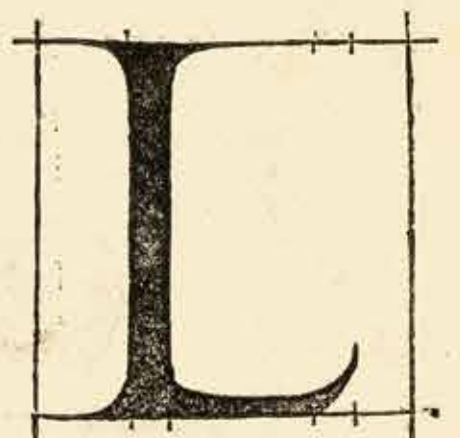
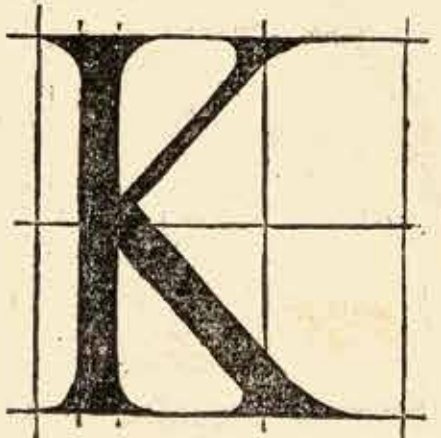
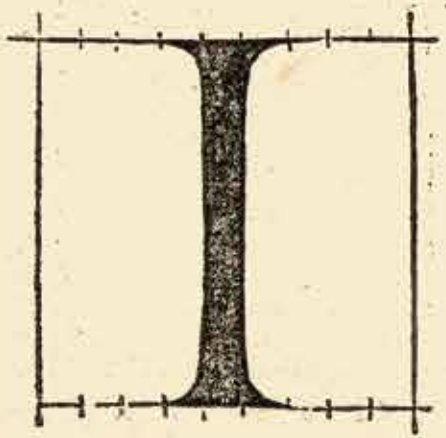
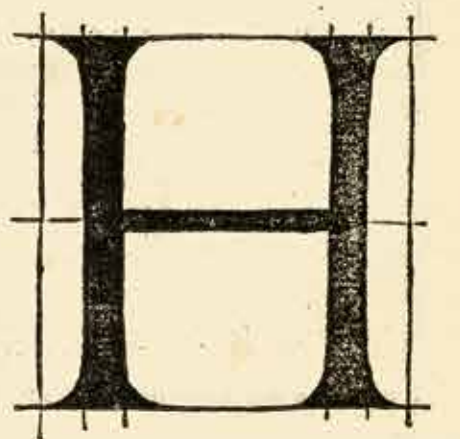
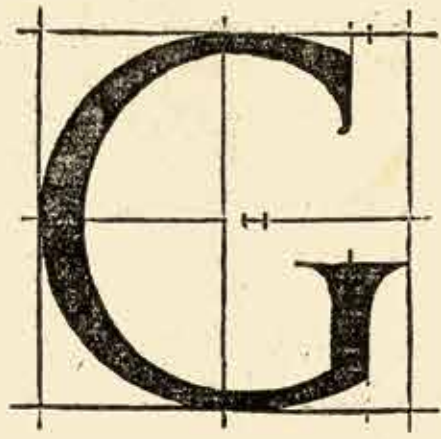
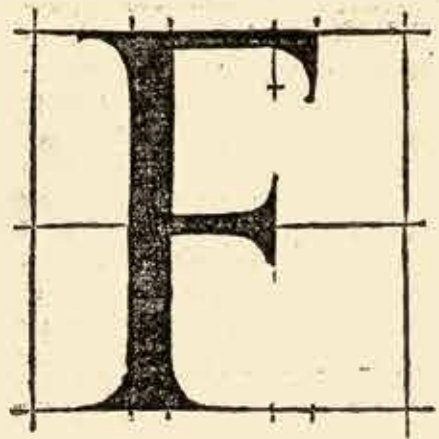
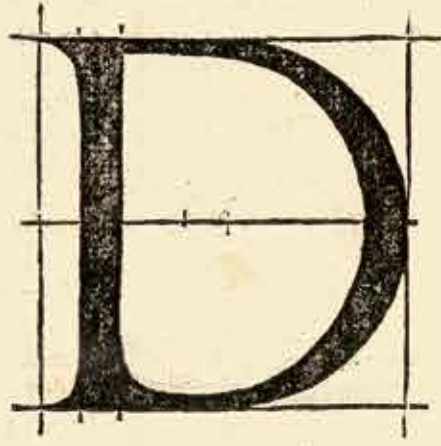
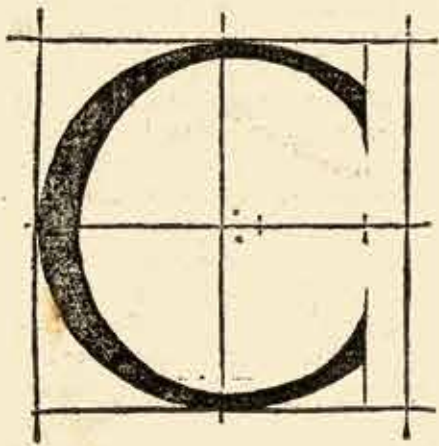
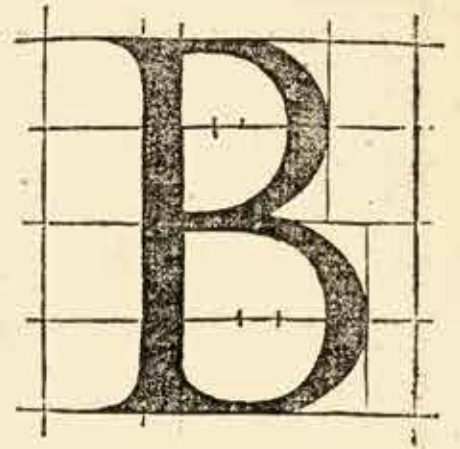
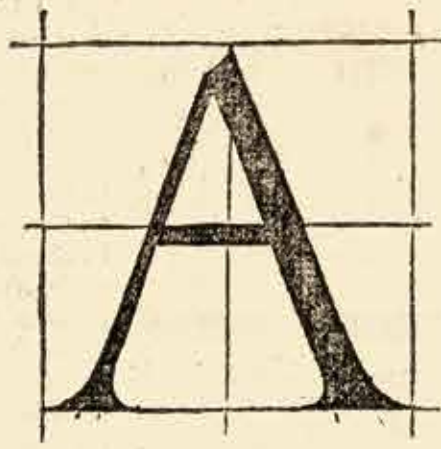
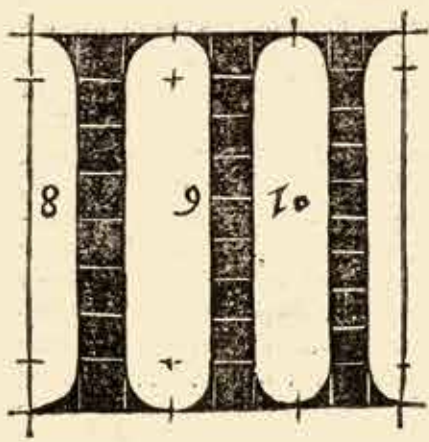


GRAND DESIGN

Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry





GRAND DESIGN



GRAND DESIGN

Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry

Elizabeth Cleland

With

Maryan W. Ainsworth

Stijn Alsteens

Nadine M. Orenstein

Contributions by

Iain Buchanan

Guy Delmarcel

Nello Forti Grazzini

Concha Herrero Carretero

Lorraine Karafel

Sarah W. Mallory

Lucia Meoni

Cecilia Paredes

Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

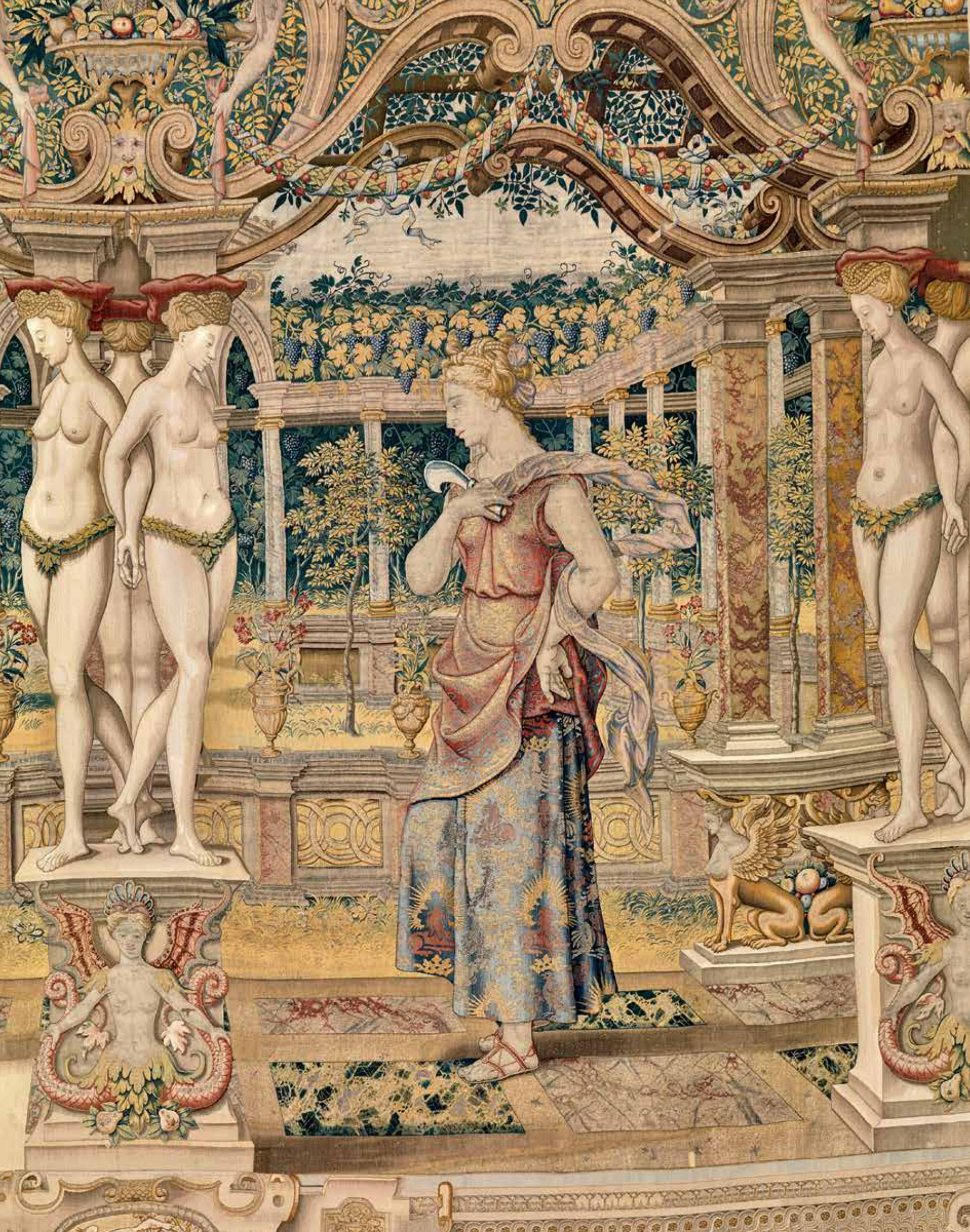
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DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

Pieter Coecke van Aelst was truly a Renaissance master of all disciplines. If Bernard van Orley first established the Italian Renaissance idea of the *peintre-inventeur* in northern Europe, Coecke, who was Van Orley's youthful counterpart and possibly his occasional collaborator, took this practice to new heights. By the time of his early death at age forty-eight, Coecke had not only left his mark on Netherlandish architecture thanks to his influential translations and publications of architectural treatises by Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio, but he had also become one of the most celebrated Netherlandish panel painters of his generation; his workshop was among the largest Antwerp saw in the first half of the sixteenth century. Simultaneously, he maintained a profile in neighboring Brussels, center of the renowned tapestry weaving industry, as salaried painter to both Mary of Hungary, governor of the Netherlands, and her brother Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Above all, as the impressive body of Coecke's surviving drawings makes clear, he was a master designer, devising projects across media, from painted altar-pieces to designs for prints, stained glass, and goldsmith's work.

To many of his contemporaries, Coecke's most admired works were his tapestry designs. Apparently training both as a panel painter and as a painter of the paper cartoons, or models, needed by the weavers as patterns for the tapestries, Coecke pushed the glamorous, monumental textile format to new heights, reacting with invention, wit, and elegance to the innovations of Raphael and his collaborators. His tapestry series were acquired by the most exacting patrons, from Henry VIII and Francis I to the Habsburgs and the Medici. Arguably, these enormous hangings were the ultimate medium for Coecke's artistic expression, yet they were executed entirely without the touch of his hand, by weavers who superbly translated his vision with brilliant silks, wools, and precious-metal-wrapped threads.

Due in large part to the vagaries of art historical theory in the centuries since his death, Coecke's fame has waned. The most recent monograph of his work was published almost fifty years ago, and other than a show held near Vienna in 1981 that focused on three of his early tapestry series, there has been no exhibition devoted to the artist. But, as the present exhibition testifies, his reputation is ripe for reappraisal. His mastery in the various media in which he worked ensures that every visitor will find something about this artist to appreciate. But it is above all in the fabulous tapestries based on his designs that we can appreciate the sheer audacity of scale, innovation of design, and mastery of color that earn Coecke his true place in the pantheon of great artists.

To reflect the breadth of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's expertise, the exhibition and this accompanying publication

have depended on the collective scholarship of a curatorial team at the Metropolitan Museum, helmed by tapestry specialist Elizabeth Cleland, associate curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, working with Maryan W. Ainsworth, curator, Department of European Paintings, and Stijn Alsteens and Nadine M. Orenstein, both curators in the Department of Drawings and Prints. This volume additionally benefits from contributions by international tapestry scholars and is enhanced by new photography by Bruce White.

The exhibition has also depended on the extraordinary generosity of colleagues around the world as well as the goodwill and partnership of fellow institutions and owners. I extend special thanks to our colleagues at the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, in particular José Rodríguez Spiteri, president, and Alicia Pastor Mor, managing advisor; to our colleagues at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, especially Sabine Haag, director general; and to our colleagues at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, particularly António Filipe Pimentel, director, and José Alberto Seabra Carvalho, deputy director, who agreed to the unprecedented loan of the great *Descent from the Cross* triptych, and to Susana Campos, who carefully restored it for our exhibition. This vital international support has resulted in an exceptional presentation of the design vision, inventive genius, and practice of Pieter Coecke van Aelst.

We are grateful to the donors that have made this exhibition possible, including the Siebold Stichting Foundation and Fukushima Medical University, the William Randolph Hearst Foundation, the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund, the Diane W. and James E. Burke Fund, and The Hochberg Foundation Trust. We also thank The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its support of both the show and this catalogue.

Thomas P. Campbell

DIRECTOR

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Just as the creation of a sixteenth-century tapestry relied on collaboration and communication, this exhibition and catalogue reflect the participation of many hands. Credit for an exhibition devoted to this often under-sung hero of the northern Renaissance, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, lies with Thomas P. Campbell. He conceived the idea when he was still a curator in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, and following his appointment as director in 2009, it was my great pleasure and honor to be entrusted with realizing this project. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Campbell for granting me the freedom to pursue his idea on my own terms, while continuing to offer support and encouragement. Dr. Campbell is owed an enormous debt of gratitude, both as a visionary and supportive director and as the outstanding tapestry scholar of his generation, who has singlehandedly raised the medium in popular perception from an afterthought in the realm of the applied arts to recognition as one of the great areas of artistic patronage during the Renaissance and Baroque ages. The tapestry exhibitions he curated at the Metropolitan Museum, "Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence" in 2002 and "Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor" in 2007–8, set the benchmark high, and also reassured the lenders to this show that the Metropolitan has the knowledge, the experience, and the staff to whom they could safely entrust their treasures.

It is impossible to categorize Pieter Coecke van Aelst as an artist working predominantly in a single medium: this exhibition and catalogue would not have been possible without the scholarly engagement, refreshing ideas, and enthusiasm of my co-curators, Maryan Ainsworth, Stijn Alsteens, and Nadine Orenstein. It has been a marvelous experience for me to work with them, and I remain deeply indebted that they chose to lend their expertise to this venture.

The accelerating pace of loan negotiations, catalogue preparation, and exhibition design enjoyed the attention of Luke Syson, the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Chairman of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Preliminary overtures for the exhibition were made under the careful eye of his predecessor, Ian Wardropper. I gladly acknowledge their advice and guidance. Jennifer Russell and Linda Sylling, with Nina S. Maruca and Martha Deese, have kept the project on an even keel throughout.

My co-curators and I thank our lenders for their trust and generosity: Albertina, Vienna—Klaus Albrecht Schröder, Marian Bisanz-Prakken, and Eva Michel; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich—Renate Eikelmann; Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid—José Rucio Zamorano; Bowdoin College Museum of Art—Anne Collins Goodyear, Frank H. Goodyear III and

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Jerzy Holc kindly supervised conservation of the Wawel's tapestry. Conservation of the *Descent from the Cross* triptych was generously undertaken in Lisbon by António Candeias,

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All aspects of preparation of the exhibition, catalogue, and accompanying events have benefited enormously from the unfailingly conscientious and shrewd eye of Sarah Mallory, with whom it has been a pleasure to work.

Finally, I thank my husband, Wiley Gambol, our daughter, Adriana, and my parents, James and Karina, for their unflagging encouragement and patience during the long gestation of this project.

Elizabeth Cleland

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GRAND DESIGN

RECOGNIZING PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

Elizabeth Cleland

TO VIEWERS OF the works illustrated in this volume, it should come as no surprise that Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550) was spoken of in the superlative by his contemporaries and early successors: Lodovico Guicciardini called him “great”; the theologian and writer Georg Braun described him as “most excellent”; in 1604, Karel van Mander celebrated him as “ingenious and knowledgeable.”¹ For Dominicus Lampsonius, publishing his *Portraits of Some Celebrated Artists of the Low Countries* in 1572, Coecke was “not only a painter” but also a “bilingual interpreter” of Italian architectural theory (fig. 1).² The attention he garnered during his lifetime reveals that this posthumous reputation was no empty, literary embellishment. In 1534, Coecke was apparently already styling himself “painter to His Imperial Majesty, Charles V,” according to a later engraving by Gilles Hendrickx recording an inscribed pedestal of a lost statue of the Giant of Antwerp ascribed to Coecke.³ By 1543, he was one of a group of artists receiving a small but steady daily stipend from Mary of Hungary, governor of the Habsburg Netherlands.⁴ The epitaph on the gravestone erected in his honor by his widow, Mayken, in 1550 noted that he was “court painter” to both Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Mary of Hungary.⁵ As the surviving works explored in this catalogue reveal, Coecke’s productivity ranged from panel painting to designs for stained glass and goldsmith’s work, and prints, as well as editing and publishing architectural treatises. At the center of this wide range of activities was tapestry design and cartoon painting. Coecke was a pioneering designer and brilliant in every field.

Despite Coecke’s glowing reputation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and his remarkable output, posterity has been less than kind to him and his is no longer a household name. Nor is he even necessarily included in the pantheon of the key protagonists in the history of Western art. To many, his greatest significance now lies in his status as father-in-law to the famous Pieter Bruegel the Elder; more ingloriously, he has frequently been confused with his near contemporary the tapestry master weaver and agent Pieter van Edingen, also called van Aelst (ca. 1450–1533).⁶ Coecke was only forty-eight years old at his death. His close contemporary Michiel Coxie (1499–1592), by contrast, enjoyed a further four decades of productivity and in doing so to a certain degree overshadowed Coecke’s contribution. Awareness of the excellence of Coecke’s works and his consequent success depended on his reputation, shared and celebrated across a network of practitioners, dealers, and agents, a theme returned to time and again in this volume. Other than

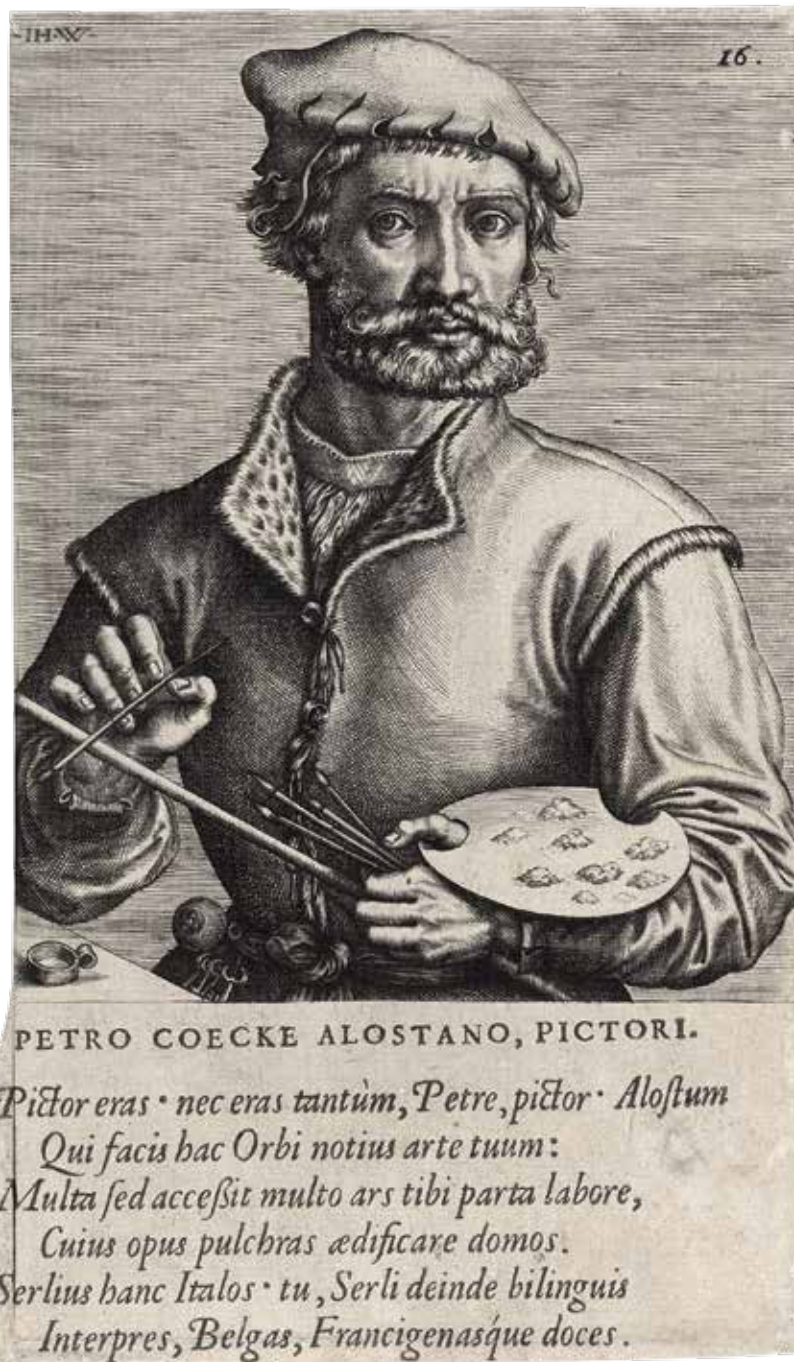


Fig. 1. *Pieter Coecke van Aelst*. Jan (Johannes) Wierix, engraved by the widow of Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp, 1572. Plate 16 in Dominic Lampsonius's *Portraits of Some Celebrated Artists of the Low Countries*, 8¼ × 4⅞ in. (21 × 12.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-67.041)

the role he proclaimed on the title pages of his printed works, Coecke appears to have signed neither his painted panels nor his tapestry projects despite an already long-established tradition of signatures on pictures and some precedent for signed tapestries.⁷ Great patrons like King Henry VIII of England and King Francis I of France collected works designed by Coecke, but it remains debatable whether they actually knew his name. A 1544 record by a member of Charles V's board of finance referring to Coecke calls him "Jan," not "Pieter" (see "Timeline").⁸ In 1548 even Mary of Hungary referred to him simply as "another painter" despite having long lived with at least three of the splendid tapestry series he had designed and despite the long-standing, if meager, stipend her court functionaries had paid to him as a retainer; it was only later, in 1550, that she referred



Fig. 2. Detail of *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, Brussels, before 1558. Wool and silk threads, 14 ft. 1¼ in. × 22 ft. 9⅝ in. (430 × 695 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 32/5, A. 363-12280)

to him by name, “the painter, master Pieter” (see “Timeline”).⁹ As the generation of practitioners who recognized Coecke’s hand died out, the extravagant praise in the written record became brittle and increasingly lacking in substance, and his authorship of some of the greatest tapestry and painting projects of the 1530s and 1540s languished in large part unrecognized. Nineteenth-century Belgian scholars, heralding a reawakening appreciation for their sixteenth-century heritage, called him, almost without exception, “l’architecte Coecke.”¹⁰ This ignorance of those works of art that would otherwise have attested to his brilliance meant that the recorded range of Coecke’s activity actually worked to his detriment: like the multiple beams of light refracted through a prism, the very effervescence of his productivity risked somehow diminishing his reputation, creating a gadfly persona for him, seen as merely tinkering across media. Yet Coecke was, without question, one of the greatest Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth century, a true embodiment of the Renaissance designer. For a spell of a little more than two decades, from the late 1520s until 1550, Coecke was the trailblazer in southern Netherlandish tapestry design. In a period and a context still reeling from the thrill of imported Italian designs for tapestries by Raphael, by Perino del Vaga, by Giulio

Romano, he was one of the few local artists able to respond with respect and admiration to the lessons learned from Italy while retaining his independent and recognizable personal style. Coecke deserves our attention for the same reason that series after series of his tapestry designs proved so popular with Mary of Hungary and her ilk: his spatial audacity is breathtaking, as is the gamut of emotions he could capture with an expression or pose, from maternal love (cat. 34), to pathos (fig. 4), to physical exhaustion (fig. 5). The rhythm and control of his compositions as they unfurl across the picture plane have, in his earlier work, the spirited energy of a lavolta dance and, in his later designs, the control and poise of a stately pavane.

The documented facts of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's life are enough to establish the framework of a biographical chronology, laid out in the Timeline following this essay. To these secure dates can be attached a core handful of certainly autograph works, namely: his printed books on architecture (including cats. 17, 23), published between 1539 and 1550; his drawings, now in Los Angeles, for the *Life of Saint Paul* tapestry series (cat. 30), in New York for the *Story of Joshua* tapestry series (cat. 55), and in Saint Petersburg for a stained-glass window (fig. 73), on all of which Coecke's handwriting has been recognized thanks to comparison with a receipt that he signed (cat. 14); and the design of the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* woodcut frieze (cat. 45), published posthumously by his wife and carved into woodblocks by an anonymous artist, which purports to represent scenes "drawn from life by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, when he was in Turkey, the year of Our Lord 1533." To these can be added with some confidence: drawings in Rotterdam of a *Brothel Scene* (cat. 8), in Vienna also for the *Life of Saint Paul* tapestry series (cat. 40), and in Paris for the *Story of Joshua* tapestry series (cat. 58) and *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus* (cat. 16), on all of which Coecke's name or monogram is recorded in a contemporary hand, perhaps his own; the *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestry series (cats. 47–53), for which, according to a mid-sixteenth-century written program (cat. 46), "Master Pieter van Aelst, painter of Antwerp, made the designs and compositions"; the design for the *Last Supper* painting (cat. 5), probably alluded to in a document dated 1544 as "by Peeter van Aelst"; and the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22), which in 1585 was described as by "Master Pieter van Aelst."

Other attributions have been built on the basis of the works' style around this core foundation, some, it must be said, more convincing than others. By 1935 Max Friedländer had proposed nineteen painted works, growing to twenty-two in the 1975 revised English translation of his text; almost fifty years ago, Georges Marlier published the only detailed monograph on Coecke, with a list of works associated with Coecke or his workshop spanning an astonishing 278 panel paintings and 72 drawings.¹¹ Since Marlier's work and the slim volume written by August Corbet, scholars have approached Coecke's oeuvre from very distinct perspectives, resulting in a series of excellent studies dedicated to particular aspects of his work but with minimal discussion of his overall appeal, success, and significance.¹² In this catalogue, instead of seeking to appraise each and every attribution to Coecke or attempting to include all examples of his work, we have returned



Fig. 3. Detail of fig. 23

to his principal tapestry projects, celebrating his achievements as a tapestry designer and cartoon painter, and contextualizing them by examining key examples of his activities as a panel painter, a draftsman, and a publisher. Taking inspiration from an exhibition curated by Rotraud Bauer at Halbtorn in 1981 dedicated to Coecke's three earliest tapestry series and from a section in the "Art and Magnificence: Tapestry in the Renaissance" exhibition organized by Thomas Campbell at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2002, this presentation is the first detailed analysis of all of the tapestry series designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, both those securely documented and those attributed to him on convincing stylistic grounds.¹³ To the extent the surviving records allow, the progress of each project is traced from Coecke's preparatory drawn designs or *petits patrons*, also called *modelli*, through the full-scale painted cartoons (the 1:1 models given to the weavers to follow), culminating in the woven tapestries themselves. Coecke has, on occasion, been suggested as the designer of other tapestry series, not discussed in this volume, such as the *Story of Cupid and Psyche* (Mobilier National, France) and, less convincingly, the *Story of Romulus and Remus* (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels).¹⁴ Although the tentative attribution of the *Story of Cupid and Psyche* to Coecke merits further study, we know the series only through adapted, seventeenth-century reeditions woven in France, filtered through the lenses of many intermediate artists, including the Master of the Die. Thus the series is not included in this catalogue, for as with the drawings and the panel paintings, we have restricted ourselves to presenting only those tapestry series that plainly bear Coecke's stamp and showcase his design intentions in their clearest and most unadulterated states. His stylistic development, as well as his substantial contribution to the body of great Renaissance art produced in the southern Netherlands, is most seminally explored through these tapestry projects. They are the key to his artistic personality and production. The intertwining strands nurturing Coecke's artistry, best traced in his tapestry series, are paralleled by, and overlap with, his panel paintings, his drawn designs for works in other media, and his printed projects: we can follow his training and early experiences apparently under Jan Mertens van Dornicke and Bernard van Orley, as discussed by Maryan Ainsworth, and also his increasing proclivity for cartoon painting and its bearing on his panel-painting technique. His travels and the intense experience of Italian design and execution are examined most particularly in Stijn Alsteens's analyses of the drawings. Coecke's remarkable combination of artistic foresight, design innovation, and business acumen are celebrated by Nadine Orenstein in her consideration of his publications. And, across the board, the authors of this volume note his perfectionism and steadfastness, remaining attached as he did to projects long after he had to all intents and purposes completed his design remit.

