hold a shield with the British flag in its front paws, while Sweden began to show twin lions on its stern—as, for example, at the stern of the *Wasa*.

The lion as a figurehead for French warships was mostly used for second rate and third rate warships and frigates. A review of the sculptural drawings for these ships show that the lion as a figurehead design underwent three transformations during its representation in naval sculpture. Initially, the lion was shown as a symbol of speed, courage, and strength, ready to leap towards the enemy from the bow of the ship. In this first phase the lion looked naturalistic with a flat rounded nose. This changed with the passing of time, so that its form became erect and proud, holding up a shield with the king's emblem to signal that it represented his power and authority. Here, the lion's nose became long and angular. External influences as a result of trade with Asia, and specifically Chinese designs, contributed to the lion becoming stylized in its design, with an angry frown and its form somewhat standardized, erect on its hind legs as if on guard. The lion now had a more generic manner of representing the king's authority.²⁹¹

Nautical maps offered a useful comparative reference in analyzing the meaning and origins of the imagery in French naval sculpture. Indeed, nautical maps of the era contained colourful depictions of allegorical, mythical, and cosmological subjects together with images of ships, people, animals, and sea creatures. Jakobsson states in “The Warship in Swedish Seventeenth-Century Society” that this unique imagery can be considered the cartographer's way

²⁹¹ See as an example the figurehead of the frigate *l'Hermione*, also mentioned in footnote 211. These influences from Asia were mostly the result of trade carried out by the Compagnie des Indes Occidentale (1669-1769), which culminated in a mercantile fleet of 600 ships throughout its existence. See Philippe Haudrère. *Les Compagnies des Indes*. Éditeurs Ouest France, 2015.

of portraying the king's power and prestige in an accepted form of representation.²⁹² An example of a French nautical map formatted in this thematic manner of representation is “Carte nouvelle de la mer Mediterannée” in the atlas *Le Neptune François* published in 1693.²⁹³ This is a map of Europe and the Mediterranean Sea that was made for the French navy, to provide them with a tactical advantage when attempting to engage the enemy at sea. This map and similar ones contain a “cartouche” surrounded by drawings of carved ornamental scrollwork and images that are similar in their composition to the relief sculptures at the stern plate and the decoration of the taffarel of several French warships.

Another reference is the map in the album *Explorer et cartographier l'Amérique*, titled “Carte d'Amérique du Nord,” and done in 1688 by Jean-Baptiste Franquelin to present to the king. This map shows the French possessions in North America.²⁹⁴ Both cartographers decorated their maps with allegorical, mythical, and cosmological images as a sign of homage to Louis XIV as the patron of these maps. This tendency continued under Louis XV and Louis XVI, but to a lesser extent and with less elaborate images.

In the same manner as the images in these nautical maps, French naval sculpture conformed to an accepted form of representation with symbols of power and prestige. I mentioned that Jakobsson had postulated that the images on Swedish seventeenth-century maps

²⁹² See also the short mention about cartography on page 20.

²⁹³ “Le Neptune François, ou Atlas Nouveau des Cartes Marines. Levées et Gravées par ordre exprès du Roy. Pour l'usage de ses armées de mer.” Hubert Jaillot, 1693. This is a nautical atlas commissioned by Colbert following the Franco-Dutch War. The war had proved that France needed to gain a naval advantage over the Dutch and the best way for this to be achieved was to provide the best naval charts to the French navy. As a consequence, Colbert institutionalized the practice of marine cartography and commissioned leading mathematicians and astronomers to chart the waters of Europe to produce this chart and similar ones. This resulted in marine cartography undergoing its own renaissance and was best exemplified by the publication in 1693 of this atlas.

²⁹⁴ Raymonde Litalien, Jean-François Palomino. “Explorer et cartographier l'Amérique. Le XVIIe siècle.” *La mesure d'un continent. Atlas historique de l'Amérique du Nord, 1492-1814*. Québec: Septentrion, 2008, pp. 106-107.

corresponded to the cultural values held by Swedish society at that time. I will show here and later in this dissertation that French naval sculpture and the decorative images of these sculptures similarly functioned as a link to the cultural attitudes of French society.

In the early seventeenth century, France was marked by unrest and near constant warfare. However, by the mid- to the late seventeenth century, France had emerged as Europe's largest and most powerful country. When, in 1653, Louis XIV recalled the ancient Greek god Apollo during the royal ballet performances and thereafter alluded to himself as "*le roi soleil*," he fostered the notion of having a divine right to rule.

In 1661, when his chief minister Cardinal Mazarin died, Louis XIV, as a young king, appointed himself the absolute monarch: full power resided with him and he was not subject to any constitutional limitations. He declared that he was the state: "L'état, c'est moi."²⁹⁵ This absolute and divine right to rule allowed the king to dismiss any opposition and consolidate his legitimacy as the ruler of France. Hence, it was not a result of Colbert's initiative, but rather the result of the king's behaviour and his attitude that Le Brun and other artists conceived of sculptural compositions that made allegorical references to mythological deities and famous ancient warriors in relation to the French monarch.

Louis XIV had recognized how important it was to convey a perception of untold power as a means of achieving greatness. His most memorable endeavour, the expansion of Versailles from a royal hunting lodge to an enormous palace with gilded decoration and mirrored walls, reinforced the image he wanted to project, as "*le roi soleil*," of his inherited and divine right to rule. By infusing the Baroque style with ancient classical features, renowned artists such as Le Brun, Puget, Girardon, and others endeavoured to link the reign of Louis XIV with the might of

²⁹⁵ Drévilion, in *Les Rois Absolus*, states "Incontestablement le règne de Louis XIV fut autoritaire," p. 222.

ancient Greece and Imperial Rome.²⁹⁶ Louis XIV became the leading patron of the arts and of architecture. His patronage was equally enjoyed by French naval sculpture.

The legacy of richly decorating French warships continued under Louis XV, who ascended the throne at the age of thirteen in 1723 and ruled up to his death in 1774. Louis XV also took sole control of the kingdom after the death of his chief minister Cardinal Fleury in 1743. He became known as “*Louis le bien aimé*,” and monuments erected in his honour show a king of peace more than one of divine rule, contemporary in appearance rather than Roman, with a benevolent expression rather than that of a ruler.²⁹⁷ During his reign, Louis XV incorporated Lorraine and Corsica into his kingdom. That said, he also returned the Austrian Netherlands, territory won at the Battle of Fontenoy of 1745, and ceded New France in North America to Great Britain and Spain at the conclusion of the Seven Years’ War in 1763.²⁹⁸

French culture and influence were at their height in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, Louis XV’s rule is perceived to have reduced the power of France, weakened the treasury, discredited the absolute monarchy, and made it vulnerable to internal distrust. Yet, although Louis XV’s reign is characterized by misjudgements, squabbles between the judiciary and parliament, and religious feuds, none of this is reflected in the themes of the naval sculpture. Rather, the themes of the sculptural compositions consistently matched the king’s high values and noble qualities as had been done under Louis XIV. This continued in much the same manner

²⁹⁶ This link was strengthened with the appointment to the king’s court of Italian artists of reknown such as Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and Giovanni Battista Lulli (1632-87). Claire Mazel. “Les beaux-arts du siècle de Louis XIV.” *Penser l’art dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, p. 546.

²⁹⁷ See the monuments at Rennes, 1754; Vincennes, 1752; Nancy, 1755; and Paris, 1763. A review of the sculptural drawings shows that use of the mythological figure as a representation of the king tapered off under the Regency of Philippe d’Orléans between 1715 and 1723, when Louis XV was a minor.

²⁹⁸ Beaurepaire. “Les renversement des alliances et les défaites de la guerre de sept ans.” *La France des lumières 1715-1789*, pp. 271-279.

during the reign of Louis XVI. This thematic continuity throughout all three reigns is discussed later in Chapter Five.

Yet, as a result of the setbacks under Louis XV, naval sculpture began to lose its mission and purpose, its “*raison d’être*.” It could not even show off the naval power of the nation, since the fleet had been decimated because of war. Political and social tensions emerged and the royal image began to be remade. For example, the 1763 sculpture by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle at Reims shows a king who is protective and compassionate, representative of “*le douceur du gouvernement et du bonheur du citoyen*” (see Figure 107).²⁹⁹ This showed that a new culture was emerging, one that could not, at least at the time, portray a fighting king. Rather, new symbols of France’s global commerce began to appear in naval sculpture, such as Neptune’s trident (“*le trident de Neptune*”) and the sceptre (“*le sceptre du monde*”).

In his catalogue of the construction plans of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century warships, Erland-Brandenburg includes a listing of the sculptural drawings with the warship’s given name where this is known. He also identifies the authorities who provided approval signatures for those sculptural drawing that have them. A review in the archives of the Service historique de la Défense of the sculptural drawings that have approval signatures provided a sense of the approval process that was in place. A review of the same sculptural drawings at the Service historique de la Défense and those in the publications by Boudriot showed that the thematic composition of several of them had a connotation with the ship’s given name.

The process for defining the composition of a sculptural drawing began with the naming of the ship. However, the approval process that was followed is not always clear; some of these drawings show a highly hierarchical procedure which began with the review committee, was

²⁹⁹ Jean-Baptiste Pigalle. “Louis XV,” 1763. Bronze. Place Royale, Reims.

then passed to the intendant, and was finally approved by the minister of the navy, while the approval process for other drawings appears informal and local, and for several drawings seems to be non-existent. The only deduction I can make is that when the sculptural design referenced the ship's given name, approval of the sculptural drawings was treated in the same way as deciding on the name. This suggests that whenever there was a hierarchical approval process for the sculptural decoration of a warship, the selection of the warship's name also went through a similar selection process.

Although it is not exactly clear who proposed the ship's name, correspondence in the naval archives suggests that the warship's given name was decided by the king's council, with final approval or endorsement residing with the minister of the navy. An investigation at the Archives nationales to establish how French warships were named led to the MAR B series Ordres et Dépêches (1715-88), which provides information found in a register with copies of letters issued to the various shipyards that were in the process of constructing warships. What emerged from these letters is that the names of the ships built in France were issued by the king's order, "*ordre du roi*." A selection from the listing in the register is worth reproducing:

“Ordre pour nommer Océan et Hector deux vaisseaux en construction à Toulon.”
B² 342. 432.

“Ordre du Roi pour nommer la frégate et les deux galiotes en construction à Toulon; la Pleade, L'Etna et la Salamandre.” B² 346. 336.

“Ordre pour nommer l'Oiseau et la Minerve les frégates que construit le sieur Coulomb ». B² 348. 269.

“Ordre du Roi pour nommer les vaisseaux nouvellement construits.” B² 337. 626, 678.

“Ordre pour nommer des vaisseaux en construction à Brest et à Rochefort.” B² 355.375.

Hence, when the name for a French warship was decided, the naval shipyard was informed by means of the king's order.

From the information I discovered in my research, including what I have just described concerning the process for approving the sculptural drawings and issuing the ships' given names, I was able to define the convention that was in use within the production network of naval sculpture when the time came to build a warship.

The minister of the navy, as the overseeing authority, sought approval from the king about the amount of funds to be allocated for the building of new warships and in conjunction with the naval administration decided on the types of warships to be built. When first rate warships were to be built, this usually implied that their construction also required approval by the king because of the very high cost of building them.

The procedure next required the minister of the navy to ask the naval authorities to define the technical specifications for the new warships.³⁰⁰ These included the proportional dimensions of the hull for each warship as determined by its firepower. The intendants of the naval shipyards, as the minister's directly appointed delegates responsible for the warships being constructed, controlled the allocation of funds and made sure these were properly spent. These included the funds for making and painting the warship's sculptures.

³⁰⁰ The very rigorous procedure for building a warship began with the need to first define the ship's design based on the latest technical knowhow in terms of buoyancy and stability and the warship's required firepower. The ship's firepower determined the proportions of the hull to ensure a structurally sound platform for carrying the load of the cannons and ensuring good stability when a broadside volley was fired. Once the hull's geometry was defined, detailed construction drawings were made, including the definition of the templates needed to prepare the planks and fit them together to form the hull and the decks. Once these were done, the masts and sails were fitted together with the rigging, and the complete warship underwent sea trials under full sail. Service historique de la Défense: ships' plans and drawings, ship calculations and reports and treaties series 2G4-1 to 3 (Rochefort); D¹ 65, 67-69 (Vincennes); and IL442 and 443 (Toulon). See the Archives & Archival Data Bases list on page 346.

The naval draughtsman drew the construction plans for each warship and these were reviewed by the naval authorities and submitted for approval by the minister of the navy. At this point, the warship's plans for the hull would show an empty space for the sculptural decoration. Sometimes, the construction plans of the hull would include sketches of the proposed sculptures, usually done by the naval draughtsman. However, these were rare occasions and the majority of the sculptural drawings were done on their own as an artistic concept by the sculptural artist.

The master shipwright at the naval shipyard defined the final form of the warship's hull according to the construction plans made by the naval draughtsman, but would alter the actual construction based on best practices and in accordance with the warship's intent and its proposed mission.

The king's council decided on the warship's name in accordance with the requirement of paying homage to the king, defining the king's attributes, and linking the ship's name with its purpose. In situations where a warship's construction was funded by a benefactor such as a principedom or the administrators of a city who had used their own funds to build the warship, the ship was conventionally named after the benefactor.

Once the warship's given name was known, the sculptural artist decided on the theme of the sculptural decoration and composed the form and size of the sculptures according to the empty space shown as available at the stem and the stern of the warship's construction plans.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ One reference that was used when defining the compositions of the sculptures is the illustrated version of *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa*, Siena, 1613, with updated editions translated into French throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See for example the version by Jean Baudoin, published in Paris in 1643. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Another reference is the *Almanach Iconologique : Traité de la science des allégories* by Hubert François Bourguignon, 1755. Bibliothèque nationale de France. There are similarities between some of the sculptural drawings of the figureheads and the allegorical illustrations in both books. Teyssède, in *L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV*, 200, states that Ripa was a known reference by the artists doing the sculptures at Versailles and it follows that the same artists who composed the drawings of the naval sculptures would similarly use Ripa as a source of inspiration.

After the sculptural composition was defined, the intendant and the review committee responsible for overseeing the construction of the warship would examine the sculptural drawings to ensure that the sculptures would not exceed the requirements of size and cost. The actual sculptures ended up being the result of the sculptor's rendition of the theme as defined by the sculptural drawings based on the ship's given name.

Based on the procedure I have just described, I can make some additional observations concerning the sculptural decoration of French warships. Ships that were deemed most significant within the fleet because they were meant to play a leading role in combat missions, primarily due to their high firepower, were named with particular attention. Equal attention was given to their sculptural decoration. For instance, a first rate ship-of-the-line that served as the fleet admiral's flagship and represented the might of the French fleet, with the king as its commander-in-chief, would be named after the king or a member of the king's family. The warship *Royal-Louis* is a good example of this. Its given name classified it as being of royal importance, and as a result it was appropriately decorated. Here, the given name of the ship was translated into a sculptural theme that made a direct connection between the ship and the monarchy.

However, this convention did not automatically apply for the smaller warships, and their sculptures were not necessarily meant to convey any specific relation to the monarchy. If the construction of a warship of a lesser rating was begun prior to the naming of the ship, the process that was followed to determine its sculptural composition was fast-tracked and did not necessarily pass through the normal steps for approval. Nevertheless, even if the plans for

Boudriot in *Le vaisseau de 74 canons*, p. 365, states that Bourguignon's *Almanach Iconologique* was also a source of reference and inspiration for the naval sculptures.

constructing a warship were copied from the plans for another similar warship, the sculptural composition would still be unique and be done according to the new warship's given name.

Here, I could not find any documentation about procedures for controlling cost overruns when the artist doing the sculptural composition was centrally appointed. It was only when the responsibility for defining the sculpture was transferred to the master sculptor at the naval shipyard that the sculptors became accountable for their cost.

Those aspects of the ship's sculptural decoration that were determined by the ship's given name were primarily the figurehead that symbolically represented or alluded to the king, and the relief carvings at the stern that thematically related to the warship's given name.

Although the ship's given name would often make reference to the monarchy, as in the case of the *Royal-Louis*, there were also instances when the theme of the sculptural design took the form of an allegorical representation of a Greek deity, a Roman warrior, or a fantastic sea creature. Here, the ship's given name became the link between the monarchy and the sculptural design that was meant to represent the fighting power of France and the greatness of the monarch as its ruler. For example, the figurehead design of the *Royal-Louis* of 1758 consisted of a warrior with the likeness of the monarch, clad in Roman armour, with his sword unsheathed by his side ready to fight, but bareheaded and holding his warrior helmet in front of him as a sign of goodwill.

The French ministry of the navy undertook to have the king's flagships make reference to the king or his family. Besides the *Royal-Louis* one can find as examples the warships named *Soleil Royal*, *Couronne*, *Souveraine*, and *Fleur-de-Lys* for the king and *Reine*, *Dauphine*, and *Madame* for his family. Here, the sculptural compositions would include in their representation of the king an allusion to a Greek mythological deity. The best example is the *Soleil Royal*, with

its figurehead sculpture of a hippocampus and the stern sculpture that shows the king on his chariot as Apollo, both referring to the king as ruler of the sea.

The connection between the names and sculptural compositions of French ships and the monarch or the monarch's family reveal how important it was that the representation projected a political identity. In this sense, the sculpture lost its autonomy, because its political discourse was subject to interpretation. Thus studying naval decoration, and in particular the theme of the sculpture, requires taking into consideration the political situation at the time when the sculpture was done. That is, it is important to analyze how the sculptural composition defined the king's status: how the figurehead design of a deity such as Neptune, or a royal beast such as the lion, or a renowned personage of classical antiquity such as Alexander the Great, might be deemed appropriate to represent the king's authority at a particular point in time.

Warships that were classed as second and third rate usually expressed a specific quality of the king, such as *Invincible* and *Triumphant*, which can also be interpreted as a battle cry. The names given to those warships of the French fleet that were not named after the monarchy, or did not invoke the monarchy, do not appear to show any particular trend or decisive pattern. Ships of a lower rating in particular followed a less coherent naming convention. I consider this to be the result of those periods when there were sudden increases in construction and the ministry of the navy put the naval shipyards into full production, both in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, for the purpose of building up the strength of the fleet.

This sudden and dramatic increase in the construction of warships made those in charge more preoccupied with advancing the naval construction program and leaving the names to be decided on later or by someone else. This might be why the lower rated ships did not have

particularly allusive names—because their chosen names were not, in the end, very consequential.

However, upon closer examination some exceptions arise. Certain lesser rated warships had names directly related to their function, if that function stood out in a notable way. The best example is the fire ship *Salamandre*, built in 1753 and named after a lizard whose skin was impervious to fire. This ship was a single decker and the size of a sixth rate whose combat mission was to bombard the enemy's shore position with fire bombs, as opposed to other ships that were designed to engage the enemy directly at sea with the use of cannonballs. It was therefore relatively straightforward for someone with some knowledge to decide on the name, the *Salamandre*, and for the design of the figurehead to consist of a salamander crawling between the upper and lower cheeks (see Figure 108).³⁰² However, François I (1494 – 1547) also had a salamander on his coat-of-arms that was very similar in design to that of the figurehead, implying a connection with the monarchy (see Figure 109).³⁰³

Although the *Salamandre* was only a single decker, because of its name, it took on the same importance as those first rates whose names and sculptural compositions made a direct reference to the monarchy. Similarly, just as the composition of the *Salamandre* referenced the coat-of-arms of François I, the first rate *Foudroyant* referenced the commemorative painting of Louis XIV being hailed by Jupiter, shown as an eagle, to celebrate the king's victory over his adversaries during the rebellion of 1649-52 (see Figure 110).³⁰⁴ Indeed, this painting was

³⁰² “Galiotes a bombes Salamandre. Ornaments de poupe, proue et bouteille.” 68 x 35 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 68, f^o 16.

³⁰³ The salamander was the badge of François I, who had as his motto “*Nutrisco et extinguo*” (“I nourish and extinguish”). The figure shows the relief sculpture at Azay-le-Rideau, Indre-et-Loire, France.

³⁰⁴ Charles-François Poerson. “Jupiter applaudens Lodoico fulmina cessit, lamque novum Mundus sensit adesse Iovem,” Château de Versailles, 1655. The painting makes a direct association between Louis XIV as a Christian king and Jupiter as a pagan deity. This may appear unusual considering that Louis XIV was a young king with Cardinal Mazarin as his Chief Minister and with the queen having been brought up as a

probably a reference for defining the theme of the sculptural design at the stern of the *Foudroyant*.

Before proceeding, it is worth repeating that when a benefactor funded the construction of a warship to support France's naval efforts, the ship would have been named after the benefactor. An example of this is the second rate ship-of-the-line *Ville de Paris*, which was funded by the city of Paris and whose figurehead design illustrated the Greek goddess Paris sitting on a throne and heralded by Renommée. Figure 73 shows the commemorative drawing of the figurehead and the dedication of the warship to the king.³⁰⁵ Included with the drawing of Figure 73 is a sculptural drawing for the entire ship that was found in the naval archives at Vincennes.

The existence of this drawing shows that regardless of the source of funding, the sculptural decoration of this warship was treated similarly to those warships funded by the king's treasury. In summary, these examples—the first rate *Royal-Louis*, the fire bomb ship *Salamandre*, the first rate *Foudroyant*, and the second rate *Ville de Paris*—all show how the ship's given name determined the thematic design of its sculpture.

Further investigation of the ways in which the choice of names influenced the sculptural theme required classifying the ships of the French fleet by their name and the theme of their sculpture. This revealed several direct and indirect references to the monarchy, supplemented with warring themes that made a connection with mythology and invoked marine or celestial themes—which were associated with the use of the stars for the ship's navigation—and names

devout Catholic in the Spanish court. However, it is not without tradition: fifty years earlier, Henri IV had been portrayed as Mars. See Jacob Bunel. "Le portrait d'Henri IV en Mars," 1606. 186 × 135 cm. Musée national et domaine du château de Pau. See the image at www.artsy.net/artwork/jacob-bunel-le-portrait-dhenri-iv-en-mars.

³⁰⁵ Anonymous. "Ville de Paris, 1764. Vaisseau-de-ligne de 90 canons. Dessin pour la figure de proue." Photo. Musée national de la Marine.

that made reference to geographical places and wild animals. The names given to frigates also followed their own rules, with many that made reference to speed and grace such as *Panthère*, *Gazelle*, *Oiseau*, and *Gracieuse*.³⁰⁶ This relationship between a warship's given name and its sculptural composition was typical where it existed and was consistent throughout all three reigns.

Acerra postulates in an article titled "La symbolique des noms de navires de guerre" that the categorization of the warships' names can be taken further by also making the distinction between the ship-of-the-line, "le vaisseau," as masculine, and the frigate, "la frégate," as feminine.³⁰⁷ Acerra states that this distinction in gender might have influenced the ship's given name and adds that the names given to ships-of-the-line were mostly proper nouns, followed by adjectives, and finally common nouns. The names given to frigates were mostly adjectives, followed by common nouns and last by proper nouns.

Acerra does not give any specific explanation why the ship-of-the-line would have as first preference a proper noun and the frigate would have as first preference an adjective, and does not follow up on this premise. However, a review of the sculptural drawings shows that this gender connotation did not affect the sculptural theme, as figureheads of male and female personages appear on both ships-of-the-line and frigates without any distinction.

A survey of the names given to the ships-of-the-line built during the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI based on the inventory in Appendix Seven resulted in the following:

During the reign of Louis XIV, out of a total of 188 new ships' names that were given, most were a direct reference to the monarchy, with names as *Royal-Louis*, *Monarque*, *Couronne*,

³⁰⁶ Boudriot. *La Frégate. Marine de France 1650-1750*, pp. 220-32.

³⁰⁷ Martine Acerra. "La symbolique des noms de navires de guerre dans la marine française (1661-1815)." *La Marine XVIIe-XXe siècle. Histoire, économie et Service*. 1997, pp. 45-61.

Reine, Prince, Princesse, and Dauphine. Others referred to the glorious attributes of the king, especially when proclamations were issued on his behalf, with names as *Juste, Glorieuse, Gloire, Auguste, Superbe, and Parfait*. Some names referenced the kingdom, such as *Ile-de-France*. Only eleven names referenced mythological deities: *Neptune, Trident, Triton, Mercure, Achille, Hercules, Mars, Mercoeur, Argonaute, and Tethys*.

Under Louis XV, the 146 new ships' names that were given followed the same trend as under Louis XIV. Names that made direct reference to the monarchy were *Royal-Louis, Soleil Royal, Couronne, Dauphin-Royal, Monarque, Souverain, and Lys*. Names that referenced attributes given to the king were *Formidable, Conquerant, Ardent, Vengeur, Diamant, Parfait, and Gloire*. A few names referenced the kingdom, such as *Union* and *Fleuron*. Names of animals were also used. These were *Lion, Tigre, Hippotame, Aigle, and Caribou*.³⁰⁸ There were only fifteen names that made reference to mythological deities. These were *Mars* (twice), *Trident, Triton, Ocean, Achille, Jason* (twice), *Apollon, Argonaute, Nereide, Aquilon, Aurore, Junon, and Dianae*.

Under Louis XVI, the 77 new ships' names that were given continued the same trend. Names with a direct reference to the monarchy were *Royal-Louis, Majestueux, Dauphin-Royal, Couronne, and Sceptre*. Those referring to attributes of the king had names such as *Auguste, Sans Pareille, Indomptable, Puissant, Patriote, Superbe, and Brillant*. Only one name of an animal was used, *Leopard*. However, the use of names that referenced mythological deities, although few in number, persisted. There were twelve of these names in total: *Neptune, Hercules, Pluton, Argonaute, Pegase, Centaure, Mercure, Apollon, Aquillon, Jupiter, Trojan, and Jason*.

³⁰⁸ The use of exotic beasts as animal names can be considered as an indication of wanting to expand the king's domain by going beyond the normal understanding and common knowledge of French society.

The re-use of a name from a recent ship that had been lost at sea or broken up did not imply that the sculptural decoration would be copied from the previous ship.

The way in which the warship's given name was interpreted when preparing the sculptural composition, in particular for those warships named after the king, changed from one reign to the next. This has already been shown in part through the example of the figurehead design for the *Soleil Royal* of 1670, which shows the Greek goddess Tethys riding a hippocampus, as if pulling the king's ship forward. On the other hand the figurehead of the *Royal-Louis* of 1759 makes a connection with ancient Rome and the power and prosperity of the Roman Empire by showing the king in Roman armour ready to fight, but with his helmet removed as a sign of goodwill. The figurehead of the *Royal-Louis* of 1779 similarly depicts the king wearing Roman armour but holding his sceptre and fasces to illustrate his power (see Figures 47, 73, and 74, respectively).³⁰⁹

The results of this survey confirm that the thematic purpose of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French naval sculpture consisted mostly in paying homage to the monarch. However, Greek and Roman mythological themes did not play as large a role in the totality of names given to the French warships as the Musée national de la Marine suggests on their website. Rather, there were many direct and indirect references to the monarchy to reflect the controlling authority of the king. By contrast, some of the mythological names that were used

³⁰⁹ The figurehead of the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 was not considered to be suitable as a comparison with the figureheads of the *Royal-Louis* of 1759 and of 1779 for two reasons: Hayet only gives a general description of the figurehead and the drawing he provided is not sufficiently detailed, showing only a sketchy outline. The figurehead for *Soleil Royal* became a suitable substitute.

made reference to themes that sailors were familiar with, such as *Centaure* and *Aurore*, which were celestial bodies, or *Neptune*, the ruler of the ocean.³¹⁰

In summary, the choice of names for the warships of the French fleet shows that there was an overwhelming desire by the king's council to demonstrate allegiance to the king by selecting names that made reference to the monarchy. However, there was not necessarily any correlation between the king and the divine right to rule for the ships' given names with one exception in the name *Soleil Royal* for Louis XIV. Yet, this connection was present in other forms of art that alluded to Louis XIV as the Sun King. Rather, those ships' names that connoted mythological themes invoked a dual connection between an ancient deity and the sea or a celestial body, both of which were familiar to seafarers. Although the names used were sometimes repeated, the sculptural definition changed according to other influences that affected the design. The naval museums mostly focus on sculptures displaying mythological deities, but this is because these are the ones that are available.

In 1739 France embarked on a naval construction program in French Canada that lasted until the British conquest of Québec City in 1759. A total of twelve ships were built with ten of them successfully launched. The Canadian scope of France's naval program merits review because of the choice of names given to the Canadian-built warships in comparison to the warships built in France.

More specifically, it is worth considering whether warships built in French Canada had sculptures that were thematically distinct from those built in France, considering that the ships's name usually established the sculptural theme. Here, a reminder is necessary. The Canadian-built

³¹⁰ André Zysberg in *Le décor emblématique de la souveraineté* carried out a similar review for the names given to the galleys and came to a similar conclusion - that is, that the names of the galleys were chosen to pay homage to the monarchy.

warships used the same construction plans and followed the same method of construction as the ships built in France. However, there are no known drawings of what the sculptures looked like, although naval dispatches between Versailles and Québec have brief descriptions of some of the ships and there are a few anonymous sketches at the Service historique de la Défense that appear to be preparatory layouts (see Appendix Three).

These warships were built towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when the transition in stylistic preference from Baroque to Rococo was already underway. Since there is no visual reference to indicate what the sculptures of these ships looked like, it is not possible to state to which style they were made, especially since there was no interaction between the naval sculptors in France and those in Canada. Moreover, there was no sculptural school in the naval shipyards of French Canada, and the sculptural rendition was totally dependent on the sculptor's individual stylistic preferences and particular skill.

The names given to the Canadian-built warships were *Le Canada*, *Caribou*, *Castor*, *Carcajou*, *Martre*, *Saint-Laurent*, *L'Orignal*, *L'Algonquin*, *Abenakise*, *Québec*, *Iroquoise*, and *Outaouaise*. As can be seen, these are Canadian geographical place names, the names of Canadian wild animals, and the names of Indigenous tribes. They do not, like the ships built in France, pay direct homage to the king. Instead, they reflected France's conquests as a maritime power with a mercantile dominance. The Canadian-built ships had names that were associated with French Canada as a French overseas territory.

I had previously mentioned the premise by Acerra that the warship "le vaisseau" is a masculine noun and the frigate "la fregate" is a feminine noun in French, and remarked that this might have guided the naming of ships. This does not initially seem to apply to the Canadian-built ships; for instance, the frigates *Castor* and *Martre* and the corvette *Carcajou* all have

masculine names. However, in the later part of the construction program there was some segregation, with the warships *Saint-Laurent*, *L'Orignal*, and *L'Algonquin* having masculine names and the frigate *Abenakise* and the corvettes *Iroquoise* and *Outaouaise* having feminine names. The name of the frigate *Québec* can also be construed as feminine if meant to represent “*La Ville de Québec*.”

The fact that these names were given by the king's council through an “*ordre du roi*” shows the fascination of Versailles with the exoticism of New France.³¹¹ Conversely, it also suggests that the Indigenous colonial culture of New France had caught the imagination of Versailles.

It is important to consider the cultural values of those actors in the production network who influenced the sculptural designs. These cultural values shifted according to the policy defined by Versailles in terms of France's declared objectives, with, for one thing, a transition from the absolutism exercised by the king to the business elite demanding a say in the decision-making process concerning the commercial policy of France. The resultant shift in the composition of the sculptures was previously mentioned and considered the examples of the figureheads of the *Soleil Royal* of 1670 and the *Royal-Louis* of 1758 and 1779, respectively.

At the same time there was a second cultural shift amongst those directly concerned with defining the construction of the ship, who directly affected the composition of the sculptures in terms of grandeur and cost. Both the sculptural space and the allocated budget became more and

³¹¹ Correspondence between Québec and Versailles confirms that the names of the Canadian-built ships were given by Versailles. For example, intendant Hocquart, writing to Maurepas about the sculpture for the frigate *Martre*, asks to know what the name of the ship will be so that he can instruct the sculptor: “Je vous prie Monseigneur de m'instruire / du nom que sa Majesté aura donné à la / frigate de 22 canons qui est sur le chantiers, / pour la faire décorer d'une sculpture / convenable et pour l'expédition des descharges / Hocquart.” Archives nationales d'outre-mer. Section Canada. Série C¹¹A, vol 84. f^o 184. “Hocquart au ministre, 1745.11.06.”

more regulated, until by the end of the eighteenth century both the allotted sculptural space and the funds allocated were reduced to such an extent that the bow only had a figurehead and nothing else and the stern plate had a much smaller area. This resulted in a significantly reduced composition that sought nobility in simplicity—“*la noble simplicité*”—as previously discussed on page 59, as opposed to the richness and magnificence—“*sa richesse et sa magnificence*”—of the compositions of the past as discussed on page 47.

There was a third cultural shift when the practice of centrally appointed artists was discontinued and the master sculptor of each naval shipyard became responsible for the conceptual process of the sculpture. Once this occurred, there was no apparent effort for commonality in the sculptural theme among the different naval shipyards. Commonality in design occurred because of dynasties such as the Caffieri family working across different shipyards. But in terms of the sculpture’s theme, regional and other external factors influenced the sculptors working in their own particular shipyards. A good example of this is the sculpture “*Décor de poupe; Haut-relief, Indien d'Amérique*” at the naval museum at Brest (see Figure 42 and the discussion on page 103).

There were also, as I have noted, shifts in the space available for the sculptures aboard different types of ships. The standard warship configuration for the French fleet was based on the ship-of-the-line, which usually covered first rate, second rate, and third rate designs. The architecture of these three sizes was proportionally similar, and consisted of triple-, double-, or single-deckers with a high gallery at the stern (see Figure 38). The difference between the three types of ship was the size of their hull, which acted as an artillery platform; the first rate was capable of accommodating up to 140 cannons, the second rate was capable of accommodating about 100 to 120 cannons, and the third rate was capable of accommodating about 80 to 90

cannons. The larger the hull, the higher it stood in the water, and the more sculptural space there was.

Between the late seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries, the first rate ship-of-the-line, as a result of its large bow and high deck at the forecastle, offered the most space between the upper and lower cheeks above the cutwater to fit the figurehead design. Similarly, the aftercastle was elevated to house the larger number of naval officers required to operate the warship, and this resulted in extended galleries on the lower deck, the middle deck, and the upper deck. This similarly offered more space to fit the decorative sculptures. The surface area of the stern plate placed between the middle and upper decks was sufficiently large to accommodate the theme of the composition. The ship's name and the monarch's coat of arms and monogram, meanwhile, were usually part of the gallery decoration.

The first rate ship's sculptural space offered significant scope for multiple thematic designs. For example, the sculptural decoration at the stem would have had room for a group figurehead in the round. The cheeks, rails, and cat heads would have had space to be highly decorated with relief carvings of sea creatures and floral motifs. The stern would have had room for carvings done in high relief, with space for the allegorical representations of Greek and Roman deities. The broadsides of the ship would also have been decorated with motif patterns.

A first rate ship would have housed a senior naval officer and the fleet flagship would have had an admiral. The admiral's cabin interior would have mimicked the decoration of the state room of a princely palace. Hence, the first rate ship-of-the-line ended up being profusely decorated all over as if it was a stately building with the purpose of impressing all those who viewed it as being magnificent and worthy of accommodating an admiral of the French fleet.

The second and third rates followed the first rate ships in their sculptural decoration, but their available sculptural space was scaled down to fit the reduced space offered by the smaller hull. Similarly, their decorations were downsized proportionately to the status of their commanding officer, who would have had a lower rank. In addition, there was the frigate, which can be considered a fourth rate ship. It had either a twin deck able to accommodate 45 cannons or a single deck able to accommodate 20 cannons. The smaller size of the frigate's hull meant that the sculptural compositions had to be carefully planned to ensure that the figurehead and the stern decorations were properly fitted.

The next size smaller was the corvette, considered a fifth-rate ship, which had a single deck and was able to accommodate about ten to fifteen cannons. Here, simplicity of the sculptural design was paramount to ensure that the minimum decoration requirements were met—that is, the fitting of the figurehead, the royal coat of arms, and the name at the stem. Smaller sized warships, such as brigantines, were not rated, and instead of the figurehead there was usually only room for a scroll curling in on itself as if representing the crest of a wave, with a simplified royal coat of arms and the ship's given name at the stern.

Once it had been decided to build a particular kind of warship, the construction of the ship's hull had empty spaces to allow for the installation of the figurehead and the decoration of the aftercastle and the quarter castles. So, the only real rule for determining the sculptural space available was to design within the empty spaces at the stem above the cutwater and at the stern where the aftercastle and quarter castle were to be installed. The naval shipyard considered the design and construction of the ship to be a technical endeavour and excluded the ship's sculptural decoration, even though this later became integral to the form of the ship's hull.

In the second half of the eighteenth century when the hull design began to become more streamlined and the sculptural space became more restrictive, especially with the integration of the galleries and the quarter castle into the aftercastle, the simplicity of design that was used for the lower ratings was copied in the higher ratings out of necessity.

Although the pre-set dimensions of the hull dictated the form of the sculptural design, the theme of the sculptural composition was not compromised by the reduced sculptural space. Rather, it was the cost of an exuberant sculptural composition that became problematic, and this was addressed by the “Conseil de construction.” The composition had to abide by whatever decisions were taken in terms of reducing the cost as necessary while figuring out how to be faithful to the thematic requirement.

The separation between the definition of the ship’s hull and the design of the decorative sculptures also occurred when the ship’s name was known beforehand. This segregation occurred because the naval draughtsmen deemed it imperative to have a good functional hull design above everything else. The sculptural decoration was not seen as adding any value to the hull’s qualities and was considered a later task, to be done when the ship was being fitted out and painted.

Although the sculptors working in the naval shipyard were affected by the allotted sculptural space, their input was not considered when the ship’s plans were being done. This is relevant because the ship’s sculpture and especially the form of the figurehead changed over time as the ship’s hull evolved. The sculptor would therefore have to wait until the allocated sculptural space within the new hull became known to avoid producing a composition that could not be used, or at best had an awkward fit.

A review of the sculptural drawings for warships built up to the early eighteenth century shows that the aftercastle was built on a box frame. The rigid structure of this frame required the middle and upper galleries to be supported on flexible struts that were made as sculptured forms. The purpose of these flexible struts was to soften the impact of the waves in a high sea state, acting as cushions between the stiff lower hull, the rigid stern plate, and the supporting structure in between. The *Victorieux* of 1673 is typical of this construction, with the flexible struts dressed up as dolphins. By comparison, the frame of the *Royal-Louis* of 1779 had a structure similar to that of a bridge, with stiff supports at both ends and the decks of the galleries built as arched platforms. Hence, there was no need to have flexible struts as on the *Victorieux*.

This indicates that in some early designs, the sculptures at the stern were more than just decorative, but also served as structural supports. This might be one reason that these sculptures were retained, in spite of their cost, until their structural role became redundant (see Figure 111, comparing the architecture at the stern of the *Victorieux* of 1678 and the *Royal-Louis* of 1779). Thus, although the naval draughtsmen separated the definition of the ship's hull from the creation of its decorative sculptures for the stern, these actually played a structural role in supporting the aftercastle.

The documents I reviewed in the Archives nationales de France did not have any specific information on the procedure used for the design of the sculptures, with one exception that showed an approval process in the naval shipyard itself to control the costs of the sculptures by the "Conseil de construction."³¹² Otherwise, the design procedure seems to have been solely controlled by the sculptural artist taking into account the ship's name given through the king's orders.

³¹² See footnote 258 page 135.

The drawing for a ship's sculpture was usually first done as an artist's sketch. The sketches found at Vincennes were unsigned and did not have the ships' names. They were done on loose sheets of various sizes, as if on whatever kind of paper the artist could find lying around. When the ship's construction plan was done, a copy was given to the artist and this was used to finish the sculptural drawing. The finished drawing showed the sculptures mounted on the ship's bow and gallery for authorized approval. For example, the minister of the navy Maurepas wrote to Vassé on 28 June 1724 as follows:³¹³

Je vous ay envoyé le plan de la frégate le Tigre que je fais construire à Toulon pour faire le dessein de sa sculpture, en vous explique qu'on estoit pressé comme on me marque qu'ou l'attend, vous me ferez plaisir de ne pas tarder davantage à me l'adresser avec ce plan.³¹⁴

The changes in ship designs occurred parallel to the shifts in artistic trends that were taking place throughout France during this period. In the beginning, when the ship's hull was high in the water and the Baroque style was in vogue, the sculptural design filled the available space with erect figures in the round or in high relief. These figurehead sculptures could equally have stood in a stately building or on top of a public monument. The stem carvings, done in high relief, could likewise have been installed along the walls of a monument or the panelled halls of a stately building.

When the shape of the ship's hull became lower and the sculptural space was reduced, the transition to Rococo benefited the sculptural design of the figurehead because the Rococo style allowed for a less cumbersome and less ornamental rendition that fitted better in the allotted space. Rococo also led to the simplification of the gallery decoration with repetitive patterns

³¹³ Changes to the ship's architecture, based on the ship plans Vassé received last from Maurepas, made him redo the shape of the sculptural forms. Théron, *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 317.

³¹⁴ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B² 272 f^o 209.

taking precedence over individual thematic carvings. This suited the minister of the navy's purpose of reducing the cost of the sculptural decorations for new ships.

When French sculptors rediscovered Greek and Roman antiquity and classical designs began to be produced in stately buildings and monuments, the naval sculptural schools similarly began to copy from the style of classical antiquity. The most prominent example was the figurehead mimicking the Greek and Roman style of sculpture, with emphasis on the posture of the form and choice of attire. Here, the figurehead composition discarded any overly elaborate design in favour of a singular thematic design that directly responded to the warship's given name and function.

These aesthetic trends are readily apparent in the themes and forms of the figurehead drawings. The naval sculptor was the one who ultimately decided on the aesthetic rendition to apply. This was possible because of the autonomy of the sculptural centres that allowed for the development of a particular aesthetic that could be integrated into the hull design as this began to evolve and improve for better sailing.

The review of the archival documentation I have done concerning the execution of the sculptures resulted in four areas of discussion that I have covered so far in this dissertation. These are the warship's given name and its influence on the thematic design of the ship's sculpture, the warship's function in the service of the king and the ways in which this directed the thematic choice of the sculptural design, the warship's architecture and the sculptural space it afforded and how this determined the form of the sculptural design, and the ways in which the aesthetic style in vogue influenced the sculptural design.

However, an additional topic that has been overlooked by previous authors needs to be discussed: the use of French naval sculpture as an expression of national identity. The notion of

France as a nation is discussed by Bell in a 2001 article titled “The Unbearable Lightness of Being French,” where he describes how the “idea of the nation emerged with particular strength and clarity in eighteenth-century France,” with France leading the “rise of the nation as a political concept, first starting in the decades around 1700.”³¹⁵ Thus, notably, when the definition of France as a nation with its own identity began to emerge, as opposed to a series of regional identities, the art of the period offered a thematic and visual expression of that national identity. This resulted in the emergence of an artistic expression that reflected this national identity and was mimicked in the naval sculpture of the French fleet when the themes of the sculptural composition made allegorical reference to the monarch as the representative of France.

Complementarily, the naval sculpture of French Canada expressed its own specific colonial identity. Saliha Belmessous postulates in “Être français en Nouvelle-France” that France was able to accommodate the notion of a separate identity for New France without conflicting with its own notion of national identity.³¹⁶ This statement by Belmessous supports Bélisle’s claim that when the sculptures for the figureheads of the warships built in French Canada were made, they showed a desire to define a local North American iconography distinct from that of France.

I included as an agent in the production network chart on page 73 the philosophical thinking of the time and I have remarked throughout the text that French naval sculpture followed the political mandate of the current regime. I also described how naval sculpture took both philosophical and political thinking into account; the sculptural designs that decorated the

³¹⁵ David A. Bell. “The Unbearable Lightness of Being French.” *American Historical Review*, 2001, pp. 16-17.

³¹⁶ Saliha Belmessous. “Être français en Nouvelle-France: Identité française et identité coloniale aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles.” *French Historical Studies*. Duke University Press, vol.27 no. 3. 2004, pp. 507-540.

French fleet conveyed the greatness of the king and projected the power of France. As a result, the “*raison d’être*” of the naval sculptural program became an integral subset of the naval program itself.

The extent of the naval program during the *ancien régime* was vast and this is well documented in the Archives nationales, under the Sommaire Fonds Marine serial designation MAR. These documents show the preoccupation of the king’s council, as representative of the head of state, with having the French fleet in an appropriate state of operation, and also with sustaining the construction of new and better warships while also controlling their costs. What emerges from a close review of the documents is that although funding to have a powerful fleet was not always as available, there was a strong collective desire among the king, the minister of the navy, the naval authorities, and the naval shipyards to have a powerful French navy that defended the interests of France.³¹⁷

France’s naval strategy began with its efforts to maintain the navy in a state of readiness in peacetime and to be combat-capable in wartime. A copy of a status report prepared for the king is attached as a fold-out chart in Appendix Three.³¹⁸ Titled *Liste des Vaisseaux et Autres Batiments* and written in 1692, it illustrates the navy’s state of readiness as a fighting force. The Archives nationales contain similar reports on the French navy, including inventories taken of ships under construction, in active service, undergoing repair, or condemned to be replaced.

What was most striking about the documents in the Archives nationales were the ongoing detailed accounts that compared the flagships of the French fleet with their British counterparts,

³¹⁷ During the later years of the reign of Louis XIV the monarchy was hit with a financial crisis and the rate of naval construction slowed down considerably. The naval shipyards were not even able to pay their workers and work even began to come to a halt. This included those who worked on the warship’s sculpture. This lack of funds continued until 1725. Théron. *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 69.

³¹⁸ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B. “Bâtiments du Roi.” B⁵ 3.

reflecting a powerful desire on France's part to be better than Britain. An early example is a comparison done in 1672 of the *Soleil Royal* with its British equivalent, the *Royal Charles*, which reviewed the design characteristics, construction methods, and seaworthiness of both warships.³¹⁹

There are several later reports that compare French warships to their British counterparts, with an ongoing interest in conveying the insights gleaned from these comparisons to all French naval shipyards. There are also several technical papers about improvements to construction techniques that describe military inventions. Noteworthy is the documentation of the ongoing operation of naval combat schools and the teaching of marine science.³²⁰ All of this shows how motivated the French navy was to excel. This drive resulted in a high degree of professionalism that affected everything that had to do with the navy, including naval sculpture.

France's desire to excel included the Canadian naval program. When the Canadian-built ships began entering service with the French Atlantic fleet, starting with the flute *Canada* in 1742, they too were included in the fleet status reports. An extract from a report written in 1746 mentions that the Canadian-built flute *Caribou* handled itself and sailed well—"gouverne et porte bien la voile"—and its sister frigate *Castor* proficiently navigated the crossing from Canada—"a très bien navigué dans la traversée du Canada icy."³²¹

³¹⁹ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B. "Observations sur les différentes constructions de France et d'Angleterre. Le Soleil Royal. Le Royal Charles." B⁵ 3.

³²⁰ Sée Archives Nationales de France. Registres séries MAR G 86 – G 90. "Écoles de la marine de guerre et de la marine marchande: écoles de canonage, d'hydrographie, de mathématiques, de pilotage, d'architecture navale, projet d'école navale à Paris, écoles révolutionnaires d'enseignement maritime, écoles pour les matelots, ouvrages didactiques pour les officiers et les marins, écoles de navigation, écoles de constructions navales, écoles de chirurgie. 1681-1800."

³²¹ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR D¹ 29. "Deliberations du Conseil de construction. Notes sur l'état des bâtiments de la marine royale 1729-1812."

French naval technology in this era was in the lead and the envy of British naval officers. Indeed, these reports about the two Canadian-built ships show just how advanced France's technology was, not to omit that their construction was a remarkable achievement, considering the remoteness and isolation of the naval shipyard in Canada, which lacked the quality of infrastructure that was available in France.

Judging by these two reports, the naval shipyard at Québec was able to produce good sailing ships. Nevertheless, it is not a surprise to read in one of the same reports that the flute *Canada*, after having provided four good years of transatlantic service following its launch in 1742, needed a major refit—"a besoin d'une radoub considerable"—in order to be maintained at the high standards of the French navy. A later report in 1748 also describes the movements in Canada of the warships *St-Laurent*, *L'Original*, and *Carcajou*. All of this makes it apparent that the contribution of Canadian-built ships was well appreciated in France. This appreciation continued in the king's orders, issued in 1758, concerning the captaincy of the frigate *Abenakise*, which had just been constructed in Québec. The favourable reports about the sailing quality of the Canadian-built ships indicates that these fulfilled the same high standards as French warships.³²²

When these reports are considered together, it is clear that France's naval program was so vast—indeed it transcended France and Canada with its diverse requirements, embracing different social strata and economies—that it began to foster a singular national consciousness. There are signs of this national consciousness in naval reports about the state of readiness of the fleet. For example, one author titles his report on the status of the naval fleet in 1692: "Marine de

³²² Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR D¹ 29.

la France, 1692,” rather than using the name of the king in the title as was typical by other authors, as in “Etat du vaisseaux du Roi” or “Liste de Vaisseaux que le Roi a Affectez.”³²³

I mentioned previously the effect of French naval sculpture on France’s national identity and noted that the naval sculptures of its fleet contributed, together with the other arts, to the creation and stimulation of a national awareness. From what I have discovered in my research, the sculptural centres in the naval shipyards played an integral role in the French naval program. The sculptures they produced to decorate the fleet produced a sense of national solidarity, in particular whenever the French fleet went on parade or ventured out to sea to manifest its power, in accordance with the naval strategy of France.

The artistic influence of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on French naval sculpture also merits comment. The establishment of the Académie in 1648, and its formal recognition by the king, was primarily meant to safeguard the quality of art as a profession. As a consequence, opportunities for formal instruction in the arts were also set up. The Académie initially consisted only of its founding members, until provision was made to have other candidates who wanted to join apply by presenting a suitable work of art. The artists who were admitted were painters, sculptors, and engravers. To fulfill its mission, the Académie held an annual competition that required entrants to submit a work of art that depicted a heroic act by the king.

³²³ Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B² 446. French warships went on missions that were usually 4-5 months long and they had to provision for this. It becomes apparent that they did this in true French fashion when reports were presented to the shipbuilder requesting that he ensure the ship’s holds were done in such a manner so as to be able to store the wine barrels properly and prevent the wine from becoming spoiled. There was also an ongoing quest to specify the design of the ultimate kitchen cooking stove. See MAR D¹ 16. This attention to the things that mattered most to the well-being of the French sailor—French wine and a good kitchen—points to the collective desire of the naval authorities to look after their sailors, as opposed to a selfish approach where only those in authority mattered.

One favourite theme under Louis XIV was the allegorical representation of art. The painting submitted to the Académie by Loir, “Allégorie de la fondation de l’Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture” (see Figure 14), represents drawing and sculpture as two inseparable sisters that are rediscovered when a figure personifying time lifts a curtain that had previously hidden them. Occupying a prominent place is the image of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and art, pointing at a portrait of the king. She is accompanied by the goddess Renommée, the herald of fame, blowing on a trumpet to announce the political and social recognition of drawing and sculpture.

This theme was copied in engravings and sculptures by several other artists. Loir’s painting can be also read as a representation of the art of naval decoration. First, there is the creation of the sculptural drawing and its rendition as a sculpture; second, there is homage to the king through direct and allegorical representation; and third, there is the announcement of this homage through the theme of the sculpture. These artistic themes come from artists, such as Rubens, who had previously emulated allegorical references to Greek deities.

These themes continued to be used by the Académie throughout. The themes of their paintings had a considerable influence on other artists, and in particular their mythological subjects were copied in naval sculpture. The complexity of the Académie paintings was also typical of several of the relief sculptures that were done for the warships’ stern plates. Many of the Académie artists defined their paintings by the rich manner in which they treated the ornamentation of the accessories in terms of colour to provide an impressive and dazzling effect. Likewise, the purpose of naval sculpture was to provide a similar impressive and dazzling effect.

The influence of the Académie on naval sculpture began with the efforts of Colbert, who was instrumental in appointing Le Brun, the director of the Académie, to decorate the *Royal-*

Louis in 1668. Le Brun's original drawing has not been located. However, copies of it exist. These show the stern with an immensely complex composition done in the Baroque style, with Louis XIV sitting on a throne handing down justice. He is flanked by Renommée, Neptune, and Tethys. At his feet are representations of the bounty of the land and the sea, and below that sea horses. This genre suited Le Brun's style.

Puget, also an Académie member, followed Le Brun's style in his sculptural drawings for buildings, monuments, and ships, although with less complex compositions. However, as previously mentioned, the shipbuilders had problems using Puget's sculptural drawings since they were overly detailed. The appointment of Bérain, who was the king's decorator and not a painter or sculptor, resulted in some simplification of the designs, with immensity replaced by human-size proportions. Bérain's work was complemented by the appointment of Philippe Caffieri, who assisted in the drawings of the sculptures.

The changes in artistic style that occurred in the Académie under Louis XV also found their way into naval sculpture. When Vassé, who was an Académie member, was appointed to do the drawings for the naval sculptures, he introduced a different style that approached Rocaille. His preference for wavy designs with flowery patterns and seashells in his decorations for buildings found its way into his naval sculpture as well.³²⁴ This style offered a new way of paying homage to the king, with flowery art as a sign of an illustrious reign.³²⁵ Following in the footsteps of Vassé, the Caffieri family produced similar drawings.

³²⁴ Vassé gave his sculptural forms spatial freedom. Contrary to Bérain, who framed his work, Vassé let it spread outwards. His *répertoire* consisted of "cartouches en forme de tirages aux bordures godronnées, cartouches marine, coquilles, et trophées d'arme." Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 320.

³²⁵ A letter written by d'Anton to Poerson predicts this situation prior to Vassé's appointment: "Je suis très persuadé ... pour achever de rendre un règne illustre il faut faire fleurir les arts." Marquis d'Anton a Charles Poerson directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome, 21 août 1708. Théron, p. 322.

Vassé was asked by Maurepas to do the sculptural drawings for twenty-eight warships in total. However, he delegated most of these to François-Charles Caffieri, since he was kept occupied by Maurepas doing other types of decorative designs, including for military uniforms.³²⁶ As a result, drawings for naval sculpture by Vassé would be scarce, and in fact none could be located. Decorative drawings for the interiors of palaces and commemorative prints by Vassé were found, however. Figure 112 offers an example of his style.³²⁷

When the Académie began to remake the royal image under Louis XV, naval sculpture followed suit. This makes sense considering the training some of the naval sculptors were undergoing in Paris. Even for those who did not go to Paris for training, there were numerous prints of drawings available to use as references.

Beginning in the 1760s, as a result of the increased interest in Greek antiquity, history, and philosophy, the so-called Greek style began to be developed in architecture, furniture, painting, and sculpture. This style became the fashion even in women's hairstyles and dress, and came to be referred to as "à la grecque."³²⁸ This awakened a new sensibility emphasizing the pure form accompanied by the pure line as a noble expression in painting, sculpture, music, and poetry. As a result the florid Rococo style began to lose favour and was gradually replaced by Neoclassicism.

Again, naval sculpture followed this trend. The Neoclassical style suited the naval sculptor because the tighter sculptural space began to demand clean lines and sparse forms. This

³²⁶ Théron, p. 316.

³²⁷ Antoine-François Vassé (1681-1736). "Chapelle royale: étude poussée de la 3e proposition pour le maître-autel avec détails des arcatures environnantes." Château de Versailles. Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53043290z>. Antoine-François Vassé (1681-1736). "Médaille frappée à l'occasion de la naissance du Dauphin: sur la face le portrait de Louis XV, au revers la France tenant sur ses genoux le dauphin. Vota orbis." Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8408707v..>

³²⁸ Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 351.

trend continued up to the end of the reign of Louis XVI. What we now call the Neoclassical style involved an attempt to redefine the moral history of France—what Théron refers to as “l’histoire morale de la nation.”³²⁹ Use of the Neoclassical style expressed a desire to safeguard the regime and to restore the greatness of the monarchy as it had previously been known. The sculptural drawings from the reign of Louis XVI illustrate the extent to which naval sculpture shared this ambition.

The Académie defined the themes and styles in use and other artists copied them. The members of the Académie that also practiced naval sculpture applied the same style they used in their other work, in particular for the decoration of buildings. Whenever there was a shift in the accepted manner of representing the monarch by the Académie, this was promptly followed in the design of naval sculpture.

To review, the naval sculpture of France underwent three parallel but distinct streams of evolution from the launch of Colbert’s one hundred-ship program to the end of the monarchy following the French Revolution.

The first stream was cultural and was driven by the prevailing attitude in the king’s court. Initially, this attitude was defined by the king’s self-declared divine right to rule. The monarchy sought to affirm this divine right by embarking on the ambitious program that was Versailles, complemented by the appointment of artists and sculptors to the king’s court and the establishment of various academies and in particular the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. The cultural attitude changed from the absolutism of Louis XIV to the strong

³²⁹ Naval sculpture between 1740 and 1792 showed a strong tendency to follow the decorative art of Paris. This follows from training given at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and later at the École des Beaux Arts. Those who did not go for training had prints and engravings that had become abundant and in circulation. Vassé’s drawings in particular were widely circulated as references. Théron, p. 351.

mercantilism that emerged under Louis XV, and then to the intellectual revolution that occurred under Louis XVI.³³⁰ These attitudes were bound to affect the French naval program and influence the sculptural decorations.

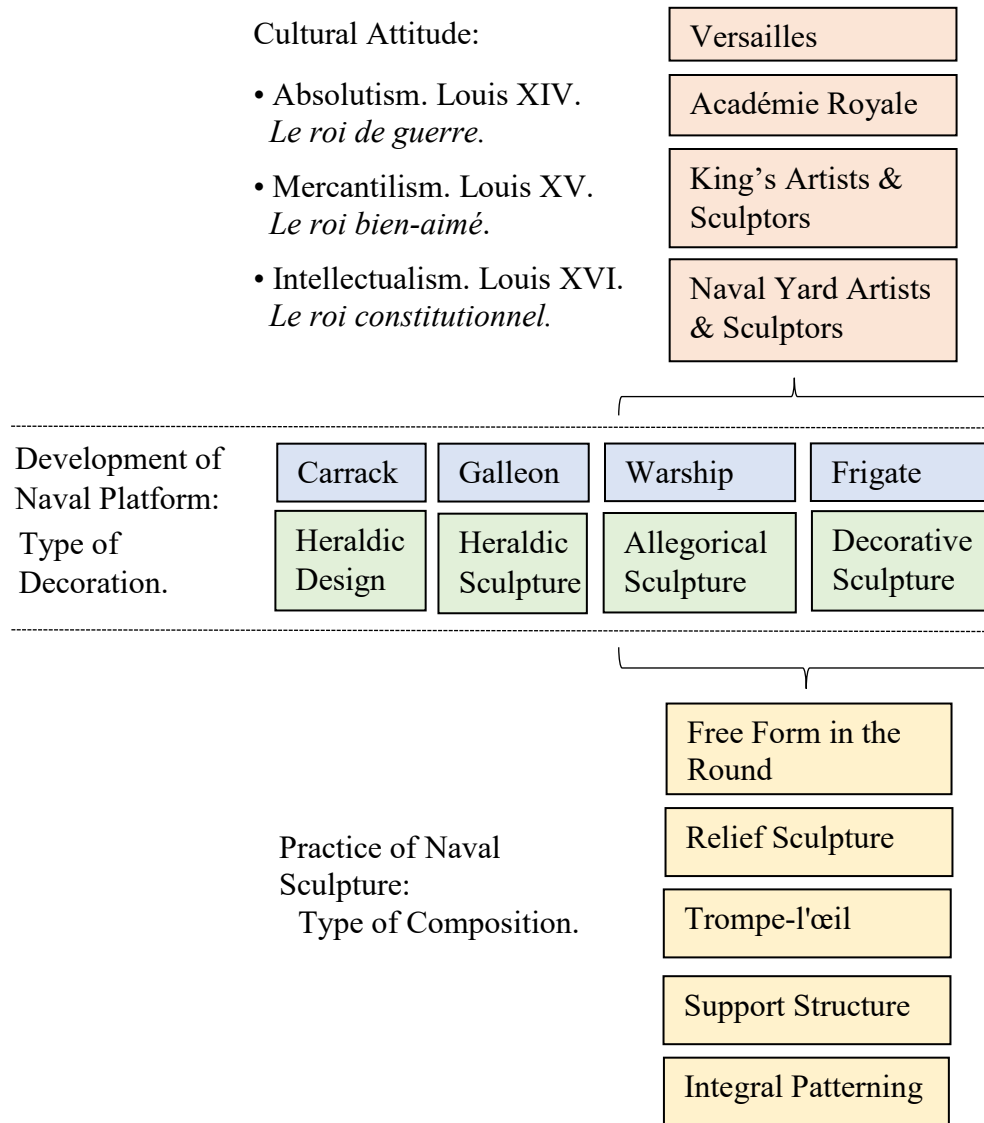
The second stream was spatial and logistical, and concerned the type of platform that was available, which changed according to the changing mission of naval warfare. As we have seen, naval decoration adapted itself to these changes, beginning with the painted heraldic shields of the carrack, and followed by the heraldic sculptural decoration of the galleon, the rich sculptural decoration of the ship-of-the-line with its high hull, and the subdued ornamental decoration of the fast-sailing frigate.

The third stream was aesthetic, and involved the evolving artistic responses to the two previous streams: the sculptural composition followed the prevailing cultural attitude, and was made to suit the type of naval platform available. This resulted in the use of the full-figured sculpture at the stem and the high relief sculpture at the stern, complemented with the use of *trompe-l'œil* to accentuate particular features of the sculpted surface. In addition, the sculptural decoration played a structural role as caryatides that eventually became an integral part of the supporting structure of the aftercastle.

The diagram on the next page shows how each of the three streams that I have discussed played its role in the evolution of naval sculpture.

³³⁰ Under Louis XVI the aristocratic elite began to oppose the absolute power of the king and new philosophical views began to develop around the principles of governing. Beaurepaire. “Une société sous tensions.” *La France des lumières, 1715-1789*, 691.

The Three Streams of Evolution of French Naval Sculpture



This diagram subscribes to Panofsky and Hasenmuelle, whom I discussed on page 27, and who argue that the study of an art object, in this case naval sculpture, cannot be done as a pure examination of its content or form and it must also reference other phenomena. Similarly, an art object is conceived within a framework of socially constructed codes and according to the power structures in place. Indeed, these phenomena and their power structure are visible in this diagram.

This hierarchy stems from what I consider to be the cultural attitude in place, which was itself built from the socially constructed codes that were instigated by the king as absolute ruler, but enforced by all those who acted on his behalf. These codes equally governed the production network of naval sculpture.

At the same time, each successive naval administration that developed its own naval platform also generated its own particular set of codes that it enforced through its own power structure. This naval platform acted as an intermediary between the administration and the production network of naval sculpture.

The codes for the production of naval sculpture were tied to those of naval construction, since naval sculpture could obviously not exist on its own. Just like naval construction, the practice of naval sculpture developed its own codes through the application of its best practices during the synthesizing process of the sculptural composition.

The diagram on page 192 can also serve as an overlay for the three types of agencies postulated by the Actor Network Theory method. The cultural attitude for each successive monarchy can be likened to the human agents in the production network; the attitude of the king and his delegates determined the composition of the sculpture. Meanwhile, the type of naval platform that was available, which was determined by the naval authorities, influenced the composition of the sculptures and thus played a role similar to the objects that acted as agents in the production network. Here, the allotted sculptural space, which was dependent on the warship's architecture, can be considered the recipient of the sculpture as an object. And finally, the actual design of the sculpture, as defined by the style in vogue, played a role akin to that of the concept that was formulated by the sculptural drawing and that acted as an agent in the production network. This follows from Mitchell's notion, discussed on page 27, that an art object

has an inherent ideology and two levels of inquiry are needed to deduce its meaning. These involve first getting to know the rhetoric of the image and then, from here, uncovering the meaning of the art object as a concept and not necessarily as merely representing itself. I review Mitchell's proposition in relation to the inherent ideology of naval sculpture in more detail in the next chapter.

* * *

Chapter Four: The Evolution of the French Ship-of-the-Line

The application of naval sculpture and the evolution of the French ship-of-the-line during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Case study of the first rate series of warships the *Royal-Louis* and their response to changing historical circumstances, as examples that were also emulated by the fleet.

The “*raison d’être*” of French naval sculpture was, as previously stated, primarily to pay homage to the king and to project France’s naval power as a warring nation. Although this was unequivocally the situation during the reign of Louis XIV, the emergence of a strong transatlantic mercantile initiative under Louis XV made it essential for France to protect its trade routes with a strong naval escort. In 1745, the secretary of the navy, Maurepas, wrote: “Le commerce fait la plus grande richesse et conséquemment la puissance des États ... les forces maritime sont absolument nécessaire pour les soutiens du commerce.”³³¹ Thus the French navy, besides being an instrument of war, now also became a tool to protect the commercial interests of France.

This new purpose for the fleet resulted in the newly appointed minister of the navy, Etienne Francois de Choisent, asking for private commercial ventures to fund the building of warships. His argument was that the French navy was now protecting private financial concerns. This resulted in external funding contributing to the construction of new warships. The *Ville de Paris* and *L’Artésien* are two examples of warships that were built for the state with external funds. However, this also resulted in a shift in the sculptural theme of these warships, especially the figurehead that was now dedicated to the benefactor rather than to the monarch.

³³¹ Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas. *Reflexion sur le commerce et la Marine*, 1745. Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR G 22.17.

At around the same time that French commercial ventures were on the rise, an intellectual insurrection had begun that pushed back the absolute authority of the king on the basis that autocracy stifled commerce, especially on a global scale.³³² This resulted in a political shift that was also reflected in the arts. Art in the service of the king, which had been the mark of Louis XIV and was shown in the naval sculptures of that time, began to lose its political purpose during the reign of Louis XV, and even more so under Louis XVI. Although the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture still existed, its mandate had now changed to that of defining new canons of artwork, as well as becoming a teaching institution. The Académie became disengaged from its origins, which involved heralding the royal rule of power, and instead began to develop independent of any official discourse.³³³

In a similar fashion, naval sculpture, too, became more moderate and less intent on showcasing the magnificence of the monarch. The sculptural decorations of warships began to look more like embellishments rather than artworks in their own right, as they had under Le Brun and Puget. Exorbitant decorations were now not only discouraged but disallowed by the naval administration.³³⁴ In line with this approach, Bérain's successor Vassé was replaced by Millicent in 1733.³³⁵ Millicent was a designer attached to the depot *Cartes et Plans* rather than to the navy, as had been his predecessor. During his tenure he did the conceptual design for nine warships.³³⁶ Millicent simplified the drawing style of Bérain and Vassé and abided by Maurepas's recommendation not to have redundant ornamentation—what Maurepas defined as “ornements

³³² Beaurepaire, “L'autorité royale en question.” *Histoire de France: La France des lumières*, p. 429.

