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Hof des Sonnenkönigs ihren Zenit erreichte. Louis III. bekleidete seit 1677 zehn Jahre lang das Amt des *premier président* im Parlament der Bretagne und wurde 1687 zum *intendant des finances* befördert, 1689 zum Chef der Finanzverwaltung; 1690 bestellte ihn der König auch noch zum Minister für die Flotte und die Kolonien und betraute ihn obendrein mit der Aufsicht über das königliche Hauswesen. Daß die Flotte in dieser Zeit einen Niedergang erlebte, vermochte Phélypeaux in seiner exponierten Stellung nicht anzufechten. Als Louis dann 1699 auf eigenen Wunsch von seinen bisherigen Ämtern demissionierte, mit der Würde eines Kanzlers von Frankreich an die Spitze des Justizwesens trat und so in das Metier zurückkehrte, in dem er seine Laufbahn einst begonnen hatte, folgte ihm im Amt des Marine- und Kolonialministers sein Sohn Jérôme, und dessen Sohn Jean-Frédéric erwies sich noch einmal als würdiger Sproß der Familie, indem auch er beinahe über die ganze Regierungszeit Ludwigs XV. hinweg als königlicher Minister für die Marine und die Kolonien fungierte. Das wachsende Vertrauen der Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain in die politischen und bürokratischen Strukturen der Machtausübung gründete in der zunehmenden Professionalisierung des Personals im frühmodernen Staat und hatte zur Folge, daß in ihrer Geschäftsführung an die Stelle von personalen Beziehungen und Abhängigkeitsverhältnissen mehr und mehr die Institutionalisierung und Formalisierung von Abläufen trat. Gleichwohl instrumentalisierte und pflegte man auch künftig bestehende und sich fortentwickelnde persönliche und verwandtschaftliche Netzwerke – sowohl zum eigenen Nutzen als auch zum Nutzen des Staates, dessen Provinzen auf diese Art enger an die Versailler Zentrale gebunden wurden. Die aus solchen Aktivitäten erwachsenen umfangreichen privaten und dienstlichen Korrespondenzen bilden zu einem wesentlichen Teil die Quellengrundlage dieser Arbeit.

Ihr aus einem umfangreichen Aktenmaterial erhobenes Detailwissen hat die Autorin gekonnt strukturiert und daraus vor dem breiten Horizont der westeuropäischen Forschungsliteratur ein anschauliches, ja spannendes Bild von familialem Ehrgeiz und politischen Allianzen im frühmodernen Staat entfaltet. Im Anhang findet man 22 genealogische Tafeln zur Familie Phélypeaux und ihrem verwandtschaftlichen Umfeld, in denen aber Lebens- und Karrieredaten leider nur ausnahmsweise angegeben sind. Ein weiterer Anhang bietet in fünf Tabellen nützliche Übersichten zu den verschiedenen Ministerien (1677–1715), dem *Conseil d'En haut* (1661–1715), den Provinzintendanten (1689–1699) und den Amtsträgern der Flotte (1690–1712/16). Ein integrierter Namen- und Sachindex erlaubt auch dem eiligen Benutzer eine rasche Orientierung.

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Dietrich ERBEN, Paris und Rom. Die staatlich gelenkten Kunstbeziehungen unter Ludwig XIV., München (Akademie Verlag) 2004, XIX–409 p. (Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus, 9), 127 b/w ill., ISBN 3-003851-9, EUR 69,80.