IN THE 1541–42 Antwerp city account books, the Antwerp magistracy acknowledged Pieter Coecke's contribution to local industry with his fostering, encouragement, and perhaps teaching of the art of tapestry cartoon painting.¹⁵ It is worth noting that, until his apparent move to Brussels in the later 1540s, Coecke straddled the artistic milieus of both cities. Tapestry design and cartoon painting were not yet common practice for artists in Antwerp, which remained the center of excellence for panel painting. The importance of the tapestry industry to Brussels, for its part, was phenomenal: in 1545, Cosimo I de' Medici's agent informed him that fifteen thousand people in that city, almost one-third of the population, were involved in the production and trade of tapestries.¹⁶ Though far from complete, enough documentary material survives to elucidate who collected the tapestries made after Coecke's designs; where, when, and how they enjoyed them; and even, in



Fig. 4. Detail of cat. 10



Fig. 5. Detail of cat. 60

some cases, how much they paid for them and which dealers facilitated the transactions. As the following chapters explore, many preliminary drawings for Coecke's tapestry projects have survived and can be reunited with preserved fragmentary painted cartoons and, in one glorious instance, an almost intact cartoon, allowing unprecedented opportunities to follow the production process step-by-step, from the artist's first designs and conceptions, to the detailed *petit patron*, the full-scale painted cartoon, and ultimately, one, two, or more weavings of the splendid tapestries produced from these tools. This is the case not just for one series, but for series after series across twenty or so years of Coecke's artistic development.

Reappraising Pieter Coecke from the hub of his tapestry projects also poses more far-reaching questions about our perceptions of artists as designers during the Renaissance period. Coecke's incredible feats in this area—the finesse and grace of his drawn designs and the power and expressivity, but also the legibility, of his painted cartoons—are steps in service of the textile medium. It is possible to argue that ultimately the most sumptuous and significant embodiments of his artistic expression were the tapestries themselves. Though vital to the success of the tapestries, Coecke's role was confined to shaping their designs and providing the preparatory drawings and painted cartoons, but his hand did not touch the actual product. This raises a notion still intriguing, not to say problematic, to scholars of the field commonly called “Old Master Paintings,” but one that is entirely familiar to observers and practitioners of modern and contemporary art. Contrary to the Vasarian ideal of the lonely genius pouring his soul into a unique creation or even the more current

and still widely accepted notion of the preeminence of works in which the master's own hand can be detected, Pieter Coecke's very success lay in his remarkable ability to share marvelous design ideas and to collaborate. The works surviving from his tapestry projects include not just exquisite designs by his own hand but also the more restrained transcriptions by anonymous workshop assistants at intermediate, more mechanized stages, capturing the contours of a composition (cat. 67), recording a design (cats. 48, 52), or adding color washes to a cartoon (cats. 31, 43). In his drawn designs, Coecke understood that, as well as expressions of his own creativity, these were models to copy, tools to guide, images to be translated into other media, whether the wool and silk polychrome threads of tapestry, the woodblocks cut for printing, the stained and colored fired-glass panels for windows, or, in at least one splendid example (cat. 15), the cast and bejeweled goldsmith's work encasing a wonder of the natural world.

Coecke's Faith

During the three decades of Pieter Coecke's working life, funding and taste encouraged great commissions in the realms of mammoth tapestry series (cats. 25–71), monumental stained-glass windows (cat. 13), and immense painted altarpieces (cat. 22), as well as a lively market for smaller-scale devotional paintings (cats. 9, 10) and contemplative secular works (cat. 6). A succession of joyous entries and annual civic parades, spurred on by entrenched civic rivalries, occasioned a regular need for ambitious pageant ephemera and permanent records thereof for posterity (cat. 23). Advances in the printing and distribution of books opened up whole new audiences (cat. 17). Coecke's prodigious output attests to his enthusiastic response to all this. However, it is worth remembering that, although the Reformation of the Christian faith was not fully under way as a movement, these were tumultuous times. In the 1520s, artists and craftsmen known to Coecke fell victim to scrutiny and sometimes persecution because of their religious beliefs. Bernard van Orley, court painter to both Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary, and Pieter de Pannemaker, perhaps the most admired master weaver of his generation, were nonetheless both prosecuted for attending Claes van der Elst's sermons. The printmaker Cornelis Bos, as a member of the Libertine sect, had to flee Antwerp, possibly for Haarlem, in the 1540s. Later still, master weavers like Jan van Tieghem, who had woven some of Coecke's cartoons, were forced to relocate to Cologne and Wesel.¹⁷ Coecke himself was not untouched by the issue of faith, with the teachings of Martin Luther acknowledged in his *Last Supper* (cat. 5), as well as quite possibly in his *Resurrection* triptych (cat. 9) and the apparently politically nuanced additions to his *Saint Paul* tapestry series (cat. 37); but it remains difficult to ascertain whether such messages reflected Coecke's own religious inclinations or, perhaps more likely, responded to the priorities of his patrons. In the case of the *Last Supper*, as Ainsworth explores in her entry, these Reformist elements are found only in this masterpiece and conspicuous in their absence from the many subsequent painted and printed versions of that composition. Yet with the *Saint Paul* tapestries, the added episodes were clearly not deemed so inflammatory that they could not also be enjoyed by the Roman Catholic patrons commissioning later editions of the series.

Coecke's Geography and Training

Although Pieter Coecke van Aelst lived in Antwerp through at least 1544, he also maintained an artistic presence in Brussels, less than thirty miles distant as the crow flies. This dual role in



Fig. 6. Detail from the *Oath and Departure of Eliezer* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 16 × 28 ft. (487 × 853 cm). Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.8)

Antwerp and Brussels seems to date back to his earliest years as an artist, in his mid- to late twenties, still honing his skills. Coecke probably learned the craft of painting with oil glazes on panel from his father-in-law, the Antwerp-based master Jan Mertens van Dornicke, who is also identified as the Master of 1518, under whom he might have been apprenticed (see Ainsworth, “Pieter Coecke van Aelst as a Panel Painter”). But Coecke was clearly as at home with the technique of tapestry cartoon painting, working in distemper on paper. Antwerp city account books of 1541–42 referred to him as a “painter and cartoon maker,”¹⁸ and the astonishing skill appreciable in surviving cartoons after Coecke’s designs (cats. 31, 32, 36, and 43) attests to his direct participation in their painting. These stand in marked contrast to the mechanical and unimaginative technique familiar from other cartoon fragments surviving from this period.¹⁹ Tapestry cartoon painting was certainly not a despised activity for celebrated artists, as revealed by earlier documented projects by the likes of

Jacques Daret, Cosmè Tura, Raphael, and, if we are to believe Vasari, Leonardo da Vinci. But on the whole, cartoon painting and panel painting tended to have been practiced exclusively by different specialists, requiring as they did different binding media and materials.²⁰ Indeed, the function of cartoons as intermediate tools supplying weavers with patterns to follow, rather than as finished works of art in their own right, necessitated particular characteristics in their execution and appearance, and it is quite likely that the most famous survival of early sixteenth-century tapestry cartoons, Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), was originally intended as a display set, with a second, more workable set passed on to the weavers.²¹ Coecke was certainly not alone among his contemporaries in his decision to design tapestries. Indeed, Michiel Coxcie received compensation for making designs for Brussels weavers from the city of Brussels from at least 1555 until 1559.²² However, there is a gray area in archival vocabulary: the "patroonen" Coxcie provided were probably *petits patrons* for tapestries, but did he paint cartoons? Although the archives are testament to Coxcie's activity in the field, association of actual tapestry projects to him is reliant on purely stylistic attribution of the tapestries themselves, and the quality varies dramatically from series to series, perhaps implying that his role stopped at the *petit patron* stage, with a range of more pedestrian artists painting the cartoons.²³ Certainly, both Guicciardini in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567) and Karel van Mander in *Het Schilder-Boeck* (1604) rated Coecke's dexterity in both panel painting and cartoon painting as worthy of specific comment. As Ainsworth discusses in detail, Coecke's earliest oil paintings followed the same mode as those of his predecessors, but increasingly they came to be characterized by a technique favoring disengaged brushstrokes and unblended glazes (figs. 3, 4); he applied oil paint almost as if working with distemper, as though he were painting a cartoon.

If, as Ainsworth explores in this volume, Coecke spent time training under Jan Mertens van Dornicke and picked up from him the rich, decorative vernacular of the Antwerp Mannerists, it is also tempting to believe Van Mander's remark that the young Coecke worked with Bernard van Orley in Brussels. Since Coecke seems to have been as well versed in cartoon painting as in panel painting, the experience to which Van Mander referred could have included painting some of the cartoons for Van Orley's tapestry projects, as intimated by André Félibien, writing in the 1660s.²⁴ A small fragment of one of the cartoons for Van Orley's *Battle of Pavia* series has recently been recognized,²⁵ but no sizeable sections of cartoons for his tapestry projects survive. Nonetheless, the variable quality and characteristics of detailing in the tapestries themselves imply that Van Orley did not, apparently, always paint his own cartoons and seems instead to have subcontracted them to cartoon painters of markedly varying abilities.²⁶ If this is correct, the experience of working up Van Orley's designs for series like the *Story of Romulus and Remus* (cat. 3), the *Alba Passion* (see figs. 34, 46), the *Story of Jacob* (fig. 168), the *Hunts of Maximilian* (see figs. 49, 133), and possibly the *Moralidades* (see fig. 148) into full-scale cartoons would have provided invaluable training for Coecke and could help explain his apparent familiarity with some of Van Orley's projects (see cats. 34, 37, 49, and 50). Spending time in the orbit of Bernard van Orley in Brussels, the young Pieter Coecke would have encountered other, anonymous artists responding to the great master's example. Shared figure types and compositional devices, for example, imply some connection with the Master of the Months of Lucas (see Cleland, "Story of Abraham") as well as the anonymous master of *View of Elsene* (cat. 7). If Coecke had already spent time collaborating with Brussels-based tapestry weavers, interacting with the weaving directors and the dealers, this might explain how he achieved access to such a stellar network so early on in his first tapestry project, the *Life of Saint Paul* (see Delmarcel, "The Life of Saint Paul," and cats. 25–44), of which the first



Fig. 7. *Vision of Ezekiel*. Design attributed to Tommaso Vincidor after Raphael, ca. 1521. Tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1523. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. × 11 ft. 4½ in. (425 × 347 cm). Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid (CE26806)



Fig. 8. *Vision of Ezekiel*. Attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530–35. Oil on panel, 35¾ × 26¾ in. (91 × 68 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich (27)

weavings were acquired by Francis I, Mary of Hungary, and Henry VIII. Tempting as it is to imagine Coecke bursting onto this scene like a brilliant rocket, it is perhaps more realistic to envision him getting to know key dealers like Joris Vezeleer and Pieter van der Walle over a period of time before then. Especially if these sumptuous early editions, many of which were woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads, were made on speculation, it is unlikely that these dealers would have so confidently advanced the funds needed unless they knew that Coecke's cartoons would be worth it. It is striking, as the following essays show, that in the gamut of Coecke's projects, the same network of Brussels-based master weavers and Antwerp-based dealers comes up time and again: some are names familiar to historians of the period, like dealers Joris Vezeleer and Pieter and Jan van der Walle, and master weavers Willem and Jan de Kempeneer; others, like Paulus van Oppenem and Jan van der Vyst, are considerably less so. Willem de Pannemaker, though already beneficially placed thanks to his successful father, Pieter, must have been about the same age as Coecke and, going on to become one of the most sought-after master weavers of his generation, he seems to have started his career as an independent weaving director with Coecke's tapestry cartoons for the *Seven Deadly Sins* series (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins," and cats. 46–53). Coecke and de Pannemaker would work together on numerous occasions, and after Coecke died, de Pannemaker continued to weave and, apparently, cause to be replicated some of his cartoons (see Cleland, "The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona"). References to the Van der Walle family of dealers pepper Coecke's career beginning in the early 1530s, from distributing some of the *Saint Paul, Sins, Creation, and Poesia* tapestry sets to assisting with the coordination of Coecke's critical journey to Constantinople (see Orenstein, "The Customs and Fashions of the Turks"), and perhaps—through Van der Walle's transactions with the Augsburg merchant Jacob Rehlinger—also

interceding in the translation of the first German edition of Coecke's publication of Sebastiano Serlio's fourth book on architecture (cat. 17). Like de Pannemaker, the Van der Walle family continued to act as agents distributing Coecke's tapestry series for years after his death.

Coecke's Travel and Response to Italian Design

Coecke added to the wealth of experience he gained during his training and early work with travel to Constantinople, discussed in detail by Orenstein, and apparently also to the Italian peninsula. Although the question of exactly when Coecke was in Italy remains contested, it is most likely that his visit took place on his way to or back from Turkey in 1533. Van Mander's comment that Coecke had already visited Italy before his first marriage and widowhood, in the 1520s, continues to be widely credited. However, this dating seems increasingly unlikely in terms both of Coecke's biography and of his stylistic development; a dramatic shift in technique and a nuancing of style are detectable only beginning in the mid-1530s.²⁷ Contrary to this theory, the view largely adopted by the authors of this catalogue is that Coecke's travels in Italy were confined to 1533. The lessons he seems to have learned in Mantua and Ferrara in particular, for example, are noted in his work only from early 1534 onward (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins" and cats. 11, 12, and 19–22). His remarkable productivity in the second half of the 1530s and his high profile in Antwerp, where he was named dean of the painters' Guild of Saint Luke in 1537, would have left little time for a second excursion southward. We can almost certainly rule out Coecke's presence on Charles V's Tunisian campaign in 1535, as has sometimes been suggested;²⁸ as Iain Buchanan discusses ("The Conquest of Tunis"), Coecke was brought into the considerably later *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry project only after its principal artist, Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, encountered difficulties with his designs and the execution of workable cartoons. With no experience in the medium, Vermeyen apparently called on his colleague Pieter Coecke, already well experienced in tapestry design and sufficiently well traveled in the Middle East to have good record drawings of the kind of local color needed to spice up the *Tunis* cartoons.²⁹ Although Coecke's drawings made during his Turkish trip have not survived, as Orenstein discusses below they formed the basis for an astonishing printed frieze, more than fourteen feet long, published following Coecke's death (cat. 45). His experience of the sights and sounds of eastern Mediterranean life is evident time and again in his tapestry series of the later 1530s and the 1540s (fig. 6).

Coecke's firsthand experience of the great works of Raphael, Giulio Romano, and their contemporaries cannot be overestimated. And it is clear that he furthered this familiarity by studying the *petits patrons* and, on occasion, the full-size tapestry cartoons that these artists sent to the tapestry weavers in Brussels; citations of tapestry designs by Raphael and by Perino del Vaga are recognized in Coecke's work by Ainsworth (cat. 9), Guy Delmarcel ("The Life of Saint Paul"), Lorraine Karafel ("The Story of Julius Caesar"), and Cecilia Paredes ("The Poesia"). If Coecke was as active as a cartoon painter as we believe, his links with the main Brussels-based weaving workshops would surely have given him privileged access to the *petits patrons* coming from Rome and Genoa, as well as to the arriving Italian cartoon painters themselves, Tommaso Vincidor and Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona.³⁰ Although Lodi's documented interaction with Pieter Fabri van Aelst might be something of a red herring since, as Edmond Roobaert has shown, Fabri van Aelst was almost certainly not the same as Coecke van Aelst.³¹ Nonetheless, Coecke and Lodi may well have been aware of each other's work, given the parallels between Coecke's *Abraham* series and Lodi's *Story of Mercury and Herse* (see fig. 182). Coecke was clearly interested in the design



Fig. 9. Detail of cat. 34

innovations coming out of Italy, and indeed his close monitoring of what was happening in the Italian cities might explain his early percipience in recognizing the potential of Serlio's architectural treatise, discussed in detail by Orenstein (cat. 17).

Coecke's Genius

Even in Coecke's earliest works, a healthy respect for traditional iconography, whether brothel scenes or moralistic allegories, is combined with a daring inclination to stretch them in design and technique to achieve something unexpected (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins" and cats. 6, 8).

Similarly, we recognize notes of Bernard van Orley (cats. 2, 37), Jan Mertens van Dornicke (cat. 1), Raphael (figs. 7, 8), indirectly via Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci (cat. 5), and even Botticelli, in the Pallas Athena–like figure at the right of catalogue number 56. But in Coecke’s hands, these visual references are tweaked, honed, and, arguably, surpassed. With an enthusiasm even greater than Van Orley’s and quite unlike the ponderousness of his contemporary Michiel Coxcie, Coecke lent to his tapestry designs the sumptuous, colorful, if illusionistic, material appeal of Antwerp Mannerist paintings, representing shimmering ornaments and surface patterns, luxurious textures, bejeweled objects, and brilliant *couleur changeant* effects. By examining Coecke’s painted and drawn works in parallel with his tapestry designs, we start to recognize the devices through which he articulated his compositions, like the central tree or column (cats. 68, 69) or figures leaning around obstacles (cats. 6, 33, 34, 56, fig. 9). In contrast to the Raphaelesque instinct for distantly converging perspectives, as if piercing the back of the wall on which the tapestry was hung, Coecke tended to bring his compositions forward, as if they were about to burst into the viewer’s space and scatter outward, with figures or objects seemingly balancing precariously at the front of his designs (cats. 6, 37, 38, 39, 54, and 69) or dramatically foreshortened, appearing to project beyond the picture frame (cats. 8, 9, 10, 12, 33, and 34).

Like his southern Netherlandish predecessor Rogier van der Weyden, Coecke maintained a stable of favorite figure types and distinctive physiognomies to which he returned time and again. For example, reappearing filtered through panel paintings, tapestries, or indeed a design for goldsmith’s work is the same balletic figure balancing on one leg (cats. 9, 15, fig. 183) or a fierce and gnarled older man (cats. 2, 38, and 44) or a curly-haired lady with a rolled headdress (cats. 16, 50, fig. 2). The same ideal of feminine grace, beauty, and motherhood is shared between a tapestry like *Saint Paul Preaching to the Woman of Philippi* (cat. 34) and Coecke’s *Holy Family* painting (cat. 10); indeed, his initial plans for the Infant Christ, visible in the underdrawing of the *Holy Family* (fig. 22), are markedly similar to the pudgy toddler who looks up at his mother in the tapestry. And Coecke repeatedly included the same background buildings (see cats. 2, 24, 34, and 44) in an arrangement apparently recorded for reuse in a pattern drawing.³²

One of the main reasons why Coecke’s body of work remains so exceptional is that he was able to combine his distinctive personal style with a particular ability to collaborate: his designs retained their characteristic, sometimes idiosyncratic, elegance even though they frequently passed through many hands in their translation from his initial concept to the finished work of art, often with the help of assistant draftsmen and journeymen painters, to ultimate execution by weavers, glass painters, and woodblock cutters. Whether editing and publishing Serlio’s treatises (cat. 17) or refining and adding to Vermeyen’s tapestry designs (cat. 70), Coecke was also apparently ready to collaborate with other masters and improve upon their projects.

BY EXAMINING BOTH Coecke’s secure projects and a body of stylistically attributed works and by using new methods of scientific exploration in combination with detailed visual analysis, we can lean over Coecke’s shoulder and follow his working process. We can observe the way his brushstrokes with looped ends in the underdrawings beneath the painted surface of his earliest panels (cats. 1, 2) shifted to a broad, voluminous parallel-hatching in the underdrawing of his later paintings (cats. 10, 22). We can appreciate the way he adapted his drawing technique, learning from the virtuoso use of brush with white gouache that he witnessed in the works of his Italian contemporaries (cats. 11, 12). And we can see how he thought through his designs for their ultimate rendition,



for example annotating a break in composition, apparently occasioned by a corner or break in the masonry in what was probably the design for a wall painting (cat. 16). Between the preparatory drawing and the finished tapestries of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi*, Coecke advantageously altered directions of a protagonist's gaze (see cat. 34); infrared reflectography of his *Resurrection* triptych (cat. 9) and the *Holy Family* (cat. 10) reveals that experimentation with the direction of his figures' gaze also preoccupied him during the underdrawing stage of his panel paintings, nuancing them to achieve the most dramatic undercurrents of connection among protagonists. In one of his designs for stained glass, the importance of Saint Nicholas's gaze was likewise so key that Coecke accentuated it with a brown wash (cat. 13). We can enjoy his exquisite qualities as a draftsman, from the way he jotted down the initial inklings of a composition with admirable brevity in a tiny preliminary sketch (cat. 63), to the detail in his subsequent *petits patrons*, designs in their ultimate stage before translation in scale, medium, and palette into painted altarpieces or monumental tapestry and stained-glass cartoons. We can even start to appreciate quirks of his working process, like the perfectionist tendency to produce a second, or even a third, framed and finished *petit patron* rather than muddy its effect with a last-minute alteration. As Alsteens suggests in "Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries," this implies that Coecke intended these *petits patrons* to be prized as works of art in their own right, as examples of great design.

Coecke's care with the *petits patrons* was not motivated by a desire to dictate minutiae of detail to a separate and anonymous team of cartoon painters since he apparently retained control and participated during the cartoon-painting phase: the surviving drawings show he was not disturbed about excluding such important detailing as architectural embellishment, textile patterning, and clothing accessories from his *petits patrons*, probably because he developed these areas only during the cartoon stage (see cats. 39, 43, and 67). Van Mander's account, the surviving tapestry cartoons, and even Coecke's at times unusual manipulation of oils on his panel paintings all attest to his parallel training and active and continuous work as a cartoon painter. There was clearly still an element of collaboration since the nearly intact *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* cartoon (cat. 43) retains faint inscriptions indicating colors to be used, as does a fragment of the cartoon for the *Sacrifice at Lystra* (cat. 31), which probably served to relay his intentions to his assistants when they added color washes to his work.

Like his contemporary Jean Cousin the Elder, working in Sens and Paris, and to a lesser extent not unlike the rather older Raphael in Urbino, Florence, and Rome, Coecke was a product of the times in which he worked: first and foremost a designer, also active as a painter.³³ But much more so than his contemporaries, Coecke seems not to have deserted projects once his design role was complete but, instead, retained oversight as other artists translated his designs across media. The surviving receipt for the *Saint Nicholas* window (cat. 14), for example, reveals that Coecke took charge of delivering the massive finished window. Coecke had designed the window, and his *modello* survives (cat. 13), although the full-scale cartoon does not; yet it is very unlikely that it was he who undertook the specialized task of painting the colored enamels onto the clear glass of the finished object (Dirck Vellert, the celebrated stained-glass designer and painter, and his rather less well-known contemporary Jan Rombouts seem to have been unusual in doing both).³⁴ It is almost impossible that Coecke's workshop contained the kiln in which the glass was fired or the space and tools for the lead glazier to assemble the panels. In other words, even after the project left Coecke's workshop, he retained oversight of it, apparently in charge of subcontracting work to the craftsmen involved, and he retrieved the finished window, taking responsibility for its safe delivery to its final destination, the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp.³⁵ In the case of the tapestries, certain adaptations

and supplementations to some of the cartoons (see cats. 34, 38, 39, and 60) are so well done that the weavers must likely have returned the cartoons to Coecke's workshop for him, or one of his more talented journeymen, to work on. In the instance of the cartoon for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*, infrared reflectography reveals that Coecke apparently repainted it from scratch some years after the series was first woven (see cat. 43).

In the case of the architectural treatises that Coecke translated and brought out so soon after their initial Italian publication (cat. 17), he was not simply a conduit for Dutch, French, and German iterations of Serlio's text: as Orenstein points out, Coecke ameliorated, annotated, and even supplemented Serlio's material with his own. He recognized the appeal of Serlio's *Books of Architecture* and acted with such alacrity and thoroughness that he cornered much of the northern European market for the book before Serlio himself could.

THE TAPESTRIES PRODUCED in the southern Netherlands during the sixteenth century, arguably more than those from any other location or period, achieved a *summum* of excellence for the medium, thanks to a fortunate conglomeration of great designers, superlative weavers, and ambitious patrons with ready funds. As such, perhaps even more than the magnificent painted altarpieces, tapestries are the art form, the relics, embodying and helping to conjure that transient sense of the splendor, the color, the material richness, and quite simply the spatial audacity of the European courts of the Habsburgs, Tudors, Valois, Medici, and their kind. By the same token, in art historical literature, tapestries tend to have been sidelined as obsolete and the circumstances of their design, production, and appeal misunderstood, ignored, or belittled. Thanks to a century of devoted tapestry scholarship and a shift in the last forty years of tapestry studies back toward mainstream art history, this misconception has been laid to rest.³⁶ It remains to celebrate Pieter Coecke van Aelst not just as an exceptional draftsman, superb painter, and influential publisher but also as perhaps the greatest Netherlandish designer of tapestries' golden age. In addition, it needs to be acknowledged that it was via designing for the tapestry medium that Coecke developed the spatial, illusionistic sophistication he also applied to his panel paintings. For static frescoes, designers tended to manipulate perspective as if to pierce a hole in the wall. In contrast, tapestries were intended to hang, even to be gently mobile, and consequently Coecke represented space in his tapestries more fluidly, both receding toward an imagined vanishing point and also spilling content forth into the viewers' space. Coecke's paintings, like catalogue number 6, display interplay between recession and projection with their dramatically foreshortened figures. But above all it was tapestries, with their integral borders and lifesize, sometimes over-lifesize, scale that allowed Coecke the space and scope to push this arresting trait into new territory.

TIMELINE: PIETER COECKE VAN AELST IN CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

Archival Sources

AAOCMW	Archief van het Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn, Antwerp
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AKASK	Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp
AOAOLV	Oud Archief van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk, Antwerp
ARA	Rijksarchief, Antwerp
ASF	Archivo di Stato di Firenze
BARA, ASG	Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief van de kapittelkerk van Sint-Michiël en Sint-Goedele/Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives de la collégiale Saint-Michel et Sainte-Gudule, Brussels
BARA, RK	Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rekenkamers/Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambres des Comptes, Brussels
LADN	Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille
OSV	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna
PAN	Archives Nationales, Paris
SAA	Stadsarchief, Antwerp
SAAalst	Stadsarchief, Aalst
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

1502 (AUGUST 14) Born in Aalst, in east Flanders, approximately twenty miles northwest of Brussels (recorded on his tombstone; see Cleland, “Epilogue”).

BETWEEN 1522 (OCTOBER) AND 1523 (SEPTEMBER) “Peter van Aelst” is mentioned among the new citizens of Antwerp (BARA, RK, 4979, 1522–23, fol. 17v; see Born 2008, p. 95).

1526 (DECEMBER 3) Officially takes over responsibility for the guardianship of the goods of his wife, Anna Mertens, called van Dornicke (SAA, Schepenregister 169, 1526 [K.B.], fol. 147v; see Denucé 1936, p. 19 n. 1; Roobaert 2004, p. 25; Born 2008, p. 95).

1527 “Peter van Aelst” becomes a free master in the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp (AKASK, Archief van de Sint-Lucasgilde, Liggeren van de Sint-Lucasgilde; published in Rombouts and Van Leries, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 108; with qualifications in Roobaert 2004, p. 23).

1527 (OCTOBER 13) His widower status implicit, he acts as guardian-tutor to the brothers and sisters of Anna Mertens, called van Dornicke (SAA, Schepenregister 171, 1527 [K.B.], fol. 279r–v; see Marlier 1966, p. 40; Born 2008, p. 95).

BETWEEN 1527 (OCTOBER) AND 1528 (SEPTEMBER) “Peeter couschier va[n] Aelst” is mentioned among the new citizens of Antwerp (BARA, RK, 4.980, A1527–28, fol. 23; see Roobaert 2004, p. 25).

1529 “Peter van Aelst” enrolls Willem van Breda as his apprentice with the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp (AKASK, Archief van de Sint-Lucasgilde, Liggeren van de Sint-Lucasgilde; published in Rombouts and Van Leries, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 113).

1532 “Peter van Aelst” is enrolled as a new member of the confraternity of the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp (AOAOLV, rekening van de broederschap van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, vol. 2, fol. 37r; published in Roobaert 2004, p. 25).

1533 “Pierre Coecke d’Alost” is in Turkey (title page of the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* woodcut frieze, published by his widow, Mayken Verhulst, in 1553; see Orenstein, “Customs and Fashions of the Turks”).

1533 (JANUARY) First reference to completed tapestry set of the *Life of Saint Paul*, delivered to Francis I (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS fr. 15,628, no. 427; see Delmarcel, “The Life of Saint Paul”).

BETWEEN 1535 (SEPTEMBER) AND 1536 (SEPTEMBER) First reference to completed tapestry set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, recorded in Henry VIII’s possession (TNA, Records of the Exchequer, 315/455 fol. 40r; see Cleland, “The Seven Deadly Sins”).

BETWEEN 1535 (DECEMBER) AND 1536 (DECEMBER)

“Meester Peeteren van Aelst” receives payment for safe delivery of stained-glass window to go above the altar of Saint Nicholas, patron saint of the mercers, in the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp, and his journeymen receive a tip for their efforts (AAOCMW, Godshuizen [Almshouses for the Elderly], no. 82, Anno 1535–36, fol. 203; see Geudens 1891–1904, vol. 3, p. 52; Roobaert 2004, p. 26).

1537 (MARCH 26) Receipt signed by “Peeter Coucke van Aelst” recording delivery of Saint Nicholas window to the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp and acknowledging payment received (ARA, family papers, varia, s.v. Coecke [1537]; see cat. 14).

1537 (OCTOBER) “Peeteren van Aelst” is made one of the deans of the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp, and consequently takes over responsibility for a portion of the dues historically owed to the Chapter of the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp (AKASK, Archief van de Sint-Lucasgilde, Liggeren van de Sint-Lucasgilde; published in Rolland 1939, p. 10, nos. 21, 23; see also Rombouts and Van Lerijs, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 129, and Roobaert 2004, p. 23).

1538 “Peeter Coeck van Aelst” is made one of the “meesters van de armenbusse” (wardens responsible for the newly established mutual aid fund) at the Guild of Saint Luke, alongside an illuminator named Adriaen Tack. In 1539, Coecke takes on sole responsibility for the fund, and he temporarily reprises the role in 1541 following the death of Joos van Cleve (AKASK, Archief van de Sint-Lucasgilde, Busse[n]boek van de Sint-Lucasgilde, no. 243, fols. 8r, 9r; see Van der Stock 1998, p. 262; Roobaert 2004, pp. 23, 24).

1538 (NOVEMBER 3) Mayken (Verhulst), who would become Coecke’s second wife, is described as a “book printer” in documents in Antwerp City Archives pertaining to the lien she held over all the possessions of a certain “Cornelis the bookbinder,” who was in arrears with rent he owed her (SAA, Vierschaar 182, fol. 55r; see Roobaert 2004, p. 37).

1539 “Peeter van Aelst” enrolls Colyn van Nieucasteel as his apprentice with the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp (AKASK, Archief van de Sint-Lucasgilde, Liggeren van de Sint-Lucasgilde; published in Rombouts and Van Lerijs, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 135).

1539 (MARCH 29) First reference to completed tapestry set of the *Story of Joshua* series, delivered to Francis I, king of France, by the Antwerp-based, Genoese merchant Emmanuel Riccio (PAN, Roolles des acquits-François 1er, box J.962, 16, no. 148; see Buchanan, “The Story of Joshua”).