³³³ Michel states in *L'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture*: “La liberté des arts modifiant en effet le rôle de l'Académie,” p. 129.

³³⁴ See for example page 45 “Sculpture des Vaisseaux le Fendant et le Réfléchi. Rochefort, le 11 mars 1774.”

³³⁵ Vassé died in 1736. Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 324.

³³⁶ These were the 74-cannon *Superbe*, *Dauphin-Royal*, and *Terrible*; the 64-cannon *Lole* and *Borée*; the 50-cannon *Apollon*; the frigate *Victoire*; and the flutes *Gironde* and *Atlas*. Théron, p. 324.

inutile.”³³⁷ The appointment of Millicent was arguably expressly intended to simplify the sculptural compositions and obtain a reduction in cost.

When Millicent died in 1739, Maurepas decided not to appoint a new artist to fill the role of “dessinateur du Roi.” The need to economize in the building of ships and to scale down the grandiosity of the sculptural decoration meant that artists of the calibre of Le Brun, Puget, and Bérain were no longer required. Rather, Maurepas assigned the master sculptors in the naval shipyards the responsibility of defining the sculptural composition, with one *proviso*.³³⁸ The intendant for each naval shipyard was asked by Maurepas to send the drawings to him for his approval, provided that the intendant first found them suitable.³³⁹

As previously discussed, one of the factors that influenced the composition of naval sculptures was the space available on the hull, which varied according to the type of warship. From the start of the seventeenth century, the European maritime powers were in a race amongst themselves for ownership of the seas. This saw the initial development of the man-of-war, with the purpose of having a sea-going artillery platform. This was followed by the development of the ship-of-the-line that maximized the use of the most artillery possible. As a result, shipboard artillery began to direct the design of the warship. Hence, the transformation of the hull over time was not simply the result of trying to improve the design of the warship for better navigability, but also to continuously enhance the warship’s firepower. This was the driving force in naval design throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁴⁰ As a result, firepower and hull

³³⁷ Théron. *L’ornementation sculptée*, p. 324.

³³⁸ See Appendix Four for the list of master sculptors and master painters who worked in the naval shipyards of France from the 1690s to the 1790s, and who played a key role in the production of these sculptures. This list was taken from the biographies by Théron in *L’ornementation sculptée*, “Répertoire des artistes ayant travaillé sur les chantiers maritime royaux.”

³³⁹ “Lettre de Maurepas à Bigot de la Mothe, Fontainebleau, 27 octobre 1739.” Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B 308 f° 149.

³⁴⁰ Boudriot. *De la genèse du vaisseau de haut bord*, p. 9-13.

design had to work together. The overall intent was to maximize the firepower of the ship-of-the-line when in line formation in a battle group. The warship's size was standardized not in terms of its dimensions, although these played their role in constructing the hull, but in the composition of its battery. Hence, the three-decker with its battery made up of a number of cannons of the same calibre for each deck, and with the heavier battery at the lower deck, would be referred to by the total number of cannons. In turn, the firepower of the ship was calculated not by the size of the cannons, but by the weight of the shot. This resulted in a standardized range that began at 4 lbs and increased to 35 lbs. The same rules applied both to the two-decker and the single decker ships.

The three-decker was foremost with the height of the hull made to accommodate three decks of batteries with the greatest number of cannons possible. The three-decker had a higher mass centre due to its high top deck, as well as a high payload because of the increased number of cannons. This type of ship was designed with a hull that was not only capable of supporting the weight of the cannons, but also able to withstand the recoil of the cannons when they were fired as a volley in a broadside engagement. The sail area was also carefully arranged to counter this recoil and maintain stability. This mode of design persisted and the development of hull technology and sail power were carried out simultaneously to ensure a structurally sound, stable, and navigable platform.

Throughout the seventeenth century, ships were built using empirical methods and based on the knowhow of the master shipwright at each individual shipyard. This provided some flexibility in the final execution of the ship, so that very few warships of the same firepower were identical.³⁴¹ The warship construction drawings in the *Album de Colbert* of 1677 were done

³⁴¹ A review of plans for their hull dimensions shows a variation of as much as 12% for warships with the same firepower.

to scale, but the actual finish dimensions still relied on the master constructor.³⁴² Also in 1677, François Dassié published *L'Architecture Navale* where he gave in detail the proportions to be applied to construct the hull.³⁴³ In 1684, François Coulomb issued a manual on best practices for ship construction at that time.³⁴⁴ In parallel the naval shipyards at Rochefort, Brest, and Toulon opened a school to teach ship construction.³⁴⁵ However, drawings to facilitate ship construction where the naval draughtsman defined all of the ship's dimensions were only used for the first time in 1720.³⁴⁶

The objective of venturing further out to faraway places across unexplored seas and for long durations required better ships and a better knowledge of navigation. In response, the *École de Paris* was opened in 1741, with the purpose of teaching maritime science.³⁴⁷ This was followed by the use of calculations to define the warship's manoeuvring stability.³⁴⁸ Around the same time, dedicated naval programs were established, not to replenish the fleet, but to address the specificities of the fleet's naval strategies as these evolved.

To support these developments, the level of skill required for ship construction also needed to progress. This had already been acknowledged by the naval shipyard administration as early as 1630, when the master shipwright—"maître-charpentier"—had become the master constructor—"maître-constructeur." The construction of warships over time continued to

³⁴² Yet the drawings in the album were unique because they codified the warship's construction process and would serve as a guide to the various tradespeople.

³⁴³ Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 50 et 64 canons 1650-1780*, 13.

³⁴⁴ Boudriot, p. 10.

³⁴⁵ Boudriot, p. 9.

³⁴⁶ With the ship builder knowing in advance the exact dimensions of the hull's form permitted calculating for the first time the ship's exact displacement when afloat. Boudriot, p. 51.

³⁴⁷ Boudriot, p. 21.

³⁴⁸ See for example the *mémoires* on naval design about floatation and buoyancy by Pierre Bourguer, *Traité du navire*. Paris, 1746; Duhamel du Manceau, *Éléments de l'architecture navale, ou Traité pratique de la construction des vaisseaux*. Paris, 1758; Leonard Euler, *La théorie complète de la construction et de la manœuvre des vaisseaux*. St Petersburg, 1773; and the treatise on the flow of incompressible fluids by Daniel Bernoulli, *Hydrodynamica*. Paris, 1738.

demand increasing skill; this culminated in the position of construction engineer—“*ingenieur-constructeur*”—in 1765.³⁴⁹ By comparison, the role of the master sculptor—“*maître-sculpteur*”—in the naval shipyard remained the same until 1740, when, instead of simply following the instructions of the centrally appointed artist, the master sculptor assumed full responsibility of the sculpture from start to finish, including the thematic definition, conceptual composition, patterning, and actual execution of the sculpture and its placement onto the hull.³⁵⁰

Here, it is worth repeating that the definition of the ship’s construction plans and the definition of the ship’s sculptural composition were done separately. For the most part, the ship’s plans showed an empty space where the sculpture was to be mounted. This meant that any changes that occurred to the hull as it was being configured would simply ignore the sculptural activity that would later take place.

The evolution of the three-decker persisted into the eighteenth century and the shape of the hull continued to transform as a result of design changes based on maximizing firepower and newly defined battle strategies. As a result, the allotted sculptural space also underwent continual change and was never standardized. In spite of this seemingly never-ending process of transformation and adjustment, a series of contributing factors permitted the continuation of the sculptural decoration without disruption. The most significant of these factors were the naval shipbuilding program itself that flourished. A total of 350 warships were built during the *ancien régime* and these all required sculptural decorations.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 50 et 64 canons 1650-1780*, p. 20.

³⁵⁰ This change did not affect the thematic composition of the sculpture. Rather, having the master sculptor also do the thematic composition took place as a result of the need to decentralize in order to reduce costs. The long tenure of almost a hundred years of the centrally appointed artist to define the sculptural compositions is indicative of the conservative nature of the administration in Versailles not to change what seemed to be working, even if it had a high cost.

³⁵¹ See Appendix Seven for the full list of warships built. Not included are an almost equal number of frigates and corvettes that similarly required sculptures, but to a lesser extent.

The introduction of the three-decker at the beginning of the seventeenth century and its continual use throughout the eighteenth century was also a determining factor in the persistence of naval sculpture because of its high hull with generous sculptural spaces at the stem and the stern (see Figures 36 and 37). Although there were step-changes in the design of the hull, in particular in the mid-eighteenth century, with the aftercastle changing from a trapezoidal to an arched structure and the bow changing from a semi-spherical to a semi-elliptical shape, the hull still retained similar proportions to the earlier designs so that the sculptural space was also proportionally retained. As a result, the sculptural composition was able to adapt itself to the new sculptural form that the resulting sculptural space allowed. This can be seen in Figures 39 and 40.³⁵²

Cost reduction campaigns resulted in fewer and simpler sculptural decorations. These simplified designs meant that the sculptures could be accommodated into the tighter allotted space of the later hull designs. In addition, innovative ways were found to mount the figurehead above the cutwater to circumvent the tighter space. Good examples of this are the two wax figurines by Collet shown in Figure 70; the first one illustrates the old manner of mounting the figurehead by fitting it between the cheeks and straddling the cutwater, and the second one illustrates the new manner, with the figurehead mounted upright on the cutwater, independent of the cheeks.

In addition, the sculptural schools that were initially set up by Colbert in the naval shipyards in the 1670s operated separately from the schools that were set up at the same time in the same naval shipyards to teach ship construction. The continual operation of these sculptural

³⁵² See Appendix Nine for the descriptions of the sculptural compositions.

schools throughout the history of naval sculpture ensured that the teaching of naval sculpture was always done as an independent artistic activity.

The factors listed above can be considered as governing agents in the production network of naval sculpture. When viewed in isolation they take on the role of objects, but they also overlap with concepts and personages to reveal the logistical “*raison d’être*” of naval sculpture, which complements the ideological “*raison d’être*” described in the introduction to this chapter.

The following case study of the first rate series of warships the *Royal-Louis* illustrates the way in which the “*raison d’être*” of naval sculpture changed over time, as did the agents that populated its production network as personages, objects, and concepts.

It was tradition under the monarchy always to dedicate the flagship of the fleet to the king and name it the *Royal-Louis*. This tradition persisted from Louis XIV to Charles X. In total six warships were built that carried this name. The *Royal-Louis* was a vessel of prestige, second to none because it directly represented the king at sea. No other warship in the French fleet was permitted to be of larger or equal firepower or size.³⁵³ Similarly, the sculptural decorations had to be also better than those of any other warship. These flagships were meant to successively show the best in ship design as this evolved over the years. As such, they were intended to emulate the French naval strategy of waging war by assembling the most powerful array of artillery possible on a sea-going platform.

This review of the different builds of the *Royal-Louis* shows how the architecture of each warship responded to the policy emanating from Versailles, and how, in turn, the sculptural composition also responded with its form adapting to changes in the design of the ship’s hull and conforming to the artistic style in vogue. In this case, for each successive build, elaborate and

³⁵³ Boudriot. “Les Royal-Louis.” *Neptunia* No. 112, 1973; No. 113, 1974.

massive sculptures done in high Baroque gave way to the less cumbersome forms of Rococo and in turn, the ornamentality of Rocco gave way to the streamlined design of Neoclassicism.

The first *Royal-Louis* was launched at Toulon in 1668.³⁵⁴ In *Description du vaisseau Le Royal-Louis*, Hayet states that it was built by Rodolphe Gédéon, assisted by Laurent Coulomb. The ship carried 110 cannons, with 30 cannons on the first deck, 30 cannons on the second deck, 26 cannons on the top deck, 20 cannons at the forecastle and 4 cannons at the stern. The hull's overall dimensions were: length 53 meters, width 14.13 meters, and depth 7.74 meters. An inspection of the ship's stern shows that it had the trapezoidal structure that was typical of French warships at that time, and that came to be known as "*la pyramide française*."³⁵⁵

Hayet documents in detail what was required to build another *Royal-Louis*.³⁵⁶ He gives the proportions of the hull, the cabin sizes, the dimensions of all the cut lumber, including the masts, and the sails, lines, and pulleys, a complete cannon count with their calibre, and inventories of weaponry, shipboard equipment including sundries and provisions when at sea, and the necessities for overhaul. As well, he lists—separate from the lumber—the cut wood required for making the sculptures.

SCULPTURE ³⁵⁷

50 pièces bois de pibouelle ou d'aube de 11 pieds de long & 17 pouces en carré.
2 pièces bois de fapin pour le couronnement, ou un maft de 15 pieds de long & 17 pouces de diamettre.
5 pièces bois d'aube de 11 pieds de long & 27 pouces en carré.
4 de 7 24.
30 de 12 16.
1 Maft de 30 & 18 pouces de diamettre.

³⁵⁴ The launch dates, dimensions, and cannon counts of the six builds of the *Royal-Louis* were obtained from Boudriot, referenced in the previous footnote.

³⁵⁵ Boudriot. "Les Royal-Louis." *Neptunia* No. 112, 1973.

³⁵⁶ Hayet dedicated the book to Pierre Arnoul, his superiour, whom he addressed as "Conffeiller du Roy en fes confeils Intendant général de la Marine de Levant," Title page. The early modern French "f" is used in these documents, which has the pronunciation of "s" in the modern alphabet.

³⁵⁷ Hayet, p. 7.

Hayet goes on to praise the sculptural decorations made from the drawings by Le Brun, whom he eulogizes as the leading artist of his genre in all of Europe.

LA SCULPTURE ET PEINTURE ³⁵⁸

DUDIT VAISSEAU

ON peut dire que jamais aucun Navire n'a esté si Enrichy de Peinture & de Sculpture que cet incomparable Vaisseau, dont les desseins ont esté faits par Monsieur le Brun, l'un des plus incomparables hommes de l'Europe en cet Art, & entretenu par Sa Majesté.

Les couleurs générales du Vaisseau est or et blanc en hors tant aux Liffes qu'à la Poupe, toute parfemée de Fleurs-de-lys d'or.

In the last two pages of the book Hayet provides a detailed description of the sculptural decorations. The print by Hayet shown in Figure 21 complements the description he provides for both the stern and the stem of the *Royal-Louis* of 1668. This description is reproduced below.

DE LA SCULPTURE ³⁵⁹

Représentation de la Poupe du Royal-Louis.

La Lisse Dourdy est enrichie en dehors de feuilles de lauriers avec de festone & coquillages dessous, le tout doré à perfection.

Par dessous il y a un Cheval marin à chaque coste & quatre grandes Consoles qui supportent la première batterie, au dessous de laquelle il y a un très-beau cul de lampe en feuillage.

La première Galerie qui est à hauteur d'appuy est toute parfemée de Fleurs-de-lys dorée, sur laquelle sont assis quatre Sirenes qui servent de support à la seconde Galerie, & aux costes trois tritons & deux consoles avec une frize qui regne tout à tour, ou sont les Armes de Monseigneur le Duc de Beaufort, soutenus aussi par deux tritons qui tiennent une ancre d'une main, à coste sont assis à Tribord Neptune & Tethys à la gauche, avec un Amour à leurs pieds présentant au-dessus les Richesses de la terre & de la mer, qu'elles en suite présentent à la Figure du Roy assis dans son Throne de Justice au dessus de la troisième Galerie en relief & doré, ainsi que toute la Poupe, avec un Esclave de chaque coste & une Corniche dorée qui regne tout le long du Vaisseau, avec des Trophées tout joignant lesdites Divinités.

Sur chaque coin d'en-haut il y a une Renommée tenant chacune une trompette.

³⁵⁸ Hayet, p. 25.

³⁵⁹ Hayet, pp. 29-30.

Sur le seconde Corniche ou couronnement qui fait le mesme effet que l'autre, font deux Figure assises tenant en leur mains une couronne de laurier dessus la testes du Roy d'un costé, & de l'autre une branche d'oliver.

A la troisieme il y a un Balcon faillant deux pieds ou font les Armes du Roy dans une medaille, sur laquelle il y a quatre chapiteaux ou font perlez quatre Figures a demy corps toutes dorées representans les quatre parties du Monde.

Tous les Porteaux de Sabord font ornez de Fleurs-de-lys, de Chiffres du Roy, des Lyres, & de Soileil tous dorez, & le tout mélangé et fa distance, desdites Porteaux en dehors dessus les Sabords entre les Preceintes il y une Frize doree qui regne tout le long du Vaisseu, entrelassée de Fleurs-de-lys aussi d'or.

Entre le sabords de la seconde Batterie il y a des Trophées de marine toutes dorées entrelaissées de péles & ancras de mesme.

Ceux de la troisieme Batterie font ornez d'un cadre de feuillages avec des griffons aux costez, le tout doré en perfections.

A la plus haute Preceinte il y a des Consoles d'espace en espace avec des Feston entre-deux, le tout en or.

Les Costez du Vaisseu aux Liffes font enrichy de Fleurs-de-lys dorez avec des Moleurs.

Tout le Miroir, autrement dit la Tutelle dudit Vaisseu est de couleur bleüe parfemée de Fleurs-de-lys d'or.

Les Dogues d'Amures & d'Escoutes font enrichie de Termes dorez.

Et les Escolats pareillement & fort richement.

La Proue

A la Prouë dudit Vaisseu il y a deux grands escolars, qui font deux demi Femmes, dont le bas se termine en feuillage courant le long des Preceintes.

Toutes les Preceintes de la Prouë font de mesme, avec de Consoles par dessus les Courbans & des Fleurons dorez d'espace en espace.

La figure de Prouë est une Renommée tenant les Armes du Roy, avec un petit Triton dessus qui l'ayde à les porter, le tout excellement doré.

La Porte-gruës sont deux gros Tritons dorez.

A la Face du Chateau de Prouë il y a deux Enfans en bas relief d'or qui portent d'un un Laurier & l'autre une Palme, faifans un Escuffon ou sont les Armes du Roy.

Toute la Prouë est ornée, memes les Herpes, de Fleurons-de-lys & Chiffres du Roy, dorez en perfection.

Cross-referencing Hayet's description of the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* with his drawing for both the stern and the stem shows that the text mentions in every detail the sculptural composition of the drawing. The text emphasizes the artistic quality of the sculptures' design and qualifies their rendition as very rich—"fort richement"- and gilded to perfection—"doré à

perfection.” This is in line with the dedication of Hayet’s book, in which he promises to provide a description of the *Royal-Louis* as an eulogy to the king: “LE VAISSEAU aulli Royal que le nom qu’il porte a esté bafty dans le Port de Toulon l’an 1688 sous le Regne de nôtre Invincible Monarque Louis XIV.”³⁶⁰ Hayet described what he saw as a contemporary viewer, where the ship’s sculptures were perceived as having an objective and a purpose.³⁶¹ He emphasized this by citing the writing on the mizzen mast: “D’ESTRE L’UNIQUE DESSUS L’ONDE, EST MON ROY L’EST DEDANS LE MONDE.”³⁶²

The sculptural composition for the *Royal-Louis* as described by Hayet and shown in figures 20 and 21, and the sculptural drawings of other warships built during the same period, some of which are referenced in the text, offer perfect examples of the cultural outlook on the arts under Louis XIV. From the start of his reign, Louis XIV made his royal image into an institution unto itself, so magnificent as to rival other European rulers.³⁶³ This royal image took two forms: the king as majestic, drawing on the Apollonian theme derived from his attire at the ballet at Versailles; and the king at war, usually depicted as a Roman emperor. Both forms were meant as royal propaganda that was directed internally at France and externally to other countries. The king’s association with Apollo had mythological connotations that underlined his divine right to rule. When he was represented at war, he reaffirmed France’s rivalry with Spain—its main adversary at the time—as well as the other nations.

³⁶⁰ Hayet, p. 1.

³⁶¹ Hayet’s viewing point is categorized in the table on page 50: “Ship sculptures considered as objects having a purpose and a function.”

³⁶² Translation: “I am unique on the waves, the same as the king is in the world.”

³⁶³ See Gérard Sabatier. “La Gloire du Roi. Iconographie de Louis XIV de 1661 à 1672,” *Histoire, Économie et Société*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2000, 527-60. Armand Colin. www.jstor.org/stable/23614896. Sabatier writes that Colbert assembled together la Petite Académie that was in charge of the king’s cultural affairs to project the king’s image and declared: “Travailler à la gloire du roi était ce qu’on appellerait aujourd’hui être en charge de sa communication.”

Le Brun was the most dedicated to creating this royal image with his monuments and sculptures. His sculptural compositions for the *Royal-Louis* equally project the two forms of the royal image. The composition at the stem with the figurehead of Renommée holding up the king's coat of arms—"les Armes du Roy"—heralds the arrival of the king's warship and its 110 cannons as a show of force. The composition at the stern with the king on his throne in a mythicized setting shows the king's desire to be seen as having the divine right to rule.

The composition at the stern is particularly intriguing because the sculptures cover most of the available space above the waterline, starting with the winged horses below the lower deck, the caryatides of twin-tailed mermaids supporting the middle deck, and the full figures in the round of Neptune and Tethys at the port and starboard quarter broadsides, respectively. The high stern plate shows the king sitting on his throne of justice. At his feet are representations of the richness of the land and of the sea. The royal coat of arms is above him, together with four male figures representing the four corners of the world.³⁶⁴ The theme of the composition is meant to show the king as an omnipotent ruler. It is typical of Le Brun's scholarly compositions, where he sought to have a pictorial narrative similar to a story one could read.

The sculptural composition at the stern of the *Royal-Louis* is similar in concept to Le Brun's ceiling painting "Le roy gouverne par lui-même," done seven years earlier in 1661, which was presented to the king (see Figure 113).³⁶⁵ In this painting the king is shown wearing Roman

³⁶⁴ The stern also shows the family coat of arms of le duc de Beaufort, the general superintendent of the navy. It was custom at that time to include the coat of arms of those under whose administration the warship was built. This practice was later discontinued, as can be seen by drawings that only show the king's coat of arms with the three fleur-de-Lys.

³⁶⁵ Charles Le Brun (1619-90). "Le roy gouverne par lui-même, 1661." Ceiling vault painting. Château de Versailles. http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11_collection/c17.html. The website states that Le Brun initially had Hercules at the centre of the painting, but this was refused by the king. Le Brun then inserted the king at the centre on his throne with the tiller of the nation in his right hand, but without changing the remainder of the composition, mixing allegories, gods, and fables, and this was accepted: "Le projet initial, mettant en scène Hercule, fut refusé. Sur l'injonction du roi, Le Brun renonça à la

battle armour rather than the contemporary battle armour used in his stately portraits and those of his ancestors. This style, and its extension to the warships that carried the king's name, became the most common way that the royal image was portrayed throughout the duration of the monarchy. It indicated, once again, the king's desire to adorn himself and his surroundings with exotic decorations as a sign of affluence and an expression of power.

The *Royal-Louis* and its sculptural compositions can be considered as a floating monument that celebrated the glory of Louis XIV in the allegorical manner Colbert had stipulated: "Célébrer sous forme allégorique la gloire du Louis XIV."³⁶⁶ However, the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* had a greater role than those public monuments that were only accessible to the local population. Indeed, the ship's grandiose sculptural decorations promoted the ideology of the king to the outside world as it paraded in harbour and at sea. This demonstration took on an even wider audience as other countries sent observers to report back on the ship.

In *L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV*, Teyssèdre describes how art under Louis XIV was intentionally abundant in its composition to show that the king was privileged over his subjects: "L'abondance est privilège royal, arme de propagande."³⁶⁷ This abundance in composition became standard at the start of Colbert's naval program with the later sculptural compositions of Puget and Bérain applying the same style as Le Brun.³⁶⁸ All three artists designed the compositions for their ships according to the ethos used for public monuments. They presented a contemporary representation of the king with a mythological past that was also meant to look to the future.

métaphore: il mit en scène Louis XIV en personne sans pour autant renoncer à la richesse de la composition, mêlant allégories et dieux de la Fable. Le roi est au centre, assis sur son trône, le timon de l'État dans la main droite."

³⁶⁶ Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, p. 7.

³⁶⁷ Teyssèdre, p. 145.

³⁶⁸ See Puget, "Le Sceptre," and Bérain "Dauphin-Royal," Figures 16 and 31, respectively.

Although Hayet describes the *Royal-Louis* as an elegant structure, the heavy sculptures at the stem and the stern created a significant overload that was disproportionate to the remainder of the load borne by the hull and caused the ship to navigate badly.³⁶⁹ In addition, the hull's overall proportions caused the ship to be unstable when manoeuvring under sail. In fact, the British naval engineer Edmund Dummer, on a discovery mission in Toulon in 1683, was quite critical about the *Royal-Louis* as a sea-going vessel. He wrote in his report: "A great ship and glorious in her first carving, no doubt; but to my judgment not of good proportion, nor good workmanship, her figure under water I know not, nor is that above to be admired."³⁷⁰ The context of Dummer's comment is however unknown. Were they meant to be an expression of one-upmanship—it was common for the British to put down anything that was French in order to project their own nation as superior—or were they a sincere evaluation of the deficiency of the ship's design?

Regardless, after its initial sea trials, the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 underwent a major modification to its hull to improve its stability. This consisted in widening the bulb of the hull at the waterline by adding a shell as a second layer and reducing the ship's firepower from 110 to 104 cannons.³⁷¹ Adding this second layer meant that the hull was now able to manage the load of

³⁶⁹ Here, it is necessary to point out that the hull was drawn with empty spaces for the sculptures at both the stem and the stern. This meant that the additional weight of these sculptures was not taken into consideration when figuring out the dead load of the hull since the definition of the sculptures was not yet known. On the other hand, the cannon count was a prime factor since it was a prerequisite for designing the hull and would be especially taken into consideration to maintain stability during a broadside engagement.

³⁷⁰ Celina Fox, "The Ingenious Mr. Dummer: Rationalizing the Royal Navy in Late Seventeenth-Century England." *Electronic British Library Journal*, 2007, p. 17.

³⁷¹ Boudriot states that this change to the hull amounted to adding a second layer along the length of the waterline that increased the hull's width at its maximum by 32.5 cm at each side and that tapered off to the original surface at the extremities. Boudriot, "Les Royal-Louis." *Neptunia* No. 112, p. 13.

the sculptures at the stem and the stern. In this way, the first *Royal-Louis* served to show how the hull had to be designed for future ships in order to bear such heavy sculptures.

The *Royal-Louis* did not see any naval engagement and was permanently taken out of service in 1689. It was broken up in 1690 to be replaced by the second *Royal-Louis*, also launched at Toulon, in 1692.³⁷² An anonymous sculptural drawing of the stern of the *Royal-Louis* that resembles the drawings of Figures 20 and 21, but of much better quality, is reproduced in Figure 114. The artist and the present location of the drawing are unknown. I have included it even though its authenticity cannot be verified because of its similarity to the drawings of Figures 20 and 21. Rather, due to its rarity, it cannot simply be dismissed.³⁷³

This anonymous drawing might actually depict the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 and was made before the ship was broken up in 1690.³⁷⁴ The sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 were reused on the *Royal-Louis* of 1692, and this drawing may have served as an inventory of the sculptures and their relative placement on the hull before they were removed from the first *Royal-Louis*. Curiously, the composition in this image reverses that of the drawings in Figures 20 and 21. This might be because it may be a print and will be in reverse of the image drawn on the plate.

Hayet attributes the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 to drawings made by Le Brun. These were then entrusted by Colbert to Girardon for execution. However, there is no mention by Hayet of the sculptors who did the actual work. In fact, historians tend to assume that the artists who made the sculptural compositions were responsible for the whole practice of naval

³⁷² The ship was referred to as “*Royal-Louis Vieux*” when it was broken up in 1690. See Demerliac, “French first rate ship-of-the-line *Royal-Louis* (1668).” *Nomenclature des Navires Français de 1715 à 1774*.

³⁷³ This drawing was found in an Internet discussion forum on the *Royal-Louis* of 1668. See Anonymous. “*Royal-Louis*, 1668.” <http://royallouis1692.e-monsite.com/pages/ornements.html>.

³⁷⁴ It is quite plausible that this anonymous drawing of the first *Royal-Louis* was made as a preparatory study in order to define their placement on the second *Royal-Louis*.

sculpture in general, partly because of their fame and partly because their drawings are the only surviving evidence of the work done.

According to Stanislaw Lami's *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française sous le règne de Louis XIV*, the sculptures were entrusted by Colbert to Girardon for execution.³⁷⁵

Lami's *Dictionnaire* contains the biographies of all the sculptors working in France at that time, including those who worked on the sculptures for the first *Royal-Louis* at the naval shipyard in Toulon. This biographical information is given in Appendix Five and summarized below.

Raymond Langueneux (b. 1638). Also known as Rombaude Langueneux. Born in Flanders and moved to Toulon in 1661, where he made sculptures for the chapel of Corpus Domini to complete the decorations began by Pierre Puget. In 1667 he worked on the sculptures for the stern of the *Royal-Louis*, following the drawings of Le Brun. As a result of the good quality of his work, Girardon recommended him as the master sculptor for Toulon. In 1684, he decorated the warship *L'Ardent*. In 1689, he made the model for a group of figures to surround the entrance door of the naval hospital. In 1692 he made the drawings for the second *Royal-Louis*, after which he entrusted Albert Duparc to make the sculptures.³⁷⁶

Pierre Turreau (b. 1638). Possibly born in Toulon. In 1667 he is mentioned for working on the *Royal-Louis* from drawings by Le Brun. The quality of his work earned him the praise of Le Brun and he was made sculptor-in-charge. His quarrelsome personality made him unpopular and difficult to work with, which prompted intendant d'Infreville to complain to Colbert.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ Stanislaw Lami. *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française sous le règne de Louis XIV*. Paris: Honoré Champion. 1906. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Lami writes about Girardon: "En 1667 il fut envoyé à Toulon par Colbert pour diriger les travaux de décorations de vaisseau le Royal-Louis et le Dauphin-Royal d'après les plans de Le Brun," Lami, p. 204.

³⁷⁶ Lami, pp. 277-78.

³⁷⁷ Lami, pp. 478-79.

Nicolas Levray (d. 1678). Probably born in Toulon, where he established his sculpting practice in 1639. He produced naval sculptures up to 1648 and was then commissioned to create the sculptures for the water fountains of Astour and the gate of Aumont with Gaspard Puget, the son of Pierre Puget. In 1649 he worked with Pierre Puget on the fountain at Place Saint-Lazare and on a statue of Saint Louis for the fountain at the Poissonnerie. In 1655, he began the fountain at Saint Eloi. He was then put in charge of building a fountain facing the harbour. After 1662, Levray only did naval sculpture. He worked on the *Saint-Philippe* and the *Royal-Louis* following the drawings of Le Brun, and the *Trompeuse* from the drawings of Pierre Puget.³⁷⁸

François Collibaud (dates of birth and death unknown). Originally from Paris, he was in Toulon in 1688. He worked under Pierre Turreau on the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis*. He continued working in Toulon doing naval sculptural decorations.³⁷⁹

Gabriel Levray (1640-1717). The son of Nicolas Levray, born at Toulon. In 1667 he worked on the *Royal-Louis* under his father. He was employed as a naval sculptural decorator up to 1701. He was listed on the harbour records up to 1717 and must have died shortly thereafter.³⁸⁰

Jacques Thomas (dates of birth and death unknown). Sculptor from the Dauphiné region. Lived in Toulon from the 1650s. Worked under the supervision of Nicolas Levray in 1668 on the sculptural decorations of the *Royal-Louis*. In 1684, he worked on *L'Ardent* and on various other naval sculptures up to 1696.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ Lami, pp. 335-36.

³⁷⁹ Lami, p. 100.

³⁸⁰ Lami, p. 336.

³⁸¹ Lami, p. 471.

Pierre Terras (dates of birth and death unknown). Born in Marseille, worked in Toulon in 1668 on the sculptural decorations of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Gabriel Levray.³⁸²

Honoré Peillon (dates of birth and death unknown). From Grasse, worked in Toulon in 1668 on the decoration of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Nicolas Levray.³⁸³

André Peillon (dates of birth and death unknown). From Grasse. The son of Honoré Peillon. He worked in Toulon from 1663. In 1668 he worked on the sculptural decoration of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Nicolas Levray. In 1671 he became master sculptor at Toulon and did sculptures from drawings by Pierre Puget for the ship *Fougueux*.³⁸⁴

Joseph Auphan (dates of birth and death unknown). Sculptor from Marseille who worked in Toulon in 1668 on the decoration of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Raymond Langueneux.³⁸⁵

François Auxion (dates of birth and death unknown). Sculptor from Toulon. He worked in Toulon in 1668 on the ornamentation of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Pierre Turreau.³⁸⁶

Charles Panisson (dates of birth and death unknown). Originally from the region of Ciotat. He worked in Toulon on the *Royal-Louis* in 1668 under the supervision of Gabriel Levray.³⁸⁷

Louis Miot (dates of birth and death unknown). From Langres, employed in 1668 at Toulon on the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Guillaume Gay.³⁸⁸

³⁸² Lami, p. 464.

³⁸³ Lami, p. 400.

³⁸⁴ Lami, p. 400.

³⁸⁵ Lami, p. 13.

³⁸⁶ Lami, p. 13.

³⁸⁷ Lami, p. 396.

³⁸⁸ Lami, p. 378. Guillaume Gay's biography was not found in Lami. However, Gay's biography is given in *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. Paris: Charavay, 1894. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Gay

Antoine Murat (dates of birth and death unknown). From Marseille, worked in Toulon in 1668 on the sculptural decoration of the *Royal-Louis* under the supervision of Guillaume Gay.³⁸⁹

Lami lists fourteen sculptors in total who worked on the *Royal-Louis*. Langueneux and Levray are given the most prominence. Both also worked with Puget on sculptures outside the naval shipyard. Langueneux had moved to Toulon for work together with six other sculptors, while Levray and the remaining six sculptors were originally from Toulon or close by. Five of these are identified as having worked only on naval sculpture.

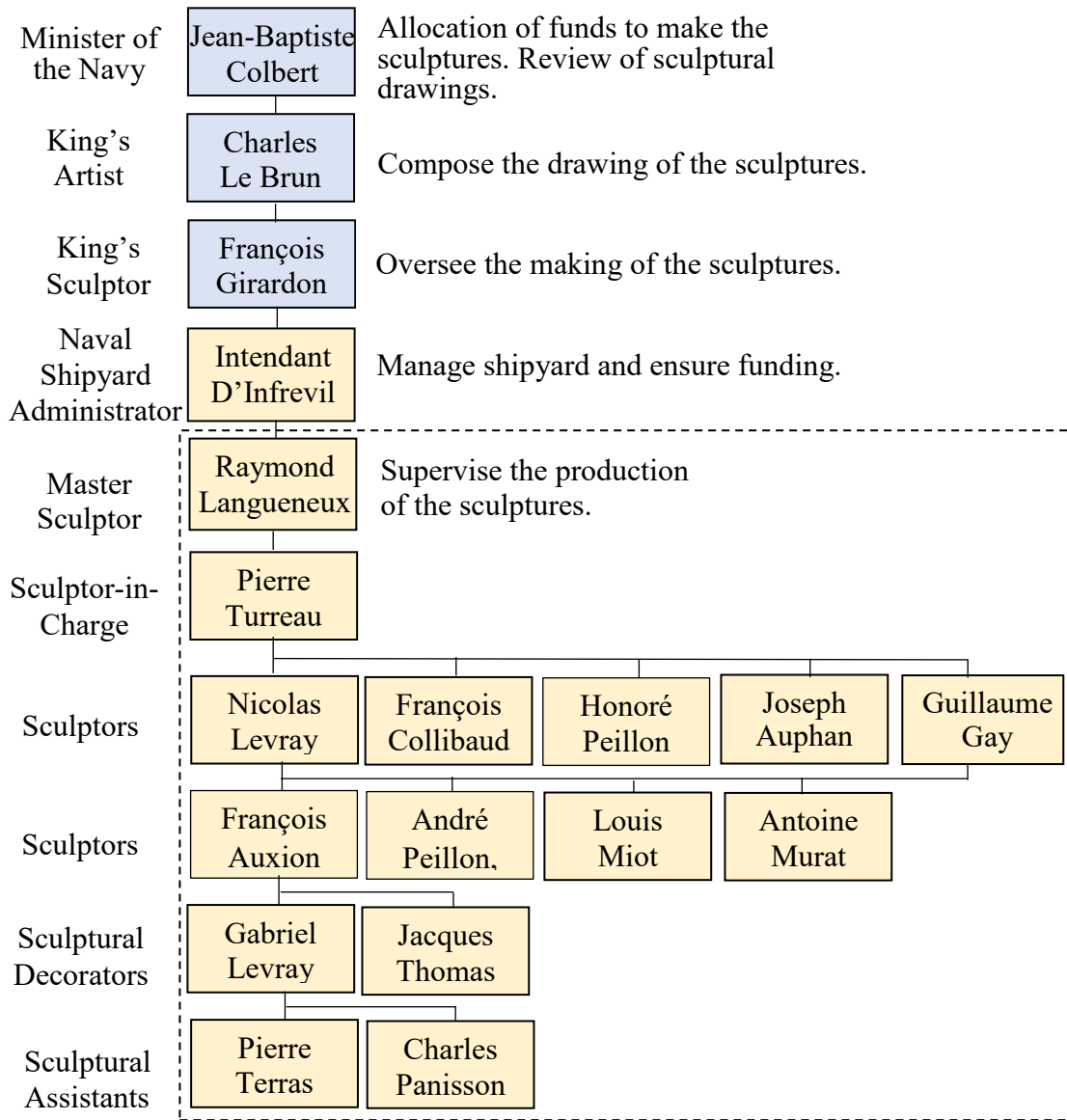
The remaining seven are mentioned as only having worked on the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis*, and it is not known if they worked on other ships. Lami's descriptions indicate that the naval sculpture program at Toulon not only attracted sculptors such as Langueneux from outside the region, but also helped local sculptors such as Turreau develop their capabilities.

Using the biographical information of these sculptors, I composed an organizational diagram to illustrate the hierarchal structure of those that worked on the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* in 1668, with Colbert at the top and the other agents in the production network below him. The diagram is shown on the next page.

was born in Toulon and in 1667 worked as a master sculptor in the port. He is said to have made the decorations for the forecastle and the broadsides of the *Royal-Louis*. In 1671, he was in charge of the sculpture, decorative architecture, and cabinet work for the ship *Fougueux*. Lami, pp. 256-57.

³⁸⁹ Lami, p. 389. See footnote above.

Hierarchy for doing the Sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 at Toulon



This diagram is not meant to be complete. One must recall that Le Brun and Girardon were also doing work in Versailles, and Langueneux and Levray, besides working on the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis*, were also engaged in work outside the naval shipyard. Of course, any work they did outside the naval shipyard at the same time as the sculptures were being done would interfere with the orderly configuration suggested by this diagram. In addition, there is insufficient information about the actual role of all the sculptors who worked on the *Royal-Louis*;

sometimes Lami only gives a brief description. It is not possible to quantify with certainty their hierarchal placement in the diagram. However, the purpose of composing this diagram is to illustrate the production process of the sculptures once the compositional drawing had been handed over to the naval shipyard. More specifically, the diagram shows that the workforce required to make the sculptural decorations for the *Royal-Louis* was more extensive than is commonly acknowledged. The structure would be similar for other warships: the master sculptor would undertake the sculptural decorations, often for more than one ship, and the sculptor-in-charge would supervise the production of all the sculptures for a single warship.

I discussed in Chapter One the interaction between Puget and the sculptors working in the naval shipyard and how this was not always easy. This was in part because the drawings were sometimes impossible to realize as sculptures. Their rendition required the expertise of an experienced overseer to ensure that the finished form retained the original intent of the compositional drawings without necessarily being totally faithful to the actual drawings themselves. Girardon carried out this supervisory role with Le Brun's drawings for the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis*.

The organizational diagram for the sculptural workforce of the *Royal-Louis* shows that it was possible to divide the work according to its complexity. Here, the master sculptor would be entrusted with making the more important sculptures, and the simpler work would be undertaken by those who were less skilled. For example, the first caryatide was most likely done by the sculptor-in-charge, and the remainder were done by the sculptural assistants, using the first caryatide as the model. There would also be templates and jigs that were patterned by the

sculptor-in-charge to make sure that the sculptures were able to fit at the interfaces and could be mounted on the surface of the hull.³⁹⁰

That said, for the first *Royal-Louis* there does not appear to be any strict division between those who oversaw the work and those who produced the actual sculptures. For example, Girardon began his career as a wood sculptor before going on to do stone sculptures, and he actually made the two most important sculptures for the *Royal-Louis*. Lami writes: “Girardon sculpta lui-même les deux principales figures ornant le Royal-Louis.”³⁹¹ These were probably the full sculptures in the round of Neptune and Tethys.

It is worth noting, too, that the naval shipyard sculptors often made stone sculptures for churches and other public buildings. This helped in the development of their technique, and might explain why the naval sculptures on display in the marine museums today are of such high quality. Indeed, it was only natural that they would apply the best practices they had acquired outside the naval shipyard to their work on naval sculptures. For example, naval sculptures were fastened onto each other and onto the hull by means of metal nuts and bolts.³⁹² This was also common practice when mounting large wooden ornamental sculptures to the walls and doorways of buildings.³⁹³

The stern of the *Royal-Louis* contained the aftercastle, the quarter castle, and the galleries, and housed the fleet commander and the ship’s naval officers. In keeping with his social status,

³⁹⁰ The sculptures were not necessarily made from a single piece of lumber. Rather, the larger ones would be made from several planks that were then joined together. For example, the head and limbs would be made separately and then pinned to the torso. This was also common practice for stone sculptures and allowed the more difficult parts to be done by those who were more capable, while the easier parts would be done by those who were still learning.

³⁹¹ Lami, p. 208.

³⁹² Large sculptures such as the figurehead or the quarter figures were supported by metal rods that were hidden from view and embedded in the timbers of the hull.

³⁹³ By comparison, wood furniture—“ébinestrie”—would be attached with fitted joints and wooden dowels. This type of fixture would never survive at sea and would come apart at the first high sea state.

the fleet commander would want his quarters to be appropriately decorated with sculptures, just as they would be on land. The exterior of the aftercastle would be likewise decorated to meet the commander's expectations, as if this was an extension of his stately residence and its grounds and garden.

Scarce mention is made in the literature of the decorative ornamentation of the commander's quarters. The plans for the decks of the first rates show the layout of the cabins, which included the quarters of the warship's commander, and which required the approval of the commander, especially for the grand chamber, to make sure this had the space necessary for convening meetings with the other ships' captains. The decoration of the commander's quarters and the grand chamber of the *Royal-Louis* were meant to impress those who had been summoned on board.

The decorative design of the commander's quarters of the *Royal-Louis* was done by Jean-Baptiste de La Rose (1612-87). La Rose was the master painter at the naval shipyard at Toulon when the *Royal-Louis* was under construction.³⁹⁴ Jean-Louis Courtinat writes in "Jean-Baptiste de La Rose et la décoration intérieur du Royal-Louis," that although de La Rose was a painter, he took it upon himself to submit the drawings for the sculptures of the *Royal-Louis* together with Rombauid and Levray: "La Rose présenta avec les sculpteurs Rombauid et Levray un devis pour

³⁹⁴ Mention was previously made of the surface of the stern of some of the earlier warships being painted rather than having relief sculptures. La Rose, as the master painter at Toulon, was put in charge by Colbert de Siegnelay, the son of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, of the painting of several warships. V. Brun, in *Notice de la Sculpture Navale*, Bulletin de la société des Arts du Département du Vers, 1860-61, p. 146, reports that for example the stern plate of the warship *Ardent* was meant to contain the relief sculpture of a phoenix and de La Rose was tasked with giving this piece natural colours: "Sur le tableau de poupe extérieur, un phoenix sculpté était sur son bûcher. La peinture devait lui donner ses couleurs naturelles." Like the Caffieris, Jean-Baptiste de La Rose started a family dynasty of painters, where his son Pascal de La Rose (1665-1745) succeeded him, and was in turn succeeded by his own three sons Jean-Baptiste de La Rose (1696-1740), Alexandre de La Rose (1698-1785), and Joseph de La Rose (1701-71). At one time all occupied the post of master painter except for Joseph, who was a master drawer. Brun writes, "le nom de La Rose resta à la tête de l'atelier de la peinture pendant 80 ans, de père en fils." Brun, *Notice de la Sculpture Navale*, p. 147.

les peintres et sculpteurs du Royal-Louis. La Rose n'était pas sculpteur mais à l'instar de Le Brun ce peintre pouvait fort bien fournir des dessins de sculptures."³⁹⁵ However, these drawings were rejected as not appropriate. This was when Colbert told Le Brun to make the sculptural drawings for the *Royal-Louis* and asked Girardon to take charge of the production of the sculptures.

A drawing attributed to Pascal de La Rose shows the interior of the grand chamber— "*la grande chambre*"—of the *Royal-Louis* (see Figure 115).³⁹⁶ The type of decoration shown could readily pass for that of the interior of a palace apartment (see Figure 116).³⁹⁷ Hayet describes this grand chamber as extensively decorated with wall panelling that contained framed paintings of panoramic scenery, with the king's coat of arms held up by tritons painted on top of them. Figures of Renommée flank the coat of arms and support his monogram. The coats of arms of Vendome and Beaufort surround him. On one side of the chamber there is a large painting of Apollo with Cupid, and on the opposite side Apollo is chasing Daphne. The ceiling is painted blue and extensively adorned with flowery motifs. All frames and wood mouldings are gilded. The drawing by de La Rose ties in with Hayet's description, which is reproduced in full below.

LA GRANDE CHAMBRE ³⁹⁸

Sur l'arrière on trouve la grande chambre qu'on appelle communement la Chambre de Volontaires, dont la cloison est compartie en quatre, qui s'ouvre & s'accroche en haut pour avoir la veüe du Pont de Poupe à Prouë en cas de combat, avec une porte de costé de Tribord pour entrer dans ladie Chambre.

LADITE Cloison en dehors est ornée de plusieurs petits Panneaux peints & entournez de Mollures dorées. & par dedans un grand Tableau où son peints LES ARMES DU ROY

³⁹⁵ Jean-Louis Courtinat. "Jean-Baptiste de La Rose et la décoration intérieur du Royal-Louis." *Neptunia*, no. 186, 1992, 34. Courtinat cites from the Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR B³ 7 f^o 198-199.

³⁹⁶ Attributed to Jean Baptiste de La Rose. "Décoration d'une salle basse de navire. Plume à l'encre gris et lavis gris. Projet de décoration pour la chambre du Royal-Louis (1692)." 189 x 365 cm. Musée du Louvre. Cabinet des dessins. Inv. RF 2378.

³⁹⁷ Anonymous. Possibly Michel Dorigny (1616-65). Decoration. Pavillon du roi. Château de Vincennes.

³⁹⁸ Hayet. *Description du vaisseau le Royal-Louis*, p. 26.

dorée & soutenuës par des Tritons peints en griffaille fine, avec les Armes de Monseigneur le Duc de Vandosme à la drotie, & celles de Monseigneur le Duc de Beaufort à la gauche, dorées & enrichies de Trophées d'Armes dans un tres beau cadre doré. A costé dudit Tableau son peintes deux Renommées qui portent dans un ovale d'azur les Chiffres du Roy en or, & un Cupidon qui soutient leurs trompetes, derrieres lesquelles est peint un Tetrain éloigné derriere une balustrade.

A BABORD est peint dans un cadre qui tient presque tout le long de ladite Chambre, le rencontre que fit Apollon de Cupidon bandant son Arc assis sur une nue après la deffaitte du Serpent Pithon.

A TRIBORD on voit un Tableau de la mesme grandeur d'Apollon poursuivant Daphné qui fut metamorphosée en Laurier, avec une Nimphe à chaque coin desdits deux Cadres qui retrouffent un Rideau bleu.

Au FOND de ladite Chambre qui sert de cloison à la Galerie de Poupe il y a une porte avec 3 fenestres de chaque costé faites à panneau, ornées de tres beaux feüillages avec un filet d'or, dont les dessous sont aussi peints de cadres d'Architectures & de panneaux marbrez.

LE CIEL de la Chambre qui est separé en six baux est peint d'azur, avec les quart de ronds & filures dorées, ainsi que lesdits baux avec des tritons, accompagnes de feüillages entrelassées de Soleils, de Fleurs-de-lys & de couronnes dorées, ainsi que les baux avec des tritons, portans les uns des Fleurs-de-Lys & les autres les chiffres du Roy.

The attention that Hayet gives to the sculptures and interior decoration of the *Royal-Louis*, over and above the other more functional features of the ship, such as the balanced configuration of the sails, the quality of the setup of the rigging, and the strategic placement of the battery, all of which can be regarded in their own right as essential for a warship, indicates the prevailing cultural attitude of celebrating the artistic capabilities of France as a source of power rather than describing the strategic use of its military sciences.

In review, the *Royal-Louis* of 1668 encapsulates the philosophy of the monarchy, where the arts served as propaganda to project the magnificence of the king. The *Royal-Louis's* impressive sculptural decorations and stately interior were valued more highly than its sailing and fighting capabilities. It seems that it was part of the strategy of Versailles for the *Royal-Louis*

to serve as a floating parade of France's artistic tastes, with posturing taking precedence as a deterrent, regardless of the warship's fighting capabilities.³⁹⁹

The French naval authorities were continuously expressing concern about the over-indulgence of the sculptors in their work. When Colbert instigated his naval program and the first batch of warships were delivered to the navy, their reaction was tantamount to outright criticism of Colbert's instructions for decorating the ships.⁴⁰⁰ On the other hand, D'Inferville's correspondence with Colbert praises the decorative sculptures for the *Royal-Louis*, *Dauphin-Royal*, and *Monarque* that were being built at Toulon at the same time.

To understand the tension that was created with the naval authorities because of the use of grandiose sculptures to honour the king, it is worth noting those aspects of the *Royal-Louis* that Hayet did not mention in his description. As commissioner of the navy, Hayet was in charge of organizing the logistics for the construction of the *Royal-Louis* and the other warships. And yet, as I have mentioned, he did not describe the configuration of the sails, the set-up of the rigging, and the layout of the battery with remotely the same attention as he did the sculptural decorations. He simply gave an inventory of the logistical elements of the ship, and their functionality was taken for granted. The kitchen equipment and the hold for the storage of provisions to prevent them from spoiling were important items that were included in the ship's plans. These were also left out by Hayet. The ability to win a battle depends on the morale of the troops. Knowing the sailing and fighting capabilities of a warship as well as the potential for the crew to be well nourished while at sea, are essential ingredients for high morale. But Hayet

³⁹⁹ Deterrents are most effective when there is a show of force, for example, with the French fleet sailing up the English Channel within cannon-shot range of the English coast, or making a mock blockade of Naples or Rotterdam. Here, French strategy puts emphasis on its arts, and in particular its naval sculptural decoration, to make a show of force.

⁴⁰⁰ Service historique de la Marine. *Du Bois dont on fait les vaisseaux*, p. 27.

overlooks all of this. It is true that the rich sculptural decorations of the *Royal-Louis* would give pride of ownership to everyone who served on board, from the commander to the deckhand.

However, Hayet only saw the need to praise the *Royal-Louis* for its ability to represent the king as an illustrious being. It is worth repeating Hayet's citation of the writing on the mizzen mast: "I am unique on the waves, the same as the king is in the world."⁴⁰¹ Any consideration for the way in which the configuration of the *Royal-Louis* as a warship addressed the needs of the navy is not present in his description.⁴⁰²

The second *Royal-Louis* was built at Toulon in 1692 by François Coulomb, the son of Laurent Coulomb, who had taken part in the building of the first *Royal-Louis*. The ship carried 112 cannons, with 36 cannons on the first deck, 32 cannons on the second deck, 30 cannons on the top deck, 6 cannons at the forecastle, 10 cannons at the aftercastle, and 4 cannons at the stern. The hull's overall dimensions were: length 57.20 meters, width 15.60 meters and depth 7.47 meters. This was the largest warship built under Louis XIV. The overall length of the hull is four meters more than the first *Royal-Louis* and its breadth is one-and-a-half meters wider, indicating an attempt to redress the initial instability of the first *Royal-Louis*.

A sculptural drawing that is strikingly similar to the drawing by Hayet of Figure 21 and of the *Royal-Louis* of Figure 114 is shown as Figure 117.⁴⁰³ This drawing was possibly done as a preparatory study by Rombauid; this cannot be stated with certainty, but Lami notes that Rombauid was put in charge of the sculptural drawings for the second *Royal-Louis*. In any case, most of the sculptures from the first *Royal-Louis* were salvaged and reused, so the similarity is to

⁴⁰¹ See page 205 for the original citation.

⁴⁰² For example, it was standard that a first rate would have 6 months of provisions on board. The *Royal-Louis* had a hold capacity for 4 months of provisions to reduce its cargo load.

⁴⁰³ Anonymous. Possibly Rombauid Langueneux (b. 1638). "Royal-Louis". Internet site Royal-Louis. <http://royallouis1692.e-monsite.com/pages/ornements.html>.

be expected.⁴⁰⁴ This drawing may simply have served to show where the salvaged sculptures were to be placed. Although the drawing for the second *Royal-Louis* has several features in common with that of the first *Royal-Louis*, some differences in its sculptural composition emerge.

The sterns of both ships follow the same trapezoidal form, with the gallery configuration of the stern of the second *Royal-Louis* copying that of the first. The decorative balustrades for the galleries of both ships are similar, but that of the second *Royal-Louis* is less crowded and as a result seems to allow more light to enter the cabins. This additional space is opened because the four male figures at the upper deck that served as caryatides on the first *Royal-Louis* are absent on the second. The two major figures, Neptune at the port side and Tethys at the starboard side, are retained. The coat of arms of François de Vendôme, duc de Beaufort, on the first *Royal-Louis* is replaced with the coat of arms of Jean D'Estrée, naval commander at Toulon on the second *Royal-Louis*.⁴⁰⁵ Also, the two winged horses beneath the level of the lower deck have the half-tailed form of a sea creature as their lower bodies, as shown in both Hayet's drawing and the drawing of the second *Royal-Louis*. This suggests that the drawing of Figure 21 by Hayet was done after that of Figure 20. Otherwise, the remainder of the sculptural composition in the drawing for the second *Royal-Louis* is identical to that of the first *Royal-Louis*, as shown in Figure 20.

⁴⁰⁴ Lami writes: "Sieur Rombauid qui en donna le dessin et le devis et ce servi le plus possible des sculptures de l'ancien Royal-Louis. Sieur Albert Du Parc obtint l'autorisation de la mise en œuvre." Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française sous le règne de Louis XIV*, p. 175.

⁴⁰⁵ François de Vendôme (1616-69) was the admiral of the Mediterranean fleet. He took part in the war against Algeria in 1664. In 1669 he was sent to Crete to help the Venetians in Candia against the Turks. He died in battle. Jean, Comte d'Estrées (1624-1707) was vice admiral and later became Marshal of France. He led several naval campaigns in the Caribbean against the Dutch. See Daniel Dessert, *La Royale: Vaisseaux et marins du Roi-Soleil*. Paris: Fayard, 1996, 187-91, pp. 249-52.

It seems that the French administration was proud of the sculptural decorations of the first *Royal-Louis* and the grandiosity they projected, and it was not willing to discard them. Reusing these sculptures on the second *Royal-Louis* was also a way for the French administration to continue its mission of glorifying the king without interruption. There was also a secondary reason for reusing them: they took a very long time to make, and by salvaging them the administration cut down on time and labour and undoubtedly on cost.

The figurehead drawing of the *Royal-Louis* of 1692 bears some similarity to that of the first *Royal-Louis* of 1668. Both show a female figure prominently displaying a shield—except that the shield for the *Royal-Louis* of 1692 contains a monogram of the king’s letter L—“*le chiffre du roi*.” Although the conceptual theme is similar, there are nevertheless differences in the composition, with the second *Royal-Louis* having a less elaborate group composition, but a more prominent shield (see Figure 118).⁴⁰⁶ Overall, the deadload of the sculptures for both the bow and the stern was somewhat reduced by leaving out those sculptures that were considered redundant and that, even when omitted, did not change the intended theme. However, there were still enough sculptures to create a high deadload at both ends. It seems that giving the warship an improved manoeuvrability by reducing the size and number of the sculptures to gain an edge over an adversary’s warship was given second priority. The naval administration was reluctant to break away from the tradition of honouring the king through grandiose sculptural decorations. However, above all the *Royal-Louis* had a warring mission; it was the king’s own artillery platform, and, because of its firepower, it was meant to frighten the enemy simply by its oversized presence. Notably, the elaborate large sculptures of the two *Royal-Louis* were meant to contribute directly to this presence.

⁴⁰⁶ Anonymous. “Sculpture de l’éperon Royal-Louis.” Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. *Neptunia* No. 112, p. 11.

Naval strategy at that time believed that the purpose of the first rate ship-of-the-line was to be a floating fortress that towered high above the adversary's lesser rates. Hence, although the *Royal-Louis* was sluggish and awkward to navigate, it was still considered to have a strategic role due to its large size and firepower, which were meant to instill fear upon the enemy.

The second *Royal-Louis* was disarmed and taken out of service at Brest in 1716.⁴⁰⁷ This meant that unlike the first *Royal-Louis*, which stayed in the safer waters of the Mediterranean, the second *Royal-Louis* sailed through the straits of Gibraltar and up the Bay of Biscay to join the French Atlantic fleet. This indicates a shift in the theatre of war from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.⁴⁰⁸ The second *Royal-Louis* was condemned in 1723 and broken up in 1727.⁴⁰⁹ Its term of service was thus several years shorter than that of the first *Royal-Louis*.

When the second *Royal-Louis* was decommissioned, the British fleet outnumbered the French fleet by almost three to one.⁴¹⁰ This decision by the French naval authorities to remove the ship from service makes it evident that even though the second *Royal-Louis*, as a copy of the first *Royal-Louis*, had been highly regarded as the king's flagship with its dedication to the king based on its "mission de prestige et de presence," this was not enough to warrant the cost of keeping it. Rather, it began to be seen as a liability.⁴¹¹ Considering that the Atlantic is an open sea with significant swell, it should not come as a surprise that the second *Royal-Louis*, with its

⁴⁰⁷ The second *Royal-Louis* was meant to be decommissioned in 1704, but there was a change and it was refitted at Brest and pressed back into service until 1716.

⁴⁰⁸ Up to the late 1600s, the French fleet operated out of Toulon and Marseille and served mostly to protect French commerce in the Mediterranean and by doing battle against North African pirates. When the trans-Atlantic triangular trade route began to develop in the early 1700s, there was a shift in naval strategy with the Atlantic fleet operating out of Brest and tasked with protecting French Atlantic commerce.

⁴⁰⁹ Alain Demerliac. *Nomenclature des Navires Français de 1715 à 1774*.

⁴¹⁰ In 1715 the French fleet had 25 ships-of-the-line while the British fleet had 62 ships-of-the-line. Demerliac, p. 12.

⁴¹¹ There is no record of its sculptures having been salvaged. Although they were derivative of the work of Le Brun and Girardon they were regarded as obsolete, together with the ship itself as defined by the table on page 51. "Ship sculptures that were done to the old style were considered as objects that were obsolete and antiquated."

high sculptural deadload that made it prone to heaving, sending, and pitching, spent most of its time berthed, and did not serve its full life with the Atlantic fleet as the first *Royal-Louis* had in the Mediterranean.⁴¹²

There were no other first rates of equal firepower ready to replace the second *Royal-Louis* when it was taken out of service.⁴¹³ This gap remained until the third *Royal-Louis* was begun at Brest in 1740 from plans by Blaise Ollivier. However, the ship was destroyed by fire while still under construction in 1742.⁴¹⁴ It was meant to carry 124 cannons, with 32 cannons on the first deck, 34 cannons on the second deck, 34 cannons on the top deck, 18 cannons at the forecastle, and 6 cannons at the stern. The hull's overall dimensions were: length 61.75 meters, width 16.60 meters, and depth 7.90 meters. The design for the third *Royal-Louis* continued to reinforce French naval strategy of impressing other warships with the large size and high firepower of its flagship.

The height of the third *Royal-Louis* from the keel to the top deck was half a meter higher than that of the second *Royal-Louis*. Considering that the second *Royal-Louis* had 112 cannons while the third *Royal-Louis* was meant to have 124 cannons, this increase in height makes sense, as it adds more flotation to compensate for the added weight of the cannons.⁴¹⁵ Once everything

⁴¹² The second *Royal-Louis* being taken out of service after only ten years can also be interpreted according to the definition on page 51 in the table "Perception of the Viewer as this Changed over Time." Here, the contemporary naval authorities perceived the ship as an obsolete object.

⁴¹³ The *Royal-Louis* retained its position as the only first rate to have such a high number of cannons. All the other first rates that were built had between 98 to 84 cannons. In 1724 the construction of the *Foudroyant* at 110 cannons was begun at Brest to try and fill this gap. The ship was never launched and was demolished in 1742. Demerliac, p. 35.

⁴¹⁴ The ship had all three decks completed when it was set on fire as an act of sabotage. Demerliac, in *Nomenclature des Navires Français de 1715 à 1774*, writes: "L'incendie de ce vaisseau aurait dû à un acte de malveillance dû sr.Pontleau, étranger qui fut condamné et exécuté," p. 35.

⁴¹⁵ When it came time to arm the *Royal-Louis* of 1740, Ollivier had opted to reduce the cannon count to 118. See Demerliac, p. 35. This is indicative of the changes that came about as a consequence of the experimentation in ship design that was taking place. See Blaise Ollivier (1701-46). *Traite de construction*, 1736. Nice: Éditions Omega, 1992.

balanced out, however the height of the stern above the waterline for the third *Royal-Louis* would not have been much different from that of the second *Royal-Louis*, which means they would have had about the same sculptural space.

There are no known drawings for the sculptures of the third *Royal-Louis*. However, I can make up for the absence of any sculptural drawings for the third *Royal-Louis* by referring to the sculptural drawings of the first rate *Foudroyant* of 110 cannons, that was built around the same time in 1723 and was of comparable size. As on the second *Royal-Louis*, the sculptural composition at the stern of the *Foudroyant* was simplified (see Figure 83). Here, although the aftercastle retained its height and the sculptural space remained the same, the relief sculpture was less elaborate and the figures were reduced both in size and in number to eight, in comparison to the second *Royal-Louis*, which had twelve figures, four of them large.

The figurehead drawing for the third *Royal-Louis* was also not found. It is possible that it was done by Charles-Philippe Caffieri, considering that he had made several sculptural drawings for other ships at this time. Caffieri followed in the footsteps of Vassé in his approach to composing the figurehead. A list of the drawings done by the Caffieri family is given in Appendix Six.⁴¹⁶ This lists over 46 sculptural drawings signed by Caffieri, a few of which are included among the images in this dissertation. A review of the figurehead drawings available show Caffieri's preference for having a sole male or female warrior done in the style of classical antiquity and brandishing a weapon. Hence, it is quite possible that the figurehead drawing for the third *Royal-Louis* would have had this type of composition.

⁴¹⁶ Jules Guiffrey. "Les Caffieri, sculpteurs et fondeurs ciseleurs." *Étude sur la statuaire et sur l'art du bronze en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Damascène Morgand et Charles Fatout, 1877. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Construction of the fourth *Royal-Louis* was begun at Brest in 1759, and the hull was launched in 1762 during the Seven Years' War with Britain. It was built by Jacques-Luc Coulomb and was based on construction plans for the previous *Royal-Louis* of 1740—indeed, the dimensions of its hull were identical. The ship carried 116 cannons, with 32 cannons on the first deck, 34 cannons on the second deck, 34 cannons on the top deck, 6 cannons at the forecastle, and 10 cannons at the aftercastle.

Like its predecessors, the fourth *Royal-Louis* was meant to be a warship of prestige that dominated its adversaries by its sheer size and firepower. After it was launched, it was intended to lead a warring expedition to Brazil, which was a Portuguese possession; at that time Portugal was allied with Britain against France. The expedition never materialized, however, because of the peace treaty of 1762. During sea exercises shortly after, its sailing qualities turned out to be poor and it was converted into a flute, with its firepower reduced to 58 cannons.⁴¹⁷ In 1763 it ran supplies to the Caribbean. Thereafter, similar to its predecessors, it spent most of its time tied up in harbour. In 1771, when in dry dock, the ship was damaged beyond repair and left to deteriorate. It was decommissioned in 1772.

The figurehead drawing for the fourth *Royal-Louis* shows the king wearing the robe of a Roman general (see Figure 119).⁴¹⁸ This drawing was most likely copied from the figurehead drawing for the third *Royal-Louis*. A small-scale model of the hull of a first rate warship on display at the Musée national de la Marine in Paris is stated as representing the *Royal-Louis*. Its figurehead is a lion. This model was made in 1770 for the purpose of instruction. It is based on

⁴¹⁷ Boudriot in his article cites from the written report of the commander of the *Royal-Louis*, Monsieur de Beaussier de l'Isle "Le Vaisseau fatigue beaucoup par ses hauts." Boudriot. "Les Royal-Louis." *Neptunia* No. 113.

⁴¹⁸ Charles-Philippe Caffieri. "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, 1758." 182 × 58 cm. Service historique de la Défense. D¹ 69, f^o 70. "Proue du modèle du Royal-Louis de 1759." Musée national de la Marine n^o 13 MG 32. *Neptunia* No.113, p. 11.

the 1759 hull drawings of the *Royal-Louis*.⁴¹⁹ The lion as figurehead was common for the lesser-rated warships, but was not unique. Its use on a first rate would be very unusual, however, and the model must have been intended to show a generic figurehead and not the actual figurehead of the *Royal-Louis* itself.

The construction of the stern of the fourth *Royal-Louis* and its decorations followed the convention of the time (see Figures 119 and 120).⁴²⁰ The drawing of the relief sculpture for the stern plate, rather than showing the king in full, as the previous builds of the *Royal-Louis* had done, now had a medallion-type image, so as to accommodate the shorter height below the taffarel.⁴²¹ The medallion contains the bust of the king flanked by a female figure on each side, presumably one representing prosperity and the other wisdom. The king's coat of arms is attached at the centre of the carved balustrades of the upper gallery, while a decorated scroll with the ship's name is attached at the centre of the carved balustrades of the lower gallery. The king's monogram is in an elaborate frame made up of two young nymphs facing each other and is attached to the lower deck. The port and starboard quarters each have two figures acting as caryatides holding up the lower gallery. Also, there are ten figures, reduced in proportion compared to the previous *Royal-Louis*, holding up the lower gallery, with none for the top gallery.

This contraction in the size of the sculptures was the combined result of a reduction in sculptural space, ongoing demands by the naval authorities to lessen the deadload at the stern,

⁴¹⁹ "Le Royal-Louis." *Trésors du Musée national de la Marine*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2006, p. 18.

