



Figure 1 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Surrender of Paris*, 1628–30 (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, photo Bode-Museum)

Female Agency and Early Modern Urbanism

The Paris of Maria de' Medici

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I never rebel so much against France as not to regard Paris with a friendly eye; she has had my heart since my childhood. And it has happened to me in this as happens with excellent things: the more other beautiful cities I have seen since, the more the beauty of Paris has power over me and wins my affection. I love her for herself, and more in her own essence than overloaded with foreign pomp. I love her tenderly, even to her warts and her spots. I am a Frenchman only by this great city: great in population, great in the felicity of her situation, but above all great and incomparable in variety and diversity of the good things of life; the glory of France, and one of the noblest ornaments of the world.

—Michel de Montaigne, *Essais* 3.9¹

The legend of Paris as a city that “has in abundance everything that can be desired by human appetite” was born, somewhat paradoxically, during the Wars of Religion that ravaged France for nearly four decades between the early 1560s and the late 1590s.² Montaigne’s charming declaration of love contributed to the establishment of this legend, as did the accounts of the many visitors

who, while consistently mentioning the foul-smelling filth of its streets and the toxic effects of its river’s waters, never failed to fall under the city’s many spells—in the form of its buildings, its commerce, its people, its culture, and the access it offered to all sorts of vices. Evidently, as Roland Mousnier observed, “filth did not prevent *grandeur*.”³ The legend of Paris soon intersected with the legend of King Henri IV, which also originated in the Wars of Religion. As the controversial successor to Henri III of Valois in 1589, the Huguenot king faced the opposition of the Catholic League and had to set about the military conquest of what was nominally his own kingdom. Paris was the core of Henri’s struggle: the Catholic city refused to recognize the authority of a Protestant ruler, proclaimed Charles de Bourbon King Charles X, and successfully resisted several sieges of the royal army in the early 1590s. Only in March 1594, nearly into the fifth year of his reign, could the king of France make his official entry into his capital. That entry, later established by Henri as an annual ceremony, came to symbolically mark the pacification of France and the emergence of a modern French state. The city of Paris thus became a key element in the foundational myth of Henri IV as *pater patriae*. The king and the city became characters in a narrative in which, as in Ruben’s depiction (Figure 1), Henri IV assumed the role of valiant and pardoning victor to whom the city finally surrendered so that her true glory could shine under his guidance and care. The legends of the “gallant” king and the “desirable” city made it to modern times virtually unscathed

and tightly associated with one another, be it through romance—as in Louis Batiffol’s synthesis of the king’s urban interventions in Paris as aimed at “giving the city a *seductive* look”—or through power structures—as in Orest Ranum’s description of “the modern capital” as “established by the absolute power of Henry IV.”⁴

Needless to say, to turn into a “modern capital” a city that during the sixteenth century suffered the consequences of war and the long absenteeism of the Valois court took significantly more time and resources (and possibly absolutist power) than Henri IV possessed.⁵ The making of *Paris capitale* was a complex, multiauthored, and *longue durée* process for which only artificial inaugural acts can be identified. While the first Bourbon king crucially contributed to that process, as Hilary Ballon has shown in *The Paris of Henri IV* (1991), the larger-than-life quality of his figure (both historical and fictitious) has magnetized urban studies scholarship to the point that no other Paris than *his* populates the general perception at least up to the emergence, half a century later, of successor legendary figures, Louis XIV and Colbert.⁶ Around and in between these giants, lie the forgotten cities of minor individuals and groups who nevertheless critically contributed to the making of Paris as we know it. The Paris of Maria de’ Medici is one such remarkable contribution.

Paris was the center of Maria de’ Medici’s interests and activities as a patron. There she sponsored a number of religious and charitable institutions and commissioned or promoted a variety of artistic enterprises. Among these are several major architectural projects—such as the Aqueduct of Arcueil (begun 1613), the Cours-la-Reine (begun 1614), and the Luxembourg Palace and gardens (begun 1615)—whose urban implications have so far been overlooked. These projects left a permanent imprint on the city. They were not isolated, independent ventures but rather the constituents of a broader urban plan that was not underpinned by aesthetic ambitions only, but was conceived to permeate the city’s social texture and to shape its geography. The queen’s projects, on the one hand, were symbolically connected to prestigious Florentine and Roman precedents, and, on the other hand, were active agents of the radical changes taking place in early seventeenth-century Paris.

The Seine and the Crown

During the seventeenth century Paris doubled in population, becoming the largest European capital. Two of the most striking features of such growth, shown by a comparison of sixteenth- to late seventeenth-century maps of the city (Figures 2–4), were the expansion of the city’s Left

Bank, south of the Seine, and the radical transformations that took place on the Seine itself, establishing a new physical and visual relation between the city and its river. These phenomena were closely connected: the construction of a series of new bridges and the implementation of several architectural and urban projects sponsored by members of the royal family along the Seine provided a better connection between the two banks. This enhanced the attractiveness of a number of sites along the river and south of it for the residential and commercial expansions of the upper and the lower strata of the population. These interventions initiated a process that, in the long run, transformed the Seine from a peripheral to a central feature of the city, and the medieval city that had retreated north of the river became a city that revolves around it.

Sixteenth-century Paris was divided into three distinct units: la Ville (the city), on the Right Bank, where the Louvre and the Hôtel de Ville (city hall) stood; la Cité (the old city), on the homonymous island (Ile de la Cité), with Notre Dame and the Palais, home of the Paris Parliament; and l’Université (the university), on the Left Bank, where the Sorbonne and a number of major religious institutions, such as the Grands Augustins, the Cordeliers, and the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés were located. The city’s political, administrative, and economic activities concentrated in the area north of the river, as did its inhabitants and commerce. Indeed, not only was the Right Bank larger than the Left Bank (the former comprising thirteen *quartiers*, the latter only two) but, as shown by Robert Descimon’s studies in social geography, it was also significantly more densely populated and much wealthier.⁷ The Seine could thus be seen as separating two different cities: a large, crowded, and dynamic one to the north (the real city) and a comparatively underpopulated, underdeveloped one to the south. The river itself reflected and functioned as an active agent of this multilayered urban fracture. The scarcity of bridges crossing the Seine (there were only five in 1572, all of them on the Ile de la Cité; see Figure 2) made most of the Left Bank an undesirable residential location because it was quite isolated from the heart of the city. The unattractive shorelines of the Seine, mostly unpaved and characterized by the noise, smell, and crowds that accompanied the bustling production and transport of merchandise, kept away the investments of the upper layers of Parisian society. The residences of court members and royal officeholders were concentrated on the so-called Axe Royal, a wide strip running parallel to the river and at a distance from it, and the concentration of Parisian wealth was inversely proportionate to proximity to the Seine (Figure 5).⁸ Thus, while the city depended heavily on its river—for drinking water and



Figure 2 Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, Map of Paris (*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572–1617, 1, author's photo). See JSAH online to zoom all maps

transportation of most of its supplies, including construction materials, food, and firewood,—the river itself was in many ways a peripheral feature of the city.⁹ Even the visual presence of the Seine was minimized where it could have been most powerful: on the city's bridges. Lined with shops and houses, these did not offer any view of the water. In 1579, the secretary to Girolamo Lippomano, the Venetian ambassador, provided an account of his baffling experience with this characteristic of the city when describing the Pont Notre-Dame as “so closed-in that he who had no experience of it would have judged it to be a *street*: this happened to me the first time I was in Paris. I was on this bridge and asked the way to get there; and since I was told I was there, I thought I was being made fun of.”¹⁰

The role of both the Seine and the Left Bank changed radically during the seventeenth century. In his *Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, Martin Lister conveyed an idea of such change when describing the Seine as “all nobly bank’d or key’d with large free-stone,” and its views from the city as “admirable,” in particular “that of the Pont Neuf

downwards to the Tuileries, or upwards from the Pont Royal.”¹¹ By the end of the seventeenth century, not only had the physical appearance of the river’s banks been transformed, but the construction, during the first half of the century, of six new bridges distributed along the one and a half miles between the Tuileries and the Ile Saint-Louis had made the river permeable and reduced the effective and perceived distance of the Left Bank from the city proper.