Bi-polar studies of cultural history, as with diplomatic history, can be limited, blinkered and, therefore misleading, as so many important factors, seemingly tangential to a linear argument, can be relegated to a scholarly limbo or ignored entirely. The ties between Paris, or rather, Paris-Versailles, and Rome are, however, a special case. Native French scholars, frequently based in Paris, of the French visual arts, particularly painting, have too often neglected or even ignored the symbiotic relations between the First Daughter of the Church and the Italian peninsula, which, with its cluster of hereditary dynasties and elected sovereigns was made up of numerous courts which were centres of patronage. Within this rich, Italian-speaking group, the papal court of Rome, from the second half of the fifteenth century held the primary position. Half way through his profoundly-researched and deeply-impressive study, »Paris und Rom«, Dietrich Erben cites an anonymous manuscript

in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris: *La corte di Roma è senza dubbio la prima Corte di Mondo, impero che contiene per ordinario 50 Cardinali che s'agualiano per dignità à Rè. Altretanti fra Patriarchi, Archivescovi, et Vescovi*. Each of these clerics, alongside with great indigenous princely clans, maintained households which were frequently foyers of cultural patronage.

The French interest in Italian art significantly pre-dated the seventeenth century, which stands at the heart of Erben's work. In a lengthy introductory chapter of nearly fifty pages entitled »Die Italienfrage im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaftsbildung und Kunstpatronage: von Karl VIII. bis Ludwig XIV.«, Erben, drawing largely on secondary literature, constructs a convincing picture of the Italian dream in French cultural activity. As heir to his Angevin cousins, Charles VIII had himself crowned in Naples in 1495 King of Jerusalem and Sicily, while his immediate successor, Louis XII, as grandson of Valentina Visconti, claimed the duchy of Milano. Louis's heir, François I, who also pursued his claims to Milano, earned a special place as an importer of Italian talent to the French court. François I, who reigned from 1515 to 1547, the son of a princess of the House of Savoy, is a key figure in initiating the full-scale import of Italian artists to the French court. The Florentine Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1541) and the Bolognese Primaticcio (1504–1570) were responsible for creating the so-called »Fontainebleau style«, while François was celebrated for his patronage of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), another Florentine.

At various point the Gonzaga Dukes of Mantova and the Este Dukes of Ferrara gravitated to the French court. Two highpoints in this web of dynasticism and cultural patronage were the regencies and periods of influence of the two Medici princesses who became Queens-consort of France. The patronage of François I had prepared the ground for the Tuscan invasion. Caterina, who exercised various forms of power from 1559 to her death in 1589, and her distant cousin, Maria, regent in 1611 and a significant presence at the court of her son, Louis XIII, until her final removal from the political scene in 1630, were major forces in the promotion of a generalised Italianate culture in Paris. Maria's full sister, Eleanora (1566–1611), the wife of Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantova and Monferrato served as ever usual conduit for the Gonzaga family to the French court, before this dynasty firmly anchored itself within the Habsburg orbit. The series of nine paintings of Apollo and the Muses, painted in Rome in 1620 by Giovanni Baglioni (c. 1566–1643) for Eleanora's son, Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626), previously a Cardinal but since 1617 married to another Caterina de' Medici, and sent as a present to his maternal aunt, Queen Maria de' Medici in 1624 is a striking example of the flow of Italian pictures to Paris in the period before Louis XIV. They are now on deposit at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Arras.

With the advent of Jules Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661) Italianate influence at the court of Paris intensified. The culture of Cardinal Mazarin was entirely Roman. Born either in or near Rome in 1602, he worked his way through the patronage system of the Barberini family of Pope Urbano VIII until he attracted the attention of Cardinal de Richelieu. The one Italian-speaking city he knew well was Torino, where he was a support to Louis XIII's sister, the widowed Duchess of Savoy, Marie-Christine de Bourbon (1606–1663) and her lover, Filippo d'Agliè (1604–1667). Here Mazarin became acquainted with the *ballet de cour*, a form of sung and danced entertainment with elaborate scenography, prevalent at the sabaudian court, which he introduced to the court of Paris during his political ascendancy.

During the 1640s and 1650s, Mazarin imported a significant number of Italian composers and singers into French cultural life, notably the great stage architect Giacomo Torelli (1608–1678), who installed the stage machinery at the Hôtel de Petit Bourbon and the Palais Royal. Towards the end of the Cardinal's life, he engineered an invitation to the Venetian-based Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676), who spent two years at the French court and composed his »Ercole amante« for the marriage (9 June 1660) of Louis XIV and the Infanta

Maria Teresa. Erben is not particularly interested in music, opera and theatre, nor even in the central figure of Jules Mazarin, Louis XIV's god-father in more ways than one.