⁴²⁰ Anonymous. "Ornements de poupe du vaisseau Le Royal-Louis de 116 canons. Dessin daté de 1758." Musée national de la Marine. ph.7134.

⁴²¹ Use of the bust of the king, as opposed to a full figure that would have been reduced in scale to fit in the reduced space of the stern plate, also reflects the trend amongst the artists in Paris to do bust portrait paintings, since they could be done quickly and for more profit. See Martin Schieder, "Le discours esthétique sur le portrait," in *Penser l'art dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, pp. 41-56.

and a pressing need to reduce costs. This shows that the design of the fourth *Royal-Louis* was not immune to the changes that affected the naval program in general, and these had to be accepted when the sculptural composition was being planned.

The drawing of the stern for the fourth *Royal-Louis* shows the upper gallery simply supported by very slender struts, whereas on the second *Royal-Louis* these struts were more robust. It is quite likely that if these struts were built in the way they are shown on the drawing, they would be snapped off with the first high wave that washed over them. It would be relatively straightforward for an experienced shipwright to see this, and it is thus probable that the drawing was overridden during construction and sturdier supports were put in.⁴²²

The use of the medallion-type bust image of the king represents a significant step-change when compared to the stern drawings for the two previous builds of the *Royal-Louis* with their elaborate compositions. When the charter of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture was drawn up in 1655, Colbert specifically included engraving among the arts; engravers would make medals that would commemorate the king's great achievements and these would then circulate in other countries. In *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Michel writes: "M. Colbert ... songea qu'il faudrait faire battre quantité de médailles pour consacrer à la postérité la mémoire des grandes actions que le roi avait déjà faites ... et que toutes ces choses devant être écrit décrites et gravées avec esprit et avec entente pour passer dans les pays étranger, ou la manière dont elles sont traitées ne fait guère moins d'honneur que les choses mêmes."⁴²³

The use of medallion-type images of the king at the stern of French warships follows this same manner of representation. Indeed, this mode of representation, as opposed to complex relief structures, can be found on ships much earlier than the fourth *Royal-Louis*. See for example

⁴²² See for example Figure 88, Charles-Philippe Caffieri, "Le Courageux, 1751."

⁴²³ Michel. *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, p. 45.

Figure 121 of the stern drawing for the first rate *Formidable*, built by E. Hubac at Brest in 1692—the same year the second *Royal-Louis* was built.⁴²⁴ We can also see this in other drawings, such as that of the *Illustre* of 1759 (see Figure 72), which shows the monarch’s image as a medallion, the royal coat of arms consisting of the three fleur-de-Lys on an oval shield, and a scroll inscribed with the warship’s name.

Evidently, then, there already was a solution for replacing the complex relief carvings at the stern that had become the mark of Le Brun and Puget by a simplified arrangement with a medallion, the royal coat of arms, and the warship’s name on a scroll. This more straightforward type of representation suited those who believed that the purpose of naval sculpture was to identify the warship, rather than to decorate it with extravagant sculptures that were deemed an unnecessary expense and hindered the ship’s manoeuvrability.

There were thus two possible purposes of naval sculpture, depending on the attitude of the ship-builder, the disposition of the artist who did the sculptural drawings, and the amount of money allotted for the sculptures. The first purpose was that of displaying wealth in order to project power, and the second purpose, entirely separate from the first, was that of identifying the warship as a warring machine in the service of the king.

The drawing of the fourth “*Royal-Louis*” shows that its sculptures were indeed significantly reduced in comparison to the previous builds. Hence, in spite of the warship’s importance in representing the magnificence and power of the king at sea, the sculptures at the stern now followed the purpose of identifying the warship as a warring machine in the service of the king. In addition, there could not now be any argument that the warship navigated badly due to the deadload caused by the sculptures, since these had been significantly reduced.

⁴²⁴ Anonymous. “Poupe de vaisseau de 1er rang *Le Formidable*,” 1691-92. 40 x 59 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 35.

The fifth *Royal-Louis* was begun at Brest in 1773, based on plans by Léon Michel Guignace. Its completion was put off year after year until it was eventually launched in 1794. In 1792, while still under construction, it was renamed *Le Republicain*. The ship carried 110 cannons, with 36 cannons on the first deck, 32 cannons on the second deck, 32 cannons on the top deck, and 10 cannons shared between the forecastle and the aftercastle. The hull's overall dimensions were: length 59.15 meters, width 16.25 meters, and depth 7.96 meters. This was the last *Royal-Louis* whose construction plans were defined prior to the French Revolution, and as such it shows the end of the evolutionary process of naval sculpture under the *ancien régime* that had taken place since the building of the first *Royal-Louis* in 1677.

The sculptural drawings for the fifth *Royal-Louis* were made by Pierre Philippe Lubet. The sculptural compositions of the warship were subject to approval in the same manner as the sculptures for other warships. To ensure that the sculptor received the payment due, a brief description with the estimated price was submitted to a review panel, who then had to approve payment. The text below reproduces the letter submitted by Lubet to de Brigueville, who was on the review panel for the fifth *Royal-Louis*:

Devis de Sculpture pour l'ornement du Vaisseau le Royal-Louis en construction à ce port.

Comme l'on m'a paru généralement pencher à faire mettre à ce Vaisseau quelque chose d'allégorique à son nom, j'ai représenté notre Monarque par jeune figure tenant le Gouvernail de l'État d'une main et un Bâton de commandement de l'autre pour annoncer qu'il gouverne par lui-même,

Le Bas-Relief au tableau de la Poupe représente le Médaillon du Prince surmonté d'une Couronne Royale et des Génies accompagnent et qui termine le Couronnement dans son milieu, le Sens et la Vérité décours à la Nation et à l'Europe les Vertus et les talents du Prince.

Les termes sont formés par des Trophées de Guerre et de Marine deux Renommées accompagnent le sous et forment l'ensemble de la Poupe, le reste de la Sculpture est analogue autant que les couleurs et les places me l'ont permis pour l'exécution.

N'ayant été demandé ce que pourrait coûter la totalité de cette sculpture, je présume qu'elle ne doit pas monter plus haut que celle de la Bretagne qui a valu 4400. Par conséquent beaucoup moins que celle de l'ancien Royal-Louis qui était de 7300.

A Brest le 15 février 1780.

Lubet.⁴²⁵

Lubet's letter was approved by Brigueville, who promptly sent it to Comte d'Hector, the naval commander at Brest, and who in turn wrote a letter of recommendation to the minister of the navy Sartine. The text of d'Hector's letter is given below:

Brest le 18 février 1780.

Monseigneur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser le projet de sculpture pour l'ornement du Vaisseau le Royal-Louis, avec le devis estimatif que vient de m'être remis par M. de Brigueville. M. Lubot qui l'a fait, et écrit doit l'exécuter, est un ancien serviteur du Roi qui remplit supérieurement bien son état dans ce Port, et que même a très souvent été chargé de faire de projets de dessin de sculpture pour les Ports de Lorient.

Ce vieux serviteur du Roi n'est pas dans l'aisance, je sens Monseigneur que la proposition d'augmenter le traitement de quelqu'un dans ce moment vu la cherté de la vie qui continue toujours, c'est opérer une augmentation de dépenser d'où il est difficile de revenir, mais je vois que c'est l'occasion des gratifications et j'ai l'honneur de vous en demander une pour le M. Lubet.

Je suis avec un profond respect,

Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur

Hector.⁴²⁶

The letter by Lubet shows that in spite of the political turmoil that took place under all three reigns, the sculptural compositions of French warships remained loyal to the king and

⁴²⁵ From photos of the manuscript in the Archives nationales de France by Boudriot in *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, pp. 364.

⁴²⁶ Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, pp. 364.

committed to affirm the king's individual authority. The choice of words by Lubet in defining the figurehead intent of the *Royal-Louis*, "qu'il gouverne par lui même," echo the title of the painting of the king done by Le Brun in 1661: "Le roy gouverne par lui-même."

The sculptural drawings for the fifth *Royal-Louis* were done in the Neoclassical style. The figurehead drawing copies from the one by Caffieri for the *Royal-Louis* of 1759, in which the king is depicted as a Roman emperor and holds a scroll and sceptre in each hand. Like its predecessors, the figurehead announces the arrival of the king, with the sceptre affirming his force and the scroll his right to rule (see Figures 76 and 77).

The aftercastle is decorated with repetitive patterning that follows the simple Neoclassical style, with the figures at both quarter-ends blending in with the structure, similar to other first rates of the time. The stern plate has a relief sculpture showing a facial portrait of the king under a canopy with the royal crown on top and flanked by two figures similar to those designed for the *Royal-Louis* of 1759. The king's coat of arms is missing from the later ship, however, and the scroll with the ship's name is smaller. Its position at the height of the first deck makes it easy to miss even from a short distance (see Figure 90).

Was the portrait of the king on the medallion at the stern plate a relief sculpture or a painting on wood? The use of painting as a substitute for relief sculptures was discussed in page 150.⁴²⁷ It is not known with certainty how frequently the sculptural drawings were made into sculptures on wood instead of simply painted.

⁴²⁷ The decorative theme at the stern done as a painting instead of a relief sculpture on French warships can be traced back to when France was building its warships in Holland. Six of these were delivered in 1636 to bolster the Atlantic fleet. R. Couffon in *La Sculpture au Port de Brest aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècle*, St-Brieux : Les Presses bretonnes, 1951, writes: "Il semble que l'on ait commencé la décoration des poupes par des peintures avec devises. En 1636, par exemple, les six navires achetés en Hollande furent ornés suivant les directives suivantes: Le Cardinal: Peindre les armes de Monseigneur le Cardinal avec le collier de l'ordre, le manteau ducal, la couronne ducal, l'ancre et le chapeau rouge, avec ces paroles: *Pelagi decus additit ormis*. La Vierge: Vierge sur un croissant tenant un gouvernail semé de fleurs de lys

The warship models exhibited at the Musée national de la Marine in Paris have decorative sculptures in relief, but this might not necessarily have been the case on the actual warships themselves; these models were meant for training and display, and so they would have been made to impress the viewer. This question becomes even more pressing when we wish to discuss the use of repetitive patterning to decorate the structure and sub-structure of the aftercastle and quarter castle of the fifth *Royal-Louis* and other warships that had a similar layout.

The sixth *Royal-Louis* was launched at Toulon in 1811 and was based on a design by Jacques-Noël Sané.⁴²⁸ This last *Royal-Louis* is included in this review, even though it is outside the scope of this dissertation in terms of naval sculpture under the *ancien régime* because it is representative of the first rate warship that bridged the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries in terms of a simplified hull design combined with the simplification of the sculptural decoration.

When the keel was first laid the warship was named *L'Impérial*, and then it was renamed *Royal-Louis* under the Restoration. The ship carried 126 cannons, with 32 cannons on the first deck, 34 cannons on the second deck, 34 cannons on the top deck, and 14 cannons and 12 carronades on the forecastle. The hull's overall dimensions were: length 63.54 meters, width 16.25 meters, and depth 8.12 meters.

avec ces mots latins: *Tibi serviet acquor*. Le Triomphe: Un triomphe marin, avec: *Mensauram nominis implet*. Le Triton: Triton, avec: *Devictis carmen Iberys*. Le Fauçon: Un fauçon, avec: *Fulminis vigor alis*." Couffon also writes about the interior decoration of the commander's and the officers' cabins. He describes how these decorations were so extravagant that for the larger warships, the cost surpassed that of the sculptures: "Outre la décoration extérieure des navires, ces artistes avaient principalement la direction de l'aménagement intérieur, dont le cout, pour certains vaisseaux, dépassait très sensiblement le prix de la sculpture." Couffon uses the *Royal-Louis* as an example and cites the costs for the interior decoration of the cabins as being 80,973 livres. Couffon, *La Sculpture au Port de Brest aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècle*, 22.

⁴²⁸ There is no specific explanation of why the warship was built at Toulon and not at Brest like its predecessors.

This *Royal-Louis* was an *Océan*-class warship that had its origins in the late eighteenth century.⁴²⁹ It was meant to be the fleet leader for a series of first rate 118-cannon ships-of-the-line of the French navy, also built following the designs of Sané. The first *Océan*-class warship was launched in 1788, preceding the launch of the fifth *Royal-Louis*. A total of ten ships of this series were completed, with the last one entering service in 1854. These *Océan*-class warships, led by the *Royal-Louis*, were to be escorted by 80-cannon *Tonnant*- and 74-cannon *Téméraire*-class warships. This was the most powerful combination of warships at that time. However, the sixth *Royal-Louis* was never used in battle. It was disarmed in 1814 and left to deteriorate until it was broken up in 1825.

An illustration of the sixth *Royal-Louis* under sail shows the hull as a single one-piece design. The forecastle is an extension of the hull rather than an addition, and the upper and lower galleries are integrated at each quarter of the hull to replace the quarter-castle of earlier designs (see Figure 122).⁴³⁰ This hull design was highly successful as an artillery platform and is reported as having a good sailing capability, indicating the improvements in warship design compared to the previous *Royal-Louis* builds, which were considered as awkward to sail and that were kept in harbour whenever a high sea state prevailed.

The illustration of the sixth *Royal-Louis* of Figure 122 is done according to the convention used by the naval draughtsman and not as a true artistic representation. Its author is not known. The stem is drawn as a quarter-view facing the viewer, and the body of the hull is drawn curved on its plane in such a manner that its forward end matches the quarter-view of the

⁴²⁹ The introduction of the class category resulted in no less than 9 simultaneous classes of build emerging, with each class the result of each naval yard striving to develop its own improved build.

⁴³⁰ Anonymous. “Le Superbe Vaisseau Française Le Royal-Louis de cent-vingt pièces de canons.” Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes. Paris.

stem. Hence, the illustration is rather technical. The cannons are shown pointing sideways towards the bow to make sure they are fully visible and can be counted.

The figurehead is the only sculpture shown. Contrary to previous *Royal-Louis* builds, the figurehead is generic in nature and does not make reference to the king. Rather it shows a representation of France as a female wearing a classical antique garment, holding up a shield with the royal coat of arms in one hand and a sceptre in the other. The design appears oversized in comparison to the figurehead designs for the fourth *Royal-Louis* by Caffieri and the fifth *Royal-Louis* by Lubet.⁴³¹ The poise and assertiveness in the compositions by Caffieri and Lubet make the representation of the figurehead of the sixth *Royal-Louis* appear stiff. There are no other figure sculptures at the stem or the stern. Otherwise, decorative mouldings of repetitive patterns adorn the simple design that prevails for the rails at the bow and for the contours of the aftercastle and the galleries.

As can be seen from this review of the six builds of the *Royal-Louis*, there was significant continuity from the time of Louis XIV right through to the end of the *ancien régime* and beyond. This indicates that the policy for naval sculpture was driven at least in part by the naval authorities, rather than by the decisions of the king or the king's council.

All builds of the *Royal-Louis* never engaged in battle and this can be interpreted as a shortfall in the battle strategy of France in this regard. Although the hull proportions were adjusted from one build to the next, their large size, rather than being an advantage made them sluggish and easily outmanoeuvred, especially with the advent of the smaller faster warships.⁴³²

⁴³¹ The next phase in hull design led to the introduction of the pointed bow. This left no space for a full figurehead sculpture and is the reason why the full figurehead was replaced with the bust figurehead.

⁴³² From the mid-18th century France began to build more frigates, recognizing the tactical advantage of having a fleet with good sailing speed.

Indeed, Britain had the largest battle fleet in Europe and did not build particularly large warships, since the much larger quantity of smaller ships assured an agile naval battle strategy.

Tracing the history of the *Royal-Louis* in terms of its design as a warship in parallel with its sculptural decoration shows that the *Royal-Louis* was always built as a vessel of prestige, second to none, because it represented the king at sea. The highly elaborate sculptural decoration for the first two builds overwhelmed the hull and emphasized France's passionate desire to parade its prestige in the open. When the sculptures on later builds were reduced in quantity and in size, this prestige was retained, because the size and firepower of the ships were maintained.

The diagram on the next page traces the development for the six different builds of the *Royal-Louis* and their respective sculptural arrangements. The diagram shows how the purpose of the *Royal-Louis* remained consistent from one build to another: it was intended to accommodate the largest artillery platform possible, and it therefore had to have a hull sufficiently robust to support it. Changes in firepower and hull size from one build to another were refinements of the same concept. Regardless of changes in battle strategy, the configuration of the *Royal-Louis* as a warship remained for the most part unaffected. On the other hand, the sculptural layout responded to those factors that governed its production network.

Royal-Louis Builds by Configuration, Fire Power & Sculptural Decoration

Build & Life Span	Armament & Weight	Hull Dimensions	Sculptures at Stem	Sculptures at Stern	Sculptures at Stern Plate
Royal-Louis 1. 1668-1689.	110 cannons. 4400 tonnes.	53.00 x 14.13 x 7.47 meters.	Figurehead of king's coat of arms. 2 figures.	18 figures.	King with 2 sitting figures.
Royal-Louis 2. 1692-1727.	112 cannons. 5000 tonnes.	57.20 x 15.60 x 7.47 meters.	Figurehead of king's monogram. 2 figures.	14 figures.	King with 2 sitting figures.
Royal-Louis 3. 1742.	124 cannon. Unknown tonnes.	61.75 x 16.60 x 7.90 meters.	Figurehead of king.	Not known.	Design not known.
Royal-Louis 4. 1759-1771.	116 cannons. 4834 tonnes.	61.75 x 16.60 x 7.90 meters.	Figurehead of king.	10 figures.	Medallion of king and 2 sitting figures.
Royal-Louis 5. 1779-1794.	110 cannons. 4700 tonnes.	59.15 x 16.25 x 7.96 meters.	Figurehead of king.	2 figures.	Medallion of king and 2 sitting figures.
Royal-Louis 6. 1811-1825.	126 cannons. 5090 tonnes.	63.54 x 16.25 x 8.12 meters.	Figurehead of female representing France.	No figures. Patterned design.	Medallion. Design unknown.

The sculptural drawings for the six successive builds of the *Royal-Louis* show that the allegorical reference of the figurehead remained constant: that of allowing the king to mark his presence at sea as a show of force. These drawings also illustrate how the sculptural decorations complemented both the stem and stern as artistic expressions regardless of changes to the sculptural space over time.

The figurehead between the lower and upper cheeks retained its importance as the ship's focal point at the bow even when the sculptural space changed as a result of the architectural transition from the round bow to the elliptical bow. Hence, the form of the figurehead was continually adapted for a good fit in the space provided between the curvature of the cheeks and the rails.

The drawings for the stern show how initially the larger height of the stern plate and the galleries that wrapped around the quarter castles for the first two builds provided significant space for complex sculptural motifs with stand-alone sculptures in the round. For the builds that followed, these were reduced until they became part of the sculptural surface itself. As the stern became more simplified with the integration of the galleries with the supporting structure, the sculptural design changed from that resembling a monument to that resembling the façade of a decorated building, with patterned sculptural designs that complemented the window frames and railings.

The use of the royal coat of arms, the thematic relief at the stern plate, and the scroll name that were adopted for the third, fourth, and fifth builds changed the purpose of the sculpture from paying homage to the king to showing that the warship was in the service of the king.

The three lanterns at the stern that indicated that the warship was the admiral's flagship equally evolved in their design in parallel with the remainder of the sculptural designs. Changes to the design of the lanterns were tied to the decorative style in vogue at Versailles.

In review, through this case study I have described the production network of naval sculpture as it applied to the six builds of the *Royal-Louis*, and traced the ship's history according to those personages, objects, and concepts that served as agents in its making. I also

created a timeline from the first build of the *Royal-Louis* to the sixth. This timeline illustrates how the composition of the sculptures altered according to the prevailing philosophy of Versailles, and how the sculptural forms changed to suit the space available as the design of the hull evolved.

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Chapter Five: Factors that Directed the Composition of the Naval Sculpture

The relationship between the warship's given name, the qualities of the king, and the use of signs and symbols in the sculptural composition.

The future of naval sculpture seemed secure when Colbert launched France's one hundred-warship construction project, appointed Puget, Le Brun, and Girardon to lead the sculptural program, and set up sculptural centres in all of the naval shipyards. As a result of Colbert's initiatives, naval sculpture became an established and integral part of the naval infrastructure. Whenever a new batch of warships was ordered to meet the requirements of France's naval strategy, funds were also released to make the sculptures. The evolution of the warship's architecture, along with changes to the design of the hull, were previously shown to be significant factors in the composition and form of naval sculpture. The sculptural drawings for the successive builds of the *Royal-Louis* as well as for other warships show how changes to the warship's hull, and in particular changes to the structure of the aftercastle and quarter castle, resulted in corresponding changes to the sculptural forms according to the space made available. The production of these warships and the corresponding production of their sculptures followed the best practices in use at that time. These best practices were also influenced by the sculptural themes that made reference to the monarchy, in particular the king, whether directly or indirectly, and continued without interruption from one reign to the next.

However, setting up France's one hundred-warship naval program was not straightforward. In 1683 Colbert had to arrange for a small fleet to be assembled in the Grand Canal at Versailles, to show off to the king. This small fleet consisted of a galiot of 32 cannons, a

felouque, gondolas, English yachts, a large galley, and a warship bearing the royal standard.⁴³³ Colbert hoped to pique the king's interest in the naval programme that he deemed so crucial by turning the Grand Canal at Versailles into a little Venice (see Figure 123).⁴³⁴ More precisely, by surrounding the king with this small fleet for entertainment, Colbert wanted to inspire the king to get financial support for his one hundred-ship program.

This raises several questions. Was Louis XIV indifferent to France becoming a naval power, unaware of the potential military and commercial benefits? More broadly, what were the attitudes of all three kings—Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI—about France's naval strategy and their responsibility to ensure a series of ongoing naval construction programs to keep the fleet strong? In other words, what was the attitude of the king as a personage in the production network of naval sculpture?

The attitude of all three kings is of interest because throughout the history of naval sculpture there was an expressed intent by those artists who defined the sculptural compositions to dedicate their work to the glory of the king. Of course, this expressed intent may have been a form of flattery to justify the grandiosity of the sculptures, which would also be used to rationalize their high cost.

Zysberg addresses each king's attitude towards naval matters by considering how many times each king visited the sea.⁴³⁵ This information reveals the extent to which each of the three

⁴³³ Roncière writes: "Pour intéresser *de visu* à la marine Louis XIV, Colbert improvise à Versailles une flotte en miniature : galiote armée de 32 canons, felouque, gondoles, yachts d'Angleterre, grande galère, et grand vaisseau battant pavillon royal qui évoluent dans le Grand Canal de Versailles comme un Petite Venise," pp. 83.

⁴³⁴ École française. "Le bafsin d'Apollon à Versailles," 1750. Gouache on vellum. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

⁴³⁵ The information on the various voyages to the sea of the three kings is from André Zysberg, "Louis XIV, Louis XV et Louis XVI: parallèle des trois rois Bourbon et la mer." Thématique: *Personnages et caractères XVe-XXe siècle*, 2003. Références émission ES009. 1 January 2005. www.canalacademie.com/emissions/es009.mp3.

kings established a relationship with the sea and its surroundings, as well as their level of interest in France's strategic maritime objectives, both military and commercial, which in turn affected the construction of new warships. Establishing a link between the king's interest in the naval program and the artists and sculptors who participated in the production of naval sculpture in the king's name also permits one to gauge whether these artists were sincere about dedicating their work to the king or if they feigned their loyal admiration in order to gain his support.

The best manner of determining if there was any connection between the king, the naval program underway, and the production of naval sculpture is to find out if the king visited the naval shipyards to be shown a warship that had just been built, or if he attended its launch. The king's presence would allow the naval shipyard to show off the warship to the king, together with the sculptures that were done in his name. It would also serve to motivate those involved in the production of the sculptural decorations to be sincere in the dedication of their work to the king. Hence, the king, besides acting as the patron—the personage in the production network, would also have brought together the sculpture itself—the object, and the sculptural composition—the concept.

Louis XIV visited the sea for the first time in 1647 at the age of nine, when he went to Dieppe to board the warship *Jupiter* to bestow on the ship's commander Abraham Duquesne the title of fleet commander. Next, he went to Bordeaux in 1650, when France was embroiled in an internal conflict which had begun in 1648. The princes, the nobility, the law courts, and most of the French people were all at odds, and yet in the end, in 1653, the king settled things according to his own wishes.⁴³⁶ The purpose of the king's visit to Bordeaux was to assemble a small fleet of warships as a show of force.

⁴³⁶ For the turmoil in France during this time see Drévilion. "De la guerre." *Les Rois Absolus*, pp. 13-59.

Louis XIV also visited Dunkerque in 1658 and Nantes in 1659. He went to Marseille in 1660 with his own army to put down a revolt by the city against his absolute authority. When the city submitted to the king it was compensated by being given a monopoly over the sea trade with the North African ports of the Ottoman Empire.⁴³⁷ In 1662 the king went again to Dunkerque, where he oversaw the city's return to France by paying Charles II of England the sum of 4.5 million livres. In 1680, Louis XIV passed again through Dunkerque and went on board a warship in the company of Jean Bart, who was a naval commander respected by the king for his valour.⁴³⁸

Through his travels, Louis XIV became familiar with the prominent ports of the four coasts of France—that is, Dieppe on the North Sea, Dunkerque on the English Channel, Nantes and Bordeaux on the Atlantic, and Marseille on the Mediterranean. However, I could not find any record of the king actually having visited a naval shipyard, as, for instance, Colbert had done when he went to Marseille to see the construction of the *Réale de France* in 1669 (see Figure 92).

What I did find of interest are the actions Louis XIV carried out to develop a sound maritime strategy, and which included a strong naval program. Testimony to this is the king's appointment of those who acted on his behalf and who contributed to the production network of naval sculpture through their support of the naval program. This support began with the appointment of Colbert in 1660, whom the king put in charge of France's navy and its maritime commerce.⁴³⁹ However, Colbert did not formulate France's maritime policy but rather copied it

⁴³⁷ This was the result of a pact between France and the Ottoman Empire that benefited French commerce. The North African ports that formed part of this pact were referred to as *les échelles du levant*, the stairways to the east. "Échelles du levant." Universalis France. www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/echelles-du-levant.

⁴³⁸ Leon Guerin. *Histoire Maritime de France*. Paris: Dufour & Mulat, 1851, p. 479.

⁴³⁹ See page 33 footnote 65. Colbert was also put in charge of France's overseas territories.

from Cardinal Richelieu, who advocated that the king must be strong both on land and at sea, with a permanent naval fleet: “Le roi doit être aussi puissant sur terre que sur mer et il doit posséder une flotte permanente.”⁴⁴⁰ The persevering will of Colbert resulted in the French navy being put under the direct control of the king, whereas prior to this it had been more a loose collaborative effort among princedoms with private interests that were feudal states within France.

The king gave Colbert significant funding to develop the naval ports and shipyards of Brest and Toulon, to build a new shipyard for constructing warships at Rochefort and one for constructing galleys at Marseille, and to develop the commercial ports of Lorient and Site. In turn, Colbert began building the first batch of warships for the new French fleet, first by using Dutch expertise—as initially mentioned on page 63, and then by entrusting French master shipwrights to develop new types of warship to make France a veritable leading maritime power.

To achieve this, Colbert also put in place a royal naval service that appointed its officers from French nobility, commissioned naval commanders who had previously engaged in sea battles against the enemy, and employed sailors from all the ports of France. He made them all full-time members of the new French navy, which meant that they were all paid by the state, both in times of war and in times of peace.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴⁰ Richelieu’s full name and title were Duke of Richelieu and Fronsac, Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis (1585-1642). He was appointed by Louis XIII as foreign secretary in 1616 and chief minister in 1624. He died in office and was succeeded by Cardinal Mazarin, whose career he had fostered. Drévilion. *Les Rois Absolus*, p. 210.

⁴⁴¹ Zysberg in “Louis XIV, Louis XV et Louis XVI: parallèle des trois rois Bourbon et la mer” mentions as examples Abraham Duquesne, who defeated his Dutch rival de Ruyter off the coast of Sicily in 1676, and Comte de Tourville, who defeated the allied British-Dutch fleet at Béziers in 1690. Others equally valiant were François Panetier and Jean Gabaret as well as former privateer captains Jean Bart, Claude de Forbin, René Duguay-Trouin, and Jean-Baptiste Ducasse.

Colbert brought an elitist attitude to everyone who was involved in building and operating France's new navy, which was then handed down from one generation of the navy to the next.⁴⁴² This attitude was equally prevalent among those who served at sea, and passed on to those who worked in the naval shipyards—including the artists and sculptors involved in the making of the warships' sculptures.⁴⁴³ Colbert handed over France's maritime ministry to his son Seignelay in 1683. Seignelay continued to organize France's fleet, which continued to grow as Louis XIV's naval legacy.⁴⁴⁴

Before Colbert's appointment of Le Brun, Puget, Bérain, and Girardon, the naval sculptures were designed by the master painter or master sculptor working in the shipyard. Colbert's appointment of Le Brun and the other artists centralized this process. The new hierarchy overwhelmed the regional artists who had previously conceptualized the sculptures. They were now made to study classical drawings and statues and copy from them to bring uniformity to their work and meet Colbert's high standards. They were not always able to do so. For example, as I mentioned on pages 218, de La Rose prepared the initial sculptural drawings for the *Royal-Louis*, but these were rejected by Colbert in preference of the drawings by Le Brun.

The decree of 1674, the *Règlement pour la Police et Arsenaux de Marine*, gave to the master painter and the master sculptor of each naval shipyard the explicit task of making clear

⁴⁴² This elitist attitude was in part the result of the French navy's affiliation with the Knights of Saint John, where French naval officers served in the Order's fleet and were granted the status of knight. See James Pritchard, "Officers of the Sword." *Louis XV's Navy 1748-1762*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, p. 57.

⁴⁴³ There was a certain behaviour of being distinct by those that worked in the naval shipyards. This was previously mentioned on page 140, footnote 270.

⁴⁴⁴ There were 380 warships of all types built during the reign of Louis XIV. Acerra in *Rochefort et la construction navale française 1661-1815* quantifies this as initially consisting of batches of ship designs that were the result of an experimentation process. These were followed by more successful designs based on theoretical studies of what worked best and with third rates being the most numerous because they were easiest to build. Acerra, p. 308-21. Also, starting from 1700, there was a remarkable growth in commerce with Spanish America, generating significant wealth and creating an impetus to maintain a strong fleet in the Atlantic.

and exact drawings that would result in sculptures that were easy to make and low in cost: “les maîtres-peintres et sculpteurs feront des desseins justes et précis de tous les ouvrages qui seront à faire dans les vaisseaux de sa Majesté, observant dans les dites desseins, d’en rendre l’exécution facile et de peu de dépense.”⁴⁴⁵ This decree was issued after Puget had been removed from the naval shipyard at Toulon in 1671, but while Le Brun was still there. He would be replaced by Bérain in 1686. Hence, it seems that Colbert was content to have two different rules: one that demanded austerity for the sculptures designed by the regional artists, and one of permitting abundance by the artists he had appointed from the king’s court.

There are very few drawings for the interior decoration of the aftercastle cabins. However, the few drawings that have survived provide some indication of how the interior decoration was done. Besides the drawing of Figure 115 by de La Rose for the *Royal-Louis*, Figures 124 and 125 show two more examples of how the layout for the walls was treated.⁴⁴⁶ Théron, in an article written in 2001 titled *Les artistes de la Marine entretenus par le roi*, states that according to the documentation she found at the Service historique de la Défense, the actual decoration usually consisted of painted canvas stretched across the walls, using *trompe-l’œil* to mimic relief sculptures, gilded frames of panoramic paintings, and columns and mouldings.⁴⁴⁷

This was done for reasons of expediency and to avoid adding weight. Théron writes, “Dans les années 1690, la totalité des murs intérieurs de la salle du Conseil étaient recouverte de

⁴⁴⁵ *Règlement pour la Police et Arsenaux de Marine du 6 octobre 1674*. Archives nationales de France. Registres séries MAR A¹ 14. See also page 124, where I mention the decree of 1673, which demanded an immediate simplification of the sculptures.

⁴⁴⁶ Pascal de La Rose (1665-1745). “Projet de décoration pour la Chambre du Conseil du Royal-Louis (1667-1668).” 22.5 x 35.2 cm. Cabinet des Dessins. Musée du Louvre. RF 2379. Photo. *Neptunia* No. 186, 37. Anonymous. “Dessin des menuiseries pour la chambre du Royal-Louis (1667-1668).” 22.5 x 35.2 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69. f^o 71-71.

⁴⁴⁷ Théron. “Les artistes de la Marine entretenus par le roi sous l’ancien régime.” *Pour une histoire du Fait Maritime*. Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2001, p. 169.

toile. Pour éviter des surcharger de poids et raccourcir l'exécution de l'ouvrage, la plupart des décors de menuiserie, plinthe. Soubassements, placards d'ornements, colonnes, pilastre, étaient peinte en trompe-l'œil." The elaborate decoration of the interior of the cabins done in this manner continued up to the end of the reign of Louis XV in 1774, after which it was discontinued. This shows that when the decorative drawings for the interior of the cabins were approved, their actual rendition was subject to the measures stipulated by the decree of 1674, that they must be easy to make and low in cost: "d'en rendre l'exécution facile et de peu de dépense."⁴⁴⁸ This method of interior decoration was also used on palace walls, with murals imitating relief sculptures of figures and mouldings as shown by Figure 116.⁴⁴⁹

There is clear evidence of Louis XIV's interest in naval sculpture in some of his reported comments on the sculptural drawings presented to him. For example, when Colbert asked him to approve Le Brun's sculptural drawings for the *Royal-Louis*, he stated that he was particularly satisfied—"particulièrement satisfait." He was evidently pleased enough that he asked Colbert to have Le Brun do the drawings for the *Dauphin-Royal* as well.⁴⁵⁰ There is no other record of Louis XIV's direct involvement in naval sculpture. However, his visits to the ports of France were significant, and show that he had a strong interest in France's naval policy.

This interest was perceived by those who managed and worked in the naval program on his behalf and saw him as their patron. They all wanted his approval, an attitude confirmed by the overwhelming number of warships that were either named after him, such as the fleet flagships *Royal-Louis* and *Soleil Royal*, or proclaimed his greatest qualities, with names such as *Victorieux*, *Conquérant*, *Magnifique*, *Admirable*, and *Intrépide*. A survey of the known given

⁴⁴⁸ Théron, p. 169.

⁴⁴⁹ See reference on page 218 footnote 393.

⁴⁵⁰ Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 294.

names of warships built during the reign of Louis XIV shows that from the 148 warships built, there were a total of 113 warships that invoked the king's name in one manner or another, made up of 43 first rates, 53 second rates and 27 third rates. See Appendix Seven.⁴⁵¹

Louis XV saw the sea only once in his lifetime. This was in 1749 when he was 39 years old and he went to Le Havre in the company of Madame de Pompadour and the Admiral of France, duc de Penthièvre, to preside over the launching of three merchant ships (see Figure 126).⁴⁵² According to Zysberg, Louis XV seemed largely disinterested in France's naval affairs, and saw himself more as a man of philosophy and science and in keeping with the ethos of the Enlightenment: "son regard était celui d'un homme des Lumières."⁴⁵³

Nevertheless, under Louis XV, France's navy was well served and the comte de Maurepas, Pontchartrain, who ran the navy between 1723 and 1749, oversaw the development of cartographic instrumentation that became superior to that of the British and the Dutch, and directly helped to expand French maritime commerce towards the Antilles, India, and China. It was under Louis XV that the first naval school was established in Paris in 1741, with the purpose of teaching maritime science. It was also under Louis XV that the first naval medical schools were opened at Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort in 1768 to improve hygiene on board naval

⁴⁵¹ Appendix Seven consists of a survey of the given names to the warships of the French navy under the *ancien régime* and cover the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI.

⁴⁵² Jean-Baptiste Descamps (1715-1791). "Le Roy étant sur la Plage De La Rade du Havre Voit lancer 3 Navires à la mer et représenter un Combat Naval le 20 nov. 1749." 1753. Print. 45.5 x 63.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes. Paris. Note the absence of the figurehead for the ship entering the water. It would have been mounted after the hull was afloat, when completing the fitting of the hull's superstructure.

⁴⁵³ Zysberg. "Louis XIV, Louis XV et Louis XVI: parallèle des trois rois Bourbon et la mer."

ships.⁴⁵⁴ Under Louis XV, up to the 1740s, France enjoyed cordial relations with Britain, and as a result French maritime commerce flourished.

In 1753 Louis XV commissioned Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-89) to make a series of large paintings of the ports of France to depict the high volume of mercantile activity taking place, which was particular to each port.⁴⁵⁵ The king had Vernet's paintings hung at Versailles and in a way, he brought the ports of France to himself, just as Colbert had taken a small fleet of ships to Versailles for the benefit of Louis XIV.

However, the reign of Louis XV was also troubled with France fighting two separate wars on two fronts. These were the War of the Austrian Succession, which was a continental war in the east, and the Seven Years' War, which was a maritime war in the west. Although the king added to his realm the duchy of Lorraine and the duchy of Bar, as well as the Republic of Corsica, the loss of New France, the decimation of the French Atlantic fleet by the British, and Britain's dominance of the oceans caused Louis XV to lose faith in France's potential as a major naval power.⁴⁵⁶ For his part, Louis XV primarily saw the ocean as a means of promoting commercial prosperity rather than a place to fight wars. However, one cannot be separated from the other.

⁴⁵⁴ Henri-Louis Duhamel du Monceau in his capacity as "inspecteur-générale de la marine" founded the École de construction de Paris in 1741 to teach naval construction as a science, which before was mostly based on empirical methods. See Acerra, *Rocheport et la construction navale Française*, p. 348.

⁴⁵⁵ Nicolas Gaudreau discusses the importance of Vernet's paintings that became a testimony of France as a leader in global commerce in *Les marines sublimes et les ports de France chez Claude-Joseph Vernet*, Master's Thesis. Université de Montreal, 1999.

⁴⁵⁶ James Pritchard, in *Louis XV's Navy 1748-1762. A Study of Organization & Administration*, contends that France, as the richest and most powerful state in Europe at that time, failed to exercise its power at sea because the French navy, as an institution embedded in society, was subject to internal tensions arising from those who sought to advance their own personal interests rather than serve as an instrument that existed solely to fulfill the needs of the nation.

In response to the king's submissive attitude concerning France's naval strategy, there was an awakening of French patriotism that saw the duc Etienne-François Choiseul and his cousin the duc de Choiseul-Praslin repeat what Colbert had done in the 1680s. They began rebuilding the French navy with such innovative and successful warship designs that they were copied by the other European naval powers.⁴⁵⁷

There is no evidence of Louis XV being involved in the naval sculptures that decorated the French fleet. Yet the king's actions show that he nevertheless had a strong interest in France's naval policy with the development of cartography and the setting up of naval schools. The precedent set under Louis XIV of the king being the patron of the naval program was taken for granted under Louis XV by those who were involved in the construction of new warships.⁴⁵⁸

Once again, the flagships of the new fleet were named in honour of the king—*Royal-Louis*, *Dauphin-Royal*, and *Soleil Royal*, and to highlight his "*Bien-Aimé*" status—*Formidable*, *Espérance*, *Juste*, *Superbe*, and *Magnifique*. A survey of the known given names of the warships built during the reign of Louis XV shows that from the 130 warships built, there were a total of 84 warships that invoked the king's name in one manner or another. These consisted of three first rate warships, 49 warships of 80- and 74-cannons, and 32 warships of 64- and 50-cannons.

⁴⁵⁷ France's new 74-cannon warship was a particular success in its combination of manoeuvrability with firepower. It was built in high numbers and became the mainstay of the fleet. Boudriot dedicates a treatise of 4 volumes to this warship in *Le vaisseau de 74 canons*.

⁴⁵⁸ This stems from the continuation in naval policy by Colbert's son de Seignelay, who was succeeded by Louis Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain (1701-81) and then by Jérôme Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain (1674-1747), who, as ministers of the navy, were instrumental in ensuring that the French fleet was able to function in spite of those critical times in its history that threatened its capability. This contribution continued under the other ministers, but it was the precedent set by the Colbert family and followed by the Phélypeaux family that defined the importance of having a strong naval fleet. Sara E. Chapman describes the contribution made by the Phélypeaux family in keeping the French fleet in sailing order in "The Pontchartrains as secretaries of state for the navy and colonies." *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715*, University of Rochester Press, 2004.

There was also a resurgence in mythological references, with 25 warships having myth-related names for the 74-cannons and smaller.

Louis XVI saw the sea for the first time at the age of 32 when he went to Normandy for a week in June 1786 to review the conversion of Cherbourg from a fishing harbour to a major naval port, complete with a new breakwater. Zysberg reports then when the king was at Cherbourg, he was overjoyed and proud to be amongst those naval officers who had fought well in the war in America, and rewarded them with promotions. He also went on board the 74-cannon warship *Le Patriote*, where he had lunch with his chief of staff.⁴⁵⁹

During his childhood the young Louis XVI read the tales of explorers and was a student of Nicolas Ozanne (1728-1811), who was a naval artist at Versailles.⁴⁶⁰ The king seems to have always been implicated in naval matters and was determined to have a strong French navy. Between 1774 and 1778 he quadrupled funding for the construction of new warships. He also nationalized the industries that produced cannons and anchors for the navy.

The king was also implicated in the decree of 1784 that significantly bettered the conditions of those who served in the French fleet. In addition, he was involved in the detail-planning of exploratory marine expeditions to the Pacific and wanted these expeditions to go beyond the territories that Captain Cook had discovered. Although he opposed the war in America since it did not benefit France, he was persuaded to take part and used the French Atlantic fleet, which was considered superior in design, to isolate Britain both militarily and diplomatically.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ Zysberg. "Louis XIV, Louis XV et Louis XVI: parallèle des trois rois Bourbon et la mer."

⁴⁶⁰ Charles Auffret. *Une famille d'artistes brestois au XVIIIe siècle – Les Ozanne*. Rennes: Caillière éditeur, 1891, p. 106. www.archive.org/details/unefamilledartis00auff.

⁴⁶¹ Although the war was military successful, it was also very costly and precipitated France into a financial crisis that became the prelude to the French Revolution.

Louis XVI had a veritable passion for the sea and it was during his reign that the *ancien régime* accomplished its most brilliant naval endeavours. This earned him the approval of those who wanted a successful and powerful navy, approval which shows in the names of the new fleet flagships of *Royal-Louis* and *Dauphin-Royal*, and in the names that refer to Louis XVI as a successful warrior, such as *Invincible*, *Triomphant*, *Indomptable*, *Téméraire*, *Audacieux*, and *Superbe*. A survey for the known given names of the warships built during the reign of Louis XVI shows that of the 64 warships that were built, there were 30 that invoked the king's name in one manner or another, five first rates warships and 25 warships of 80- and 74-cannons. There were also 24 warships, 74-cannons and below, that were given mythological names.

I had previously stated that all new ships were named by the king's orders.⁴⁶² However, these orders do not specify how the names were decided. The sculptural theme was usually decided by the artist who did the drawing, which was based on the warship's given name, and yet the artist did not have full freedom in his decision. Colbert had set down a single rule that bound the sculptural artist to a particular sculptural theme, and this was followed through by successive ministers. The rule was simply that the sculpture had to allegorically celebrate the glory of the king: "célébrer sous forme allégorique la gloire du Louis XIV."

Although this was not necessarily always true, there was usually a match between a warship's name and the thematic composition of the sculptural drawings. The table on the next page summarizes the result of the survey shown in Appendix Seven for all three reigns. This groups the names for each successive reign by type for all known warships built.

⁴⁶² See page 161 that cites from the king's orders found in the Archives nationales de France.

Survey of the Given Names of Warships Built during the *Ancien Régime*

Louis XIV (1661-1715)	Warships named after...	Total warships	1st rate	2nd rate	3rd rate		
	Monarchy	123	43	53	27		
	Mythology	12		3	9		
	Private Sponsor						
	Animal						
	Various	14		10	4		
	Total	149					
Louis XV (1723-1774)	Warships named after...	Total warships	1st rate	80 cannons	74 cannons	64 cannons	50 cannons
	Monarchy	84	3	6	43	26	6
	Mythology	25			8	9	8
	Private Sponsor	12	2	4	4	1	1
	Animal	5				1	4
	Various	16		8	1	5	2
	Total	132					
Louis XVI (1774-1793)	Warships named after...	Total warships	1st rate	80 cannons	74 cannons	64 cannons	
	Monarchy	30	5	6	19		
	Mythology	23			22	1	
	Private Sponsor	8	2	1	5		
	Animal	2			2		
	Various	8			8		
	Total	71					

As can be seen from the table, the given names show that Colbert's rule was faithfully followed throughout all three reigns. The allegorical celebration was achieved either by directly naming the king or his attributes, or by making reference to a mythological deity, which alluded to the king's desire to be close to God. However, those warships built under Louis XV and Louis XVI that were funded by private sponsors were named after their private sponsor, which was usually a city or a region.

Undoubtedly, the attitude of the three kings towards the ship construction programs under their successive reigns supported the ongoing production of naval sculpture. One major agent in the production network of naval sculpture were the sculptural centres in the naval shipyards that

Colbert had set up, which continued to operate under all three reigns. These sculptural centres generated a sense of duty towards the king and an enduring sense of pride in serving him.

However, the naval shipyards of France already had a strong sense of self-worth before Colbert launched his one hundred-ship program in 1668. Brest, Toulon, and Soubise had built twelve warships prior to 1668, with the earliest being the 60-cannon warship *Reine* built at Toulon in 1647 and the 72-cannon warship *Vendome* built at Brest in 1651.

The national importance France's naval shipyards gave towards the practice of naval sculpture cannot be underestimated.⁴⁶³ These shipyards were centres that made preparations for naval warfare, but they also served as regional economic, social, and technological hubs.⁴⁶⁴ They also created a profession of shipbuilders that was unequalled in Europe.⁴⁶⁵ In addition, the sculptural activity fostered by the naval shipyards also served to make them artistic centres that drew talent from the region and beyond, as we saw in the biographies of those who worked on the *Royal-Louis* of 1668.

However, the naval shipyards did not automatically enjoy prosperity. They were subject to irregularities in their production rhythm that depended on the presence of war or peace and the way in which the French economy was being sustained. As well, over the longer term, when a

⁴⁶³ See Appendix Ten. "The Shipcarving Workshops of the Ports" by Françoise de Franclieu in *Figures de proues – Ornaments de navires*. Dunkerque: Musée portuaire. Exhibition catalogue, 11 December 1999 for a brief history of naval sculpture in the naval shipyards of France.

⁴⁶⁴ See Le Mao. *Les villes portuaires maritimes dans la France moderne*.

⁴⁶⁵ Acerra states in *Rochefort et la construction navale française* that the naval shipyards of France installed a tightly controlled and rigid hierarchical organization that evolved into a recognized profession of shipbuilders. These started their own family dynasties, where expertise was passed from senior to junior. Coulomb, Chapelle, Morineau, and Olliver are mentioned as leaders who shaped the development of the French warship. The hierarchical organization of the naval shipyard under Louis XV acknowledged this with the profession of the shipbuilder clearly defined by its professional designation of "*officier de la plume*," appointed by the king and equal in rank to the naval officer, "*officier de l'épée*." Acerra adds that the professionalism of naval construction rose to such high esteem that in 1776, the title of "*ingénieur constructeur*" superseded that of "*constructeur*" to give it a firm professional footing. This professionalism was further extended in 1786 when the king created the position of "*ingénieur directeur*."

campaign for the construction of a batch of warships was over, funding to the shipyard was reduced.

A review of the production of warships by naval shipyard and by year shows that usually the shipyard would be teeming with activity during periods of war and would become slack when war ended. Hence, the question arises: how did the sculptural centres retain their expertise when, during the quiet periods, the artists and tradespeople who worked on the sculptures dispersed? One would expect that those on contract would be laid off. The master sculptor and the master painter were not usually at risk because they were appointed positions, and also because they could find other employment outside the naval shipyard, thus bridging the interruption in their work between one batch of warships and the next.⁴⁶⁶

A timeline of ship construction under all three reigns—that is, from 1688 to 1793—shows that it was possible for the naval shipyards to retain their sculptural skills because there was usually at least one warship beginning construction and one warship completing construction in the major ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon on a continuing basis from one year to the next. This is confirmed by the list in Appendix Seven. From the moment the lumber

⁴⁶⁶ Acerra, in “La Gestion de Personnel.” *Rochefort et la construction navale française*, vol. 3, states that those who worked on the construction of a warship were remunerated in two manners: a steady regular pay for those on permanent appointment in the naval shipyard; and a contractual pay to those entrepreneurs entrusted to complete a set piece of work. This included the artistic sculptors and painters. This method had both benefits and drawbacks. Those on permanent appointment were always available, but were not necessarily fast in doing the work, while those on contract, although they were the most price advantageous, were not always available when needed due to doing other work elsewhere. The naval shipyards decided to retain both methods to try and balance the workload. To keep costs down, the naval yards also pressed convicts into doing manual labour, in particular carrying the heavy lumber. This manner of managing the work began in the late seventeenth century and continued late into the eighteenth century, where orders for work began being printed in several copies for distribution to entrepreneurs, and where the finished work underwent a rigorous quality verification by the naval yard authorities. Acerra, pp. 340-41. This quality verification would become the duty of the “*officier détail de construction*.” See the chart on page 141. This situation also existed in the naval shipyard in Canada where the naval program was executed by a mixture of king’s shipwrights imported from France and local contracted carpenters that doubled as shipwrights, and those in indentured servitude who worked as labourers hauling and preparing the lumber.

was prepared in order to lay the keel up to completion of the build it took about eighteen months for a first rate, while a second rate took twelve months, and a third rate took eight months. The table below summarizes this by showing the average number of yearly known launches from 1688 to 1793.

Average Yearly Warship Construction from 1688 to 1793

Monarch	Years of Reign	Brest	Rochefort	Toulon	Dunkerque Le Havre Lorient & Other Shipyards	Number of Warships Launched	Average Yearly Construction
Louis XIV	54	38	22	42	47	149	2.7
Louis XV	51	50	18	42	19	130	2.6
Louis XVI	19	24	18	19	10	71	3.7

The appointment by Colbert of artists such as Le Brun and his successors to do the sculptural drawings, the presence of dynasties such as the Caffieri family, and the appointment of master sculptors and master painters in the naval shipyards also ensured continuity. This continuity is particularly apparent in the sculptural drawings done over the years. The figurehead retained its prominence as a focal centre at the bow when the warship made its way through the waves under full sail. The stylistic changes to the figurehead that occurred as the trend shifted from Baroque to Rococo to Neoclassicism occurred gradually, with some sculptures blending the old and new styles. Step-changes were the result of major architectural changes to the hull, and even more noticeably the aftercastle and quarter castle; they were not the result of interruptions that would have stopped production and altered the design when it started up again for new sculptures. The artists and sculptors were well entrenched in their traditions and doggedly proud to continue producing their work the way it had been done in the past. When the available

sculptural space was reduced, they found clever ways to use the new restrictions that had been imposed upon them.

Hence, although the central administration at Versailles wielded its power by allocating the funding for the construction of warships, which included funds to make the sculptures, and the warships were named by means of the king's orders, the sculptural composition and its rendition remained the prerogative of the sculptural artist and the sculptor. It is true that the sculptural drawings had to be approved by the naval shipyard's intendant, but this did not deter the sculptural artists from being bold in their efforts to show off their artistic capabilities in order to honour the king.

Remuneration for those who worked on the warship's sculptures was based on the allotment made by the shipyard's intendant, with a wide range that showed preferences and inconsistencies. It was only after 1793 that uniformity in remuneration was set.⁴⁶⁷ During the last fourteen years of the reign of Louis XIV—that is, between 1701 and 1715—France was hit with a financial crisis because of a succession of bad harvests. Those who worked for the state, including those who worked in the naval shipyards, including the sculptors, had their pay deferred.⁴⁶⁸ In response, they demanded to be paid double when funding became available, which had lasting consequences: the rates for sculptural work never returned to their original level, and remained high throughout the period.⁴⁶⁹ Regardless, warships continued to be built, with sixteen new launches between 1702 and 1708 and one in 1712. The peace treaties of Utrecht in 1713 and of Rasdadt in 1714 did not help matters and all new construction was stopped. Misery persisted and the plague epidemic of 1720 made things worse. Naval shipyard

⁴⁶⁷ Théron. *L'ornementation sculptée*, pp. 39.

⁴⁶⁸ Théron, p. 69.

⁴⁶⁹ Théron, p. 168.

workers began to leave and it became a priority to maintain the skill base. As a result, a decree was issued, titled *Règlement pour la conduite police et payement des ouvriers et journaliers qui servent dans les portes de Toulon, Brest et Rochefort du 6 janvier 1722*, that set payments by trade, a pension at retirement, and training.⁴⁷⁰ Warship construction resumed slowly when two 74-cannons were built at Brest in 1720, and two 74-cannons were built in Rochefort and Toulon, respectively, in 1722. Construction began again at a regular rate in 1723.

The decree of 1722 divided the level of skills for each trade by responsibility and resulted in each trade group being appointed with its “*chef d’ouvrage*,” “*contremaître*,” “*maîtres*,” “*garçons apprenants*,” and “*apprenti*.” This encouraged the creation of family dynasties, wherein the father would pass on his skills to his son.⁴⁷¹ Another decree was issued in 1765 that set the number of “*garçons apprenants*” and “*apprenti*” for each naval shipyard, and also reinforced the privilege of first choice of employment for those children whose parents were already employed by that shipyard. As a result, training schools were established within the naval shipyards. These included the artistic schools run by the master painter of the shipyard, with the principles of drawing taught as a foundation course. Here, the most prominent students were given the opportunity to further their studies in Paris and Rome for periods of two years.⁴⁷²

The naval shipyards of France were the first of their kind as industrial zones. They created a vast economic network that went beyond their immediate neighbourhood to distant sites. They set themselves apart from their surroundings with their composition of hundreds of highly skilled employees that comprised senior naval personnel, administrative staff reporting directly into Versailles, and experts in naval construction. All of them performed a suite of

⁴⁷⁰ Théron, pp. 83-4.

⁴⁷¹ Théron, p. 72.

⁴⁷² Jean-Baptiste de La Rose fils as one of the students that benefitted from this policy was sent to study in Rome in 1722 at the age of 26. Théron, p. 85.

significantly different activities with a common objective. Their organization was tantamount to an ongoing military operation. The sculptural activity in the naval shipyards found protection within this framework and its practice persisted in spite of the calamities of war and economic crisis that preoccupied the administration at Versailles. This persistence is also due to the resilience of those agents in the production network of naval sculpture who saw it as their mission not simply to decorate the warships of the French navy, but to glorify the king in all his magnificence. Hence, as long as there was a monarch, the practice of naval sculpture had its own clearly defined “*raison d’être*.” As a result, the naval sculpture of France under the *ancien régime* became its own language with its subtle choice of compositions that could primarily be understood by those involved in the production process.

The names given to the warships, which, in their majority, made reference to the king throughout all three reigns, were the catalyst that started the process. Until the warship’s given name was announced, the sculptural composition could not be done.⁴⁷³ Once the warship’s given name was known, the theme of the sculptural composition could be determined and the process for making the sculptures could begin. This procedure was consistent throughout the practice of naval sculpture for all French warships for all naval shipyards.

⁴⁷³ The best example of this can be found in correspondence concerning the naval construction program in Québec. The naval shipyard in Québec was run in an identical manner to that of any other naval shipyard in France, except that the distance between Versailles and Québec created logistical obstacles and the construction program required good time management to meet its deadlines. For example, correspondence from the naval shipyard’s “*constructeur*” René-Nicolas Levasseur in Québec to the minister of the navy Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, asks for the warship’s name because the sculptures of the ship under construction cannot be started otherwise, and this was delaying progress. Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Section Canada. C¹¹A V99 f 509v. Levasseur au ministre, 1754.10.15. This particular situation persisted and the intendant of New France Gilles Hocquart had to follow up by writing again to Maurepas requesting to know what the name of the ship would be so that he could instruct the sculptor: “Je vous prie Monseigneur de m’instruire / du nom que sa Majesté aura donné à la / fregate de 22 canons qui est sur le chantier, / pour la faire decorer d’une sculpture / convenable et pour l’expédition des décharges / Hocquart.” Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Section Canada. Série C¹¹A, vol 84. f^o 184. Hocquart au ministre, 1745.11.06.

The unique “*raison d’être*” of French naval sculpture becomes particularly clear when the process of shipbuilding in France is compared to that of French Canada when between 1738 and 1759, twelve Canadian warships were built. Correspondence between the minister of the navy in Versailles and the intendant in French Canada shows that as far as the minister of the navy was concerned, the Canadian-built warships were to have minimal sculpture. The sculptors who worked in the naval shipyards in Québec did not hold permanent positions; they usually worked on sculptures for churches and for the decoration of buildings. Also, there was no appointed sculptural artist and no sculptural centre as such, and neither was there a sculptural or artistic school.

As a result, the production line in French Canada was not as robust and the Canadian naval sculptors did not have the same support in terms of infrastructure as their counterparts in France. This led Versailles and Québec to agree that the sculptural decoration had to be minimal and preferably done in the style of furniture decoration—“*ébénisterie*,” rather than in the overtly decorative manner of French sculptural compositions.⁴⁷⁴

In my discussion of the French-Canadian naval construction program on page 172, I noted that the names given to the Canadian-built ships used Indigenous references and did not make any reference to the king. This shows that two major concessions were made by Versailles

⁴⁷⁴ For example, the intendant of New France Hocquart writes about the sculptures for the frigate *Castor*: “S’ils ne sont pas trop composés les sculpteurs que nous avons icy les exécuteront.” The second letter from Hocquart writes about the sculptures for the ship-of-the-line *St. Laurent*: “Il convien que les ornemens soient simple / de facile exécution et proportionnée au peu d’habilité des sculpteurs de ce pays icy.” Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Section Canada. Séries C¹¹A V^o 77. f^o363v-364. Hocquart au ministre, 1742.09.28. V^o 85. f^o 64v. Hocquart au ministre, 1746.10.09. 5. Hocquart also wrote to Maurepas to inform him about the intention to have a simple sculptural decoration for the *Castor*: “Contenteront de faire faire un simple / ornement de menuiserie comme / a la flute Le Canada avec quelques / feuilles de refente a la Poupe, et une / figure à l’avant.” Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Section Canada. Séries C¹¹A V^o 77. f^o364. Hocquart au ministre, 1742.09.28. These statements must be put into context with the elaborate decorations being carried out by the sculptors in the French naval shipyards at that time.

compared to the long-established practice in use at the time: the sculptural decorations for the Canadian-built warships could be simplistic, and the warships could be named without referring to the king, thus freeing the sculptural composition from the requirement for royal allegorical representation.⁴⁷⁵ Appendix Eight list the Canadian-built warships by name to illustrate this distinction.

The fact that the practice of naval sculpture in French Canada—that is, outside France—was treated so liberally reinforces the notion that in France, naval sculpture abided by its own, inward-facing “*raison d’être*.” It consistently maintained the rigours of its own production process. However, another aspect needs to be considered, which is that French Canada was a colony, and the colonial administration might have expressly downplayed the capabilities of the Canadian sculptors. In fact, the same sculptors had also done church sculptures that equalled those of Italy in terms of artistic merit.⁴⁷⁶ They were easily capable of producing high-quality naval sculptures.

The request for the Canadian-built warships to have simple designs might, of course, have come from a genuine desire to keep costs down and speed up construction. As we have seen, this was an objective the administration of France dreamed of achieving. However, the production process of naval sculpture in France had become staunchly institutionalized. Its practice celebrated the king as absolute ruler with the divine right to rule and resulted in the creation of sculptures that took on the form of a divine effigy. Hence, as mentioned, naval sculpture became more than just a visual language, with its iconography chosen according to a

⁴⁷⁵ The Indigenous names given to the Canadian-built warships can be interpreted as alluding to the king’s overseas territory, and as such indirectly referring to the king and the scope of his power. Conversely, they can also be interpreted as distinct in their own right and directly referring to French Canada as an overseas territory that was distinct from France.

⁴⁷⁶ See Porter and Bélisle in *La Sculpture Ancienne au Québec: Trois siècles d’art religieux et profane*.

prescribed logic that glorified the monarch. The sculptures, done as a figurehead at the bow and a relief sculpture at the stem, mythicized the king as the pantocreator who victoriously engaged with lesser powers and governed the world.

The figurehead sculpture occupied a prominent position, and its unique design often seemed to personify the ship. As a result, the crew tended to attach a superstitious significance to its presence.⁴⁷⁷ Regardless of its thematic composition, the figurehead was seen as offering protection to the ship and to the crew when it set sail.⁴⁷⁸ When one considers that the purpose of ancient and medieval naval sculpture was to decorate the ship's bow and stem to invoke the protection of the gods when the ship passed through extreme elements, it follows that the naval sculpture of the French warship, too, inherited this superstitious dimension.

The allegorical themes of the early sculptures at Versailles conceptualized by Le Brun during Louis XIV's reign were intended to provide a symbolic relationship between the composition of the sculpture and the definition of a concept that was usually mythological.⁴⁷⁹ The purpose of this was to place the king as one with the universe by establishing a mystical connection with the ancient Greeks and their deities.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁷ Every figurehead was unique unless it was a lion, which was mostly used for the lesser-rated ships.

⁴⁷⁸ The decoration of the ship's bow and stem with sculptures to protect the ship during its voyage from exterior elements is as old as the history of seafaring and has its origins with the ancient dedication of ships to the sea gods. The crew assimilated their ship as one with the dragon, serpent, or other mythical sea animal. The decoration also reflected the animism of a ship as a living being with the hull being the body, the bow carrying the head and the stem having a tail. This was previously mentioned in the Introduction on page 4. See the reference to Villain-Gandossi in footnote 9.

⁴⁷⁹ Teyssède, in describing the sculptures at Versailles defines this mystical concept as follows: "L'objet allégorique désigne une idée par elle-même invisible; sa présence est le substitut d'une absence; sa fonction tend à s'épuiser dans le message. Le lien mystique est plus intime: à la fois plus secret, puisque le signifié, non seulement ne peut être vu, mais ne peut être pensée et plus essentiel, car la forme qu'il revêt, ne peut lui rester étranger, elle ne l'évoquerait pas si elle ne participait de lui. Le rapport logique est remplacé par une relation symbolique," p. 210.

⁴⁸⁰ Teyssède, in defining the intent of these sculptures states: "«flatter le plus grand des Roys qui terrasse ses ennemis, régit en Soleil le cycle des temps, soumet la nature et les peuples, fait de sa merveilleuse demure un abrégé de l'Univers; revalitiser avec les grecs anciens, en empruntant à leur mythes les attributs et symboles à leur gout les modèles idéaux qui leur donneront forme sensible, avec les Italiens

When an artist does a portrait painting or a bust sculpture, the artist normally forms a relationship with the subject so that not only the likeness but the personality and character are suitably represented. We can see this personal contact between the artist and the subject in Le Brun's painting titled "La seconde conquête de Franche-Comté en 1674," in which the king is hailed as victorious and powerful, and is thus revered (see Figure 127).⁴⁸¹ Hence, when Le Brun began work on the sculptural compositions for the warships, he knew the king sufficiently well to be able to compose an allegorical theme that effectively symbolized the king. Le Brun did this by appropriating the signs and symbols of ancient Greek deities. Puget also had this personal contact with the king. He did large-size medallion sculptures where he was able to portray the king as worthy of reverence (see Figure 128).⁴⁸²

The situation was different for the Caffieri and de La Rose families. They did work for both Louis XIV and Louis XV, but this consisted mostly in palace decorations and furniture. There are no known palace portraits or sculptures of the king that they may have done. They would not have known the king as the subject of their compositions to the same extent as Le Brun and Puget.

Therefore, the familiarity between the portrait artist and the subject, which can be considered an essential ingredient for a successful portrait, was not present for the naval shipyard artists. Although they were tasked with doing sculptural compositions that featured the king, they

modernes, en renouvelant par quatre Raps la priorie du Bernini, l'équilibre harmonieux d'un groupe contrasté," p. 200.

⁴⁸¹ Charles Le Brun (1619-90). "La seconde conquête de la Franche-Comté en 1674." Château de Versailles. <http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c22.html>. See also by Le Brun, "Entrée de Louis XIV a Dunkerque, tapisserie des Gobelins sur l'Histoire du Roi exécuté entre 1673-1679." Teyssède. Photo, p. 114.

⁴⁸² Pierre Puget (1619-90). "Portrait de Louis XIV. Atelier de Pierre Puget (1620-1694), vers 1688-90. Médaille en marbre sculpté en haut relief. Diam. 66 cm." <http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/arts-decoratifs-16-19eme-siecle-pf1411/lot.241.html>.

had to rely on images that had been done by other artists. The most likely sources were the coins in circulation under each successive regime, which always bore the official king's portrait. Otherwise, sculptures of public monuments of the king, prints and portrait paintings would be the principal sources of reference.

A survey was carried out of the sculptural drawings used as references for this dissertation in order to determine how their compositions forged a connection between the king and the viewer. The results of the survey are given in Appendix Nine. This covered the sculptural drawings of 67 warships, which is equal to 20% of the total number of the 352 warships built that are listed in Appendix Seven.⁴⁸³

The results show that throughout all three reigns there was consistency in the way in which the sculptural compositions used signs and symbols to inform the viewer about their king, irrespective of changes to the sculptural form or transitions in style over time. I made reference on page 27 of Mitchell's proposal that the analysis of an art object requires investigating its inherent ideology. Exploring the function of these signs and symbols demands just this method. Mitchell's approach also acts as a corrective principle, as postulated by Panofsky, in terms of the role of the agencies of personages, objects, and concepts that governed the production network of naval sculpture.

Let me explain this. All sculptural artists praised the king by using signs and symbols in their compositions that promoted a powerful ruler. They used the royal coat of arms, the royal crown, and the fleur-de-Lys to establish the king's hereditary right to rule; they made use of ancient warriors, the sceptre and fasces, and war trophies to project the king's power; they made

⁴⁸³ This gives a sampling error of 19 % using the standard sampling calculation.

medallions with the king's image to resemble medallions of ancient heroes to inspire reverence; and they depicted the sun emitting its rays to announce the king's divine right to rule.

This can be verified by starting with the first drawing of the warship *Rubis* built in 1664, which has on its stern plate the royal crown and the king's monogram as a symbol of rule, and ending with the last drawing of the warship *Majesteux*, built in 1794, which has the figurehead of a Roman warrior as a sign of power.

The most common symbol used to show the king's hereditary right to rule was the royal coat of arms, consisting of a shield framed with decorative motifs and containing the three fleur-de-Lys. This was usually put at the centre panel of the railings of the upper gallery.