Free of superstructures, the new bridges afforded the city more than material connections; they also visually reorganized it by providing its inhabitants with previously unavailable views and vistas (Figure 6). As Ulf Strohmayer has pointed out, bridges such as the Pont Neuf engaged passers-by with what can be described as Paris’s new visual identity as a city on the Seine rather than next to it.¹² Together with Lister’s and other travelers’ accounts, the seventeenth-century rise of the view of the Seine as one of the most popular ways of portraying the city testifies to the meaningfulness of this urban revolution. The fascination with these views directly affected the city fabric: as the

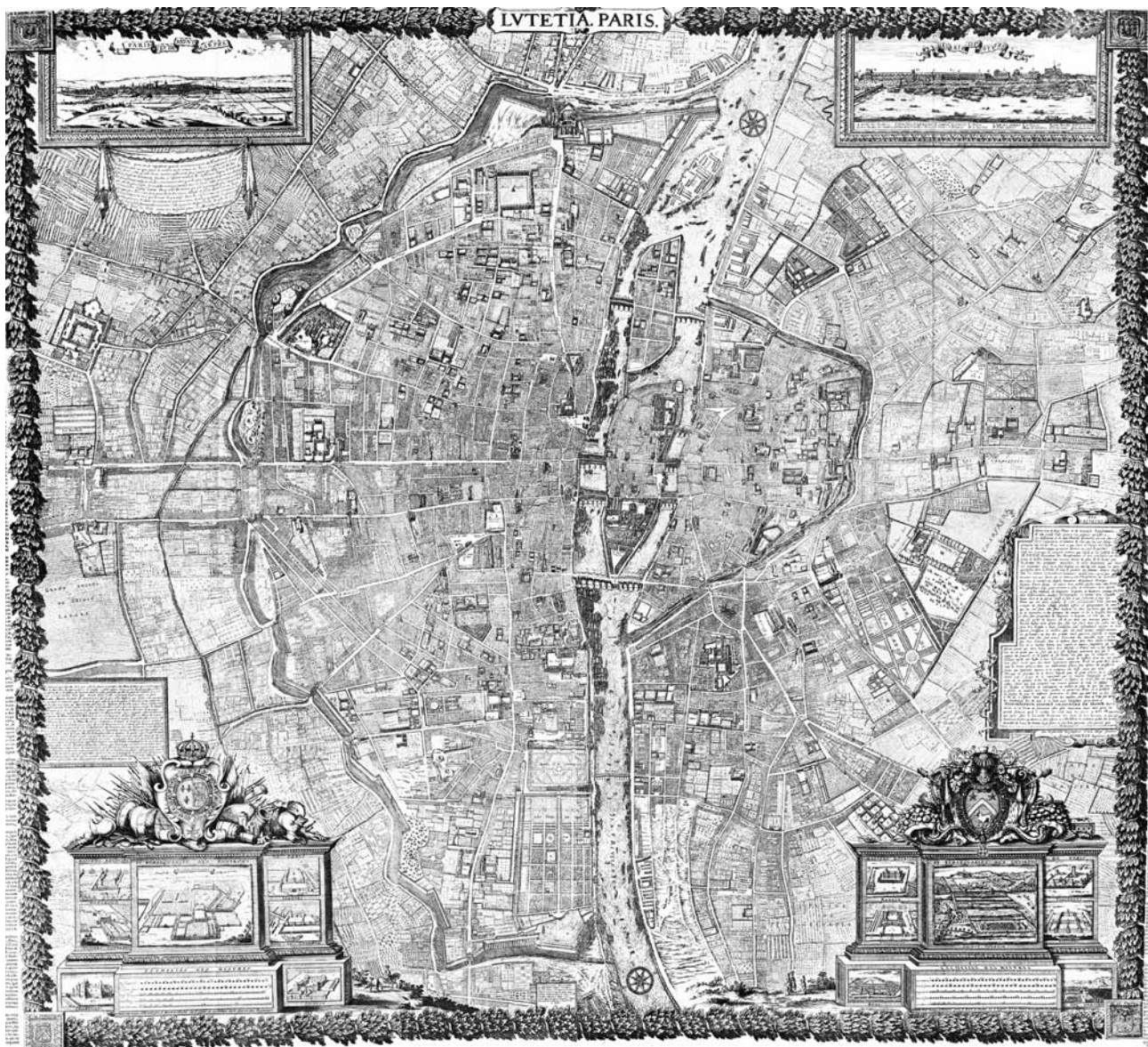


Figure 3 Jacques Gomboust, Map of Paris, 1652 (Paris, private collection, author's photo)

availability of an ample cityscape turned the Pont Neuf into a venue of choice for royal processions, the opportunity to look “downwards to the Tuileries, or upwards from the Pont Royal” transformed the banks of the river into prime sites for ambitious urban and architectural programs (see Figure 6).

Partly as a consequence of the two newly connected banks, the social geography of the city also significantly changed. Starting with the Faubourg Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where several notables established their new residences in the early decades of the century, the Left Bank grew in size and population density at a faster pace than any other area of the city, so that by the late seventeenth century

the disequilibrium between the city north and south of the river was rebalanced (see Figure 4).¹³ Significantly, modern Paris has no equivalent to the Florentine quarter of Oltrarno (“beyond the Arno”)—that is, an area of the city defined by its being located beyond the city itself.

The Crown acted as a catalyst for these transformations by concentrating much of its financial and construction efforts along the Seine and to its south. Scholarship has failed to recognize this phenomenon or grasp its full extent because it has overlooked the projects of the female members of the royal family, those of Louis XIII (usually classified as a nonbuilder among the kings of France), and the joint ventures between private investors, the Crown, and the

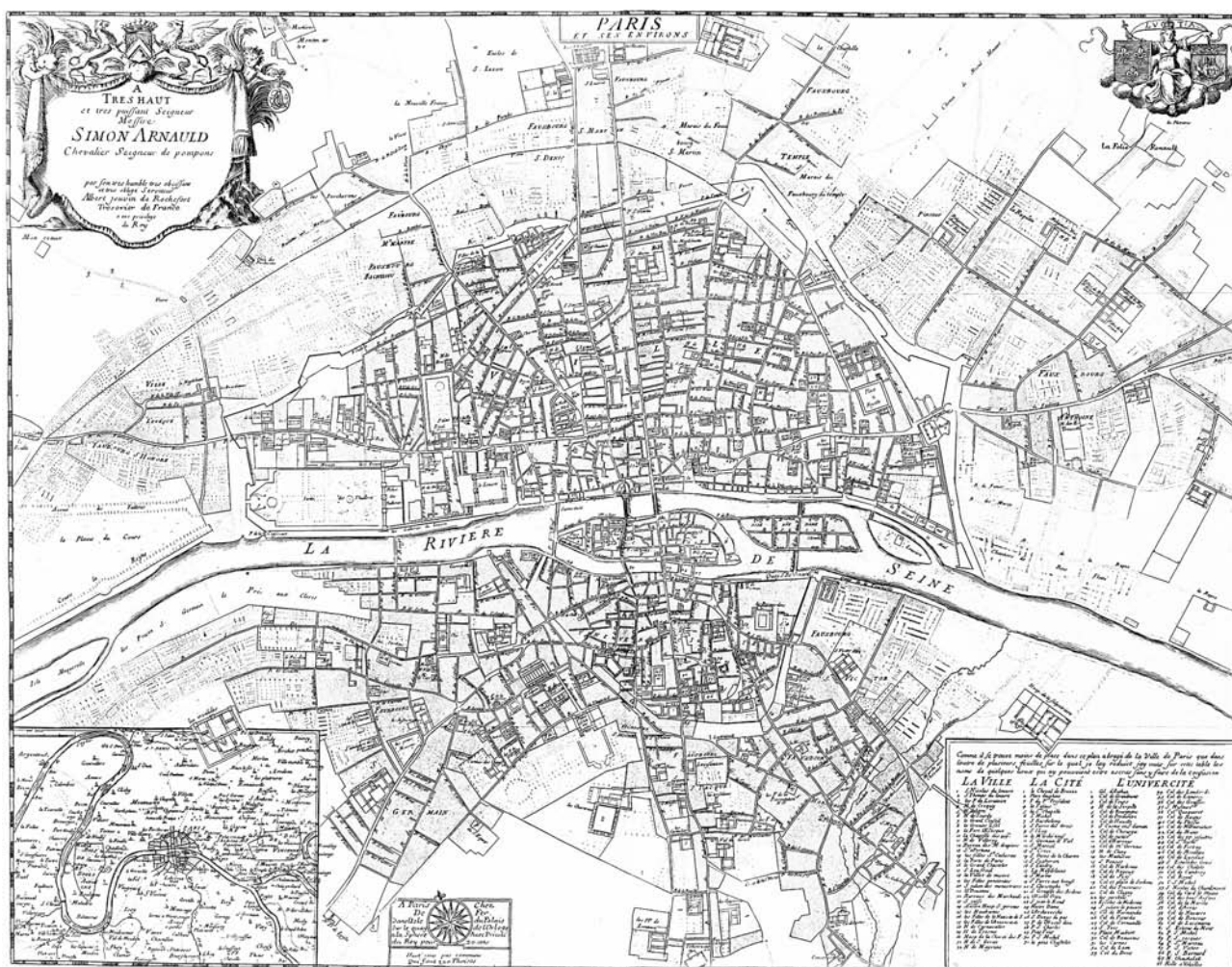


Figure 4 Nicolas de Fer, Map of Paris, 1676 (Paris, private collection, author's photo)