1540 (1539 OLD STYLE) Publishes the Dutch translation of Vitruvius’s *De Architectura*; called “Peter Coecke van Aelst” on the title page. Publishes the Dutch translation of Book IV of Sebastiano Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Peeter Coucke van Aelst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1540 (NOVEMBER 10) Together with the glass painter Merten Thymans, Coecke witnesses the last will and testament of Joos van Cleve (SAA, Notariaat 2071, fol. 234v; published in Van den Branden, F. J. 1883, p. 132). Coecke is probably the executor of Van Cleve’s estate, following his death in 1541 (Roobaert 2004, p. 24).

BETWEEN 1541 (NOVEMBER) AND 1542 (NOVEMBER)

“Peete[re]n van Aelst schilde[re] en[de] patroon makere” (painter and cartoon maker) is one of a group of “various artists coming here [to Antwerp] from elsewhere and bringing new trades” who are receiving stipends from the magistracy of Antwerp as “assistance with their household rents,” in recognition of services to the city by teaching these new trades, in this instance the art of tapestry cartoon making (SAA, R11 Stadsrekening 1541–42, fol. 86v; see Van den Branden, F. J. 1883, p. 154; Van der Stock 1998, p. 340; Roobaert 2004, pp. 31–33; Roobaert 2005, p. 173). This monetary assistance appears again in the Antwerp city accounts for 1542–43 (Roobaert 2004, p. 32).

1542 Publishes the French translation of Book IV of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Piere va[n] Aelst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1542 (MAY 23) The engraver Cornelis Bos receives 650 “small books” and 300 “big books” on consignment from “Peter van Alst”; in subsequent documents the “big books” are described as “groote Metselreijboeken in Nederlants” (big books on masonry in Dutch) (BARA, RK, kwitanties/acquits, no. 3729 5A; published in Cuvelier 1939, pp. 29–31, docs. 2, 3; see Marlier 1966, p. 46, and Schéle 1962).

BETWEEN 1542 AND 1543 “Peeteren van Aelst” submits a design for the Church of Saint Gudula (Sainte-Gudule/Sint-Goedele) in Brussels, for a window offered by John III, king of Portugal, for the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles (BARA, ASG, 8.674, fol. 344v; published in Lefèvre 1945a, p. 140; see also fig. 14.4; Roobaert 2004, pp. 29–31). Other artists, including Gilis Willems, also submit designs; eventually Michiel Coxcie receives the commission (see Roobaert 2000, p. 277; Roobaert 2005, pp. 168–69).

1543 Publishes the German translation of Book IV of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Peter Coück von Alst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1543 “Pierre van Aelst,” described as a citizen of Antwerp, contributes 350 livres to a loan to Charles V (LADN, B2436, fol. 341r; published in Marlier 1966, p. 43, citing a communication from Jozef Duverger).

1543 “Maistre Pierre Coucke” receives a stipend of 1 *stuiver* a day from Mary of Hungary, conceivably compensation for work as a painter attached to her court (LADN, box B3484; published in Finot 1895, p. 143; see also Roobaert 2004, p. 39, and Roobaert 2005, p. 171).

1543 “Magister Michael Coucke” acquires citizenship in Brussels (BARA, RK, 12.708, fol. 197v; see Duverger, E. 1992, p. 164). This almost certainly applied not to Coecke but to Michiel Coxcie, although Roobaert (2005, pp. 164–65) raised the possibility, but ultimately dismissed it, that Frans vander Baren, the Brussels town secretary responsible for listing new citizens, might have been confusing the names of Michiel Coxcie and Pieter Coecke.

BETWEEN 1543 (SEPTEMBER) AND 1544 (SEPTEMBER)

First reference to completed tapestry set of the *Story of Abraham*, recorded in Henry VIII’s possession (TNA, Records of the

Exchequer 101/423/10, fol. 74r; see Cleland, “The Story of Abraham”); first reference to completed tapestry edition of the *Story of Julius Caesar*, recorded in Henry VIII’s possession (also TNA, Records of the Exchequer 101/423/10, fol. 74r; see Karafel, “The Story of Julius Caesar”).

1544 “Peeter van Aelst” enrolls Pauwels Clays, son of Colver, as his apprentice with the Guild of Saint Luke, Antwerp (Bibliotheek AKASK, Archief van de Sint-Lucasgilde, Liggeren van de Sint-Lucasgilde; published in Rombouts and Van Lerijs, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 150).

1544 (JANUARY 10) “Pieter van Aelst schilder” is cited as a witness to a notarized act in Antwerp (SAA, Notariaat 2.072, fol. 5v; see Roobaert 2004, p. 41).

1544 (AUGUST 5) “Jan [*sic*] van Aelst” receives a yearly stipend of 4 stuivers a day in recognition of his activities as painter to the emperor, Charles V, cited in the accounts of the Raad van Financiën (Council of Finance) (BARA, RK, 20.736, fol. 52v); a less-detailed account of this financial transaction in the records of the Council of State and Audiences identifies the artist as “Pieter van Aelst” (BARA, RK, Raad van State en Audiëntie, 870, fol. 110r; both published in Roobaert 2004, p. 39).

1545 Publishes the second edition of the French translation of Book IV of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Pierre va[n] Aelst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1546 Publishes the Dutch translation of Book III of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Peeter Coeck van Aelst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1547 On three occasions, “Pieter Coucke” acquires life annuities from residents of the town of Aalst (SAAalst, Schepenboek 1547; see de Potter and Broeckaert 1876, p. 212, and Marlier 1966, p. 38).

1548 “Maistre Pierre Boucke [*sic*]” receives a stipend of 1 *stuiver* a day from Mary of Hungary, conceivably compensation for work as an artist attached to her court (LADN, Box B.3488; published in Finot 1895, p. 149, and Roobaert 2004, p. 40).

1548 (JANUARY) “Pieter van Aelst” is described as “painter to the dowager Queen of Hungary” in a petition to the chancellor of the Council of Brabant requesting the chancellor’s intervention to recoup a sum of 25 *carolusgulden* owed to him by Cornelis Bos (BARA, RK, kwitanties/acquits, no. 3729 5A; see Cuvelier 1939, pp. 31–32, doc. 4).

1548 (FEBRUARY 20) (1547 O.S.) First reference to completed tapestry set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*, recorded in Mary of Hungary’s possession (LADN, box B.2477, no. 87716; see Cleland, “The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona”).

1548 (APRIL 19) Mention of the recruitment of a second artist, almost certainly Pieter Coecke, to work with Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen on the designs for the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry series (BARA, RK, Raad van State en Audiëntier, 60, fol. 36v; see Buchanan, “The Conquest of Tunis”).

1549 Publishes the second edition of the Dutch translation of Book IV of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Peeter Couck van Aelst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1549 (MARCH 11) (1548 O.S.) “Peeteren coecke alias van aelst,” having described himself as court painter to Mary of Hungary, is awarded a permit from the Raad van Brabant (Council of Brabant) to publish books, registered on March 17 (BARA, RK, 20.789, 1548–49, fol. 22r; see Van den Branden, L. 1990, p. 31, no. 124; also Van der Stock 1998, p. 45, and Roobaert 2004, pp. 36–37, 39).

1549 (SEPTEMBER 1) “Maistre Pierre Coucke” continues to receive a stipend of 1 *stuiver* a day from Mary of Hungary, conceivably compensation for work as an artist attached to her court (LADN, box B. 20.154; see Roobaert 2004, p. 40).

1550 “Pieter Coecke van Alst” copublishes *Le triumphe d’Anvers fait en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d’Espaign[e]*, in which Cornelis Grapheus describes Coecke as “His Imperial Majesty’s painter” (see cat. 23).

1550 Publishes the French translation of Book III of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Pierre Coeck d’Alost” on the title page. Publishes the third edition of the French translation of Book IV of Serlio’s architectural treatise; called “Pierre va[n] Aelst” on the title page (see cat. 17).

1550 (NOVEMBER 16) Jan Nerincx delivers stoves to heat the workshops of Willem de Pannemaker and “maistre Pierre van Halszone, poinctre” while they work on the *Conquest of Tunis* (although Roobaert [2004, p. 16] identifies the latter as Pieter Fabri van Aelst rather than Pieter Coecke van Aelst, despite the overwhelming stylistic evidence to the contrary) (LADN, box B.3339; see Buchanan, “The Conquest of Tunis”).

1550 (DECEMBER 6) Dies in Brussels and is buried at the Church of Saint Gaugericus of Cambrai (Saint Géry/Sint Gorik); identified on his gravestone as “Petrus Coecke cognomentum ab Alosto.” The math of Coecke’s birth date, death date, and age at death cited on the stone does not add up, however, prompting Marlier (1966, pp. 30–31) to suggest that Coecke’s actual death date was December 16 (see Cleland, “Epilogue”).

1550 (DECEMBER 10) Funeral service for “magistri Petri Coke Alostensis, pictoris imperatoris” in the Church of Saint Gudula (Sainte-Gudule/Sint-Goedele) recorded in the church’s pyxis (“casket”) accounts, which recorded the shares of funeral costs received by the canons’ chapter (BARA, ASG, 2.657 [formerly register 1213], fol. 155v; published in Lefèvre 1945b, p. 40).

1550 (DECEMBER 17) The death of the “peintre mestre Piere” (painter master Pieter), who had been working with Vermeyen on the *Conquest of Tunis* cartoons, is mentioned by Mary of Hungary in a letter to Charles V (OSV, Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv, Belgien PA53/5, fols. 119v–120r; see Buchanan, “The Conquest of Tunis”).

1550 (DECEMBER) OR 1551 (JANUARY) Mayken Verhulst, “de weduwe van Pieter couck” (the widow of Pieter Coecke), acquires a pension of 6 *carolusgulden* and 20 stuivers in Aalst, which had to be paid by the town, with Coecke’s two surviving daughters,

Mayken and Antonette, listed as beneficiaries (SAAalst, Register 644, Schepenboek 1550, fols. cxvī–v; see Marlier 1966, p. 37, and Roobaert 2004, p. 45). (From the general archival record, it is apparent that Pieter Coecke van Aelst had two sons, Pieter and Michiel, with his first wife, Anna Mertens; a daughter and a son, Antonette and Pauwels, whom he recognized from his relationship with Anthonette van der Sant [some believe the 1555 reference to Antonien records an additional son]; and two daughters and a son, Katelyne, Mayken, and—again—Pauwels, with his second wife, Mayken Verhulst. Pieter and the elder Pauwels would later become artists.)

1551 (JUNE 13) First reference to completed tapestry set of the *Story of the Creation*, acquired by Cosimo I de' Medici in Florence (ASF, Mediceo del Principato 600, fols. 110r–111r; see Meoni, “The Story of the Creation”).

1553 Mayken Verhulst publishes the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (see Orenstein, “The Customs and Fashions of the Turks”).

1553 Mayken Verhulst publishes the Dutch translation of Books I, II, and V of Serlio's architectural treatise (see cat. 17).

1553 (MARCH 20) (1552 O.S.) “marie vander Hulst wed[uwe] wylen peeters coecke al[ias] van elst” (widow of the late Pieter Coecke van Aelst) receives her printer's permit, registered on April 29 (BARA, RK, 20.789, 1552–53, fol. 23v; see Van den Branden, L. 1990, p. 37, no. 168; Van der Stock 1998, p. 45; Roobaert 2004, p. 37).

1553 (JULY 18) Members of the guild of secondhand dealers (*oudekleerkopers*) in Antwerp value the household goods of “peeter van aelst” at 103 pounds, 6 schellings (SAA, Gilden en Ambachten, 4.287, fol. 37r; see Roobaert 2004, pp. 42–43).

1554 (FEBRUARY 15) Coecke's eldest children, Pieter and Michiel, described as sons of the late “Peter Coecx,” appear before the Antwerp magistracy to declare for the record that they had received everything due to them following their father's death, from their stepmother and from their former guardians Merten Peters van Ghelle, a painter, engraver, and print publisher working in Antwerp, and Marten Coecke (their uncle). Also noted is that their

younger half-siblings, “Pauwel and Katlijnen Coecx alias van Aelst” (children of Mayken Verhulst) were already deceased, dying in Brussels like their father (SAA, Schepenregister 252, fol. 310r; see Marlier 1966, p. 47, and Van der Stock 1998, p. 262).

1554 (JUNE 4) Some paintings belonging to “wylen [the late] Peters van Aelst, schilder [painter]” are sold by secondhand dealers for 43 pounds, 19 schellings, and 7½ deniers (SAA, Gilden en Ambachten, 4.287, fol. 129v; see Roobaert 2004, pp. 42–43).

1555 (JUNE 21) “Pauwels Scoecx des voors. wylen Peters natuerlic sone” (Pauwels Coecke, illegitimate son of the aforementioned, late Pieter) and “Anthonette Coecx zyne natuerlicke dochter” (Antonette Coecke, his illegitimate daughter) are cited in a council act in Antwerp (SAA Schepenregister 256, 1555, fol. 257r–v. See Duverger, E. 1979, p. 212).

1555 (DECEMBER 20) Pieter and Michiel, Coecke's eldest sons, as guardians of the interests of two of their younger half-siblings, acquire a hereditary annuity of 8 *carolusgulden* on behalf of “Pauwels and Antonien [probably Antonette] Coeck alias van Aelst, described as illegitimate children of the late ‘Peter Coeck alias van Aelst’ ” (SAA, Schepenregister 257, 1555: published in Duverger, E. 1979, pp. 211–12).

1556 (DECEMBER) First reference to completed tapestry edition of the *Poesia*, acquired by Philip II, king of Spain (AGS, Tesoro, inv. 24, leg. 561; see Paredes, “The Poesia”).

1558 Mayken Verhulst publishes the second edition of the Dutch translation of Books I–II and V of Serlio's architectural treatise and the second edition of the German translation of Book IV of Serlio's architectural treatise (see cat. 17).

1585 (JANUARY 30) The painter Ambrosius Boschaert and his wife, Johanna van Moras, both of Antwerp, swear that they were present in the city in April 1584 when Daniel de Villers sold the *Descent from the Cross* by “Mr. Peeter van Aelst” and pledged to deliver it to Lisbon in Portugal (SAA, Certificatieboek 46, 1585, fol. 8r–v; see cat. 22).

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST AS A PANEL PAINTER

Maryan W. Ainsworth

KAREL VAN MANDER tells us in his *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604 that Pieter Coecke van Aelst trained with Bernard of Brussels, generally assumed to be Bernard van Orley. He further asserts that Coecke became a “vigorous designer and painter as much in oils as in watercolor; very excellent as well as a designer and painter of *patrons*.”¹ In 1661 André Félibien seconded praise of Coecke and noted that he was a pupil of Van Orley and was a very good painter and architect.² Neither biographer indicated when Coecke trained with Van Orley. Linda Jansen has suggested that this apprenticeship could have taken place between 1517–18 and 1521–22, or according to Annick Born, between 1516–17 and 1520–21.³ Since Coecke was born in 1502, he would have been fourteen or fifteen at the time of the earlier proposed date of his apprenticeship, which seems rather early. A “Peeter van Aelst” is registered in 1522 in the Antwerp Poorterboeken (Citizen’s Registry Ledgers),⁴ but no profession is mentioned and it is not certain that this is the artist Coecke. However, by 1526 Coecke the painter was certainly in Antwerp, for that year he married Anna, daughter of another painter, Jan Mertens van Dornicke.⁵ It has been assumed that Coecke worked in Van Dornicke’s studio during the 1520s until Van Dornicke’s death in 1527.⁶ That same year, Coecke became a master in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke.⁷

In their assessments of Coecke as a painter, both Max Friedländer (1917) and Georges Marlier (1966) agreed that the stylistic differences and often mediocre quality of the large number of paintings assigned to the Coecke group presented a challenge, that of distinguishing the master’s own work from what appeared to be significant workshop participation.⁸ There is no question that Coecke operated one of the largest multifaceted workshops in Antwerp in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Jansen has demonstrated this by reconstructing what can be ascertained from documentary and technical evidence concerning works that are among some of the most popular subjects in the Coecke group, namely the Last Supper, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Holy Family. She has also attempted to identify the participation of landscape specialists within the Coecke workshop.⁹

In addition to drawings inscribed by Coecke, his painted oeuvre has been based largely on stylistic comparisons with the remarkable woodcut frieze *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45), composed of seven scenes documenting the people, customs, and landscape of the Ottoman Empire. Coecke’s observations resulted from his trip to Constantinople (now Istanbul) in 1533,



Fig. 10. Detail of cat. 1



Fig. 11. Detail of cat. 5

and even though the print frieze was not issued until 1553 by his widow, Mayken Verhulst, it can be used as an example of his style in the 1530s.

None of Coecke's extant paintings is signed, but two of them, the *Last Supper* and the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cats. 5, 22), are documented to some degree. This has provided the foundation for attributions of other paintings. An engraving of the *Last Supper*, signed by Hendrik Goltzius and dated 1585, has an inscription, probably written in an eighteenth-century hand, *pieter van Aelst Inventor* (fig. 41).¹⁰ Furthermore, a document in the Antwerp City Archives dated 1543 (during Coecke's lifetime), concerning a marriage contract of February 14, 1544, between the painter Philip Lisaert and Cornelia Willems, refers to three paintings by Coecke, one of which was a small *Last Supper* ("een cleyn avontmael van Peeter van Aelst").¹¹ For the *Descent from the Cross* triptych at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, there survives a document published in 1883 by F. J. van den Branden, which in 1938 Leo van Puyvelde realized described that large triptych.¹² Dated January 30, 1585, the document records the sale of the triptych the previous year to one Simon Simons by Daniel de Villers in Antwerp, it lists the subject of each of the panels, and it notes that the triptych is by Master Pieter van Aelst. It further states that the work was delivered by Daniel de Villers to Lisbon to be sold there through local dealers Jerome de Franchi and Genevois and Jasper Glas.¹³ That the document was prepared near to Coecke's lifetime and that his widow was still alive would seem to argue for its credibility.

Not until recently have these two splendid works by Coecke been closely studied from a technical point of view, allowing a fresh assessment of works from the artist's own hand for this catalogue.¹⁴ Dating 1527 and about 1540–45, respectively, the *Last Supper* and the *Deposition* triptych provide the linchpins for reconstructing Coecke's development in terms of painting technique and style. A full technical study of all of the paintings attributed to Coecke and his workshop needs to be undertaken, but that has not been within the scope of the research for this presentation, which focuses specifically on the art for which Coecke was equally renowned—his tapestry designs. Instead, the aim here is to present a group of seven important paintings (cats. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 22) that provide key examples of Coecke's work and offer new information for a preliminary discussion of the artist's stylistic development. This assessment of Coecke's paintings prompts a reconsideration of another important issue, namely the early training of Coecke, whether with Bernard van Orley or the Master of 1518 (who is also known as Jan Mertens van Dornicke, Coecke's father-in-law and



Fig. 12. Infrared reflectogram detail of Virgin's drapery in *Circumcision* from *Life of the Virgin*. Jan Mertens van Dornicke, 1518. Polyptych. Church of Saint Mary, Lübeck



Fig. 13. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 1



Fig. 14. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 1



Fig. 15. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 1



Fig. 16. Detail of cat. 1



Fig. 17. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 2

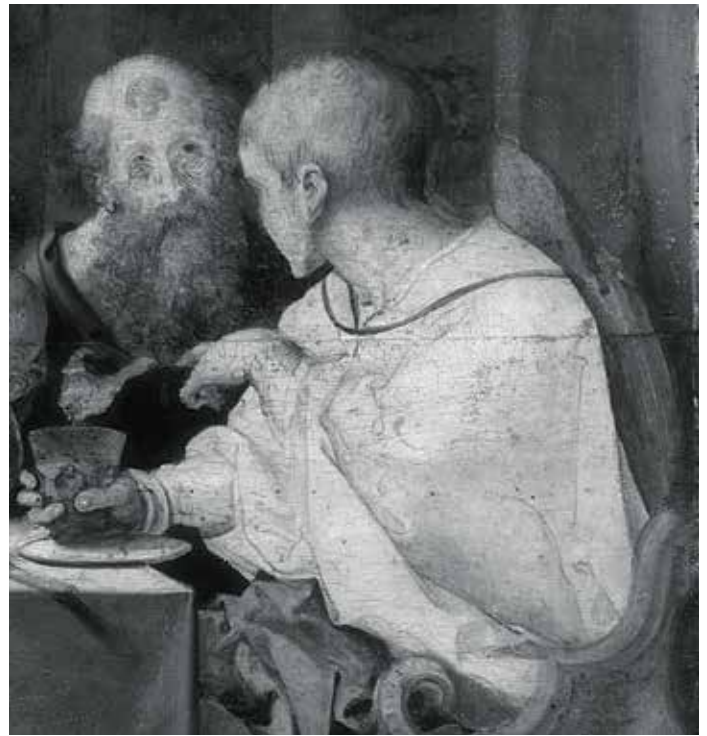


Fig. 18. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 5

probably his teacher). It raises the question of when and how Coecke became a painter of tapestry cartoons and began to participate in the tapestry industry as a noted *peintre-inventeur*, eventually surpassing Bernard van Orley, who had paved the way for this new classification of artist.¹⁵

The facts about Coecke's early training remain sketchy, and there has been considerable speculation about the development of his career as an artist based on relatively little reliable documentary information. However, if we consider the evidence of his paintings, including their compositions, figure types, and painting technique, a clearer pattern emerges. In a 1906 publication, Friedländer connected the general stylistic traits of the 1527 *Last Supper* (cat. 5) with *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow [561]) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Basel (cat. 2).¹⁶ As Marlier and Born have pointed out, the Glasgow painting is based on Jan Mertens van Dornicke's own rendition of the theme in the *Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin.¹⁷ From Van Dornicke, Coecke assimilated the variety of poses — *en face*, three-quarter, *profile perdu*, back view — and expressive, caricature-like facial types. Like that master, Coecke grouped the affecting, human Christ type with the female figures, to which he gave a similarly subdued treatment, but he exaggerated even more than Van Dornicke the animated portrayal of other male figures.

Marlier devoted a chapter of his monograph on Coecke to the artist's relationship with the Master of 1518.¹⁸ He concentrated on the numerous versions of the Adoration of the Magi triptych, so popular then in Antwerp, with attention to Coecke's considerable borrowing and adaptation of compositions and figure types from Jan Mertens van Dornicke. However, since the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych now in the collection of Hester Diamond (cat. 1) had disappeared into private collections after 1915, when Friedländer published it as by the Master of 1518,¹⁹ Marlier did not know of it and it does not appear in his 1966 monograph. In fact, it shows the same relationship to Jan Mertens van Dornicke's work as that described above concerning the two artists' versions of *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*. Coecke depended on his elder's compositions and figure types



Fig. 19. Detail of cat. 9

for the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych, although adding more figures, but he exaggerated the differences between the treatment of the male and female heads, especially in terms of the painting technique and handling. As he did in the *Last Supper*, in the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych Coecke eschewed Van Dornicke's smooth modeling of the tonal transitions especially in the male heads, instead heightening their expressive quality by the deliberate use of unblended, disengaged brushstrokes (compare figs. 10 and 11).

An even more obvious difference between the two artists is found in the initial stages of the work, that is, in the underdrawing. Jan Mertens van Dornicke's paintings are known for a type of highly finished underdrawing that looks like a woodcut in its fixed pattern of parallel- and cross-hatching for the modeling of forms and system of lighting throughout the composition. Employed by other Antwerp Mannerist artists (including Joos van Cleve, the Master of the Antwerp Adoration, and Adriaen van Overbeke), this style of underdrawing is commonly referred to as the "woodcut convention" (fig. 12).²⁰ The Diamond collection triptych does not show this kind of underdrawing at all; instead it shows a distinctly different approach, one that can be found in others of Coecke's relatively early paintings such as the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death* (cats. 1, 6). Characteristic of Coecke's style is usually a brush underdrawing that quickly and deftly works out the composition and summarily places the figures with short, straight contour lines augmented by meandering strokes with looped ends, appearing rather like swimming tadpoles (figs. 13, 14). One can also detect that type of stroke in the initial stage of underdrawing in paintings by Jan Mertens van Dornicke (fig. 12). But this is where the similarity ends. Instead of augmenting these strokes with underdrawing of the "woodcut convention," Coecke sparsely incorporated parallel-hatching for limited zones of shading, and he sometimes

employed a grayish imprimatura whose broad brushstrokes can be seen in the infrared reflectography documentation (fig. 15). Another characteristic of these early paintings by Coecke is his use of an underdrawing medium that in many places can be better seen with the naked eye than with infrared reflectography equipment (compare figs. 15 and 16).

In *Christ Carrying the Cross* of about 1520–25 (cat. 2), Coecke used black chalk instead of a brush for his underdrawing (fig. 17), but the character of this initial sketch is still quite similar to the other early works, the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych and the somewhat later *Lovers Surprised*, for example. The description of form is direct and minimal—mainly restricted to the contours of forms and a summary indication of the folds of the garments. As in *Lovers Surprised*, parallel-hatching is limited to zones of shadow and does not serve to describe three-dimensional forms.

With the *Last Supper* of 1527 (cat. 5), Coecke used a liquid medium, with brush or pen, and also employed a pigment for his underdrawing that, as in the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych, is more visible to the naked eye than with infrared reflectography equipment. This can be seen especially at the edges of forms, like the wine jug in the foreground, the legs of the dogs, and the feet of the disciples, where Coecke adjusted the contours of forms. Where the underdrawing is visible with infrared reflectography equipment, as in the heads of the two disciples to the far right of the composition and the garment of the disciple at the extreme right edge, it is clear that Coecke's drawing style remained loose and the typical squiggly lines with looped ends are quite broadly executed (fig. 18). The description of form in the *Last Supper* is minimal, as it is in *Christ Carrying the Cross*,



Fig. 20. *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530–35. Oil on panel, 65 × 49¼ in. (165 × 125 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes (IP1678)

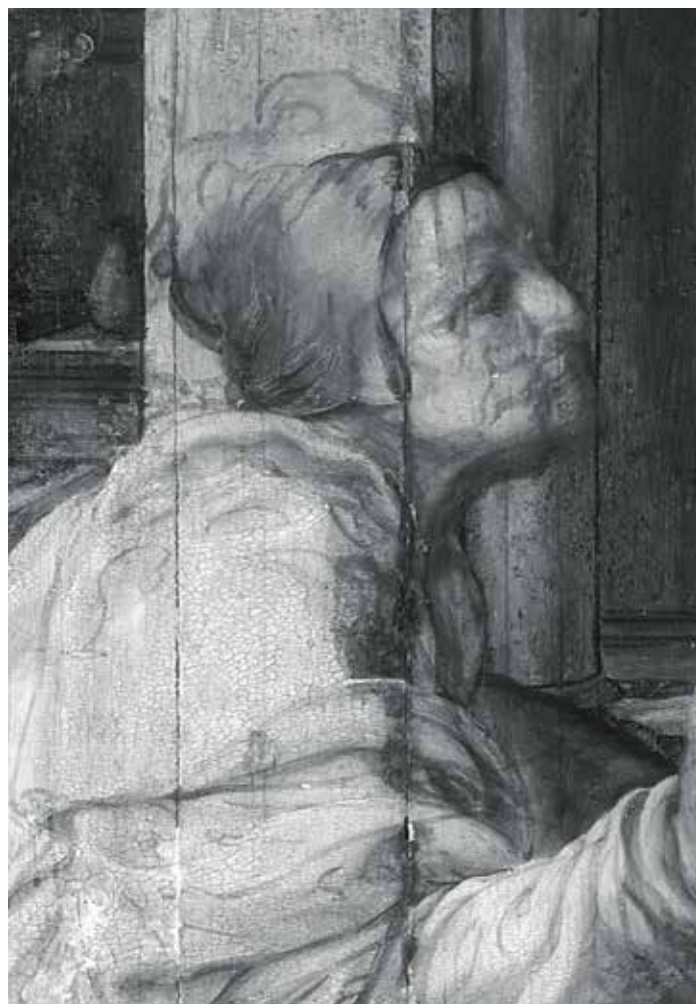


Fig. 21. Infrared reflectogram detail of fig. 20



Fig. 22. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 10



Fig. 23. *Adoration of the Magi*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530. Oil on panel, 41 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (105 × 72 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (386)

and the larger scale of the *Last Supper* may have had an effect on Coecke's freer handling and execution as he endeavored to quickly work out the composition.

Although his earliest paintings are strongly influenced by those of Jan Mertens van Dornicke, in the early 1520s Coecke was unquestionably very aware of the work of Bernard van Orley, particularly his tapestry designs. Coecke assimilated features of the compositions of two of Van Orley's tapestries from the Alba series of the *Passion of Christ*, namely *Christ Carrying the Cross* (design of about 1520) and the *Last Supper* (design of about 1524–26) for his paintings of the same themes, which are dated about 1520–25 and 1527, respectively (cats. 2, 5). It is interesting that Coecke's attention to these designs followed the chronological order in which Van Orley created them rather than the thematic order in which they appeared in the completed Alba *Passion* tapestries. It is also telling that Coecke did not follow the underdrawing style found in Van Orley's paintings,²¹ and this may indicate a somewhat removed connection with the Van Orley workshop, of which Coecke was apparently not a member at this time. However, under Van Orley's influence, Coecke's

interest in tapestry production clearly grew. We begin to see evidence of this about 1525 with what may be Coecke's earliest-known preparatory drawings for a tapestry series, the *Story of David*.²² The direct connection of the style of these drawings with Van Orley's drawings dated 1524 (see cat. 3) for a series of the *Foundation of Rome* (or the *Story of Romulus and Remus*) shows Coecke's emulation of Van Orley's designs and his own early forays into the work of tapestry production.

Perhaps it was the death of Coecke's father-in-law and probable teacher, Jan Mertens van Dornicke, as well as his entry into the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, both in 1527, that prompted Coecke to expand his horizons and look toward what was to become his major artistic contribution, that of a successful tapestry designer. There is no visual or documentary evidence that he ever took over the Van Dornicke workshop.²³ It may well have been at this moment that Coecke engaged more directly with the tapestry industry and specifically with cartoon making, as Van Mander and Félibien mentioned, perhaps occasionally working contractually as an assistant in Van Orley's Brussels workshop about 1528–31, during the time of the production of the *Hunts of Maximilian* series. In 1529, Coecke accepted his first apprentice in Antwerp, Willem van Breda (perhaps the painter Willem Key from Breda),²⁴ and about 1529–30 he began making the *petits patrons* for his first major tapestry series, the *Life of Saint Paul* (cats. 27–38).

In the 1520s, a new and progressively more important stimulus for Coecke derived from his firsthand knowledge of the designs for the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry series that were sent from Raphael's workshop in Rome in 1516 to be woven in Brussels. Proliferation of Raphael's style was augmented by Tommaso Vincidor's sojourn in Brussels in the early 1520s, providing a second wave of influence, not only in terms of compositions and figures but also in Italian workshop practices.²⁵ As Coecke did in his assimilation of features of Van Orley's designs for the *Alba Passion* tapestries for his own paintings, he initially embraced compositional and figural aspects of Raphael's style, and only later, as he more fully immersed himself in examples from Raphael's workshop, did he adopt features of that master's drawing technique. Coecke's *Resurrection* triptych of about 1530, for example, reflects his knowledge of Raphael's designs for the *Acts of the Apostles* in the composition of the central panel and individual quotations of expressive figures (see cat. 9). However, Coecke's underdrawing style had not yet changed to reflect any influence from Raphael's preparatory drawings for the *Acts*. Furthermore, his painting technique in the *Resurrection* triptych—in particular the bold, disengaged brushstrokes that describe the caricature-like heads of the soldiers—is still in the style of paint execution found in the heads of the disciples in the 1527 *Last Supper* (compare figs. 11 and 19). There is no hint of the more smoothly modeled flesh tones encountered in Coecke's paintings of the subsequent years.