Complementing this was the royal crown, which was usually placed above the coat of arms. The king's monogram superposed on a shield was also used. This was mostly placed on the railings of the lower gallery. In the 67 drawings surveyed, there were a total of 30 instances that had, in one manner or another, the royal coat of arms, the royal crown, the king's monogram, and the fleur-de-Lys as a decorative pattern that promoted the king's destined authority.

The signs used to project the king's royal power mostly comprised figureheads of Roman soldiers in combat armour. Some figureheads showed the king himself.⁴⁸⁴ In these cases, the sceptre and fasces were included as a reminder that the king's authority belonged exclusively to him. See for example Figure 76 of the warship *Royal-Louis* of 1758, which has a figurehead of Louis XV dressed in Roman combat armour and holding a sceptre, and Figure 77 of the *Royal-Louis* of 1779, which has a figurehead of Louis XVI in similar attire, also holding a sceptre.

There are a total of 23 drawings that project the king's power in this manner. The use of war

⁴⁸⁴ The representation of the king as a Roman warrior can be also found in public monuments of that era. See for example Jean Warin (1604-72). "Statue en pied de Louis XIV, âgée de 30 ans, vêtu à la romaine," 1668. Le salon de Vénus, Versailles; Antoine Coysevox (1640-1720), "Statue de Louis XIV en empereur romain," 1689. Hôtel Le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

trophies complemented this projection of force. These were part of the decoration for the arch of the stern plate, represented as unfurled banners and raised cannons to signal that they were victorious in battle.

Several of the drawings have a large medallion at the stern plate that contains a portrait of the king. The medallion portrait has its origins in the commemoration of ancient Greek and Roman emperors.⁴⁸⁵ Its use continued throughout the ages and gained popularity with the cameo, a medallion with a profile cut in raised relief that was worn as a brooch, ring, or medallion.⁴⁸⁶

Use of the medallion portrait or cameo can also be found in commemorative paintings of the king and in paintings praising the king for his attributes. This manner of representing the king, not directly in a portrait but with the medallion as an intermediate medium, increased the distance between the viewer and the king, and rendered the king mystical. See for example Figure 72 of the warship *L'Illustre* of 1759. There were a total of sixteen instances in which the medallion was used. The intent was always to demand the respect of the viewer by depicting the king as one worthy of reverence in a similar manner as medallions that had a mystical connotation.⁴⁸⁷

In order to announce the king's divine right to rule, some sculptural drawings used images of the sun emitting bright rays to invoke the presence of Apollo as the sun god, and also

⁴⁸⁵ See for example the gold medallion with the portrait of Alexander the Great, 242-243 CE. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland. The museum description states: "Alexander the Great gazes heavenward and bears a shield decorated with signs of the zodiac. The back of the medallion depicts Alexander and Nike, goddess of victory, riding in a chariot, flanked by the deities Roma and Mars." <http://www.art.thewalters.org/browse/category/ancient-greece>.

⁴⁸⁶ The image in the cameo was usually that of a loved one. See Anna M. Miller *Cameos Old and New*, Gemstone Press, 1998, who gives the history of the cameo and delves into its romance.

⁴⁸⁷ Examples of the use of the framed medallion containing the king's portrait can also be found in the paintings by Loir "Allégorie de la fondation de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture" of Figure 14 and by Jean Garnier, "Médallion de Louis XIV entouré des attributs des Arts." Château de Versailles, Grand Palais. www.histoire-image.org/etudes/louis-xiv-protecteur-arts-sciences.

by showing representations of ancient deities to equate the king with divinity.⁴⁸⁸ The sun is used in seven examples, as part of the overall composition for the stern plate. The ancient deities, either as a figurehead or as part of a sculptural theme at the stern plate, were used in six instances.

It is also worth mentioning the profuse use in several of the drawings of angels that decorate the upper part of the aftercastle, and of mermaids at the lower part of the aftercastle as caryatides to support the upper gallery. Both the angels and the mermaids were meant to pay homage to the king. Their use symbolizes the king's connection with heaven and his role as ruler of the sea.

The signs and symbols found in the sculptural drawings were not unique to naval sculpture. These were also used for public monuments, sculptures, and paintings that were made to honour the king. In a similar manner, the ancient deities were also used for the sculptures of the gardens of Versailles. However, what makes these signs and symbols unique in naval sculpture is their direct association with the king, which is highlighted by the warship's given name. A survey of the sculptural drawings in Appendix Nine permitted me to quantify the use of the different signs and symbols that promoted the king as the rightful hereditary ruler with the power to rule derived from his divine right. The breakdown of the survey is provided in the table on the next page.

⁴⁸⁸ The use of the sun emitting strong rays to imply that the king was connected with a higher power was used before by Charles VII (1403-61). See for example the tapestry by Jacob de Litemont hanging at the Louvre with its English title, "A dais for the throne of Charles VII," 1430-40. 292 x 285 cm. Wool and silk. Musée du Louvre OA 12281. The English version of the museum inscription reads: "This tapestry was intended to form the vertical part of a canopy above the throne of King Charles VII. When the tapestry was in place, two angels from heaven arrived to crown the King of France, thus symbolizing the divine essence of his royalty and seemingly illustrating the words of Joan of Arc following the coronation of the king at Reims in 1429: Thus is God's pleasure enacted, he who would that you should come to Reims and receive your noble coronation by showing that you are truly King and he to whom this kingdom should belong."

Analysis of the Signs & Symbols in the Sculptural Compositions

King's Inherited Right	King's Monogram	Royal Crown	Shield with 3 Fleur-de-Lys	Royal Coat of Arms
Louis XIV	3	7	7	4
Louis XV	8	7	11	8
Louis XVI	1	1	0	3
Total	12	15	18	15

King's Power	Representation of Warrior	Sceptre & Fasces	War Trophies	
Louis XIV	3	2	2	
Louis XV	6	2	5	
Louis XVI	3	1	0	
Total	12	5	7	

King's Divinity	Medallion Portraits	Sun	Deities	
Louis XIV	11	3	1	
Louis XV	6	3	3	
Louis XVI	2	0	2	
Total	19	6	6	

To enhance this analysis, the results of the tabulation above were grouped according to the particular qualities of the king that they emphasized. The grouping of symbols illustrating the king's power was used to collate the data for the king as victorious. The grouping showing the king's inherited right to rule was used to collate the data for the king's righteousness. The grouping for the king's divinity was used to collate the data for the king as divine. The final result is shown in the table on the next page.

Analysis of the King's Attributes in the Sculptural Compositions

King's Attributes	King as Victorious	King as Righteous	King as Divine	Total	Number of Drawings
Louis XIV	7	21	15	43	28
Louis XV	13	34	12	59	30
Louis XVI	4	5	4	13	9

The total number of instances exceed the number of drawings, because most of the sculptural compositions contained more than one symbol. As can be seen from this table, representations of the king's righteousness as a result of his inherited right to rule were the most common.

Most of the drawings were done in either lead pencil or black ink on white paper, with the selective use of shading or wash to push a feature into the background and give the drawing a three-dimensional effect. This was done especially in depictions of the quarter castle. See for example the drawings in Figures 39 and 40. The use of shading or wash indicated that the lighter area next to it was a simulated protrusion that was either to be made as such by the sculptor or that the painter would simulate by painting a dark shadow where shown on the drawing. The simulated protrusion on the sculptural drawings was also used by the shipwright to build the frame that was to support the sculptured panels.

For reasons of convenience and expediency, there was rarely any colour in the sculptural drawings. Correspondence about the status of the warships under construction sometimes laments the fact that the sculptural drawings were not yet done and suggests that they were holding up the process. See for example the letter by Maurepas to Vassé of 17 June 1724 that was mentioned on page 180. By not using colours, however, the drawings could be finished sooner. Some drawings for the stern show that only one half was actually drawn, and the paper was folded over so that the second half could be traced, to save time and effort. This again shows

that the artist doing the drawing wanted to be as efficient as possible. Above all, though, the line drawing was preferred because it was easy to read when doing the sculpture.

There are a few sculptural drawings that are coloured. The most noteworthy is the set of drawings by Bérain for the stem and stern of *Le Soleil Royal*. But these were done after the sculptures had been produced, and they were meant for presentation to the king (see Figure 129).⁴⁸⁹

The sculptural drawings done in black and white also need to be contextualized within an ongoing debate at Versailles between those who favoured drawing and those who favoured painting. Two schools of thought emerged from this debate. More specifically, there was a distinct divide between the sculptors who saw the line drawing as the only relevant reference for their work, and the painters who believed that colour was the best way to express a concept.

Teyssède explains this best when he mentions the discussion that took place during the time when Le Brun was director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.⁴⁹⁰ He states in “Le débat du dessin et du coloris:” “Charles Le Brun, dessinateur, partisan de Poussins, Roger de Piles, coloriste, partisan de Rubens, l’antithèse est un peu sommaire, mais elle domine toutes la théorie de la peinture en ce siècle.”⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ Jean Vary from Jean Bérain (1640-1711). “Bouteille et Proue du vaisseau Le Soleil Royal, gouache et rehauts d’or sur vélin,” 1670. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Photo Nicolas Milovanovic. *Louis Quatorze L’homme et le roi*. Paris: ESPF, 2009. Cat.84

⁴⁹⁰ A reminder that Le Brun was nominated by Colbert as director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1663 and held this post until 1683 when Colbert died.

⁴⁹¹ Teyssède, p. 233. A follow-up to Teyssède is Jacquelin Lichtenstein who in *La couleur éloquentte: Rhétorique et peinture à l’âge classique*. Paris: Flammarion, 1989, reviews the use of colour in seventeenth-century France and the discussions that ensued in its use. In introducing the topic, Lichtenstein writes: “Philosophiquement suspecte à cause de son caractère matériel, moralement coupable en raison de son éclat séducteur, la couleur a longtemps été jugée esthétiquement dangereuse: source d’un plaisir et d’une beauté qu’on ne sentait pas immédiatement raccordables au Vrai et au Bien. C’est là un des aspects du conflit que la raison entretient avec l’univers des formes sensibles, et ce qui fait que la peinture (que l’on ne peut réduire au dessin) est un péril pour toute harmonie de savoir, toute ordonnance de théorie: tout discours qui doit faire en elle l’expérience de son insuffisance.”

Teyssède additionally describes the way in which this debate found its way to the Académie, which was also meant to be a place of instruction for drawing—for both painters and sculptors. Teyssède states that the current thought at the Académie deemed the colour of a painting to reduce the artist to an artisan who daubed with paint brushes: “La primaut du dessein ou dessin engage la structure même de l’enseignement à l’Académie, puisque c’est une école du crayons, commune aux peintres et aux sculpteurs; tenir le coloris pour principal serait traiter les artistes en artisans du pinceau, les assimiler aux barbouilleurs de la maîtrise plutôt qu’à des poètes soucieux de vraisemblance.”⁴⁹²

Teyssède further describes how the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture mitigated the debate with the use of light and shadow in drawings, a technique which curiously enough was proposed by de Piles, who was a leading proponent of the use of colour:

“L’Académie enseigne à traiter le clair et l’obscur conjointement et d’une seule vue. C’est pourtant Roger de Piles, le coloriste, qui introduit l’expression: clair-obscur, et cette audace de langue équivaut à un concept nouveau. Ce sont autant de contour internes qui les délimitent, et qu’on doit prononcer avec netteté, quitte à les adoucir après coup par des tons de passage.”⁴⁹³

This manner of representation with the use of *claire-obscur* was judiciously applied to the sculptural drawings throughout the period to show the sculptors how the sculptural work should be done. It was used especially to illustrate the form of the figurehead and the transition of the rails to the roundness of the bow. An example is the drawing by Philippe Caffieri of *Le Lis* of 1745 (see Figure 71). It was also used to simulate the bulge at the quarter castle.

The artistic rendition of these sculptures required three essential elements that, if executed successfully, would result in a pleasing effect. These rules mandated that the form of

⁴⁹² Teyssède, p. 233.

⁴⁹³ Teyssède, p. 230.

the sculpture must give a feeling of depth, the features of the sculpture must appear realistic, and the contours of the sculpture must be in equilibrium. As Teyssède writes of Girardon's sculptures for Versailles: "Ce qui Girardon a merveilleusement réussi, c'est une composition dans l'espace, qui a partir d'une épaisseur restreinte donne une illusion de profondeur sans borne. L'artiste assume une triple contradiction: concevoir un trompe-l'œil grâce à l'irréel éclat de l'or; enfin prendre appui sur le plus académique des principes, la symétrie axial, pour mettre en valeur un équilibre de nus aux lignes sveltes mais aux formes pleines, ni lascives ni étrangers aux sens."⁴⁹⁴ It was Le Brun who first laid down these three principles in his drawings, and they were then passed on to other artists throughout the history of naval sculpture.

Hence, the rendition of the sculptural drawings was done according to the three basic principles that showed depth of the form through the judicious use of *claire-obscur*, produced a harmonious composition by ensuring the contours were in equilibrium, and projected realism by applying *trompe-l'œil*. These techniques can be observed in many of the sculptural drawings that have been the subject of this dissertation, as well as the wax figurines and sculptural exhibits on display in the naval museums of France and the sculptures of the reduced-scale models of the warships of that time.

The actual production of naval sculptures has not yet been discussed. This differed from the process of making stone sculptures, which was also practiced by several of the sculptors working in the naval shipyards.⁴⁹⁵ The wood that would be used as material was first prepared by pre-fitting pieces together to form a block. A template was made in the form of a wooden frame

⁴⁹⁴ Teyssède, p. 226.

⁴⁹⁵ The manner of production was determined by means of the following references: Reverse construction of the high relief sculpture for mounting on the stern plate titled "Décor de poupe; Haut-relief, Indien d'Amérique" of Figure 39; the text by de Franclieu "Figures de proues - Ornaments de navires," and a full-size figurehead simulation for a French frigate done under the supervision of Bélisle as professor of art history at Concordia University in 2012.

whose internal dimensions corresponded to the future placement of the sculpture and took into account any inclines or curvature of the surface onto which the sculpture was to be mounted.

The assembled block of wood was then shaped so that it could slide into the frame. The back of the block of wood was next reinforced to prepare it for mounting. This also prevented the thinner portions of the wood from warping because of the irregular thickness, which was caused especially by the induced stresses in the wood fibre resulting from the carving.

The front-view and profile outlines were first traced on the block of wood. These tracings were taken from life-size drawings that were an off-take of the sculptural drawing. The wood was roughed out to its outlines, with the total height, width, and depth set by following the traced profiles. If the sculpture was for a figure in the round, the roughing out of the torso, bust, and face were done in that order, followed by the arms and the lower part of the body. If the sculpture was for a creature, the method was adapted accordingly while retaining the same order.

Extended features such as an arm pointing outwards or with a lance, sword or shield were done separately and fitted to the body of the sculpture and secured with metal fasteners after the main body of the sculpture had been mounted. Sketches for the face were done on the spot from the sculptural drawing to establish the basic proportions. Here, details showing the forehead, nose, chin, and the slope of the face were transferred from the sculptural drawing to the front-view and profile drawings for tracing onto the wood.

When the roughing out was completed, the finishing began according to the prescribed style. Care was taken to ensure there were no cavities that collected water. For the larger warships, a figurine or reduced-scale model that had been previously made from the sculptural drawing served as a reference to ensure that the drawing proportions and features were properly interpreted. The figurine or model also served as a final verification of the finished sculptures.

A relief sculpture that involved a figure or a creature followed the method described above for the figure in the round. For a relief sculpture that decorated the aftercastle, the cornice and plinth were made prior to the ornaments themselves. All the drawings produced during the sculpting process were retained to serve as a guide and as a reference when the sculpting was verified after completion.

During the carving process specific techniques were used to ensure the whole set of proportions was agreeable to the eye. The heads and the hands were made proportionately larger, since they would appear smaller even from a close distance, and the arch of the eyebrows separating the lower and upper parts of the face was sufficiently delineated to remain discernible. The eyes were rounded and the pupils usually hollowed out, with relief under the eyelids. When the hair was viewed in section, it showed each lock shaped as a rounded triangle. The sculpture was done to a smooth finish by using wood-carving precision tools. No sanding was done in order to conserve the vivacity of the surface.

Before the finished sculpture was mounted onto the hull the surface underwent vigorous brushing with a wash of oxalic acid to neutralize the oxidization created by the tannin in the wood, and it was then washed with water and dried, coated with raw linseed oil that penetrated the wood, and finally coated with boiled linseed oil to dry the surface of the wood. The sculpture was then fitted in place and was ready for painting. Large sculptures such as the figurehead or the quarter figures were supported by metal rods that were hidden from view and embedded in the timbers of the hull.

The paints consisted of mixing natural pigments with linseed oil and turpentine. The use of colour in the French navy was highly regulated. Only pigments from the approved colour

scheme could be used (see Figure 130).⁴⁹⁶ This colour chart remained unchanged for 200 years, and was in use until the middle of the nineteenth century. The ships themselves followed this colour scheme, with designated surfaces on the outside and inside of the ship being painted according to a set of rules.⁴⁹⁷

As far as the sculptures were concerned, the figurehead and the carvings at the stem and the stern were painted a two-tone yellow, Naples yellow and yellow ochre, to augment the relief effect and also to create a gilded look. To make the shapes more distinguishable, black paint was used in the crevices. The sculptures for the flagships of the fleet were touched up with vermilion, ultramarine, and gold leaf. These three colours were also used for the royal emblem on the bow, on the stern, and on the ship's boats.⁴⁹⁸

In review, those factors that acted as agents in the production network of naval sculpture and governed its composition were the result of the institutionalization that was embedded in the process itself. This institutionalization ensured that all three kings were eulogized and commemorated as patrons. In turn, longstanding traditions determined the signs and symbols within the design of the sculptures that projected power and the right to rule.

These sign and symbols were also governed by those best practices that influenced the sculptural composition and its rendition. These also had to do with the type and given name of the warship, since these had a bearing on the sculptural composition and its form. The approval

⁴⁹⁶ Boudriot. "Couleurs utilisées dans la Marine française militaire et commerce – 1650-1850. Colours applicable to the French naval and merchant Marine – 1650-1850." *Le vaisseau de 74 canons*, vol. 2.

⁴⁹⁷ Boudriot describes the colour scheme in force in the 18th century for the French navy as follows: The inside of the ship was usually white-washed, "*peint à la chaux*," the batteries were painted red ochre, the capstan was done in yellow ochre, the cabins and furniture were done in grey. The ship's boats were painted yellow ochre on the outside and red ochre on the inside. All iron was painted black. The hull of the ship above the waterline to below and above the gunwale was painted black. The gunwale was painted yellow ochre and the smooth gunwale was painted black, red ochre, or yellow. *Le vaisseau de 74 canons*, pp. 88-9.

⁴⁹⁸ Boudriot *Le vaisseau de 74 canons*, p. 89.

of the composition became tied to the allocation of funds and was regulated by the cost reduction decrees that resulted in simplification of the composition over time. The use of best practices was not solely concerned with how to design the sculpture—through the use of line drawings—but also how to produce the sculpture as a decorative object, using knowledge acquired through best practices for form and colour. The use of best practices also involved sculpting processes and stylistic influences that occurred outside of the artist’s studio and the naval sculptor’s workplace. All of these were determinant factors in the production process of French naval sculpture.

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Review and Conclusion

Summary of the results obtained about the representation of naval sculpture according to those rules of production that affected its composition in terms of its political and social dimensions, its decorative purpose, its stylistic form, and its allotted space within the ship's architecture.

Why did the practice of naval sculpture persist under the monarchy in spite of the tensions and contradictions that surrounded it? What role did naval sculpture play in fulfilling its many mandates in the service of the king and of France? Was the practice of naval sculpture the result of the prevailing philosophies within France at that time, or did it exist because of a determined effort by the naval sculptors not to let it die?

These questions have been answered in this dissertation by using the Actor Network Theory method postulated by Latour and others to understand the role that the production network of naval sculpture played in its practice. This was supplemented by Panofsky's corrective principle to ensure a meaningful analysis that took into account the context existing outside of the practice itself. Mitchell's definition of ideology as a series of signs and symbols also permitted a thorough investigation of the way in which naval sculpture fulfilled its mandate in the service of the king and of France.

I attribute the longevity of the practice of naval sculpture in France to the ability of its practitioners to adapt to its changing environment as opposed to resisting the changes that occurred over time, whether they were cultural, architectural, or stylistic. In other words, the practice of naval sculpture persisted for almost two centuries because it was able to evolve alongside the philosophical thinking surrounding the monarchy, to adapt to the strategies shaped

by the political administration at Versailles, to respond to the policies that the naval authorities considered necessary, to embrace the architectural changes of the hull, thus allowing it to be accepted by the shipbuilder, and to undergo self-directed changes to keep its designs contemporary.

The integration of the sculptural form with the changing shape of the hull may at first glance seem straightforward and appear to be the real reason that naval sculpture survived as an artistic practice. However, this survival was the result of contributing factors that came into play before the sculptural composition was even begun. The tradition of decorating warships prior to Colbert launching France's one hundred-ship construction program was already well established: the flagships of the Swedish and Dutch navy had every available surface of their upper hulls extensively decorated. The Swedish warship *Wasa*, built in 1628, is a primary example. The lead warships built in Holland for the French navy were also extensively decorated. The *Grand Saint-Louis*, built in 1626 in Amsterdam, and the *Saint-Louis*, built in 1667 also in Amsterdam, show that prior to Colbert, the decoration of warships with rich sculptural designs was in vogue. Hence, the precedent was already set amongst the European naval powers that the elaborate decoration of a warship's architecture was a requirement. French warships began to lead in the style of their sculptural decoration. The first rate *La Reine*, built at Brest in 1669 by the Dutch shipbuilder Gendron, shows great attentiveness to its sculptural decoration. Britain was so impressed by the sculptural decoration of the *Superbe* when it was anchored in an English port in 1673 that King Charles ordered that it be copied for the *Harwich* and the *Swiftsure*.

French naval sculpture owes its continuation to the strength of the production network that Colbert established when he set up the sculptural centres in the naval shipyards and engaged Puget and Le Brun to make the sculptural drawings and Girardon to make the sculptures. Their

involvement in the sculptural decoration of the *Royal-Louis*, the *Dauphin-Royal*, and the *Monarque*, built at Toulon in 1668, set the level of quality to be expected. The creation of family dynasties—such as the Caffieri dynasty, which lasted through all three reigns—ensured the continuation of these high standards.

The sculptural compositions of the French warships were not arbitrarily defined but were carefully laid out and intended to show, through their artistic rendition, the greatness and glory of the king—in a similar manner to the decoration at Versailles. The warships that carried these sculptures became floating wooden palaces that were comparable to the exterior of cathedrals, thus projecting a certain solemnity with their sculptures almost as if they were a religious artefact. Very importantly, the mission of the warship was not solely warfare. The warship was also a richly decorated architectural monument that reflected the political ambitions of the administration at Versailles. As I have described in this dissertation, flagships such as the *Royal-Louis* were not solely intended to go into battle, but also to impress foreign dignitaries and adversaries alike as they sailed by in a parade.

The practice of naval sculpture also earned the support of the authorities in charge of the naval construction programme. Whenever there was a step-change in the architectural design of the warship, the sculptural form was adjusted to fit into the new space available. The superstructure of the hull, in particular the bow and the stern, gave the warship a posture that was deemed important primarily because it had to conform to views of what was acceptable, as held by the naval authorities. As a consequence the sculptural layout of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French warships augmented the form of the superstructure to make it imposing, and to present a unique visual display of the signs and symbols that projected prestige and power.

In the early to mid-1600s, French naval authorities decided that the ideal design of a warship's hull was the one defined by the Dutch. As a result, French shipbuilding practices were initially based on the Dutch design, and the sculptural decoration followed suit. That is, the sculptural layout of the early French warships followed that of the Dutch. However, when French shipbuilders developed what they considered to be their own ideal definition of the hull and the French naval authorities created a strict set of rules for hull design, there was a shift to a particular French sculptural layout. After this point, the sculptural composition was considered to be appropriate provided the design conformed to a style that was visually acceptable.

Hence, the visual potential of the French warship was considered of equal importance to its architecture because of the symbolic reference its aesthetic signals made to the warship's fighting capability. The sculptural decorations, specifically the figurehead and the relief sculptures at the stern, had to define a multi-fold purpose: they had to project an imposing warship, add to the overall image of the warship according to accepted aesthetic norms, provide powerful symbolic references, and give the warship its specific identity as it sailed from harbour to harbour and across the seas and oceans.

During its earlier period, French naval sculpture placed significant emphasis on exuberant design themes that were purposely made to pay homage to the greatness of the monarch. The sculptors took as much space as they wanted, which resulted in imposing and unwieldy sculptural figures in the round that ended up interfering with the ship's functionality and its operation. This situation was particularly prevalent when naval sculpture was practiced as high Baroque art. From the mid-eighteenth century on, however, as a result of the considerable financial hardship caused by successive wars, edicts were issued to reduce the size of the warship and its firepower for reasons of economy. Partly to compensate for this reduction in firepower

and to provide a wider firing angle for the cannons at the front, the sculptural space previously allotted at the bow was reduced. Edicts were also issued by the naval shipyard authorities that demanded simpler sculptural designs of a warship under construction to ensure a least-cost design.

The naval policy of France was based on a need to safeguard the interests of the state and defend these from any would-be aggressors. This resulted in the establishment of naval bases that were also central points for commerce with both the Atlantic and Pacific trade networks. The naval shipyards formed a major part of these bases and contributed to the French navy's state of readiness through the ongoing construction of warships meant to replenish or augment the fleet's warring capability.

There were at least 350 warships known to have been built during the *ancien régime* and all of these required sculptural decorations. There were eight naval shipyards in operation at the height of the French naval construction program, with Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort in the lead in terms of the number of warships built. All naval shipyards had a resident master sculptor—“*maître-sculpteur*”—who ran a sculptural centre with helpers and apprentices to ensure continuity. The master sculptor also developed those best practices related to naval sculpture. These best practices were inspired and developed by the techniques and methodologies used for the sculptures of buildings and monuments, but also had aspects that were unique to naval sculpture.

These best practices changed according to the prevailing attitude of those who defined the sculptural composition. The initial attitude involved using the warship's hull as a massive floating monument, and required grandiose compositions dedicated to the king. When this attitude changed so that the sculptures served more of a decorative purpose, the sculptural

compositions became a subset of the hull. When the hull's form was further streamlined, the sculptural composition followed suit and the sculptural designs became minimalist. Hence, tracing the history of naval sculptural shows that the early sculptors had total freedom in their design and imposed this on the warship, but throughout time, the sculptors lost this freedom and instead had to abide by the constraints of the warship's design.

The warship's given name was the most obvious agent in defining the composition of its sculpture. The majority of the names given to the warships of the French navy paid tribute to the king either by referring directly to the king or by inferring to one of several of the king's attributes. The Musée national de la Marine states on its website that during the reign of Louis XIV, Colbert instigated a policy that all naval sculptures had to honour the monarch: "mettre en exergue la personne royale." This policy was followed in the successive reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI. Naming the warship after the king was a straightforward way to honour him, whereas the sculptural compositions tended to be symbolic; for example, the name of the first rate ship-of-the line *Soleil Royal* directly implied a royal connection intended to pay homage to Louis XIV as the Sun King, and inspired the sculptural theme at the stern plate of the king riding Neptune's chariot. However, the theme of the sculptural composition was not necessarily always based on the warship's given name. Exceptions existed that showed no relationship between the warship's given name and the sculptural theme.

The sculptural drawings were all executed in monochrome, with a total absence of colour except for rare occurrences. This was done for expediency and also because the contours of the line drawing served to guide the markings on the block of wood for making the sculpture. The use of the line drawing was the preferred reference for sculptors, regardless of where the finished sculptures were to be installed—that is, in stately palaces, in public gardens, on monuments, or

on ships. Moreover, use of the standard French colour scheme for colouring the sculptures precluded the need for having the sculptural drawings coloured. The sculptural drawings were not usually done until the warship's given name was known, and sometimes this was given in the later phase of the ship's construction. Hence, to speed up the process, the use of colouring to finalize the drawing was not done.

The application of colour to the sculpture itself was undertaken separately, after the sculpture had been installed. During this process, the colourist applied *trompe l'oeil* to give the sculptures a better visual delineation from a distance. The sculptures on display in the naval museums show that their surface finish, made from wood, was done in the same high-quality finish as the stone sculptures of monuments and stately palace gardens. Although the stone sculptures were exposed to the weather, they had a long service life. On the other hand, the ships' sculptures, with their surface rendered in high detail that was exact in all aspects, would deteriorate over a short period of time when in service. Once the ship put out to sea, the pounding of the waves and the saline environment would begin to remove the paint from the surface. When the paint was washed off, the exposed wood would easily erode. The naval sculptors knew this, especially since they were the ones who would refurbish the sculptures when the warship returned to harbour to be overhauled. In other words, the rapid deterioration of the sculptures did not deter the sculptors from their efforts to excel in their work. Rather, when the quality of the sculptures was in doubt, the naval shipyard readily stepped in to provide opportunities for training.

The warship's life on average was seven to ten years, after which it was downgraded to a cargo ship or a transport barge, or broken up.⁴⁹⁹ This explains the ongoing construction that

⁴⁹⁹ This short life span was due to the light construction of the warship for expediency and fast sailing, where the structure of the hull had its frame optimized with supports set as wide apart as permissible. See

occurred from year to year: it simply kept the fleet at strength by replacing warships that were decommissioned or sank at sea or were taken as prizes by the enemy. This ongoing construction of new warships ensured the continuing practice of naval sculpture.

The aesthetic quality of the sculptural drawings together with the attention to exact detail of the wax figurines and the refined surface quality of the sculptures that survived are ample testimony of the artistic calibre of those who took part in the practice of naval sculpture.

Although the sculptures of these warships had the political purpose of impressing the viewer, they also implicitly acknowledged that the warship was the residence at sea of its commander, who expected his surroundings to be comparable to his rank and social position. Regardless of the current trends influencing the type of composition and its stylistic rendition, the commander of the fleet's flagship would have wanted the sculptural decorations of the warship under his command to be of good quality. The aesthetic quality of the sculptural drawings, considered in conjunction with the precise attention to detail of the wax figurines, and the refined surface quality of the few surviving sculptures, are important traces of the artistic calibre of the work that went into the practice of naval sculpture.

The sculptural decoration of the aftercastle underwent the most dramatic changes during the history of naval sculpture, primarily due to the alterations that affected the structural frame. The aftercastle housed the warship's commander and naval officers, and as such was subjected to their needs—which changed according to the warship's developing battle strategy. The introduction of the quarter castle and then its eventual elimination, and the introduction of the upper and lower galleries and their eventual simplification, also affected the sculptural space

Robert Gardner. "Les frégates françaises et la Royal Navy." *Le petit perroquet*, 1977, 1978. This is why the heavy sculptural decorations offended those who strove to build warships with as lightweight a construction as possible.

available, especially with the reduction in height of the stern plate. On the other hand, the gradual changes to the sculptural composition at the bow were more the result of shifting stylistic influences, coupled with the necessary simplification of the design.

A review of the stylistic composition of the sculptural drawings shows three dominant aesthetic styles, though there is some overlap between them during periods of transition. Under Louis XIV, the Baroque style prevailed in the rendition of the sculptural decoration, whether this was the majestic figurehead at the bow or the high relief figures at the stern. The Baroque sculptures had bold delineations and a forceful design in order to convey the impression of an omnipotent king. Here, the sculptural design filled every available space with expressive motifs and patterns that copied from the architectural Baroque design of stately palaces and monuments of the time.

During the reign of Louis XV, the Baroque style gave way to Rococo, with the composition of the design now defined by fluidity rather than boldness. Undulating floral patterns and sea shells provided compositions with a certain softness that replaced the harsh delineations of Baroque. These compositions provided a high level of fantasy meant to imply that the ship was destined for uncharted lands and waters, ready for exploration and prosperous commerce. The intent was to show a nation moving towards prosperity under the rule of a benevolent and paternalistic king.

Under Louis XVI, the Neoclassical style overtook Rococo, with simplistic designs that copied from ancient Greek and Roman antiquity. The figurehead became foremost in the sculptural thematic design and its representation, based on ancient warrior themes, reinforced France's militaristic attitude at that time. Architectural motifs from classical antiquity complemented the sculptural reliefs at the stern.

The thematic motifs during all three reigns emphasized allegiance to the king by ensuring that the royal coat of arms, with its three fleurs-de-Lys, was prominently displayed as part of the sculptural composition. This sign of allegiance was further emphasized when, under Louis XV, the royal coat of arms began to include the royal crown. In most designs, the royal coat of arms was at the stern. Although there were stylistic changes in the design of the sculptures, the presence of the royal coat of arms as a prominent part of the sculptural composition continued to indicate the navy's allegiance to the king. The frequent use of the Roman warrior for the figurehead and of war trophies at the stern strengthened the omnipotence of a warring king.

One aspect of naval sculpture that has not been specifically discussed is the representation of the female figure. Here, I will briefly mention a few key points. The female figure in French naval sculpture is most often a representation of Tethys, Minerva, or Renommée, as well as angels and mermaids. Their purpose was singular: to pay allegiance to the king. Yet there are a few exceptions, such as the first rates *Royale-Therèse* and *Madame*, both built in 1670, which feature at their stern plate representations of the king's wife and his sister-in-law, respectively. There are also representations of women in the warships built in Canada, whose given names—*Abenakise*, *Iroquoise*, and *Outaouaise*—denote Indigenous tribal female names.

The numerous factors that influenced the practice of French naval sculpture—the warship's given name, its ideological purpose, its intended function, the aesthetic style in vogue, the sculptor's preference in its rendition, and the effect on the sculptural form of the sculptural space provided—were also dependent on other variables, such as the agency of those institutions that affected its production, who held what position in these institutions at the time the sculptural compositions were being done, and the level of initiative possessed by the individuals who

instigated the compositions. Here, I found it most useful to refer throughout the text to the production network that directed the practice of naval sculpture where the governing factors of naval sculpture constituted the starting point of my inquiry. My purpose was to understand how these factors converged to produce the conceptual design and the making of the sculpture itself. As part of my research, it was also necessary to investigate the warships built in the naval shipyards of Québec in the early to mid-eighteenth century, in particular to show how the naval sculptures of the Canadian-built warships as a result of their own peculiar governing factors differed from the warships built in France.

The studies discussed in this dissertation about the influences that affected the design of naval sculpture show that French naval sculpture owes its origins to several streams of reference. The practice of naval sculpture was also the result of the interactions that occurred between those agencies that populated its production network and overlapped and intertwined with each other, with the outcome becoming the finished sculpture. These interactions served to produce sculptures that projected a self-fulfilling sense of purpose and that resulted in its continuing practice. Hence, my discussion goes well beyond a visual interpretation of the sculptures themselves and considers also the intent of these sculptures and what they were meant to represent.

The website of the Musée national de la Marine in Paris is limited to a consideration of the ways in which the sculptural designs drew on references to ancient Greek and Roman mythological themes and ancient personages. In a similar manner, the museum's sculptural exhibition is also restrictive because the sculptures on display are shown in isolation from the factors that affected their composition. In addition, the most prominent sculptures give the impression to the visitor that naval sculpture only portrayed mythological or ancient personages.

The exhibition plaque at the museum in Paris makes the following statement about its figurehead sculptures: “A l’avant des vaisseaux, elle se fait masculine, représentation virile du puissant Neptune ou de l’un de ses rivaux pacifiques, les Vieillards de la mer, plus tard, image généreuse du roi, d’un empereur, d’un soldat légendaire.”⁵⁰⁰

This statement fails to inform the visitor of all the other influencing factors that are discussed in this dissertation. The exhibition at the Musée naval de Brest similarly makes reference to Minerva, Mars, Hercules, and Tethys, thus implying that mythological or ancient figures were the primary influencing factors for naval sculpture. One exception is the sculpture “Décor de poupe; Haut-relief, Indien d’Amérique,” but this sculpture is presented in isolation, with minimal details provided about its composition. Its inclusion in the museum’s exhibit may simply be because it happened to be made in the naval shipyard in Brest. Granted, the exhibition at Brest does have a series of miniature figurehead wax sculptures by Collet that provide a broader discourse about naval sculpture than the exhibit at Paris. These are “Soldat Romain,” “Lion surmontant un écusson,” “Deux anges soutenant le diadème royal,” “Le Terreur au serpent,” “Muse tenant un globe,” and “Hercules.” Their titles provide a wider field of reference to the visitor. However they too lack any contextual information about their provenance. The exhibition at Rochefort has two similar wax sculptures. One is titled “Indien d’Amérique” and the other is titled “Lion terrassant une lionne.” Although these were made in the nineteenth century, which is past the period of my investigation, it is worth observing that their composition and rendition is similar to those at Brest, which might therefore have been a source of reference.

The thematic representation of French naval sculpture was dependent upon the political priority of the ruling monarch, whether that was Louis XIV, who sought to consolidate personal

⁵⁰⁰ Musée national de la Marine, Paris.

power; Louis XV, who preferred to project an image of wealth through commerce; or Louis XVI, who wanted to re-establish France as a warring nation. The names given to newly built ships were decided according to the preferences of the regime at the time, and these, in their turn, influenced the manner in which the sculptural design was managed, either as initially rendered by the king's artist, or later as the result of the efforts of the shipyard's master sculptor. In addition, the widespread representation of the king and the continuous presence of the royal coat of arms, whether at the stern or as part of the figurehead, reinforced the political mandate of naval sculpture. Conversely, use of the artistic style in vogue at the time, whether it was the forceful and bold delineations of Baroque, the fluidity of Rococo, or the simplistic lines of Neoclassicism, showcased France as a contemporary nation at the forefront of aesthetic innovation.

The roles of external artistic influences on French naval sculpture were also studied in this dissertation. Initially, when France embarked upon the construction of its warships in Holland under the reign of Louis XIII, the Dutch style prevailed in naval sculpture. When, under the reign of Louis XIV, Colbert instigated his one hundred-ship naval construction program, the French style of naval sculpture was born and France emerged as a leader amongst the European powers. Here, the early sculptural compositions were shaped by influences from those artists who were members in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, which played a role in determining a French Baroque style of artistic expression derived from Italian art.

The influence of the artists of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on naval sculpture continued throughout the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI when there was a shift from Baroque to Rococo and to the Neoclassical style. The introduction under Louis XV of standardized plans to construct ships for reasons of economy and productivity also resulted in a

set of rules for naval sculpture. This significantly restricted the importation of innovation in naval sculpture from other countries. Spying missions had been sent to England and Holland during the reign of Louis XV to obtain information on ship construction, but this did not result in any changes to the manner of decorating French warships. Rather, French naval sculpture was acknowledged as a leader and was copied by the other European maritime powers.

As an outcome of what I discovered in my research, naval sculpture became a record of what France was during all three reigns with shifts in the thematic composition according to the prevailing cultural attitude and philosophical thinking at the time. My purpose here has been to link the interactions that occurred in terms of the production network, the thematic composition, the practice of naval sculpture itself, and the sense of fulfillment that was inherited by those that practiced it. I had stated that the warships that carried these sculptures resulted in a certain solemnity that can be likened to that inspired by religious artefacts. The prevalence of this solemnity resulted in these sculptures taking on the semblance of a divine effigy. Hence, the practice of naval sculpture can be likened to the outcome of a new belief by those that populated the production network of naval sculpture and with the sculptures themselves representing this belief.

I want to conclude with an example, looking from the outside at the traditions I discovered during my research. Figure 131 shows a print made in 1783 of an airship that has a figurehead sculpture.⁵⁰¹ Considering that minimal weight was paramount in air travel, the image reflects the importance of having a figurehead sculpture. Indeed, the presence of the figurehead was, by this point, totally ingrained in the minds of the artists who did this type of drawing and who hoped to bestow good luck on the traveller.

⁵⁰¹ Sieur de la Touche Foucroy (1755-1809). "Aérostat." 1785. Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84104548>.

In review, French naval sculpture has a rich and long history that had as its patrons Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI. Although no warships from this era have survived, understanding the history of naval sculpture was possible from the sculptures, drawings, paintings, models, and manuscripts that do exist. These have served as my primary material to describe the agents in the production network that permitted the ongoing practice of naval sculpture for almost two centuries.

To end this dissertation, I refer to Boudriot, who mentions in the conclusion of *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons* that he hopes that his review of the evolution of the French ship-of-the-line will serve to inspire someone else to carry out a similar review on its naval sculpture. Boudriot states: “Avec cet essai, j’espère ouvrir une voie pour de futurs chercheurs, car le sujet mérite d’être largement développé. D’abord en le situant en relation avec l’évolution des arts décoratifs en général et ensuite en s’attachent à la valeur symbolique du décor.”⁵⁰² It has been the intent of my dissertation to carry out such a review.

* * *

⁵⁰² Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 370.

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Site Research Resources

Museums:

Musée national de la Marine de Brest. Rue du Château, 29200 Brest. France.

Musée national de la Marine, Paris. 17 Place du Trocadéro, 75116 Paris. France.

Musée national de la Marine de Rochefort. 1 Place de la Galissonnière, 17300 Rochefort. France.

Musée national de la Marine, Toulon. Place Monsenergue, 83000 Toulon. France.

Musée de la Marine Port-Louis. Citadelle de Port-Louis, 56290 Port Louis. France.

Musée de Beaux-Arts de Brest. 24 rue Traverse. 29200 Brest. France.

Musée de la Tapisserie de Bayeux. 13 bis rue de Nesmond. 14400 Bayeux. France.

Musée du Louvre. Place Carroussel, 75058 Paris. France.

Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et Trianon. 78000 Versailles. France.

Musée du Nouveau Monde. 10 rue Fleuriau, 17000 La Rochelle. France.

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers. 14 rue du musée. 49100 Angers. France.

Palais des beaux-arts de Lille. Place de la République 59000 Lille. France.

Muzew Marittimu. Vittoriosa. Malta.

National Maritime Museum. Romney Road, Greenwich, London SE10 9NF. England.

Frans Hals Museum, Grote Markt 16, 2011 RD Haarlem, Holland.

Rijksmuseum. Museumstraat 1, 1071 XX, Amsterdam. Holland.

Vasamuseet. Galärvarvsvägen 14, Stockholm. Sweden.

Libraries :

Bibliothèque nationale de France. Avenue de France, 75013 Paris. www.bnf.fr.

Institut national d'histoire de l'art. 2 Vivienne, 75002 Paris. www.inha.fr.

Archives & Archival Data Bases.

Archives nationales de France.

Centre de recherches des Archives nationales.
11 rue des Quatre-Fils, 75003 Paris.
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Registres séries MAR.

A¹ 14
B 308 f^o 149
B² 272 f^o 209
B³ 7 f^o 198-199
B³ 300
B⁴ 25
B⁵ 3
D¹ 3
D¹ 25
G 86 - G 90

Service historique de la Défense, Rochefort.

4 Rue de Port. Rochefort.
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Ships' Calculations:

2G4-3 art 17
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Sculpture Drawings:

D¹ 67, f^o 1
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D¹ 67, f^o 25
D¹ 67, f^o 30

D¹ 68, f^o 8
D¹ 69, f^o 7
D¹ 69, f^o 8 67-68
D¹ 69, f^o 8 45
D¹ 69, f^o 39
D¹ 69, f^o 52.2
D¹ 69, f^o 55
D¹ 69, f^o 69
D¹ 69, f^o 70
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G1 87, vo 29

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D¹ 67, f^o 16
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4, rue du Commandant Malbert. 29240 Brest.

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Archives nationales d'outre-mer.

29 chemin du Moulin de Testa, 13090 Aix-en-Provence

http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/anom/fr/3_recherche/carte/canada.

Reports:

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Appendix One

“Secrétaires d'État à la Marine sous l'Ancien régime français (1669-1789).”⁵⁰³

Jacques Leclerc. CEFAN. Université Laval, 16 déc. 2015.
www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/France-Secretaires_Marine

Sous l'Ancien Régime, le secrétaire d'État à la Marine était le ministre responsable et principal conseiller du roi pour les questions relatives à la marine française et les colonies. Louis XIV avait créé ce poste le 7 mars 1689, sous les conseils de Jean-Baptiste Colbert, qui occupa le poste de 1669 à 1683. Le ministère de la Marine était l'un des plus importants du royaume de France, car la construction des navires de ligne nécessitait des investissements considérables de la part de l'État, afin de permettre le développement d'une marine digne de la France; la Marine disposait donc du plus important budget de l'État. Ci-dessous, les cinq ministres les plus influents pour les colonies de la Nouvelle-France.



Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683).

Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas (1701-1781).

Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain (1674-1747).

Antoine-Louis Rouillé, comte de Jouy (1689-1761).

Étienne-François, duc de Choiseul (1719-1785).

Dans le tableau suivant, les noms **en gras** indique le nom des ministres couramment employé par les historiens.

Nom du ministre	Souverain	Date d'entrée en fonction	Date de sortie en fonction
Jean-Baptiste Colbert , dit le Grand Colbert	Louis XIV	7 mars 1669	Septembre 1683
Jean-Baptiste Antoine Colbert , marquis de Seignelay (le fils du Grand Colbert).	Louis XIV	6 septembre 1683	3 novembre 1690
Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas	Louis XIV	7 novembre 1690	Septembre 1699

⁵⁰³ Extract.

Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain	Louis XIV	6 septembre 1699	1 ^{er} octobre 1715
Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse - Victor, comte d'Estrées	Régence - Louis XV	1 ^{er} octobre 1715	24 septembre 1718
Joseph Fleuriau d'Armenonville	Régence - Louis XV	24 septembre 1718	28 février 1722
Charles Fleuriau d'Armenonville, comte de Morville	Régence - Louis XV	28 février 1722	16 août 1723
Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas	Louis XV	16 août 1723	23 avril 1749
Antoine-Louis Rouillé , comte de Jouy	Louis XV	30 avril 1749	24 juillet 1754
Jean-Baptiste de Machault , comte d'Arnouville	Louis XV	24 juillet 1754	1 ^{er} février 1757
François Marie Peyrenc de Moras	Louis XV	1 ^{er} février 1757	31 mai 1758
Claude Louis d'Espinchal	Louis XV	31 mai 1758	31 octobre 1758
Nicolas Berryer , comte de la Ferrière	Louis XV	31 octobre 1758	13 octobre 1761
Étienne-François, duc de Choiseul	Louis XV	15 octobre 1761	10 avril 1766
César Gabriel de Choiseul-Chevigny, duc de Praslin	Louis XV	10 avril 1766	24 décembre 1770
Joseph, abbé Terray	Louis XV	24 décembre 1770	9 avril 1771
Pierre Bourgeois, marquis de Boynes	Louis XV	9 avril 1771	20 juillet 1774
Anne Turgot , baron de l'Aulne	Louis XVI	20 juillet 1774	24 août 1774
Antoine de Sartine , comte d'Alby	Louis XVI	24 août 1774	13 octobre 1780
Charles de La Croix, marquis de Castries	Louis XVI	13 octobre 1780	24 août 1787
Armand Marc, comte de Montmorin Saint-Hérem	Louis XVI	25 août 1787	24 décembre 1787
César Henri de La Luzerne	Louis XVI	24 décembre 1787	13 juillet 1789
Arnaud de Laporte	Louis XVI	13 juillet 1789	16 juillet 1789
César Henri de La Luzerne	Louis XVI	16 juillet 1789	26 octobre 1790

Appendix Two

Wax Models of Naval Decoration from the Dockyards of La Marine: Elements for Rediscovery.⁵⁰⁴

Alain Niderlinder.
Assistant Curator
Musée national de la Marine

The wax scale models of naval ornamentation, principally figureheads, have been present in the dockyards since the seventeenth century.

They may be divided into two distinct groups:

- Models destined to visualize in three dimensions a sculpture intended for a named vessel, an intermediary stage between the approved drawing and the definitive figure.
- Studies modelled by students of the port school of drawing and sculpture.

Most of these works have been lost, except for a group of forty one relatively late wax models dating mostly from the first half of the 19th century. They are currently conserved by the Musée national de la Marine, inheritor of the dockyard collection. These unique models have been the subject of an overall and in-depth study.

Sometimes confused with other works of sculpture, deprived of references and authorship, and often weakened by bad preservation conditions, they remain largely ignored. The current collection reunites two different groups:

- Fifteen red wax models from Brest and attributed to Y-E Collet, premier master-ship carver of the port from 1786 to 1840. These works were previously painted white and express great artistic sensibility. However, it is not known whether they prefigure the ornamentation of the actual vessels.
- Twenty-five red, yellow, green, and brown wax models from Rochefort. In a variety of styles, the collection is made up of projects, both named and anonymous, and of various study pieces. As yet none of these works have been attributed to a particular artist.

Since the end of the 1980s, the museum's preservation team has undertaken the restoration of these delicate models which bear witness to the lost art of the ship carving workshops of the Marine.

A campaign of restoration entrusted to a specialist of antique wax modelling has breathed new life into half of the collection, while a second operation is envisaged for another ten pieces.

Although an important body of work has already been accomplished, the most difficult is yet to be done if they are to be placed on the foundations of their creation: rediscover their genesis, their precise function and their mode of fabrication as well as the identities of those who placed the commission, the authors and the users.

⁵⁰⁴ Copied from the exhibition catalogue: *Figures de proues – Ornaments de navires*. Dunkerque : Musée portuaire, 11 December 1999.

Appendix Three

Liste des Vaisseaux et Autres Bâtiments des Armées Navales du Roi; le nombre de ses Galères, ceux pour les Escort, Convois, Cours, l'Amérique & le Canada, avec les noms des Capitaines, le nombre des Officiers, Équipages & Canons : ensemble l'extrait des Vaisseaux des Particuliers armes en Cours, ceux pris pour l'embarquement des Troupes & Munitions, & qui restent équipés pour le Commerce, & le dénombrement des Armées de Terre en l'année 1692.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁵ Archives nationales de France. Registres MAR Série B "Bâtiments du Roi." B⁵ 3.

LISTE DES VAISSEAUX ET AUTRES BATIMENTS

DES Armées Navales du Roi; le nombre de ses Galères, ceux pour les Escortes, Convois, Cours, l'Amérique & le Canada, avec les noms des Capitaines, le nombre des Officiers, Equipages & Canons: ensemble l'extrait des Vaisseaux des Particuliers armés en Cours, deux pris pour l'embarquement des Troupes & Munitions, & qui restent équipés pour le Commerce, & le dénombrement des Armées de Terre en l'année 1697.

BREST.				Suite de Rochefort.				ESCADRE DE TOULON, RESTÉE DANS LA MEDITERRANÉE			
Noms de Messieurs les Commandans & Capitaines.				Noms de Messieurs les Commandans & Capitaines.				Noms de Messieurs les Commandans & Capitaines.			
Noms des Vaisseaux & autres Bâtimens.	Nombre des Canons.	Nombre des Officiers & Equipage.	Nombre des Canons.	Noms des Vaisseaux & autres Bâtimens.	Nombre des Canons.	Nombre des Officiers & Equipage.	Noms des Vaisseaux & autres Bâtimens.	Nombre des Canons.	Nombre des Officiers & Equipage.	Nombre des Canons.	Nombre des Officiers & Equipage.
PREMIER RANG.				Quatrième Rang.			Fregates.				
La SOLLE ROYAL. (Le Comte de Tournai, Vice-Amiral)) 104 15 941 973				L'ARROGANT. De la Vierge, Treillou, Idem. 60 10 390 400			L'AQUILON. De Ribesac, Capitaine. 58 7 315 330				
Le FORMIDABLE. (Le Comte de Châteauneuf, Lieut. Gén.) 95 15 731 750				L'APOLLON. De Rouvray, Idem. 60 10 390 400			L'ARC-EN-CIEL. De Mocheux, Idem. 46 7 295 310				
Le MERVEILLEUX. (Le Marquis d'Amfreville, Lieut. Général) 94 16 735 751				Le VERMANDOIS. De Levy, Idem. 60 10 390 400			L'ARENTOURIE. Comte de Bethune, Idem. 40 7 215 230				
Le DAUPHIN ROYAL. (Forant, Chef d'Escadre) 94 13 630 643				Le COURAGEUX. Chevalier de Leterne, Idem. 60 10 390 400			L'ETROILE. De la Bouterie, Idem. 40 7 215 230				
Le MONARQUE. (Le Marquis de Nismes, Chef d'Escadre) 91 14 686 700				Le St. LOUIS. De la Roqueperon, Idem. 60 10 390 400			L'HIRONDELLE. Hercule de la Roche, Idem. 36 7 215 230				
L'ORGUEILLEUX. (Chevalier de Pontac, Capitaine) 90 15 735 750				Le FLEURON. Chevalier de Mongon, Capitaine. 58 9 351 360			La SALOUE. Chevalier d'Arginy, Idem. 36 7 215 230				
Le GRAND. (Pauze, Chef d'Escadre) 84 13 661 675				Le TEMERAIRE. Chevalier de Digoine, Idem. 56 9 311 360			L'ECLAIR. De Campé, Idem. 30 7 185 190				
Le SOUVERAIN. (Marquis de Langeron, Chef d'Escadre) 82 13 617 640				Le NEPTUNE. De la Cassinière, Idem. 50 9 265 270			Le CORNEAU. Chevalier de Chauven, Idem. 30 7 185 190				
Le FOUROYANT. (Hurank Villainant, Capitaine) 84 12 630 643				Le TRIDENT. De Monibault, Idem. 52 9 281 290			L'ANISIE. De Gramp, Idem. 30 7 185 190				
Le CONQUERANT. (Du Mignon, Capitaine) 84 12 630 643				Le FRANCOIS. Beauregard, Idem. 48 9 281 290			La FULMINANTE. De Ribesac, Idem. 6 5 40 55				
Le St. PHILIPPE. (Chevalier d'Infreville, Idem) 84 12 630 643				L'OPINIASTRE. Chevalier de Lacion, Idem. 44 7 265 270			La BARRAQUE. Duiss, Idem. 6 5 40 55				
Le MAGNIFIQUE. (Chevalier de l'Her, Capitaine) 80 12 610 625				Le POLY. Du Tail, Idem. 44 7 265 270			Le CHORIS. Clavel, Idem. 6 5 40 55				
Le TERRIBLE. (De Belle Erard, Capitaine) 76 12 525 547				L'EVEILLE. Guillois, Idem. 10 2 38 40			L'ELPHANT. Grand-maison, Idem. 30 3 57 60				
Le TORVANT. (De Septemes, Idem) 80 12 525 547				Le SIDENEZ. Du Vigneau, Idem. 10 2 38 40			La BALENE. La Replene. 20 3 47 50				
Le TRIOMPHANT. (Machaut, Idem) 80 12 525 547				L'IMPETUEUX. Roland, Idem. 10 2 38 40							
Le GOSBORNE. (Chevalier de Mombon, Idem) 80 12 525 547				L'INQUIET. Brach, Idem. 10 2 38 40							
Le FIKK. (De la Harcelotte, Idem) 80 12 525 547				L'EMBUCADE. Bouquin de la Poterie, Idem. 10 2 38 40							
Le BELLEUEUX. (Chevalier de Belle Fontaine, Idem) 80 12 525 547				Le FANFARON. Cadenaz, Idem. 10 2 38 40							
Le FLOISSANT. (Comte de Scherville, Idem) 78 12 525 547				Le PELICAN. Serpault, Idem. 10 2 38 40							
Le POREUX. (D'Aligre St. Léz, Idem) 72 12 474 485				L'ENFLAMME. Cauviere, Idem. 10 2 38 40							
Le GONTEUX. (De Ste. Marie, Idem) 68 12 474 485											
Le GLOIREUX. (Chevalier de Châteauneuf, Idem) 68 9 400 419											
Le SERVEUX. (Marquis de Bonna, Idem) 68 10 390 400											
Le BRILLANT. (Chevalier de Combes, Idem) 68 10 390 400											
Le PARFAIT. (Chevalier d'Ally, Idem) 64 10 390 400											
Le ECRUI. (De Mercour, Idem) 62 10 390 400											
Le GAILLARD. (Chevalier d'Amfreville, Idem) 66 10 390 400											
Le FENNE. (Duquesne, Idem) 60 10 390 400											
Le FURIEUX. (De Serquigny, Idem) 60 10 390 400											
L'AGREABLE. (D'Arboville, Idem) 60 10 390 400											
L'ESPÉROUX. (De Racour, Idem) 64 9 390 409											
Le VOKY. (Chevalier de la Bongoy, Idem) 60 9 390 400											
L'ENTREPRENANT. (De Serigné, Idem) 58 9 371 380											
Le DIAMANT. (Chevalier de Pennequin, Idem) 58 10 385 393											
Le St. MICHEL. (Chevalier de Villard, Idem) 60 9 381 394											
Le MAURE. (Chevalier de Sanguet, Idem) 52 9 281 290											
L'HÉROÏQUE. (De Machaud Rongemont, Idem) 50 9 281 290											
Le MOÏSE. (D'Yvy, Idem) 58 9 371 380											
La FIDÈLE. (Chevalier Fortin Gardanne, Idem) 58 9 371 380											
Le FIDÈLE. (Chevalier de Rhodes, Idem) 48 9 261 270											
La GAILLARD. (De Bouvenne Scherville, Lieutenant) 20 7 113 120											
La BADOE. (De Beauregard, Capitaine) 20 7 113 120											
Le MÉRIS. (Jean Escane, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
La JOLY. (Longchamps, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le DIAPYRE. (Ostradan, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le FÉLIX. (Goulhard de la Lande, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le BOUTON. (Girard de la Brosse, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
L'INFANTE. (Bouffonnet Micovert, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
L'ORAGE. (Beliveau, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le ROSE. (Ruffy, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le DÉPÔT. (La Mière Lavant, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le DRIDE. (Moreau, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le FIN. (Molinet, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le DOR. (Beauvais, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Total pour l'année, 40 Vaisseaux, 2 Fregates & 12 Brûlots.	3052	459	20446	20945							
Plus six autres Vaisseaux, quinze Fregates, six Flûtes, tant pour l'Amérique, que pour l'Amérique & le Canada.	648	161	3414	3611							
Total de BREST.	3700	620	23860	24556							
DÉPARTEMENT DE ROCHEFORT.											
MESSIEURS,											
PREMIER RANG.											
L'AMBITIEUX. (De Villiers, Lieutenant Général)) 96 17 733 750											
Le VULCANISANT. (Maison de la Porte, Chef d'Escadre)) 96 12 638 650											
Le VICTORIEUX. (De S. Hermine, Idem) 84 12 588 600											
Le St. MARIN. (De la Collière, Idem) 76 11 514 535											
Le TRIOMPHANT. (De Kral, Idem) 60 11 385 400											
Le VIGILANT. (De Combes, Idem) 60 12 385 400											
L'HEROÏQUE. (De la Rochelle, Idem) 66 12 389 410											
Le COUVERTOUX. (Cahier St. Marc, Idem) 64 11 420 431											
Le BOUSSON. (Perinet, Idem) 66 11 410 431											
Le LAURENT. (Chevalier d'Herzode, Idem) 66 10 400 411											
Le SIRENE. (De Quilès, Idem) 60 11 389 400											
L'ÉCROÛTEUX. (De Rivaz Huez, Idem) 60 10 390 400											
Total de ROCHEFORT.	3700	620	23860	24556							
DÉPARTEMENT DE TOULON.											
MESSIEURS,											
PREMIER RANG.											
L'ARROGANT. (Le Comte d'Estres, Vice-Amiral)) 90 21 704 725											
Le MAGNANIME. (Chevalier de Plancost, Chef d'Escadre)) 80 14 636 650											
Le UYS. (Le Comte d'Estres, Vice-Amiral)) 84 12 638 650											
L'ÉCLATANT. (Chevalier de Plancost, Chef d'Escadre)) 64 12 423 435											
L'INVINCIBLE. (Bisland, Idem) 68 11 474 485											
Le BON. (De Pailheret, Idem) 54 9 346 355											
Le SUPÉRIEUR. (De Pallas, Idem) 60 11 474 485											
L'HEUREUX. (Destrauc, Idem) 68 11 474 485											
Le MARQUIS. (Chevalier de Farbin, Idem) 60 10 370 380											
Le PORTUNE. (Genlis, Idem) 58 10 346 356											
Le PRÉCIEUX. (Baron des Adrets, Idem) 60 10 346 356											
L'ARDENT. (De Pontis, Idem) 68 11 400 411											
Le SAGE. (Chevalier de la Guiche, Idem) 56 9 346 355											
L'HARDY. (Comte d'Aubigny, Idem) 56 9 346 355											
Le CONSTANT. (Comte de Charvany, Idem) 48 11 374 381											
L'ASSURÉ. (Chevalier de Châteauneuf, Idem) 60 10 370 380											
Le TERRIBLE. (De Reffons, Commissaire Général d'Artillerie) 6 5 10 11											
La BELLIGÉRE. (Gombaud, Capitaine) 6 5 10 11											
L'ÉCLAIRÉ. (Baudier, Idem) 6 5 10 11											
Le VIGILANT. (Péris, Idem) 6 5 10 11											
Le FAUCON. (Verger, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le LORIN. (Giucelle, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
L'INDIFFÉRENT. (Origine Marchand, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
L'ESPION. (Drognon Terres, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Le CAILLÉ. (Naudy, Idem) 10 2 38 40											
Total de TOULON.	3700	620	23860	24556							



A TOULON, Chez PIERRE-LOUIS MALLARD, Imprimeur du Roi, de Monseigneur l'Evêque de la Ville, du Collège & de la Marine, à la Place Saint Pierre, 1692.

Appendix Four

Naval Shipyard Master Sculptures and Master Painters from the 1690s to the 1790s.⁵⁰⁶

Rochefort.

Master Sculptors.

1698-1712 Amourette, Jean-Baptiste.
1712-1743 Buirette, Claude Ambroise.
1743-1747 Delord, Jean
1747-1762 Bourguignon, Jean Joseph
1764-1775 Allegrains, Gabriel

Master Painters.

1699-1707 Sylvain, Antoine
1707-1731 Garot Dubrisson, Etienne
1732-1744 Cassina
1744-1749 Roussel
1749-1759 Favannes, Jacques de
Gap
1774-1778 Le Brun, Antoine.

Brest.

Master Sculptors

1697-1716 Renard, Nicolas
1717-1729 Caffieri, Francois Charles
1729-1766 Caffieri, Charles Philippe

Master Painters.

1698-1720 Lignerès, Jean Baptiste
1720-1759 Coupery, Pierre père
1759-1770 Coupery, Pierre fils

Toulon.

Master Sculptors.

1689-1718 Rombault, Longueneux
1718-1731 Toro, Bernard
1731-1760 Lange, Maucord
1763-1789 Gibert, Antoine

Master Painters.

1687-1731 De la Rose, Pascal
1731-1740 De la Rose Jean Baptiste II
1740-1760 L'Hermine, Joseph
1762-1767 Arnaud, Pierre Philibert

⁵⁰⁶ Extracted from the biographies by Théron in *L'ornementation sculptée et peinte des vaisseaux du Roi (1670-1792)*.

Marseille.

Master Sculptors.

1668-1706 Mathias, Jean
1706-1748 Garavaque, Jean

Master Painters.

1693-1704 Comte, Meiffien
1704-1748 Bernard, Pierre
1748-1752 Dandre Bardon, Michel Francois.

Dunkerque.

Master Sculptors.

1695-1714 Caffieri, Francois Charles
No listing thereafter.

Master Painters.

No listing.

Cherbourg.

Master Sculptors.

Listing only after 1812.

Le Havre.

Master Sculptors.

1687-1691 Caffieri, Philippe
1714-1717 Caffieri, Francois Charles
1720-1728 Caffieri, Charles Philippe
1756-1760 Le Roux

Master Painters.

1756-1760 Berthelin, Henri.

Lorient

Master Sculptors.

1691-1698 Amourette, Jean Baptiste
1698-1712 Burette, Claude Ambroise
1712-1716 Amourette, Raymond
1716-1720 Amourette, Joseph Maria
Gap to 1794.

Master Painters.

Listing only after 1794.

Appendix Five

Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française sous le règne de Louis XIV

Stanislaw Lami

Honoré Champion, Libraire-Éditeur
Quai Malaquais, 5 Paris
1906

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/12148/bpt6k9686976k>

Extract.⁵⁰⁷

Auphan, Joseph. Sculpteur marseillais, était employé à Toulon, en 1668, sous la direction de Raymond Langueneux, à la décoration du vaisseau de premier rang, le Royal-Louis, 13.

Archives de l'art français, Documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Artistes de Toulon (Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 168; 1894, p. 202).

Auxion, François. Sculpteur toulousain, était établi à Toulon, en 1668, et y travaillait à l'ornementation du vaisseau le Royal-Louis sous la direction de Pierre Turreau, 13.

Archives de l'art français, Documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Artistes de Toulon (Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 169; 1894, p. 202).

Collibaud François. Originaire de Paris, se trouvait à Toulon en 1688 et y était employé, sous les ordres de Pierre Turreau, à la sculpture du vaisseau le Royal-Louis. En 1696, il collaborait dans la même ville à des travaux de décoration navale, 100.

Archives de l'art français, documents. IV, 1856, -p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 169 ; 1894, p. 221. - Idem, Réunion des Services des beaux-arts des départements, 1884, p. 358.

Duparc, Albert. Sculpteur et architecte d'origine lorraine, vint se fixer dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle à Marseille, où il exécuta plusieurs œuvres, parmi lesquelles on cite la chaire de l'église des Dominicains. En 1692, on le trouve à Toulon soumissionnant pour la sculpture du vaisseau le Nouveau-Royal-Louis, qui lui fut adjugée au prix de 5.300 livres. Le 22 mai 1696, en collaboration de son confrère Antoine Fleury, il passa un marché par lequel il s'engagea à entreprendre moyennant 1.200 livres la construction et la décoration de la façade de la cathédrale Sainte-Marie, à Toulon. Duparc abandonna ce travail avant qu'il ne fût complètement achevé et revint à Marseille ; c'est là qu'il termina probablement sa carrière, 175.

⁵⁰⁷ Biography of sculptors that worked on the “Royal-Louis.”

V. Brun, Bulletin de l'Académie du Var, 1860-1861, p. 96. : - Ch. GINOUX. Réunion des Services des beaux-arts des départements, 1884, p. 345, 348, 358; 1895, p. 192,193. - Idem, Revue de l'art français, 1887, p. 49-51 ; 1888, p. 174; 1889, p. 124 ; 1894, p. 243.