city government. Whereas a map of the projects sponsored by Henri IV (see Figure 5) suggests that Parisian urban development still revolved around the Axe Royal in the early seventeenth century, as it had done in the past, a map including the interventions promoted by Marguerite de Valois (Henri IV's first wife), Maria de' Medici, and Louis XIII (Figure 7) reveals this impression to be ill-conceived. Between 1600 and the 1620s, the center of building activity moved south from the Saint-Honoré-Saint-Antoine area to the banks of the Seine. Within the first decades of the century, more than a dozen major projects in this area were initiated by or with the financial help of the royal family, including (west to east): the Cours-la-Reine; the Grand Galerie of the Louvre; the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite; the Place Dauphine; and the developments of the Rue Dauphine and the Ile Saint-Louis. Six new bridges were constructed as part of these interventions (see Figure 3): (west to east) the Pont Saint-Anne (later Royal, begun 1632), Pont

Neuf (1604), Pont au Double (begun 1626), Pont Saint Louis (1630), Pont de la Tournelle (1620), and Pont Marie (1614–35). Some of these projects were intended for private use, others for public use, and each was differently financed, but they all had in common their location on the river and the capacity to attract the upper crust of Parisian society—the aristocracy, the *grands* linked to the court, and the office-holders of court and city government.¹⁴

The Cours-la-Reine (1614–16, Figure 8, see Figure 7), commissioned by Maria de' Medici, was a public, tree-lined promenade stretching for nearly a mile along the north shore of the Seine in the direction of Versailles. It was a relatively low-cost project but a significant and very successful one. In the 1650s Henri Sauval described it as “the most accomplished promenade in the world”—that is, a world in which promenades modeled on this one were soon to become very popular, as shown by emulations in Paris, Madrid, and Rome.¹⁵ The Cours-la-Reine was “the place in

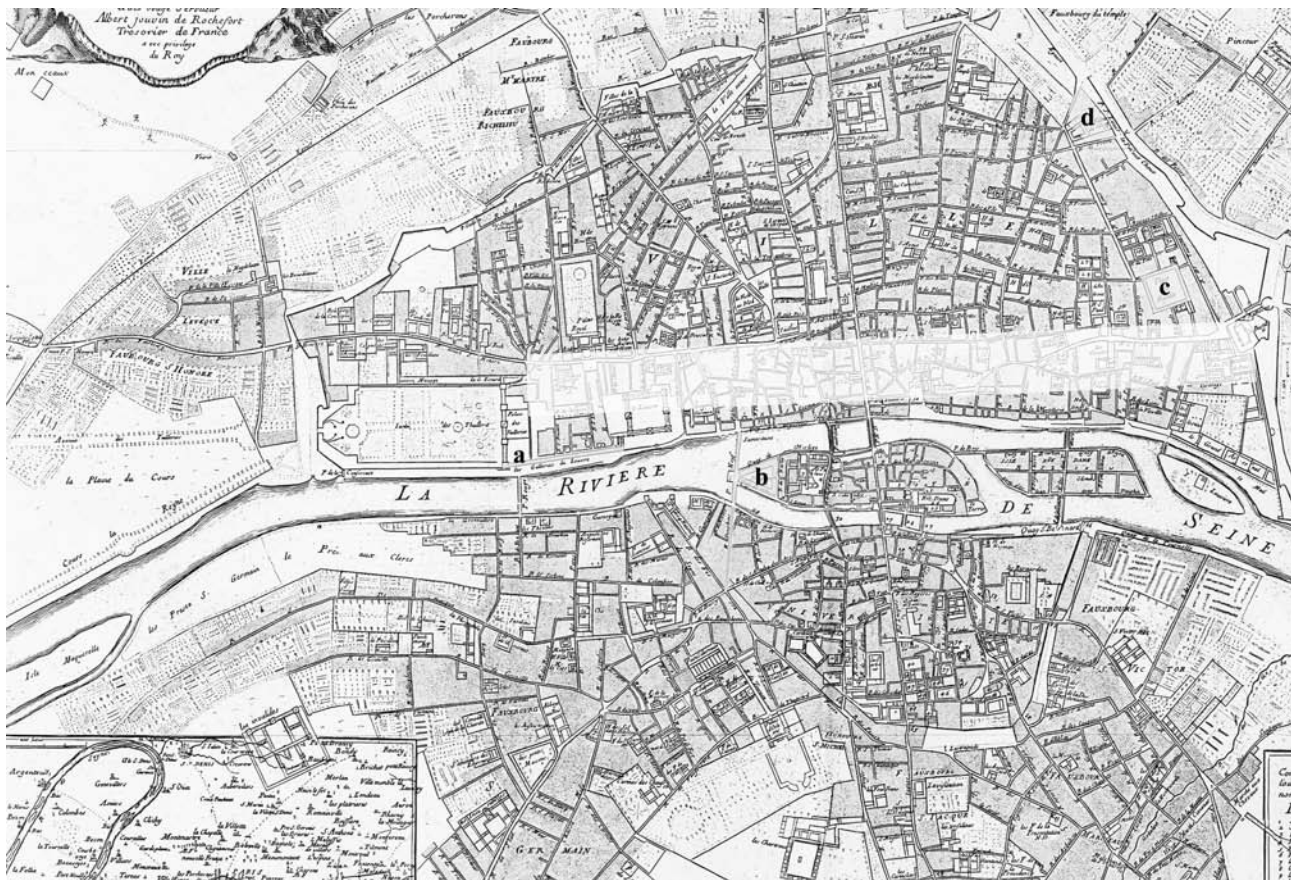


Figure 5 Map of Paris showing the Axe Royal (horizontal band) and the urban projects of Henri IV. West to east: (a) the Grand Galerie of the Louvre, (b) the Pont Neuf, Rue Dauphine, and Place Dauphine, (c) the Place Royale, (d) the planned location of the Place de France

Paris where the *beau-monde* [gathered] at given hours to take a stroll,” which, for the upper classes, took the form of a ride in one of the lavish carriages that had become one of the most sought-after luxury items of the time.¹⁶ As an open, public space, the Cours-la-Reine offered Parisians a green counterpart to Henri IV’s Place Royale: an escape from the density of the inner city; a meeting place; and a stage on which to see and to be seen (or, in the words of La Bruyère, “to see and disapprove each other”).¹⁷ Because of the carriages, the Cours replicated the association between royal public space and the consumption of locally produced luxury goods meant to be established by the Place Royale. There, Parisians were supposed to sell and buy French silk; at the Cours, they were supposed to ride in the latest, *à la mode* carriages which, according to a patent signed by Maria de’ Medici in 1614, were to be designed and produced in Paris by François Macaire and his associates.¹⁸ Finally, the location chosen by Maria de’ Medici for the Cours is noteworthy because it played on the recently established association between public open spaces and feminine courts: it was situated to the west of Catherine de’ Medici’s garden of the

Tuileries and across the river from the garden of the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite, large portions of which were accessible to the public, with the then customary prohibitions against lackeys, vendors, and beggars.¹⁹

The Parisian residence of Marguerite de Valois (1606–15, Figure 9, see Figure 7), which included a palace, a garden, and a long park running parallel to the river, was the first belonging to a member of the royal family to be established on the Left Bank. Its location, outside the Porte de Nesle, was to encourage and accelerate the urban development of the area bounded by the Rue de Seine and the newly opened Rue Dauphine (1607), creating a pole of attraction for the people, activities, and commerce that followed royal households. At the death of the queen in 1615 the residence was dismantled and the nearly forty acres of property between the Rue de Seine and Rue de Bellechasse were used to pay off the considerable debt Marguerite left behind. In 1622 Louis XIII signed an agreement for the subdivision and development of the area with a group of investors led by Louis Le Barbier (the same financier who led the development of the *quartier* Richelieu in the 1630s).²⁰



Figure 6 Jan van Huchtenburg (after Adam Frans van der Meulen), *Procession of Louis XIV Crossing the Pont Neuf*, ca. 1670 (Chateaux de Versailles et de Trianon, photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)

Aside from the sale of building plots (Figure 10), this agreement included the construction of rental properties, a market hall (the Halles Barbier), and a wooden toll bridge, the Pont Sainte-Anne, designed to replace the ferry operating between the Tuileries and the Rue du Bac. While sales of the western area of Marguerite's former property were slow, the plots between the Rue de Baume and Rue de Seine sold quickly, setting in motion the urbanization of an area that, despite its location just across the river from the Louvre, was still rural at the turn of the century.²¹

The urbanization of the Ile Saint-Louis (begun 1614), east of the Ile de la Cité, was entrusted to a group of private investors headed by one of Le Barbier's competitors, Christophe Marie (see Figure 7).²² The agreement signed with the Crown included the unification of the two existing islands (Ile Notre-Dame and Ile aux Vaches; see Figure 2), the parceling of the land for the construction of private residences, and the creation of the new bridges connecting the island to the Right and Left Banks (Pont Marie and Pont de la Tournelle) and to the Ile de la Cité (Pont Saint-Louis). The building of new residences started soon, around 1618, and reached a peak in the 1630s. By midcentury the island meadows were transformed into urban fabric.