Simultaneous with his forays into tapestry production, Coecke continued to produce important paintings, and his style and technique evolved in such works of the early 1530s as the *Leuven Holy Family* (cat. 10) and *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (fig. 20).²⁶ In these works the imprimatura layer he incorporated in some of the paintings of his earlier years seems to have disappeared, and the bold brush underdrawing in a carbon-containing material is easily visible with the Osiris IRR camera (figs. 21, 22). This underdrawing appears to have been carried out with great facility and speed on the panel and with a looseness that suggests that Coecke was not working from a pre-existing pattern but instead was composing freely on the ground preparation of the panel. This is evident also from the numerous corrections in the underdrawing itself and between the underdrawing and the painted layers. In the *Holy Family* and *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (figs. 20, 21), Coecke changed the positions of some of the heads and also some of the eyes in several figures, the way he had done to a degree in the *Last Supper*. In the *Holy Family*, the heads of both the Christ



Fig. 24. Detail of fig. 23



Fig. 25. Detail of cat. 31

Child and the angel above are shifted from right- to left-facing, as if responding to Joseph's presence. And Joseph's head was lowered in the painting to express an even more sorrowful demeanor (fig. 22). Similarly, in *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, the positions of all of the heads are shifted from the underdrawing to the painting and numerous changes were made to the contours of the forms of the figures as well as of objects—such as Saint Luke's easel—within the composition. Spontaneity and directness in the handling of the brush indicate confidence and an interest in rapidly and effortlessly recording the desired composition so that greater attention could be given to a more meticulous handling of the painted layers. The freedom of expression in the execution of these underdrawings finds no ready parallel in Coecke's drawings on paper that are mostly contract drawings for projects to be executed in tapestry, stained glass, and painting, including one for a painted triptych of the life of Saint John the Baptist (cat. 18). In addition, the emphasis in the underdrawings from this period is placed on the linear description of pictorial form; there is no parallel- or cross-hatching employed to establish the system of shading or the modeling of the figures.

The painting technique of these works of the early 1530s begins to exhibit a significant shift in the style of modeling the flesh tones that appears to have been influenced by Coecke's more frequent work as a cartoon painter. Those areas of the figures in the *Holy Family* as well as in the central panel of what was originally a triptych of the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 23, 24) are more thinly painted and fully blended. Gone are the disengaged and staccato touches of the brush that Coecke had been employing to express the lively nature of his figures. In fact, a comparison of the heads from these paintings with details from Coecke's cartoons clearly shows that he



Fig. 26. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 43

was using a similar approach in both kinds of work (figs. 24, 25). Continuing along this line of development, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (though not in excellent condition) reveals an even more advanced stage of careful modeling and smooth blending of flesh tones with subtler transitions and chiaroscuro treatment that indicate Coecke's attention to the Italian examples at hand in his artistic milieu.

The impact of Raphael's workshop designs that began to take hold on Coecke's drawing style in the mid-1530s is signaled especially in his tapestry cartoon for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (cat. 43). The production of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries in Brussels had made available a variety of specialized studies: preparatory drawings in rapid sketches; studies of workshop models in individual poses, carefully worked out for the chiaroscuro modeling of their bodies in red-chalk shading in parallel- and cross-hatching; the *modello* with its sophisticated handling in white heightening to elaborate on and perfect the lighting scheme of the composition; and finally the cartoon itself. These stages of working toward the final tapestry cartoon are demonstrated particularly well by preparatory work for the tapestry of the *Charge to Saint Peter* in the *Acts* series.²⁷

Although there are no full-scale cartoons extant for any of Van Orley's tapestries, it may be possible to get an impression of what they looked like by considering the underdrawings in his paintings of the time. For example, the *Circumcision* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), a fragment of a larger composition that dates about 1530, shows an underdrawing that is fully worked up in a sophisticated three-dimensional modeling of form with parallel- and cross-hatching and a clear indication of the system of light and shade with additional, superimposed parallel-hatching.²⁸ Perhaps Coecke modeled his own tapestry cartoons—in particular the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*—after Van Orley's, a more likely possibility than his having learned from the example of Raphael's cartoons. Those were executed in body color on paper, and as Sharon Fermor and Alan Derbyshire have noted, the underdrawing appears to have been restricted mainly to contours, with little modeling of the forms. According to Carmen Bambach, the underdrawing was usually erased before paint was applied.²⁹ Further, for parts of the *Acts* cartoons, Raphael did not rely on underdrawn designs but instead painted freehand following the *modelli*. The paint on the *Acts* cartoons is also more opaque and thickly applied than was the practice in Netherlandish cartoon making, which used more transparent washes.³⁰ In any event, Coecke's cartoon for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* was executed with transparent washes that depend on modeling in parallel- and cross-hatching in black chalk and brush. In this way, Coecke's practice was consistent with the Netherlandish manner of producing cartoons.

Coecke's enhanced understanding of the human body and its modeling is particularly evident in the cartoon for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*. The recently documented underdrawing in black chalk for the cartoon makes this abundantly clear (fig. 26).³¹ This cartoon is usually dated to about 1529–30 in connection with the preliminary studies for the *Saint Paul* series (see cats. 27–38). However, the refined style of drawing in black chalk does not correspond with the loose brush underdrawing in Coecke's paintings that must date to the early years of the 1530s, such as the *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (compare fig. 26 with fig. 21). The cartoon shows no more evidence of the squiggly drapery contour lines with the looped ends that are so characteristic of the earlier underdrawings. Instead there is denser parallel- and cross-hatching that models the forms and describes the system of lighting in the composition. As such, the underdrawing in the *Martyrdom* cartoon anticipates the Lisbon Deposition triptych, in which the same style of underdrawing is found, only with a looser and more spontaneous handling (compare fig. 26 with figs. 27 and 28). This raises the question of the date of the *Martyrdom* cartoon. The features of the material (black chalk) and the new dependence on a fully worked-up system of modeling the form with parallel- and cross-hatching (without the looped lines to signal folds in the garments) both indicate Coecke's continuing development owing to his increased exposure to preparatory designs from the Raphael workshop and to underdrawings of paintings as well as cartoons from Van Orley's workshop. This also corresponds to his likely encounter in Italy with workshop drawings by Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga that date from about 1533. The *Martyrdom* cartoon, then, more likely dates to about 1535, after his stay in Italy in 1533, and it probably represents a later version of Coecke's original, now lost, *Martyrdom* cartoon for a slightly later, modified tapestry set (see Delmarcel, "The Life of Saint Paul," and cat. 43). A close look at the *Martyrdom* cartoon supports the later dating. The design has been pricked for transfer, but it is clear that the function in this case was to transfer the design to this cartoon rather than from this cartoon to another one. There are many places where the pricked lines exist independently of the applications of gouache.³²

In Coecke's drawings such as the *Crossing of the Red Sea* of about 1533–35 (cat. 12), although the nervous, squiggly form-defining lines with looped ends are still evident, parallel-hatching takes on

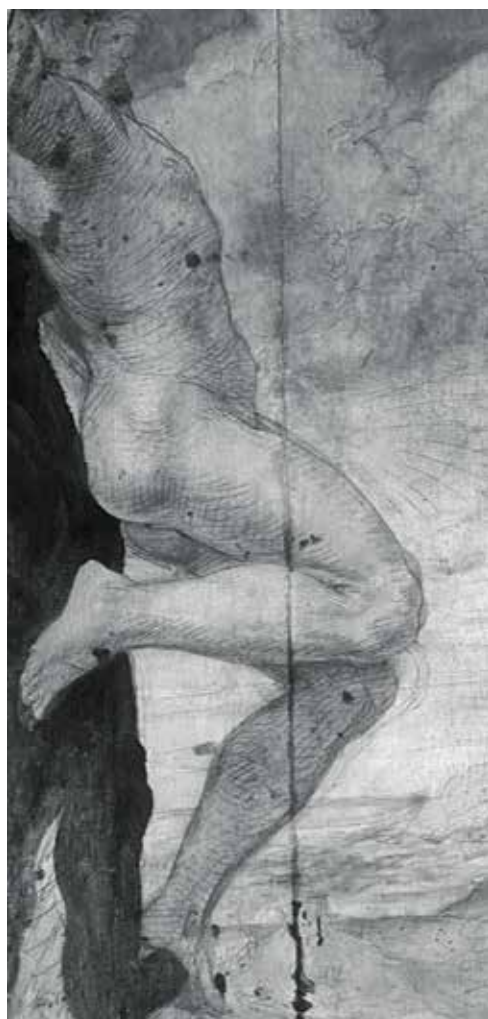


Fig. 27. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 22

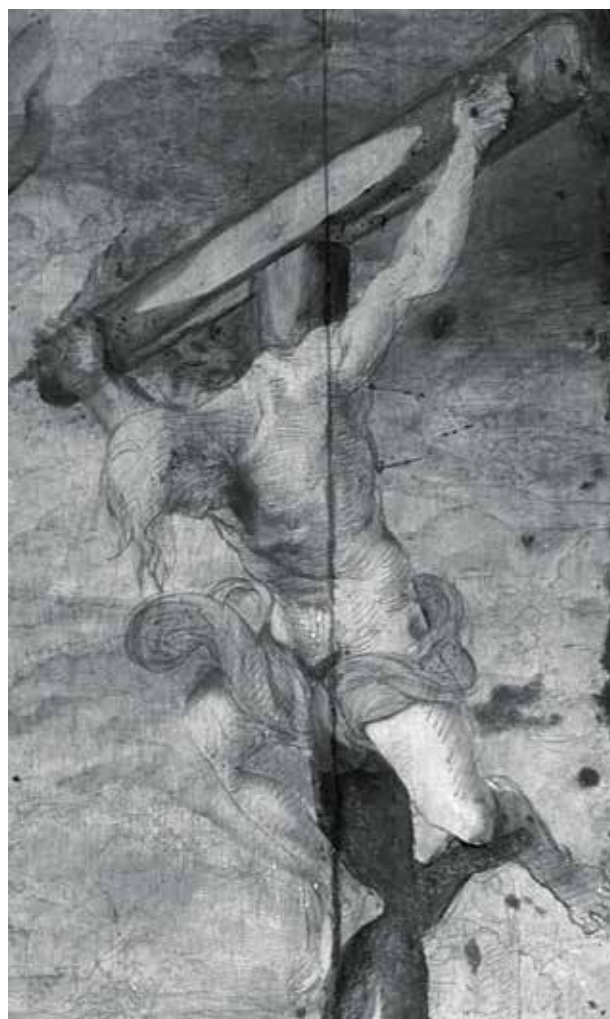


Fig. 28. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 22

a new prominence as Coecke begins to establish a firmer sense of volume and convincing three-dimensionality in his figures. In *Christ as the Fount of Mercy* of about 1533–35 (cat. 11), the tadpole-like nervous line has disappeared in favor of a more strongly articulated form of the figures now established with parallel- and cross-hatching in pen and light and dark inks with the addition of white heightening over black chalk. These developments were already in play when Coecke was in Italy on his way to or from Constantinople, and what he experienced on that trip further stimulated his development in this new direction. It is suggested in this catalogue that Coecke stopped in Mantua, where he saw Giulio Romano's extraordinary fresco cycles in the Sala di Troia of the Palazzo Ducale and the Camera dei Giganti and the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo Te. Coecke's drawing for the *Fall of the Giants* (cat. 20) is the prime example of his assimilation of Italianate style as a result of Giulio's Mantua frescoes. It was Giulio's art, as well as what Coecke had already gleaned from his study of the Raphael workshop designs for tapestries woven in Brussels, that provided a pattern for the subtle modeling of flesh tones and chiaroscuro treatment of nude figures, which inspired his treatment in his latest great painting, the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22). In that work Coecke reached the peak of his achievement in painting and a perfect blending of Netherlandish and Italianate style.



1.

Adoration of the Magi

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1520–25

Oil on panel

Triptych: central panel $41\frac{3}{8} \times 27\frac{1}{2}$ in. (105 × 70 cm);

wings each $41\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ in. (105 × 30 cm)

Collection of Hester Diamond, New York

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

The supremacy of Antwerp in the early sixteenth century as the economic hub of western Europe led to the flourishing of the arts. In the first two decades, Antwerp experienced an increased production of relatively small and medium-size individual devotional panels and triptychs that were made for open art market sale by the group of artists known as the Antwerp Mannerists. As Dan Ewing has pointed out, “The Adoration of the Magi is the defining subject of Antwerp Mannerist painting, its signature iconography. . . . With its inherent combination of exoticism, high fashion, and the glamour of wealth, the Magi theme was a microcosm of the Mannerists’ ‘preoccupation with ornament . . . and the simulation and imitation of luxury products,’ to use Yao-Fen You’s apt description.”¹ Furthermore, the theme was a mirror of the leading occupation of Antwerp’s growing bourgeoisie, its iconography perfectly compatible with contemporary commercial transport and livelihoods devoted to long-distance trading.²

Although not all of these altarpieces of the Adoration of the Magi were by the same artist or even from the same workshop, many of them conform to a similar composition for the center panel of the triptych and for the various themes of the accompanying scenes on the wings. William R. Valentiner was the first to attempt to sort out this series of works in 1905, followed by the reassessment by Max Friedländer in 1915, and finally by Georges Marlier in 1966.³ Marlier divided the large number of variants into two groups: those belonging to the workshop of the Master of 1518, whom he recognized as Jan Mertens van Dornicke,⁴ and those related to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Van Dornicke’s apprentice and subsequent son-in-law. The composition of the Adoration of the Magi in these groupings varies, with several of the main figures changed in their positions relative to one another. It is in the triptych wings where there are more substantial differences. The older type, usually connected with the workshop of Jan Mertens van Dornicke, generally shows the Nativity on the left wing and the Presentation in the Temple or the Circumcision on the right wing. What is often considered the more “modern” triptych type, associated with Pieter Coecke van Aelst, generally shows the Annunciation on the left wing and the Rest on the Flight into Egypt on the right.

The Diamond collection triptych falls into Marlier’s grouping associated with the workshop of Jan Mertens van Dornicke. The center panel derives from one of the standard Adoration of the Magi triptych types also found in an example in the





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Fig. 29. *Adoration of the Magi*. Jan Mertens van Dornicke, 1518. Oil on panel; triptych: central panel 42½ × 28⅞ in. (108 × 71.5 cm), wings each 42½ × 12⅝ in. (108 × 32 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (2599)

Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (fig. 29).⁵ However, it reverses the motif of the Virgin and Child on the Brussels center panel, left for right, but it leaves the two other magi in the same relationship to each other and Joseph in the middle ground with groups of figures near him in animated discussion. The centerpiece of this composition also was produced in a simplified version, including the panels in Munich, Philadelphia, and New York.⁶ In these the composition is restricted to the main characters, in the same poses, who are placed before an arched window opening with a nearly identical view into the landscape beyond. This would have been the less expensive version of the theme for sale on the open market.

What differentiates the Diamond collection *Adoration* triptych from these other examples is its superb quality and its remarkably fine condition. The beautifully orchestrated palette of deeply saturated reds, blues, greens, and yellows — with touches here and there of *couleur changeant* effects — and the careful attention to details of shimmering brocades and golden ornamentation are characteristic of the peak of production of Antwerp Mannerist painting. The specific handling and execution evident in the three panels, however, do not conform to what is found in works by the Master of 1518 (to whom it has been attributed most recently by Peter van den Brink)

but rather are very close to the early works of Pieter Coecke van Aelst. In the Diamond triptych, there is a greater sense of movement and agitated engagement of the figures with each other than we find in the paintings attributed to Jan Mertens van Dornicke. Above all, the marked differentiation between the smoothly blended pale tones of the physiognomies of female figures and the disengaged brushstrokes and ruddy tones of the male faces is a hallmark of Coecke's paintings. This particular treatment of the male faces can be found in Coecke's *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the *Last Supper*, and *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death* (cats. 2, 5, and 6). Individual details of the Diamond triptych, such as the facile yet deft placement of strokes of lead-tin yellow for the illusion of shimmering gold objects, the consistent outlining of fingernails in brown paint, and the comparable way of painting *couleur changeant* effects with bold strokes of yellow over a pink underpainting, are all found in the other early works by Coecke.

A further consideration of the working technique in the Diamond triptych, namely the underdrawing of the painting, confirms an attribution to Coecke rather than to Jan Mertens van Dornicke. That master is known for a type of underdrawing that is highly finished in nature and appears like a woodcut in its bold, fixed pattern of parallel- and cross-hatching for the

modeling of forms (fig. 12). The Diamond triptych does not show this style of underdrawing at all, but instead it reveals a distinctly different style that can be found in Coecke's other early paintings. Characteristic of Coecke's style is a brush underdrawing that quickly and deftly works out the composition and the figures in a summary manner with short meandering strokes with looped ends appearing rather like a swimming tadpole (figs. 13, 15). This is actually similar to the initial sketching in works by Jan Mertens van Dornicke, although that is augmented by a dense layer of parallel- and cross-hatching for modeling forms, a step Coecke did not follow. Coecke also apparently used a gray-tinted imprimatura over the initial underdrawing, to which he then made corrections, adding shading here and there in minimal parallel-hatching before applying the layers of pigment. In addition, for some of the underdrawing, he may have used a pigment or ink that is transparent in IRR/InGaAs camera investigation, for it is more visible to the naked eye in selected places (for example, in the angels' draperies on the left wing) than it is with the IRR/InGaAs camera equipment (compare figs. 15 and 16). This technique, which is consistent with other early Coecke paintings, is dramatically different from that of the Jan Mertens van Dornicke group with its "woodcut convention." Thus, the Diamond triptych, rather than a work by Jan Mertens van Dornicke, is an early work by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, made about 1520–25, quite likely while Coecke was an apprentice in the workshop of Jan Mertens van Dornicke.

The triptych is still in its original frame,⁷ albeit with a reworked glossy black finish. The outer sides of the wings, however, have been covered with a thick, broadly applied gesso that was painted black. X-radiography does not show any evidence of images on the wings' exteriors, suggesting that such images, if they ever existed, were scraped off. With no remaining clues from the outside of the wings, we are not able to come any closer to identifying the original owners of this splendid triptych. Its early provenance, said to be a monastery in the province of Cáceres, Spain, indicates that this was one of the many triptychs made for export at a time when Antwerp production was at its peak.

MWA

2. *Christ Carrying the Cross*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1520–25
Oil on panel
42¼ × 31½ in. (107.3 × 80 cm)
Kunstmuseum Basel (1250)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

A restless throng of high priests, curious bystanders, and Roman soldiers—one carrying the double-headed eagle banner of the Holy Roman Empire—bursts forth from the narrow city gate of Jerusalem, whose Dome of the Rock is featured at the center of the distant city view. In the foreground of this scene, presented like a contemporary *tableau vivant* of the Passion,¹ a pathetic Christ stumbles under the weight of his cross. He gazes toward the two mocking children at the lower left who are a fixture in late-medieval depictions of this theme.² They represent those who mock Elisha in 2 Kings 2:23, where they serve as a prefiguration of the Passion.³ Two fancifully dressed soldiers, viewed from the back, urge Christ onward, while Simon of Cyrene assists at the lower end of the cross. The procession is led by the two convicted thieves, who advance at the far right toward the middle ground, where the Virgin, having collapsed in sorrow, is supported by Saint John and one of the other two Marys. At the upper right corner is a subsequent episode, the raising of Christ on his cross on Golgotha.

When first exhibited in the 1904 presentation of early Netherlandish and German painting in Düsseldorf, this panel was attributed to Bernard van Orley,⁴ and Ludwig Scheibler's review of the exhibition praised it as a masterwork from the third period of the artist's career.⁵ However, in 1906, Max Friedländer recognized it as a work by the same hand as the Duke of Rutland's *Last Supper* (cat. 5), and he anointed the painter the Master of the Last Supper.⁶ Nearly three decades later, Julius Held realized the stylistic connection of *Christ Carrying the Cross* with works by the Master of 1518 and suggested a further link with a Crucifixion drawing dated 1536 that was then attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.⁷ Finally, in 1939, G. J. Hoogewerff grouped *Christ Carrying the Cross* with the early works of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, an attribution that was supported by Georges Marlier in the groundbreaking 1963 exhibition "Le Siècle de Bruegel" and in his 1966 catalogue raisonné of Coecke's work.⁸

The ogee-shaped top of the panel indicates that *Christ Carrying the Cross* must originally have been the central portion of a triptych, the wings of which have been lost. The monogram L, for Lucas van Leyden, painted on the rock placed prominently in the foreground, is a later addition. Readily recognizable is the broad range of Coecke's typical caricature-like heads that populate this composition in a variety of tightly compacted poses. As Marlier noted, there is a parallel with Coecke's 1527 *Last Supper* (cat. 5), in which similar types in various poses animate the scene.⁹ In both paintings the head of



Fig. 30. Detail of cat. 2



Fig. 31. Detail of cat. 2

Christ is rendered with more smoothly blended strokes, while the caricature-like heads are painted with disengaged brushstrokes in boldly juxtaposed light and dark tones, recalling the technique that Coecke probably learned from Jan Mertens van Dornicke and then exploited to a more exaggerated degree.

The underdrawing of *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the execution in paint of some of these heads, however, compares most closely with Coecke's slightly earlier works, namely with the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych and *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death* (cats. 1, 6). The underdrawing of the fabric draped on the figures is characterized by abbreviated brushstrokes with looped ends and minimal zones of parallel-hatching to suggest the modeling of the forms (fig. 17). Applications of opaque paint with disengaged brushstrokes clearly link the henchman at the far right of *Christ Carrying the Cross* with the man in the yellow hat on the right wing of Coecke's *Adoration of the Magi* triptych (compare figs. 10 and 31). The palette of reds, blues, and yellows here, enlivened by *couleur changeant* effects (in the Holy Roman Empire banner [fig. 30]), and, at the lower left, in the garments of a child and one of Christ's tormenting soldiers) relates to similar effects in the *Adoration* triptych and *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death*. Golden embellishments on the armor and swords in *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fig. 32) are executed in the same manner as those in *Lovers Surprised*, with rapidly painted but precisely placed strokes of lead-tin



Fig. 32. Detail of cat. 2





Fig. 33. *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Master of the von Groote Adoration, ca. 1515–25. Oil and gold on panel, 40 × 32¼ in. (101.6 × 81.9 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art (Cat. 384)



Fig. 34. *Christ Carrying the Cross* from the *Alba Passion*. Design attributed to Bernard van Orley, ca. 1520. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1525–28. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 3⅞ in. × 11 ft. 3⅞ in. (345 × 345 cm). Musée Jacquemart-Andre/ Institut de France, Paris (2033)

yellow over a warm brown base tone, all of which convincingly describes the shimmering forms.

Coecke's composition in *Christ Carrying the Cross* derives from works by the Antwerp Mannerists,¹⁰ perhaps a common pattern that was circulated locally and which can be seen in an example attributed to the Master of the von Groote Adoration (fig. 33). However, the energetic poses of the figures and, above all, the refinements of the composition are based on an example by Bernard van Orley. Coecke must have known Van Orley's design and/or cartoon of about 1520 for the *Christ Carrying the Cross* that was probably woven by Pieter de Pannemaker about 1525–28 as part of a four-piece set known as the *Alba Passion* (fig. 34).¹¹ He adapted its U-shaped composition, the distant central view of Jerusalem,¹² and the poses of certain figures, such as the brutal soldier thrusting his right foot into the fallen Christ¹³ and the crouching Simon of Cyrene lifting the far end

of the cross. But Coecke exchanged Van Orley's encounter between Christ and the Virgin Mary (derived from Raphael's *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*)¹⁴ for additional taunting soldiers (the soldier viewed from the back with the halberd and the bald rope-puller at the far right), the middle-ground grouping with the fainting Virgin, and the children at the lower left that are all assimilated from Martin Schongauer's engraved masterpiece.¹⁵ Coecke added his signature tall, willow tree at the center of the design. Taking into consideration the relationship of Coecke's *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Basel to details of the style and technique of his 1520–25 *Adoration* triptych and his *Lovers Surprised* of about 1525–30, and to features of Van Orley's design for and weaving of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the *Alba Passion* set, about 1520 and 1525–28 respectively, the Basel painting most likely dates to about 1520–25.¹⁶

MWA



3.

Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People

Bernard van Orley, 1524

Pen and brown ink, watercolor, heightened with white gouache

13⁵/₈ × 21¹/₂ in. (34.5 × 54.5 cm)

Watermark: unidentified monogram (reproduced in Munich 1989–90, p. 118, no. 52)

At upper center, dated and monogrammed 1524 BAO in pen and brown ink; at upper left, inscribed *sabinen*, and at lower right, *viii . . .*, and *vii . . .*, in pen and brown ink by the artist

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (981 Z)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

4.

Saul Rewarding David with His Daughter Michal; verso: Sketch of a Face (?)

Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1525–30 (?)

Pen and brown ink, gray wash

9¹/₈ × 16³/₄ in. (23.1 × 42.4 cm)

At lower right, on an old fill, inscribed 9 in pen and brown ink (Lugt 3612). Verso (not illustrated): at center, inscribed 53 in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); at lower right, a small crescent in pen and brown ink; below, inscribed (upside down) *E.1* in pen and brown ink (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting)

British Museum, London (1853-10-8-17)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Coecke became a master in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1527, at the age of twenty-five. Of drawings securely attributed to him, none can be dated with certainty before that year; his earliest signed works date from about 1530. For his drawing style before this time, one can only turn to the work of Bernard van Orley, Coecke's great predecessor in tapestry design and, according to Karel van Mander, his teacher.¹ At the core of Van Orley's corpus of drawings stands a group of four sheets in Munich depicting scenes from the story of Romulus and Remus, the mythic founders of Rome, among which is catalogue number 3.² These are Van Orley's only drawings to be signed (with the initials of his latinized name)³ and dated. If Coecke was indeed a pupil of Van Orley, the year of the drawings, 1524, must have been about the time of his apprenticeships. The drawings have been related to a contemporary series of six tapestries in Madrid, including one of the same subject as catalogue number 3 (fig. 35).⁴ Although the designs of these tapestries have occasionally been attributed to Van Orley himself, more correctly they have been recognized as "derivative of Van Orley's style," probably inspired by the Munich drawings.⁵ Whether weavings based directly on the Munich drawings existed remains an open question, and the same can be said, for that matter, of other designs by Van Orley, including one of roughly the same date and of similar composition (fig. 36).⁶ Certainly, the story of Romulus and Remus and

of the foundation of Rome was a popular one in tapestry, and several sets are recorded.⁷

A "vigorous, fluid style that neglects niceties of proportion and anatomy in favor of an emphasis on movement, extreme expressions, and strong facial characterizations" seems to have been preferred by Van Orley for all of his *petits patrons*, including those for his best-known tapestry series, such as the *Nassau Genealogy* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* (see figs. 49, 133).⁸ This cursory style is strikingly different from that evident in a group of five drawings in London, part of a series focusing on the early life of King David as related in the first book of Samuel.⁹ The main episodes illustrated in the drawings are David anointed by the prophet Samuel "in the midst of his brethren" (1 Sam. 16:13); David refusing the armor offered to him by Saul and his battle with Goliath (1 Sam. 17:38–40, 49); David's triumph, with Goliath's head impaled on his sword (1 Sam. 18:6; fig. 37); David promoted to "captain over a thousand" by Saul, who has become jealous of him (1 Sam. 18:13); and, in the drawing discussed here, Saul giving one of his daughters to David (1 Sam. 18:27).¹⁰ Despite their high quality, the drawings have attracted little attention. A set of six tapestries, of which four relate to the drawings in London, is preserved at Burgos Cathedral (fig. 38).¹¹ Two more tapestries are also documented.¹² None seems to belong to the original edition, but the existence of these later weavings attests to the popularity of the designs.

The difference between the style of Van Orley's *Story of Romulus and Remus* series and the *Story of David* series is particularly obvious in the case of catalogue numbers 3 and 4, of which the compositions are very similar. The drawings of the *David* series are characterized by a carefulness in execution, a richness in detail, and a general refinement that does seem foreign to Van Orley's drawing style. Probably because all five drawings are marked on the back with a small crescent in pen and brown ink, thought to refer to Coecke's arms, and because one of the drawings is also inscribed on the verso with Coecke's full name in sixteenth-century handwriting,¹³ they were already considered to be by his hand when first published in 1741.¹⁴ Yet at least a few authors commenting on the *David* series have struggled to accept the attribution to Coecke in the light of the series' undeniable differences from his more securely attributed drawings, such as the ones for the *Life of Saint Paul* series (cats. 25–44), and its equally undeniable similarities to certain aspects of Van Orley's drawings.¹⁵ The latter point is sufficiently clear from a comparison between catalogue numbers 3 and 4. With regard to style, the *David* series displays distinct aspects of Van Orley's manner: the loosely sketched background scenes; the figures' short body types; the way in which the hands, feet, and draperies are rendered; and the rather coarse facial features of the men, for instance those of Goliath. In fact, it is perhaps only in the female figures that a truly convincing stylistic affinity with drawings by Coecke can be recognized (see fig. 39).



3



4



Fig. 35. *Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People from the Foundation of Rome*. Designed by an artist from the circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1530s. Tapestry woven in Brussels in an unidentified workshop, ca. 1535. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 2 in. × 16 ft. 10³/₈ in. (432 × 514 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 14/6, A. 359-12103)

Thus some hesitation seems due before embracing a full attribution of the *David* series to Coecke. Certainly, if one accepts the drawings in London as by him, they would have to be early works, to be dated to the years immediately following Van Orley's *Romulus and Remus* series of 1524.¹⁶ Another possibility is that they were made jointly by Van Orley and Coecke, although there is no evidence of two hands at work on the drawings.¹⁷ For now, it seems best to consider them as the work of a gifted member of Van Orley's workshop who added a touch of sophistication to the bold style of Van Orley's *petits patrons*. If one accepts that Coecke was a pupil or an assistant in the Van Orley workshop, his later illustrious career as a tapestry designer certainly makes him the most likely candidate for the

David series, which surpasses in quality most other known drawings from Van Orley's circle, including another drawing depicting an enthroned ruler, David's son Solomon, also in London (fig. 40).¹⁸ If, however, one doubts Van Mander's assertion that Coecke spent time in Van Orley's workshop, one has to surmise the existence of an as yet unidentified talent. That such outstanding artists did indeed work in the circle of Van Orley is evident from certain drawings. An additional argument can be found in another inscription on the back of one of the London drawings,¹⁹ which suggests the series dates from 1531—too late for Coecke, who by 1530 had unmistakably found his own style.