Girardon, François. Naquit à Troyes, sur la paroisse Saint-Rémi, le vendredi 17 mars 1628; il était fils de Nicolas Girardon, maître fondeur, et d'Anne Saingevin sa femme. Poussé par son père à exercer la profession de procureur, il s'y refusa et entra chez Baudesson, sculpteur en bois, qui lui enseigna les premiers principes de son art et l'employa avec lui aux travaux du château de Saint-Liebault, à Estissac, château appartenant alors au chancelier Séguier. Ce dernier s'intéressa au jeune artiste et lui fournit les moyens d'aller à Rome. De retour à Troyes, en 1650, Girardon y entreprit quelques ouvrages, puis se rendit à Paris, où il devint l'élève de Laurent Magnier et de François Anguier. Il fut mis ensuite en rapport avec Le Brun qui lui donna de nombreuses commandes. Habile dans son art, mais montrant peu d'indépendance et peu d'individualité, il exécuta la plupart de ses œuvres sous l'inspiration du premier peintre du roi. Il se présenta le 22 novembre 1656 à l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, où il fut admis le 7 juillet 1657 sur un bas-relief représentant la Vierge. Il fut nommé professeur le 3 juillet 1659, adjoint à recteur le 3 décembre 1672, recteur le 6 octobre 1674 et chancelier le 13 août 1695. En 1667, il fut envoyé à Toulon par Colbert pour diriger les travaux de décoration des vaisseaux le Royal-Louis et le Dauphin-Royal, d'après les plans de Le Brun. Revenu bientôt à Paris, il retourna à Toulon, le 27 mars 1668, et y sculpta deux des principales figures ornant le Royal-Louis. A la fin de la même année, il quitta cette ville, laissant la direction des sculpteurs de l'arsenal à Pierre Puget, et se rendit à Gênes -et de là à Rome, avec la mission d'inspecter l'École de France et de rechercher les objets d'art pouvant concourir à l'embellissement des résidences royales. On le retrouve à Paris en 1669. A cette date, les comptes portent la mention suivante, au sujet du voyage qu'il venait d'effectuer : "Au sr Girardon, 2.000 l. pour avec 1.000 l. qu'il a cy-devant reçues l'année dernière, faire 3.000 l., tant pour les frais du voyage qu'il a fait à Rome pour se rendre plus capable de servir S. M. dans ses bastiments, que pour les ouvrages de sculpture qu'il a fait aux vaisseaux de S. M. en passant à Toulon et à Marseille... 2000 l...." A partir de cette époque, il commença à entreprendre ses œuvres les plus importantes. Il collabora à la décoration de la galerie d'Apollon au Louvre ; il sculpta pour Versailles le groupe des Bains d'Apollon, la fontaine de la Pyramide, le grand bas-relief des Nymphes de la cascade de l'Allée d'eau, la statue de l'Hiver et le groupe de l'Enlèvement de Proserpine ; à Paris, il érigea au milieu de la place Louis le Grand la statue équestre du roi et fit de nombreux mausolées dont le plus célèbre, le tombeau du cardinal de Richelieu, existe encore

aujourd'hui dans l'église de la Sorbonne. Entre temps, il n'oublia pas sa ville natale ; il lui donna un grand médaillon de Louis XIV en marbre pour l'Hôtel de Ville et un Christ en bronze pour l'église Saint-Rémi ; il éleva aussi, dans l'église Saint-Jean, le maître-autel et l'autel du Saint-Ciboire. Après la mort de Le Brun, en 1690, ayant obtenu la charge d'inspecteur général de tous les ouvrages de sculpture, lui qui avait si souvent employé son talent à exécuter des œuvres conçues par autrui, il composa à son tour des modèles destinés à être sculptés en marbre par ses confrères ; tels les groupes d'Ino et Mécécerte par Pierre Granier, d'Aristée et Protée par Sébastien Slodtz, de Vénus et Adonis par Lecomte, (Énée et Anchise par Lepautre. Il eut cependant quelques déboires avec des artistes comme Coyzevox et les Coustou qui ne voulurent jamais reconnaître sa supériorité et se mettre sous sa dépendance. Girardon avait créé au Louvre, dans le logement que lui avait donné le roi, une galerie célèbre à l'époque, renfermant en dehors de ses propres ouvrages de beaux antiques et des morceaux de Jean Bologne, de Michel-Ange et de Duquesnoy ainsi que des tableaux et des dessins de Lesueur et de Le Brun ; cette galerie fut vendue aux enchères après sa mort. Il jouissait d'une certaine fortune et n'était pas exempt de vanité, aussi, en 1696, alors que tout le monde achetait moyennant vingt livres le droit de porter des armoiries, cédant à la faiblesse commune, il prit pour armes « d'azur à un saule arraché d'or, accosté de deux croissants d'argent ». Il mourut le dimanche 1er septembre 1715, le même jour que Louis XIV, et fut inhumé le lendemain à l'église Saint-Landry dans le tombeau qu'il avait fait ériger en 1705, sous sa conduite et d'après ses dessins, par ses élèves Robert Le Lorrain et Eustache Nourrisson. Sa femme, Catherine Duchemin, y était déjà enterrée. Celle-ci, qui peignait avec talent les fleurs et les fruits et qui avait été admise à l'Académie le 4 août 1663, était morte en 1698 à l'âge de 68 ans ; il l'avait épousé en 1657 et en avait eu dix enfants dont aucun ne suivit sa carrière. On connaît plusieurs portraits de Girardon. Hyacinthe Rigaud en a fait un qui a été gravé par Duchange. On en voyait deux à l'ancienne Académie : l'un au pastel par Joseph Vivier et l'autre à l'huile par Gabriel Revel ; ce dernier est aujourd'hui au Louvre, n° 777. Le Musée de Troyes possède son buste par Louis-Claude Vassé ; ce buste, commandé par Grosley, a figuré au Salon de 1757, 204-206.

Œuvres

Dessins et modèles, d'après Le Brun, pour la décoration de deux vaisseaux en chantier à Toulon : le Royal-Louis et le Dauphin-Royal (année 1668). Girardon sculpta lui-même les deux principales figures ornant le Royal-Louis, 208.

Langueneux, Raymond. Désigné le plus souvent sous le nom de Rombaude Langueneux, naquit en Flandre en 1638. Il dut venir de bonne heure en France, car on le trouve établi à Toulon dès 1661, époque où il était chargé de sculpter quatre statues en bois de noyer pour compléter l'ornementation faite par Pierre Puget dans la chapelle du Corpus Domini, à la cathédrale. Ces figures, payées 800 livres, représentaient un Ecce homo, une Notre-Dame-de-Pitié et deux Anges ; elles furent détruites dans un incendie en 1681. Langueneux entreprit en 1667 d'après les dessins de Le Brun, avec son confrère Pierre Turreau, la sculpture de la poupe du Royal-Louis, vaisseau de 104 canons. S'étant fort bien acquitté de ce travail, il fut alors nommé, sur la recommandation de François Girardon, maître sculpteur de la marine avec mille livres de gages. En 1684, il décora le vaisseau l'Ardent. En 1689, il donna les modèles des deux grandes figures allégoriques et des deux enfants qui soutiennent un écusson au-dessus de la porte de l'hôpital maritime ; ces figures furent sculptées sous sa direction par Pierre Tombarelli. En 1692, il fournit les dessins de la décoration du nouveau Royal-Louis qui devait remplacer l'ancien vaisseau de ce nom, décoration que son confrère Albert Duparc obtint à l'adjudication au prix de 5.300 livres. Raymond Langueneux mourut à Toulon le 30 juillet 1718 et fut enterré dans le cimetière de la paroisse Saint-Louis. Il s'était marié en 1663 et avait eu onze enfants dont aucun ne paraît avoir suivi sa carrière, 277-278.

V. Brun, Bulletin de l'Académie du Var, 1860-1861, p. 93-98. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 258, 261, 266; 1894, p. 214-271. — Idem, Réunion des Services des beaux-arts des départements, 1890, p. 360-365 ; 1892, p. 160, 168, 174. — Inventaire général.

Levray, Nicolas. Naquit au commencement du XVII^{ème} siècle, probablement à Toulon, où il était établi en 1639. Jusqu'en 1648, il fut occupé exclusivement à des travaux de sculpture navale. A cette date, il reçut de la ville la commande des fontaines d'Astor et du Portail-d'Aumont qu'il exécuta avec Gaspard Puget. L'année suivante, il termina en collaboration de Pierre Puget une autre fontaine sur la place Saint-Lazare et une statue de saint Louis destinée de surmonter la fontaine de la Poissonnerie. En 1655, il commença la réfection de la fontaine Saint-Eloi. Le 22 avril de la même année, il passa un marché avec les consuls pour l'exécution de la grande porte de l'Hôtel de Ville, vis-à-vis du quai; mais, le contrat ayant été résilié, le travail fut confié en 1656 à Pierre Puget qui entreprit alors la fameuse porte actuelle avec les deux cariatides soutenant le balcon. Comme dédommagement, Levray fut chargé par la municipalité d'élever une fontaine en face cette porte sur le carré du port. A partir de 1662, l'artiste s'adonna entièrement à la décoration

des vaisseaux de l'État; il travailla notamment au Saint-Philippe, au Royal-Louis d'après les dessins de Le Brun et à la Trompeuse d'après ceux de Pierre Puget. Il mourut à Toulon le 26 août 1678, 335-336.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 237, 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 164; 1889, p. 66-72 ; 1890, p. 153, 353; 1892, p. 226; 1894, p. 283. — Idem, Réunion des Services des beaux-arts des départements, 1890, p. 354-360. — Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Province, monuments civils, t. VI, 1892, p. 263, 274.

Levray, Gabriel. Fils de Nicolas, naquit à Toulon vers 1640. En 1667, il travaillait en même temps que son père à l'ornementation du vaisseau le Royal-Louis. Jusqu'en 1701, il fut employé à Toulon comme sculpteur décorateur de la marine. Il figurait encore sur le registre de l'impôt de capitation en 1717. Il dut mourir peu de temps après, car on perd sa trace à partir de cette époque, 336.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 167 ; 1892, p. 226; 1894, p. 285.

Miot, Louis. Natif de la ville de Langres, était employé en 1668 dans l'arsenal de Toulon à la sculpture du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, sous la direction de Guillaume Gay, 378.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 168 ; 1894, p. 294.

Murat, Antoine. Originaire de Marseille, collaborait à Toulon en 1668 à la décoration sculpturale du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, sous la direction de Guillaume Gay, 389.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238, — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 168 ; 1894, p. 295.

Panisson Charles, originaire de la Ciotat, travaillait en 1668 dans l'arsenal de Toulon, sous la direction de Gabriel Levray, à la décoration du vaisseau de l'État le Royal-Louis, 396.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 169 ; 1894, p. 298.

Peillon, André. Natif de la ville de Grasse; était établi à Toulon en 1663. Il était occupé dans l'arsenal en 1668, sous la direction de Nicolas Levray, à la décoration du vaisseau le Royal-Louis. En 1671, devenu maître sculpteur de la marine, il fut chargé avec Guillaume et Raymond Gay, père et fils, de tous les ouvrages de sculpture à exécuter d'après les modèles de Pierre Puget pour le vaisseau le Fougueux. Il vivait encore à Toulon en 1705, 400.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 237. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 168, 258; 1894, p. 299. — Idem, Réunion des Services des beaux-arts des départements, 1884, p. 343; 1891, p. 255, 256.

Peillon, Honoré. Originaire de Grasse, parent du précédent, travaillait avec ce dernier à Toulon en 1668 à la décoration du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, sous la direction de Nicolas Levrav. 400.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 237. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 168; 1894, p. 299.

Pierre Terras, né à Marseille, travaillait à Toulon en 1668, sous la direction de Gabriel Levrav, aux ouvrages de sculpture entrepris pour la décoration du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, 464.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 238. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 169; 1894, p. 316.

Thomas, Jacques. Sculpteur dauphinois, peut-être parent du précédent, résidait dans la seconde moitié du XVII^{ème} siècle à Toulon, où, en 1668, il était occupé, sous la direction de Nicolas Levrav, à la décoration du vaisseau le Royal-Louis. En 1684, il travaillait au vaisseau l'Ardent avec son confrère Imbert. En 1696, il exécutait encore différents ouvrages de sculpture navale pour le compte de la marine, 471.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p. 23.7. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 169; 1894, p. 316.

Turreau, Pierre. Naquit vers 1638, probablement à Toulon. On rencontre sa trace dans cette ville à partir de 1667, époque où les registres de la marine mentionnent son nom pour la première fois ; il travaillait alors, d'après les dessins de Le Brun, à la décoration du vaisseau le Royal-Louis, en collaboration de son confrère Raymond Langueneux. L'année suivante, sur la présentation de Girardon, il fut nommé maître entretenu de la marine avec 1.200 livres d'appointements. Il semble qu'on n'eut pas lieu de se féliciter de ce choix et que l'artiste s'acquitta fort mal de sa tâche, se montrant querelleur et débauché et n'ayant pas l'autorité nécessaire pour diriger les sculpteurs qu'il avait sous ses ordres. La correspondance de l'intendant d'Infreville laisse subsister peu de doute à cet égard. On lit en effet dans une lettre adressée à Colbert "Le sieur Turreau . . . ne s'acquiert pas de créance auprès de nos maîtres sculpteurs qui l'envient et ne l'ont pas en estime. Il a eu déjà des démêlez avec eux, etc..." et dans une autre lettre : "Le sieur Turreau a ce malheur qu'il ne peut assujétir personne travailler avec lui." En 1670, il épousa Anne Toucas dont il eut plusieurs enfants. Il mourut à Toulou le 10 juillet 1675, 478-479.

Archives de l'art français, documents, t. IV, 1856, p., 243, 266.- V. BRUN, Bulletin de l'Académie-du Var, 1860-1861, p. 92, 93. — Ch. GINOUX. Revue de l'art français, 1888, p. 167 ; 1890, p. 152, 153; 1894, p. 317-319. — Idem, Réunion des beaux-arts des départements, 1890, p. 365-368.

Appendix Six

“Les Caffieri, sculpteurs et fondeurs ciseleurs. Étude sur la statuaire et sur l'art du bronze en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle.”

Jules Guiffrey (1840-1918).

Paris: Damascène Morgand et Charles Fatout, Libraires. 55, Passage des Panoramas, 1877.
Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

PHILIPPE CAFFIÉRI ET SES DESCENDANTS, MAÎTRES SCULPTEURS DES VAISSEAUX DU ROI A BREST. 1686-1801.

Liste des dessins de vaisseaux exécutés par Philippe Caffieri, 466-467, 469-468:

Vaisseau de Versailles conduit par M. le marquis de Langeron par Caffiery fecit. 1685.

Dessin du petit vaisseau LE TRIOMPHANT. J. Bérain invenit. P. Caffiery fecit. 1688.

La bouteille et espron du mesme vaisseau LE TRIOMPHANT. Dessin du vaisseau.

LE SANS PAREIL, construit au port du Hâvre de Grâce en 1684. Jacques Dollé invenit.

Dessin du vaisseau LE FRANÇOIS, Hâvre 1688. Jean Bérain invenit. P. Caffiery fecit.

Dessin du vaisseau LE SAINT-MICHEL, Hâvre 1687. Jean Bérain invenit. P. Caffiery fecit.

Dessin du FRANÇOIS. J. Bérain innovit.

Dessin du SAINT-MICHEL. Jean Bérain invenit. P. Caffiery fecit.

Dessin d'un veco nommé LE SOVOR construit à Toulon. Caffiéri fecit. Et venu au Hâvre en 1670.

Dessin du vaisseau LE BRAVE, construit en 1683, par J. Dollé.

Dessin du vaisseau L'ARROGANT, construit au Hâvre en 1682. Doublet innovit.

Dessin d'une chalupe pour Chantilli, 1686, de 24 pieds de longor.

Dessin d'une chalupe pour monsieur le marquis de Senelet, de 26 pieds de longor.

L'ARGONAUTE, style du XVIIIe siècle. Ne portent ni date, ni signature.

L'ARDENT, construit en 1681 (sans signature).

Du BRILLANT, construit en 1690 au Hâvre de Grâce. J. Bérain invenit. P. Caffieri fecit.

Du vaisseau LE GAILLARD, construit au Havre en 1691. Jean Bérain invenit.

Du vaisseau LE JUSTE, construit au Havre en 1691. J. Bérain inv. Dollé fecit.

Du vaisseau L'ÉOLE, construit au Havre en 1692 et fini en mars 1693. J. Bérain inv.

Dessin de la sculpture du vaisseau LE SAINT-LOUIS, construit au Havre en 1692, et fini en février 1693. J. Bérain inv.

Parmi tous ces dessins non signés, un certain nombre peut être attribué, selon toute ressemblance, à Charles-Philippe Caffiéri.

Dessin de la sculpture de la frégate du Roy LA MARTIALE, construite en 1695 et finie en juin 1696 (sans nom).

Dessin de la sculpture du vaisseau LA DAUPHINE, construit au Havre en 1696 et finie en avril 1697 (sans nom).

Dessin de la sculpture de la frégate du Roy L'AURORE, construite au Havre en 1697 (sans nom).

Liste des dessins de vaisseaux exécutés par François-Charles Caffiéri, 470.

L'ÉCLATANT, fait à Brest le 20 may 1721. Signé : Caffiéri.

LE GRAFFTON, fait à Brest le 2 décembre 1721. Caffiéri.

LE NEPTUNE, à Brest le 22 décembre 1723. Caffiéri.

LE TRITON, Caffieri fecit anno 1724. Caffiéri.

LE BRILLANT, fait à Brest le 28 aoust 1725. Caffiéri.

Liste des dessins de vaisseaux exécutés par Charles-Philippe Caffiéri, 471-471 :

LA MARIE-FRANÇOISE (gabare), estimé à la somme de soixante livres, à Brest, le 10 septembre 1731. Caffiéri.

LE MARS, fait à Brest le 8 mars 1740. Caffiéri.

L'AUGUSTE, fait à Brest le 9 juin 1740. Caffiéri.

LA FAUVETTE (corvette), fait à Brest le 4 aoust 1743. Caffiéri.

L'ALCIDE, fait à Brest le 6 décembre 1743. Caffiéri.

LE VIGILANT, fait à Brest le 15 décembre 1743. Caffiéri.

LA PANTHÈRE (corvette), fait à Brest le 15 décembre 1743. Caffiéri.

LA GALATHÉE, fait à Brest le 2 juillet 1744. Caffiéri.

LA RENOMMÉE, fait à Brest le 2 juillet 1744. Caffiéri.

LA PALME, fait à Brest le 31 décembre 1744. Caffiéri.

LA BADINE, fait à Brest le 31 décembre 1744. Caffiéri.

LA MALIGNE, fait à Brest le 31 décembre 1744. Caffiéri.

LA PERLE, fait à Brest le 31 décembre 1744. Caffiéri.

LE SCEPTRE, fait à Brest le 6 octobre 1745. Caffiéri.

LE LIS, à Brest le 6 octobre 1745. Caffiéri.

LE FOUGUEUX, fait à Brest le 6 octobre 1745. Caffiéri.

L'INTRÉPIDE, fait à Brest le 6 octobre 1745. Caffiéri.

LE MONARQUE, fait à Brest le 6 octobre 1745. Caffiéri.

LA DORADE (corvette), à Brest le 18 may 1746. Caffiéri.

L'ANÉMONE (id.), fait à Brest le 8 juin 1747. Caffiéri.

L'AMARANTE (id.), fait à Brest le 8 juin 1747. Caffiéri.

L'HERCULE, fait à Brest le 22 janvier 1748. Caffiéri.

LE PROTHÉE, fait à Brest le 22 janvier 1748. Caffiéri.

L'AMPHION, fait à Brest le 18 septembre 1748. Caffiéri

L'ILLUSTRE1, fait à Brest le 27 décembre 1748. Caffiéri.

LE FORMIDABLE, fait à Brest le 27 décembre 1749. Caffiéri.

LE COURAGEUX, fait à Brest le 14 octobre 1751. Caffiéri.

L'ENTREPRENANT, fait à Brest le 4 octobre 1751. Caffiéri.

L'ACTIF, fait à Brest le 20 octobre 1752. Caffiéri.

LA COMÈTE (corvette), fait à Brest le 20 octobre 1752. Caffiéri.

LE DEFFENSEUR, fait à Brest le 20 octobre 1752. Caffiéri.

LE HÉROS, à Brest le 23 avril 1753. Caffiéri.

LA FLEUR DE LIS, à Brest le 14 février 1754. Caffiéri fils.

LA LICORNE, à Brest le 9 may 1755. Caffiéri fils.

LA TERREUR, à Brest le 16 décembre 1755. Caffiéri.

LE BELLIQUEUX, à Brest le 6 may 1756. Caffiéri.

LE DIADÈME, à Brest le 6 may 1756. Caffiéri.

LE HYACINTHE, à Brest le 31 juillet 1756. Caffiéri.

LE THÉSÉE, fait à Brest le 6 novembre 1757. Caffiéri.

LE ROYAL-LOUIS, à Brest le 3 octobre 1758. Caffiéri.

LE CITOYEN, à Brest le 14 mars 1764. Caffiéri.

LA FORTE (flûte), à Brest le 30 janvier 1765. Caffiéri.

LA PORTEUSE (id.), à Brest le 30 janvier 1765. Caffiéri.

LE SAINT-ESPRIT, à Brest le 30 septembre 1765. Caffiér

LE VENGEUR, fait à Brest le 15 décembre 1766. Caffiéri l'aîné.

L'ÉCUREUIL, à Brest le 4 juillet 1768. Caffiéri l'aîné.

ALCIDE: L'ÉPRON. La figure représentera Hercule drapée de peau de lion, armée de la massue de la main droite, et de la main gauche appuyée sur le rouleau de l'épron. Les têtes de herpes ornées de feuilles de refentes, rouleaux, rosettes et platbandes. Les montants des lisses ornés de palmettes, miroirs et platbandes ravallées. Les rabatues des platbords ornés de feuilles de refentes, rouleaux, fleurons et platbandes ravallées. Le fronteau du gaillard d'arrière enrichy des armes de Sa Majesté, des colliers des ordres dans un écusson, et le fronteau orné de platbandes entrelassées, feuilles de refentes, palmettes et fleurons. Le fronteau du gaillard d'avant orné de cartouches au

milieu de feuilles de refentes, platbandes et palmettes. Le fronteau de la dunette orné d'entrelas d'ornemens, feuilles d'eau et palmettes. Il sera fait le nombre de dix consoles ornées de feuilles de refentes, palmettes et rouleaux pour la chambre du Conseil qui se passeront sous les extrémités des barreaux. Fait à Brest le 28 avril 1748. Caffiery. 2,200 liv., 477.

Sous le nom de Lubet :

LA FLORE.

LA DANAÉ.

LA BOUDEUSE.

LA CALIPSO (1785).

LA PERLE.

L'ARROGANT, construit par le s. Salicon, charpentier. Doublet inventé (1682).

L'ÉOLE, au Havre (1692). Bérain inv.

LA CORNÉLIE, signée Collet aîné.

LA GLOIRE.

LE BOURBON.

L'ESPÉRANCE.

LA VÉNUS.

LA NÉRÉIDE.

L'AIMABLE.

LE BRILLANT.

LE PROFOND.

Appendix Seven⁵⁰⁸

Warships built during the Reign of Louis XIV.

Ship's given name	Cannons	Launch date	Launch site
First Rates (“vaisseaux de Premier Rang”)			
<i>Saint-Philippe</i>	78	1663	Toulon
<i>Royal-Louis</i>	120	1668	Toulon
<i>Dauphin-Royal</i>	100	1668	Toulon
<i>Monarque</i>	84	1668	Toulon
<i>Royal Duc</i>	104	1668	Brest
<i>Ile de France</i>	74	1669	Toulon
<i>Couronne</i>	80	1669	Brest
<i>Henri</i>	80	1669	Tonnay-Charente
<i>Soleil Royal</i>	120	1669	Brest
<i>Sceptre</i>	80	1670	Toulon
<i>Magnanime</i>	76	1673	Marseille
<i>Victorieux</i>	108	1675	Rochefort
<i>Admirable</i>	80	1678	Brest
<i>Grand</i>	84	1680	Rochefort
<i>Magnifique</i>	84	1685	Toulon
<i>Conquérant</i>	84	1688	Toulon
<i>Intrépide</i>	84	1690	Rochefort
<i>Saint-Esprit</i>	90	1690	Brest
<i>Victorieux</i>	88	1691	Rochefort
<i>Foudroyant</i>	84	1691	Brest
<i>Orgueilleux</i>	90	1691	Lorient
<i>Admirable</i>	94	1691	Lorient
<i>Sceptre</i>	84	1691	Toulon
<i>Merveilleux</i>	92	1691	Brest
<i>Fulminant</i>	98	1691	Rochefort
<i>Ambitieux</i>	96	1691	Rochefort
<i>Formidable</i>	96	1691	Brest
<i>Lis</i>	84	1691	Toulon
<i>Vainqueur</i>	84	1692	Lorient
<i>Royal-Louis</i>	112	1692	Toulon

⁵⁰⁸ The purpose of this list is to serve as a source of reference for identifying trends and preferences in the names given to the warships of the French fleet when under construction during the *ancien régime*. This list is not meant to be an all inclusive list of warships, but rather to list the known given names at the time of launch. Changes to the warships' names after launch are not considered. This list was compiled from Jacques Vichot *Répertoire des navires de guerre français*. Paris: L'Association des Amis des musées de la Marine, 1967; Alain Demerliac *Nomenclature des navires français de 1715 à 1754*. Nice: Éditions Omega, 1995; Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 50 et 64 canons 1650-1780*, pp. 156-158; and Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons 1650-1850*, pp. 9, 15, 17, 20, 32, 33, 46, 82-83, 102.

<i>Merveilleux</i>	100	1692	Brest
<i>Foudroyant</i>	104	1692	Brest
<i>Magnifique</i>	86	1692	Rochefort
<i>Ambitieux</i>	92	1692	Rochefort
<i>Admirable</i>	96	1692	Lorient
<i>Terrible</i>	100	1693	Brest
<i>Tonnant</i>	90	1693	Toulon
<i>Saint Philippe</i>	90	1693	Toulon
<i>Triomphant</i>	94	1693	Lorient
<i>Soleil Royal</i>	104	1693	Brest
<i>Fier</i>	90	1694	Rochefort
Second Rates (“vaisseaux de Deuxième Rang”).			
<i>Reine</i>	60	1647	Toulon
<i>Vendome</i>	72	1651	Brest
<i>Saint-Louis</i>	60	1658	Soubise
<i>Bourbon</i>	66	1665	Soubise
<i>Prince</i>	64	1666	Brest
<i>Frederic</i>	70	1666	Copenhagen
<i>Conquérant</i>	66	1666	Amsterdam
<i>Courtisan</i>	64	1666	Amsterdam
<i>Intrépide</i>	66	1666	Amsterdam
<i>Invincible</i>	64	1666	Amsterdam
<i>Neptune</i>	64	1666	Amsterdam
<i>Normand</i>	66	1666	Amsterdam
<i>Princesse</i>	64	1667	Soubise
<i>Paris</i>	72	1669	Toulon
<i>Français</i>	62	1669	Brest
<i>Fort</i>	68	1669	Rochefort
<i>Madame</i>	72	1670	Toulon
<i>Royale-Thérèse</i>	70	1670	Toulon
<i>Terrible</i>	68	1670	Brest
<i>Tonnant</i>	64	1670	Brest
<i>Joli</i>	70	1670	Toulon
<i>Rubis</i>	72	1670	Toulon
<i>Vermandois</i>	70	1671	Rochefort
<i>Parfait</i>	60	1671	Toulon
<i>Orgueilleux</i>	70	1672	Rochefort
<i>Saint-Michel</i>	60	1673	Marseille
<i>Brave</i>	74	1675	Brest
<i>Courtisan</i>	72	1676	Brest
<i>Glorieu</i>	62	1679	Brest
<i>Tonnant</i>	76	1681	Brest

<i>Fier</i>	76	1682	Brest
<i>Bourbon</i>	64	1683	Rochefort
<i>Courtisan</i>	64	1686	Rochefort
<i>Content</i>	64	1686	Toulon
<i>Sérieux</i>	64	1687	Toulon
<i>Éclatant</i>	68	1688	Toulon
<i>Henri</i>	68	1688	Dunkirk
<i>Brillant</i>	64	1690	Le Havre
<i>Aimable</i>	64	1690	Rochefort
<i>Superbe</i>	70	1690	Toulon
<i>Invincible</i>	70	1690	Toulon
<i>Heureux</i>	68	1690	Toulon
<i>Constant</i>	68	1690	Toulon
<i>Gaillard</i>	66	1690	Le Havre
<i>Laurier</i>	60	1690	Bayonne
<i>Sirène</i>	60	1691	Bayonne
<i>Saint-Esprit</i>	74	1691	Rochefort
<i>Ecueil</i>	66	1691	Dunkirk
<i>Juste</i>	62	1691	Le Havre
<i>Bizarre</i>	68	1692	Bayonne
<i>Bourbon</i>	68	1692	Toulon
<i>Saint-Louis</i>	64	1692	Le Havre
<i>Prompt</i>	70	1692	Dunkirk
<i>Fort</i>	70	1693	Rochefort
<i>Éole</i>	62	1693	Le Havre
<i>Content</i>	60	1695	Toulon
<i>Ferme</i>	66	1700	Rochefor
<i>Parfait</i>	72	1701	Toulon
<i>Toulouse</i>	62	1703	Toulon
<i>Oriflamme</i>	60	1704	Toulon
<i>Neptune</i>	72	1704	Toulon
<i>Saint-Michel</i>	70	1706	Lorient
<i>Lis</i>	72	1706	Brest
<i>Magnanime</i>	72	1706	Brest
<i>Pompeux</i>	72	1707	Rochefort
<i>Conquérant</i>	70	1712	Toulon
Third Rates (“vaisseaux de Troisième Rang”).			
<i>Royale</i>	56	1661	Brest
<i>Dauphin</i>	52	1664	Toulon
<i>Diamant</i>	60	1664	Brest
<i>Thérèse</i>	58	1665	Toulon
<i>Brave</i>	50	1670	Rochefort

<i>Louvre</i>	50	1670	Brest
<i>Oriflamme</i>	50	1670	Brest
<i>Navarrais</i>	56	1670	Rochefort
<i>Arrogant</i>	58	1682	Le Havre
<i>Furieux</i>	58	1684	Brest
<i>Marquis</i>	56	1685	Toulon
<i>Modéré</i>	52	1685	Dunkirk
<i>Maure</i>	50	1688	Toulon
<i>Fortuné</i>	54	1689	Toulon
<i>Fleuron</i>	56	1689	Toulon
<i>Perle</i>	50	1690	Dunkirk
<i>Entendu</i>	58	1691	Dunkirk
<i>Capable</i>	58	1692	Dunkirk
<i>Indien</i>	56	1692	Lorient
<i>Bon</i>	56	1693	Brest
<i>Gaillard</i>	50	1693	Bayonne
<i>Fougueux</i>	50	1695	Brest
<i>Téméraire</i>	50	1695	Brest
<i>Solide</i>	50	1695	Brest
<i>Trident</i>	56	1696	Toulon
<i>Mercure</i>	52	1696	Brest
<i>Assuré</i>	60	1697	Toulon
<i>Prudent</i>	60	1697	Toulon
<i>Hasardeux</i>	50	1699	Lorient
<i>Oriflamme</i>	64	1699	Toulon
<i>Amphitrite</i>	50	1700	Dunkirk
<i>Triton</i>	50	1703	Bayonne
<i>Jason</i>	54	1704	Brest
<i>Auguste</i>	54	1704	Brest
<i>Achille</i>	62	1705	Brest
<i>Hercule</i>	56	1705	Lorient
<i>Mars</i>	54	1705	Lorient
<i>Dauphine</i>	60	1706	Le Havre
<i>Bourbon</i>	54	1706	Lorient
<i>Superbe</i>	56	1708	Lorient

Warships built during the Reign of Louis XV.

Ship's given name	Cannons	Launch date	Launch site
First Rates (“vaisseaux de Premier Rang”).			
<i>Foudroyant</i>	110	1724	Brest
<i>Royal-Louis</i>	118	1742	Not launched
<i>Royal-Louis</i>	116	1759	Brest
<i>Ville de Paris</i>	90	1764	Rochefort
<i>Bretagne</i>	100	1766	Brest
80-cannon ships (“vaisseaux de 80”).			
<i>Tonnant</i>	80	1743	Toulon
<i>Soleil Royal</i>	80	1749	Brest
<i>Foudroyant</i>	80	1750	Toulon
<i>Formidable</i>	80	1751	Brest
<i>Duc de Bourgogne</i>	80	1751	Rochefort
<i>Océan</i>	80	1756	Toulon
<i>Orient</i>	80	1756	Lorient
<i>Saint-Esprit</i>	80	1765	Brest
<i>Languedoc</i>	80	1766	Toulon
<i>Couronne</i>	80	1768	Brest
74-cannon ships (“vaisseaux de 74”).			
<i>Sceptre</i>	74	1720	Brest
<i>Bourbon</i>	74	1720	Brest
<i>Éclatant</i>	64	1721	Brest
<i>Saint-Philippe</i>	74	1722	Rochefort
<i>Duc d'Orléans</i>	74	1722	Toulon
<i>Phénix</i>	74	1723	Toulon
<i>Espérance</i>	74	1723	Toulon
<i>Ferme</i>	74	1723	Toulon
<i>Neptune</i>	74	1723	Unknown
<i>Juste</i>	74	1725	Rochefort
<i>Saint-Esprit</i>	74	1726	Toulon
<i>Superbe</i>	74	1738	Brest
<i>Dauphin-Royal</i>	74	1738	Brest
<i>Terrible</i>	74	1739	Toulon
<i>Invincible</i>	74	1744	Rochefort
<i>Magnanime</i>	74	1744	Rochefort
<i>Conquérant</i>	74	1746	Brest
<i>Monarque</i>	74	1747	Brest
<i>Intrépide</i>	74	1747	Brest
<i>Sceptre</i>	74	1747	Brest
<i>Magnifique</i>	74	1749	Brest
<i>Téméraire</i>	74	1749	Toulon

<i>Couronne</i>	74	1749	Rochefort
<i>Florissant</i>	74	1750	Rochefort
<i>Entreprenant</i>	74	1751	Brest
<i>Redoutable</i>	74	1752	Toulon
<i>Palmier</i>	74	1752	Brest
<i>Héros</i>	74	1752	Brest
<i>Actif</i>	74	1752	Brest
<i>Prudent</i>	74	1753	Rochefort
<i>Guerrier</i>	74	1753	Toulon
<i>Courageux</i>	74	1753	Brest
<i>Algonquin</i>	72	1753	Québec
<i>Défenseur</i>	74	1754	Brest
<i>Hector</i>	74	1755	Toulon
<i>Diadème</i>	74	1756	Brest
<i>Glorieux</i>	74	1756	Rochefort
<i>Zodiaque</i>	74	1756	Brest
<i>Centaure</i>	74	1757	Toulon
<i>Minotaure</i>	74	1757	Brest
<i>Souverain</i>	74	1757	Toulon
<i>Robuste</i>	74	1758	Lorient
<i>Thésée</i>	74	1759	Brest
<i>Protecteur</i>	74	1760	Toulon
<i>Diligent</i>	74	1762	Lorient-Caudan
<i>Six Corps</i>	74	1762	Lorient-Caudan
<i>Zélé</i>	74	1763	Toulon
<i>Citoyen</i>	74	1764	Brest
<i>Conquérant</i>	74	1765	Brest
<i>Bourgogne</i>	74	1766	Toulon
<i>Marseillais</i>	74	1766	Toulon
<i>Palmier</i>	74	1766	Brest
<i>César</i>	74	1768	Toulon
<i>Bien-Aimé</i>	74	1769	Lorient
<i>Victoire</i>	74	1770	Lorient
<i>Fendant</i>	74	1776	Rochefort
<i>Destin</i>	74	1777	Toulon
64-cannon ships (“vaisseaux de 64”).			
<i>Ardent</i>	64	1723	Rochefort
<i>Triton</i>	64	1728	Brest
<i>Fleuron</i>	64	1730	Brest
<i>Borée</i>	64	1734	Toulon
<i>Mars</i>	64	1740	Brest
<i>Sérieux</i>	64	1740	Toulon
<i>Saint-Michel</i>	64	1741	Brest
<i>Alcide</i>	64	1743	Brest

<i>Trident</i>	64	1742	Toulon
<i>Vigilant</i>	64	1745	Brest
<i>Lis</i>	64	1746	Brest
<i>Fougueux</i>	64	1747	Brest
<i>Triton</i>	64	1747	Toulon
<i>Achille</i>	64	1747	Toulon
<i>Prothée</i>	64	1748	Brest
<i>Orphée</i>	64	1749	Toulon
<i>Hardi</i>	64	1750	Rochefort
<i>Bizarre</i>	64	1751	Brest
<i>Lion</i>	64	1751	Toulon
<i>Sage</i>	64	1751	Toulon
<i>Vaillant</i>	64	1755	Toulon
<i>Capricieux</i>	64	1753	Rochefort
<i>Bienfaisant</i>	64	1754	Brest
<i>Raisonnable</i>	64	1756	Rochefort
<i>Célèbre</i>	64	1757	Brest
<i>Belliqueux</i>	64	1756	Brest
<i>Fantasque</i>	64	1758	Toulon
<i>Modeste</i>	64	1759	Toulon
<i>Altier</i>	64	1760	Toulon
<i>Union</i>	64	1763	Brest
<i>Artésien</i> ⁵⁰⁹	64	1765	Brest
<i>Roland</i> ⁵⁰⁰	64	1771	Brest
<i>Alexandre</i> ⁵⁰⁰	64	1771	Brest
<i>Prothée</i> ⁵⁰⁰	64	1772	Brest
<i>Éveillé</i> ⁵⁰⁰	64	1772	Brest
<i>Brillant</i>	64	1774	Brest
<i>Solitaire</i>	64	1774	Brest
<i>Refléchi</i>	64	1776	Rochefort
<i>Caton</i>	64	1777	Toulon
<i>Fier</i>	60-62	1745	Toulon
<i>Content</i>	60	1717	Lorient
<i>Orignal</i>	60	1750	Québec
Two-deckers of 50 to 58 cannons (“vaisseaux de 50 - 58”).			
<i>Jason</i>	50-58	1724	Le Havre
<i>Tigre</i>	50-58	1724	Toulon
<i>Brillant</i>	50-58	1724	Brest
<i>Alcyon</i>	50-58	1726	Toulon
<i>Rubis</i>	50-58	1728	Le Havre
<i>Diamant</i>	50-58	1733	Toulon

⁵⁰⁹ *Artésien* class. Design of Joseph-Louis Ollivier.

<i>Apollon</i>	50-58	1740	Rochefort
<i>Auguste</i>	50-58	1741	Brest
<i>Oriflamme</i>	50-56	1744	Toulon
<i>Etoile</i>	50-58	1745	Le Havre
<i>Arc-en-Ciel</i>	50-58	1745	Bayonne
<i>Hippopotame</i>	50-58	1749	Toulon
<i>Amphion</i>	50-58	1749	Brest
<i>Aigle</i>	50-58	1750	Rochefort
<i>Sagittaire</i>	50-58	1761	Toulon
<i>Bordelais</i> ⁵¹⁰	50-58	1763	Bordeaux
<i>Ferme</i> ⁵⁰¹	50-58	1763	Bordeaux
<i>Utile</i> ⁵⁰¹	50-58	1764	Bordeaux
<i>Flamand</i> ⁵⁰¹	50-58	1765	Bordeaux

Warships built during the Reign of Louis XVI.

Ship's given name	Cannons	Launch date	Launch site
First Rates (“vaisseaux de Premier Rang”).			
<i>Invincible</i>	110	1780	Rochefort
<i>Royal-Louis</i>	110	1780	Brest
<i>Terrible</i>	110	1780	Toulon
<i>Majestueux</i>	110	1781	Toulon
<i>Commerce de Marseille</i> ⁵¹¹	118	1790	Toulon
<i>États de Bourgogne</i> ⁵⁰²	118	1790	Brest
<i>Dauphin-Royal</i> ⁵⁰²	118	1793	Toulon
80-cannon ships (“vaisseaux de 80”).			
<i>Auguste</i>	80	1778	Brest
<i>Triomphant</i>	80	1779	Toulon
<i>Couronne</i>	80	1781	Rochefort
<i>Deux Frères</i>	80	1784	Brest
<i>Tonnant</i> ⁵¹²	80	1789	Toulon
<i>Indomptable</i> ⁵⁰³	80	1790	Brest
<i>Sans Pareil</i> ⁵⁰³	80	1793	Brest
74-cannon ships (“vaisseaux de 74”).			
<i>Neptune</i>	74	1778	Brest
<i>Scipion</i> ⁵¹³	74	1778	Rochefort
<i>Hercule</i> ⁵⁰⁴	74	1778	Rochefort
<i>Pluton</i> ⁵⁰⁴	74	1778	Rochefort

⁵¹⁰ *Bordelais* class. Design of Antoine Groignard.

⁵¹¹ *Océan* class. Design of Jacques-Noël Sané.

⁵¹² *Tonnant* class. Design of Jacques-Noël Sané.

⁵¹³ *Scipion* class. Design of Francois-Guillaume Clairin-Deslauriers

<i>Annibal</i> ⁵¹⁴	74	1778	Brest
<i>Héros</i> ⁵⁰⁵	74	1778	Toulon
<i>Magnanime</i> ⁵¹⁵	74	1779	Rochefort
<i>Illustre</i> ³³²	74	1781	Rochefort
<i>Sceptre</i> ³³²	74	1780	Brest
<i>Argonaute</i> ⁵¹⁶	74	1781	Rochefort
<i>Brave</i> ⁵⁰⁷	74	1781	Rochefort
<i>Pégase</i> ⁵¹⁷	74	1781	Brest
<i>Dictateur</i> ⁵⁰⁸	74	1782	Toulon
<i>Suffisant</i> ⁵⁰⁸	74	1782	Toulon
<i>Puissant</i> ⁵⁰⁸	74	1782	Lorient
<i>Alcide</i> ⁵⁰⁸	74	1782	Rochefort
<i>Censeur</i> ⁵⁰⁸	74	1782	Rochefort
<i>Centaure</i> ⁵¹⁸	74	1782	Toulon
<i>Heureux</i> ⁵⁰⁹	74	1782	Toulon
<i>Séduisant</i> ⁵⁰⁹	74	1783	Toulon
<i> Mercure</i> ⁵⁰⁹	74	1783	Toulon
<i>Téméraire</i> ⁵¹⁹	74	1782	Brest
<i>Audacieux</i>	74	1784	Lorient
<i>Superbe</i>	74	1784	Brest
<i>Généreux</i>	74	1785	Rochefort
<i>Commerce de Bordeaux</i>	74	1785	Toulon
<i>Ferme</i>	74	1785	Brest
<i>Fougueux</i>	74	1785	Lorient
<i>Patriote</i>	74	1785	Brest
<i>Commerce de Marseille</i>	74	1785	Toulon
<i>Borée</i>	74	1785	Lorient
<i>Orion</i>	74	1787	Rochefort
<i>Léopard</i>	74	1787	Brest
<i>Entreprenant</i>	74	1787	Lorient
<i>Impétueux</i>	74	1787	Rochefort
<i>Apollon</i>	74	1788	Rochefort
<i>Amérique</i>	74	1788	Brest
<i>Duquesne</i>	74	1788	Toulon
<i>Duguay-Trouin</i>	74	1788	Brest
<i>Tourville</i>	74	1788	Lorient
<i>Aquilon</i>	74	1789	Rochefort
<i>Jupiter</i>	74	1789	Brest

⁵¹⁴ *Annibal* class. Design of Jacques-Noël Sané.

⁵¹⁵ *Magnanime* class. Designs of Jean-Denis Chevillard and Pierre-Augustin Lamothe.

⁵¹⁶ *Argonaute* class. Design of François-Guillaume Clairin Deslauriers.

⁵¹⁷ *Pégase* class. Design of Antoine Groignard.

⁵¹⁸ *Centaure* class. Design of Joseph-Marie-Blaise.

⁵¹⁹ *Téméraire* class. Design of Jacques-Noël Sané. All 74-cannon ships that follow were built to the same design.

<i>Éole</i>	74	1789	Lorient
<i>Vengeur</i>	74	1789	Brest
<i>Jean Bart</i>	74	1790	Lorient
<i>Thésée</i>	74	1790	Rochefort
<i>Scipion</i>	74	1790	Toulon
<i>Pompée</i>	74	1791	Toulon
<i>Suffren</i>	74	1791	Brest
<i>Pyrrhus</i>	74	1791	Rochefort
<i>Thémistocle</i>	74	1791	Lorient
<i>Trajan</i>	74	1792	Lorient
64-cannon ships (“vaisseaux de 64”).			
<i>Bizarre</i>	64	1751	Brest
<i>Alexandre</i>	64	1771	Brest
<i>Sphinx</i>	64	1776	Brest
<i>Caton</i>	64	1777	Toulon

Appendix Eight

Classification of Canadian Built WarShips by Name & Gender, Type & Date, Meaning & Possible Sculptural Composition.⁵²⁰

Name (Gender)	Type (Cannons)	Year of Construction	Meaning of Name	Possible Composition (Reference)
<i>Le Canada</i> (Masculine)	Flute (40)	1739-42	French Colony in New France.	Stern. Female sitting on throne (Anonymous sketch. Service historique de la Défense).
<i>Caribou</i> (Masculine)	Flute (45)	1742-44	North American Indigenous animal.	Figurehead. Cariboo (Archives nationales d'outre mers C ¹¹ A).
<i>Castor</i> (Masculine)	Frigate (26)	1744-45	North American Indigenous animal.	Figurehead. Beaver holding a shield with three fleur-de- Lys (ADM UK).
<i>Carcajou</i> (Masculine)	Corvette (12)	1744-45	North American Indigenous animal.	Unknown.
<i>Martre</i> (Masculine)	Frigate (22)	1745-46	North American Indigenous animal.	Unknown.
<i>Saint-Laurent</i> (Masculine)	Ship-of-the-Line 3ième rang (60)	1746-48	French Canada major tributary.	Stern. Flowing River (Anonymous sketch. Service historique de la Défense).
<i>L'Original</i> ⁵²¹ (Masculine)	Ship of the Line 3ième rang (60)	1748-50	North American Indigenous animal.	Figurehead. Moose (Archives nationales d'outre mers C ¹¹ A).

⁵²⁰ The ship ratings are applied by using as a guide Duhamel du Monceau, *Traite pratiques de la construction des vaisseaux*. The French term is used to specify the warship's rating to distinguish it from the British rating, which was different. Duhamel du Monceau gives the approximate warship ratings of the French navy as "vaisseau première rang" with 144 cannons; "deuxième rang" with 80 cannons; "troisième rang" with 64 cannons; and "quatrième rang" with 50 cannons. Frigates were "première rang" with 38 cannons; "deuxième rang" with 28 cannons; and "troisième rang" with 18 cannons. Corvettes had 12 to 8 cannons. Monceau, 61. The flute and other lesser ships were not rated.

⁵²¹ *L'Original* sank when launched. Mathieu *La Construction Navale Royale a Québec 1739–1759*, p. 67.

<i>L'Algonquin</i> ⁵²² (Masculine)	Ship of the Line 3ième rang (72)	1750-53	North American Indigenous tribe.	Stern. Indigenous warrior (Anonymous sketch. Service historique de la Défense).
<i>Abenakise</i> (Feminine)	Frigate (30)	1753-56	North American Indigenous female.	Space between cheeks for the full figurehead of a person.
<i>Québec</i> (Feminine)	Frigate (30)	1756-Not launched. ⁵²³	French Canada capital city.	Unknown.
<i>Iroquoise</i> (Feminine)	Corvette (10)	1758-59	North American Indigenous female.	Unknown.
<i>Outaouaise</i> (Feminine)	Corvette (10)	1758-59	North American Indigenous female	Unknown.

⁵²² “L’Algonquin” was the largest warship successfully launched. Réal Brisson. *La charpenterie navale à Québec sous le Régime français*. Québec, Institut québécois de la recherche sur la culture, Collection Edmond-de-Nevers. No 2, 1983, p. 240. Its design would follow the standard design of the 74 cannon troisième rang première ordre. “Saint-Laurent” and “L’Original” would follow the design for the “troisième rang deuxième ordre.”

⁵²³ “Québec” was never launched due to the British capture of Québec City in 1759. Brisson, p. 200.

Appendix Nine

Composition of Sculptural Drawings for Warships Launched during the *Ancien Régime*.⁵²⁴

Warship	Description of Figurehead	Description of Aftercastle.
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Rubis</i>. Launched 1664 (60 cannons) Anonymous artist. Boudriot. <i>Les Vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons</i>, p. 314.</p>	- - -	<p>High stern plate with the tafferel filled with geometric designs of triangles and curves. The stern plate has the royal crown on top of the king's monogram in the form of the letters L and a reversed L. A palm tree branch and an olive tree branch flank the king's monogram. A pattern of twelve fleur-de-Lys decorate the open space of the stern plate. A twin inward curved column reinforces the tafferel at each quarter. The lower gallery has below its centre a circular name scroll. Otherwise, the framework of the aftercastle, including the gallery railing, is decorated with seashells and repetitive geometrical patterning.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Royal-Louis</i>. Launched 1668 (120 cannons). Charles Le Brun. Boudriot, p. 21.</p>	<p>Renommée holding a shield containing the king's coat of arms aided by a young triton</p>	<p>High stern plate with the king sitting on a throne flanked by two chained slaves. Two figures are at the top with war trophies. Renommée is at each end. Neptune and Tethys are at the port and starboard quarters, respectively. Four male figures serve as caryatides to support the upper gallery. Ten mermaids equally spaced serve as caryatides to support the lower gallery. A winged horse is at the lower deck at each quarter.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Dauphin-Royal</i>. Launched 1668. (100 cannons) Charles Le Brun, p. 34.</p>	<p>Female figure wearing ancient Greek garment.</p>	<p>High stern plate having a large medallion with a decorated frame and containing the portrait of Louis XIV. There is a nymph at each side of the medallion. A female figure is on the top at each side of the tafferel. A shield with three fleur-de-Lys is at the centre of the upper gallery. Two angels are holding up the name scroll which is at the centre of the lower gallery. Four male and four female figures are at the top of the upper gallery and appear as if they are suspended in air. They were possibly meant to originally serve as caryatides.</p>

⁵²⁴ See the nomenclature at the beginning of the text concerning the decorative features particular to the stem and the stern of the warship.

<p><i>Paris.</i> Launched 1669. (70 cannons) Anonymous artist, p. 314.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with the tafferel as a sea shell spanning the entire length. The face of Neptune is at the centre below the sea shell. The stern plate has an ancient Egyptian ship representing the medieval coat of arms of Paris. Twin spiral columns reinforce each quarter of the tafferel. The letters LV are inscribed on a plaque at the centre of the upper gallery railings. A large winged mermaid is looking outwards at each quarter. A shield with three fleur-de-Lys is at the centre of the railings of the lower gallery. At each end a sea shell framed in a garland has a female face looking outwards. Two twisted tree trunks act as braced supports between the lower and upper quarter galleries of each side.</p>
<p><i>Soleil Royal.</i> Launched 1669 (120 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 309.</p>	<p>Tethys riding a hippocampus. Renommée mounted broadside at the bow.</p>	<p>High stern plate with the sun king riding his chariot being pulled by four horses going in four different directions. The royal crown with a shield having three fleur-de-Lys is at the lower part of the stern plate. Sitting at each side of the tafferel are a female figure accompanied by a horse. There is a male figure serving as a caryatide at each side of the tafferel. Two female figures are sitting on the railings of the upper gallery. Two female and two male caryatides are holding up the lower gallery. The quarter castle cusp has a large royal crown on top of a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys. There is a mermaid at each side of the cusp.</p>
<p><i>Sceptre.</i> Launched 1670. (80 cannons) Pierre Puget, p. 312.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with a hand emerging from a cloud and holding the royal scepter over a crown lying on a table. An angel is at each side of the top of the tafferel. An angel holding up a flag is at each quarter of the tafferel. Sitting on the railings of the upper gallery are a large female figure and a large male figure.</p>
<p><i>Reine.</i> Launched 1647. (60 cannons) Attributed to Sr Belle-veüe, p. 310.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with the coat of arms of France and Navarre with an upright female figure at each side. An angel is at each side of the top of the tafferel. A female figure is sitting on the railings of the upper gallery at each quarter.</p>
<p><i>Royale Therèse.</i> Launched 1670. (70 cannons) Pierre Puget, p. 313.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with Marie-Therese, wife of Louis XIV sitting on a chariot resting on clouds, being pulled by two large male figures led by a dolphin. An angel is on each side of the top of the tafferel. The name scroll is at the centre of the lower gallery.</p>
<p><i>Madame.</i> Launched 1670. (72 cannons) Gabriel Levray,</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with Madame, wife of the brother of Louis XIV sitting on an arm chair. There is a male figure at each side as if standing guard. An angel holding a dog is at each side of the top of the tafferel.</p>

p. 313.		There is a giant female figure sitting on the railing of the upper gallery at each quarter. The name scroll is at the centre of the lower gallery. There are baby angels at each corner of the lower gallery. There is a medallion of the king with a crown on top of it at the quarter castle.
<i>Victorieux.</i> Launched 1675. (108 cannons) Claude Buirette, p. 317.	- - -	Low stern plate with a large shield in a decorated frame and containing three fleur-de-Lys. Flags and banners act as war trophies to fill in the space at both sides of the shield. A large figure is standing on the railings of the upper gallery at each side and is reaching to the banners inside the stern plate. Renommée is at the top at each side.
<i>Arrogant.</i> Launched 1682. (58 cannons) Sr Doublet, p. 318.	An erect lion.	Low stern plate with a large shield in a decorated frame and containing three fleur-de-Lys. Banners and cannons act as war trophies at the foot of the shield. Stylized floral decoration fill the arch of the tafferel. The panels of the upper and lower gallery have decorative floral motifs.
<i>Furieux.</i> Launched 1684. (58 cannons) Jean Bérain, pp. 318, 325.	Warrior brandishing a torch.	Low stern plate with two winged mermaids holding a medallion containing a furious face. The upper gallery has a central panel with the royal coat of arm and four equally spaced panels with the head of Medusa. The lower deck has the name scroll in the centre.
<i>Magnifique.</i> Launched 1685. (84 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 319.	- - -	High stern plate with a shield in a simple frame and containing three fleur-de-Lys. On each side there is a medallion with the king's monogram. Four half-figure female caryatides support the upper gallery. The upper and lower galleries have panels with decorative floral motifs.
<i>Fleuron.</i> Launched 1689. (56 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 318.	Giant foliage covering the rails and cheeks as they converge above the top of the cutwater.	Low stern plate with a shield containing the royal coat of arms. The upper gallery has panels with decorative floral motifs. The lower gallery has a scroll with the ship's name at the centre and the king's monogram at each end. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Aimable.</i> Launched 1690. (64 cannons) Claude Buirette, p. 320.	- - -	High stern plate with a medallion at the top containing the sun emitting rays and below it a large shield in a simple frame with three fleur-de-Lys. Banner and cannons act as war trophies at each side. The arch and the quarters of the tafferel have stylized floral frames. The upper and lower galleries have panels with decorative floral motifs.
<i>Formidable.</i> Launched 1691.	- - -	High stern plate with a large medallion in a simple frame containing a bust of the king in profile. Banners

(96 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 322.		and cannons act as war trophies in the background. The top of the taffarel is decorated with floral motifs and garlands. A male slave is sitting at each quarter. The upper gallery central panel has the royal coat of arms. The other panels of the upper and lower galleries have decorative floral motifs. The name scroll is at the lower deck in the centre. The quarter castle volume is simulated with a dark shadow.
<i>Royal-Louis.</i> Launched 1692. (112 cannons) Anonymous artist, p. 23.	Young Renommée holding a shield containing the king's monogram.	High stern plate with the king sitting on a throne flanked by two chained slaves. Two figures are at the top together with banners and cannons acting as war trophies. Renommée is at each end. Neptune and Tethys are at the port and starboard quarters, respectively. Ten mermaids serve as caryatides to support the lower gallery. A winged horse is at the lower deck at each quarter.
<i>Ambitieux</i> Launched 1692 (96 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 321.	Young male figure in classical robe wearing a crown of stars and holding a trumpet.	High stern plate with the seated figure of the king on a winged throne holding a shield. Two allegorical figures representing ambition are lying at each side on the top. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower gallery has the centre panel with the name plate. All of the others panels have decorative floral motifs. A cupid acting as a caryatide is at each quarter. The quarter castle volume is simulated with a dark shadow.
<i>Le Bon.</i> Launched 1693. (56 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 323.	Figure in ancient classical robe wearing a crown of laurels.	- - -
<i>Saint Philippe.</i> Launched 1693. (90 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 322.	Young Saint Philip in classical robe holding a crucifix and subduing a demon.	Low stern plate with medallion of Saint Philip as a full figure flanked on each side by the figure of goodness and the figure of wisdom. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck centre panel has the name plate. All of the others panels have decorative floral motifs. The quarter castle volume is simulated with a dark shadow.
<i>Prudent.</i> Launched 1697. (60 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 324.	- - -	Low stern plate with a seated figure representing prudence holding a medallion containing the profile of the king. A merman is at each quarter. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. All of the other panels have decorative floral motifs. The lower deck centre panel has the name plate.
<i>Assuré.</i> Launched 1697.	Roman warrior in combat	Low stern plate with a medallion in a simple frame containing the profile of the king. A large royal crown

(60 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 320.	armour holding up a shield.	above it serves as a base for the central lantern. At the top at each side there are two allegorical figures lying on their side and representing confidence. Stylized wave forms form the top of the tafferel with garlands hanging from them. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The others panels are decorated with the king's monogram.
<i>Pompeux.</i> Launched 1707. (72 cannons) Jean Bérain, p. 326.	Roman warrior in combat armour. Horse and infant at the termination of the rails with the bow.	High stern plate with the royal crown at the top and below it a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys. The tafferel is decorated with large foliage. The upper gallery railing has at the centre a medallion with a twin reversed monogram of the king. The lower deck centre panel has the name plate.
<i>Content.</i> Launched 1717. (60 cannons) F.C. Caffieri, p. 327.	- - -	Low stern plate with a medallion in a floral frame containing a profile portrait of the king. Two figures are lying prone on the top. The upper gallery railing central panel has the royal coat of arms. The upper gallery other panels have decorative floral motifs. The lower gallery central panel has a large shield with the warship's name. The lower gallery port holes are framed with floral decorations.
<i>Duc d'Orléans.</i> Launched 1720. (74 cannons) From ship's plans by René Levasseur, pp. 40-41.	Female figure wearing an ancient helmet and a classical robe representing Minerva	Low stern plate with a medallion in a decorated frame containing the portrait of Régent Philippe d'Orléans and a nymph at each side. The tafferel is decorated with large foliage. The upper gallery railing central panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower gallery central panel has a large scroll with the warship's name. All of the other panels have decorative floral motifs.
<i>Bourbon.</i> Launched 1720. (74 cannons) Antoine-François Vassé, pp. 328-329.	Ancient ruler in combat dress holding a scroll.	Low stern plate with a medallion in a simple frame containing the sun emitting rays and held upright by a female figure. A young angel is pointing at the sun in the medallion. The tafferel is decorated with large foliage. The upper gallery railing central panel has the royal coat of arms. The other upper gallery panels have decorative floral motifs. The lower gallery central panel has a large scroll with the warship's name. The lower gallery portholes have frames decorated with garlands.
<i>Éclatant.</i> Launched 1721. (64 cannons) François-Charles Caffieri, p. 327.	Male figure in a classical robe holding a small stringed instrument in the shape of a lyre.	High stern plate with the king's face emitting strong sun rays from behind it. The central lantern has three fleur-de-Lys on its surface and the royal crown is on top of it. The top of the tafferel has continuous circular floral motifs. The lower gallery has a large scroll with the warship's name. A female figure holding an upright shield with the king's monogram is at each end.

<p><i>Esperance.</i> Launched 1723. (74 cannons) Antoine-François Vassé, p. 328.</p>	<p>King in classical flowing robe.</p>	<p>- - -</p>
<p><i>Brillant.</i> Launched 1724. (58 cannons) François-Charles Caffieri, p. 330.</p>	<p>Youthful king in classical robe with torso exposed and wearing a crown of garlands.</p>	<p>High stern plate with a youthful king sitting, emitting sun rays from behind his head and wearing an ancient classical robe. A rich crop is at his feet. The tafferel is decorated with foliage. The end of the tafferel has the king's monogram topped with a crown. A half male figure acting as a caryatide is at each quarter. The gallery has the royal coat of arms with a banner of the ship's name.</p>
<p><i>Foudroyant.</i> Launched 1724. (110 cannons) François-Charles Caffieri, p. 329.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with Jupiter riding his eagle. Two cupids are on top of the arch of the tafferel. The end lanterns have the king's monogram topped with a small crown. A half male figure acting as a caryatide is at each quarter. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower gallery has at its centre a banner with the ship's name. Two full figures acting as caryatides are sitting on the railings of the lower gallery. The central porthole is framed with two cupids.</p>
<p><i>Triton.</i> Launched 1728. (64 cannons) François-Charles Caffieri p. 331.</p>	<p>Triton blowing on a seashell horn.</p>	<p>- - -</p>
<p><i>Fleuron.</i> Launched 1730. (64 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 330.</p>	<p>Young king in Roman armour with his hand on a war helmet.</p>	<p>No stern plate. The tafferel is decorated with floral motifs. The centre of the upper gallery has a shield with a simple frame and containing the three fleur-de-Lys. The centre of the lower gallery has a shield with the ship's name. A shield with the king's monogram is at each end. The quarter castle structure is decorated with foliage designs. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Superbe.</i> Launched 1738. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, pp. 45, 332.</p>	<p>King as male warrior in Roman armour.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with the royal crown on top of a medallion in a decorated frame and containing the king's image. Below it a shield in a floral frame and containing three fleur-de-Lys. The upper gallery centre panel has the king's monogram. The lower deck has at the centre a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Mars.</i> Launched 1740. (64 cannons)</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>No stern plate. The upper gallery has the royal crown on top of a shield containing three fleur-de-Lys and framed with a simplistic floral design. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name. A shield</p>

Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 332.		with the king's monogram is at each end. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Auguste.</i> Launched 1741. (58 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 332.	Hippocampus.	No stern plate. Banners and cannons act as war trophies below the arch of the tafferel. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. At each quarter there is the king's monogram on a panel The lower deck has a scroll with the ship's name. At each end there is a panel with a face possibly representing Mars and Venus.
<i>Alcide.</i> Launched 1743. (64 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 334.	Figure in belligerent pose with club representing Hercules, or Alcide.	No stern plate. Banners and cannons act as war trophies below the arch of the tafferel. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. At each quarter there is the king's monogram on a panel. The lower deck has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Tonnant.</i> Launched 1743. (80 cannons) Gaspard Doumet, p. 336.	Classical male figure in belligerent pose about to hurl a flame.	High stern plate with a classical male figure on a chariot being pulled by two horses riding over the waves. The tafferel is decorated with floral motifs. At both ends of the tafferel there is a kneeling cupid. The upper gallery has at the centre a shield in a simple frame with the three fleur-de-Lys. Behind it there is a cloud with lightening streaks. The other upper gallery panels have decorative floral motifs. The lower gallery has at the centre a shield with the ship's name. A scroll with the king's monogram is at each end. The lower gallery portholes have frames with garlands.
<i>Vigilant.</i> Launched 1745. (64 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 335.	Figure representing Mercury.	No stern plate. The tafferel is without decoration. Banners and cannons act as war trophies below it. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has at the centre a scroll with the ship's name. At each quarter there is a panel with the king's monogram. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Lis.</i> Launched 1745. (64 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 334.	Classical winged female figure holding a shield with three fleur-de-Lys.	High stern plate with a classical winged female figure holding a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys and aided by a cupid. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has at its centre a large scroll with the ship's name. A female figure is at each end holding a shield with the king's monogram.
<i>Monarque.</i> Launched 1747. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, pp. 55, 362.	King as male warrior in Roman armour.	High stern plate with a large medallion in a decorated frame containing the king's profile. A female figure is holding up the medallion aided by a cupid. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has at its centre a scroll with the ship's name. The lower deck has a panel at each end with the king's monogram.

<p><i>Prothée.</i> Launched 1748. (64 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 336.</p>	<p>King as male warrior in Roman armour.</p>	<p>No stern plate. The tafferel is decorated with foliage. The king's monogram is below the tafferel and is flanked with banners and cannons as war trophies. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has at its centre a scroll with the ship's name. On a panel at one end there is the king's monogram and at the other end there is the royal coat of arms. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Téméraire.</i> Launched 1749. (74 cannons). From ship's plans by F. Coulomb, p. 57.</p>	<p>Male figure in classical robe.</p>	<p>High stern plate with a figure sitting and holding a lance. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The other upper gallery panels have decorative floral motifs. The lower deck has at its centre a scroll with the ship's name. The lower gallery portholes have frames with garlands. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Océan.</i> Launched 1756. (80 cannons). Anonymous artist, p. 121.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with a full figure of Neptune sitting and ruling over the sea. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The other upper gallery panels have decorative floral motifs. The lower deck has at its centre a scroll with the ship's name. Sitting on the railing at each end there is a male figure. The lower gallery portholes have frames with garlands. The quarter is drawn flat with the hull.</p>
<p><i>Centaure.</i> Launched 1757. (74 cannons) From ship's plans by J.M.B. Coulomb, p. 61.</p>	<p>Figure of centaur standing upright.</p>	<p>High stern plate left blank. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower gallery panels have decorative floral motifs with garlands. The lower deck has a scroll with the ship's name. Sitting on the railing at each end there is a male figure.</p>
<p><i>Souverain.</i> Launched 1757. (74 cannons) Sr Belle-Veüe, p. 316.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>High stern plate with the sun rising above a cloud and emitting rays. The tafferel is heavily decorated with floral designs and a sea shell is in the centre. A cupid is below the arch at each side of the tafferel. A large male figure and a large female figure are standing at each quarter, respectively. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name.</p>
<p><i>Illustre.</i> Launched 1750. (64 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 336.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>Low stern plate with a medallion of the king in profile. The upper gallery central panel has the royal coat of arms. The side panels have a shield with the king's monogram. Each quarter has at the lower deck a female figure next to a shield with three fleur-de-Lys and a female figure next to a shield with the king's monogram, respectively. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name.</p>
<p><i>Actif.</i> Launched 1752.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>No stern plate. There is a medallion of the king's face with the royal crown below the tafferel. The upper</p>

(74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 339.		gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. Each quarter has a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys. The upper gallery railings have a geometric pattern. The lower gallery panels are left blank. The lower deck has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Héros.</i> Launched 1752. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 341.	- - -	Low stern plate with the bust of the king holding a scepter. The tafferel has serpentine decorations. The royal crown is at each end. The upper and lower gallery railings have a mixture of floral and geometric patterns. The lower deck has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Courageux.</i> Launched 1753. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 338.	Classical male warrior with sword and shield in combative posture.	Low stern plate with the royal coat of arms flanked by a cupid on each side. The upper gallery central panel has the royal crown on top of the king's monogram. At the lower deck the quarters have a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Défenseur.</i> Launch 1754. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 339.	- - -	Low stern plate with the royal coat of arms flanked with banners and cannons as war trophies. The upper gallery panel at the centre has the king's monogram. The railings have a geometric pattern. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name. The lower deck panels at the ends have a shield with the three fleur-de-Lys. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Zodiaque.</i> Launched 1756. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 341.	- - -	High stern plate with a portrait of the king's face wearing a garland and with sun rays shining over a sphere. The upper deck has cupids at each quarter. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name. The end panels have instruments of geometry. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Thésée.</i> Launched 1759. (74 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 341.	Female warrior in combative posture representing Thésée.	Low stern plate with a female figure sitting on her side and holding a sword and a shield. The tafferel has foliage decoration. Two cupids are lying on the top of the arch of the tafferel. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has a scroll at the centre with the ship's name. The panels have garland decorations. There is an absence of figures.
<i>Citoyen.</i> Launched 1764. (74 cannons) Charles-Marie Caffieri, p. 343.	- - -	No stern plate. The royal coat of arms is placed below the lantern. The lower deck has at the centre a grimacing face and below it a drape folded out as a name scroll. Otherwise, there is an overtly simplistic, stylized and patterned ornamentation without any figures and foliage.