There is no valid reason to construe the urbanization of the former Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite and the Ile Saint-Louis as mere expansions of the Parisian real estate

market as opposed to real urban plans such as the opening of the Rue Dauphine under Henri IV.²³ As in the case of the Rue Dauphine, the Crown did not provide a design for the buildings to be erected on these sites and its financial contribution took the form of concessions given out to the developers—concessions to sell crown land, to build and manage commercial buildings, and to collect tolls on bridges. As in the case of the Rue Dauphine, the city government was involved in the decision-making process when issues of public good were at stake—the layout and paving of streets, the foundation of bridges, the establishment of new market halls, and, generally, all activities bound to increase tax revenues.

The archival documentation does not always allow the identification of precisely which members of the royal family were backing these projects. The names of both Henri IV and Louis XIII appear in the documentation concerning the development of the Ile Saint-Louis (which had been under discussion since 1608), whereas Maria de' Medici is never mentioned. Rather than being a sign of the queen's lack of involvement in the project, this reflects a simple administrative rule: the king alone was in control of crown money, so any intervention financed by the coffers of the state would necessarily carry his signature. There is little doubt that one should read "Queen Mother" instead of "king" in the documentation concerning major urban



Figure 7 Map of Paris as in Figure 5, with the projects promoted by Marguerite de Valois, Maria de' Medici, and Louis XIII. West to east: (e) the Cours-la-Reine, (f) the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite and the Pont Sainte-Anne, (g) the Luxembourg Palace, (h) the Île Saint Louis and the Pont Saint Louis, Pont Marie, and Pont de la Tournelle

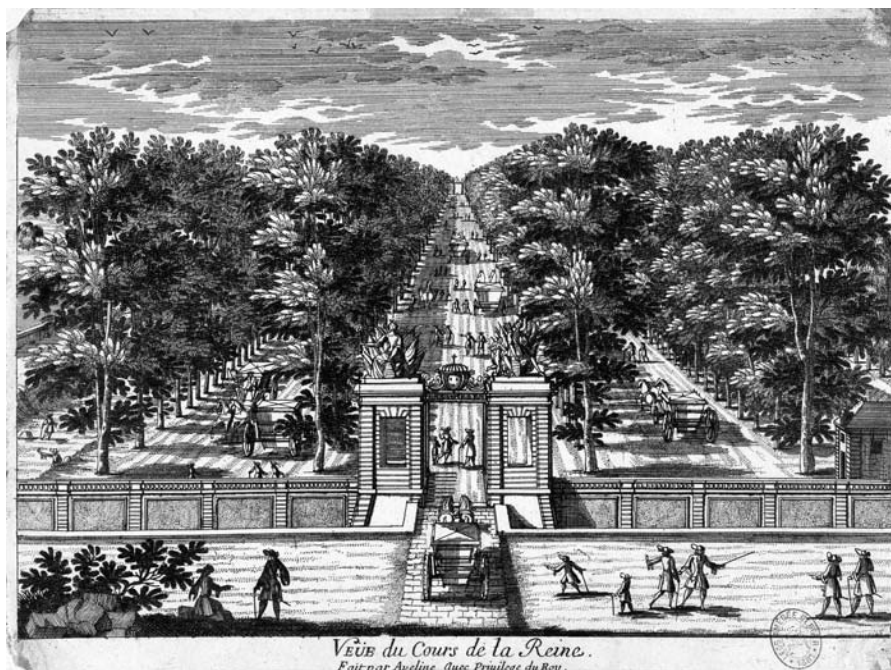


Figure 8 Pierre Alexandre Aveline, The Cours-la-Reine, early eighteenth century (Paris, Musée Carnavalet, photo The Image Works)

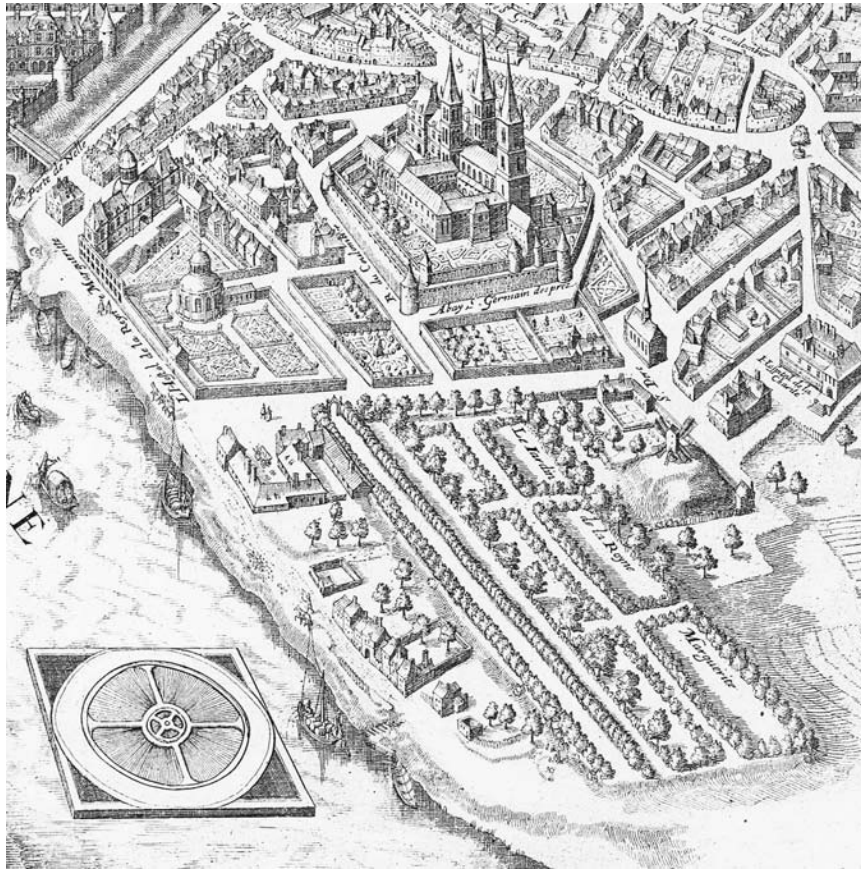


Figure 9 Matthäus Merian, Map of Paris, 1615 (Paris, private collection, author's photo). Detail showing the Hôtel de Marguerite de Valois and part of its garden



Figure 10 Anonymous, Subdivision of the former Hôtel de Marguerite de Valois (Paris, Archives Nationales, photo Atelier photographique des Archives Nationales)

projects dating from the early 1610s, when Louis XIII was around the age of ten.

The attribution of single interventions is not, however, the main concern of this article. What is central here is that a variety of different projects initiated and conducted by different agents and groups over the span of a few decades radically transformed the city through what might be best

described as a collective enterprise. By making visible, permeable, and attractive what formerly was not—the Seine, with its banks and its bridges and the views they offered—the projects mentioned here not only turned a peripheral feature into the axis of the early modern and modern city, determining the direction of future expansions, but they also dramatically changed the nature of the city itself. Ultimately,

such a structural transformation of the river area and of its interaction with the city's fabric played a much more decisive role in the history of Paris than any punctual, monumental intervention on which traditional urban studies have had a tendency to focus.