SA



Fig. 36. *Virginia and Her Father Verginius before Appius Claudius*. Bernard van Orley, ca. 1525 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 12¼ × 17¾ in. (31.1 × 45.1 cm). British Museum, London (5214-294)



Fig. 37. *The Triumph of David*. Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1520s (?). Pen and brown ink, gray wash, squared for transfer in pen and brown ink, 9⅛ × 16⅞ in. (23.1 × 42.3 cm). British Museum, London (1853-10-8-15)



Fig. 38. *Saul Rewarding David with His Daughter Michal* from the *Story of David*. Designed by an artist from the circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1525–30. Tapestry woven in Brussels in an unidentified workshop, ca. 1530. Wool and silk threads, dimensions unknown. Burgos Cathedral



Fig. 39. Details of cats. 4 and 40

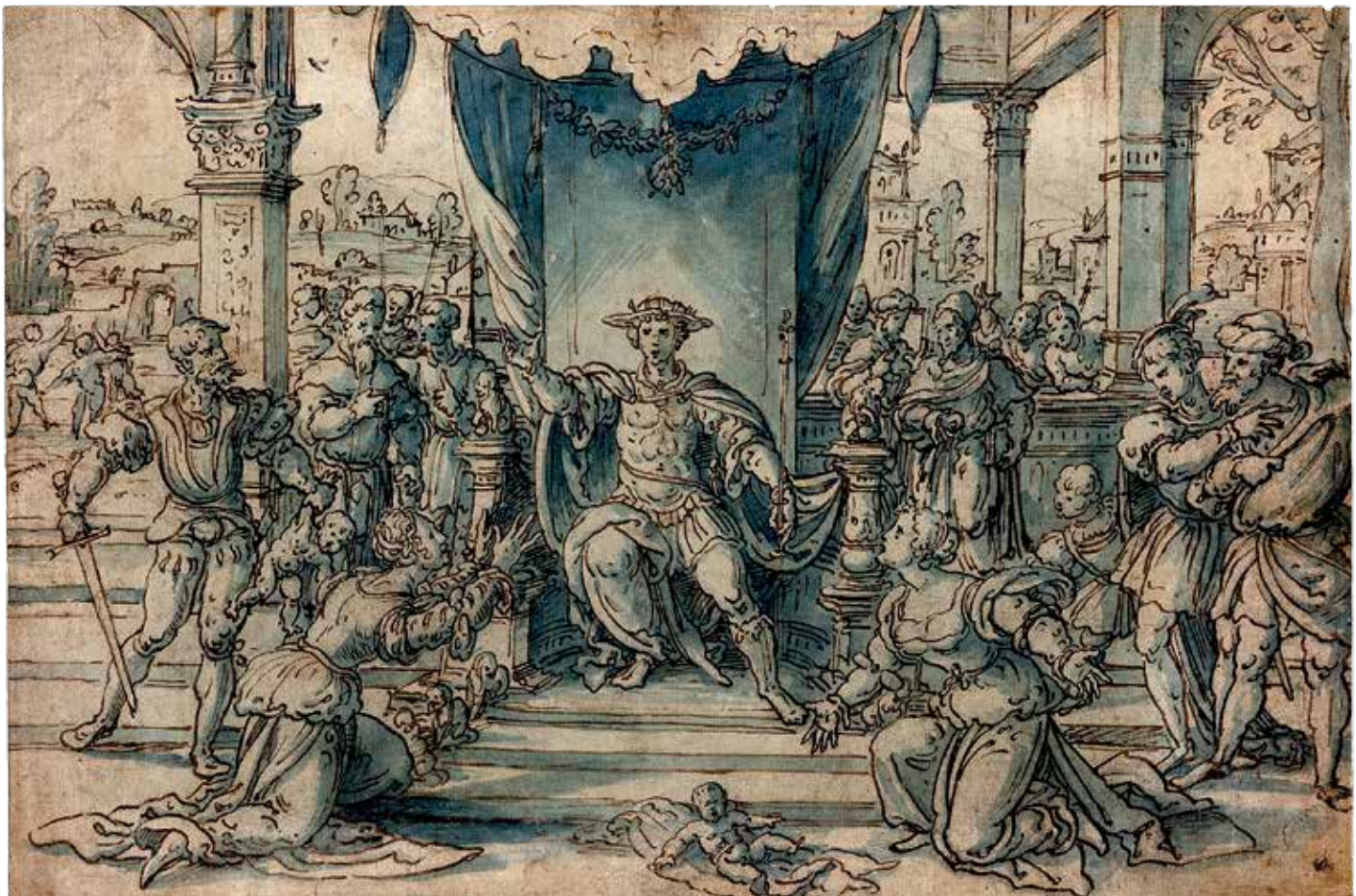


Fig. 40. *The Judgment of Solomon*. Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1525–30. Pen and brown ink, blue-gray wash, 10⁷/₈ × 16¹/₈ in. (27.6 × 41.1 cm). British Museum, London (5214-245)

5.
Last Supper

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1527
Oil on panel
54½ × 66⅞ in. (138.5 × 168.1 cm)

Inscribed, upper left roundel—END[E] SLINGERDE AEN SII[N] VOO
RHOEFT DAT HI AERDEN VIEL DAVID NAM HEM SII[N] SVAERT EN
SLOEGH . . . DO . . . I SA XVII; upper right roundel—OPDE . . . TEGHEN
ABEL . . . OECH HEM DO . . . D;¹ far upper right partial roundel—VBI
EST ABEL FRATER TVVS; lower left roundel—QVI MANDVCAT M[EAM
CARNEM]; lower right roundel—ET BIBI MEVM SANGVIN . . . ; far lower
right partial roundel—EM IN ME [MANET]²

The Duke and Duchess of Rutland Collection, Belvoir Castle,
Grantham, England³
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

The textual source for this influential 1527 painting of the Last Supper is Luke 22:17–24, the singular biblical account that relates Christ’s blessing and sharing of the bread and wine just before rather than after his warning that one of the disciples would betray him (Luke 22:21, “But yet behold: the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table”). This explains Judas’s abrupt motion, rising from his stool and pointing to himself as if to ask “Is it I?” as well as the animated conversation among the other disciples. The event takes place in a splendid Renaissance upper room, indicated by the ledge of the staircase in the right foreground. The large roundels on the wall represent Old Testament parallels for Christ: David with the head of Goliath and Cain slaying Abel. David slaying the evil enemy is analogous to Christ triumphant over evil, or *Christus victor*, and the shepherd Abel’s innocent blood shed at the hands of his evil brother is the equivalent of Christ’s own sacrifice.⁴ The Dutch





Fig. 41. *Last Supper*. Hendrick Goltzius after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1585. Engraving, 11 × 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (28 × 37 cm). Petit Palais, Paris (PP-GDUT05366)



Fig. 42. *Last Supper with Donor*. Attributed to Jan Mertens van Dornicke. Oil on panel, 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (68 × 58 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (3242)

text based on 1 Samuel 17:49–51 that rims the upper roundel at the left and continues in its upper central portion translates: “David [ran from the army against the Philistines] and threw [a stone] against his forehead, making him fall. David took his sword and cut . . . dead.” In the upper roundel at the right, from Genesis 4:8, in Dutch, is the story of Cain killing Abel, but the text at the edge of the roundel is unfortunately too abraded to decipher fully. The last words appear to be “killed him.” In the far upper right roundel, the Cain and Abel story continues in Latin with Genesis 4:9: “Where is thy brother Abel?” In the Bible, this begins the text ending with God’s curse on Cain as punishment for his evil deed. In the roundels at the lower left, right, and far right, partially hidden by the seated disciples, is a text in Latin from John 6:56, spoken by Jesus to his disciples at the Sea of Galilee after feeding the five thousand: “He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood [abideth] in me. . . .” The scene in the background through the window shows Christ triumphantly entering Jerusalem at the beginning of his Passion, and the two scenes encircled in the stained-glass windows above show Christ and the Woman of Samaria and Christ and the Canaanite Woman, below which is the date *Anno* 1527. The bread hanging over the edge of the table and the dogs scrambling beneath it for crumbs refer to Jesus’s encounter with the Canaanite woman in Matthew 15:21–28. The basket of bread may allude to the baskets of bread collected by the apostles, as mentioned in John 6:13. The still life basket of fruit on the floor at the right prominently shows bunches of grapes still connected to their vines, possibly referring to John 15:5: “I am the vine: you the branches.”

Henri Hymans was the first to recognize the hand of Pieter Coecke van Aelst in the *Last Supper* dated 1531 in Brussels,⁵ which is one of about forty-five versions of the same composition. Many of the paintings are dated, and the dates range from 1527 (Belvoir Castle) to 1550/51 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, which is dated twice).⁶ Hymans’s attribution was strengthened by his recollection that the collector Eugène Dutuit of Rouen owned an engraving of the composition by Hendrick Goltzius, signed and dated 1585, which carried an eighteenth-century inscription, *pieter van Aelst Inventor* (fig. 41).⁷ Furthermore, Hymans referred to a document in the State Archives in Antwerp, a marriage contract of February 14, 1544, between the painter Philip Lisaert and Cornelia Willems, which mentions three paintings by Coecke, one a small *Last Supper* (“een cleyn avontmael van Peeter van Aelst”).⁸ Following Max Friedländer’s assessment in 1935, most authors have agreed that the original painting by Coecke has been lost.⁹ Although the 1531 Brussels version has more recently been thought by some to be by Coecke himself—Marlier considered this and the version of 1530 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Liège the best and worthy of Coecke’s own hand¹⁰—it cannot be the prototype since other versions are dated earlier. The Duke of Rutland’s 1527 painting at Belvoir Castle is the earliest

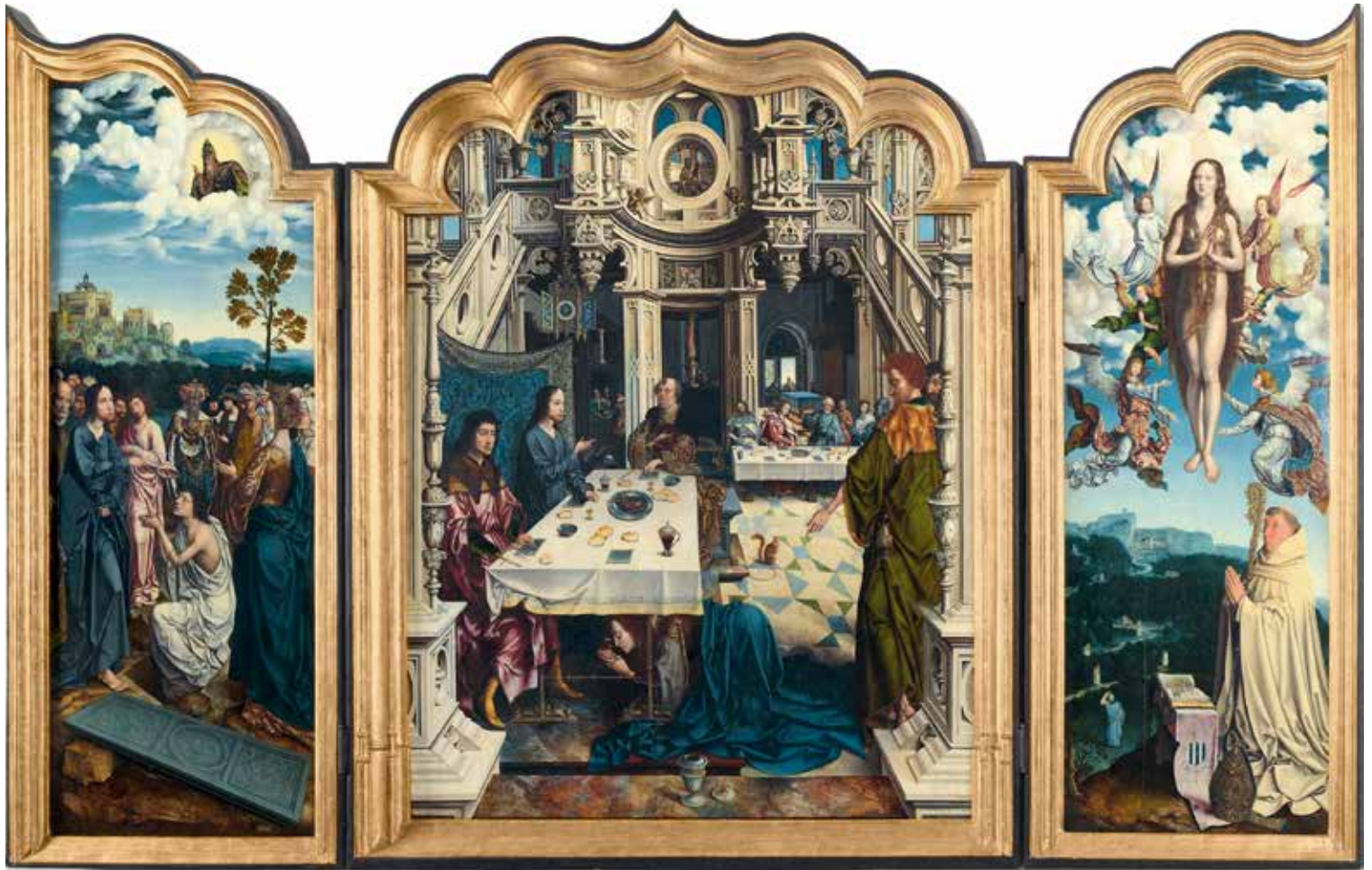


Fig. 43. *Mary Magdalen* (Triptych of the Abbey of Dielegem). Jan Mertens van Dornicke, 1518. Oil on panel; triptych: central panel 70 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 59 in. (180 × 150 cm), each wing 72 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 28 in. (185 × 71 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (329)

dated example and the largest by far of the known panels; it is also stylistically compatible with Coecke's paintings of the late 1520s. In fact, in 1906, in his review of the Guildhall of London summer exhibition, at which the Duke of Rutland's painting was labeled as by a "Flemish painter of the sixteenth century,"¹¹ Friedländer rightly connected it with *Christ Taking Leave from His Mother* (Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow [561]) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 2).¹² The Basel painting dates about 1520–25, that is, just slightly before the Belvoir Castle *Last Supper*.

Like *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the *Last Supper* is a conflation of Antwerp Mannerist style and the more au courant Renaissance mode of Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael and Bernard van Orley. Through the strong influence of Dieric Bouts's *Last Supper* in his *Holy Sacrament* altarpiece (Sint-Pieterskerk, Leuven), most examples of the period focused on Christ blessing and distributing the Host to the disciples. However, beginning with the Antwerp Mannerists in examples like the one attributed to Jan Mertens van Dornicke (fig. 42),¹³ the agitation of the disciples at the table indicates that Christ, in addition to blessing the bread and the wine, has announced Judas's betrayal. Certain character types, such as the sharp-profiled, red-headed Judas, dressed in yellow,¹⁴ or the animated

discussant at the far left—also in profile—were assimilated by Coecke to counterbalance the strict and more sedate triumvirate of Christ, Peter, and John that is found in both paintings. Coecke also refers to types in Jan Mertens van Dornicke's *Mary Magdalen* triptych from the Abbey of Dielegem (now in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels), especially the figure at the far right in the central panel whose red hair and beard and the sharp profile view of his head are direct antecedents for Coecke's Judas (compare fig. 43 with cat. 5).

This trend toward an emphasis on Christ's mention of the traitor was influenced by Italian examples, too, namely that of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* fresco in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, that were disseminated in the north through the prints of Fra Antonio da Monza about 1500 and versions by Brussels tapestry weavers.¹⁵ Raimondi's print presumably after a *modello* by Raphael of about 1514–16 (fig. 44) is even closer to Coecke's painting, as it shows a view of a grand palace refectory with Renaissance-style decorations from slightly above and a window open to a landscape beyond.¹⁶ There is a heightened sense of commotion imparted by the various types of figures in dynamic poses, and, as in Coecke's painting, Peter and John turn directly to Christ to ask whether they are the guilty ones. Such anecdotal motifs as



Fig. 44. *Last Supper*. Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, ca. 1514–16. Engraving, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 17 in. (29.5 × 43.3 cm). British Museum, London (H, 1.21)



Fig. 45. *Last Supper*. Albrecht Dürer, 1523. Woodcut, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (21.3 × 14.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.111.1)

the dogs, the wine jug, and the bread basket in the foreground may have been influenced by the widely circulated print by Master I.A.M. of Zwolle.¹⁷ Albrecht Dürer's 1523 drawing and, especially, his associated woodcut pare down the scene, eliminating all incidental motifs, and again emphasize the moment of Christ's announcement of Judas's perfidy (fig. 45).¹⁸ The variety of head types in Coecke's composition and even the prominent central fold in the tablecloth may well have come from Dürer's example. However, even more pertinent for a discussion of Coecke's sources is Bernard van Orley's design of about 1524–26 for the *Last Supper* that was part of the *Alba Passion* series of tapestries (fig. 46); that series also included the *Christ Carrying the Cross* that was so influential on Coecke's painting (cat. 2). Van Orley's *Last Supper*, like Raimondi's engraving, shows a generally similar view of a grand Renaissance palace refectory and an emphasis on figures of different types in energetic poses—especially Judas, who leaps from his stool, signaling his guilt.

In terms of technique and execution, the disciples in Coecke's *Last Supper* are boldly animated and sculpturally conceived figures similar to the ones we find in *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Fluid, unblended brushstrokes in juxtaposed tones of light and dark model the faces with caricature-like expressions in convincing three-dimensional form (fig. 11). And this treatment is different from that reserved for the Christ figure, whose face in both paintings is more smoothly modeled, with pointed chin, cupid-bow mouth, long straight nose, and high eyebrows over expressive eyes emerging from the pale tonality of the ovoid head. Similar to the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych and *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death* (cats. 1, 6), the underdrawing in the *Last Supper* is difficult to detect, partly because it is in a medium that is more visible to the naked eye than to the Osiris IRR equipment and possibly because of a darker-toned imprimatura over the underdrawing that masks it.

However, where it can be detected, the underdrawing shows the same characteristic free and direct squiggly brush underdrawing with hook-ended strokes, constant adjustment to the edges of forms, and often changes from the drawing to the painting in the position of the eyes of figures (fig. 18).¹⁹ This style of underdrawing indicates that Coecke—although influenced by the surface appearance of Van Orley's works—had not yet changed his underdrawing style as well as the medium to the black chalk that can be detected in his later works (such as the *Descent from the Cross* triptych, cat. 22, figs. 27, 28). The date 1527 on the *Last Supper* is supported by dendrochronology carried out by Ian Tyers, which indicates that the Baltic oak planks were felled after about 1510 and before about 1540.²⁰

None of the known visual sources for Coecke's *Last Supper* shows roundels with biblical subjects or texts in Dutch and Latin, so it must be concluded that this painting was conceived with a particular iconography in mind.²¹ Furthermore, the specific texts in Dutch and Latin in the Belvoir Castle painting are not found in any of the smaller copies,²² which suggests that those represent reduced-size, standard output works intended for sale on the open art market. The meager, anonymous quality of the copies supports this theory.

That the Dutch texts are apparently a summary of two editions of the Dutch translation of Martin Luther's Bible²³ raises the question of whether the painting's iconography is specifically linked to a "Reformational" (later termed "Lutheran") interpretation. Given the early date of the painting—1527—caution should be used against overinterpretation. Marlier's argument, and more recently that by Danièle Séraphin and Jacques Lauprêtre, that the series of paintings related to Coecke's design refers to the growing controversies at the time over the celebration of the Mass, especially the disputes between Luther and Huldrych Zwingli about the true presence of Christ in the sacraments, cannot be supported.²⁴ Zwingli's refutation



Fig. 46. *Last Supper* from the *Alba Passion*. Design attributed to Bernard van Orley, ca. 1520. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1525–28. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 10 ft. 11⁷/₈ in. × 11 ft. 5⁷/₈ in. (335 × 350 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.1915)

on July 1, 1528, of Luther's "Confession Concerning Christ's Supper" came too late for the 1527 Belvoir Castle painting.

However, as Timothy J. Wengert points out, the motifs and the texts of the painting "certainly show approval of at least one of the basic premises of the Reformation: namely the centrality of faith in receiving the Lord's Supper and the connection of the Supper to the sacrifice and victory of Christ."²⁵ The David and Goliath story (roundel at the upper left) was traditionally used in the early church as a depiction of Christ's victory over evil on the cross, and David, especially in Lutheran circles, was deemed the model of faith. The quotation of Genesis 4:9 for the Cain and Abel roundel at the upper right indicates that the important message is Abel's death through innocent blood shed by evil hands. Abel's faith, his gift of sacrifice, and his continuing life in God are contrasted with Cain's ill-judged faith in his own work that was rejected by God.²⁶ The lower roundels, which quote John 6:56, may refer to the Reformist tenet that all celebrants should receive both the bread and the wine. But, as Luther stated in his 1520 tract "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," John 6 refers not to the sacrament, but to "faith in the incarnate word" — "what matters is faith alone."²⁷ The tiny images in the stained-glass windows above — Christ and the Woman of Samaria and Christ and the Canaanite Woman (as well as the dogs below the table) — tell stories that are also examples of true faith.

There can be no guarantee at this point that Coecke's depiction of the Last Supper was meant as a piece of "Evangelical" propaganda, but as Wengert notes, "it includes certain aspects that match so well with the writings and exegesis emanating from Wittenberg that it is hard not to conclude that this piece is indeed composed in the spirit of the early Reformation. The centrality of faith, the use of [the] Dutch [translation of Luther's Bible] for some of the biblical texts, the importance of Christ as victor (rather than simply sacrifice) all point in this direction."²⁸ Reformist ideas surfaced in Antwerp and Brussels by 1521, when writings by Luther were on sale in the local bookshops.²⁹ Although Coecke apparently had a working relationship with Bernard van Orley, who along with a number of tapestry weavers was arrested and tried in court in 1527 for having listened to sermons of the reformer Claes van der Elst, curate of Sint-Jacobskerk in Antwerp in 1524,³⁰ there is no documentary proof that Coecke himself was a follower of the reform movements. If this *Last Supper* can be interpreted in the manner suggested here, then it was more likely that Coecke was carrying out the wishes of a patron who commissioned the painting. Such an individual representation, with its specific texts and motifs, was not repeated in the numerous later versions and copies of the painting, which perhaps were more a testament to the significant appeal of Coecke's powerful design. MWA

6.

Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1525–30

Oil on panel

14 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (37.8 × 53.7 cm)

Private collection

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

At the edge of a forest on a promontory overlooking a village at the lower right, an elegantly dressed couple is interrupted from their tryst by a fool, appearing behind a tree, who gestures toward the menacing figure of Death. The latter holds an hourglass in his left hand, indicating dwindling time, as he aims his spear at the couple. Night approaches, ships come and go in the distant city harbor, and in the village other couples can be seen cavorting, one accompanied by a fool with his puppet-headed staff.

At auctions in London in 1976 and 1994, this painting was attributed respectively to the "Circle of Lucas van Leyden" and the "Circle of Bernard van Orley."¹ It was sold to the current owner as "Antwerp School, ca. 1530."² Its closest connections,



Fig. 47. *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530–40. Oil on panel, 44 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (112 × 70.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (986)



6

however, are with the relatively early works of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, about 1525–30. Figures occupying the promontory in the foreground, beyond which there is a precipitous drop to the village below, is a compositional scheme that Coecke assimilated from examples he saw during his association with Bernard van Orley in the 1520s.³ Closely connected are a drawing attributed to Van Orley or his circle, *A View of the Village of Elsene* of about 1530–35 (cat. 7), and Coecke's later painting inspired by this drawing, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* of about 1530–40 (fig. 47). Coecke reemployed this compositional strategy for his tapestry design of about 1548 for *God Accuses Adam and Eve* (cat. 69).

The palette—rich reds, yellows, blues, and yellow-pink *couleur changeant* effects of the fool's attire, as well as golden embellishments on tassels, jewelry, and sword hilts—is consistent with Antwerp Mannerist painting of the first three decades of the sixteenth century and is particularly associated with the Master of 1518, also known as Jan Mertens van Dornicke, in whose workshop Coecke probably participated as a journeyman until Jan's death in 1527. However, the working technique

of the painting deviates from that of Van Dornicke (see Ainsworth, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst as a Panel Painter"), and the figure types and details of execution of the faces—smoothly blended brushstrokes in pale tones for the female face and bold, disengaged strokes of juxtaposed light highlights and dark tones for the ruddy complexions of the male figures—are more closely related to the works of Pieter Coecke. In addition, several of the expressive strategies employed in *Lovers Surprised*, such as the abrupt movements of the figures, the pose of the gentleman, viewed from the back with his head turned in profile, and the animated hand gestures, are featured in other paintings by Coecke of this period, namely *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Last Supper*, dating about 1520–25 and 1527, respectively (cats. 2, 5). The woman can be compared to the stylishly attired ladies in Coecke's drawings of about 1529–30 for the *Life of Saint Paul*, specifically *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* and *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* (cats. 33, 39). These ladies all share a similar twist of the head and a comparable facial type. Their heads, on columnar necks, are framed in abundant cascading curls pulled back at the

nape of the neck, and the round faces show dimpled chins and fine expressive features.

The subject of the painting ultimately derives from medieval literature, specifically the *Roman de la Rose*, and from a long visual tradition of the garden of love. About 1460 there developed a counterpart to these depictions of pure love, that is, ones of lecherous love and satires on the courtly ideal of love. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, these representations took on a moralistic tone with the introduction of figures of fools and Death.⁴ The theme thus evolved into an allegory that warned against carnal sin and folly.⁵

Although Albrecht Dürer's *Pleasures of the World* of about 1496 (fig. 48) is a far more ambitious composition, it represents this new direction in which the revelry and folly taking place in a carnival scene are presented in a moralizing context.⁶ Both this drawing and the painting under discussion may have been inspired by Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (1494) or Hans Sachs's carnival play *Das Hoffgesindt Veneris* (1517), which feature the fool as the bearer of the admonition.⁷ In the Dürer drawing and the Coecke painting, a fool emerges from behind a tree and gestures past the amorous couples in the direction of Death, who advances from the right. *Lovers Surprised* is a close-up, condensed version of images like Dürer's drawing, even more directly warning of the consequences of indulging in worldly pleasures. In both we see couples merrymaking, eating, and drinking (a metaphor for lovemaking in the popular culture of the Netherlands);⁸ in the painting the wine cup or tazza and fruit (grapes and an apple, the fruit of original sin) are placed

to the left of the woman. A lute—symbolic of both eroticism and the transience of love⁹—rests on the ground behind the gentleman. These signals are accompanied by the phallic sword deliberately positioned between them, and the woman who suggestively rests her left hand on her companion's shoulder. The implication that this relationship is “love for hire” may be inferred by the scene in the village below. There a fool observes an embracing couple, as the woman furtively reaches into the purse hanging from the man's belt.

Among the best known of the images on the theme of love and death was Albrecht Dürer's *Promenade* (1496–98),¹⁰ an engraving that Israhel van Meckenem copied in reverse in his own engraving of about 1500.¹¹ But Van Meckenem added an inscription in Low German that can be translated as “Not every day is Carnival. Death comes and brings the night.”¹² This proverb seems to relate to our scene, where the dark clouds of evening advance along with the frightening figure of Death, whose transformative power is mirrored by the dead tree to the right. Such images associated with proverbs became increasingly popular in the early sixteenth century, and it could well be that the theme here relates to *rederijker* literature of satire and parody, especially in regard to fools, considered to include all humanity. The painters' guild in Antwerp, which Coecke joined in 1527, had already been incorporated into the chamber of rhetoric, *Violieren*, by 1480, and this provided an ongoing dialogue between word and image where such satirical representations were concerned.¹³

MWA



Fig. 48. *Pleasures of the World*. Albrecht Dürer, ca. 1496. Pen and india ink, 8¼ × 13 in. (21.1 × 33 cm). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (P. I. 285)



7

7.
A Seated Mother and Child and Other Figures in a Landscape, with a View of the Village of Elsene and the Abbey of Ter Kameren, near Brussels, from the North

Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1535–40 (?)
 Pen and brush with brown ink and white gouache over black chalk on brown paper (laid down)
 12¼ × 18⅞ in. (31.1 × 46.1 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
 Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. At lower center, inscribed *Meester Bernart orleij van Brußel fecit* in pen and brown ink (seventeenth-century handwriting);¹ at lower right, the collector's mark of Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 2097). On the mount made by Mariette, at lower center, inscribed in the cartouche *BERN. VAN ORLEY / BRUXELLENSIS* in pen and brown ink, by Mariette

Musée du Louvre, Paris (20148)
 See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

One of the most beautiful tapestry series ever created is the twelve pieces known as the *Hunts of Maximilian*, after designs by Bernard van Orley that can be dated between 1528 and 1531 (see figs. 49, 133).² The twelve images, one for each month of the

year, depict hunting scenes, most set in the environs of Brussels or at various sites in the vast Sonian Forest (Zoniënwoud, or Forêt de Soignes), a favorite hunting ground of the Habsburgs, to the southeast of the city.³ The beauty of the tapestries lies in the successful blending of rich detail in scenes enacted by monumental and agile figures, in the precise depiction of topographically accurate landscapes and abundant nature, and in the superior quality of the one extant contemporary weaving, recorded in France since the end of the sixteenth century and now at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In the direct wake of the popularity of the *Hunts of Maximilian*, several similar series seem to have been projected by artists from Van Orley's circle or by followers; these designs can be assumed to date from approximately 1535 to 1540. At least one of these efforts resulted in actual tapestries, of which one panel, representing the month of August, is recorded.⁴ The format, size, and theme of a currently unlocated drawing also point in the direction of a tapestry design (fig. 50).⁵ According to an old inscription on the drawing's back, it represents the Habsburg emperor Charles V and his sister Mary of Hungary during the hunt. Another series is formed by three drawings at the Albertina, Vienna, and one at the Louvre, which depict men

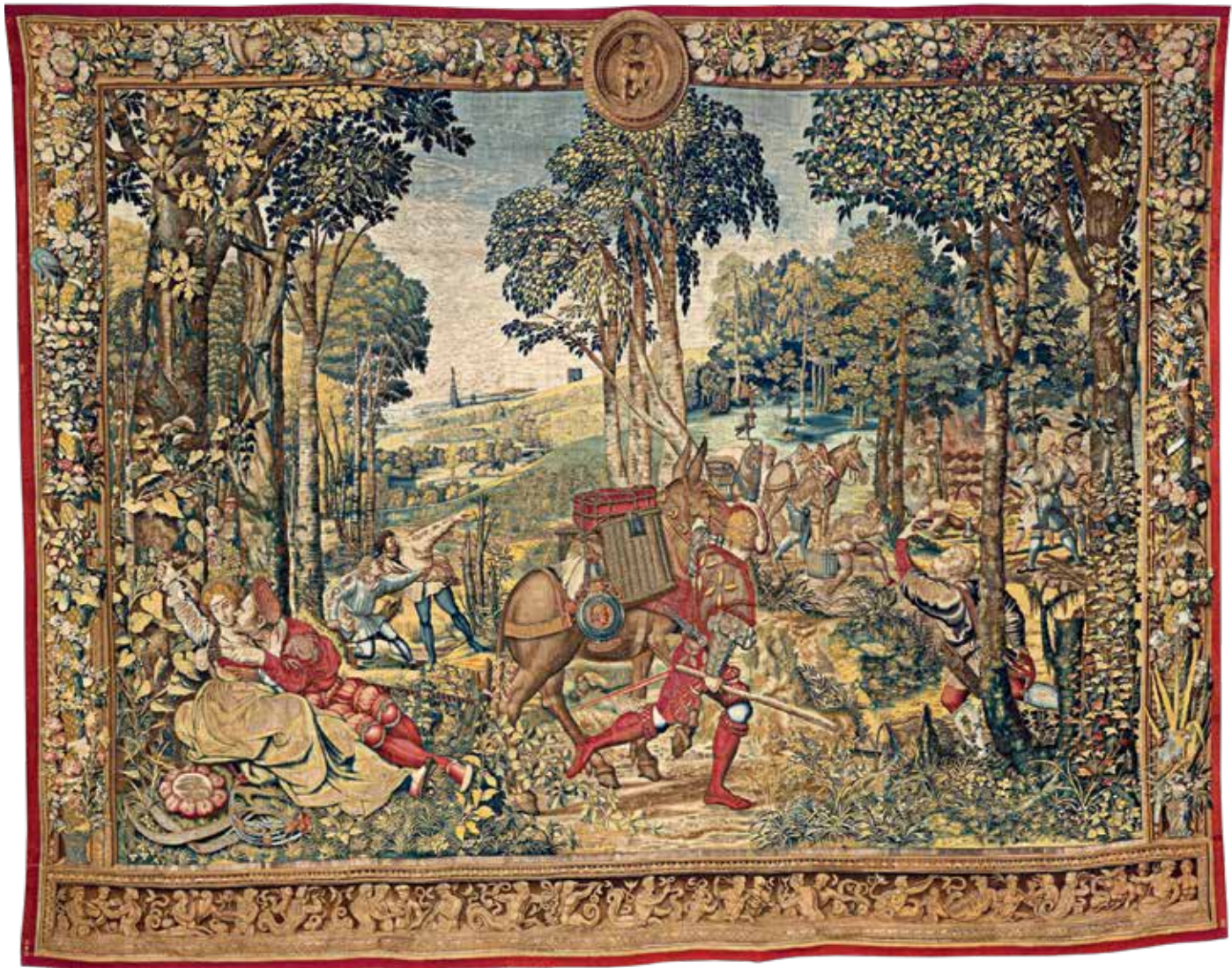


Fig. 49. *Hunters in the Sonian Forest at Oudergem, with a Distant View of Brussels, from the South-East (The Month of May)* from the *Hunts of Maximilian*. Designed by Bernard van Orley, ca. 1528–31. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan and Willem Dermoyen, Brussels, 1531–33. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 9 in. × 19 ft. 2 in. (450 × 585 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 7316)

at hunt, one possibly representing the Emperor Maximilian I (see fig. 51).⁶ It has been suggested that these four sheets are by the same hand as the present drawing and two other scenes of more pastoral subjects, all at the Louvre (for one, see fig. 52).⁷ Although there are enough stylistic similarities to make this suggestion plausible, the latter group of Louvre drawings on pastoral themes is of markedly higher quality in both composition and execution. In fact, it can even be argued that the three Louvre drawings are superior to most of those by Van Orley himself, whose style is more functional and loose, even somewhat coarse, never attempting to evoke the depth and the effects of light and shadow that make the Louvre drawings so attractive (compare, for instance, cat. 3). As the drawings also have little in common technically with known works by Van Orley, their traditional attribution to him can no longer be maintained.