Louis XIV was named in Mazarin's will as his universal heir for a number of complex reasons, and the Cardinal's voracious appetite for collecting benefited the royal collections to a notable extent. He was, along with Felipe IV, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and Queen Cristina, one of the principal beneficiaries of the dispersal (1649–1651) of the collections of King Charles I of Great Britain, married to another of Louis XIII's sisters, either through direct purchase or through such intermediaries as Eberhard Jabach (d. 1695). In addition to his activities as a collector, Mazarin was also highly active as a patron of contemporary painters. Erben deals with Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (1610–1662) in one sentence, yet the structure of his career is extremely significant for Franco-Roman cultural relations. A native of Viterbo, Romanelli was a pupil of Domenichino and, subsequently, worked closely with Pietro da Cortona in Rome on the great ceiling fresco of Palazzo Barberini. This was the world of Barberini patronage which Mazarin knew well, and, separate from Romanelli's work with Pietro da Cortona, he worked extensively for the Barberini pope, Urbano VIII, at the Vatican. With the death of the pope and the fall of the Barberini, Romanelli was left without employ and accepted Mazarin's invitation to come to Paris in 1646. Here he decorated the upper gallery in the Palais Mazarin. He was recalled to Paris in 1655 to decorate the summer apartments of Anne of Austria at the Louvre. His collaboration with Eustache Le Sueur left a significant impression on French visual aesthetic.

The death of Cardinal Mazarin on 9 March 1661 is viewed by traditional scholars of the French seventeenth century as marking the end of Italian influence on French court culture. That this was far from so is demonstrated by Erben's second chapter, devoted to the well-trodden ground of the visit by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) to Paris in 1665. Erben gives a convincing summary of the secondary literature on this celebrated visit, which lasted only some six months, but left a permanent mark upon the historiography of the cultural life in Paris. Erben covers this famous episode more than competently, the bust of Louis XIV, the failed project for the Louvre façade, the equestrian statue débâcle, drawing on the tried-and-true secondary sources, Rudolf Wittkower, Irving Lavin, Robert Berger, dismissing Cecil Gould's effort, correctly judged as a tissue of anecdote, but one which has done much less harm than those two aspiring *mâitres-penseurs*, Jean-Marie Apostolides and Peter Burke, both of whose published effusions appear in the shortened and not-very-useful bibliography. Confining himself amongst many annotations to only two footnotes which indicate any original, archival research in the second chapter, Erben, relying largely on the well-known journal of Paul Fréart de Chantelou (1609–1694), produces some very interesting observations on the early portraiture of Louis XIV, comparing it to the medal design of Jean III Varin (c. 1604–1672), another piece of cultural baggage dating from the late Richelieu and the Mazarin periods. It is a pity that the role of Bernini's designs for an equestrian statue of the king were not developed further, as he is very perceptive on the equestrian statue of Louis's grandfather, Henri IV, on the Pont Neuf by the Florentine Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) and Pierre Francheville (d. 1615). These two equestrian statues form key parts of a rhetoric of sovereignty expressed in both two and three dimensions stretching from Lisboa to St Petersburg. Erben is even stronger on the rejected designs for the re-fashioned Louvre. Here his control of continental history of art is impressive. He writes very convincingly of the impact of Roman palace design on Bernini's façade projects, citing, amongst others the Palazzo Farnese, elaborated for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589) by Antonio Sangallo, continued by Michelangelo and finished by Giacomo Della Porta (1540–1602) and the Palazzo Ludovisi, now the Palazzo Montecitorio, commissioned by Pope Innocenzo X Pamphilj (1574–1644–1655) and not finished until 1694 by Carlo Fontana (1634/38–1714), born in the Ticino, not an Italian subject or citizen. The Palazzo Farnese is now the seat of the French embassy in Rome. Erben, moreover, in writing of Bernini's proposed façade, suggests a sub-