Maria de' Medici and the Faubourg Saint-Germain

Maria de' Medici's choice to found her new Parisian residence, the Luxembourg Palace (1615–31; Figure 11), in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, on the Left Bank, outside the city walls (see Figure 7) is best understood in the context of the urban renewal described here. When the queen bought the first nucleus of the Luxembourg, in 1612, most of the building activity of the Left Bank was taking place in the area between the Rue Dauphine and the Rue de Seine. The establishment of new houses, mostly belonging to judicial and royal officeholders, was bringing social and commercial life to this neighborhood. The segment of city walls that ran across it was progressively disappearing from sight after the defensive ditch outside the fortification was filled in 1607 and the land sold for residential developments.²⁴ While the selection of a site located at a distance from this activity might seem to reflect the queen's desire to avoid it, the analysis of the urban aspects of the Luxembourg project shows exactly the opposite: not only did the palace act as a catalyst for the same kind of physical, economic, and social transformations of its surroundings as the projects located on the Seine, it also expanded the area of new urbanization by creating a second pole of attraction and growth further south into the Left Bank. The queen's project prompted the construction of the first aqueduct and the first water distribution system for the Left Bank, thus providing a key infrastructural development of an area of the city that had thus far relied on wells. Also, Maria de' Medici allowed public access to the majority of the Luxembourg garden's lavish expanse, thus establishing a hub for the social life and gatherings of the Faubourg Saint-Germain (and one that its users came to perceive as an essential feature of their daily life as well as an added value to their real estate investments in the neighborhood). The queen's effort was directed not only at setting up the social foundations of "her" faubourg, but also at reshaping the city's geography of power by attracting (through donations of land and property) the key political figures of her time—the Concinis, Cardinal Richelieu, and the Prince de Condé—to relocate in the area near the Luxembourg. Newly discovered archival evidence also shows that projects to connect the queen's residence to the area of new urbanization between the Rue Dauphine and the

Rue de Seine were under consideration in the 1620s.²⁵ If the literature has thus far overlooked these historical facets, it is largely because of the misguided traditional construing of the Luxembourg as a *Witwensitz*—the isolated, peripherally located private residence of a widowed queen retiring from politics.

The Luxembourg has traditionally been conceptualized by historians as an isolated structure with little connection to its urban environment, as if it were a country château rather than an urban residence.²⁶ This conceptual isolation partly derives from a visual one: that of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prints which constitute a fundamental source for the study of a building that has been significantly modified since its construction, and in which the queen's residence was consistently represented as a vast domain surrounded by meadows and woods stretching beyond the horizon (see Figure 11). Prints such as these were by no means conceived and produced as objective representations intended to convey a realistic experience of the architecture and its surroundings. Rather, they satisfied the demands of a market in which views of prominent architectures had become valuable, sought-after items. They were generally sold and collected in thematically organized albums showcasing, for example, royal residences, religious buildings, or prominent architectures of a given city (as in Israël Silvestre's *Recueil* and *Vues de Paris*, and in Jean Marot's *Recueil des plans, profils, et élévations*).²⁷ Architectural quality and typological homogeneity being the prevailing selection criteria for the compilations of these albums—as well as for those of scholarly and pedagogical purpose, such as Jacques-François Blondel's *Architecture française* (1752–56)—the geographical relations between the buildings illustrated were often indiscernible to the viewers, as were the buildings' connections to the urban environment.²⁸ Marot's *Recueil* and Blondel's *Architecture* illustrate the plans and façades of the Luxembourg as floating on blank backgrounds, providing no context surrounding the palace (including Jacques Lemercier's 1630 additions to the building designed by Salomon de Brosse). Silvestre's *Vues*, on the other hand, render the relationship between the residence, the annexes, and the park, but they obliterate most of the urban landscape surrounding Maria de' Medici's property.

The isolation in which the Luxembourg has been represented visually has been paired, and somewhat reinforced, in the historians' perception by the typology of its architecture. With its monumental domed entrance, its corner pavilions, and its large *corps-de-logis* at the far end of a court flanked by galleries, the Luxembourg is closer in size and layout to a country château than to an urban hôtel.

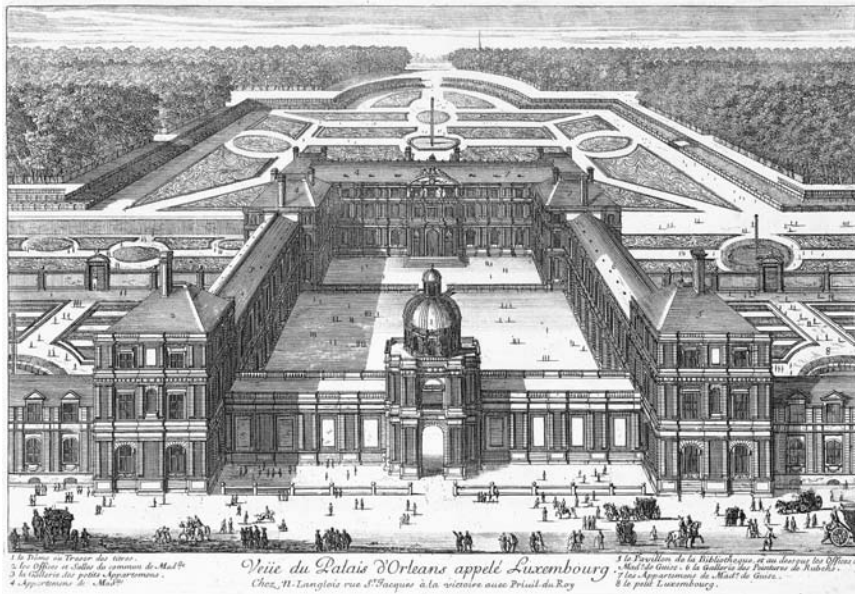


Figure 11 Adam Perelle, Bird's-eye view of the Luxembourg Palace, ca. 1687 (Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)

Hence, architectural histories have conceptually located it among the country estates of the Ile-de-France and Loire Valley rather than among Parisian residential buildings. In fact, the originality of the Luxembourg from the perspective of urban history lies precisely in the ambiguity produced by the combination of a nonurban typology with an urban location. Standing on the fringes of the city, with its entrance pavilion serving as the focal point of the Rue de Tournon perspective instead of emerging in the open of a rural landscape, this suburban château was the first of its kind in Paris. As did the Pitti Palace in Florence and the Barberini in Rome, the Luxembourg blurred the typological and geographical boundaries between city and countryside, center and periphery.

Two recent studies dealing with notions of center and periphery engage with the otherwise largely overlooked urban aspects of the Luxembourg project. In examining the interventions promoted by queens of France in early modern Paris, both are concerned with issues of gender in relation to power structures and the ability (or lack thereof) to participate in the shaping of the urban physical and social environment. In “Moving West: Three French Queens and the Urban History of Paris” (2000), William Goode analyzed the connection between the Parisian residences of Catherine de’ Medici, Marguerite de Valois, and Maria de’ Medici and the city’s trend to expand westward—which, the author pointed out, still marks contemporary urban planning, as shown by the development of the Défense during the second half of the twentieth century.²⁹ One might add that queens of the early modern era showed a tendency not only to move west, but also to move out, beyond the city

walls: the Tuileries were not far from the Louvre but outside the fortifications of Charles V; the Cours-la-Reine sat beyond the so-called Fossés Jaunes, the new fortifications of the Right Bank; and the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite, the Luxembourg Palace, and Anne of Austria’s Val-de-Grâce were all located in the southern faubourgs.³⁰ In a conference paper presented at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in 2001, Andreas Tönnemann construed this trend within a *Witwensitz* paradigm, in which the marginality of the sites chosen by queen dowagers (or, in the case of Marguerite de Valois, estranged queens) is associated with their retirement from politics, marked, physically and symbolically, by the geographical distance of their residences from the official seats of power, the Louvre and the Parliament.³¹

Tönnemann’s study shares with Goode’s the merit of taking a new perspective on Parisian urban history and restoring relevance to the projects of the female members of the royal family by bringing them out of print collections and into urban reality. Yet, the *Witwensitz* thesis also brings them out of history by dispossessing both the buildings and the women who commissioned them of all possible relation with their context other than political and geographical marginality. Several objections can be raised against Tönnemann’s argument. First, the notion of retirement from politics hardly applies to these women: Catherine de’ Medici, Maria de’ Medici, and Anne of Austria not only ruled France for several years on behalf of their minor children, but their political power has also been shown to have often gone beyond the boundaries set by the regency (notably, Maria de’ Medici’s definitive retirement from politics, in 1631, took the form of banishment from court and exile),

while Marguerite de Valois, the least involved with politics of them all, re-established herself in the capital a few years after the annulment of her marriage to Henri IV; she befriended Maria de' Medici and Louis XIII and became an influential member of the court society.³² Second, all of the Parisian projects examined by Tönnemann were launched at the time of their patrons' accession to power, rather than retirement from it: the Tuileries were commissioned during Catherine de Medici's regency on behalf of Charles IX (1560–63); the construction of the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite started in 1606, once she resumed her presence at court; the commission of the Luxembourg Palace and the Cours-la-Reine date from 1611 and 1612, at the beginning of Maria de' Medici's regency on behalf of Louis XIII (1610–17); and François Mansart was appointed architect of the Val-de-Grace in 1645, in the second year of Anne of Austria's regency on behalf of Louis XIV (1643–51). Third, in urban history, distance from the center is not always, and not necessarily, to be associated with distance from power. In fact, the Pitti and Barberini examples cited earlier show exactly the opposite: the Medici moved their main residence from the central Palazzo Vecchio to the suburban Pitti around the time they were granted the title Grand Dukes of Tuscany, and construction of the new suburban palace of the Barberini family started two years after Maffeo Barberini became Pope Urban VIII.