The existence of these anonymous drawings, and in particular the drawing under discussion here, should serve as

a reminder of the excellence of Van Orley's and Coecke's lesser-known, or even unidentified, contemporaries. In the present drawing, the draftsman's pointed, slightly angular penmanship is especially apparent in the seated woman whose bared breast is touched by the small boy standing next to her. The washes and white heightening add convincing modeling, which would have provided accurate guidance to the cartoon makers and ultimately the weavers. A combination of wash and gouache is also used for the vegetation, from the drooping leaves of the birch tree at right and crown of the oak at center, to the ivy winding up the oak's massive trunk and the plants in the composition's lower corners. In the left background, pen and finer brushwork detail the tiny figures in the village street, who contrast with the elegantly robust figures in the foreground. As was first remarked by Otto Benesch in 1925, the street at left and the landscape in the background correspond almost exactly with the background of a painting in Vienna of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 47).⁸ Its attribution has shifted in the past



Fig. 50. *A Man and a Lady on a Falcon Hunt in a Forest*. Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1535–40 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, 11 × 16¼ in. (28 × 41.2 cm). Location unknown



Fig. 51. *Emperor Maximilian Receiving a Messenger at a Hunt in a Forest*. Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1535–40 (?). Pen and brush, brown ink, heightened with white gouache, on brown-gray paper, 9¾ × 15¾ in. (23.7 × 40 cm). Albertina, Vienna (7804)

between Van Orley and Coecke, but given similarities with the figures (and their underdrawing) in Coecke's *Resurrection* triptych in Karlsruhe (cat. 9), there seems to be little reason to doubt that the painting's figures are his work; they can be dated to the second half of the 1530s.⁹ The painting's landscape, however, seems to be by a different artist, who had access either to the present drawing or, more likely, to a common model.¹⁰

A mid-seventeenth-century mention of the Vienna painting not only attributes it to Van Orley but also describes it as representing "the village of Etterbeek near Brussels, and the Church of the Holy Cross."¹¹ Such topographical accuracy would not be surprising, given the example set by the views in the *Hunts of Maximilian*, as discussed above.¹² However, the identification of the village as Etterbeek, now an urbanized part of Brussels,



Fig. 52. *A Pair of Lovers Observed by a Man in a Forest*. Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1535–40 (?). Pen and brush and brown ink with white gouache over black chalk on brown paper, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (31.5 × 45.3 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (20147)



Fig. 53. *View of the Abbey of Ter Kameren, near Brussels, from the North*. Philippe de Champaigne, 1654. Black chalk, gray wash, 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 21 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (33.8 × 55.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (21421)

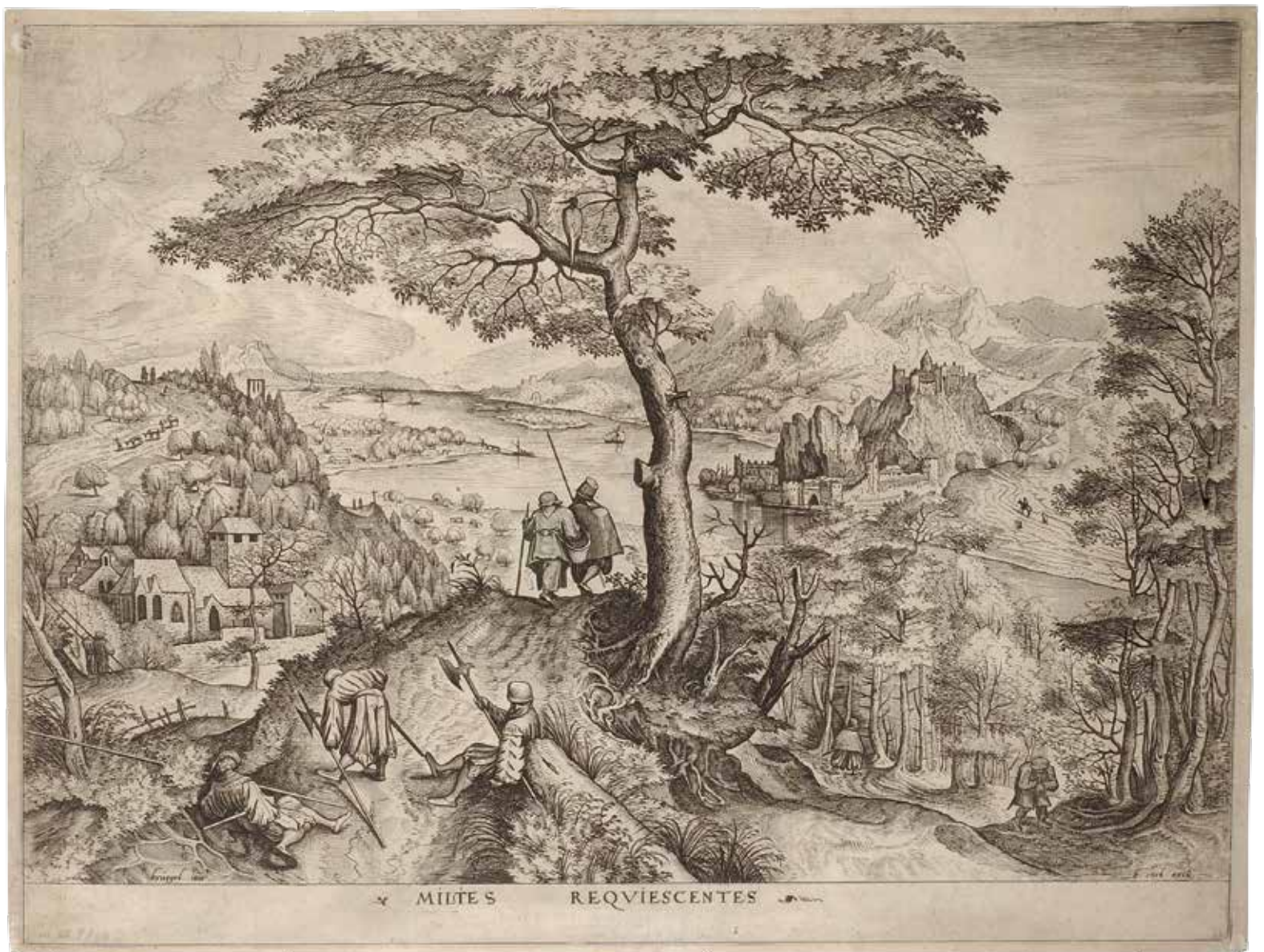


Fig. 54. *Soldiers at Rest in a Landscape*. Johannes van Doetecum the Elder and Lucas van Doetecum, after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, ca. 1555. Etching and engraving, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32.1 × 42.4 cm). Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (s.III 99203)

southeast of the city center, is certainly erroneous.¹³ Instead, the church in the right background, behind four fishponds, can be recognized as that belonging to the still extant Abbey of Ter Kameren (or Abbaye de la Cambre), and the village on the left as Elsene (or Ixelles), immediately to the west of Etterbeek and today also part of Brussels.¹⁴ The right part of the view compares quite closely to a seventeenth-century drawing made from a similar viewpoint by the Brussels-born painter Philippe de Champaigne (fig. 53),¹⁵ while an engraving by Hans Col-laert offers a late sixteenth-century view of Elsene with a village street along a pond similar to the one seen in the drawing and the painting.¹⁶ The hill in the foreground must be the Zwaeren-berg, the “steep mountain” corresponding to the modern rue de Vergnies. A hospice dedicated to the Holy Cross located at its foot provided rest to the poor going back to the city from the Sonian Forest, which is seen at right on the drawing’s horizon.¹⁷

The hospice seems to have existed mainly for wood bearers; its horse or two were available to help them carry their load up the hill, and they were given bread, rye, cheese, and beer.¹⁸ The couple with the barrel on a wheelbarrow at left in the drawing may well depict people transporting such a gift; in the village street, among the tiny figures drawn there, a woman brings two cups to a man seated behind a barrel or other large container. In contrast to these simple characters, the larger figures in the middle and right foreground, especially the young couple, seem to be better off and may have climbed the hill simply to enjoy the view. The woman pulling the barrow looks up at them in a gentle scene of social contrasts rarely encountered in art of the period.

A distinct feature of the three drawings at the Louvre, and in particular of the scene with the older man observing a couple of lovers (fig. 52), is the narrative they suggest, which made Frits Lugt propose that the series illustrated “some romance

story—a sixteenth-century *Pelléas and Mélisande*?¹⁹ Although the idea is tempting, the treatment of a secular, contemporary narrative in the exclusive medium of tapestry would be most unusual, and it is more likely that the scenes are unrelated and simply depict the joys of the country surrounding Brussels. In this celebration of Flemish landscape, the drawings can be compared not only to the *Hunts of Maximilian* but also to some of the tapestries from the series known as the *Months of Lucas* (fig. 176).²⁰ With the latter series, and with the painting in Vienna, the drawn view of Elsenne and its two companions at the Louvre share a conception of landscape that connects the art of Van Orley's circle with that of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, the greatest of Netherlandish sixteenth-century painters and possible pupil of Coecke, posthumously his father-in-law (for an example from his series *Large Landscapes*, see fig. 54).²¹ A high foreground providing a scene for monumental figures, a high horizon enabling a panoramic view in the background, and large old trees serving as repoussoirs on one or both sides, or as the center of a composition, are the main characteristics of these landscapes.²² As a possible source of inspiration, Venetian woodcuts and an etching by Albrecht Dürer have been cited.²³

Some of Coecke's designs for his *Saint Paul* series also relate to the landscape type, and were most likely conceived before Van Orley started work on the *Hunts of Maximilian*.²⁴ This probable sequence raises interesting questions about the exact interaction and mutual influence between Van Orley and Coecke, and their respective workshops. It seems that from the late 1520s on, exchanges between the two artists, both of general ideas (such as landscape type) and of specific motifs (such as the view of Elsenne), may have inspired each man's work. SA

8.

A Peasant and Three Women at a Game of Backgammon in a Brothel

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1529 (?)
Pen and brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache, on brown prepared paper (laid down)
8 × 6³/₈ in. (20.2 × 16.1 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist; at center left, signed *Petrus van / Aelst · inu: / & F.* Verso of the secondary support: at lower left, inscribed *Petrus Koeke van Aalst f 1529 / geb. 1496 te Aalst. / Discipel [?] van Bern van Orley – / geb te Brussel 1484 / Discipel van Rafael Urbino / h 7⁷/₈ / b. 6¹/₈ in pen and brown ink, by Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (Lugt 3002, 3004); below, inscribed *fr* in graphite (nineteenth-century handwriting?); at lower center, inscribed . . . *oek van . . . 1540* in graphite (twentieth-century handwriting)*

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (MB 330)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Described by some as the “only one signed by the artist,”¹ this drawing in Rotterdam of a brothel scene occupies a somewhat less central place in Coecke's drawn oeuvre than often thought. Whether the inscription *Petrus van Aelst*, appearing at the center left of the sheet, is autograph has been questioned;² comparison with a receipt written by Coecke (cat. 14) does not support its authenticity, as nearly every letter is formed differently. However, the fact that Coecke's name appears in exactly the same manner, and is given a similarly prominent and well-integrated position, on a design in Vienna for one of the tapestries of the *Life of Saint Paul* series suggests that this is, indeed, an autograph signature. The sheet in Vienna must date from about 1530 at the latest, like the rest of the drawings for the *Saint Paul* series, whose style closely relates to that of the Rotterdam drawing. In particular the women's faces and the strangely formed, paw-like hands are similar in the drawing and the series.³ Although doubted by many authors, the date 1529, recorded on the Rotterdam drawing by the eighteenth-century Dutch collector Cornelis Ploos van Amstel in an inscription on the back of the secondary support, may well be based on a now-lost inscription of greater reliability. Even if purely invented by Ploos, it cannot be far off.⁴

For those who would doubt the authenticity of the Rotterdam drawing's signature, comparison with the drawings for the *Saint Paul* series offers sufficient argument in favor of the attribution to Coecke. Still, in subject matter and technique, the drawing remains almost completely isolated within his surviving body of work. Only one other genre scene by Coecke is known, a drawing in Vienna (fig. 55),⁵ of which the style is close to that of his drawings from the second half of the 1530s, especially the design for a stained-glass window, also in Vienna (cat. 13). In contrast to the Rotterdam drawing, the Vienna genre scene presents its subject—a money changer with a client—in a straightforward, contemporary, and exceptionally detailed



Petrus van
Aelst Inv.
1565



Fig. 55. *A Money Changer and His Wife with a Client*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 6¾ × 7⅛ in. (17.3 × 18 cm). Albertina, Vienna (7852)



Fig. 56. *A Peasant and Three Women at a Game of Backgammon in a Brothel*. Anonymous, Netherlandish, ca. 1530s. Oil on panel, approx. 12⅝ × 15⅜ in. (32 × 39 cm). Location unknown

setting, following a tradition that goes back to at least 1514, the date of a painting of a similar subject by Quentin Metsys.⁶ Iconographically speaking, the Rotterdam drawing, although earlier than the one in Vienna, is more modern.

Sometimes discussed as a depiction of the Prodigal Son wasting his fortune at a brothel, the Rotterdam drawing cannot represent this biblical scene, as the man's torn clothes indicate his poverty.⁷ In fact, the drawing shows a peasant gambling with three of a brothel's denizens: one young woman is playing a variant of backgammon with him, another offers him a pitcher of beer or wine, and a third keeps track of the score.⁸ Judging from the peasant's tormented expression, he is about to lose his wager—a chicken he probably was supposed to sell at market.⁹ The same subject and details, even the stool on which the playing woman sits, are found in a roughly contemporary Netherlandish painting, untraced since it was on the art market in 1933 (fig. 56).¹⁰ Other similar depictions include paintings and prints by contemporary and later artists.¹¹

The chiaroscuro technique of the Rotterdam drawing, with the brown prepared paper serving as a middle tone for the darker brown ink and the lighter gouache, is almost entirely unique within the corpus of drawings by Coecke; the only other instance is the slightly later *Christ as the Fount of Mercy* (cat. 11). There are, however, several drawings similar in technique from the artist's and Bernard van Orley's circle (among them cat. 17).¹² Fifteenth-century and earlier sixteenth-century

Netherlandish examples also exist by such artists as Hugo van der Goes, Jan Gossart, and the Antwerp Mannerists,¹³ but they lack the boldness and painterly effect of those by Coecke and his contemporaries, which Coecke himself would surpass even further under Italian influence in catalogue number 11. In the Rotterdam brothel scene, Coecke was possibly inspired by chiaroscuro woodcuts, a medium pioneered by German and Italian artists in the first two decades of the sixteenth century,¹⁴ but he may also have adapted the more careful drawing technique of his Netherlandish predecessors mentioned above.

The Rotterdam drawing belongs to a group of Netherlandish interior scenes, dated to about the 1520s, in which artists explored the dramatic effects of artificial light; among these early experiments are paintings by, or attributed to, Aertgen van Leyden and Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen.¹⁵ In several of them, the setting at night lends a negative connotation to the scene.¹⁶ Coecke infused his composition, which focuses on the human figures, with a feverish, almost claustrophobic atmosphere by using three sources—a candle on the table, one above, and a hidden fire—to light a rather uninviting room, dominated by a monumental chimneypiece. The result transforms a scene that could easily have seemed trivial into an unusually powerful warning against the devastating effect of women's deceit and men's carelessness, expressed in a drawing that marries, in the words of Max Friedländer, "heroic corporality with a genre-like conception in an unusual way."¹⁷

SA

9.

Resurrection

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530

Oil on panel

Triptych: central panel 28½ × 22 in. (72.5 × 56 cm); wings each 28 × 9¼ in. (71 × 23.5 cm)

Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (153)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

The central panel of this exquisite house altarpiece shows a tumultuous Resurrection, in which Christ is carried by angels to heaven, as the Roman soldiers below respond in chaotic disarray. The wings represent two Old Testament scenes that are typological parallels for the Resurrection: Nebuchadnezzar and the Miracle of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace (left) and Jonah and the Whale (right).¹ There are no longer paintings on the exterior of the Karlsruhe wings. However, two large-scale panels, formerly the wings of a triptych (figs. 57a–d), which replicate the paintings on the interior of the Karlsruhe wings, may provide a clue to the missing scenes. On their reverses, they show Jonah Sitting below the Pumpkin Vine and the Repentant People of Nineveh.

In Dagmar Eichberger's interpretation, the program of the altarpiece presents the themes of repentance and salvation, illustrated on the interior wings by the scenes of the rescued Jonah shown praying as he is disgorged onto the shore by the whale and of Nebuchadnezzar acknowledging the power of the Jewish God.² Eichberger also suggests that the Old Testament stories here, in addition to being typological parallels, fulfill another specific function, that of a moral exemplum.³ If the subjects on the reverses of the Nürnberg panels are taken into consideration, Jonah is represented as the great sinner who profits twice from God's mercy. This places Christ's Resurrection in a different context, and Eichberger turns for further explanation to Martin Luther's 1526 Wittenberg exegesis on the story of Jonah, which shows on its title page a woodcut depicting the five most important episodes in Jonah's life.⁴ Although Jonah is a privileged representative of the kingdom of Israel, he is portrayed as a rebellious prophet, who appears less God-fearing than the heathen soldiers and the people of Nineveh. In other words, the woodcut reflects Luther's interest in the didactic message of the Old Testament stories. Although Eichberger's interpretation of Coecke's triptych is most intriguing, 1530 is early for the incorporation of Luther's 1526



9



Fig. 57a–d. Wings of a triptych. Pieter Coecke van Aelst and workshop. Oil on panel, each $43\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ in. (111 × 42 cm). (a) *Nebuchadnezzar and the Miracle of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace*; (b) *Jonah and the Whale*; (c, verso of [a]) *Jonah Sitting below the Pumpkin Vine*; (d, verso of [b]) *The Repentant People of Nineveh*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg (91, 92)

Wittenberg exegesis in Antwerp painting, and this should be a matter for further study and discussion.

Early on, the Karlsruhe triptych was assigned to Bernard van Orley,⁵ an understandable attribution given its stylistic similarities with the dynamic, Raphaellesque figures so well known from especially the centerpiece of Van Orley's 1521 *Job and Lazarus* triptych (fig. 58).⁶ However, Paul Wescher recognized the hand of Coecke through the triptych's stylistic connection with the *Last Supper* (cat. 5) and with certain tapestries (for example, the *Joshua* series [cats. 54–59] and the *Creation* series [cat. 69]), and his suggestion was subsequently supported by Max Friedländer, who saw further associations with the postures of the figures in the woodcut *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45).⁷ Georges Marlier concurred, making the strongest case for Coecke's authorship in his 1966 monograph in which he even identified—rather implausibly—the soldier to the left just behind the grave in the center panel as a self-portrait of the artist.⁸ He proposed the participation of a workshop assistant, the Braunschweig Monogrammist, for the background figures, a notion contradicted by Ernst Brochhagen and Matthias Ubl.⁹

The *Resurrection* and Coecke's drawing for the *Conversion of Saul* of about 1529–30 (cat. 27), as noted by Wescher, are animated with the same sense of rhythm, and the movements of the soldiers, seized with panic, are organized around a central

axis, the peak of which is Christ (in the former) or God the Father (in the latter).¹⁰ This comes from Coecke's familiarity not only with Van Orley's *Job and Lazarus*, but also with some of the designs from Raphael's workshop that had arrived in Brussels to be woven there. Among those of note for Coecke's imaginative design for the *Resurrection* are a similar ovoid compositional strategy found in Raphael's 1515–16 design for the *Death of Ananias* in the *Acts of the Apostles* series (fig. 59), Tommaso Vincidor's 1521 *Vision of Ezekiel* after Raphael (compare the figure of Christ with that of Ezekiel) (fig. 60), and Giovanni Francesco Penni's (and others') design for the *Resurrection*, part of the *Life of Christ* (*Scuola nuova*) series woven about 1524–30 in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst in Brussels.¹¹ Coecke substituted a soldier who pivots on his right foot for the figure of Christ in the *Resurrection* design. In his fervent prayerful attitude, Coecke's Jonah is indebted to Raphael's 1515–16 cartoon featuring the sinful fisherman Saint Peter in the *Miraculous Draft of Fishes*.¹² Marlier saw a number of stylistic affinities between the figures in the Karlsruhe *Resurrection* triptych and those in the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22),¹³ but he neglected to mention the *Resurrection* triptych's direct connections with Coecke's *Last Supper* in terms of technique and execution, probably because he never saw the *Last Supper* firsthand. In fact, the Karlsruhe triptych, with its bold, disengaged brushstrokes that describe the caricature-like heads of



Fig. 58. *Job and Lazarus*. Bernard van Orley, 1521. Oil on panel; triptych: central panel 69¼ × 72½ in. (176 × 184 cm), wings each 68½ × 31½ in. (174 × 80 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (1822)



Fig. 59. *The Death of Ananias from the Acts of the Apostles*. Cartoon for the tapestry by Raphael and workshop, 1515–16. Body color on paper mounted on canvas, 11 ft. 2 in. × 17 ft. 4½ in. (340 × 530 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, on loan from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 912947)



Fig. 60. *The Vision of Ezekiel*. Cartoon for the tapestry by Tommaso Vincidor and assistants after Raphael, 1521. Body color and chalk on paper mounted on canvas, 12 ft. 5½ in. × 12 ft. 7⁄8 in. (380 × 368 cm). Boughton House, by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, K.T. (BH 0073)

the soldiers, is far closer to the execution in paint found in the heads of the disciples in the *Last Supper* (compare figs. 11 and 19; see also fig. 61). This would suggest that the *Resurrection* triptych cannot have been made too much later than the 1527 *Last Supper*. A date about 1530 seems most likely.

The question arises as to whether the Karlsruhe triptych or the Nürnberg panels served as the primary version. In support of the priority of the Nürnberg panels, Kurt Löcher, who saw greater artistic quality there, noted that the underdrawing in

those two panels shows a freehand, searching form, while the Karlsruhe paintings reveal the fixed contour lines of a copy.¹⁴ He especially noted that Nebuchadnezzar's mouth is open in the underdrawing and closed in the painting. In comparing these results again firsthand, it is possible to confirm Löcher's observation about Nebuchadnezzar's mouth. However, with further study it is clear to this author that the opposite conclusion about priority is true—that the Karlsruhe work shows the bold brush underdrawing typical of Coecke with numerous



Fig. 61. Detail of cat. 9



Fig. 62. Detail of cat. 5



Fig. 63. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 9



Fig. 64. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 9

changes, especially in the contours of the figures and in the direction and level of their eyes (figs. 63, 64).¹⁵ The Nürnberg paintings, on the other hand, mostly follow the final painted form of the Karlsruhe triptych interior wings, thus indicating the primacy of the latter. As the Nürnberg example displays a painting technique and execution of smoother, more blended brushwork, closer in fact to that found in the *Descent from the*

Cross triptych, it is possible that the Nürnberg panels were simply produced some years later by Coecke and his workshop. This would explain the fact that the underdrawing in the Nürnberg examples appears to be by Coecke, albeit with characteristics mostly indicative of a copy. What conditions may have warranted a later reprise of the earlier Karlsruhe triptych cannot at this time be established. MWA

10.

Holy Family

Pieter Coecke van Aelst and workshop, ca. 1530–35

Oil on panel

39¾ × 28¾ in. (101 × 72 cm)

M—Museum Leuven (S/26/C)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Among the most popular subjects of early sixteenth-century painting in Antwerp was the Holy Family, which provided an opportunity for countless variations on the representation of these venerated figures in contemporary settings.¹ Here they are assembled in a grand Renaissance interior with architectural elements derived from the antique. The Virgin sits enthroned, holding the Christ Child, and revealed to the viewer by the sprightly angel who pulls back the curtain above her. As the “new” Eve, she offers an apple to the child, the “new” Adam and Redeemer of humankind. Above at the left, a large grisaille roundel depicting the Sacrifice of Isaac provides an Old Testament typological parallel for Christ’s eventual sacrifice.² The still life on the parapet shows cherries, the fruit of Paradise; grapes, referring to the Eucharist; and apples and pears. Joseph

adopts a melancholic attitude, perhaps contemplating the mystery of his paternity as Christ’s earthly father.³ The solemn demeanor of both Mary and Joseph suggests their prescience of Christ’s Passion.

Previous considerations of Jan Gossart or Bernard van Orley as the painter of the *Holy Family* are not without reason,⁴ because in the 1520s both artists produced paintings on this theme, including an elderly, bearded Joseph and a standing, active Christ Child held by his mother—all placed within a classical architectural setting.⁵ However, J. Crab, who restored the painting in Leuven in 1961, identified the hand of Pieter Coecke van Aelst,⁶ and Georges Marlier, following Jan Karl Steppe, further supported the notion in 1966.⁷ Since then there has been general agreement that the painting is by Pieter Coecke himself,⁸ with only occasional qualifications of those endorsements.⁹ The figure types are familiar from other paintings by Coecke; for example, a close parallel for the Virgin is found in his 1532 *Mary Magdalen*, especially the face and the pudgy hands (compare cat. 10 and fig. 65). There is also the typical opposition of the ruddy-toned male face of Joseph and the smoothly blended, porcelain-like quality of the Virgin’s face. Figures here, as in most of Coecke’s paintings and drawings, are animated through gesture and the arrangement of the voluminous drapery with supple folds that anchor the substantial bodies in space. The quirky angel who pulls back the curtain above is dressed in a fluttering garment of Coecke’s favored yellow-orange with *couleur changeant* effects, while the main figures are attired more traditionally in the red and green palette with touches of purple and yellow that Coecke preferred. The still life in the foreground is less proficiently painted than the basket of fruit in the *Last Supper* (cat. 5), possibly indicating workshop participation.

Further supporting the attribution to Coecke is the bold brush underdrawing that lays out the composition (fig. 22).¹⁰ The execution here is consistent with Coecke’s style, as evidenced in other contemporary paintings by him, such as *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (fig. 20) and the *Trinity*¹¹—direct, free-hand strokes, curling at the ends, that define the position of the figures and loosely work out the configuration of folds in the draperies. That this underdrawing is a working drawing is made clear by the changes in the composition: in it the Christ Child looks up at the Virgin instead of back over his right shoulder, as he does in the painting; Joseph’s head in the painting was lowered from its position in the drawing, and his eyes became even more dramatically downcast; and the angel, whose head in the underdrawing turns to the right, in the painting turns toward the left. These changes all indicate that Coecke was in the midst of an ongoing creative process rather than making a copy of an established design.

The painting certainly dates after Dürer’s trip to the Netherlands in 1521, when he made the preparatory drawing of an old man (fig. 66) for his painting *Saint Jerome*, one of the best



Fig. 65. *Mary Magdalen*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst (?), 1532. Oil on panel, 34 × 26¾ in. (86.5 × 68 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (408)





Fig. 66. *An Elderly Man of Ninety-Three Years*. Albrecht Dürer, ca. 1496. Pen and ink on paper, 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (41.5 × 28.2 cm). Albertina, Vienna (3167)

documented of his works from that visit.¹² Coecke mimicked Dürer's model and the man's contemplative mood with his head supported by his hand, reversing the pose right for left. This drawing also influenced the head of Joseph in Van Orley's 1522 *Holy Family* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), and Coecke probably became aware of Dürer's design while under Van Orley's tutelage. The stylistic similarity of the Virgin in Coecke's *Holy Family* to his *Mary Magdalen* dated 1532 (even though that painting is in far better, unabraded condition) suggests that the *Holy Family* dates to about 1530–35, when he began to prefer the smoother brushwork than what we find in the *Last Supper* of 1527, with its emphatically disengaged strokes (cat. 5 and figs. 11, 62). This shift in brushwork may have had something to

do with Coecke's new preoccupation with cartoon painting; the brushstrokes on the head of Joseph in the *Holy Family* show a remarkable similarity to the application of gouache to heads in his cartoons.