ject for a second full-scale study in one paragraph-length sentence: »Deutlicher als die Vorgeschichte des Architekturmotivs ist dessen Bedeutung für die monarchische und fürstliche Repräsentation durch die direkte Rezeption der Louvreentwürfe im Lauf des 18. Jahrhundert zu fassen – etwa mit dem Kronetor des Dresdner Zwingers, dem Berliner Alten Dom, dem Projekt Robert de Cottes für den Buen Retiro, den Entwürfen Balthasar Neumanns für die Residenzen in Würzburg und Stuttgart sowie dem Neubauprojekt Kaiser Karls VI. für Klosterneuburg« (p. 72). This idea could be elaborated to the iconographic interplay of façade, public square and central equestrian statue. Given Erben's range of cultural reference, it is a wonder that his publishers saw fit to limit the amount of comparative illustrative material in this volume. By the end of chapter two, Erben has reached page 137. The following two chapters form the real scholarly and intellectual heart of the book, and stake its claim as a distinct contribution to academic studies. These are, not surprisingly, the two chapters where his archival structure is most evident, based on work in Paris and Rome. Erben is to be congratulated on having penetrated the not always congenial Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères at the Quai d'Orsay. Many historians of art talk about doing so, fewer have taken this initiative. Chapter three is devoted to the Académie de France in Rome. The foundation of the Académie de France in Rome on 11 February 1666 had been preceded by much discussion directed by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) and formed part of a tradition of »academisation« which had commenced under Cardinal de Richelieu and gained momentum and a concrete form during the first decade of Louis XIV's personal rule. Erben explains with great concision and insight the institutional framework (Rahmen) of the new Academy and the role of successive directors, beginning with the painter Charles Errard, in post from 1666 to 1683, with a three-year-interruption when he was replaced by Noël Coypel, (1628–1707). Jean-Baptiste Houasse (1645–1710) eventually succeeded to the post, and in their turn Charles-François Poësson (1635–1725) and Nicholas Vleughels (1668–1737), who succeeded him in 1724. Erben has very little to say about Vleughels, and this points to one of the weaknesses of a model which views 1661 and 1715 as impenetrable iron curtains of chronology.

Erben is, however, very illuminating on the links between the new French institution in Rome and the indigenous Accademia di San Luca in Rome, and the key rôle played in the close friendship between Errard and Giovanni Paolo Bellori (1613–1696) and Domenico Guidi (1628–1701). He neglects, however, the extent to which individual French or, in some cases, francophone artists were attached to different factions at the French court. Not all artists, in whatever medium, made their careers through an unswerving adherence to the canons established by Louis and Colbert, and some found it necessary to seek support outside the official establishment of the king and his leading ministers, who were also vulnerable to shifting royal favour. Pierre Mignard (1612–1695) was blocked in royal promotion by the presence of Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) and was sustained by Louis's brother, Philippe (I) de Bourbon, duc d'Orléans (1640–1701), attaining the highest position in the king's establishment at the age of eighty-three and, then, only with the death of Le Brun. Similarly, in the history of the patronage of music, Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), born in Florence as Giovanni Battista Lulli and brought to France in 1646 by Prince Roger of Lorraine (1624–1653), a member of an extended clan with several ties to Italian courts, successfully blocked the career of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1645/50–1704), who found support instead from another member of the Lorraine clan, Roger's sister, Marie (1615–1688); she had control of the large Guise fortune from 1675 and governed it from her household in the Marais, not at Versailles. Erben avoids the common error of concentrating on painters and provides some perceptive pages (p. 177–179) of the master *ornémaniste* Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672–1742), frequently attributed with the creation of the Rococo idiom. Cultural ties between Rome and Paris-Versailles were not always structured along official lines, and Erben's impressive fourth chapter devoted to the French presence in Rome provides