<p><i>Royal-Louis.</i> Launched 1759. (116 cannons) Charles-Marie Caffieri, p. 343.</p>	<p>King wearing Roman combat armour holding scepter and with hand resting on helmet.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with the bust of the king flanked by two sitting figures and with banners and cannons as war trophies in the background. The tafferel has floral decorations. A male and female figure are lying on each side of the arch, respectively. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower gallery centre panel has a scroll with the ship's name set against an elaborate floral pattern. Otherwise, all of the railing panels are decorated with floral motifs. The lower deck centre panel has two cupids holding up the royal monogram. At each end a female and male figure act as caryatides</p>
<p><i>Saint-Esprit.</i> Launched 1765. (80 cannons) Charles-Philippe Caffieri, p. 344.</p>	<p>Female figure with wings and holding a floral shield. Below the shield there is the collar of the Ordre de Saint-Esprit.</p>	<p>No stern plate. There is a cloud decoration below the tafferel and strands of foliage around the arch. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The lower gallery centre panel has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of decoration and an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Couronne.</i> Launched 1768. (80 cannons) Anonymous artist, p. 127.</p>	<p>Roman warrior.</p>	<p>- - -</p>
<p><i>Solitaire.</i> Launched 1774. (64 cannons) P.P. Lubet, p. 345.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>No stern plate. There is a simplistic shield containing the profile of the king below the tafferel. Simply stylized garlands decorate the arch. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The railings of the upper gallery form a stylized geometric pattern. The centre panel of the lower gallery has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Royal-Louis.</i> Launched 1780. (110 cannons) P.P. Lubet, p. 365.</p>	<p>King as Roman warrior holding his scepter and fasces.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with the royal crown on top of a medallion containing the king's profile surrounded by four nymphs paying tribute. At each quarter a female figure is reaching from the lower deck to the upper deck. The gallery railings have repetitive geometric patterning.</p>
<p><i>Centaure</i> Launched 1782 (74 cannons) Gibert, p. 346.</p>	<p>Lion with front paws holding royal coat of arms.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with a shield with the king's monogram and simply decorated with garlands. The upper gallery centre panel has the royal coat of arms. The upper gallery railings form a stylized geometric pattern. The lower deck centre panel has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.</p>

<p><i>Superbe.</i> Launched 1784. (74 cannons) Pierre-Charles Lubet, p. 347.</p>	<p>Royal coat of arms facing forward.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with a simplistic wavy decoration and repeat patterns around the tafferel. The lower deck centre panel has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Léopard.</i> Launched 1787. (74 cannons) Pierre-Charles Lubet, p. 348.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>No stern plate. The tafferel is replaced with a deck railing. The upper gallery railing has at the centre the royal coat of arms with floral patterns on both sides. A figure is standing upright at each flank acting as a lookout. The lower deck has a band and at its centre there is a scroll with the ship's name.</p>
<p><i>Duguay-Trouin.</i> Launched 1788. (74 cannons) Pierre-Charles Lubet, p. 348.</p>	<p>- - -</p>	<p>No stern plate. The tafferel has a simplistic floral pattern around the sides. The upper gallery railing forms a geometric pattern. The lower deck centre panel has a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Vengeur.</i> Launched 1789. (74 cannons) Charles-Marie Caffieri, p. 344.</p>	<p>Lion holding shield with three fleurs-de-Lys.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with a lion lying down looking out. The arch of the tafferel has stylized drapery. The upper gallery railing is formed with a geometric pattern. The upper gallery railing has at the centre the royal coat of arms. The lower deck has a band and at the centre there is a scroll with the ship's name.</p>
<p><i>Vétéran.</i> Launched 1794. (74 cannons) Y.E. Collet, p. 349.</p>	<p>Aged Roman warrior with helmet removed.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with banners as war trophies. The tafferel is decorated with foliage. The lower deck band is decorated with foliage and at the centre there is a scroll with the ship's name. There is an absence of figures.</p>
<p><i>Majestueux.</i> Launched 1794. (126 cannons). F. Brun, p. 352.</p>	<p>Roman warrior with a sword and holding a shield in front of him.</p>	<p>No stern plate. The tafferel is decorated as tritons, hippocampi and angels. The gallery railings have repetitive geometric patterning. The lower deck band is decorated with foliage and at the centre there is a scroll with the ship's name.</p>
<p><i>Cassard.</i> Launched 1795. (74 cannons) Y.E. Collet, p. 350.</p>	<p>Sailor with sword in waistband standing on cutwater.</p>	<p>Low stern plate with the tafferel decorated with garlands. The lower deck band has at the centre a scroll with the ship's name. There are no other decorations.</p>

Appendix Ten

The Shipcarving Workshops of the Ports ⁵²⁵

Francoise de Franclieu.

After the organization of the Marine (military navy) by Richelieu and the development of the *Ports du Ponant* (western ports) and *Ports du Levant* (eastern ports), shipcarving workshops opened in every port. Each of these *ateliers* was directed by a master shipcarver enlisted in the navy. He was aided by apprentices and occasionally by civilian sculptors when the workload was heavy.

Firstly, the importance of the King's draughtsmen must be mentioned. They were responsible for creating the allegorical themes destined to illustrate the name of a ship. One uncovers the names of Le Brun, Mignard, Bérain and Vassé, whose drawings were sent to the ports for the master shipcarver to execute. It is only after the death of Vassé in 1740 that the master shipcarver ensured both the design and execution of their projects, subject to ministerial approval.

In 1834, the decision by the Admiral and minister de Rigny to abolish the position of master shipcarver in the dockyards officially marked the end of the shipcarving workshops, though the sculptors were kept on until the 1850s. Indeed, the *ateliers* were closed because the changing shape of battleship hulls, due to the replacement of wood by iron, left no space for sculpted ornamentation.

Of all the different *ateliers du Levant*, Toulon experienced the longest duration of activity and, due to the presence of the eminent artists Pierre Puget and Francois Girardon, the greatest reputation. A neighbouring civilian shipcarving workshop accomplished the decoration of merchant ships and the workshop of Marseille saw Puget make his *début* as an apprentice to galley constructor maître Roman during 1636-1639.

The *ateliers du Ponant* also made a significant contribution to naval sculpture such as those of Rochefort and Brest. The latter experienced great activity during the XVIIIth century fuelled by the presence of the Caffieri dynasty.

Le Havre and Dunkirk had, during certain periods, an activity almost as intense as that of Toulon. Dunkirk was particularly busy at the time of the Empire, participating in the construction of the Boulogne fleet. Lorient was closed in 1849 and the ministry transferred all the decorative work of the ocean ports to Brest. Cherbourg's heyday was the XIXth century, after receiving the responsibility for the maritime quarter of Le Havre in 1812.

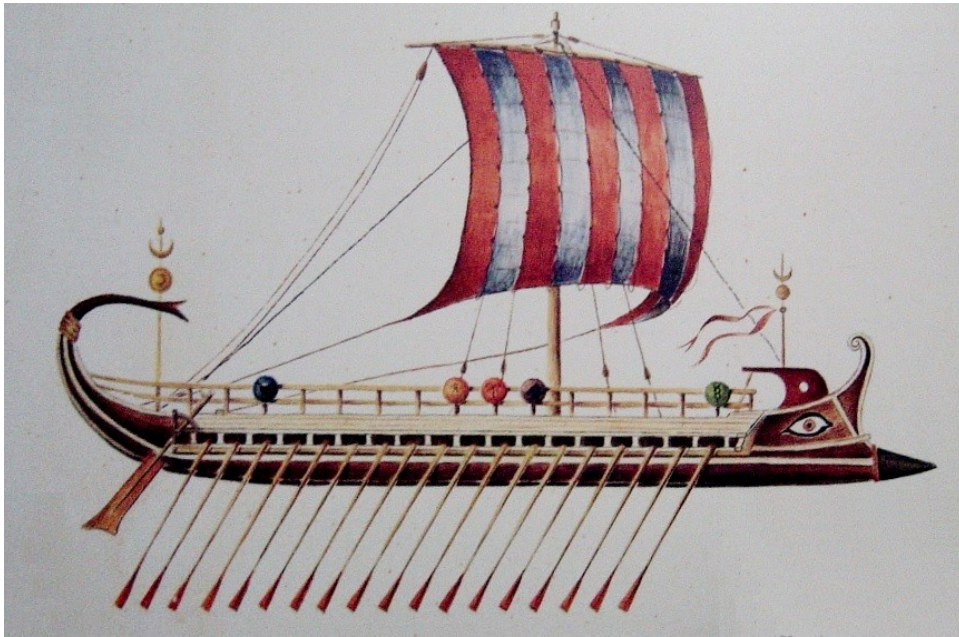
The importance of the XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth centuries for decorating ship sculpture need not be stressed. Although the dockyard shipcarving workshops were dominant, one must not overlook the existence of the civilian ateliers or of the isolated sculptors. These creations, sometimes naïve and often prettily coloured, have stayed in the popular imagination, inspiring sailor's stories and founding legends.

⁵²⁵ Copied from the exhibition catalogue: *Figures de proues – Ornaments de navires*. Dunkerque : Musée portuaire. Exposition 11 décembre 1999 - 2 avril 2000.

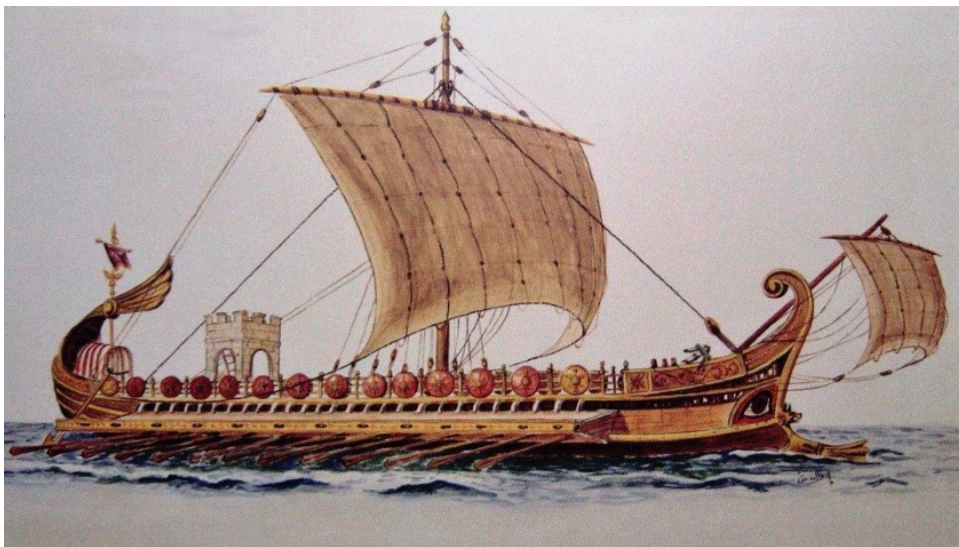
Images Accompanying the Text

Figure 1

(a) "Punic Warship." Illustration. Muzew Marittimu, Vittoriosa, Malta.



(b) "Roman Warship." Illustration. Muzew Marittimu, Vittoriosa, Malta.



(c) “Viking Drakkar.” Reduced scale model. 60 x 20 x 65 cm. Nain
Hochwertige Schiffsmodelle. <https://www.nain-schiffsmodelle.ch>.



(d) “Tapisserie de Bayeux.” Musée de la Tapisserie de Bayeux. Bayeux. France. Detail.



Figure 2. “Crusades Nava with the arms of Richard the Lion Heart.”
“Medieval Ships.” *Naval Encyclopedia*. <https://www.naval-encyclopedia.com/medieval-ships>.



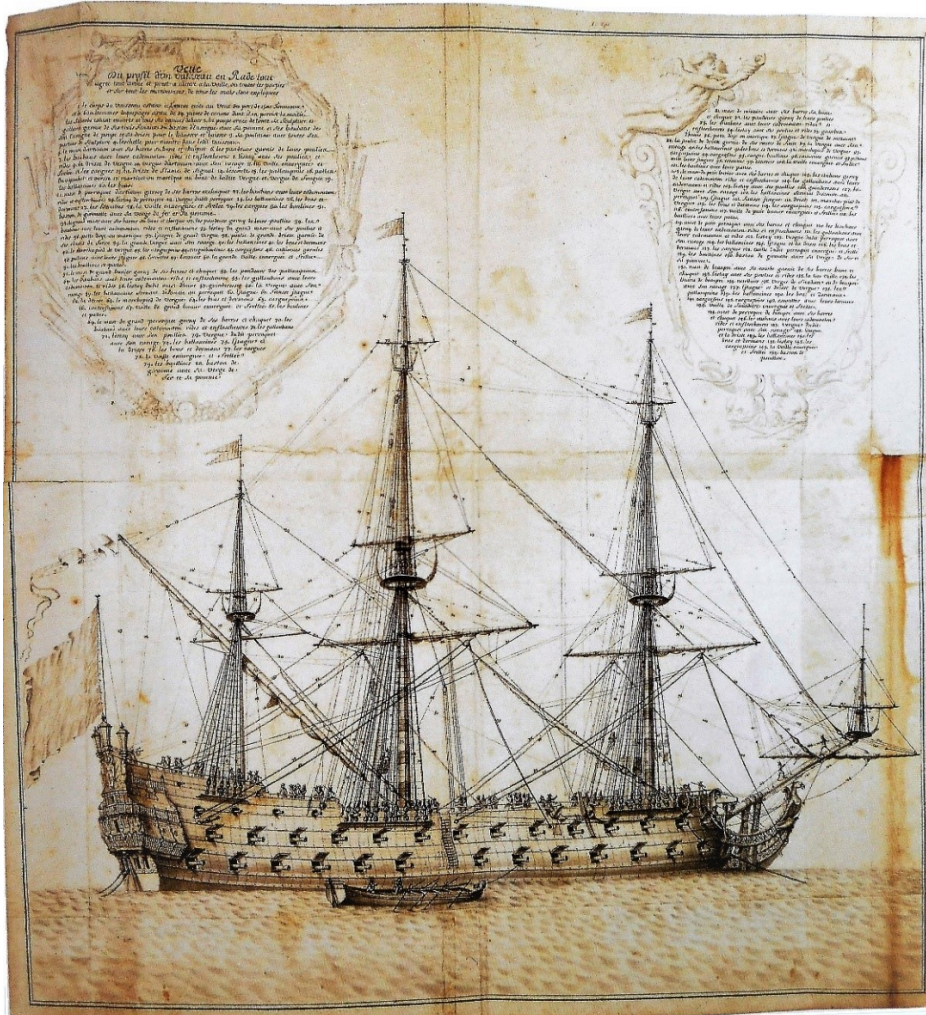
Figure 3. Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1566-1650). “The Arrival of Frederick V of the Palts and Elisabeth Stuart at Flushing in May 1613,” 1623. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.



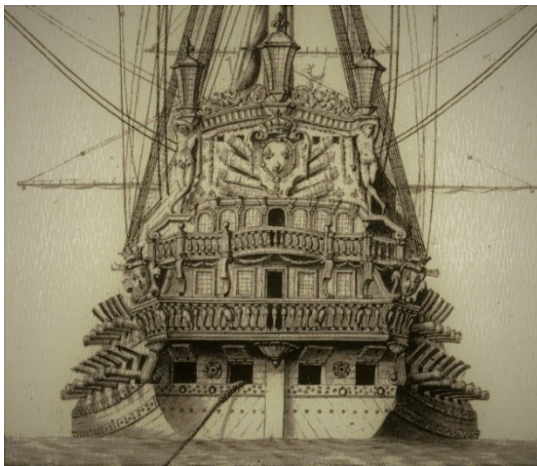
Detail.



Figure 4. Anonymous. "Vaisseau de 80 canons." *Album de Colbert*, 1660. Ed. Hubert Berti, Nice: Omega, 1988. Plate 50.



Detail Plate 48.



Detail. Plate 50.



Figure 5. Pierre Redon (worked 1530-1562). “Morion et écu de Charles IX. Fer repoussé, plaqué d'or et émaillé, soie brodée de fils d'or.” 1555-1560. Musée du Louvre. Paris.



Detail.



Figure 6. Giovanni Paolo Negroli (1513-1569). « Cuirasse. Acier, cuivre et cuir.» 1540-45. Metal. 24 × 24 × 37 cm. Musée du Louvre. Paris.



Figure 7. Anonymous. “Plastron de cuirasse. Acier, or et argent.” 1580-1585. Musée du Louvre. Paris.



Figure 8. Anonymous. “Armure offerte au roi Louis XIV après la conquête de Flandres.” About 1670. Image of wrought metal breast plate and back plate decorated with engravings. Musée de l’Artillerie. Paris.

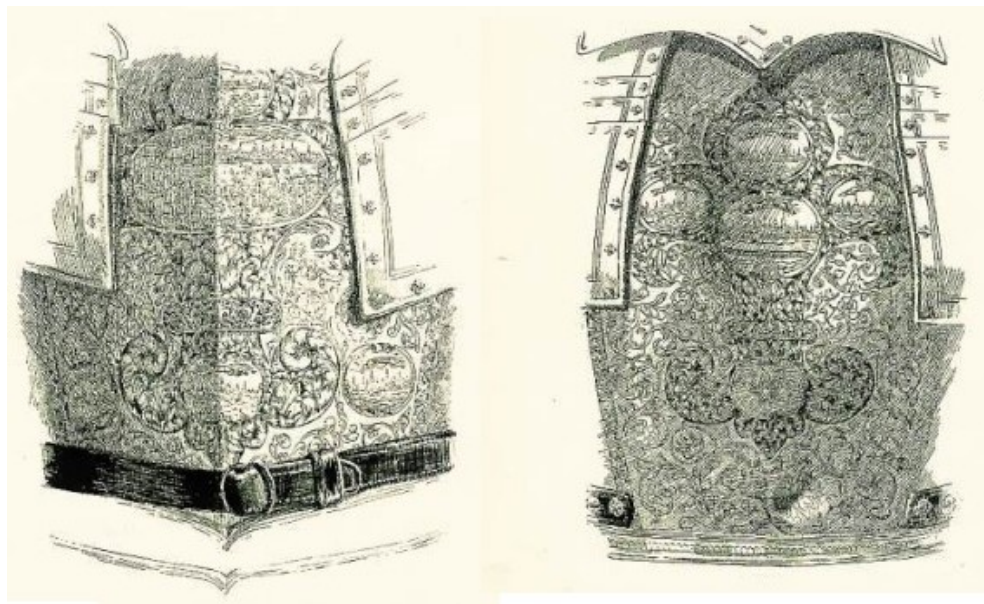


Figure 9. Attributed to Charles Le Brun (1619-1690). "Louis XIV, roi de France et de Navarre (1638-1715)." About 1662. Oil on canvas. 68 x 57 cm. Château de Versailles.



Figure 10. Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704-1788). "Portrait de Louis XV de France (1710-1774)." 1748. Pastel on paper. 60 x 54 cm. Musée du Louvre. Paris



Figure 11. Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743). “Louis XIV (1638-1715), roi de France.” 1701. Oil on canvas. 277 x 194 cm. Château de Versailles.⁵²⁶



⁵²⁶ The museum inscription reads: Hyacinthe Rigaud (Perpignan, 1659 - Paris, 1743) “Louis XIV (1638 - 1715), roi de France,” 1701. Huile sur toile. Hauteur:2,77 m; Largeur:1,94 m; Hauteur avec accessoire:3,395 m; Largeur avec accessoire:2,45 m. Peint en 1701 pour être envoyé à Madrid à Philippe d’Anjou, petit-fils de Louis XIV, qui était devenu roi d’Espagne, ce portrait en majesté plut tellement à Louis XIV qu’il décida de le conserver au château de Versailles et de le présenter dans le salon d’Apollon. Le roi porte le manteau bleu à fleurs de lys d’or, l’ordre du Saint-Esprit et l’épée de Charlemagne au côté. Il appuie la main sur le sceptre royal posé sur un carreau auprès de la couronne de France et de la main de justice. Collection de Louis XIV Département des Peintures. Inv. 7492

Figure 12. Louis-Michel Van Loo (1707-1771). "Louis XV (1710-1774), roi de France." About 1765. Oil on canvas. 198.3 x 42.5 cm. Château de Versailles.



Figure 13. Antoine-François Callet (1741-1823). “Louis XVI (1754-1793), roi de France et de Navarre revêtu du grand costume royal en 1779.” 1789. Oil on canvas. 278 x 196 cm. Château de Versailles.



Figure 14. Nicolas Loir (1624-1679). "Allégorie de la fondation de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture." 1663. Oil on canvas. 161.5 x 199.8 x 11 cm. Château de Versailles.



Figure 15. Jacques Dumont le Romain (1701-1781). "Allégorie en l'honneur de la publication de la paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle, le 13 février 1749." 1761. Oil on canvas. 330 × 430 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



Figure 16. Pierre Puget (1620-1694). “Le Sceptre” 17th century. 35 x 49 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.

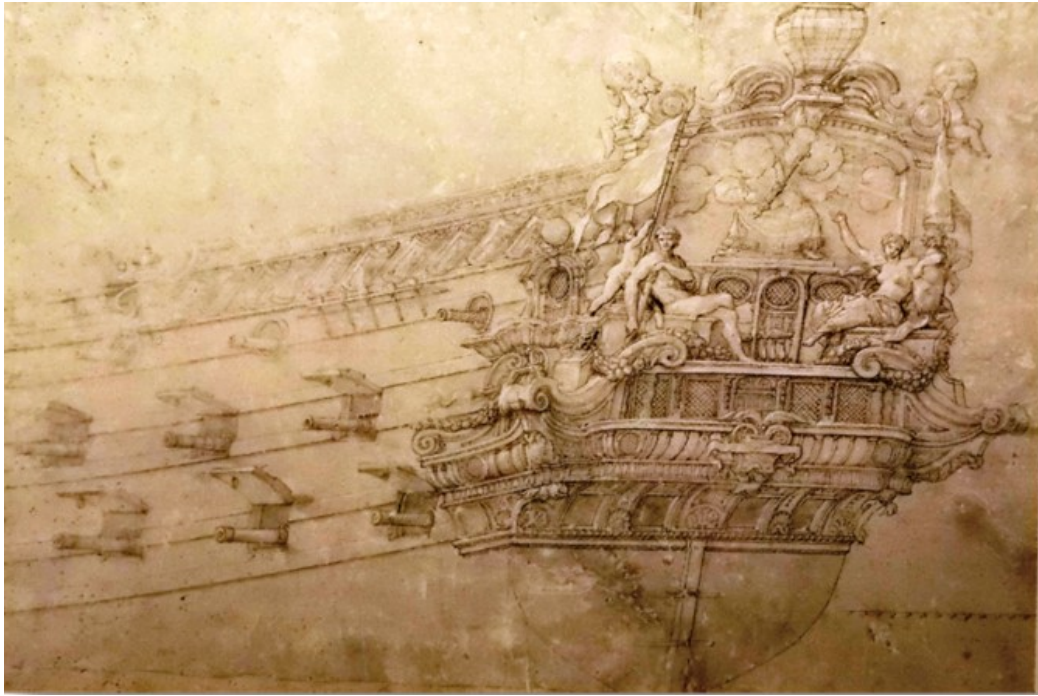


Figure 17. Pierre Puget (1620-94). “Design for the decoration of a warship.” 17th century. Drawing. 52.7 x 63.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/339657>

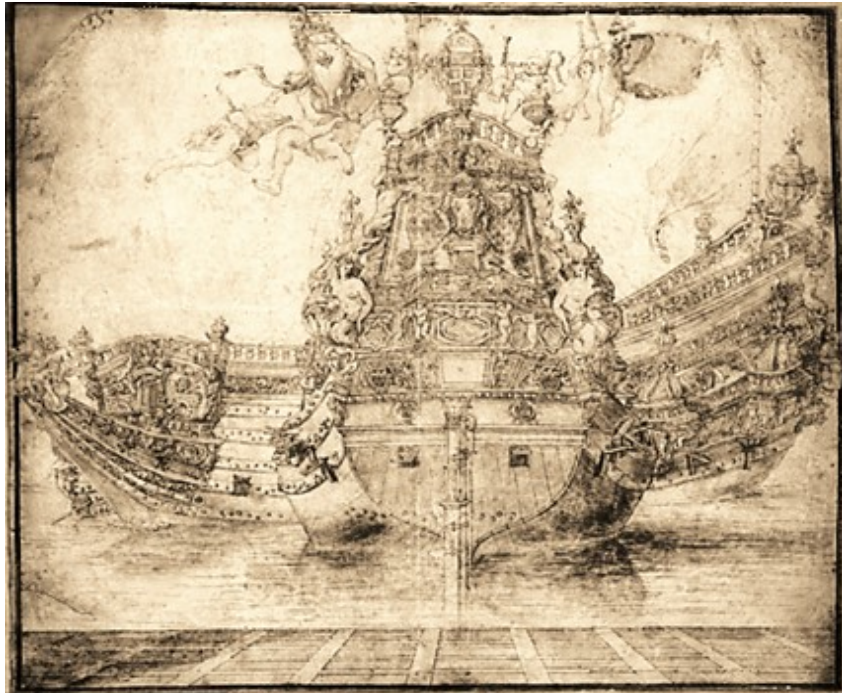


Figure 18. Anonymous. "Vaisseau le Soleil Royal, 1669." Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 1.

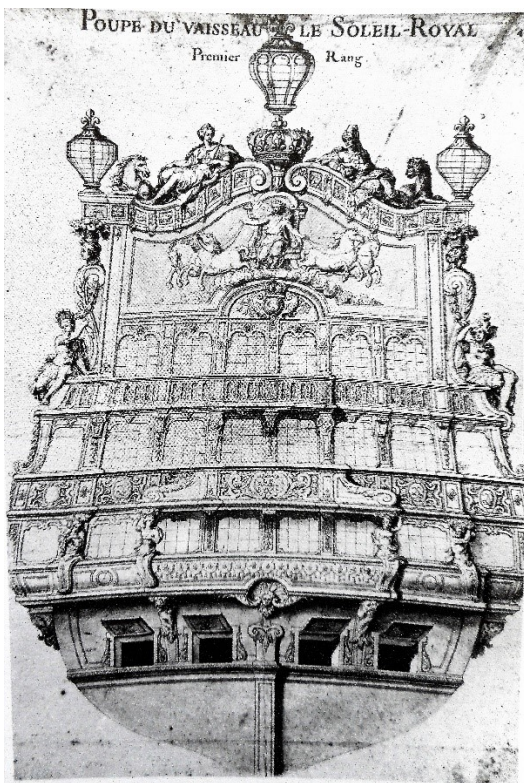


Figure 19. François-Charles Caffieri (1667-1729). "Foudroyant, 1724." Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 39.

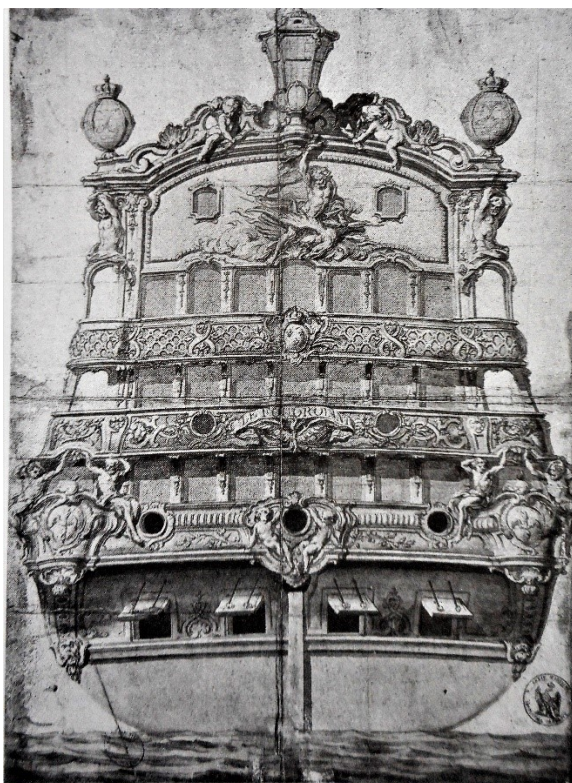
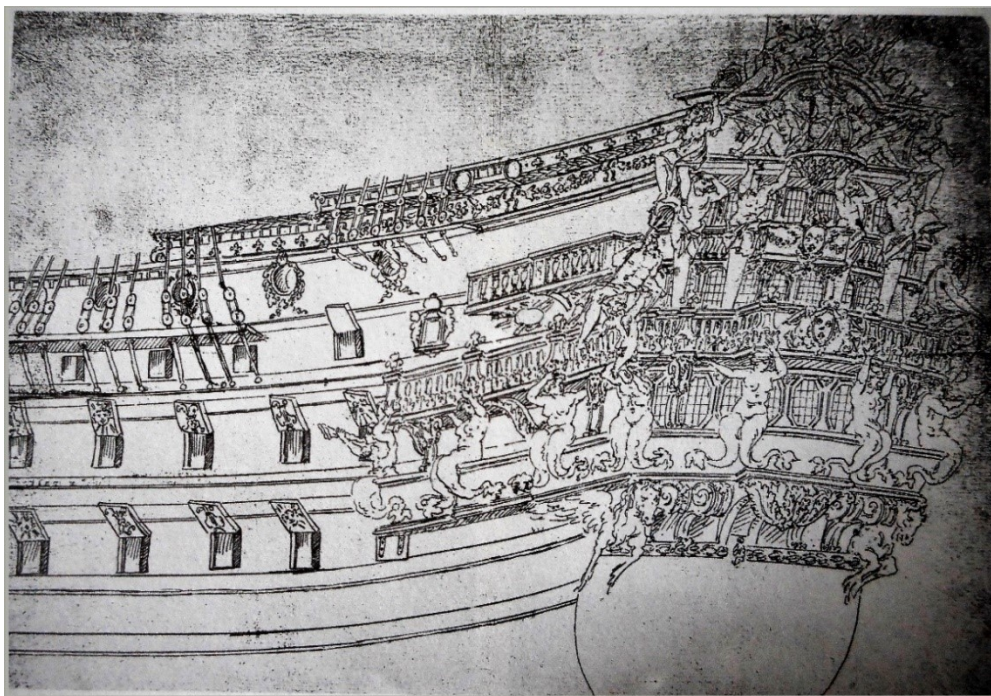


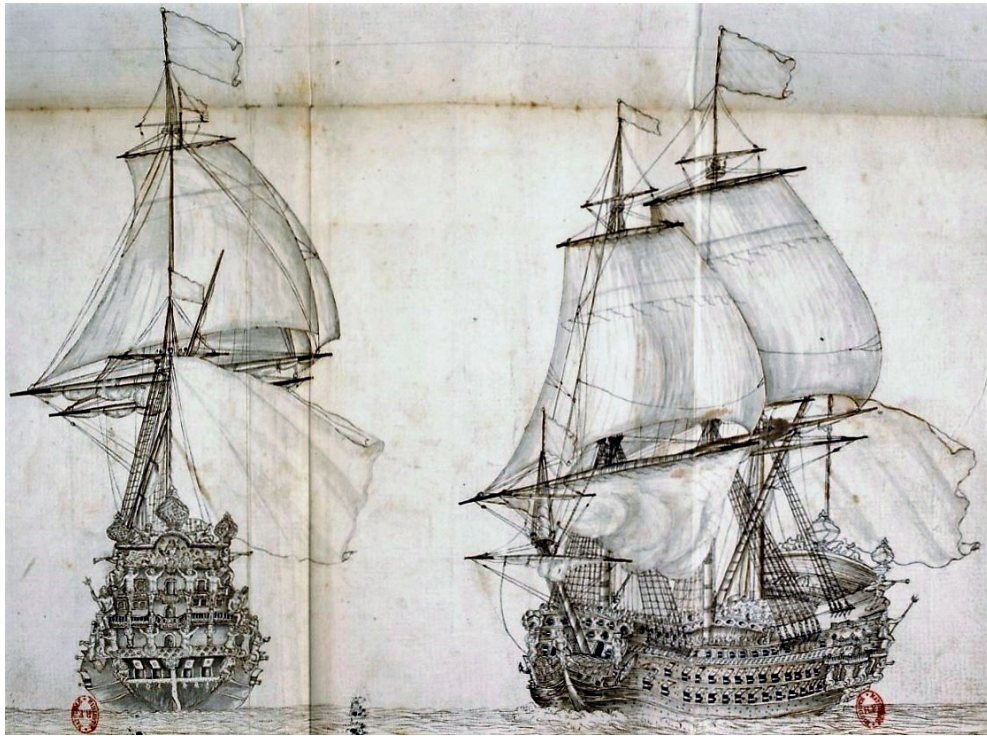
Figure 20. Anonymous “Royal Louis.” About 1670. Università de Bologna. Jean Boudriot *Les Vaisseaux de 74 à 120 Canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 308.



Detail.



Figure 21. Commissaire Hayet. "Royal Louis." *Description du vaisseau le Royal Louis*. Marseille: Charles Brebion, 1677.



Detail stern

Detail bow



Figure 22. Sieur Bellevüe-Dumain. “La Reine, 1670.” Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 310.

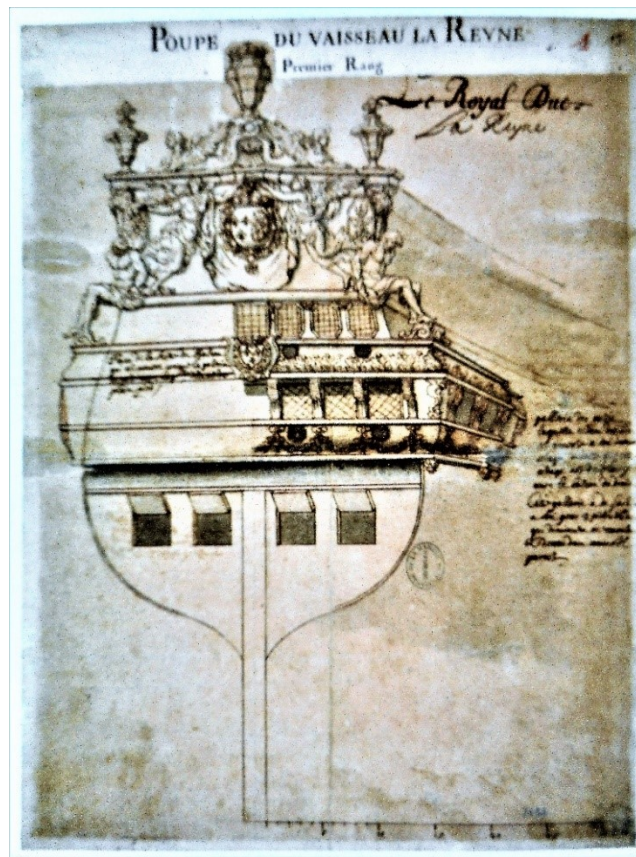


Figure 23. Willem Van de Velde (1633-1707). “La Reine, 1673.” *Van de Velde Drawings*. Cambridge: National Maritime Museum, 1958. Figure 418.

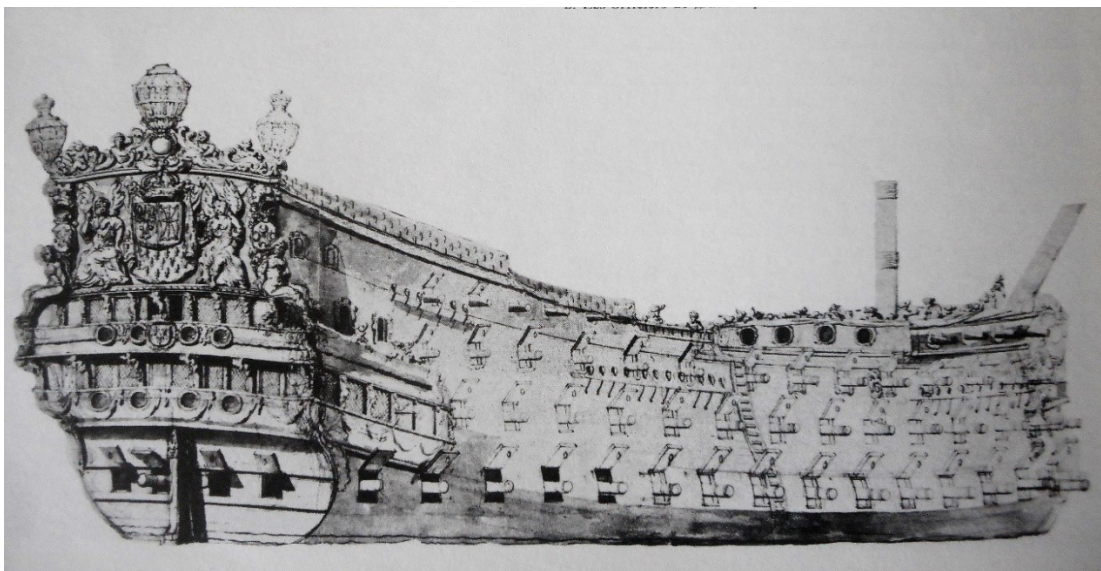


Figure 24. Claude Buirette. (1639-1694). "Le Victorieux, 1678." Rochefort. Jean Boudriot *Le vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 317.

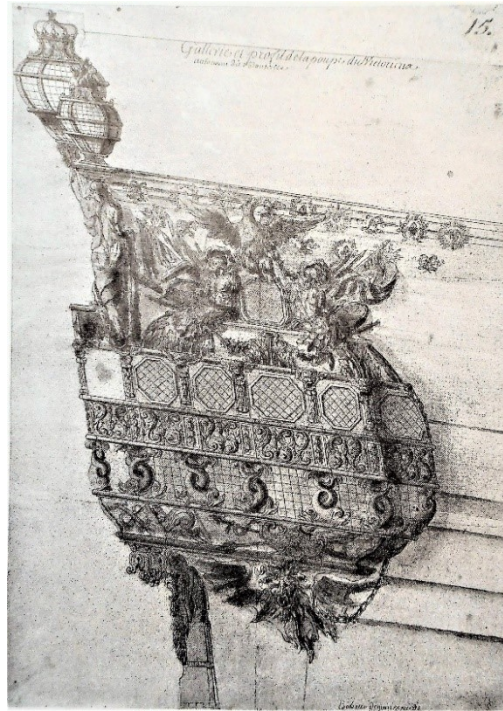


Figure 25. Jean Bérain (1640-1711). "L'Ambitieux. Ornement de la bouteille, 1692." Rochefort. 32 x 37 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹69 f^o87.



Figure 26 “Foudroyant.” Detail from figure 19.

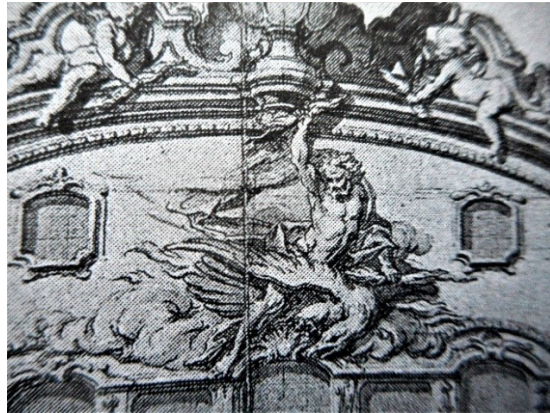


Figure 27. Willem Van de Velde (1633-1707). “Jupiter, 1673.” *Van de Velde Drawings*. Cambridge: National Maritime Museum, 1958. Figure 277.

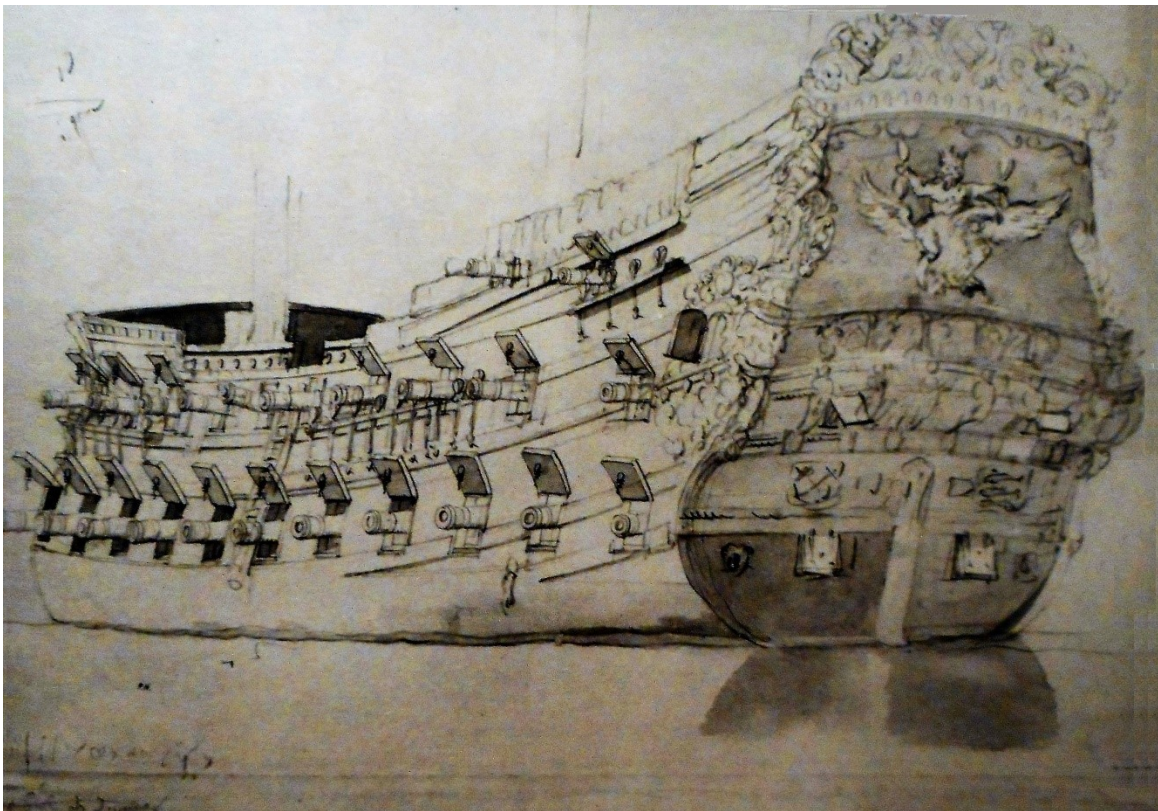


Figure 28. P. Chaillé. “Frégate de 40 pièces de canons, 1686.” Jean Boudriot. *La frégate : Marine de France*. Nice : A.N.C.R.E, 1992, p. 23.

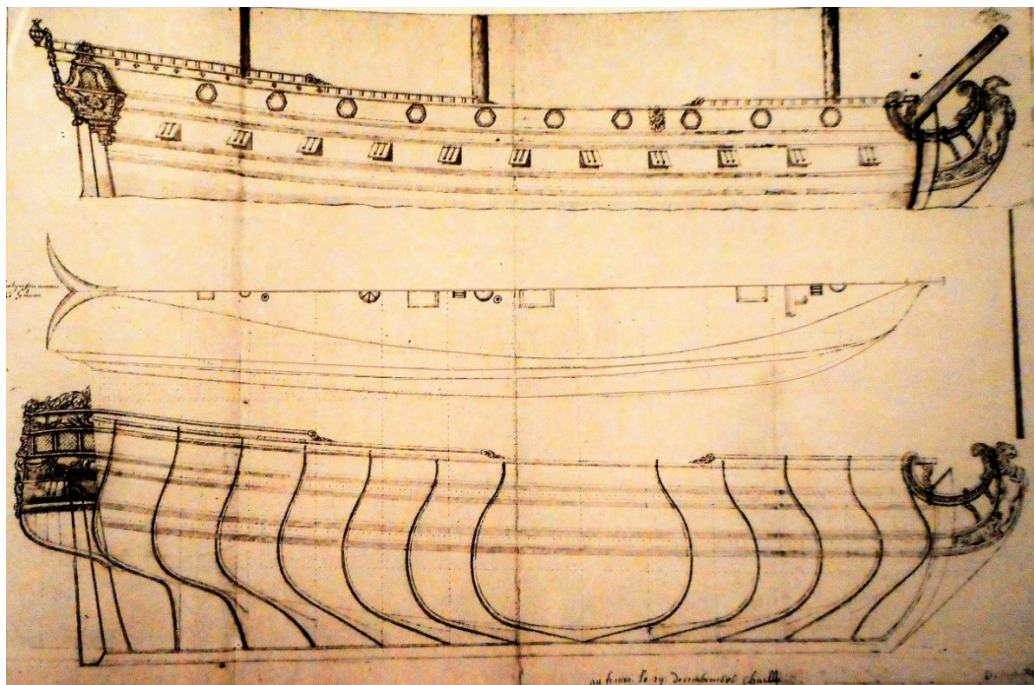


Figure 29. Anonymous. “Plan en gabarit sur les proportions du Royal Louis 1692.” Jean Boudriot. *La frégate : Marine de France*. Nice : A.N.C.R.E, 1992, pp. 26-27.

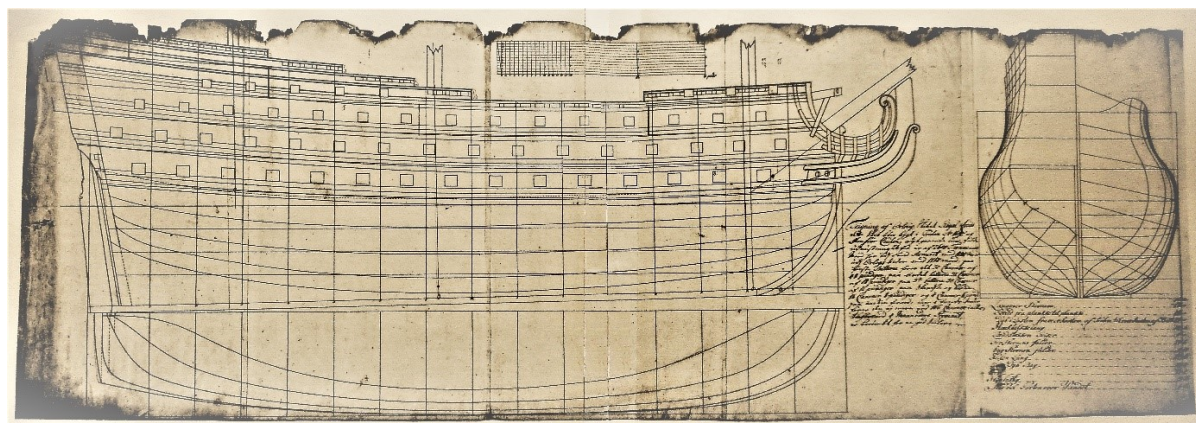


Figure 30. Anonymous. “Plan d’un vaisseau de 60 canons Le Sérieux, 1738.” Service historique de la Défense.Toulon. 1L 4433. No.29.

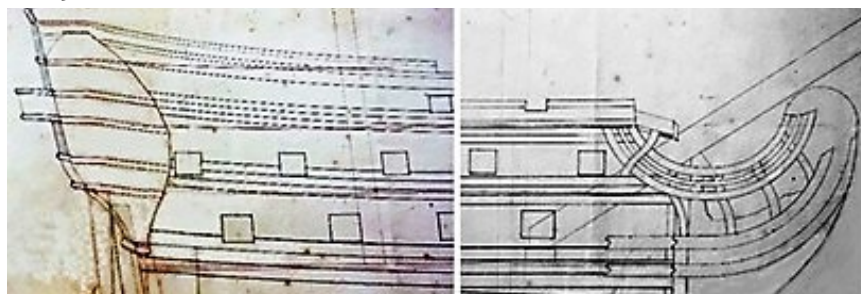
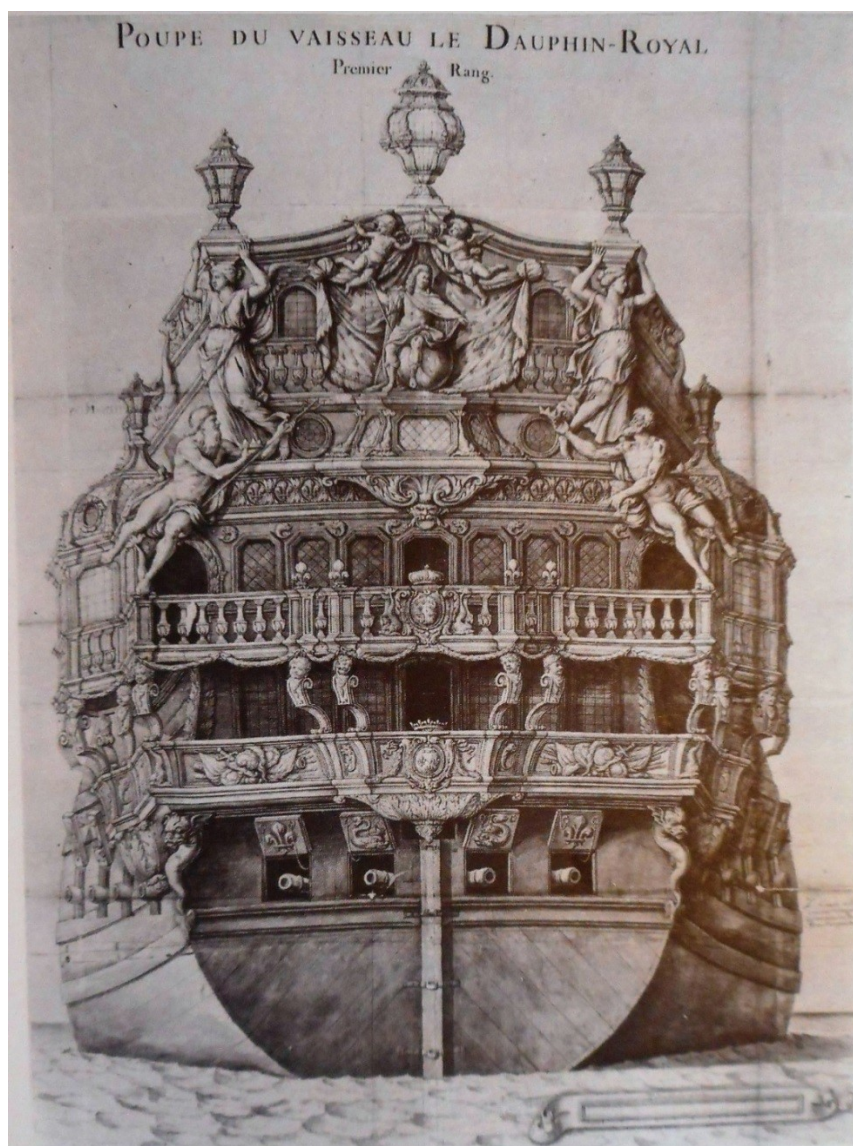


Figure 31. Possibly Jean Bérain (1640-1711). “Le Dauphin-Royal, 1667-1670.”
Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p.
311.⁵²⁷



⁵²⁷ This drawing is not listed in the inventory of sculptural drawings stored in the naval archives of France and in the Service historique de la Défense *Catalogues de Plans de Bâtiments à Voiles conservés dans les Archives de la Marine* by Erlande-Brandenburg and Vich. Hence, its artist is not known and neither is its source. Boudriot suggests it is the work of Bérain since it does not bear the heavier style of Le Brun. See Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, p. 311.

Figure 32. Gaspard Doumet “Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le Tonnant, 1740.”
145 x 46 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Toulon. IL 4433, f°26. Details.

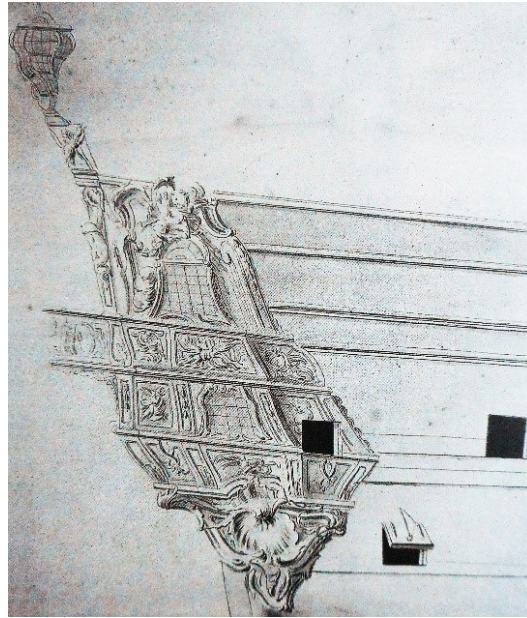
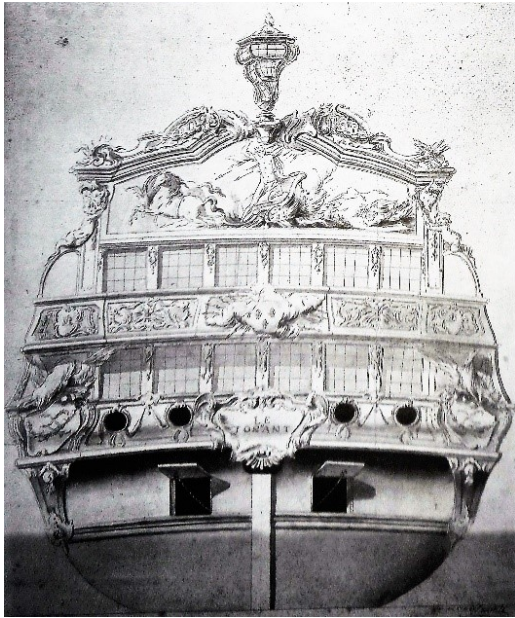
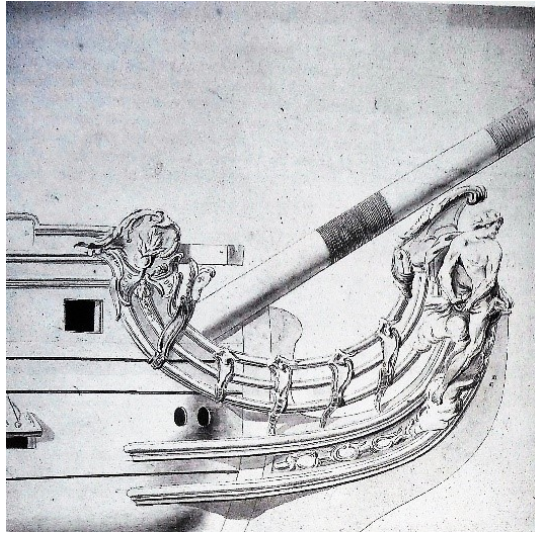


Figure 33. Possibly Dominique Soeur (1797-1857) from Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). “Figures de proue. Les cires teintées de Brest.” Late 18th to early 19th century. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Brest. Photos Arthur Molle.⁵²⁸



⁵²⁸ These photos were downloaded from “Figures de proue. Les cires teintées de Brest,” posted on 22 Sept 2010. <http://5500.forumactif.org/t367-figures-de-proue-les-cires-teintees-de-brest>. The original photos are stated to be in the possession of Arthur Molle. The wax figurines are reported as having been made by Dominique Soeur (1797-1857) from previous work by Yves Etienne Collet (1761-1843). The photos shown are not those of the wax figurines that are currently on display. Alain Niderlinder Assistant Curator, Musée national de la Marine, Paris, between 1986 and 2013 is quoted as stating that the wax figurines on display at Brest were significantly restored. Brest was completely razed to the ground as a result of intense bombing in 1944. There is a high probability that the original wax figurines were damaged. The wax figurines on display at Brest are done in red wax which was commonly available because it was the standard for sealing documents. The original figurines were painted white to allow the details to emerge as was the custom. The photos shown above have white paint and adds to their authenticity. The wax figurines on display at the museum do not have any white paint. The photos shown are reported as having been taken before the bombing of Brest. Similar photos are reproduced by Boudriot in *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*, pp. 367-370.

Figure 34. Anonymous. "Atelier de sculpture des Arsenaux, 18e siècle." Musée national de la Marine, Châteaux de Brest. Brest.



Figure 35.

(a) Sébastien Cupin (1715-75). “Maquette de bateau Artésien, vaisseau de 64 canons, 1765.” Atelier de l’Arsenal de Brest, 1765. Collection Trianon. <http://mnm.webmuseo.com/ws/musee-national-marine/app/collection/record/8954>.



(b) Anonymous. “Maquette de bateau Océan, vaisseau de 118 canons, 1790.” Atelier de l’Arsenal de Brest. Collection Trianon. <http://mnm.webmuseo.com/ws/musee-national-marine/app/collection/record/8952>.

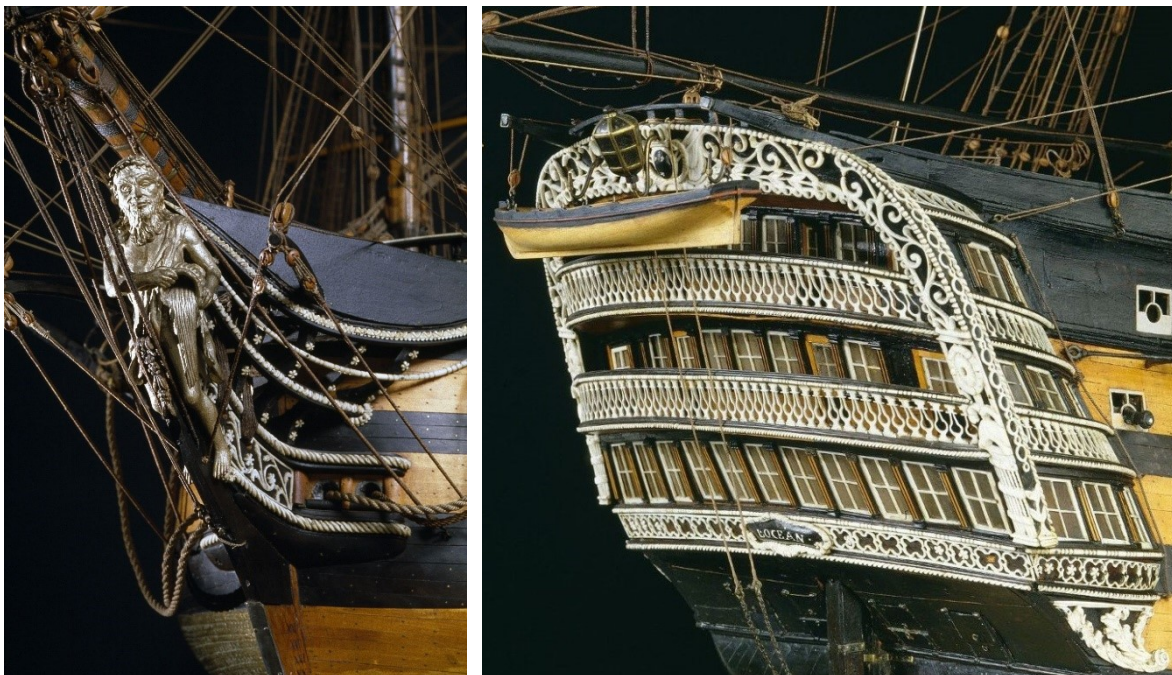


Figure 36. Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, pp. 25, 63, 89. Detail.

“Royal-Louis, 1692”

“Thesée, 1758”

“Annibal, 1780”

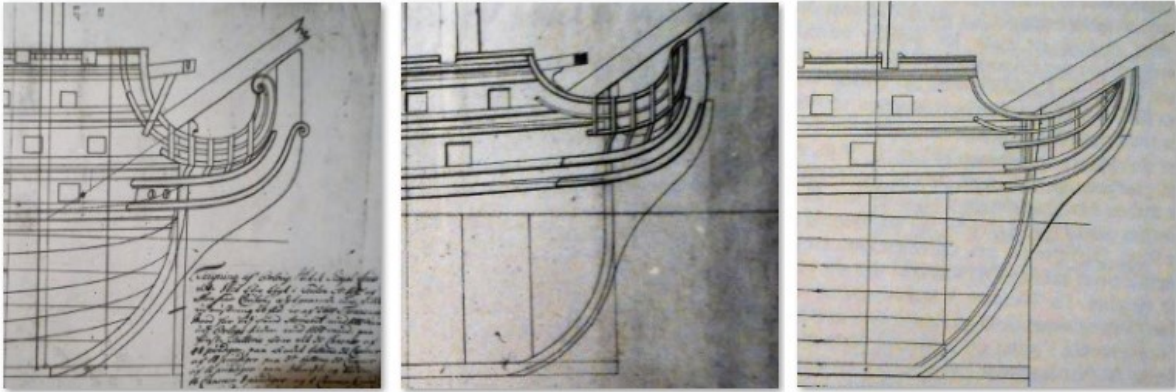


Figure 37. Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, pp. 26, 118, 143. Detail.

“Royal-Louis, 1692”

“Soleil Royal, 1754”

“Invincible, 1778”

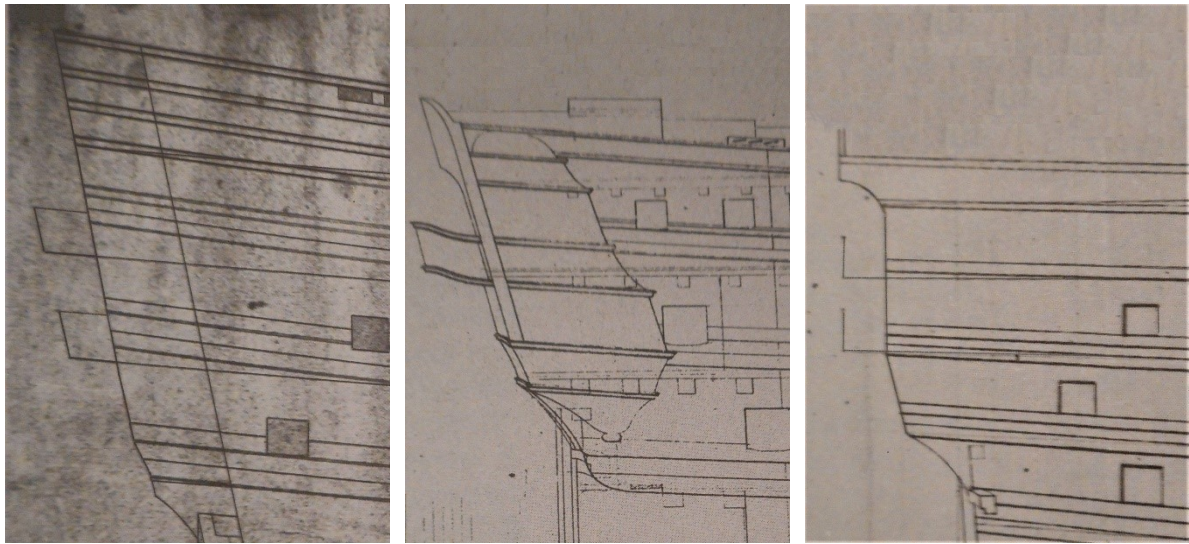


Figure 38. Jean Boudriot. “De la genèse du vaisseau de haut bord” *Deux siècles de constructions et chantiers navals : milieu XVIIe-milieu XIXe siècle*. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002, pp. 18-19.

Late-Seventeenth to Early-Eighteenth Century

Mid- to Late-Eighteenth Century

- A. Ship-of-the-Line. Three Decks x 16 cannons.
- B. Ship-of-the-Line. Two Decks x 15 cannons.
- C. Frigate. Single Deck x 13 cannons.
- D. Ship-of-the-Line. Three Decks x 14 cannons.
- E. Ship-of-the-Line. Three Decks x 13 cannons.
- F. Frigate. Two Decks x 12 cannons.

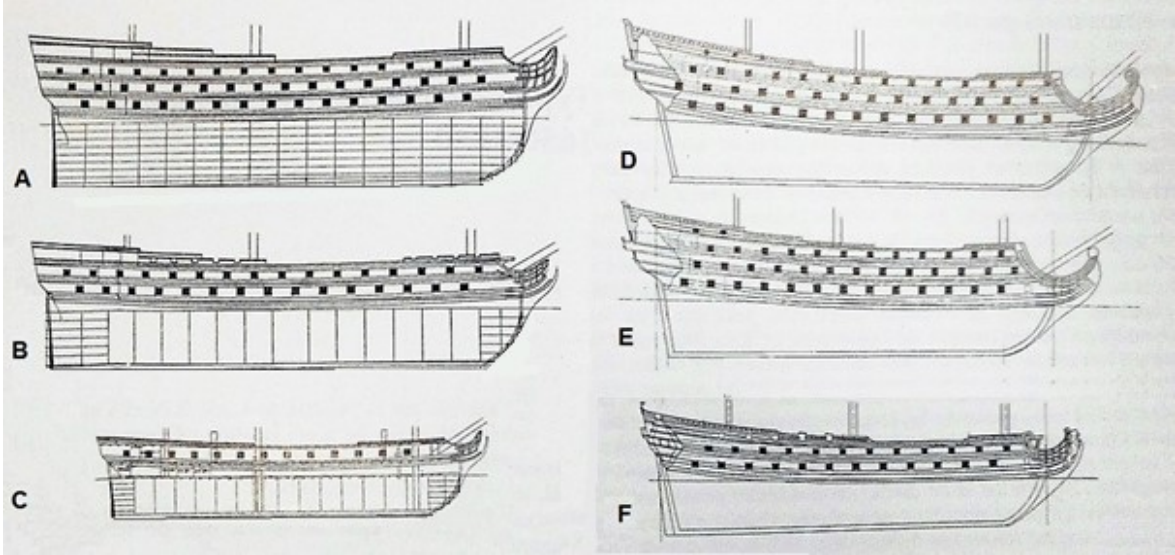
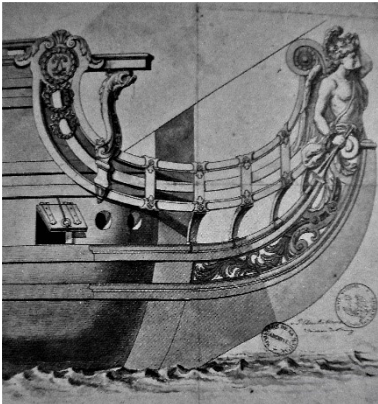


Figure 39. Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, pp. 321, 326, 327, 337, 338, 365. Details.