The *Holy Family* was originally probably the center panel of a triptych with an ogee-shaped upper edge.¹³ The wings must have been lost; in the seventeenth century two wings, representing the family of Lambrecht Simoers (d. 1612) and Catharina Stevens (d. 1634), were added and the triptych was placed as an epitaph in Sint-Pieterskerk, Leuven. Subsequently, the ensemble was changed yet again: the shaped top of the central panel was cut off and pieces added to convert it into a rectangular independent panel.

MWA



11

11.
Christ as the Fount of Mercy

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1533–35
 Pen and brush and brown ink, brush and white gouache (partly oxidized),
 over black chalk, on light brown paper
 12½ × 11⅛ in. (31.7 × 28.1 cm)

Watermark: none
 Framing line in pen and brown ink and white gouache, by the artist

Uffizi, Florence (2421 F)
 See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Few works by Coecke speak as directly of the Italian influence the artist absorbed as the present drawing. A lonely exception is the *Fall of the Giants* (cat. 20), and like that sheet, the one in Florence discussed here has appeared only recently on the horizon of historians of Netherlandish art. Together, they provide a hitherto unavailable key to understanding Coecke's stylistic development.¹ Already in the case of the tapestry designs for the *Life of Saint Paul* series, some of the motivic and compositional models of Coecke's drawings can be found in works by artists



Fig. 67. *The Transfiguration*. Raphael and workshop, ca. 1520. Oil on wood, 13 ft. 5³/₈ in. × 9 ft. 2 in. (410 × 279 cm). Pinacoteca Vaticani, Vatican Museums, Vatican City (40333)

from the circle of Raphael. However, in the present drawing, Coecke also seems to have emulated the style and technique of the Italians' draftsmanship, suggesting that he was acquainted firsthand with a larger number of their drawings than could presumably be found at the time in Flanders. During Coecke's career, Raphael's own drawings and those by his assistants could best be studied in Mantua. The most gifted of Raphael's students, Giulio Romano, moved there in 1524, later followed by another student, Giovanni Francesco Penni. Together, the two had inherited a great number of the drawings left by Raphael in his workshop at the time of his death.² As argued elsewhere, there are good reasons to assume that Coecke visited Italy, and more exactly Mantua, about 1533, either in going to or in returning from Constantinople (see cats. 19–21).

It is perhaps true that the general type of composition of the Florence drawing, the grace and pathos shared by most of its figures, and details such as the wavy, ribbon-like clouds could

have been borrowed from works present in Brussels, whether Italian prints or original drawings and cartoons. Indeed, to a considerable extent, these features are present in Coecke's designs for the *Saint Paul* series, dated before he left the Low Countries. Raphael's *Transfiguration* at the Vatican (fig. 67),³ left unfinished at the time of his death, was clearly relevant to the Florence drawing, even if known to Coecke only through a copy of some sort. The largely symmetrical design of Raphael's painting, of which the lower half is filled by an agitated crowd and the upper by a quieter, schematic scene, is echoed in Coecke's composition, including specific gestures and poses. But ultimately the Florence drawing's lively execution and sophisticated technique bespeak a direct encounter with Italian art. Drawings such as a famous *modello* by Perino del Vaga, made in Florence in the early 1520s, come to mind (fig. 68).⁴ The effect created by Coecke's virtuoso use of pen and brush, with white gouache often taking over their role as the principal medium, far surpasses in painterly quality his brothel scene in Rotterdam, from probably 1529 (cat. 8). In the Florence drawing, the foreground figures, detailed in pen and carefully heightened with gouache, contrast in technique with the subsidiary figures, such as some of those positioned behind the great cup that receives Christ's blood, which are mainly drawn with brush and also heightened with gouache. Coecke used another technique for Elijah, seen in his fiery chariot in the left background; the figure group is barely sketched in a loose combination of brush and ink and gouache. These varying degrees of finish, as well as the complexity of the composition, lend the Florence drawing a visual richness unmatched by any other of the artist, or indeed perhaps by any other Netherlandish drawing of the time.

In contrast to the drawing's style, its subject, the *fons pietatis*, or Fount of Mercy, is strongly rooted in northern European traditions. The same subject is seen in a drawing by the contemporary Dutch draftsman Jan Swart van Groningen, whose work is often reminiscent of Coecke's in style: a large basin receives the blood of Christ, which mankind recognizes as the source of its salvation (fig. 69).⁵ In Coecke's version, however, the movement of the scene and the number of participants may be unprecedented.⁶ He surrounded his monumental cup with a multitude of figures from the Old and New Testaments. Most prominent are Adam and Eve: the apple in Eve's hand and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil behind her remind us of the original sin that Christ's sacrifice would redeem.⁷ At the couple's feet lies their slain son Abel. Between them and Moses, at right, Abraham and his son Isaac can be recognized by the sword and wood they carry. In the background, Elijah is on the left in his chariot, while the man kneeling down in adoration with attendants has been identified as King David.⁸ Behind Moses appear a seated Saint John the Baptist holding the Holy Lamb and the giant Saint Christopher with the Christ Child on his shoulder. Somewhat strangely, Christ is represented twice

more in the composition: at the rim of the cup, brandishing the Cross,⁹ and held aloft in the clouds by God the Father and two putti. Two thin streams—one drawn with pen and ink, one in gouache—pour from the chest wound of the Christ in the clouds. This wound and the two distinct streams are central to representations of the *fons pietatis* because of the Gospel account that, after Christ's chest was pierced by one of the soldiers at the Cross, "forthwith came there out blood and water" (John 19:34). The water was interpreted as a symbol of baptism,¹⁰ which helps explain why in Coecke's drawing so many figures, and especially the women with children, jostle each other around the font. The drawing can be understood as an allegory of baptism, with the crowd seeking deliverance from sin through Christ's sacrifice.

Although almost entirely neglected until a few years ago, the correct attribution of the Florence sheet was probably recorded

in a seventeenth-century inventory of Medici drawings.¹¹ While some features of the drawing had appeared in Coecke's designs for the *Saint Paul* tapestries (the flat feet, for one), more connections can be made with his later drawings and prints, from the time when he was working on the *Seven Deadly Sins* and the *Story of Joshua* series. The turban of Abraham, for example, is definitely closer to those seen in the woodcut print *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45) than the more fanciful ones of, for instance, the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (cats. 25 and 26). It is thus probable that the drawing was made close to the time when Coecke visited Italy, that is, probably about 1533. For what purpose the drawing was made remains unknown. Like Perino's drawing evoked above (fig. 68), it may have been a small-scale *modello* for a larger painting, although also like Perino's, the drawing at the same time makes the impression of having been made at least in part for its own sake. SA



Fig. 68. *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*. Perino del Vaga, ca. 1522–23. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, over black chalk, on brown paper, 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (35.8 × 33.9 cm). Albertina, Vienna (2933)



Fig. 69. *The Crucified Christ as the Fount of Mercy*, Jan Swart van Groningen, ca. 1530s. Pen and gray ink, gray wash, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (36.7 × 19.7 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 2039)

12.

The Crossing of the Red Sea

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1533–35

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache (laid down)

9⁷/₈ × 7⁷/₈ in. (25.1 × 20 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

At lower left, inscribed . . . ck van Aelst f in pen and brown ink (eighteenth-century handwriting?)

Albertina, Vienna (25127)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

The presence of Moses in the left background (recognizable by the “horns” on his head) identifies the subject of this drawing in Vienna—obviously a fragment—as the Crossing of the Red Sea. As told in Exodus, chapter 14, God directed Moses and the Jewish people to Israel by way of this water, when they were pursued by the pharaoh and his Egyptian army. At a sign from Moses, “the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided,” enabling the Jews to cross. They were followed by the Egyptians, and God made Moses stretch out his hand again, at which the returning water drowned “the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them.” Coecke’s drawing depicts this momentous conclusion to the chapter. The four large figures that fill most of the sheet’s right half, along with the horseman at lower left, must be Egyptians trying to escape their inevitable death. The smaller figures all across the background are divided from the Egyptians by the water and many of them wear the fantastical hats associated in Coecke’s time with Jewish attire.¹ They are the children of Israel, who will pursue their journey to the Promised Land.

The elements of the scene are similar to those of another biblical episode, Joshua leading the Jews across the river Jordan (see cat. 55), but the Vienna drawing is not connected to Coecke’s *Story of Joshua* series, as suggested in some of the older literature.² Without any further context to situate it in, the drawing appears to be an exercise in mastering the composition of a crowded, dramatic scene. Compared with the drawings for the *Joshua* series (cats. 55, 57, and 58), the present sheet is somewhat less successful in its evocation of mass movement. Its overcrowded feeling may be partly due to its cropped state, but it also seems to point to a stage in Coecke’s career when he was still working on mastering the creation of such complex compositions. Especially awkward is the grouping of the four men at right, of which only the two closest to the viewer seem to be given enough space. In its lack of spatial clarity, the drawing resembles some of those for the *Life of Saint Paul* series (especially cats. 25 and 41), but in its lighter, lively draftsmanship, it is more akin to Coecke’s later drawings, including those for the *Joshua* tapestries. The Vienna drawing holds a rather isolated position between these two groups.

It is further distinguished by a technique that is more refined than it may seem at first, and more in evidence here than in the drawing *Christ as the Fount of Mercy* (cat. 11), a work of more direct Italian inspiration. Coecke created depth by going over certain lines with a slightly darker ink, as noticeable for example in the soldier at front. His bill, which divides the sheet vertically, is delineated by a dark line along its right but on its left with only a line of white gouache, giving the weapon great three-dimensional prominence. This technical sophistication, which aims at graphic effects rather than pictorial ones, suggests a date shortly after Coecke’s trip to Constantinople, that is, in the middle of the 1530s but before his work on the *Seven Deadly Sins* and *Joshua* series. Two drawings from what was likely a larger series of Passion scenes must date from about the same period.³

SA



13.

The Consecration of Saint Nicholas as Bishop of Myra

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1537 or before

Pen and brush and brown ink over black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk, construction lines in red chalk

16 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41.6 × 54.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. At lower center, inscribed *D★V 1525* in pen and brown ink (sixteenth-century handwriting?)

Albertina, Vienna (15122)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

14.

Receipt, dated March 26, 1537

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1537

Pen and brown ink

4 × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (10 × 21.5 cm)

Written by Coecke in pen and brown ink: *Anno .15 37. den .26. martij. / Also ic peeter coucke alias van aelst aengenome[n] heb te leuren een forme oft glazen venster (inhoudende va[n] / van .Sinte Nicolaus.) vanden dekens vander meersen[iers] de welcke hemlieden geleuert hebbende thandwerpe[n] / in onser lieuer vrouwen kercke en[de] hemlieden voldaan. kinne mij vanden voerβ[eiden] dekens vernoecht en[de] te / vollen betaelt te wetene. vander somme van achtentertich ponden .vlems.tot.vj.karolus gulden tpo[n]t / also dat ic hemlieden vande voergenoemde comenscap niet meer eischende en bin in kinneβen mij[n] / mij[n]s hantscripts aldus geteekent / Peeter .Couecke.;* below: the stamp of the Royal Library of Belgium (*BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE* in a circle, with the *A*, stamped in black). Verso: at right, inscribed in pen and brown ink (sixteenth- or seventeenth-century handwriting) *meester peter / va[n] aelst / 38. lb vl[aam]s // van tgelas in / o[n]βe[r] vrouw[en] kerck / bou[en] βt nyclais / co[m]pt in toe gelt [?] / 57 lb (master Peter of Aalst, 38 Flemish pounds, of the window in the church of Our Lady, above Saint Nicholas, added to 57 pounds)*

Rijksarchief, Antwerp (family papers, varia, s.v. Coucke [1537])

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Max Friedländer first attributed this large drawing in Vienna to Coecke and identified the subject as the consecration of Saint Nicholas as bishop of Myra.¹ He related the drawing to a receipt (cat. 14), written and signed by Coecke in 1537 in connection with a commission for a stained-glass window of Saint Nicholas. Translated from Coecke's Dutch, the receipt reads:

March 26, 1537

I, Peter Coecke, known as Van Aelst, have been commissioned to deliver a design of a stained-glass window representing Saint Nicholas to the deans of the mercers. The glass having been delivered to them in the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp and having been accepted by them, I was fully paid by the aforementioned deans the amount of 38 Flemish pounds (with a pound worth six carolusgulden). I am thus no longer claiming this fee and sign with my own hand Peter Coucke

A later inscription on the back of the sheet summarizes the document's content and refers to an earlier payment of 57 pounds

for the same commission. This earlier payment is recorded in a separate document, translated as follows:

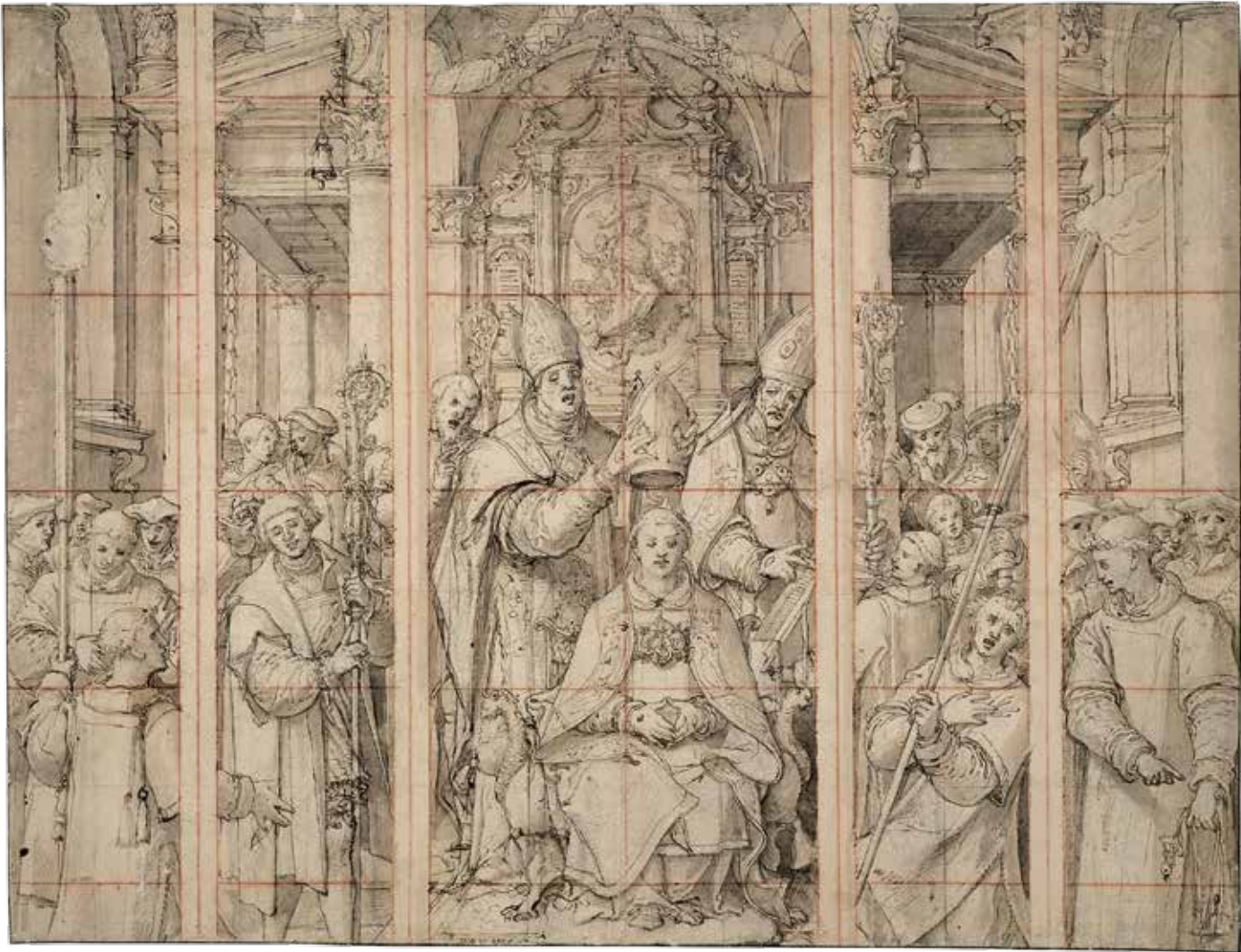
Paid to Peter van Aelst for a window here in the Church of Our Lady above the altar of Saint Nicholas 57 pounds

Paid as a tip to the journeyman who installed the window 3 stuivers²

The 1537 receipt is a beautiful and fully signed example of Coecke's calligraphic skills. For the Netherlands, it is also an early example of the use of humanist cursive writing: although the introduction of the *cancellaresca corsiva* in the Low Countries predates the receipt by at least a few decades, the script was rarely used until the late sixteenth or even early seventeenth century for texts in Dutch.³ The receipt helps to confirm that a lengthy Latin inscription on one of Coecke's drawings for the *Story of Joshua* series (cat. 55) is autograph. A somewhat less accomplished version of the script on the most completely preserved *petit patron* of the *Life of Saint Paul* series (cat. 30) shows that Coecke started to develop his humanistic hand no later than about 1530, a full ten years before the publication of an influential calligraphic treatise by the southern Netherlandish geographer Gerard Mercator (fig. 70).⁴

As a historical record, the receipt provides a precise date for Coecke's Vienna drawing and establishes the stained-glass window as a commission of the mercers' guild, whose patron saint Nicholas was. The earlier document further specifies that the window was located above the altar dedicated to Saint Nicholas in Antwerp Cathedral, that is, the altar at the third column from the entrance on the right-hand side of the nave.⁵ The receipt makes the Vienna sheet one of very few precisely dated drawings by the artist's hand and a touchstone for the dating of other autograph works. The window after Coecke's design does not survive, but it was equal in form and size to the other windows in the cathedral's clerestory, of which two sixteenth-century examples are still in situ (for one, see fig. 71).⁶ Like Coecke's, these were set in place in 1537, after a fire in 1533 had destroyed many of the structure's earlier windows.⁷ The earlier window of the mercers' guild, installed in 1521, had been designed by the glass painter Dirck Vellert, and a drawing now in Rotterdam has been plausibly connected with this commission (fig. 72).⁸ (Confusion between the authorship of the old and the new window may have led someone to inscribe the Vienna drawing at lower center with Vellert's monogram and a date that corresponds to neither commission.)⁹

In a similarly frontal composition, but livelier style, Coecke's drawing shows the same scene as in the one attributed to Vellert: two older bishops consecrate a younger man as their colleague. According to the life of Saint Nicholas in Jacobus de Voragine's popular *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*), the saint was unexpectedly elevated: when the old bishop of Myra (on the coast of present-day Turkey) had died and the bishops from the region came together to appoint his successor, the one with the




13

Anno .1557. don. 2^{te}. martij.

Also ic pieter coecke alias van aelst aengenomen heb te leuven een forme oft glazen venster (inhoudende van Sinte Nicolaus.) vanden bekens vander meersen. de welcke hemliker geueert hebende thandverre in onser lieue vrouwen kercke (en hemheden volken. kinne mij vanden veerf bekens verneecht) en te vollen betaelt te wotene vander somme van achtendertich gouden. xliiii. tot. xj. karolus gulden. tot alsoe dat ic hemliken vande voerzemende comenscap niet meer vstaende en bin in kinneken mijs mijs hantscriffts alias goteekent

Peter. Coecke.



14

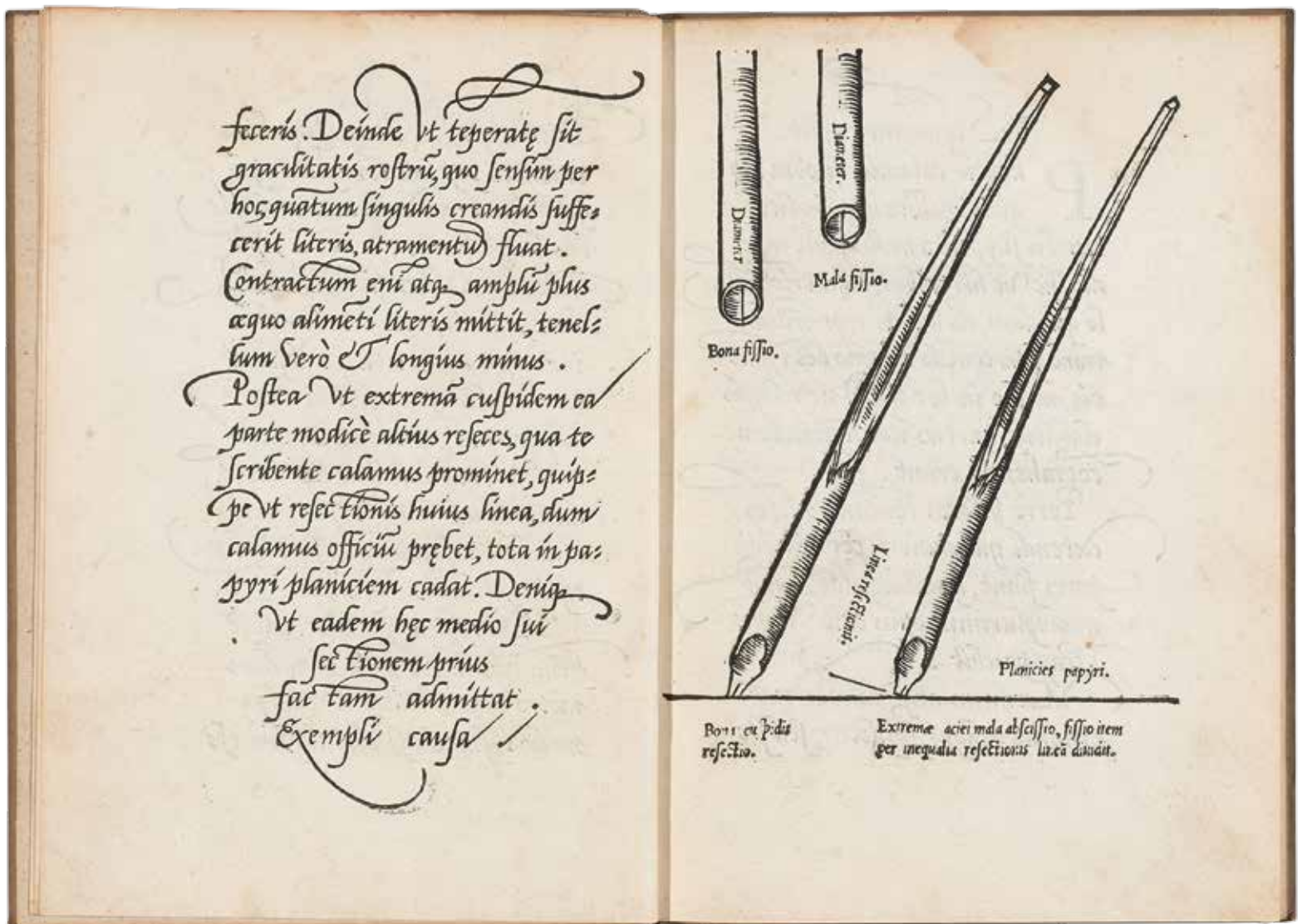


Fig. 70. *Literarum latinarum, quas Italicas, cursoriasque vocant, scribendarum ratio*. Gerard Mercator, Leuven, 1540. Woodcuts by Mercator, fols. a ii verso–a iii recto. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Rés. v 1868)

greatest authority heard a voice say that the new bishop would be a man called Nicholas, who would be the first to enter the church the next morning.¹⁰ When Nicholas indeed appeared, he was led directly to the episcopal throne and there consecrated, but “amidst his honors, always preserved his former humility and gravity of manner.”¹¹ To accentuate his humility, the saint’s downcast eyes are lightly touched with brown wash. Coecke enlivened the symmetry imposed by the window’s tracery by surrounding the central figures with a crowd of surprised onlookers dressed in contemporary clothes, including, at right, a falconer. In addition, he placed the scene against a most graceful architectural background, featuring a beautifully ornamented altarpiece depicting the Assumption of the Virgin, possibly a reference to the church for which the window was destined, which is dedicated to her. His design for the window may have coincided with his work on the editions of the architectural treatises of Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio, which he started publishing

in 1539 (see cat. 17). Although architecture played a role in earlier works by Coecke as well (compare, for instance, cats. 30, 35, 39, and 40), he here displays a sureness of style that clearly benefited from his study of the antique and Italian authors.

In 1539 a replacement for the stone altar underneath Coecke’s window was commissioned, which included depictions of Saint Nicholas’s consecration, as well as his glorification in heaven, his miracles, and other scenes from his life.¹² Vellert’s and Coecke’s designs may similarly have represented scenes other than the consecration, such as perhaps the saint’s glorification, in the window’s upper register. Given its finish and the careful indication of the stonework (in red chalk, as was typical), Coecke’s drawing is probably a fragment of the *modello* shown to the mercers for their approval. Like the glass windows themselves, Netherlandish drawings of this type and from this period have rarely survived; among the few examples is a slightly earlier drawing by Jan Gossart for an unidentified project.¹³

Another (incomplete) example of a *petit patron* for a monumental window is a drawing at the Hermitage, dated 1542, showing King John III of Portugal and his queen, Catherine of Austria, with their patron saints (fig. 73).¹⁴ When compared with the 1537 receipt for the window in Antwerp, the Latin inscription at bottom of this *modello* establishes a firm link with Coecke, even if it is difficult to accept the drawing to be entirely by his hand.¹⁵ The Hermitage drawing's composition relates to that of one of the windows in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles in the Church (now Cathedral) of Saints Michael and Gudula in Brussels.¹⁶ The commission for this chapel's windows had been given to Bernard van Orley, but after his death in 1541, the church seems to have been in doubt about how to proceed. To complete the project, which was funded by Charles V and his relatives, different artists were solicited, who had to adapt their designs generally to those of Van Orley. For the

window funded by John III, a drawing by Van Orley of the same type as Coecke's is documented. Further, Coecke's Hermitage drawing has been convincingly identified with a small-scale *modello* (*patroen int cleijne*), recorded in a document, and for which he was paid in 1542.¹⁷ Ultimately the window, which still exists, was made by the glass painter Jan Hack after a cartoon by yet a third artist, Michiel Coxcie.¹⁸ Nonetheless, as one author has remarked, Coecke's design in Saint Petersburg is important as one of the very few Netherlandish drawings about which almost everything is known—its designer, patron, purpose, date, and even its price.¹⁹ Although it was not retained for final execution, the commission proves that Coecke was highly regarded as a designer of glass. This point is also made by a second, unconnected drawing in Saint Petersburg for a monumental window, probably made by Coecke's workshop (fig. 73).

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Fig. 71. Window with the Conversion of Saul and Two Donors of the Fugger Family. Robert van Olim, after an anonymous artist, 1537, 30 ft. 6 in. × 14 ft 6 in. (930 × 431 cm). Cathedral of Our Lady of Antwerp



Fig. 72. The Consecration of Saint Nicholas as Bishop of Myra. Attributed to Dirck Vellert, ca. 1516–20. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, on brown prepared paper (?), 10³/₈ × 6³/₈ in. (26.5 × 16.2 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (MB 1975/T 31)



Fig. 73. Design for a Window with John III of Portugal and Catherine of Austria as Donors with Their Patron Saints. Pieter Coecke van Aelst and workshop, 1542. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, watercolor, 21³/₈ × 12³/₈ in. (55 × 31.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (OR 5850)

15.

Design for a Nautilus Cup with Neptune Riding a Hippocampus

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40

Pen and brush and two shades of brown ink, blue and red watercolor over black chalk

11 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (29.5 × 21 cm)

Watermark: none (?)

Framing line in red chalk, possibly by the artist. At upper right, inscribed 457 in black chalk (eighteenth-century handwriting?). Verso: at lower left, inscribed *Gr. Kl. fol. 57* in graphite (modern handwriting)

Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg, Wolfegg Castle

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

The recent attribution to Coecke of this attractive drawing has added to the already varied list of his activities—as a painter, publisher, and designer of tapestries, prints, and stained glass—that of a designer of objects.¹ With the exception of Jan Gossart, Coecke is the first major Netherlandish artist known to have designed for the decorative arts.² The drawing in Wolfegg depicts a cup made from a mounted nautilus shell, a type of luxury object that, judging by the number of extant examples, was especially popular in the *Wunderkammer* of the later sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.³ Only very few such cups survive from Coecke's lifetime, and his design

predates all known Netherlandish examples, but this should hardly surprise given how rare Netherlandish goldsmith's work from the period is in general.⁴ One of the few surviving important pieces is the so-called Saint Michael's Goblet, a masterwork bought in or before 1533 by Francis I, king of France, from the dealer Joris Vezeleer (or Vezelaer) (fig. 74).⁵ Coecke's drawing is thus a particularly precious record of the quality of the decorative arts in the Netherlands in the decades before 1550, even if no related object is known.

That Coecke was commissioned to make the drawing for a specific shell is probable for two reasons. Nautilus shells, which are found in the Southwest Pacific, were exceedingly rare in Europe, and it probably would have made little sense to design a cup without the availability of a shell to be mounted. Moreover, the shell's apex and irregular edge suggest that Coecke had to work with a damaged specimen, as indeed did many artists.⁶ Coecke's response to these imperfections was particularly inspired. The edge serves as a wave on which a winged mermaid and a dolphin ride. The shell's inner chambers, laid bare by the damage, are integrated into Coecke's design as the back of the sea horse carrying Neptune, recognizable by his trident, over his dominions. With the exception of the two small dolphins providing additional support for the shell, Coecke abandoned the maritime iconography in the rest of the mount's decoration. The land snail, positioned at the cup's edge, refers to the shell's spiral form and remained a beloved motif for the decoration of nautilus cups into the seventeenth century.⁷ Pearls, garlands, wreaths, fluttering and curling ribbons, leaf motifs, a bucranium, and putto heads decorate the elegant stem. For the feet of the base, Coecke seems to have offered the choice of three different possibilities: a mask on a volute, a lion's paw, and another snail. He also offered two variants for the decoration of the foot's ring—one beset with a gem, one with an engraved or embossed floral motif.