some signal examples. Here he discusses monumental memorial statues, beginning with the bronze figure of Henri IV by Nicolas Cordier (1567–1612) in San Giovanni in Laterano. He also includes a fascinating section (p. 254–280) on ephemeral ›festival‹ design, both moments of joy, the birth of the Dauphin in 1662, that of the duc de Bourgogne in 1682 and that of the duc de Bretagne in 1704, and of mourning, the deaths of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, of Louis's consort, Marie-Thérèse, in 1683, of François-Annibal (II), duc d'Estrées, the French ambassador, in 1687, and of the Dauphin in 1711. Here, Erben is, of course, reliant on engravings, more spectacularly Vincenzo Mariotti's depiction of the festivities at Santa Trinità dei Monti for the recovery of Louis XIV. His section (p. 280–291) on Louis's armorial achievements owes much, as he acknowledges, to the treatises of Claude-François Menestrier (1631–1705). Erben is also to be congratulated on the attention he devotes to the design of medals, more durable than festival display, the fame of which could circulate only by news-sheet reports and engravings. Rome, in the second half of the seventeenth century, was the chosen place of residence of many well-born French nobles. He skims over two rather quickly: Marie-Anne de La Trémouille (c. 1642–1722) and Marie-Casimire de la Grange d'Arquien (1641–1716). Both women, as widows, made significant second marriages. The first wed in 1675 Fabio Orsini, duca di Bracciano, and, better known as the ›princesse des Ursins‹ dominated the court of Louis XIV's grandson, Felipe V of Spain, until her summary dismissal in 1714. Erben reproduces the title-page of a libretto of a cantata in honour of Louis XIV, commissioned by the princess in 1699, just before her glorious Spanish period, but says nothing else about her extraordinary career in Rome. The second married in 1665 Jan Sobieski, the future Jan III, King of Poland-Lithuania and lived in Rome following his death. There she maintained a glittering circle, enhanced by the fact that her elder son had married a sister of the Holy Roman Empress and her daughter was the Bavarian electress-consort. She engaged in 1711 Filippo Juvarra (1676/78–1736) to make adjustments to her *palazzo* near Santa Trinità dei Monti, the Palazzo Zuccari, now the seat of the Biblioteca Hertziana. Later in the same decade, 1718–1720, Juvarra created in Torino one of the grandest façades in the style of a Roman *palazzo*, the Palazzo Madama, for the Duchess-mother, Maria Giovanna Battista of Savoy-Genevois-Nemours (1644–1724), the great-niece of Cardinal d'Estrées. Erben is, indeed, more generous with space about two French cardinals resident in Rome, César, Cardinal d'Estrées (1628–1694) and Emmanuel-Théodose de La Tour d'Auvergne, Cardinal Bouillon (1643–1715), two of whose nephews married consecutively a Sobieska granddaughter. Totally absent from Erben's account is the figure of Cardinal Mazarin's surviving nephew, Philippe Mancini-Mazarin, duc de Nevers (1641–1707), one of whose sisters married Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna and another the Duke of Bouillon, Emmanuel-Théodose's elder brother. Nevers inherited half of his uncle's property, including all of that in Rome, and was reputed to have passed as easily between Paris and Rome as most men cross a street. These cosmopolitan figures, leading their lives between Paris-Versailles and a number of Italian cities, merit study, not least because of their wealth and patronage and because of their membership in a web of family relations, but also because they do not fit tidily into the model of a suffocating, dominating Versailles model.

Le Roi Soleil can dazzle, even to the point of blindness. Erben's final chapter on Louis XIV and universal monarchy begins with, by far, the two weakest sections of his book. His reliance upon either discredited or outdated historians to analysis the ›panegyrischen Identifikation Ludwigs. XIV mit Apoll sowie in der Emblematik des Sonnenkönigtums‹ would have benefited from Lucien Bély's and Olivier Chaline's accounts of the reign, but both, unfortunately appeared after ›Paris und Rom‹ was in press. He does seem disturbingly unaware of discussions, at least in the Anglo-American academic world, about the limits on Louis's capacity to act, both within France, thanks to a factionalism the nature of which is becoming clearer with the passing years, and without. Louis's shameless bullying of his

neighbours in the 1680s proved decidedly counterproductive, and his use of engravings and medals provoked a response in kind and hardened resistance to a mythology which proved all too mythic. Louis was free to claim anything he wished and to express these desires in visual form. That does not mean that these desires reflected, even remotely, political reality.