“Ambitieux, 1692.”



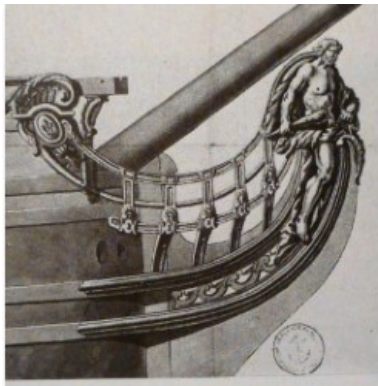
“Pompeux, 1708.”



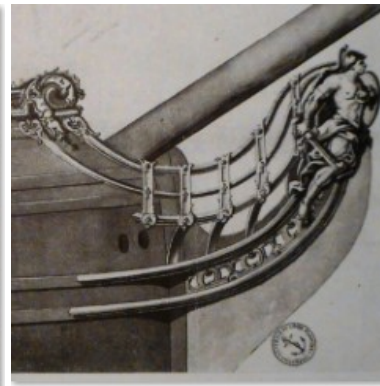
“Eclatant, 1721.”



“Alcide, 1741.”



“Courageux, 1751.”



“Royal Louis, 1779.”

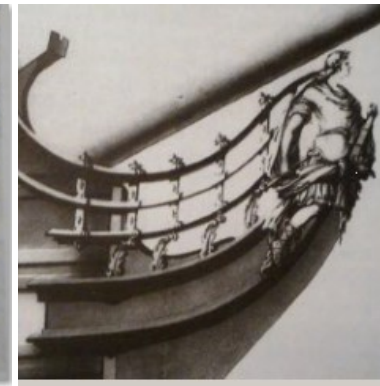
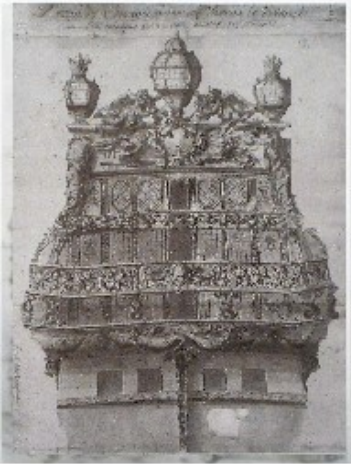


Figure 40. Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, pp. 317, 319, 323, 329, 343, 365. Details.

“Victorieux, 1678.”



“Magnifique, 1685.”



“Saint-Philippe, 1694.”



“Foudroyant, 1724.”



“Royal-Louis, 1759.”



“Royal-Louis, 1779.”

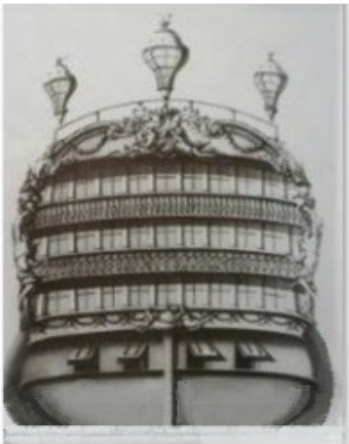


Figure 41. Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). Sculpture de l'atelier de l'arsenal de Brest. "Mars, Terme de poupe d'un vaisseau non identifié. XVIIIe siècle." 185 × 45 × 45 cm. "Minerve. Terme de poupe d'un vaisseau non identifié. XVIIIe siècle." 200 × 45 × 90 cm. Wood sculptures. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Brest.



Figure 42. Sculpture de l'atelier de l'arsenal de Brest. "Indien d'Amérique 4e quart XVIIIe siècle. Décor de poupe en haut-relief." Wood sculpture. 191 × 167 × 35 cm. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Brest.



Figure 43. Antoine Gibert (1716 after 1789). “Cariatide en forme de sirène,” 1779. Wood sculpture. 169 × 99 × 76 cm. Musée national de la Marine, Toulon.

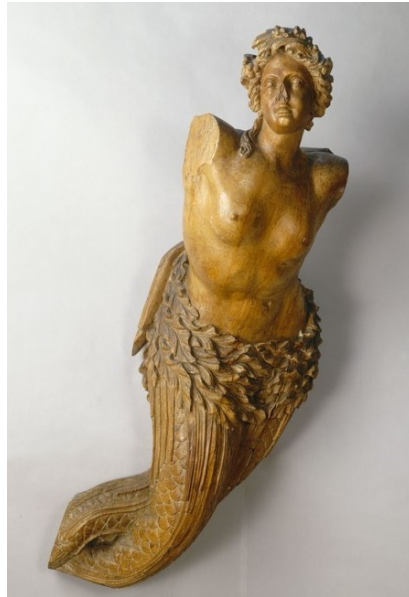


Figure 44. Jean Elshoecht (1762-?), Benjamin Tellier (1766 - ?). “Figure de proue de la Poursuivante.” 1796. Wood sculpture. 220 × 92 × 110 cm. Dunkerque. Musée national de la Marine, Rochefort.



Figure 45. “La mythologie inspire l’iconographie navale.” La sculpture navale et le décor des vaisseaux de guerre français. Musée national de la Marine. La sculpture navale du XVII - musee-marine.fr.



Figure 46. Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825). “Combat de Mars contre Minerve,” 1771. Oil on canvas, 146 x 181 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 47. Joseph Benoît Suvée (1743-1807). “Le combat de Minerve et de Mars.” 1771. Palais des beaux-arts de Lille. Lille.



Figure 48. Laurence Fligny “Mars et Minerve d'après Girardon (1628-1715).”Mid-19th century. Bronze and marble. 43 x 12 cm. <http://www.fligny-haute-epoque.com/fr/mars-et-minerve-en-bronze>



Figure 49. Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716). "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le François, 1688." 29 x 44 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. G¹87, f^o 86 V^o 7. Detail.



Figure 50. Anonymous. "Vaisseau le Soleil Royal 1669." 38 x 60 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 1. Detail.

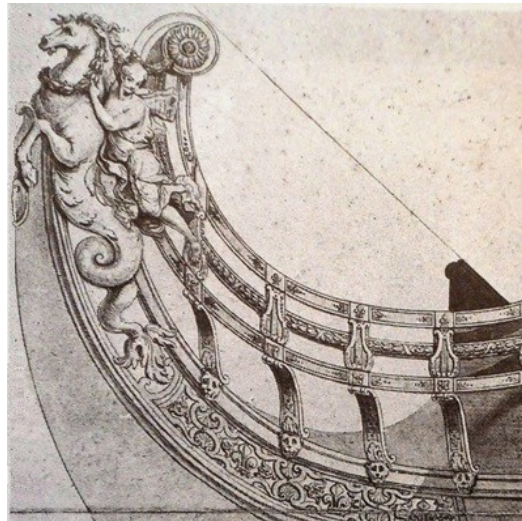


Figure 51. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "Vaisseau le Triton, 1724." 98 x 39 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 2. Detail.

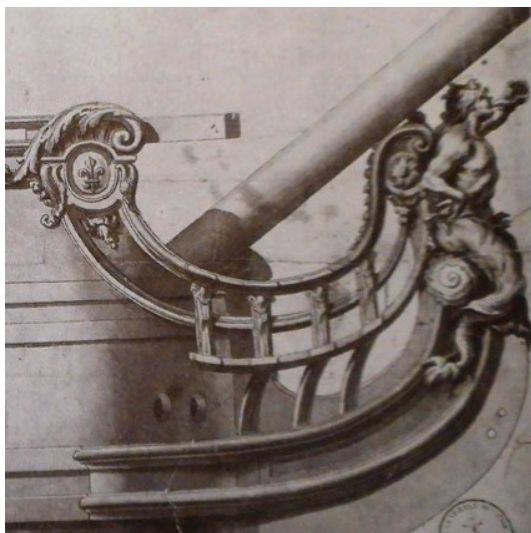


Figure 52. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "L'Auguste, 1740." Vincennes. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 6. Detail.

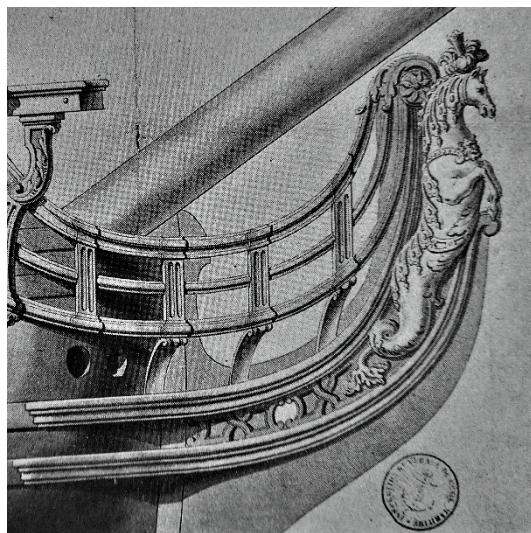


Figure 53. Anonymous. "Dessin du Trident, 1696." Jean Boudriot, *Les vaisseaux de 50 à 64 canons (1650-1780)*. Paris: A.N.C.R.E, 1994, p. 74. Right. Detail.

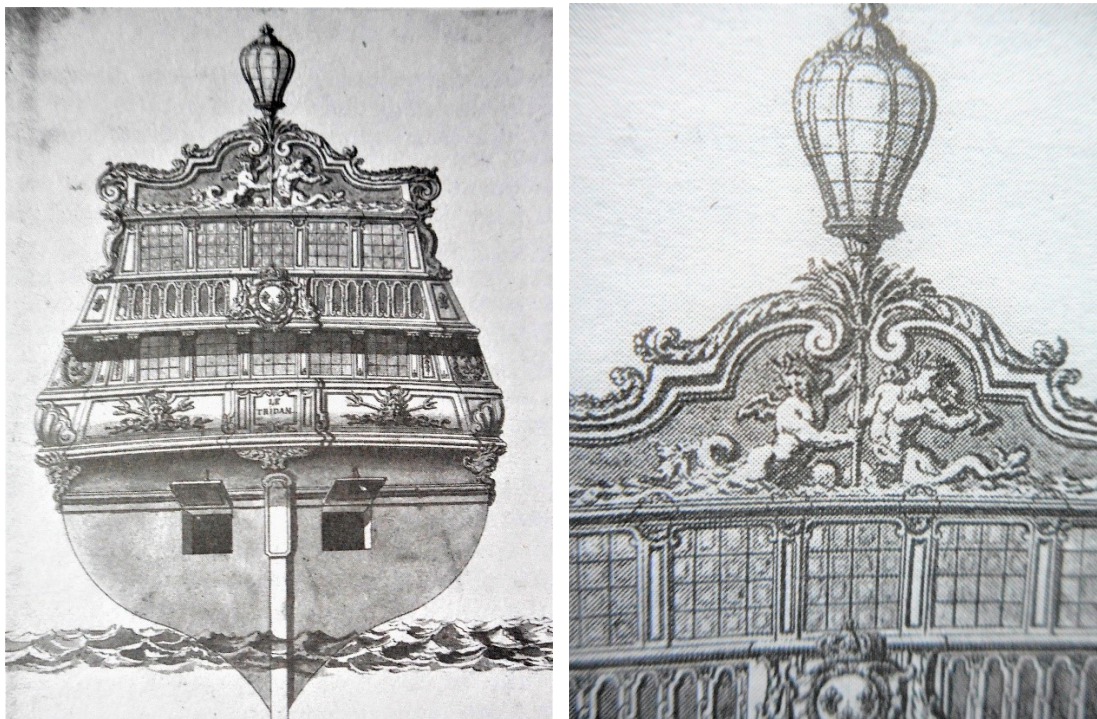


Figure 54. Jean Bérain (1640-1711). "Poupe de vaisseau le Prudent troisième rang, 1698." Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹69, f^o8 67-68. Right. Detail.

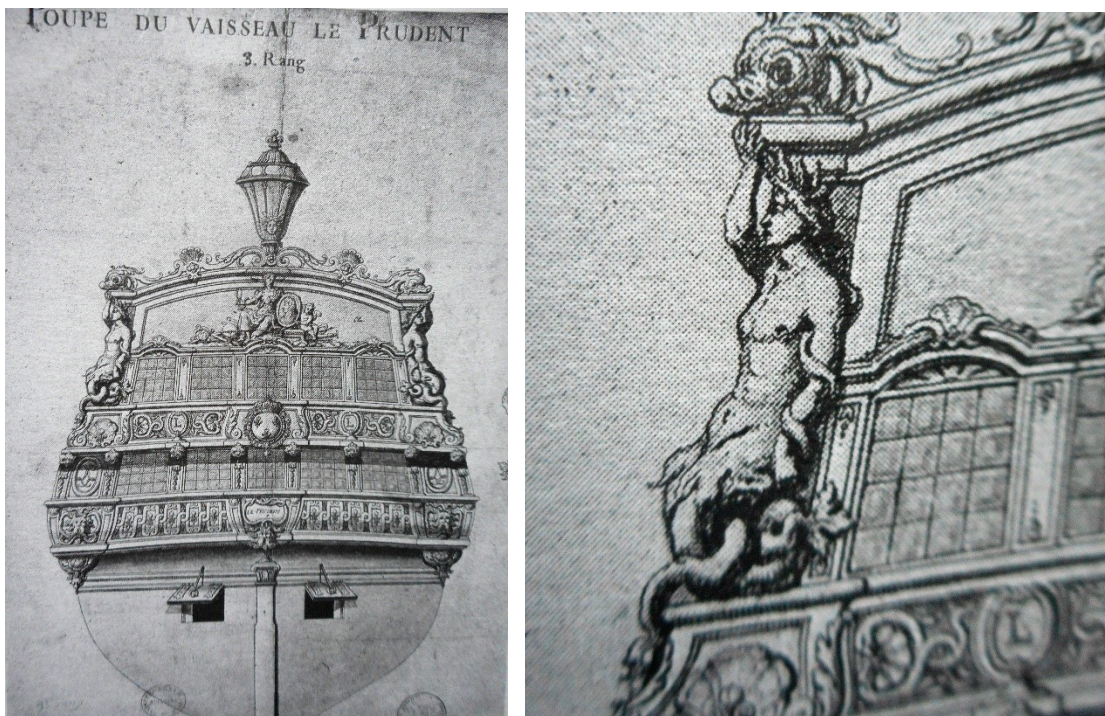


Figure 55. Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716). "Aurore, 1687." Havre. 29 x 44 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. G¹ 87, v^o 29. Right. Detail.

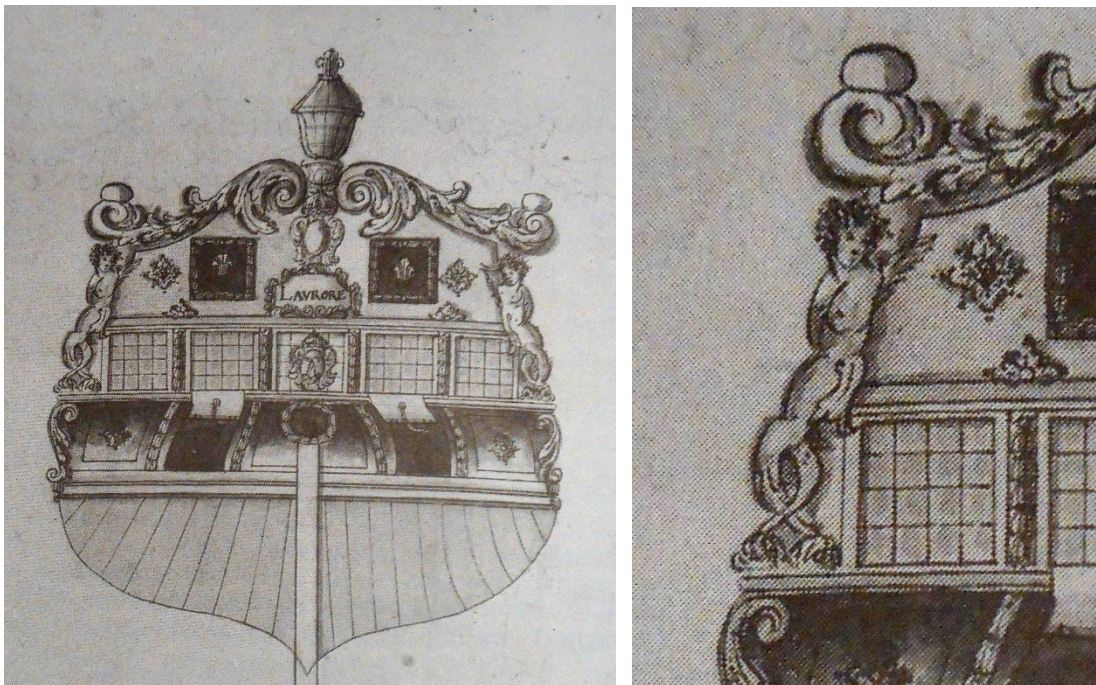


Figure 56. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "La Licorne, 1755." Brest. 93 x 37 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 68, f^o 4. Right. Detail.

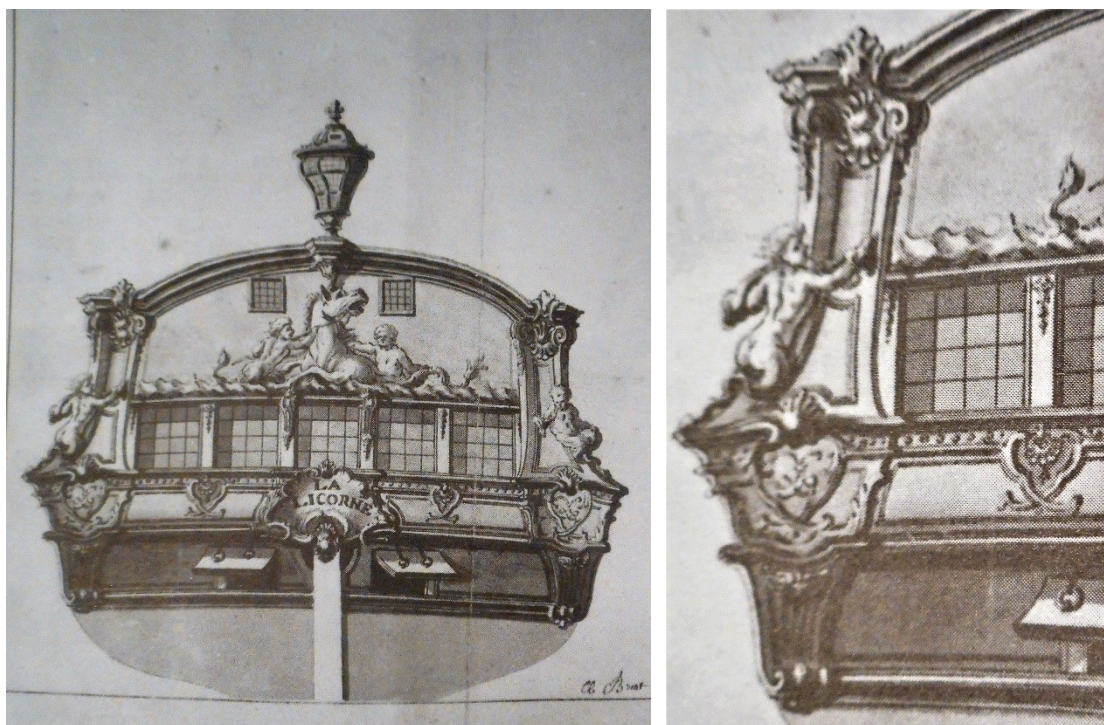


Figure 57. Anonymous. "La Calypso, 1785." Brest. 108 x 38 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 68, f^o 8. Right. Detail.

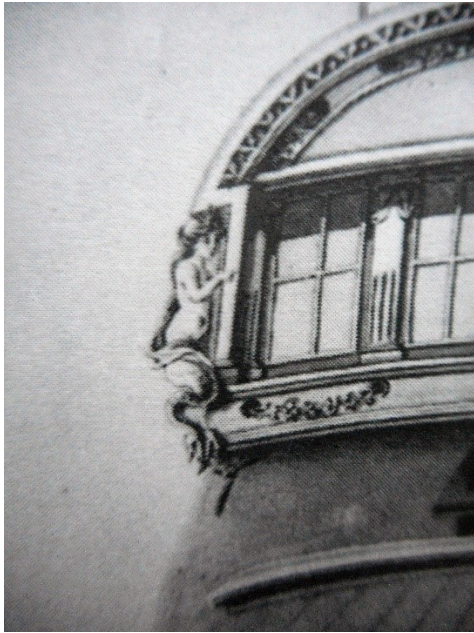


Figure 58. Attributed to Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). “Neptune,”
“Amphitrite.” Early 19th century. Wood sculptures. Musée national de la Marine
du Château du Brest. Brest.



Figure 59. Anonymous. Sketch. No date. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 110a

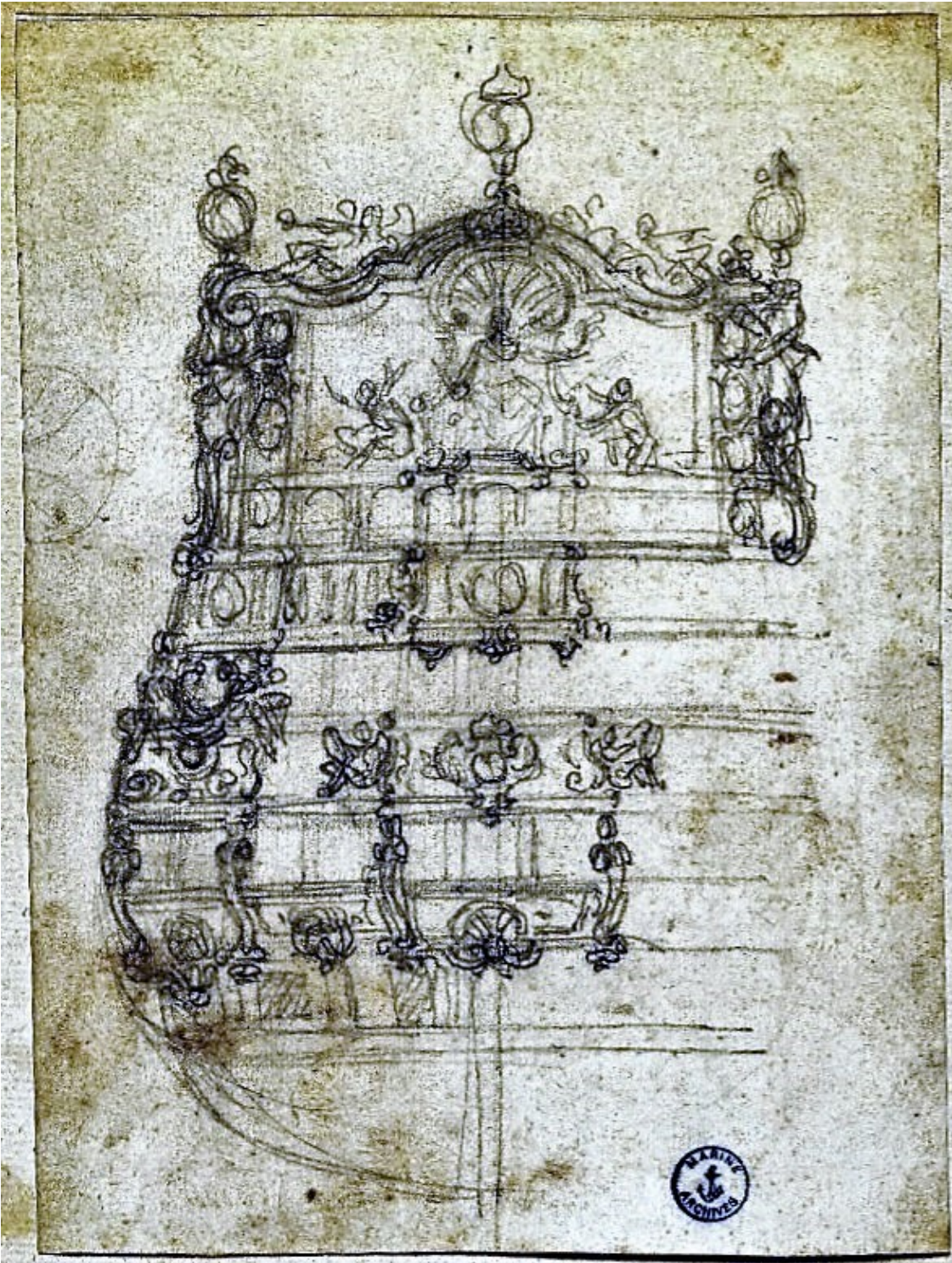


Figure 60. Paolo Farinati (1524-1606). "Allégorie d'Amérique," 1595. *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*. Paris: Edition des musées nationaux, 1976, p. 94.



Figure 61. Godfried Maes (1649-1700). "America," 1700. *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*. Paris: Edition des musées nationaux, 1976, p. 124.



Figure 62. Atelier de sculpture de l'arsenal de Brest. "Indien d'Amérique 4e quart XVIII^e siècle. Décor de poupe en haut-relief." Wood. 191 × 167 × 35 cm. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Lower half.



Detail.



Figures 63. Anonymous. “Une sirène en figure de proue. Petite Venise, Versailles : Avant de canot de promenade de la reine Marie-Antoinette, avec une sirène en figure de proue.” 1777. Wood, painted and gilded. Musée national de la Marine, Paris.



Figure 64. Anonymous. "Prince Frederick's Barge, 1732. Passenger barge with ornate carvings and gilded." National Maritime Museum, Greenwich England.



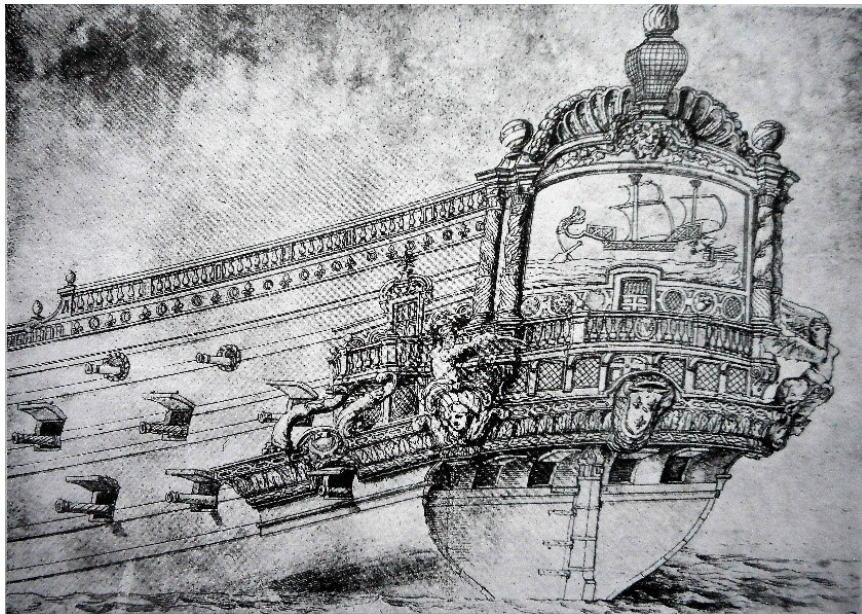
Detail.



Figure 65. Anonymous. "Ulysses tempted by the sirens." Vase detail. Attica, Greece. 480 BC. British Museum. Museum no.1843, 1103.31. http://britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online.



Figure 66. Anonymous. "Le Paris, 1667." Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 314. Right half.



Detail.



Figure 67. Collégiale de Candes Saint-Martin:
« Sirène sculptée du portail xiii siècle.» Saint-
Martin de Candes - Saint-Martin, Indre-et-Loire.



Figure 68. “Von dem Meerfröuwlin.” *Gaius Plinius Secundus*:
Plinius der Ältere. *Naturalis historia*. Frankfurt : 1565. Libri rari
Deutsches Museum München, Germany.



Figures 69. Anonymous. "Une sirène en figure de proue. Petite Venise, Versailles : Avant de canot de promenade de la reine Marie-Antoinette, avec une sirène en figure de proue." 1777. Wood, painted and gilded. Musée national de la Marine, Paris. Three-quarters front view of figure 63.



Figure 70.

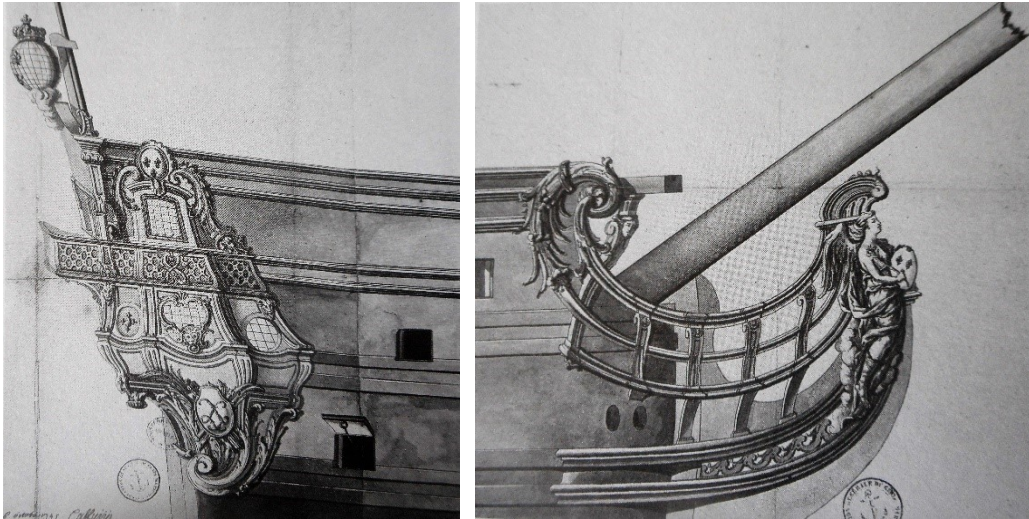
(a) Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). « Figure de proue, Minerve. Projet de figure de proue pour un bâtiment non identifié. Œuvre préparatoire.” Early to mid-18th century. 44 × 15.5 × 35 cm. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Brest.



(b) Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). « Figure de proue, Femme portant un panier de poissons et de crustacés. Œuvre préparatoire.” Mid-18th century. 48 × 16.7 × 46 cm. Musée national de la Marine du Château du Brest. Brest.



Figure 71. Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716). "Le Lis, 1745." 121 x 47 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 52.2.



Detail.



Figure 72. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "L'Illustre, 1759." 133 × 53 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 16. Right. Detail.

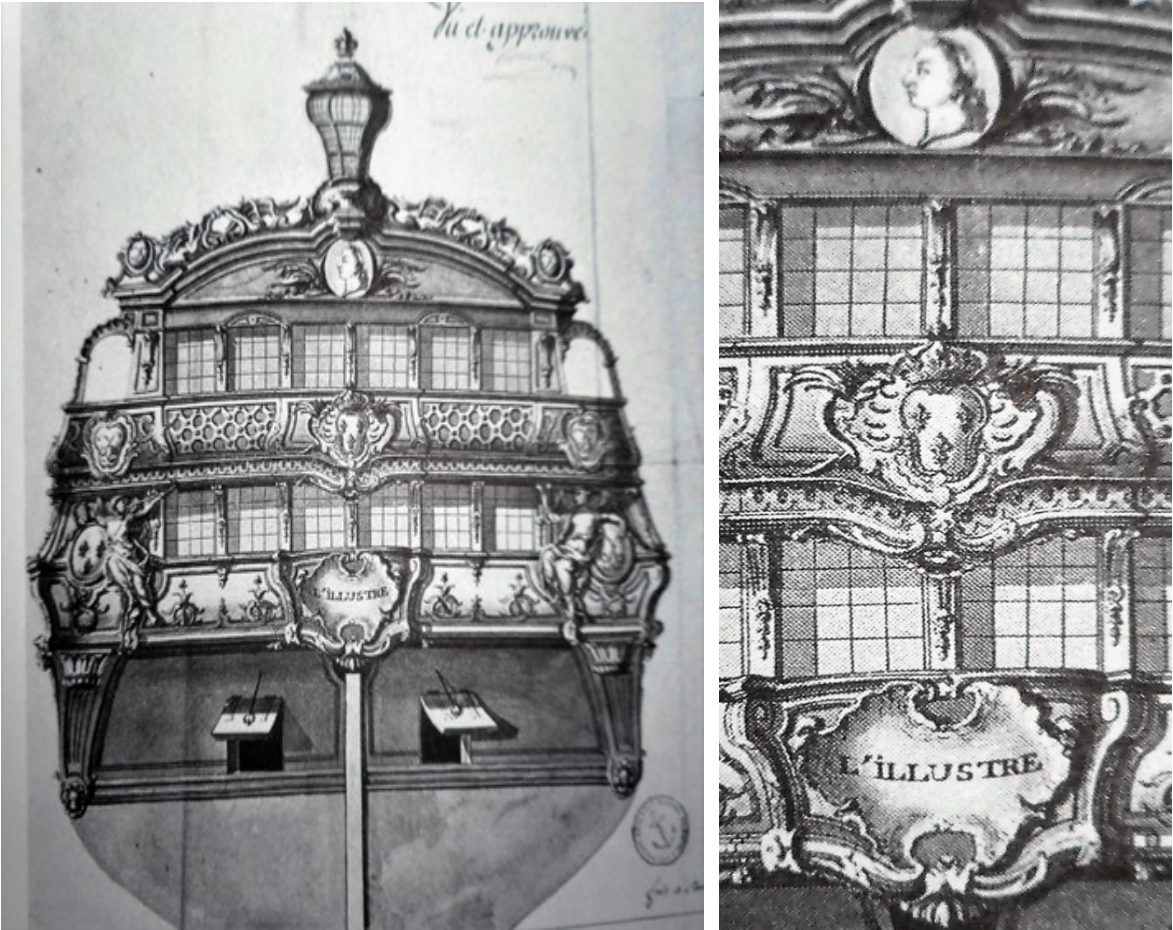


Figure 73.

(a) Anonymous. "Ville-de-Paris, 1764. Vaisseau-de-ligne de 90 canons. Dessin pour la figure de proue." Photo. Musée national de la Marine. Paris.



(b) Anonymous. Sketch. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. No reference number.

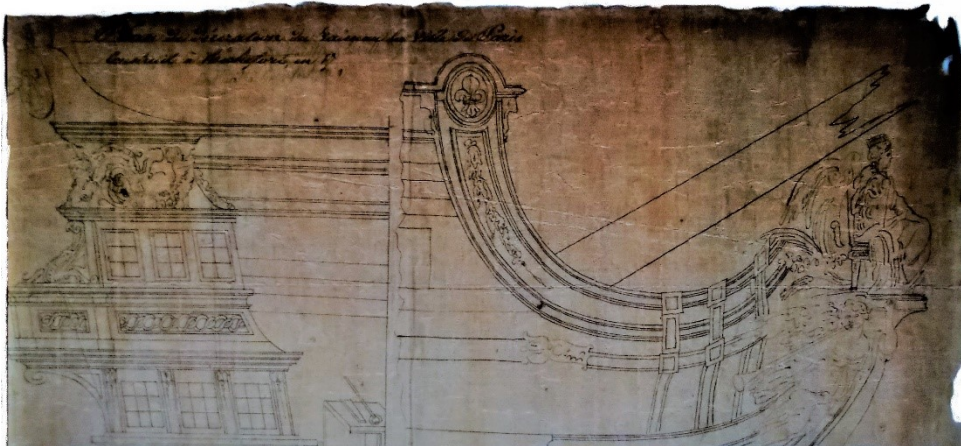
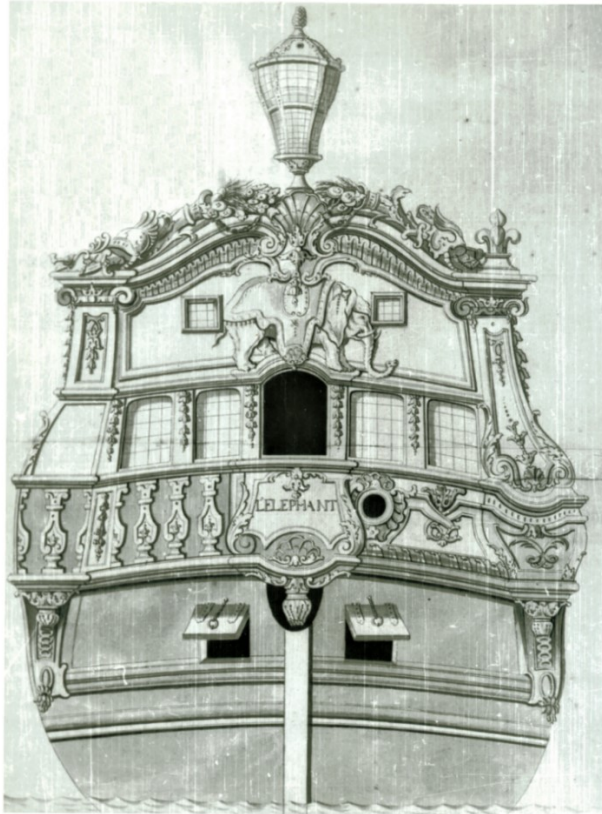


Figure 74.

(a) Anonymous. "Poupe de la Flûte L'Eléphant, 1717." Brest. Photo. Jean Bélisle.



(b) Anonymous. "Epron de la Flûte L'Eléphant, 1717." Brest. Photo. Jean Bélisle.

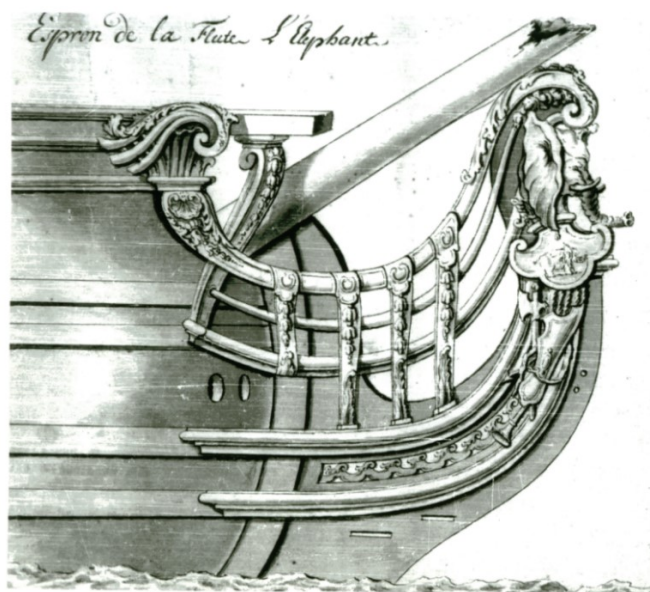


Figure 75. Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716). "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le François, 1688." 29 x 44 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. G¹ 87, f^o 86 V^o 7.

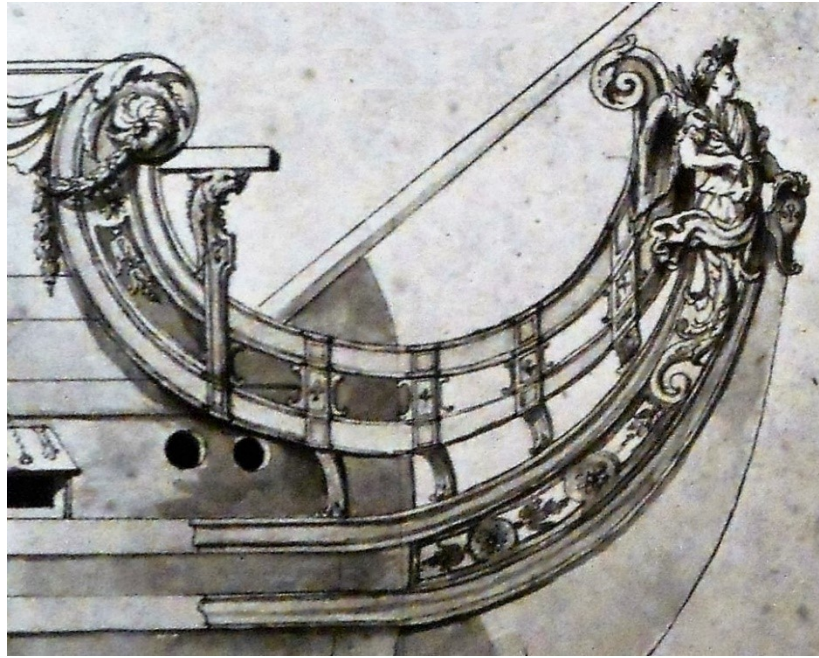


Figure 76. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le Royal Louis, 1758." 182 x 58 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹69, f^o 70.

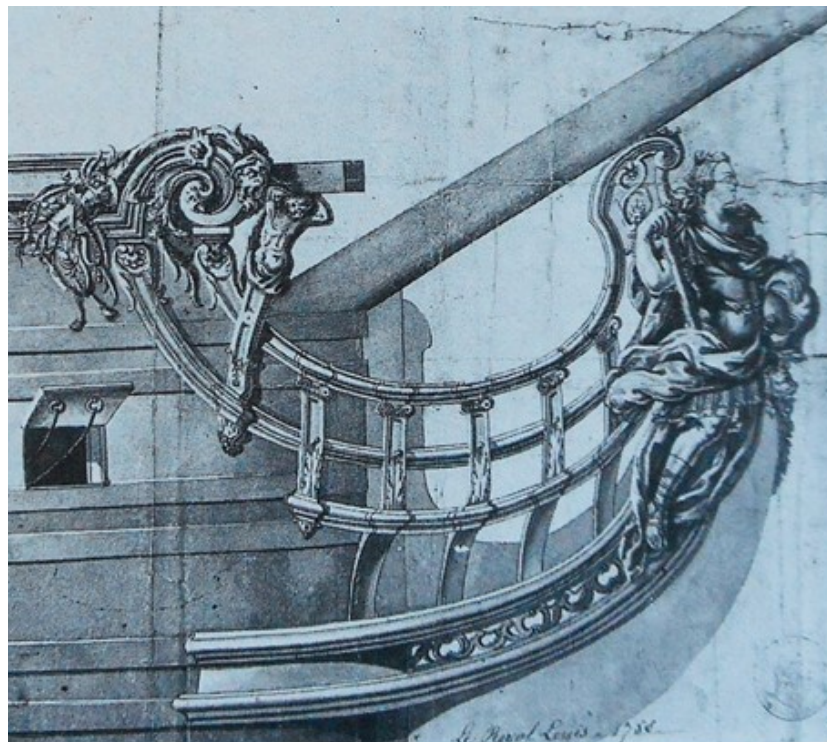


Figure 77. Pierre Philippe Lubet. “Décor du vaisseau le Royal Louis, 1779.” Photo. Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 365.

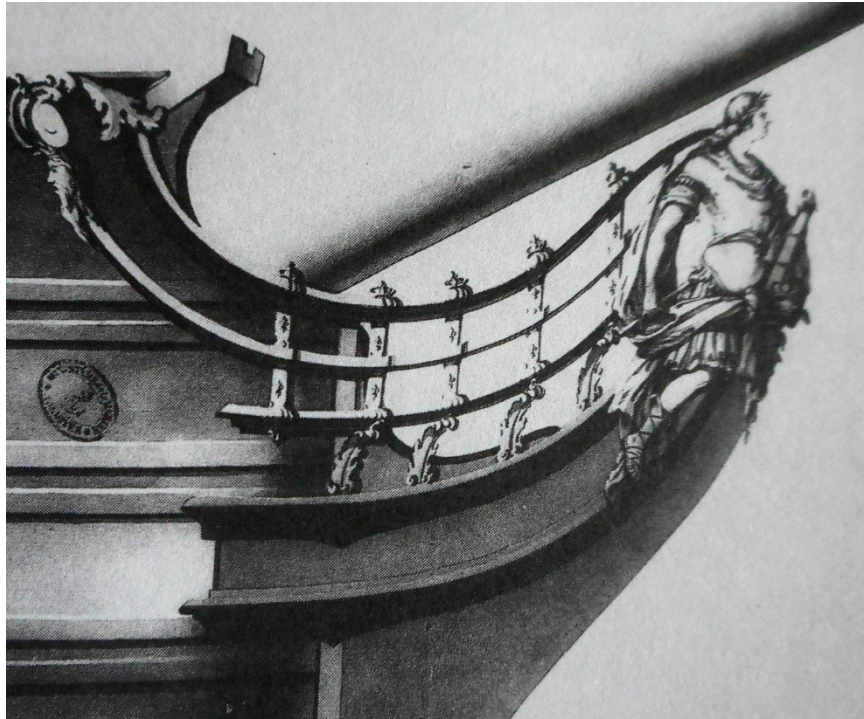


Figure 78.

(a) "Wasa, 1628." Vasamuseet, Stockholm.



(b) "Wasa." Reduced scale model. 1:10. 1996. Vasamuseet, Stockholm.



Figure 79. Auguste Mayer (1805-1890). "Foudroyant, 1724." Oil painting. Musée de Beaux-Arts. Brest. Detail.



Figure 80.

(a) Hendrik Hondius (1573-1650). “Navire Royal, 1626.” Amsterdam. Engraving. 19 x 13.5 cm. Hans Soop. *The Power and the Glory. The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1986, p. 9.



(b) Jacob Gerritz Loef (1607 after 1670). “French man-of-war escorted by a Dutch ship in quiet water.” 1626. Oil painting on wood panel. 98 x 55 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 81. Claude Lorrain (1604-1682). "Port de mer au soleil couchant," 1639. Oil painting. 103 x 137 cm. Musée du Louvre. Paris.



Detail.



Figure 82. Attributed to Nicolas Renaud. "Le Furieux, 1699." 36 x 56 cm.
Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 45.

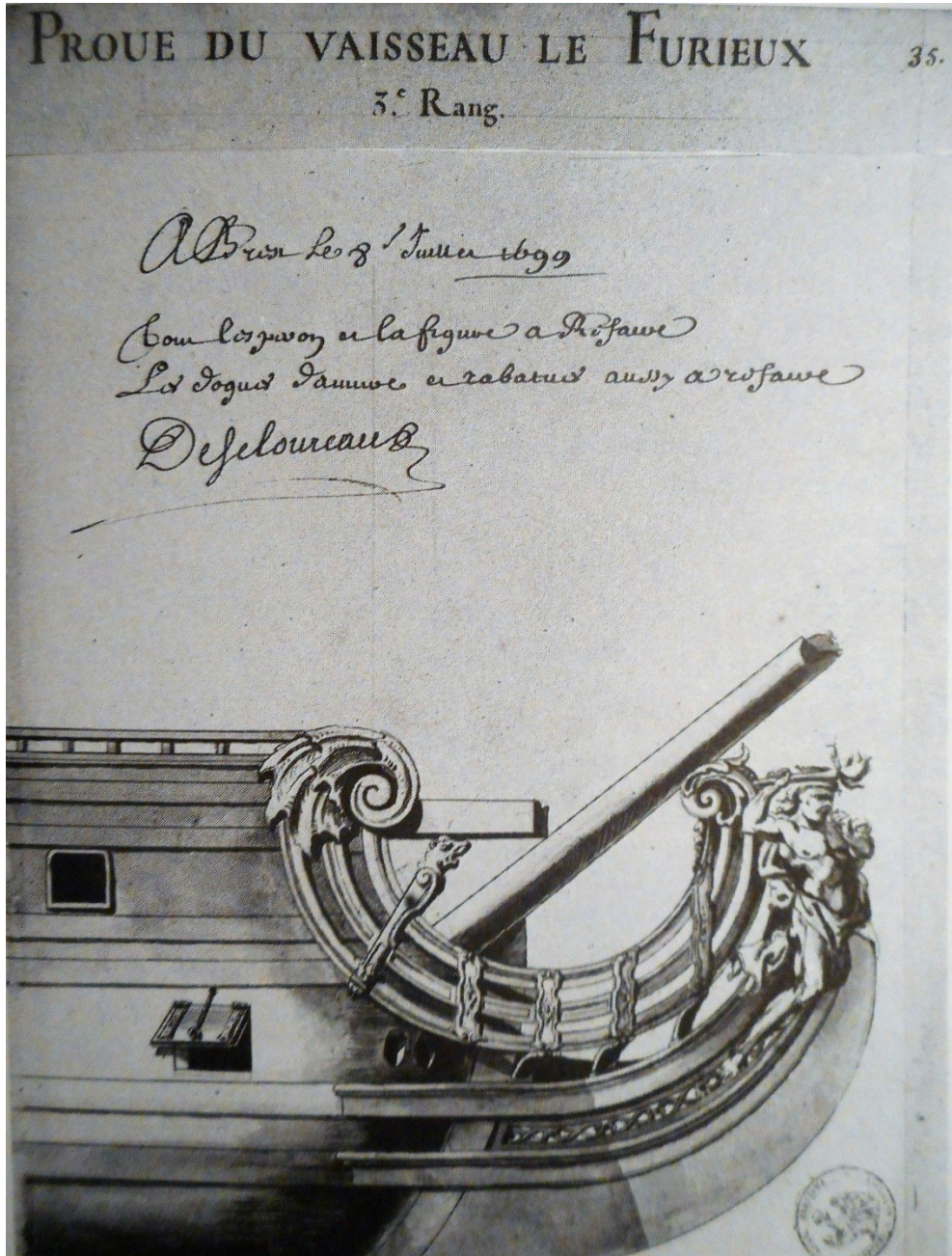


Figure 83. François-Charles Caffieri (1667-1729). "Foudroyant, 1723." 126 x 56 cm.
Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o39.

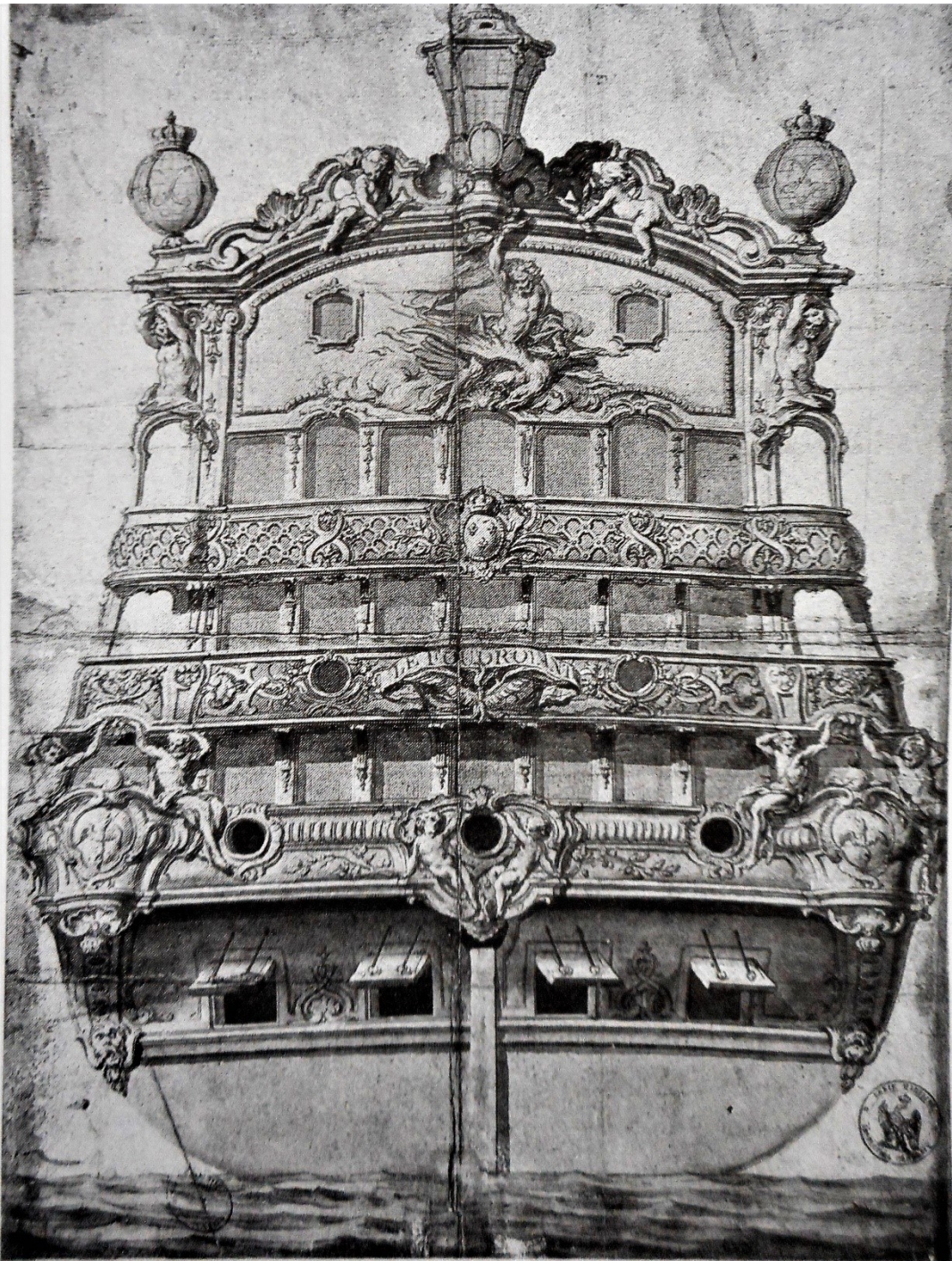


Figure 84. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "Le Thésée, 1757." 128 x 53 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o25.

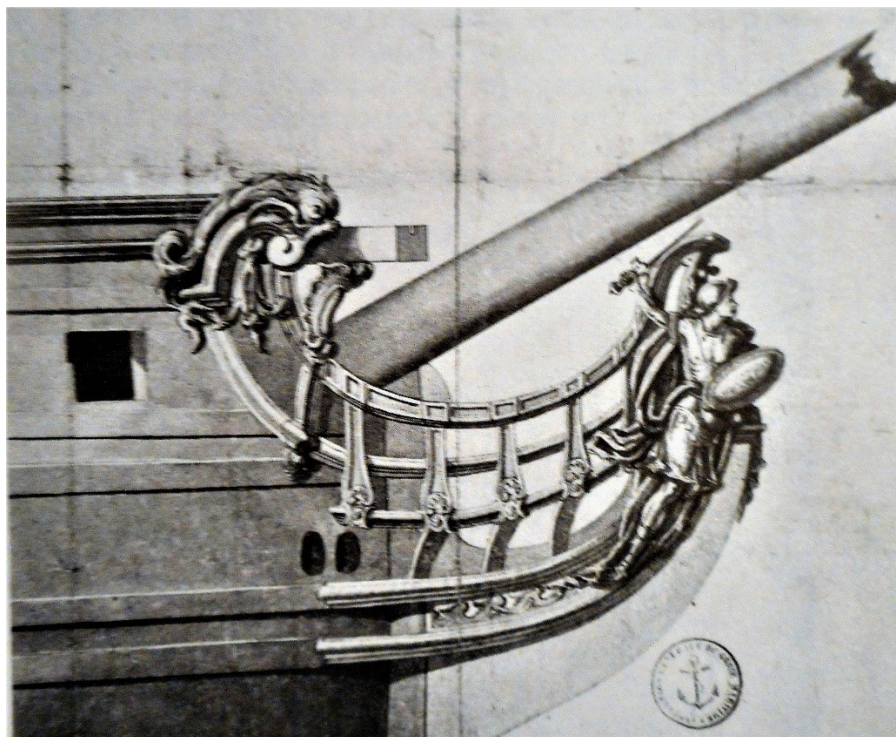


Figure 85. Yves-Etienne Collet (1761-1843). "Le Tonnerre, 1795." 47 x 41 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o8 46.

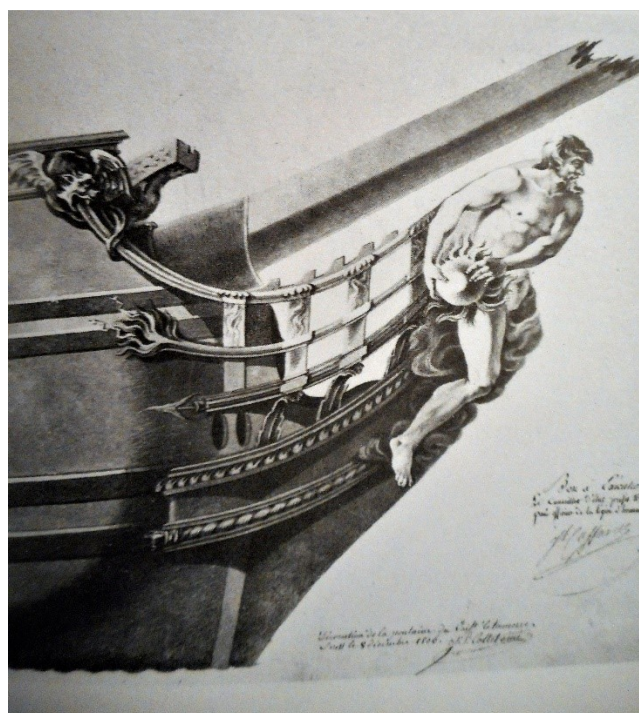


Figure 86. Philippe Caffieri (1634-1716). "Le François, 1687». 44 x 30 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. G¹ 87, f^o 7.



Figure 87. François-Charles Caffieri (1667-1729). "Assuré, 1723." 53 x 119 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 55.

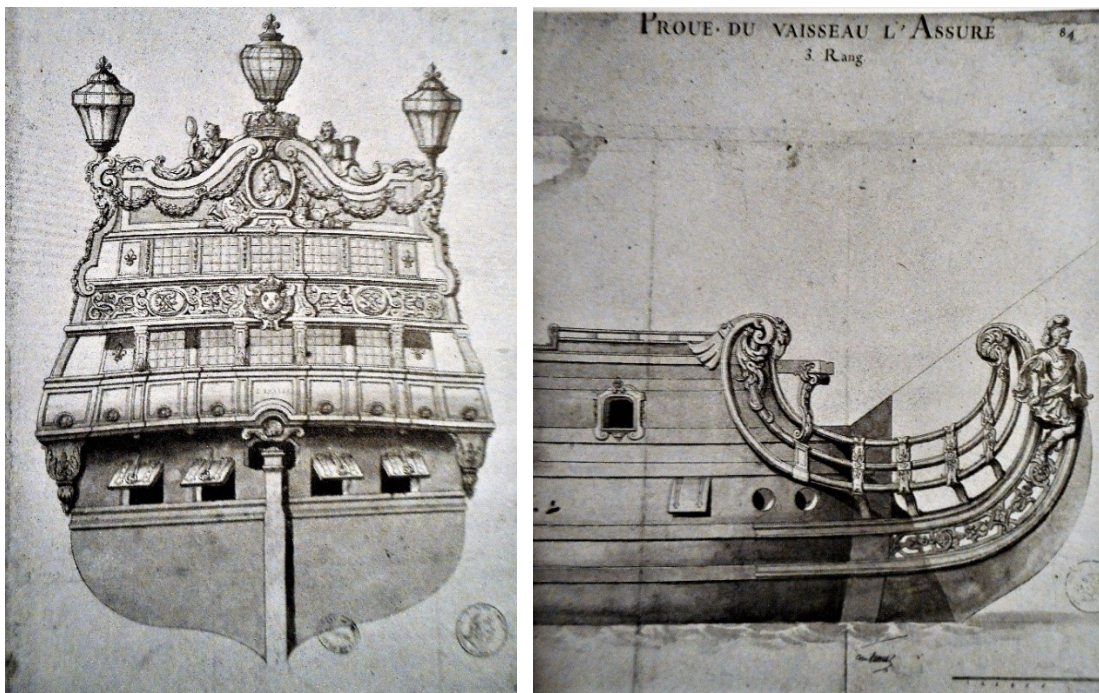
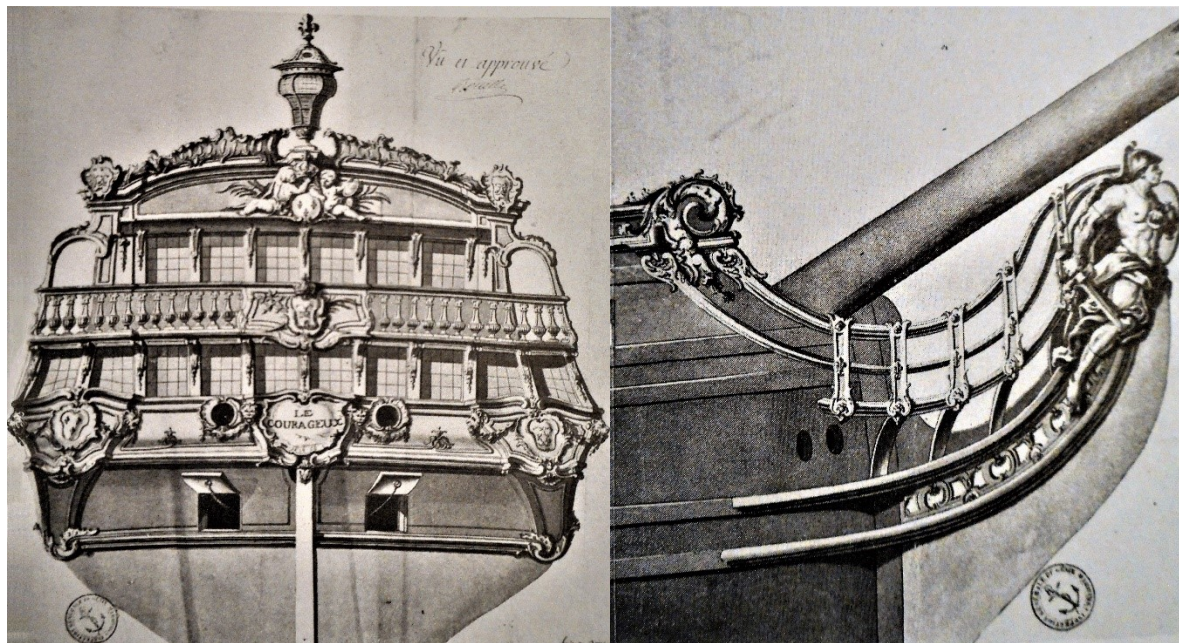
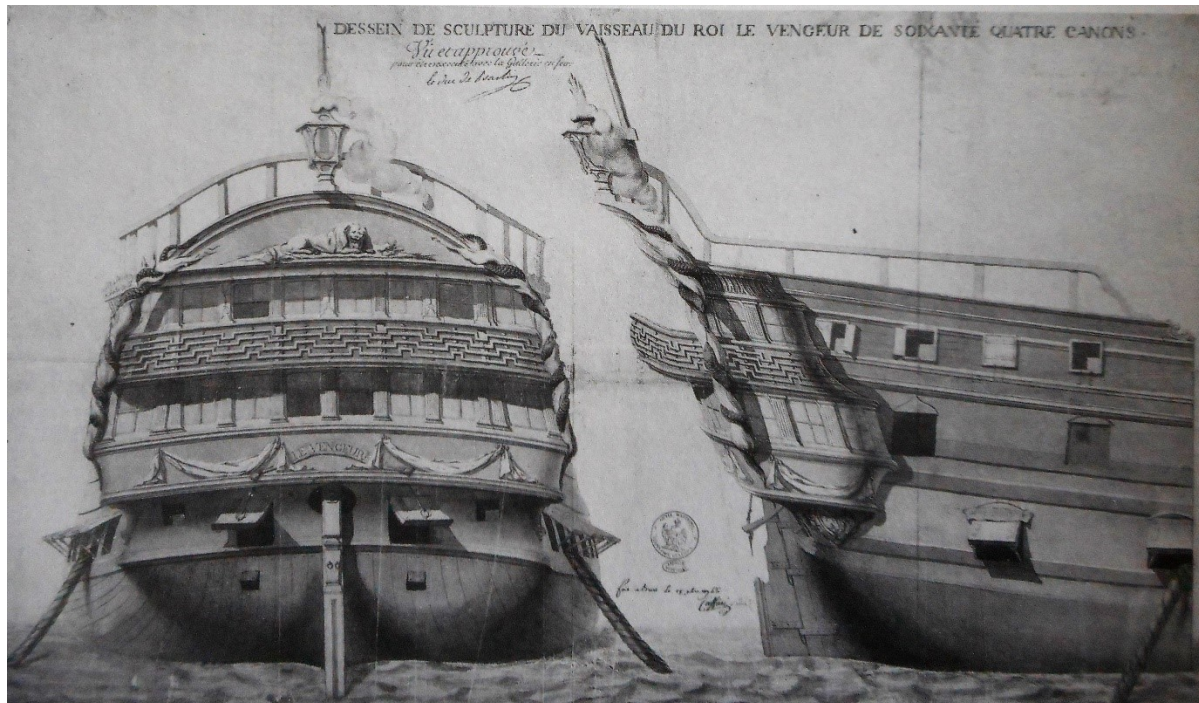


Figure 88. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). "Le Courageux, 1751." 55 x 155 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 17.



89. Charles-Marie Caffieri (1736-1779). "Le Vengeur, 1766." 55 x 155 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 86.



90. Pierre Philippe Lubet. "Royal Louis, 1785." 43 x 136 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 67, f^o 30.

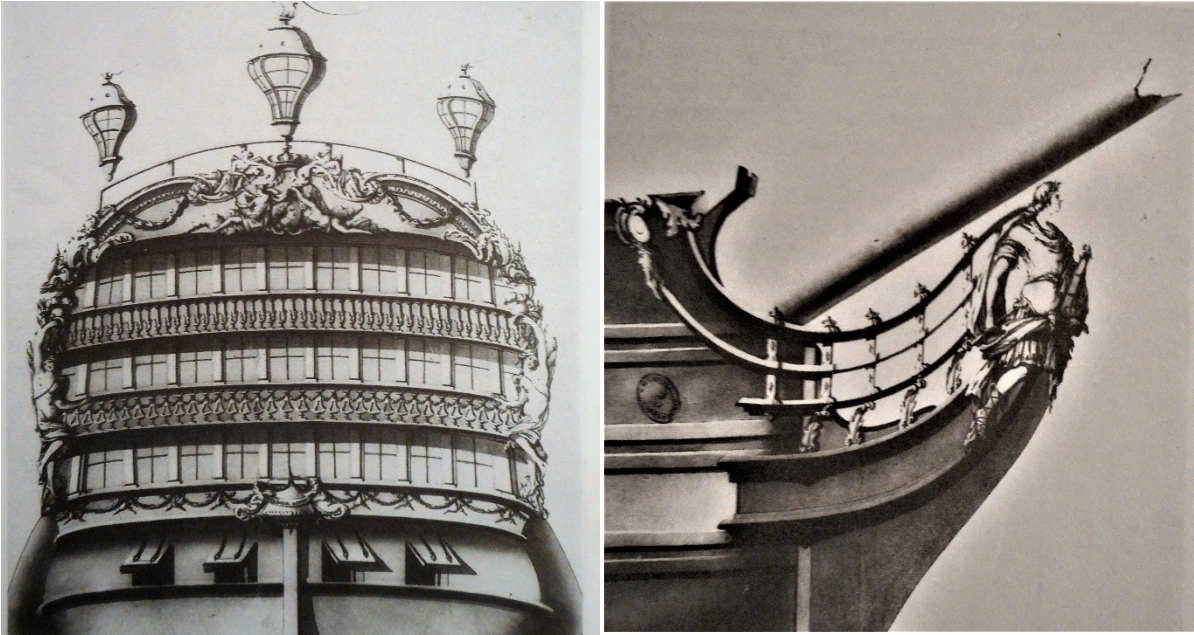


Figure 91. Willem van de Velde (1633-1707). “Vaisseau de ligne construit par Sluijck à Saardam pour Louis XIV (1667).” Charles de la Roncière and G. Clarc-Campbel. *Histoire de la Marine Française*. Paris: Larousse, 1934, p. 84.