Economics, not politics, pushed queens to the margins of the city. At a time when the Crown enjoyed no right of expropriation, the acquisition of land had to be negotiated at market price by members of the royal family, and market prices would quickly rise once owners became aware that their properties sat within the area of interest of a royal project.³³ Queens faced considerably more limitations than kings did in these negotiations and in the financing of their architectural and urban plans because they had no direct access to the Crown's coffers, nor were they as free as their husbands and sons to impose taxes. As consorts, their spending was limited by annual allowances fixed by the king. As dowagers and regents, they gained access to previously unavailable resources (which partly explains why widowhood often was fertile ground for artistic patronage), but these too were externally regulated, by matrimonial agreements, as well as usually exposed to high degrees of scrutiny and criticism by the Council, which advised the king on governmental and administrative matters, and could advise him against rises in state spending.³⁴

In the faubourgs property was available at lower market prices than in the inner city and the lower population density was promising with regards to the number of the economic negotiations necessary to acquire land.

Competition against other patrons and projects was also a pressure factor in the choice of sites, and one which could greatly enhance the attractiveness of unencumbered peripheral locations that allowed the development of grandiose plans impossible to carry out in the inner city. In the case of Maria de' Medici, competition with Catherine and Marguerite and the precedents they had set in Paris, as well as with the Pitti and Boboli complex in Florence, where she had grown up, must have been crucial in the selection of a peripheral site for the Luxembourg.

Finally, a peripheral site is neither necessarily nor permanently a site out of the center. Relations of center and periphery are far more complex than the dichotomous opposition of inside against outside. In seventeenth-century Paris the line separating the city proper from its faubourgs was not always clearly defined, especially on the underdeveloped Left Bank, where no sharp distinctions existed between *intra* and *extra muros* and where even the visual presence of portions of the city walls started fading under the pressure of urban growth. On the other hand, most of a city's potential for change and growth lies at its margins, and early modern Paris was no exception to this general rule. The example of the Tuileries, which were founded outside the city walls, and for which the city walls were later pushed further west, reminds us that cities' boundaries and centers of gravity are not permanently fixed but are constantly changing, following the thrusts of prominent projects, people, and interests.³⁵

The Luxembourg was conceived as a center of new urbanization rather than as a peripheral residential venue. Its planning involved the establishment of new technical and social infrastructural systems meant to radically transform the Faubourg Saint-Germain and pull the city further out of its sixteenth-century confines by interacting with the contemporary interventions on the Seine.

First, the queen's residence prompted the construction of the first network for the distribution of drinking water on the Left Bank. In order to supply the fountains on her property, Maria de' Medici promoted the construction of the Aqueduct of Arcueil (1613–23), which captured the sources of Rungis, located about eight miles south of Paris. What was current practice in the foundation of a royal residence, especially one including a large garden populated by fountains, developed in this case into a much more ambitious project, which the queen carried out in collaboration with Louis XIII, the city government, and the group of entrepreneurs in charge of the aqueduct (Tommaso Francini and Jean Gobelien), resulting in the construction of an extensive pipeline network and several public fountains serving the city on both sides of the river (Figure 12).³⁶ In addition, a number of private concessions for water were given to several

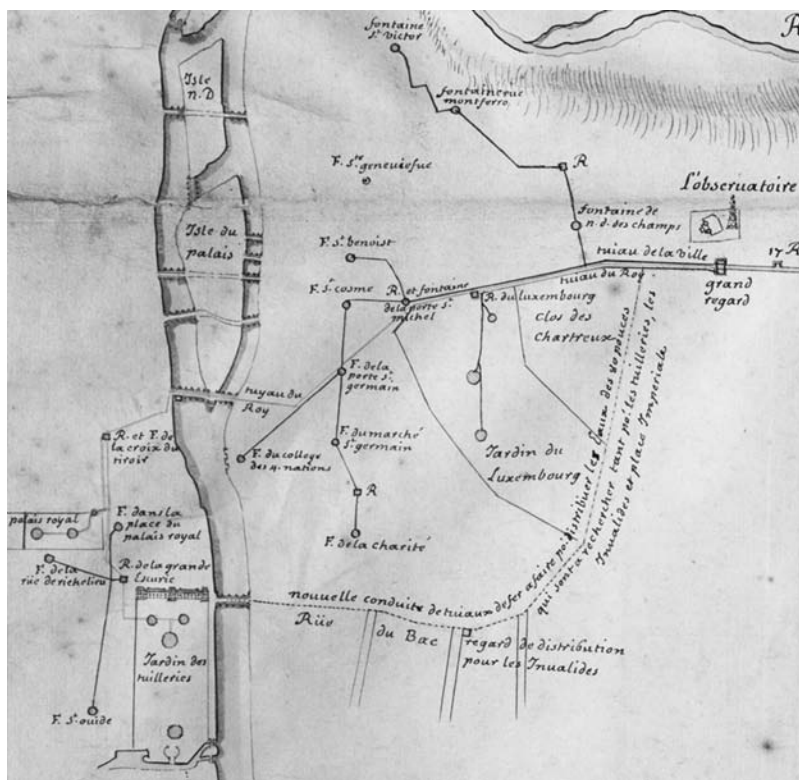


Figure 12 Antoine Desgodets, Map of the distribution of Rungis's water in Paris, 1695 (Paris, Archives Nationales, photo Atelier photographique des Archives Nationales)

aristocratic households, high ranking officials, and religious institutions.³⁷ Such initiatives profoundly transformed the city by establishing the foundations for future developments on the Left Bank: the canalization system that brought fresh, potable water to the southern faubourgs made the physical and social changes envisaged by Maria de' Medici in Saint-Germain possible. By providing the infrastructure necessary to the maintenance of large households and their gardens as well as for the operation of a variety of commercial and manufacturing activities, this invisible (and therefore often overlooked) network turned a vision into an urban plan.³⁸ The precedent set in Florence by Eleanor of Toledo, who promoted public distribution of the waters of Boboli into the city center, is particularly relevant.³⁹ The notion of good government associated with the public supply of water catered to the need of political legitimization that Maria de' Medici—as regent to the throne and member of the Council—shared with the Grand Dukes of Tuscany. Medicean history offered the queen a second prestigious model: the construction of the Acqua Felice aqueduct in Rome promoted by Sixtus V and started in 1585 under the administration of Ferdinando I de' Medici, which was to supply water to a large area of the city, including the Villa Medici, before ending in the public fountain of the Piazza Santa Susanna.⁴⁰

Second, the Luxembourg provided the Faubourg Saint-Germain with a vast garden, which grew to be crucially

important for the social and economic life of the neighborhood. The queen reserved for her private use an enclosed portion of garden, along the west wing of the palace, and opened the rest for the enjoyment of the public (with the above-mentioned customary prohibitions). Henri Sauval described the garden as “the habitual promenade of the inhabitants of the Faubourg Saint-Germain,” and the quantity of obscenities the Duchesse de Berry attracted (in the form of anonymous pamphlets) when she closed its gates to the public after inheriting the residence in 1715 renders a vivid image of what a central feature of Parisian life this promenade had become.⁴¹ On that same occasion Louis de Saint-Simon commented that “the closing of the Luxembourg doors has major negative consequences on the neighborhood, and it will lead to a fall in the prices of rental properties.”⁴²

Third, the queen intended the urban space around her residence as a means to establish and reinforce political alliances through geographical proximity. During the regency, she helped Concino Concini and Leonora Galigai (the two key political figures of her government until 1617) establish themselves in a hôtel on the Rue de Tournon, and gave the Prince de Condé (her major political rival, whom she tried to keep quiet with all sorts of gifts) the Hôtel de Gondi, the former residence of the powerful family of Florentine bankers sitting across the street from the

Luxembourg on the Rue de Vaugirard. In 1627, she gave Cardinal Richelieu, her creature and political ally in the Council, the so-called Petit-Luxembourg, the palace adjacent to the Luxembourg to the west and communicating with it through its interiors.