Erben is on stronger ground when discussing the *querelle des anciens et modernes* and the vexed problem of the dome of the Invalides. In this last section, apart from stray references to the Escorial, Erben has been permitted some useful comparative illustrations, François Mansart's sketch of 1665 for the Bourbon mausoleum at Saint-Denis and Michelangelo's plan and elevation for St. Peter's in Rome. It is typical of the wide geographic range of Erben's vision that he found room to refer to the tomb arrangements of Kaiser Maximilian I at Innsbruck. This argument could be fruitfully extended by looking at princely funeral churches both within France for the Orléans, Condé and Orléans-Longueville branches of the family, and without, in virtually every courtly seat in Christendom.

Despite some reservations, Erben's study is a major contribution. It does suffer from being Louis-centric and by an unwillingness to see that the king's court was flanked by a number of significant households of, at the very least, princely rank. If Erben is obsessed with Louis, he mercifully escapes the pitfalls of being pre-occupied with Versailles, which became the official seat of the court only in 1682, a position it retained for only slightly more than one hundred years. One of the besetting problem of »court history« is its microscopic concentration. Numerous stray references to dynasties other than the Valois and the Bourbon indicate Erben's capacity to open a larger lens, and given the success of his work here, it can only be hoped that he points a telescope south of the Pyrenees, east of the Rhine and to points, in addition to Rome, south of the Alps.

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Manuela BÖHM, Jens HÄSELER, Robert VIOLET (Hg.), *Hugenotten zwischen Migration und Integration. Neue Forschungen zum Refuge in Berlin und Brandenburg*, Berlin (Metropol) 2005, 280 p., ISBN 3-936411-73-5, EUR 19,00.

Une autre approche de la question de l'immigration eut lieu à l'occasion des 300 ans de l'Église huguenote à Berlin. Ce colloque interdisciplinaire tenu en 2004 intitulé »Les huguenots à Berlin. Entre la migration et l'intégration« ne regroupe pas seulement les experts franco-allemands sur cette question mais aussi laisse la parole au pasteur de la paroisse et aux jeunes chercheurs. Cette approche est abordée sous un autre angle, celui des enjeux de la langue maternelle et de l'intégration spirituelle au Refuge.

La première partie, »Du réfugié au citoyen: Aus Flüchtlingen werden Bürger«, traite de la politique d'immigration et d'intégration. Elle débute avec »Migration, Migrationspolitik und Integration Hugenotten in Brandenburg-Preußen, Irland und Großbritannien« de Susanne LACHENICHT qui propose une comparaison pointilleuse de l'impact complexe des politiques d'accueil et d'intégration à Berlin, Dublin et Londres entre 1660 et 1756. Les trois pays en question ont pour point de départ la même situation démographique, une population anéantie par les guerres et les épidémies mais une histoire religieuse différente ainsi qu'une préférence nuancée pour la langue française. S. Lachenicht recherche les facteurs politiques et religieux prédisposant à une intégration puis à une assimilation. Elle relève ici l'indicateur des mariages dits mixtes. Ce regard sur le quotidien ne manque pas d'intérêt à l'application des efforts d'un pays. En dernier elle s'applique à observer la pratique de la langue maternelle. Pour les cinq générations de réfugiés en question, ils préservèrent leur identité culturelle – l'auteur sous-entend ici la religieuse.

Émilie COQUE se base sur les deux traits spécifiques des réfugiés dans les pays allemands dans son article »La provenance des réfugiés huguenots à Berlin: la promulgation et diffu-