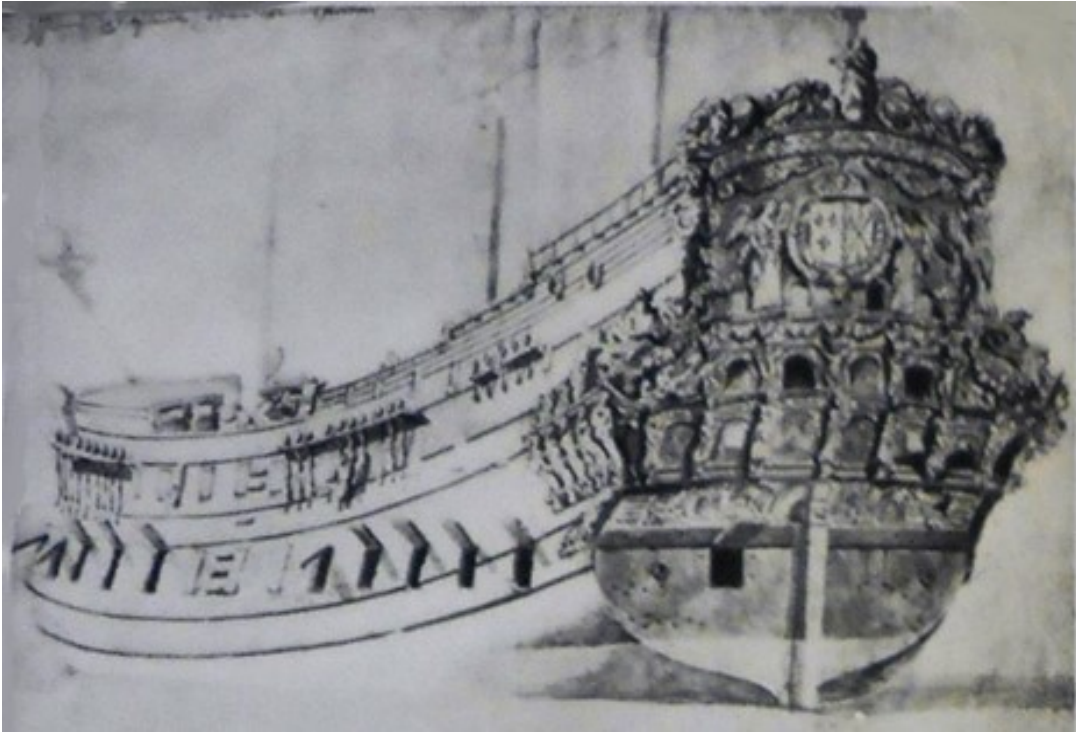


Figure 92. Jean Baptiste I de La Rose (1612-1687). “Jean Baptiste Colbert Marquis de Seignelay et Louis Victor de Rochechouart Duc de Vivonne visitent le galion Réale de France dans l’Arsenal de Marseille en 1669.” Oil painting. Chateau de Versailles.



Figure 93.

(a) Anonymous. "Triomphe de Poséidon et les quatre saisons." Chebba, 3rd century AD. Mosaic in marble. National Bardo Museum, Tunisia: <http://www.bardomuseum.tn>.



(b) "Soleil Royal." From figure 18. Detail



Figure 94. Joseph Werner le Jeune (1637-1710). “Louis Quatorze en Apollon conduisant son char. Gouache sur papier, vers 1664, Versailles.” Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et Trianon. http://ressources.chateauversailles.fr/IMG/pdf/louis_xiv_en_apollon_dans_le_char_du_soleil.



Figure 95. Henri Gissey (1621-1673). “Louis XIV en Apollon,” 1653. Gouache with graphite and gold paint on vellum Bibliothèque nationale de France. Reference image 00-020079.⁵²⁹



Figure 96. Anonymous. “Année Louis XIV : Les spectacles au château de Versailles.” <http://www.chateauversailles.fr/decouvrir/histoire/grandes-dates#le-regne-de-louis-xiv>.



⁵²⁹ The full inscription reads: “Louis XIV en Apollon. En apparaissant à l’âge de 14 ans costumé en Apollon, dieu grec du Soleil, dans le Ballet de la nuit (1653) : Louis XIV se voit décerner le titre de Roi-Soleil.” Note how the dance posture of the king’s legs are copied in the palace portrait of 1701 by Rigaud in figure 11. Photo Encyclopedie Larousse. http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopédie/images/Henri_Gissey_Louis_XIV_en_Apollon/1310427.

Figure 97. Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743). "Portrait de Louis XV en tenue de sacre, âgé de cinq ans." 1715. 189 x 135 cm. Château de Versailles. Musée National de Versailles, Catalogue. Les peintures, vol. II, Paris, 1995, n° 4260, 755.



Figure 98.

(a) Denis Diderot (1713-1784). “Louis seize Roi de France et de Navarre.” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris : David Briasson. Le Breton, Durand, 1751. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



(b) The Coat of Arms of France and Navarre from 1589 to 1790.⁵³⁰ Contemporary simulation.



⁵³⁰ From [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File: Grand_Royal_Coat_of_Arms_of_France_&_Navarre.svg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Grand_Royal_Coat_of_Arms_of_France_&_Navarre.svg).

Figure 99. Willem Van de Velde (1633-1707). "La Reine, 1673." *Van de Velde Drawings*. Cambridge: National Maritime Museum, 1958 (Figure 418). From figure 23. Detail.

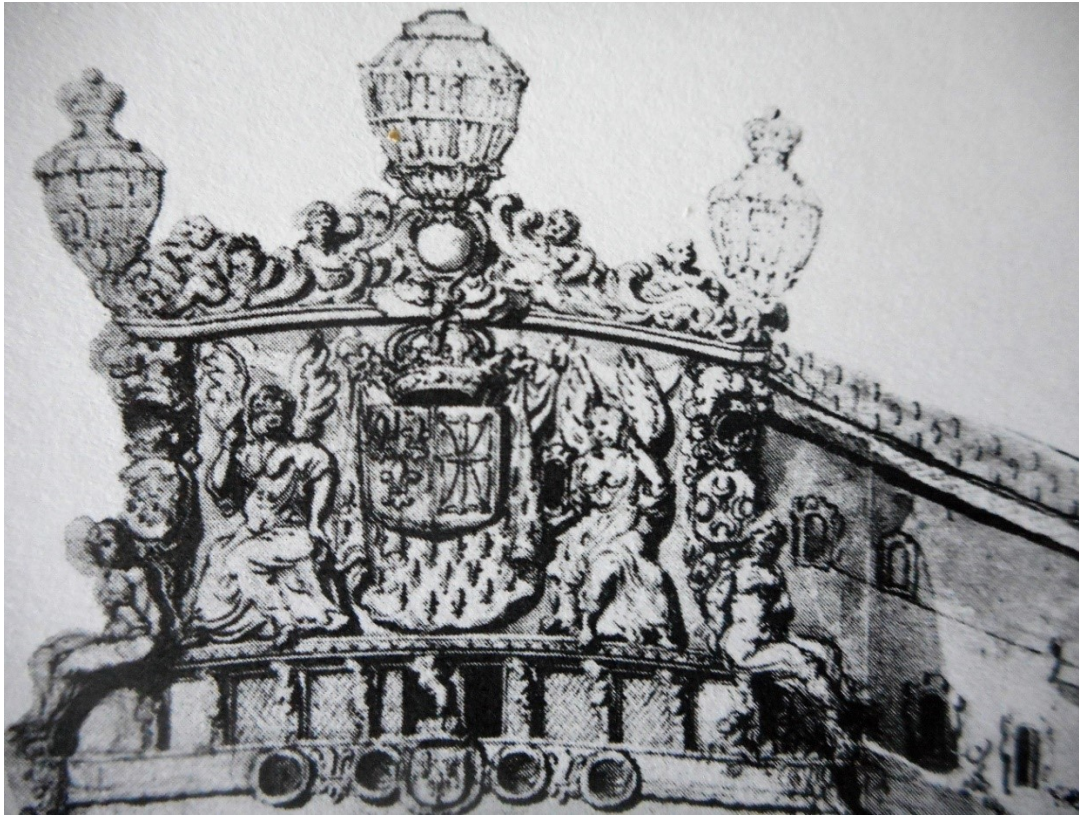


Figure 100. Anonymous. "Monnaies Royales Françaises." <http://www.cgb.fr/>.



LOUIS XIV LE GRAND OU LE ROI SOLEIL. Écu de Flandre dit "au buste âgé,"
1686. Lille. Silver. 42.5 mm.



LOUIS XV DIT LE BIEN AIMÉ. Louis d'or dit "aux lunettes,"
1747. Lyon. Gold. 23.5 mm.



LOUIS XVI. Double Louis d'or dit "aux écus accolés,"
1786. Limoges. Gold. 28 mm.

Figure 101. Anonymous. “Combat d’un vaisseau de guerre contre une batterie de trois pieces a terre. Fin du XVe siècle.” Bibliothèque nationale manuscrits français. 6440. Photo. Charles de la Roncière and G. Clarc-Campbel. *Histoire de la Marine Française*. Paris: Larousse, 1934.



Detail.



Figure 102. W. “Carraque (1490-1480).” Engraving. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Photo. Charles de la Roncière and G. Clarc-Campbel. *Histoire de la Marine Française*. Paris: Larousse, 1934.

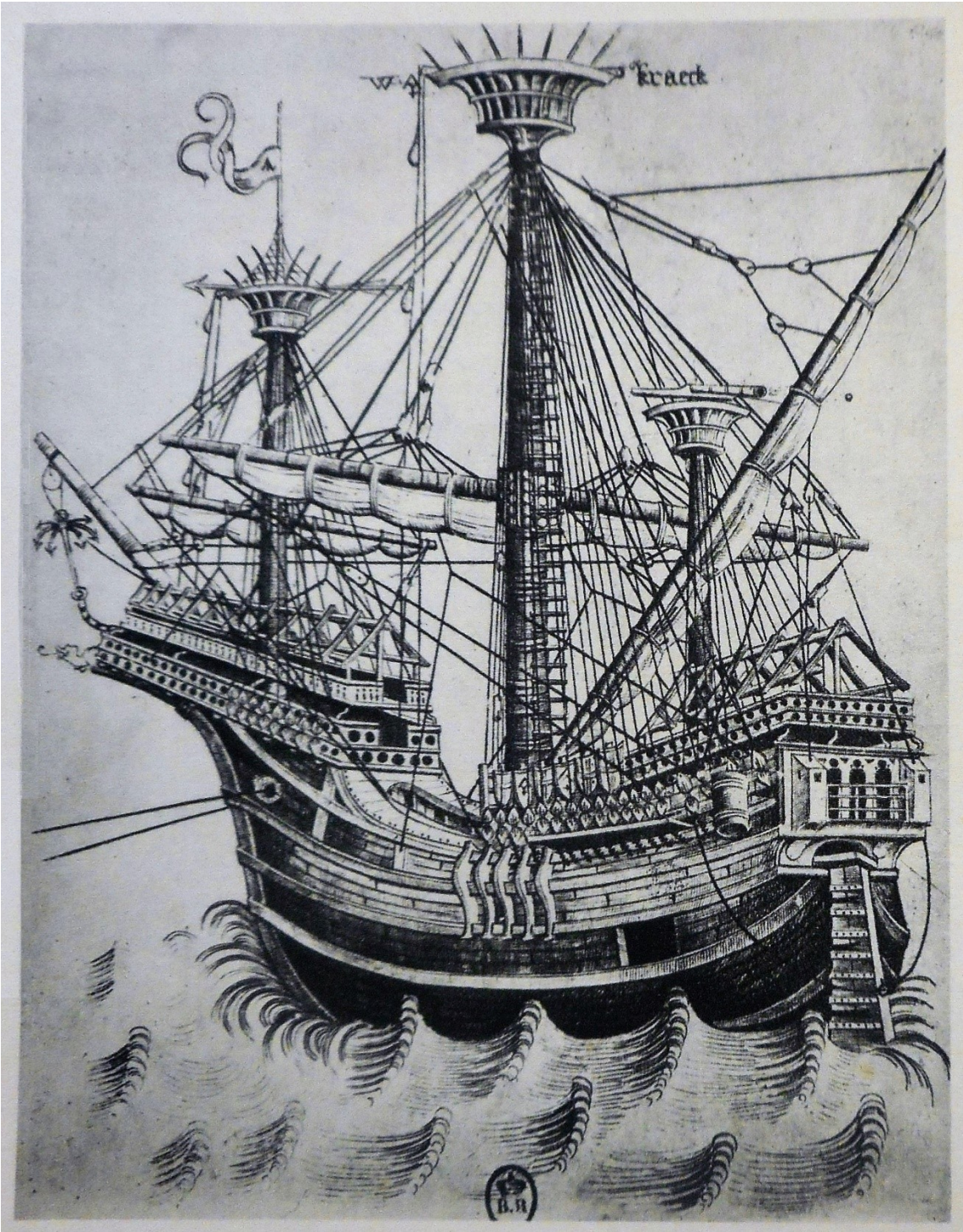


Figure 103. Pieter Brueghel le Vieux (1525-1569). "Galion et galère (1564-1565)." Brussels. Engraving. Photo. Charles de la Roncière and G. Clarc-Campbel. *Histoire de la Marine Française*. Paris: Larousse, 1934.



Figure 104. Hendrik Hondius (1573-1650). "Navire Royal,1626." Amsterdam. Engraving. 19 x 13.5 cm. Hans Soop. *The Power and the Glory. The Sculptures of the Warship Wasa*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1986, p. 9. From figure 80. Detail.

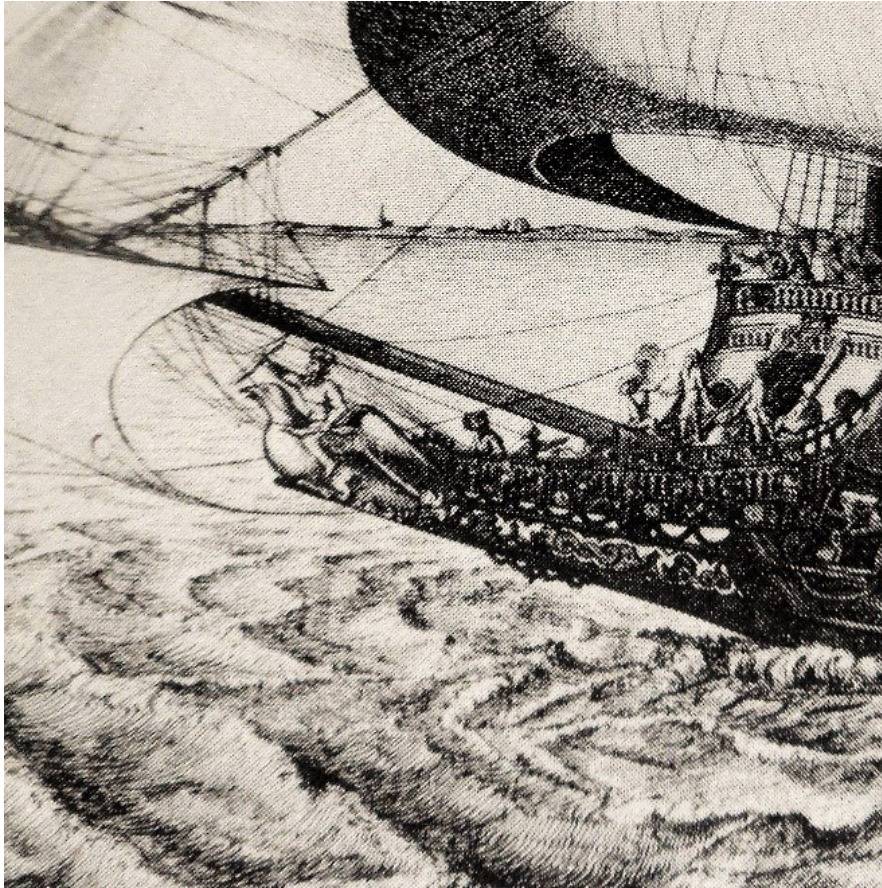


Figure 105.

(a) Anonymous. "Friderich." 1649. Newstadt. Denmark. Photo. Hanne Poulsen. *Danish Figureheads*, Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1977, p. 10. Detail.



(b) Anonymous. "Frederic III," 1649. Oil painting, Museen Neustadt Holstein. Photo Karl-Heinz Hochhaus.



Figure 106. Anonymous “L’Océan, 1752.” Brest. Photo. Jean Boudriot *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons* Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 121. Detail.

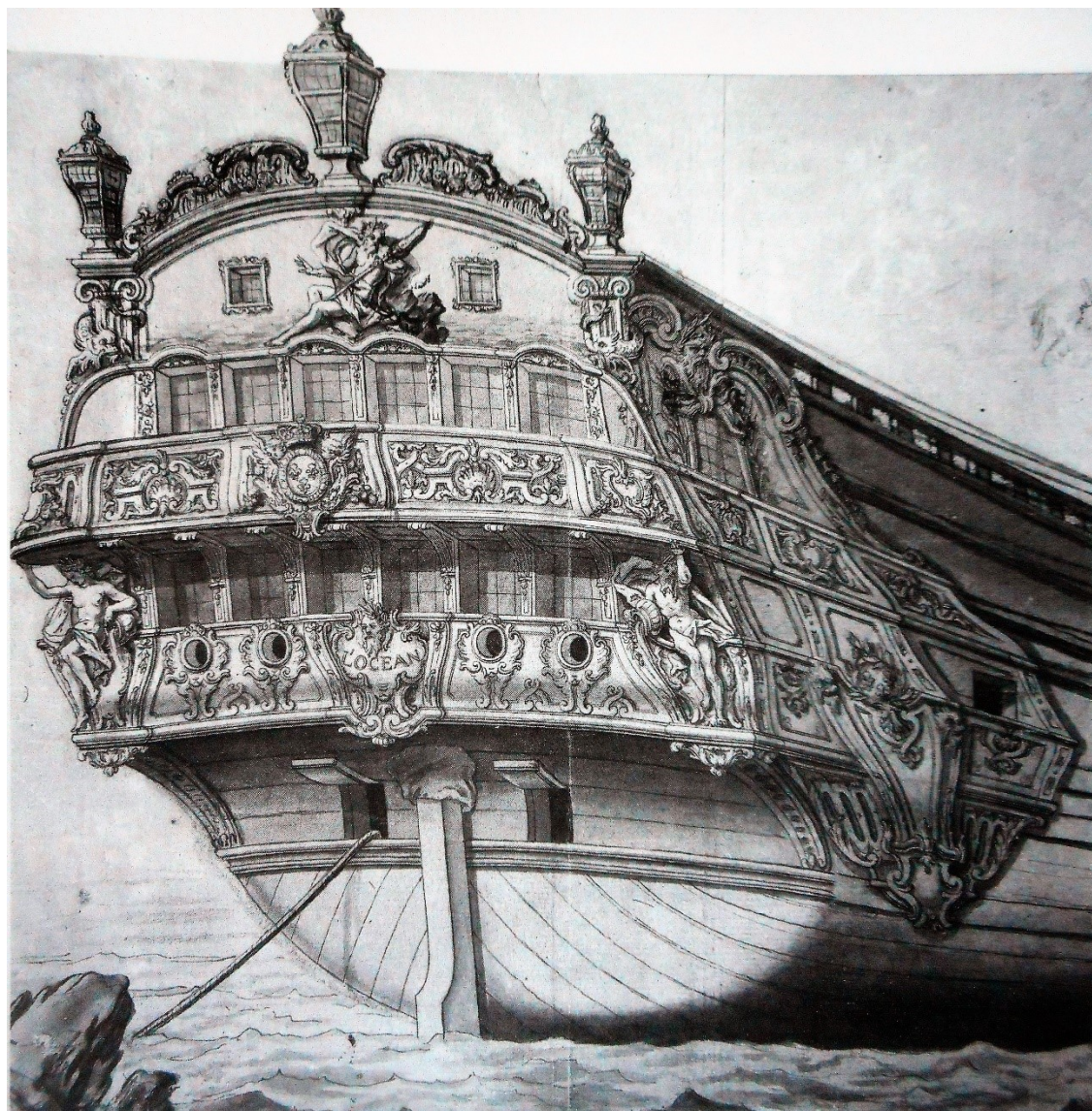


Figure 107.

(a) Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785). *Louis XV*. Bronze. Place Royale, Reims. 1763.



(b) Anonymous. “Statue de Louis XV à Reims Exécutée par Mr Pigalle, 25 aout 1765.” Fonds iconographique de la bibliothèque municipale de Reims.



Figure 108. Anonymous. "Galiotes a bombes Salamandre. Ornaments de poupe, proue et bouteille. Proue de La Salamandre." 68 x 35 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹68, f^o16.

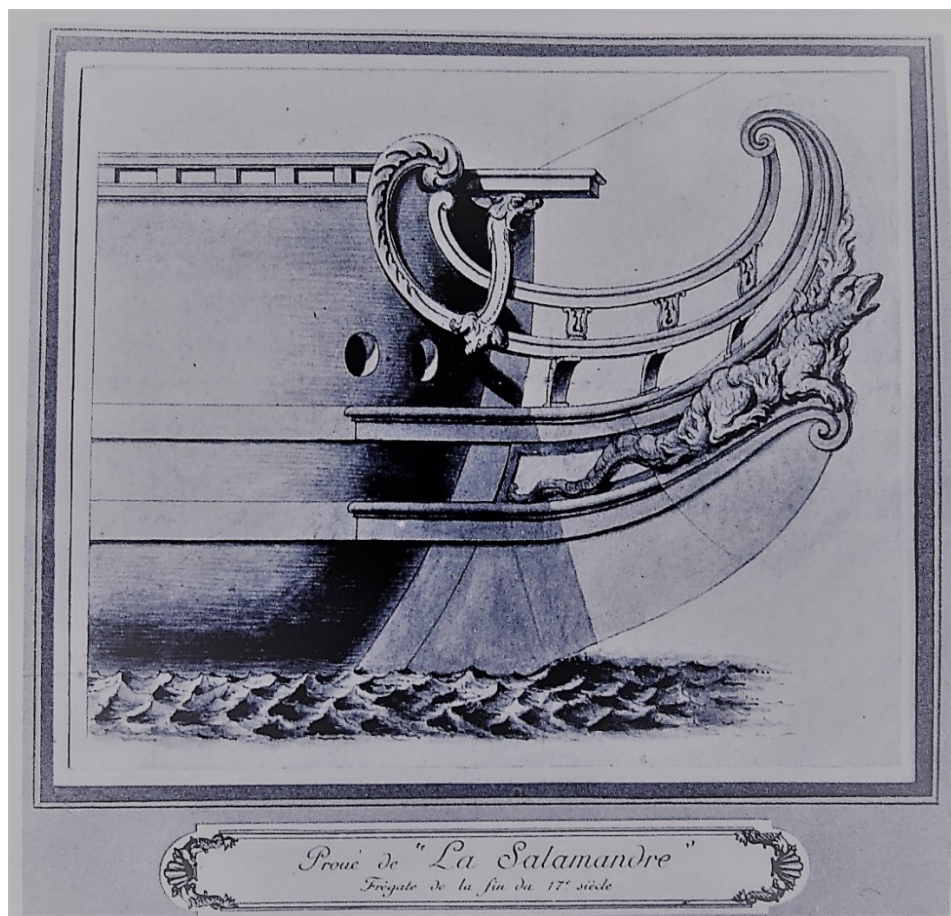


Figure 109. Anonymous. "Nutrisco et extinguo." Sculpture. Azay-le-Rideau, Indre-et-Loire, France.⁵³¹



⁵³¹ The salamander was the badge of Francis I of France. The sculpture bears his motto: *Nutrisco et extinguo*. I nourish and extinguish.

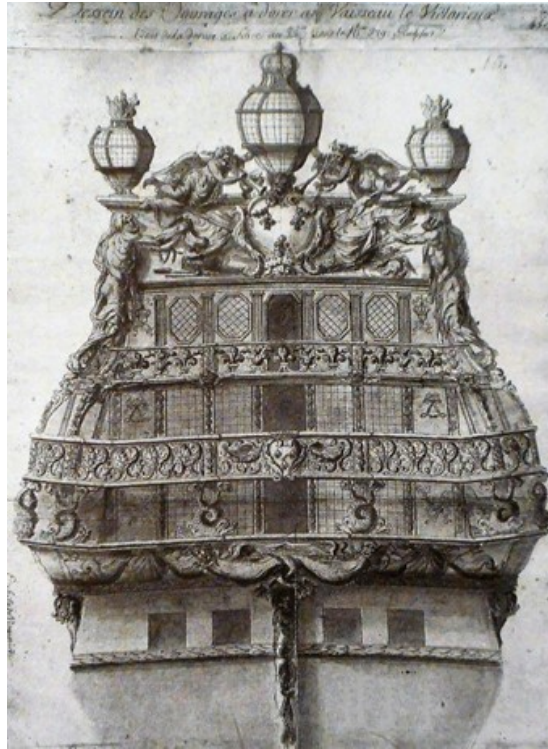
Figure 110. Charles François Poerson (1653-1725). “Iupiter applaudens Lodoico fulmina cessit, Iamque novum Mundus sensit adesse Iovem.” 1655. Chateau de Versailles.⁵³²



⁵³² The painting combines French and Hellenic themes, with both exalting Louis XIV. The painting commemorates Louis XIV with his victory over the people fighting in the streets against the imposition of taxes to fund the Thirty Years' War. In this painting, Louis XIV is depicted holding a bolt of lightning and with Jupiter, ruler of the gods, in the form of an eagle, as a sign of power. The king has his foot on a shield with a mythological gorgon's head as an indication that he would rise above the conflict and improve the financial state of France. To his right, people are preparing for combat. The king is at ease with a crown of laurels on his head and a bright drape along his shoulders. The message of this portrait is that of a young confident king who is ready to achieve power and to bestow greatness upon France.

Figure 111.

(a) "Victorieux, 1678." Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 317.



(b) "Royal Louis, 1779." Jean Boudriot. *Les vaisseaux de 74 à 120 canons*. Nice: A.N.C.R.E., 1995, p. 343.

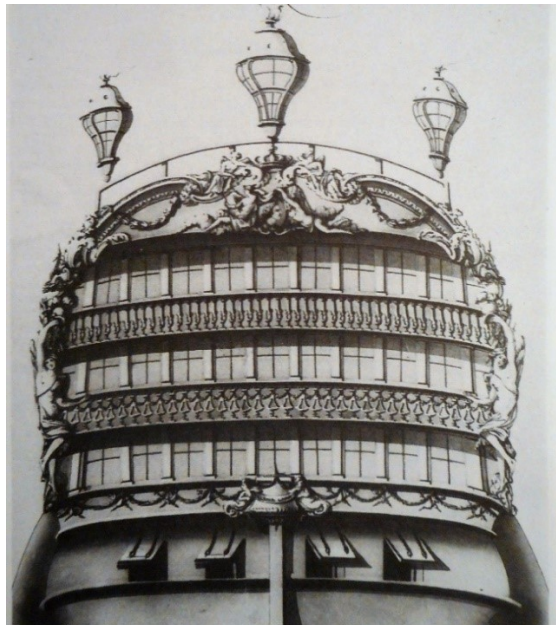
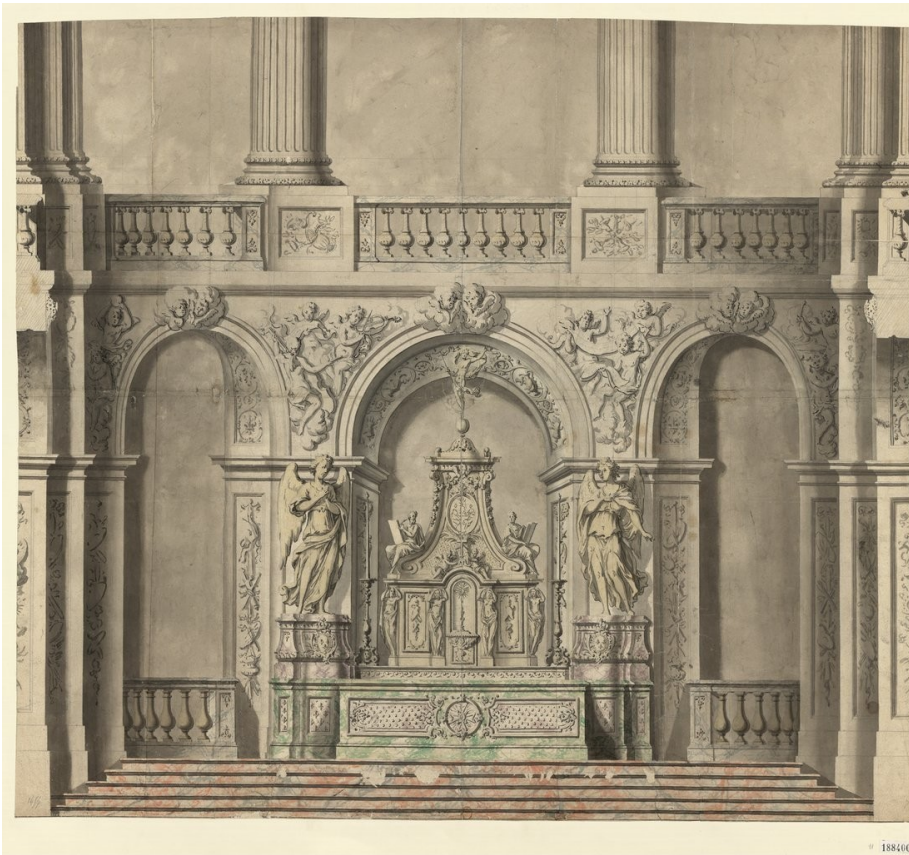


Figure 112.

(a) Antoine François Vassé (1681-1736). “Chapelle royale : étude poussée de la 3eme proposition pour le maître-autel avec détails des arcatures environnantes. Château de Versailles.” Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53043290z>.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

(b) Antoine François Vassé (1681-1736). “Médaille frappée à l'occasion de la naissance du Dauphin : sur la face le portrait de Louis XV, au revers la France tenant sur ses genoux le dauphin.” Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8408707v>.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 113. Charles Le Brun (1619-90). "Le roy gouverne par lui-même, 1661." Ceiling vault painting. Château de Versailles.
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c17.html>.



Figure 114. Anonymous. "Royal Louis, 1668." Internet site Royal Louis. <http://royallouis1692.e-monsite.com/pages/ornements.html>.

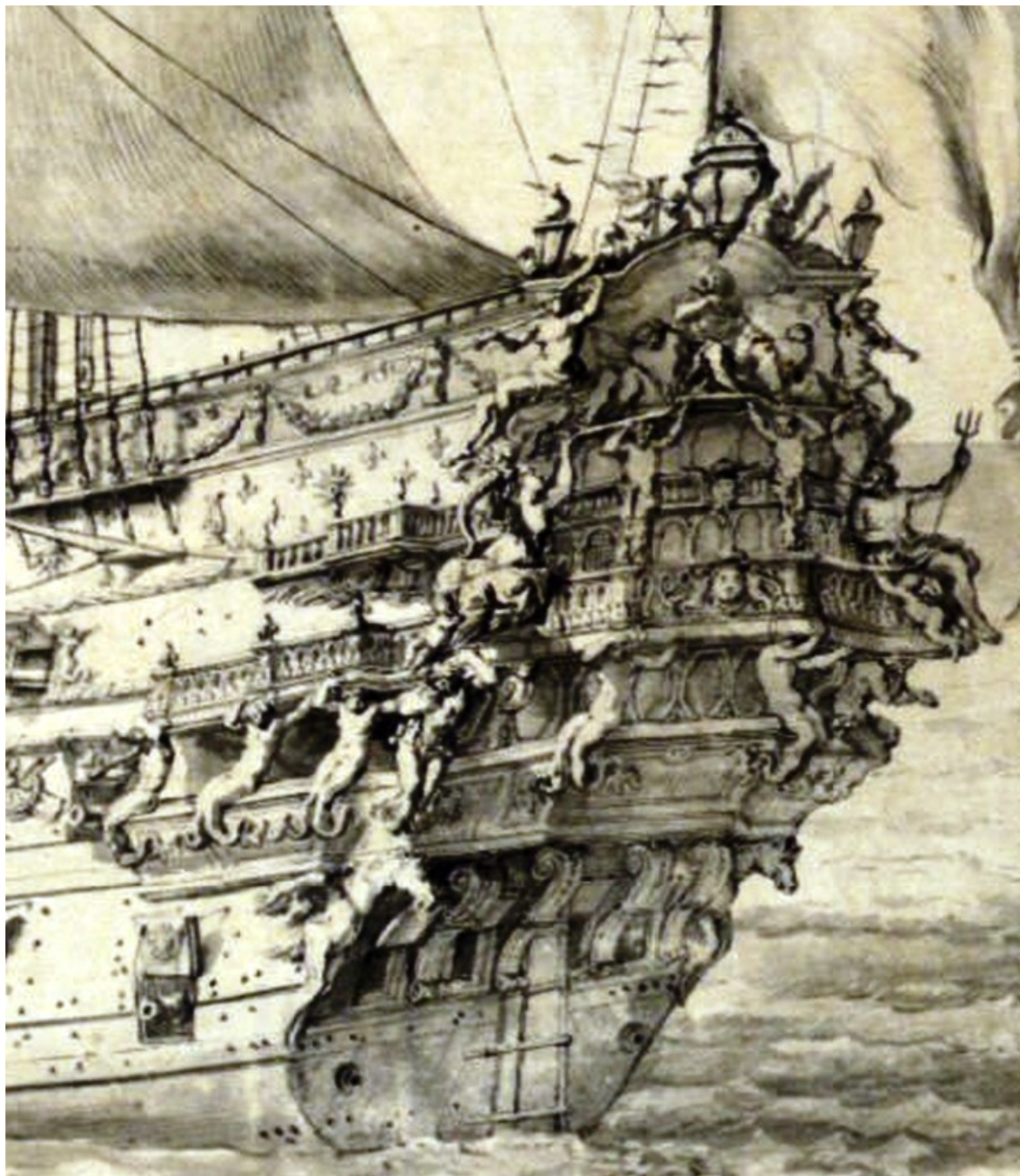


Figure 115. Attributed to Pascal de La Rose (1665-1745). “Décoration d’une salle basse de navire. Plume à l’encre gris et lavis gris. Projet de décoration pour la chambre du Royal Louis (1692).” 18.9 x 36.5 cm. Musée du Louvre cabinet des dessins. Inv. RF 2378. Photo. Neptunia. No.186, pp. 36-37.

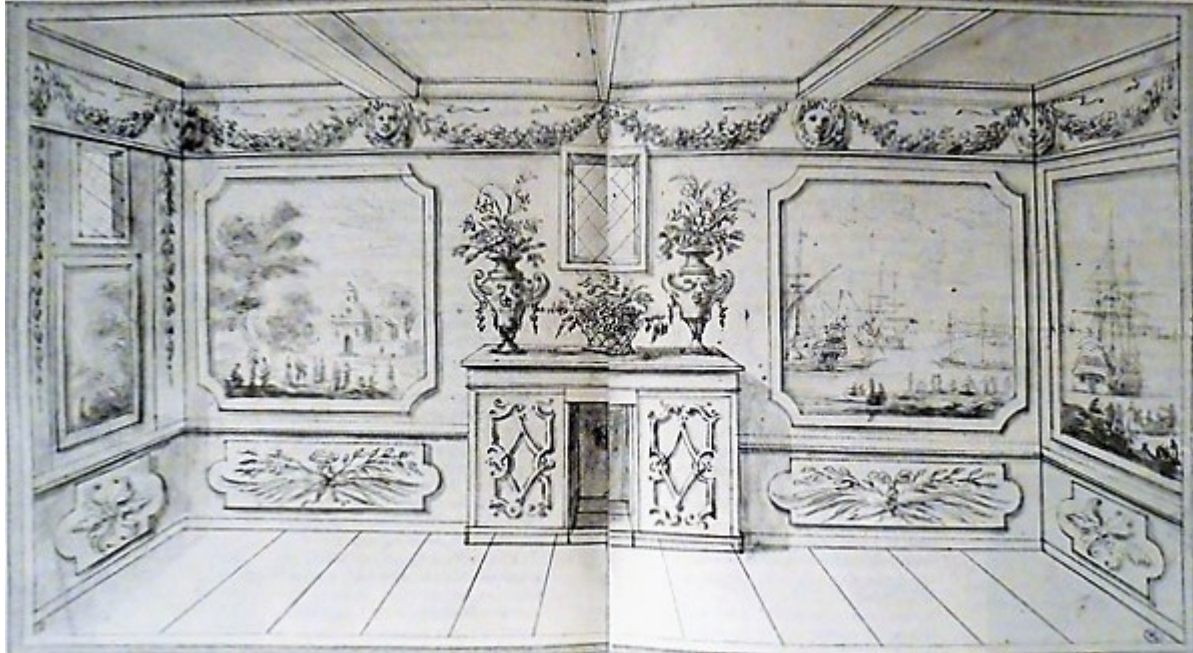


Figure 116. Possibly Michel Dorigny (1616- 1665). Pavillon du roi. Château de Vincennes.

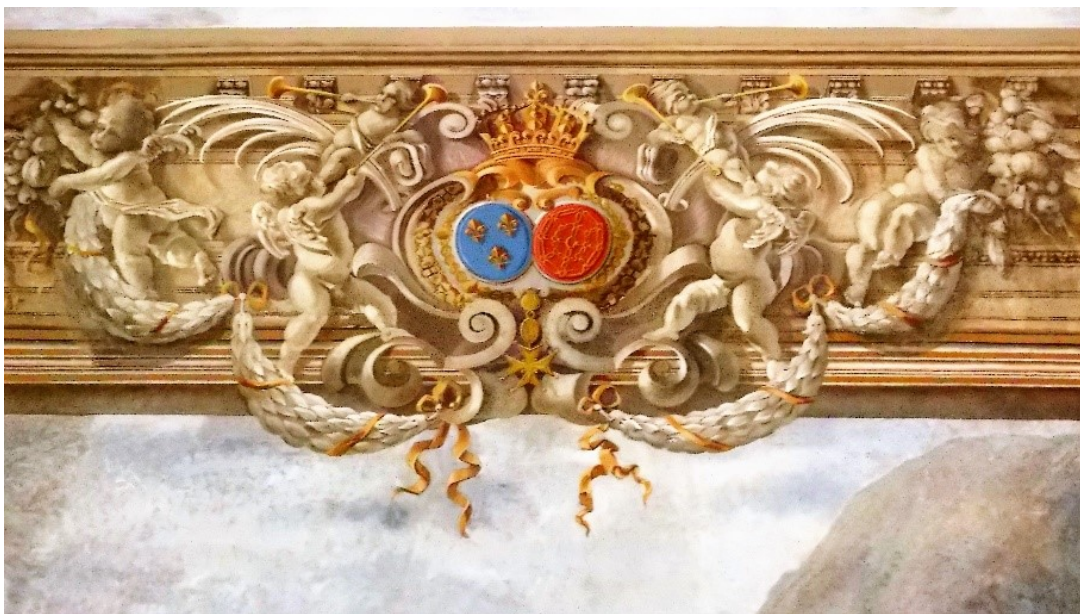


Figure 117. Anonymous. Possibly Rombauid Langueneux (1638-?). "Royal Louis." Internet site Royal Louis. <http://royallouis1692.e-monsite.com/pages/ornements.html>.

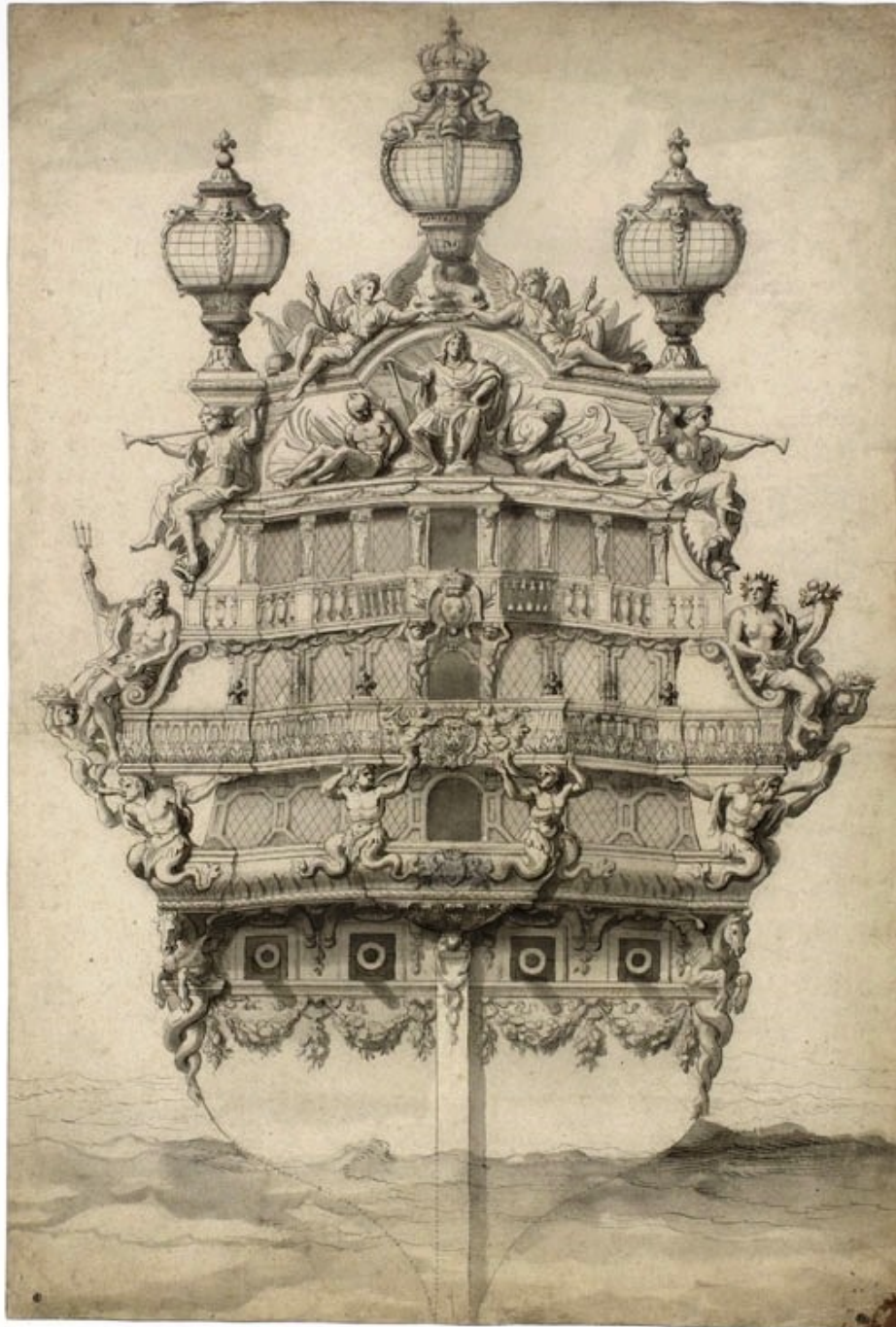
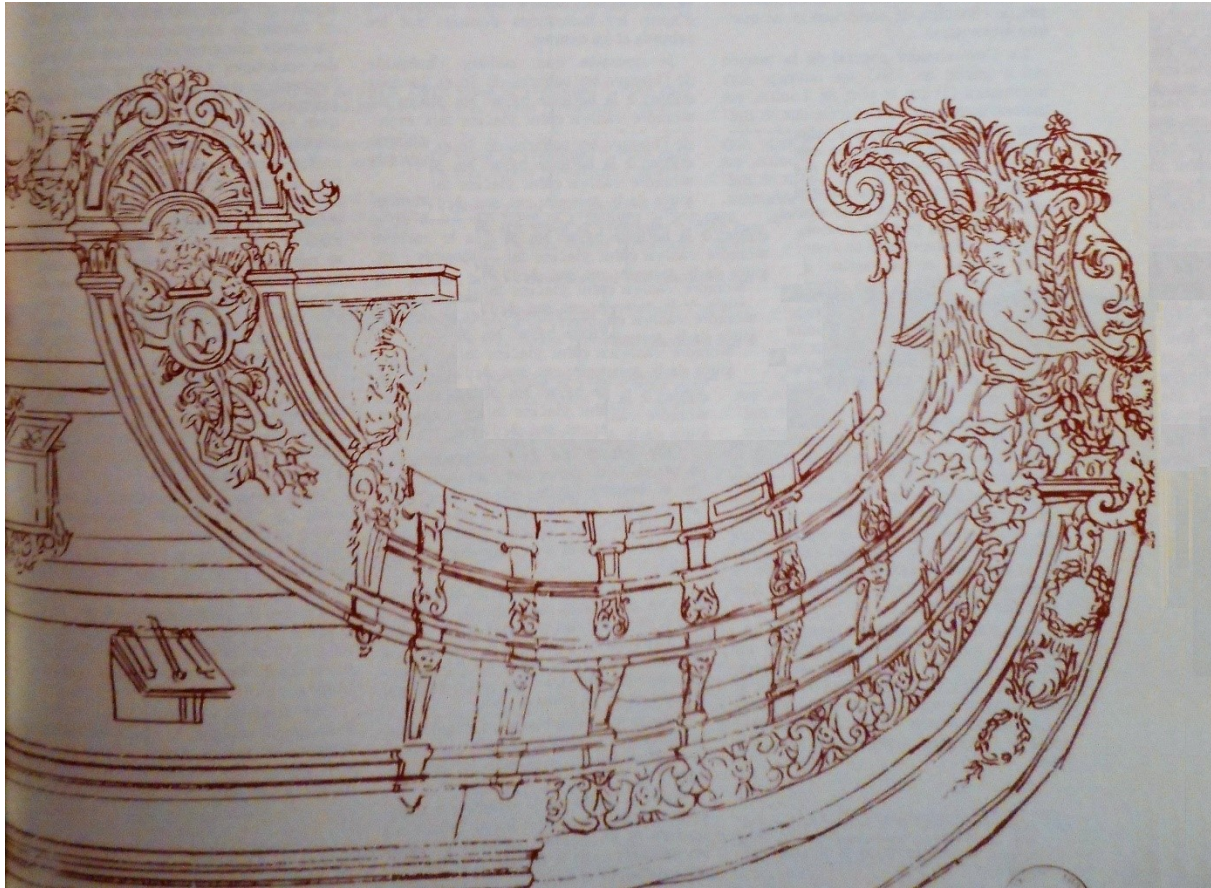


Figure 118. Anonymous. “Sculpture de l’éperon Royal Louis.” Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. Photo. Neptunia. No.112, p. 11.⁵³³



⁵³³ The figurehead is shown carrying a shield with the king's monogram *Le chiffre du Roi*. This was originally adopted by Louis XIII and composed as a curved L facing its mirror image as a reverse L with both letters interlaced. Soop also mentions use of the king's letter L for the "Navire Royal" of 1626. See page 119.

Figure 119. Charles-Philippe Caffieri (1695-1766). “Dessin de sculpture du vaisseau le Royal Louis, 1758.” 182 × 58 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o 70.



Figure 120. Anonymous. "Ornements de poupe du vaisseau Le Royal-Louis de 116 canons. Dessin daté de 1758." Musée national de la Marine. Paris. Photo 7134.

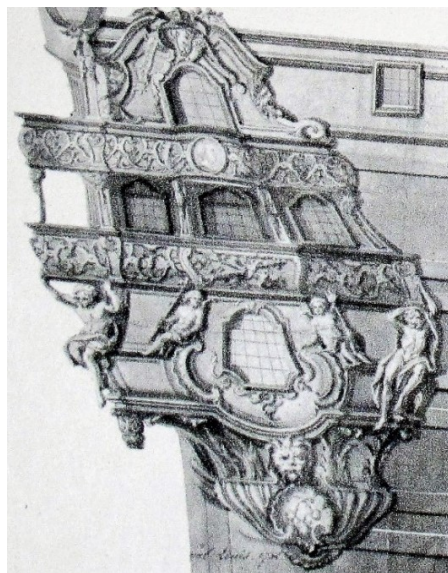
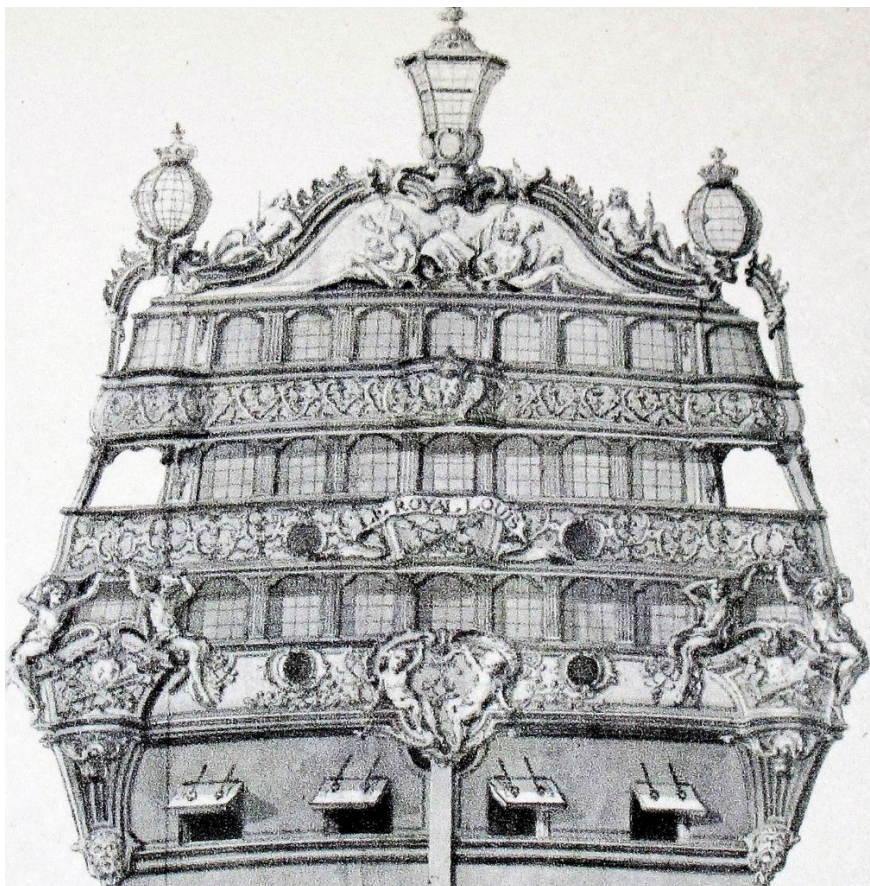


Figure 121. Anonymous “Poupe de vaisseau de 1er rang Le Formidable, 1691-1692.” 40 x 59 cm. Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes. D¹ 69, f^o835.

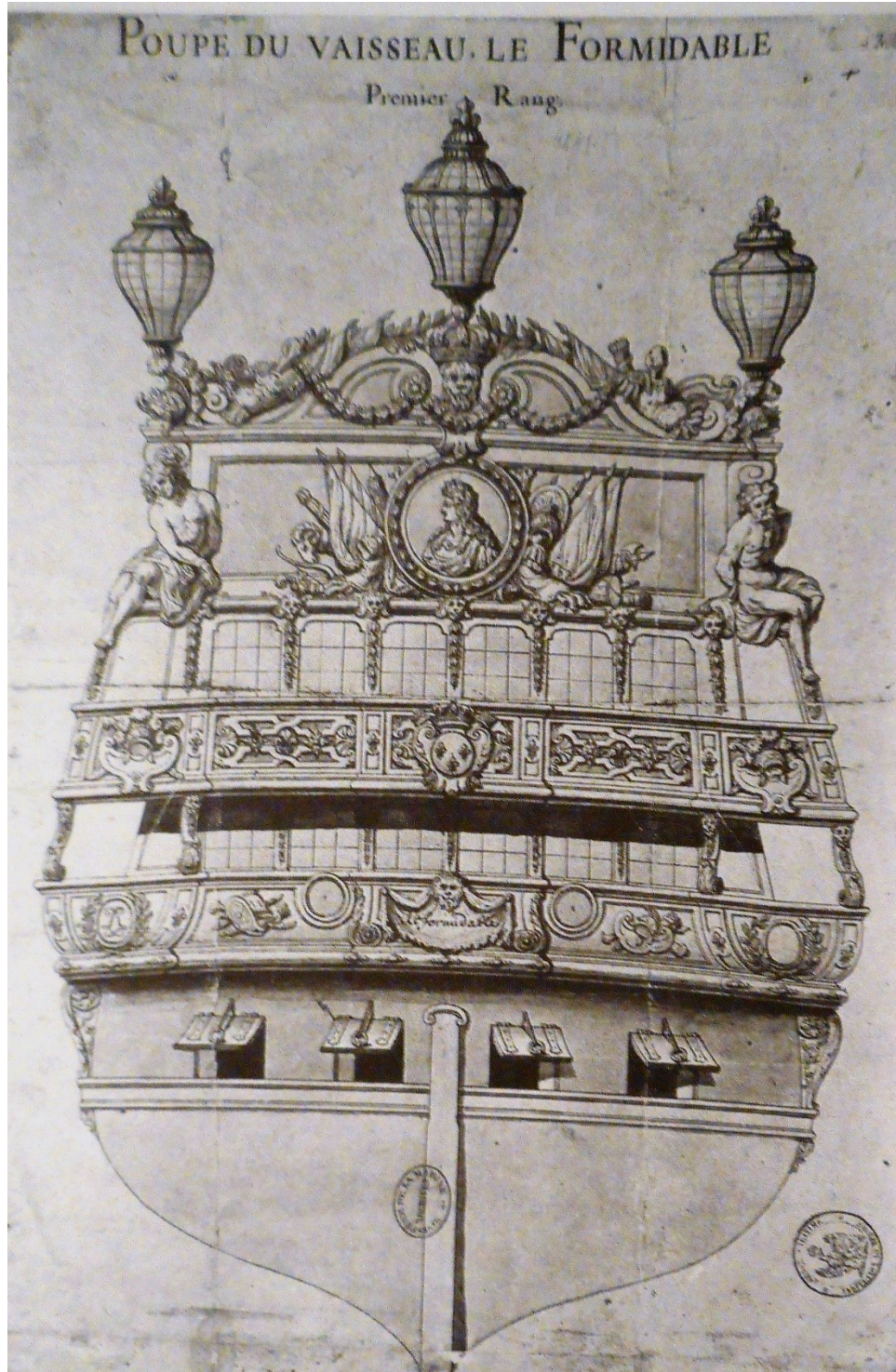


Figure 122. Anonymous. "Le Superbe Vaisseau Françoise Le Royal Louis de cent-vingt piéces de canons." Print. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des estampes. Paris.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Detail



Figure 123. École française. “Le bassin d’Apollon à Versailles,” 1750. Gouache on vellum. Print. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Photo.



Figure 124. Pascal de La Rose (1665-1745). "Projet de décoration pour la Chambre du Conseil du Royal Louis (1667-1668)." 17 x 27 cm. Cabinet des Dessins musée du Louvre. Paris. RF 2379. Photo. Neptunia. No.186, p. 37.

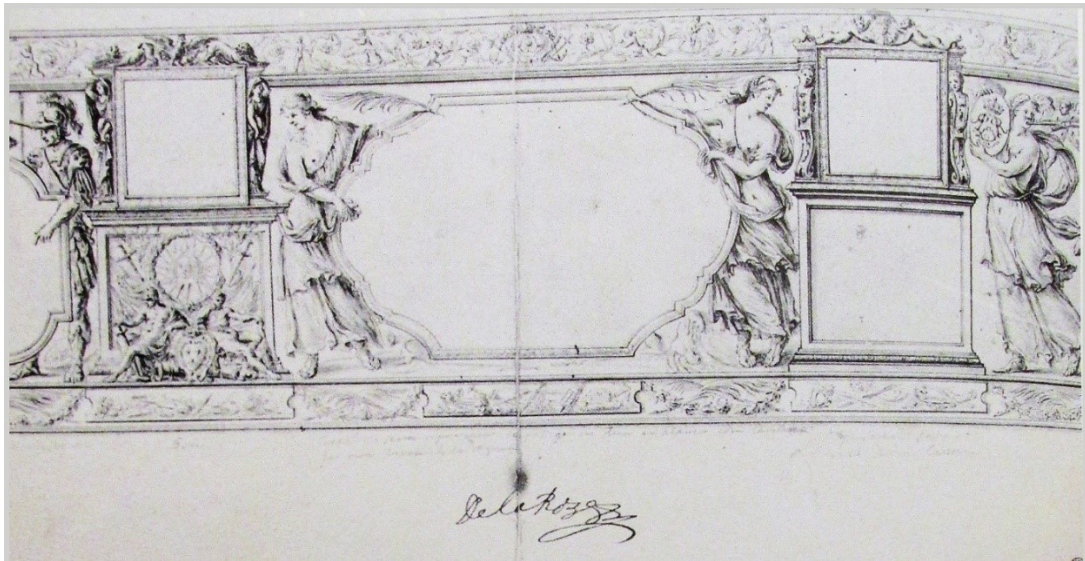


Figure 125. Anonymous. "Dessin des menuiseries pour la chambre du Royal Louis (1667-1668)." 13 x 37 cm. Service historique de la Défense. Vincennes. D¹ 69. f^o 71-72.



Figure 126. Jean-Baptiste Descamps (1715-1791). “Le Roy étant sur la Plage De La Rade du Havre Voit lancer 3 Navires à la mer et représenter un Combat Naval Le 20 N^{ov} 1749.” 1753. Print. 45.5 x 63.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes. Paris.



Detail.⁵³⁴



⁵³⁴ Note the absence of the figurehead and the empty space decorated with foliage.

Figure 127. Charles Le Brun (1619-1690). “La seconde conquête de la Franche-Comté en 1674.” Ceiling vault painting, Château de Versailles. <http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c22.html>.



Figure 128. Pierre Puget (1620-1694). “Portrait de Louis XIV. Atelier de Pierre Puget (1620-1694), vers 1688-90. Médaillon en marbre sculpté en haut relief. Diam. 66 cm.” <http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/arts-decoratifs-16-19eme-siecle-pf1411/lot.241.html>



Figure 129.

Jean Vary from Jean Bérain (1640-1711). “Bouteille et poue du vaisseau Le Soleil Royal, gouache et rehauts d’or sur vélin,” 1670. Bibliothèque nationale de France Paris. Photos. Nicolas Milovanovic. *Louis Quatorze L’homme et le roi*. Paris: ESPF, 2009. Cat.84.

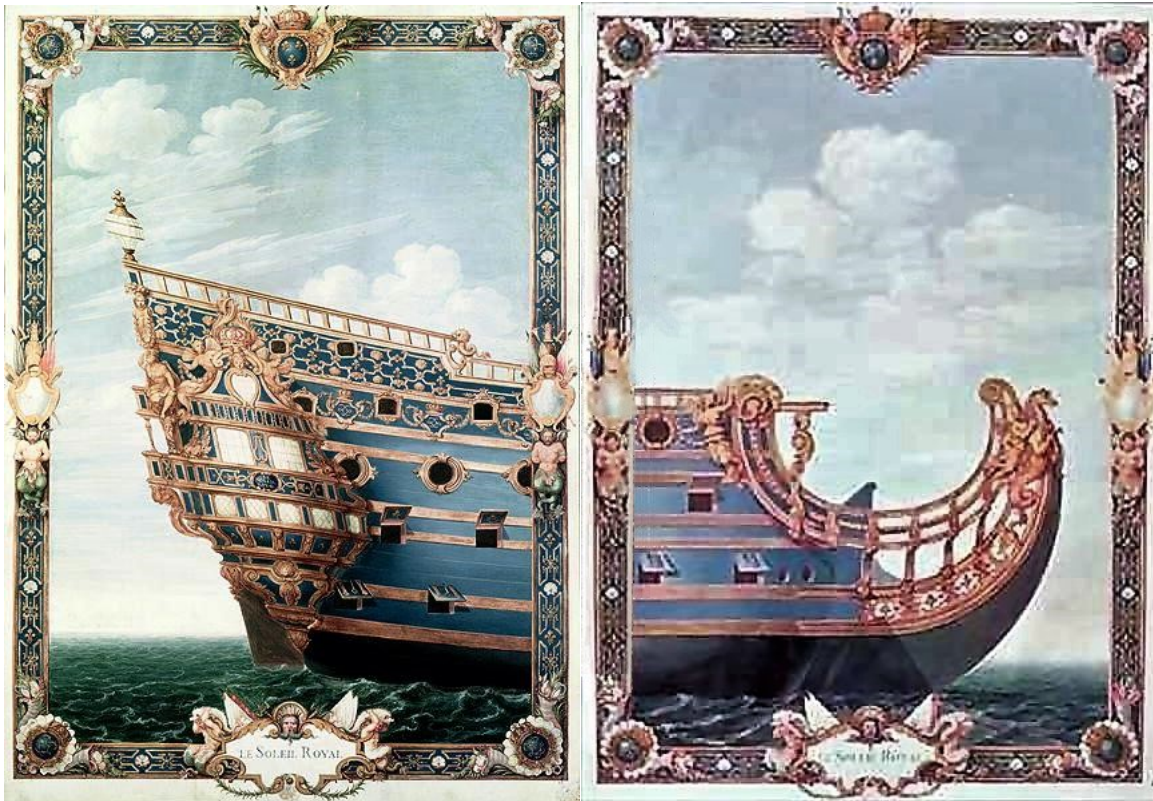
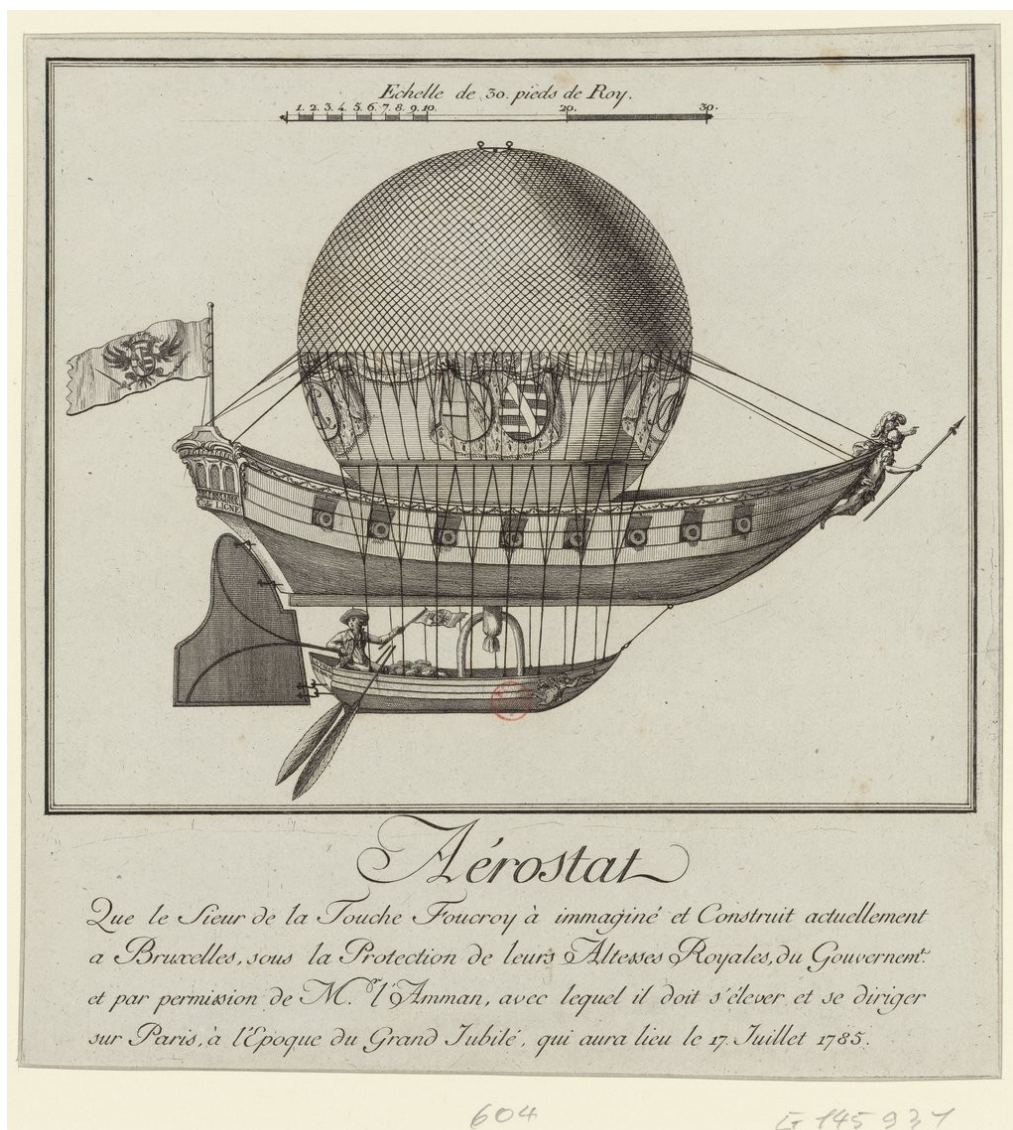


Figure 130. Jean Boudriot. “Couleurs utilisées dans la Marine française militaire et commerce–1650-1850. Colours applicable to the French naval and merchant Marine–1650-1850.” *Le vaisseau de 74 canons - Traite Pratique d’Art Naval*. Paris: A.N.C.R.E. Vol 2. 1974.



Figure 131. Sieur de la Touche Foucroy (1755-1809). "Aérostat." 1785. Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84104548>.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France