Finally, newly discovered archival evidence shows that Maria de' Medici intended to complete her plan by connecting the interventions in the Luxembourg area with those of the Seine area, thus strengthening the relationship between the northern and the southern ends of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It is known that, after the death of Henri IV, Nicolas Carrel (the leading entrepreneur of the Rue Dauphine development) presented Louis XIII with a proposal for the construction of a square called Place de la Reine to be situated at the south end of the Rue Dauphine (Figure 13).⁴³ The text, undated, describes the square as a rectangle of 45 by 35 *toises* (ca. 289 by 223 feet, about a fourth of the area of Henri IV's Place Royale) enclosed by homogeneous buildings all around, like the Place Royale and Place Dauphine. The proposal included the relocation of the Royal Mint to the new square and a new design for the Porte de Buci, opening on the Faubourg Saint-Germain. Despite the tantalizing name of the square, Carrel's proposal could not until now be associated with any certitude with Maria de' Medici and the Luxembourg palace. A recently discovered document confirms this connection and shows that the queen was involved in the negotiations concerning the property of the late Marguerite de Valois.⁴⁴ The document, signed by Jacques Potier, one of Le Barbier's associates, and datable to 1623–24, consists of a preliminary proposal for the residential and commercial development of the former Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite.⁴⁵ In it, Potier asks the king's permission for the entrepreneurs to build rental housing and a market hall in exchange for which he and his associates offer to join the Rue de Tournon and Rue de Seine with a new paved street, 4 *toises* wide (about 26 feet), to construct a new bridge connecting the area with the Louvre, and to erect a new portion of the Left Bank fortifications that would bring the Luxembourg Palace within the city walls, along with the entire faubourgs of Saint-Germain and Saint-Michel and part of the Faubourg Saint-Jacques (see Figure 13). All this, Potier states, would be for "the satisfaction of the queen your mother, and to facilitate her passage and yours to her palace, as well as to assure the safety of this palace by including [it] in within the city walls."⁴⁶ As the lands included in both Carrel's and Potier's plans belonged to the Crown, Louis XIII was the official offeree of their proposals. Clearly, though, Maria de' Medici was backing her son in these negotiations, for it is her residence and, more generally, her plans in Saint-Germain to which they

catered. A skeptical note written on the margin of Potier's proposal—certainly by a royal advisor—reads that "the proposals for all these works have been made with a single aim in mind [that of securing the commercial concessions required in exchange] and if we agree to these concessions, everything else will dissolve in smoke."⁴⁷ The note was possibly meant as a warning about the reliability of Potier, Le Barbier, and their associates, as well as about the intrinsic risks for the Crown in joining such commercial ventures.⁴⁸ It is also a realistic commentary on the power queens had in economic negotiations.

The exile of Maria de' Medici in 1631 cut short her efforts to transform the Faubourg Saint-Germain into her fiefdom. When the political balance moved back to Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu, and the Right Bank, the social and political significance of "her" Paris faded away, and the plans proposed by Potier did, in fact, dissolve in air. Still, the areas of major expansion of the early modern capital were the neighborhood of the Place Royale, the *quartier* Richelieu, and the region comprised between the Luxembourg Palace and the Seine, which implies that leaving the Paris of Maria de' Medici out of the historical picture would lead to a serious misrepresentation of the history of the city itself.

Urban planning is politics. Shaping the form, social geography, and nature of cities, the relationship with their surroundings, and the direction and extent of their expansions is one way of shaping the life of societies according to the ideas and ambitions of particular individuals or groups. Therefore, it is not surprising for the history of urban planning to have been affected by the same misconceptions and shortcomings that have characterized political history, through the overemphasis on a few celebrated figures at the expense of a wider variety of actors whose political roles have been traditionally ill-understood or underplayed. After all, the legendary birth of modern Paris molded by the hands of Henri the Great and Gallant is certainly a captivating story, but not a compelling historical narrative. It would be equally unsatisfactory to affirm that Paris was created instead by the interventions promoted by Maria de' Medici and Marguerite de Valois (and the aim of this article is certainly not to substitute one legend for a different one), as urban production is of course a multilayered, multifaceted process that involves a variety of agents, the non-elite, and a broad array of physical and conceptual connections latent in the historical record. Nonetheless, by bringing new actors on the historical scene the projects discussed here contribute layers of complexity to the traditional narrative of early modern Parisian urbanism and allow us to see links across the urban landscape that were meaningful to the city's inhabitants. The changes Paris



Figure 13 Map of the Faubourg Saint-Germain showing the projects proposed by Carrel and Potier for (a) the Place de la Reine, (b) the Rue de Tournon-Rue de Seine axis, (c) a new bridge over the Seine

underwent in the early decades of the seventeenth century laid the foundations of its modern structure. By acting on the city margins and changing their nature, the interventions on the Seine and the Left Bank promoted by the royal family and their associates as a communal, if not concerted, effort pulled the city out of its medieval boundaries, moved its gravitational axis, and shaped the directions of its modern developments. Later turns of political fortune did not reverse the course set by these transformations, even though they have fostered amnesia regarding their origins.

Notes

1. I am very grateful to Patricia Leighton for helping with the final editing of my text and to Annabel Wharton for reading the first draft. I also wish to thank the organizers and participants of the conference “Artful Allies:

Medici Women as Cultural Mediators (1533–1743),” held at Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies on 15–17 Oct. 2008, and in particular Suzanne Butters, Jean-François Dubost, and Henri Zerner, for their valuable observations.

Michel de Montaigne, *Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*, ed. and trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 743.

2. *Viaggio del signor Girolamo Lippomano ambasciatore di Francia nell'anno 1577 scritto dal suo segretario*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms It. 1426, 73–207, trans. in Robert W. Berger, *In Old Paris: An Anthology of Source Descriptions, 1323–1790* (New York: Italica Press, 2002), 51.

3. Roland Mousnier, *Paris capitale au temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1978), 131.

4. Louis Batiffol, *La vie de Paris sous Louis XIII* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1932), 5–6. My emphasis. Orest A. Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 70.

5. The notion of absolutism is a controversial one, especially when applied to the early seventeenth century. For an overview, see Fanny Cosandey and

Robert Descimon, *L'absolutisme en France: histoire et historiographie* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 2002) and William Beik, "The Absolutism of Louis XIV as Social Collaboration," *Past and Present* 188 (July–Sept. 2005), 195–224.

6. Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

7. In particular, Robert Descimon, "Paris on the Eve of Saint Bartholomew: Taxation, Privilege, and Social Geography," in *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, ed. Philip Benedict (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 69–104.

8. Ibid.

9. As reported in the *Viaggio del signor Girolamo Lippomano ambasciatore di Francia nell'anno 1577 scritto dal suo segretario*, "each time that the river greatly rises, as in 1578, or freezes, the boats not being able to arrive, the city remains in a state of siege, especially in winter" (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. It. 1426, 73–207, trans. in Berger, *In Old Paris*, 52).

10. Ibid., 50. My emphasis.

11. Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, ed. Raymond Phineas Stearns (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 8.

12. Ulf Strohmayer, "Engineering Vision in Early Modern Paris," in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500*, ed. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006), 75–92.

13. Pierre Couperie, *Paris au fil du temps: Atlas historique d'urbanisme et d'architecture* (Paris: J. Cuenot, 1968), map X/b. For a list of new residences built on the Left Bank between 1589 and 1643, see Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Demeures parisiennes sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: Le Temps, 1965), 263–88. For the size and population of Parisian quarters, see Robert Descimon and Jean Nagle, "Les quartiers de Paris du Moyen Age au XVIII^e siècle. Evolution d'un espace plurifonctionnel," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 34, no. 5 (Sept.–Oct. 1979), 956–83.

14. These groups tended to concentrate in the same areas of the city and followed each other in areas of new expansion. Descimon, "Paris on the Eve of Saint Bartholomew," 96–98.

15. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Moette et Chardon, 1724), 2: 62. See further Henry W. Lawrence, "Origins of the Tree-Lined Boulevard," *Geographical Review* 78, no. 4 (Oct. 1988), 360–61; and William O. Goode, "Moving West: Three French Queens and the Urban History of Paris," *French Review* 73, no. 6 (2000), 1116–29, note 26.

16. Antoine Furetière and Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes de toutes les sciences et des arts* . . . (The Hague and Rotterdam: A. and R. Leers, 1690). On carriages, see Daniel Roche and Daniel Reytière, *Voitures, chevaux et attelages: Du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'Académie d'art équestre de Versailles: Etablissement public du musée et du domaine national de Versailles, 2000).

17. Jean de La Bruyère, *Les caractères ou Les mœurs de ce siècle* (Paris: E. Michallet, 1696), 216.

18. Léon Le Grand, Paul Guérin, and Pierre Daudet, eds., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1878–1990), 16: 138.

19. Other privately owned but publicly accessible gardens were found in early seventeenth-century Paris (see Pierre Lavedan, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris. Histoire de l'urbanisme à Paris* [Paris: Association pour la publication d'une histoire de Paris, 1975], 292–99), but their access was quite limited by a combination of criteria as diverse as gender (as the garden of the Chapter of Notre-Dame, where only men could enter), time of year (some gardens were only open on religious festivities or for the fruits' crop, as in the Carthusians' garden south of the Luxembourg), and size, as most gardens were far smaller than the royal ones discussed in this article.

20. On the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite, as well as on its later subdivision and development, see Maurice Dumolin, *Études de topographie parisienne* (Paris: Picard, 1929–31), 1: 132–81. Le Barbier's associates were Jacques de Garsanlan, Jacques de Vassan, Jacques Potier, and Joachim de Sandras. On the development of the *quartier* Richelieu, see *ibid.*, 2: 110–340.

21. Ibid., 1: 132–81.

22. Ibid., 3: 1–288. Marie's associates were Lugles Poulletier and François Le Regrattier.

23. As, among others, in Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism*, 105–27; and Babelon, *Demeures parisiennes sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, 25–36.

24. Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV*, 165; and Henry de Surirey de Saint-Rémy, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878–1990), 14: 220, 266.

25. See below, notes 43, 44.

26. The fundamental work on the Luxembourg is still Rosalys Coope, *Salomon de Brosse and the Development of the Classical Style in French Architecture, from 1565 to 1630* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1972), 110–34, which offers no urban analysis of the project. The same is true for the most recent monograph dedicated to the seventeenth-century building, Marie-Noëlle Matuszek-Baudouin, ed., *Marie de Médicis et le Palais du Luxembourg* (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1991).

27. Jean Marot, *Recueil des plans, profils, et élévations de plusieurs palais, châteaux, églises, sépultures, grotes, et hostels, bâtis dans Paris, et aux environs, avec beaucoup de magnificence, par les meilleurs architectes du royaume* (Paris: Mariette, [ca. 1676]), Israël Silvestre, *Recueil* (Paris: I. Henriet, 1645–55), and Israël Silvestre, *Vues de Paris* (Paris: N. Langlois, [ca. 1675]).

28. Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture française, ou Recueil des plans, élévations, coupes et profils des églises, maisons royales, palais, hôtels et édifices les plus considérables de Paris* (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1752–56). While illustrations of Parisian buildings were often ordered by *quartiers* in these collections, so that the images of notable buildings of the Faubourg Saint-Germain would appear next to each other in a single section, geographical proximity was not always a criterion in the internal organization of each section.

29. Goode, "Moving West," 1116–29.

30. The construction of the Fossés Jaunes was started in the mid-1560s and completed in the 1640s. See Dumolin, *Études de topographie parisienne*, 2: 110–340.

31. Andreas Tönnemann, "Pariser Witwensitze. Zur architektonischen Repräsentation von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Bibliotheca Hertziana*, Rome, 5 Oct. 2001.

32. For the queens' biographies, see Robert J. Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici* (London: Longman, 1998); Eliane Viennot, *Marguerite de Valois: La reine Margot* (Paris: Perrin, 2005); Jean-François Dubost, *Marie de Médicis: La reine dévoilée* (Paris: Payot, 2009); and Ruth Kleinman, *Anne of Austria, Queen of France, 1601–1666* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985).

33. As an example, see Arthur Hustin, *Le Luxembourg, son histoire domaniale, architecturale, décorative et anecdotique* (Paris: Sénat, 1910–11), 2: 40, 205–7, 218–21, and 226–30 on the difficulties encountered by Maria de' Medici during the fifteen-year-long campaign of land acquisition for the Luxembourg.

34. In the Estates General of 1614–15, Maria de' Medici's spending during the regency was criticized as too high. See Michael Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and the report of the Medicean envoy Luca Fabbri (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato 5974, 5 June 1615).

35. See above, note 30, on the construction of the Fossés Jaunes.

36. The aqueduct of Saint-Cloud, running through the Bois de Boulogne and Chaillot, and the Samaritaine, the pump installed on the Pont Neuf, had

been realized in order to supply the Louvre and the Tuileries. On the early stages of the project for the Aqueduct of Arcueil, during which Jean Gobelin substituted Jean Coing as Tommaso Francini's associate, see Saint-Rémy, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris*, 15: 155–57, 172–76, 187–91, 205–9, 215–16, 267–69, 331–32. Fifteen fountains were planned in 1624, eleven of which were completed by 1628 (see Suzanne Clémencet, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878–1990, 19: 11; and Dominique Massounie, “Le Grand Siècle: Un programme monumental,” in *Paris et ses fontaines: De la Renaissance à nos jours*, ed. Dominique Massounie, Pauline Prévost-Marcilhacy, and Daniel Rabreau [Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1995], 60–79).

37. Each participant to the project was entitled to a share of the water supplied by the aqueduct. These shares varied during the construction of the aqueduct and in the months following its opening. In 1625, a royal decree fixed them as follows: 24 *pouces* (1 *pouce* equals about 3.4 gallons (13 liters) of water per minute) were destined to the Luxembourg Palace, 12 *pouces* to the city, and 8 *pouces* to the Tuileries. Clémencet, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris*, 19: 123–24. The same document details the smaller shares given out as concessions.

38. A history of Paris that takes into account the distribution and access to water has yet to be written, but an excellent model is found in the recent volume by Katherine Wentworth Rinne, *The Waters of Rome: Aqueducts, Fountains, and the Birth of the Baroque City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

39. See Bruce L. Edelstein, “‘Acqua viva e corrente’: Private Display and Public Distribution of Fresh Water at the Neapolitan Villa of Poggioreale as a Hydraulic Model for Sixteenth-Century Medici Gardens,” in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 187–220.

40. I am grateful to Suzanne Butters, who studied this project (Suzanne Butters, “Ferdinand et le jardin du Pincio,” in *La Villa Médicis*, ed. André

Chastel and Philippe Morel [Rome: Académie de France à Rome and Ecole française de Rome, 1989–91], 2: 401–7), for bringing it to my attention.

41. Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 2: 284. According to the same author, the garden of the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite had been open to the public as well (*ibid.*, 250). Charles Perrault also mentioned his regular visits to the Luxembourg garden in his memoirs. Charles Perrault, *Mémoires, contes et autres oeuvres*, ed. Paul Lacroix (Paris: Gosselin, 1842), 4–5. On the Duchesse de Berry, see, among many examples, Émile Raunié, *Chansonnier historique du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: A. Quantin 1879–84), 2: 44.

42. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, ed. Arthur-Michel de Boislisle (Paris: Hachette, 1879–1930), 30: 77.

43. *Proposition de Carrel pour bâtir la place à la roine et faire le canal d'alentour Paris*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 16744, 266–68, cited in Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV*, 161, note 101.

44. *Proposition pour le pont, la conjunction des rues et closture de l'hostel de la reyne Marguerite*, Paris, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, France 1590, 55–57.

45. The text, describing a still ill-defined project, suggests that this is a preliminary study. It does, however, postdate the 1622 sale of Marguerite's property to Le Barbier and his associates, because in the introduction Potier introduces himself as one of the “acquéreurs de l'hostel et deppendances de la feue royne Margueritte,” (buyers of the Hôtel de la Reine Marguerite and its annexes) and further down he reports that the drawings related to the proposition have been shown to the king by “Monseigneur l'evesque de Metz, abbé dudit Saint-Germain” (monsignor the bishop of Metz, abbot of said Saint-Germain)—that is, Henri de Bourbon, duc de Verneuil, bishop of Metz since 1612 and Abbott of Saint-Germain-des-Prés since 1623.

46. *Proposition pour le pont*, 55.

47. *Ibid.*, 57.

48. On the complexities and frequent failures of these joint ventures, see Françoise Bayard, *Le monde des financiers au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 368–70.