The cup's ornamental language, inspired by antique art, until recently supported the attribution of the drawing to Hans Holbein the Younger, by whom a relatively large number of designs for goldsmith's work of similar appearance and excellence exist (fig. 75).⁸ Indeed, the style of the Wolfegg drawing is much closer to Holbein's than to that of the Fleming Cornelis Floris the Younger, whose engraved *Vaesboeck (Book of Vessels)*, published in 1548, is characterized by wildly imaginative forms and the use of strapwork, which in the 1540s became so popular in the decorative arts of northern Europe (see figs. 76, 77).⁹ Coecke used strapwork himself in the illustration of his books and the title and colophon of his woodcut *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (see cat. 45), but in the drawing under discussion he adopted a more restrained and classical style. One has to look to his tapestry designs and other figural compositions to find closely comparable motifs. The drawing's style, the granular quality of the pen lines, and the hatching applied with brush are other features characteristic of Coecke's work after his return



Fig. 74. Cup Surmounted by Saint Michael Killing a Dragon (Saint Michael's Goblet). Anonymous artist, Antwerp, 1533 or before. Gold (partly enameled), diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls, 20 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (51.7 × 16.8 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK 1120)



Fig. 75. Design for a Goblet for Jane Seymour. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger, ca. 1536–37. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, and gold paint over black chalk, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (37.6 × 15.5 cm). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (WA 1863.424)





Fig. 76. *Cup in the Form of a Shell, Supported by a Man and Surmounted by Neptune.* Jacobus Bos, after Cornelis Floris the Younger, 1548. Engraving, 8¾ × 6⅝ in. (22.3 × 16.7 cm). Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (S.II 8o851)



Fig. 77. *Cup in the Form of a Shell, Supported by a Satyr Carrying Dolphins and a Snail and Surmounted by an Indian.* Jacobus Bos, after Cornelis Floris the Younger, 1548. Engraving, 8¾ × 6⅝ in. (22.3 × 16.7 cm). Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (S.II 8o844)



Fig. 78. *Neptune Threatening the Elements.* Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, incised for transfer, 4¼ × 4¼ in. (10.6 × 10.7 cm). École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (PM 455)

from Constantinople and Italy, suggesting an approximate date for the drawing between 1535 and 1540.

The use of watercolor is unique in the corpus of Coecke's drawings, but slightly earlier Netherlandish examples exist by Gossart and Bernard van Orley (for the latter, see cat. 3).¹⁰ Making restrained use of the medium, Coecke chose yellow for gold, red for the stones (possibly rubies), and blue to convey the iridescence of the shell. The drawing also appears to be a unique example of the artist's outstanding gift as a decorative designer in a Renaissance style. However, a connection with goldsmith's work can at least be suggested for one other drawing by Coecke (fig. 78).¹¹ Also representing Neptune (a beloved motif for vessels) and comparable in style, the small, circular composition, which is incised for transfer, could well have served as the center of a dish or a similar object. Although a much more modest work, this second drawing reinforces the impression offered by the Wolfegg sheet that in addition to his other activities, Coecke was exceptionally gifted and more than occasionally in demand as a designer of decorative objects. His talents in this field are also apparent from the luxury objects included in his compositions, such as the goblet of Lust in the *Seven Deadly Sins* series (cat. 48), or the treasure in the foreground of one of his drawings (cat. 16).

SA



16

16.
Gaius Fabricius Luscinus Refusing the Gifts from King Pyrrhus (?); verso: Sketches of Figures

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40
 Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash, squared in black chalk, over black chalk; verso: black chalk
 5⁷/₈ × 8⁷/₈ in. (14.8 × 22.4 cm)

Watermark: none
 At upper right, monogrammed *v.a.* in pen and brown ink; at left, top and bottom, a framing line in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist. Verso (not illustrated): at lower left, the collector's mark of Francis Springell (Lugt 1049^a); at center right, the collector's mark of Joshua Reynolds (Lugt 2364)

Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (5928)
 See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

This small drawing may be one of the purest examples of Coecke's style of the later 1530s, displaying all of its most distinct features: clarity of line, grace of figures, architecture, and ornament, and an exceptional gift for organizing complex compositions. The drawing's closest parallel is perhaps the design, also in Paris, for the tapestry series of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 51).

Even more subtly than that sheet, the one under discussion here is enhanced by delicate washes, for instance, in the face and the right sleeve of the turbaned man standing near the center of the composition. Karel G. Boon identified him as Pyrrhus, the Greek statesman and king of the third century B.C., and one of the Roman Republic's most determined enemies, whose exploits became the subject of one of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.¹ The younger man in front of him is possibly Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, a Roman who twice became consul.² According to Boon, Coecke's drawing depicts two episodes from the negotiation to free prisoners of war after Pyrrhus's army had won, at a heavy loss of his own men, a "Pyrrhic" victory over the Romans. The scene in the foreground may depict the moment when Pyrrhus lets his people offer gold to Fabricius, who leads the Roman delegation chosen to discuss the exchange of prisoners. (Plutarch describes Fabricius as "inordinately poor," although this is clearly not how Coecke depicts the young man.)³ Fabricius rejects the gift. At a later moment in the story, refusing a proposal to bring "the war to an end by treachery because we were unable to do so by valor," Fabricius warns Pyrrhus that the latter's doctor has offered to poison his

master.⁴ Fabricius's magnanimity prompts Pyrrhus to release his prisoners, in turn prompting the Romans, who "would not consent to receive the men for nothing," to release theirs.⁵ In the background, the exchange of the grateful prisoners between the two camps may be depicted, with the Romans at left.

Although some doubt over the precise subject of the drawing remains, the encounters between Fabricius and Pyrrhus certainly would have been a subject well suited to illustrate such virtues as self-restraint, magnanimity, and incorruptibility—in short, the strictest Old Roman morals. The purpose of the drawing is unknown, but it was clearly made with a very specific commission in mind. Not only is it squared for transfer to a larger scale, but the right part of the composition is also marked off by the artist with a vertical line, which could correspond to a specific layout of the space for which the finished work was intended. Coecke worked on the drawing in two stages, probably first finishing the part to the left of the line, and only then the narrower part to its right. Moreover, the letters *v.a.* in the tympanum at upper right must be understood as a monogram for "van Aelst" and indicate that the drawing was meant for other eyes than only his own, undoubtedly those of the patrons of the commission. It has been suggested that the sheet may be a tapestry design,⁶ but it is smaller in size than almost all of Coecke's known drawings related to tapestry. Instead, the drawing may be related to a painted decoration. Given the virtues extolled by the scenes depicted, a painting of this type would have been particularly appropriate for a public space. In this context, it may be interesting to note that scenes from the life of Fabricius were chosen to decorate chimneypieces in at least two spaces for public or semi-public use: one from 1544 by the German Jörg Breu the Younger, painted for a burgomaster of Augsburg (now destroyed); and one from more than a century later, by the Dutchman Ferdinand Bol, in the so-called Burgomasters' Chamber in the Town Hall (now Royal Palace) of Amsterdam.⁷

SA

17.

The Architectural Treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, Books I–V

(a) Book IV

Reigles generales de l'Architecture, sur les cinq manieres d'edifices, a scavoir, Thuscane, Doricq[ue], Ionicq[ue], Corinthe, & Co[m]posite, avec les exemples d'antiquitez, selon la doctrine de Vitruve

Sebastiano Serlio

Translated by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (French)

Published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1545

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

14½ × 9¾ × 7⁄8 in. (36 × 25 × 2.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney, 1941 (41.100.138)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

(b) Books I–V

Den eersten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Geometrye / Den tweeden boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Perspectyven dat is het insien duer tvercorten / Des antiquites, Le troisieme livre / Reigles generales d'architecture, sur les cinq manieres d'edifices, ascavoir, Thuscane, Dorique, Ionique, Corinthe, & Composite, avec les exemples des antiquites, lesquelz la plupart concordant a la doctrine de Vitruve / Den vijftsten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij inden welcken van diversche formen der tempelen getracteert wordt nae de maniere vanden Antijken ende oock dienende voer de kerstenen

Sebastiano Serlio

Translated by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Dutch and French)

Books III–IV published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1550;

Books I, II, and V published by Mayken Verhulst, Antwerp, 1553

Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

13¼ × 9¼ × 3½ in. (33.7 × 23.5 × 8.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney

Beatty, 1941 (41.100.143)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

(c) Books I–V

Den eersten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Geometrye / Den tweeden boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Perspectyven dat is het insien duer tvercorten / Die alder vermaertste Antique edificien van[de] temple[n], theatre[n], amphiteatre[n], paleisen, therme[n], obelisce[n], brugge[n], arche[n] triu[m]phal. Etc bescreve[n] en[de] mate[n] oock de plaetsen daerse staen, en[de] Wiese dede make[n] / Reglen van Metselrijen op vijfve manieren van Edificien te wetene Thuscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, en[de] Composita: ende daer by gesedt die exemplen vanden Antijquen die in dmeeste deel met de leeringe van Vitruvio overkommen. Met noch togesedtte figuren die int eerste niet en waren ende sommige texten vanden Auteur gebetert hier oock by gesedt / Den vijften boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij inden welcken van diversche formen der tempelen getracteert wordt nae de maniere vanden Antijken ende oock dienende voer de kerstenen

Sebastiano Serlio

Translated by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Dutch)

Book III published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1546;

Book IV published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1549;

Books I–II and V published by Mayken Verhulst, Antwerp, 1553

Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest

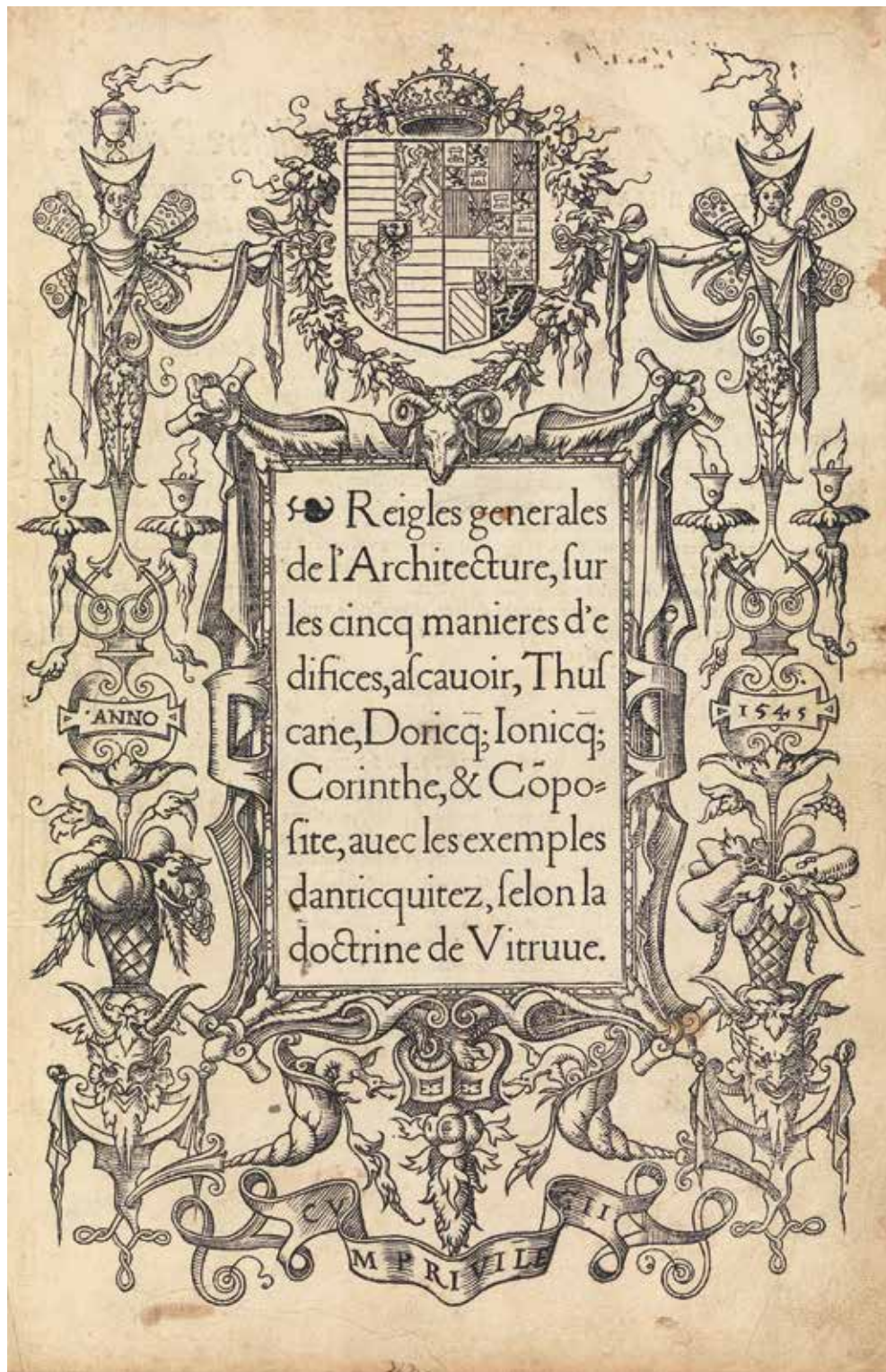
Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

13½ × 10 × 1¾ in. (34.3 × 25.4 × 4.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney

Beatty, 1941 (41.100.145)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.



17

Coecke published three books during his career, all of which focus to a great extent on architecture: his translations of the architectural treatises of Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio, as well as a record of the entry of Philip II, prince of Spain, into Antwerp, with illustrations depicting the structures erected for the event (cat. 23). As a group, Coecke's publications heralded the arrival of classically inspired Renaissance architecture in the Netherlands.¹ Coecke clearly recognized the potential artistic impact of such books in northern Europe, where few

architectural treatises were available in the vernacular, and where the dominant form of architecture was still largely Gothic. He also saw the commercial opportunity this presented him and embraced it with gusto. Serlio's five books on architecture were Coecke's most successful publications. He issued them in several Dutch, French, and German editions between 1539 and 1550 and even beat Serlio's own attempt to publish two of his books in French. Coecke's widow published further editions in 1553 and 1558.



Fig. 79 (cat. 17a)

Serlio, a contemporary of Coecke, wrote his treatise in Italian as a generously illustrated, up-to-date manual on architecture and a response to the widely employed *De Architectura*, the classical Latin text by Vitruvius that had been rediscovered in the fifteenth century.² Serlio's treatise eventually consisted of seven books, five published by the time of Coecke's death. In order of their publication, these comprised the fourth book, which treats the architectural orders, the third on the monuments of antiquity, the first on geometry, the second on perspective, and the fifth on church architecture.³

Coecke reissued Serlio's books almost as quickly as they appeared. His early editions omit Serlio's name from the title page but mention him in the colophon or preface; Coecke's widow eventually included the author's name in the titles of the editions she produced after Coecke's death. Serlio was clearly aware of Coecke's unauthorized publication of his books; in the second edition of Book IV (1541), he complained of those producing unapproved copies. As author, he had obtained a ten-year privilege, similar to a copyright, to protect against the copying of his books, but it does not appear to have had much effect on Coecke, and neither did his dedications of his first editions of Books I–III (1540 and 1545) to a powerful monarch, King Francis I of France. In fact, just one year after Serlio's complaint, Coecke dedicated his own French edition

of Book IV (1542) to an important ruler, Charles V's sister and governor of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, and the following year, the German edition of Book IV (1543) to her brother King Ferdinand I.

Considering the extent of the undertaking, Coecke worked relatively quickly in republishing Serlio's books. He translated the works into Dutch and French himself, made annotations and additions where he saw fit, produced prefaces for each edition, and had numerous blocks cut for the many illustrations contained in each book. While he was generally faithful to Serlio's text, Coecke provided his own annotations, added illustrations, and abbreviated parts. For example, he removed Book IV's section on heraldry, replacing it in certain editions with his own discussion of the formulation of letters and example of an alphabet that he designed (fig. 79).⁴ Despite these many changes, the Dutch edition of Book IV appeared in 1539, only two years after Serlio's first edition. Coecke published the first French editions of Books III and IV in 1542, before Serlio was able to bring out his own editions in French. Indeed, Serlio announced his intention to publish Books III and IV in French by 1545, but he never did, having already been trumped by Coecke. Collectors desiring Serlio's complete treatise in the French language were thus obliged to purchase these two books, the most popular in the series, in the editions produced

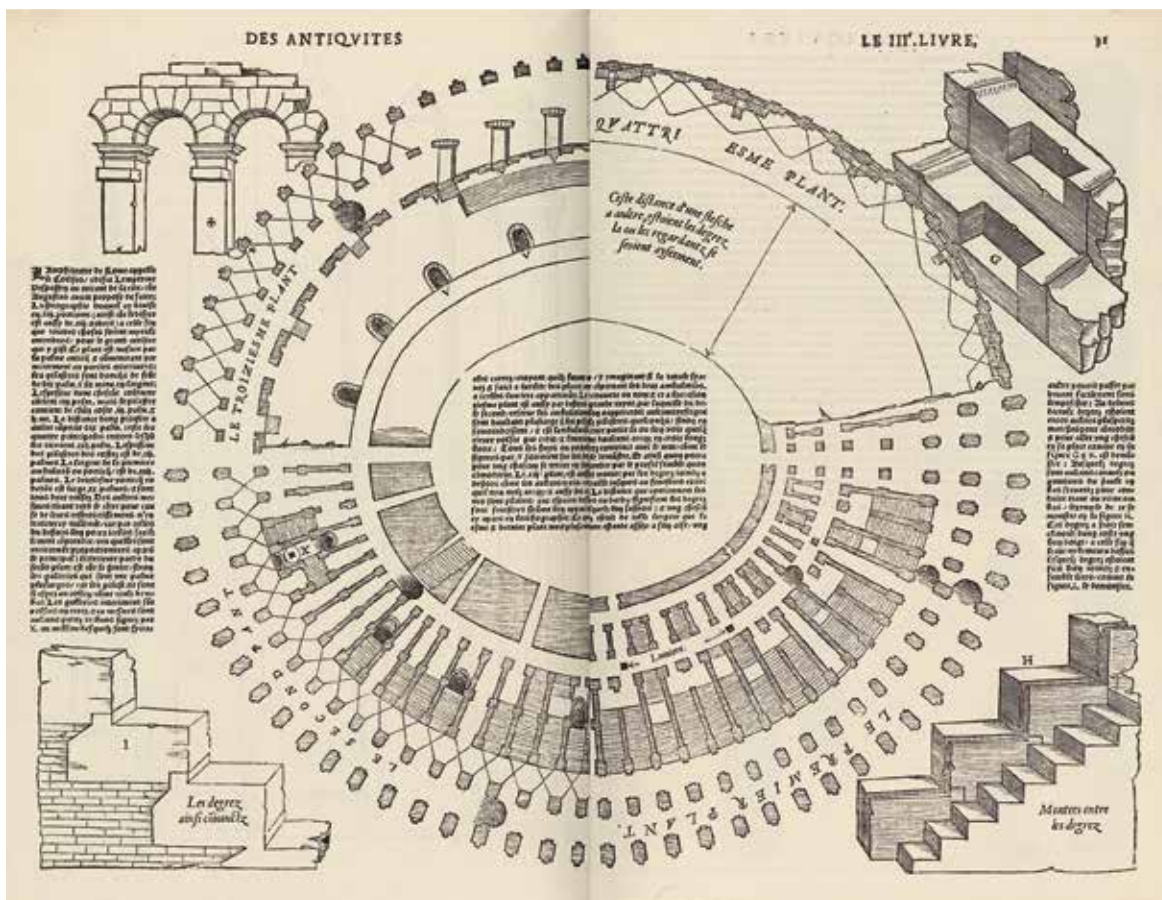


Fig. 80 (cat. 17b)

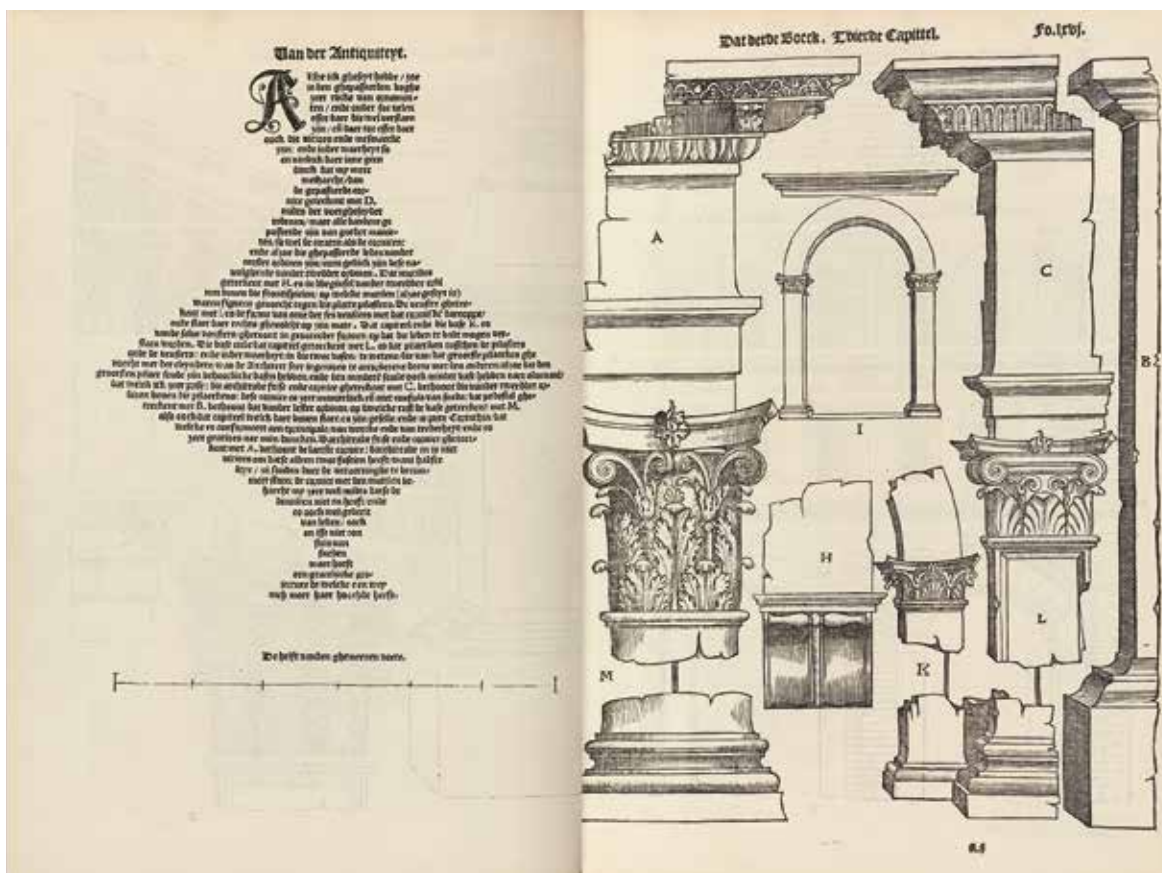


Fig. 81 (cat. 17c)



Fig. 82. Pages from *Die inventie der colommen met haren coronementen ende maten. Uit Vitruvio ende andere diversche auctoren.* Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, translated and published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1539. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent (BHSL.Res.1448)

by Coecke. By 1543, Coecke's first German edition of Serlio appeared, translated from the Italian by Jacob Rehlinger, one of the merchants who had sponsored his trip to Turkey in 1533 (see cat. 45). Jacob Seisenegger, court painter to Ferdinand I, encouraged Coecke to produce the German edition as a successor to Albrecht Dürer's treatise of 1527, which, according to Coecke, treated fortifications more than architecture and classical ornament.⁵

The same year he brought out the first Dutch edition of Serlio, Coecke also published a Dutch edition of part of Vitruvius's treatise *Die inventie der colommen*, translating it himself from Latin (fig. 82). This small book, excerpted from the writings of the Roman author, had already appeared in France before 1537.⁶ As the Dutch colophon indicates, this was a different type of publication from the Serlio; the Vitruvius was "Published at the request of good friends by Pieter Coecke van Aelst,"⁷ Coecke's prefaces to Vitruvius and Serlio also make clear their different envisioned audiences. The Vitruvius was intended more as a manual for artisans while the Serlio was meant for an erudite group of "amateurs d'architecture," appreciators of architecture. The Vitruvius seems to have been created as a limited publication; it is now of great rarity, known only in two copies.⁸ Coecke's editions of Serlio, in contrast, met with great demand and his name came to be as closely associated with Serlio's books as that of their Italian author. Seventeenth-century editions produced in the Dutch Republic, Switzerland, and England took Coecke's publications as their starting point.⁹

NMO

18.

Design for a Triptych with Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535

Pen and brown ink, brown wash; squared for transfer in black chalk; verso: pen and brown ink, brown wash, red chalk; on three separate pieces of paper

Central panel $8\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (20.7 × 16 cm); wings each $3\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (7.9 × 21.1 cm)

Watermark: none (?)

Framing line in black ink, probably by a later hand, over framing lines in pen and brown ink, by the artist. At lower left on the inside of both wings, the collector's mark of Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445)

Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (1854-6-28-38)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

This work and five designs for a small polyptych depicting scenes from Christ's Passion are the only surviving drawings by Coecke certainly intended as designs for paintings.¹ The present drawing is also one of the few Netherlandish examples from before the second half of the sixteenth century that includes a design for a painting's frame. No fifteenth-century Netherlandish instances seem to have been preserved, and the only one possibly predating the drawing under discussion is a design for a triptych by Jan Gossart.² The inclusion of frames and the careful execution of the drawings by Gossart and Coecke indicate that each was made as a *modello* or *vidimus*—a design to be presented to the work's patron for his final approval. Whether approval was ever granted is unknown, as no painting related to either drawing survives or is documented. It should be noted that in Coecke's case, his drawing seems to have been altered at a later date: originally the drawn frame probably consisted only of two pairs of thin double framing lines, and not of the broad black strip now surrounding the five scenes and throwing Coecke's delicate work somewhat out of balance. The presence of the double framing lines—or at least of the outer ones—can still be detected at the top and along the tall side of the exterior wings, and in the top middle section of the frame of the central panel.

Coecke's drawing is also exceptional for the Netherlands in including not just a design of the entire interior of the triptych (as in the case of the drawing by Gossart) but also, drawn on the verso of the pieces of paper used for the two wings, the design for its exterior, which would be visible when the triptych was closed. Originally the paper wings must have been mounted on to the drawing of the central panel; the whole would have functioned as a working model of the final triptych.³ The soiled condition of the wings' exteriors can probably be explained by assuming that the drawing was stored closed, and that the backs of the wings could be—and were—handled.⁴ The scalloped top of the frame is similar to those found among Netherlandish triptychs of the first decades of the sixteenth



Fig. 83. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni, ca. 1520. Pen and brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache, over black chalk, on brown prepared paper, 21¼ × 15⅞ in. (54 × 40.4 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (3460)



Fig. 84. *The Baptism of Christ*. Copy after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, after ca. 1533–35 (?). Graphite, brush and brown ink, heightened with brush and white gouache (partly oxidized), 20⅝ × 15⅞ in. (52.5 × 38.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (10087)

century: examples include Quentin Metsys's altarpiece of the *Holy Kinship* of 1507–9, now in Brussels; Bernard van Orley's *Last Judgment* of 1517–24, now in Antwerp; and the same artist's *Crucifixion* in Bruges, probably commissioned in the first half of the 1530s but left unfinished at his death in 1542, and later completed and badly damaged.⁵

Coecke's drawing could be the design for a devotional work of relatively modest dimensions, like the *Resurrection* triptych in Karlsruhe (cat. 9), or for an altarpiece of a larger scale, like Metsys's or Van Orley's. The painting's patron or its intended location must have been devoted specifically to Saint John the Baptist. The design depicts his life in more detail than most other Netherlandish work of the time (compare the anonymous *Life of Saint John the Baptist* tapestry series, woven in Brussels, fig. 131). In the central panel, the moment when John baptizes Christ in the river Jordan is seen; on the left interior wing, John preaching in the desert; on the right, Salome, the stepdaughter of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, dancing at his court, for which she will be recompensed with the Baptist's head; on the left exterior wing, John's birth; and on the right, his beheading. The

Gospels provide few of the details of the Baptist's life, but it is given more attention in the Apocrypha and in later writings, such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*), a thirteenth-century collection of saints' lives that became a rich source for religious art.⁶

In its grace and emphasis on outlines, the triptych drawing's style is especially close to that of Coecke's one surviving design for the tapestry set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, which dates about 1532 (cat. 51). Other comparisons with his work include a drawing in Paris, which may be a *modello* for a painted decoration (cat. 16), and the woodcut *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45). The influence of works by Raphael and his school, to which Coecke would have been exposed directly during his visit to Italy in the early years of the decade, is felt throughout the composition (compare, among many examples, fig. 83).⁷ Coecke's emulation of the Italians is notable in the tendency to symmetry in the drawing's composition, the graceful monumentality of the figures, the dominating figure of God, and the backdrop of classical architecture. This Italian influence is even more evident when Coecke followed the elaborate technique



18

of his presumed models, combining pen, washes, and white heightening on prepared paper. A sheet with the same subject as the central panel of the triptych design is a case in point: it is in all probability a workshop copy after a lost original by Coecke (fig. 84).⁸

The elaborate and finely detailed composition of the triptych design must have been the result of an extensive series of preparatory sketches. The drawing's focus is on the compo-

sition, not so much on details such as the facial expressions of individual figures, and hardly at all on the distribution of light, shadow, and color. An exception to the general lack of pentimenti is the modified position of the executioner and his victim on the exterior left wing: Coecke seems to have tried to impart greater balance to the figures (not unlike what Peter Paul Rubens did when he retouched catalogue number 25) by correcting the pen work with a medium rarely



exteriors of the wings of cat. 18

found in Netherlandish drawings of the time, red chalk.⁹ The pentimento highlights the great care that the artist put into the development of a rich and complex, yet balanced and fluid, composition. In addition to the few extant autograph paintings by Coecke, drawings like this offer the most eloquent evidence of his accomplishments as a painter, and of the masterworks we must assume have been lost.

SA

19.

The Revolt of the Giants

Cornelis Bos, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–44

Engraving

12½ × 16⅜ in. (31.9 × 41.6 cm)

Watermark: small coat of arms, with letters underneath

At lower right, signed with the monogram C-B; outside the image, in two cartouches, inscribed *Afectasse ferunt-regnum-coeleste-Gigantes, / Altaq[ue] congestos struxisse ad sydera montes // Tum Pater o[mn]nipotens misso perfregit olympum / Fulmine, et excussit subiectu[m] Pelio[n] ossæ*

Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-1891-A-16209)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

20.

The Fall of the Giants

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–44

Pen and two different shades of brown and gray ink, brush and brown ink, and white gouache, over black chalk

10⅞ × 16⅜ in. (27.5 × 40.9 cm)

Watermark: crowned arms of Troyes, IP below

Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1951-253)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

21.

The Fall of the Giants

Cornelis Bos or workshop, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–44

Engraving (second state)

12½ × 16½ in. (31.8 × 41.8 cm)

Albertina, Vienna (album HB 11 Suppl., fol. 46)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Before the drawing of the *Fall of the Giants* in Amsterdam was recently attributed to Coecke, he had rarely been considered as a designer of prints. Apart from the woodcut series *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45), of which the designs may initially have been intended as models for tapestries, only a small number of individual woodcuts, mostly book illustrations, had been given to him.¹ Based on comparison with drawings such as those in Florence and New York, themselves relatively recent discoveries, the attribution to Coecke of the Amsterdam drawing means that he must now be credited with the design of at least three engravings as well.² One is the print for which the *Fall of the Giants* drawing served as the model (cat. 21); a second is this print's pendant, illustrating a preceding episode from the same myth, the *Revolt of the Giants* (cat. 19). This second engraving bears the monogram of the peripatetic northern Netherlandish engraver Cornelis Bos, whose workshop must also have been responsible for the print related to the drawing.³ Further, in Bos's oeuvre, a third engraving can be identified, the design of which bears all the hallmarks of Coecke's style, such as geometrically billowing drapery and ribbon-like clouds,

and which includes a very Raphaelesque Jupiter (fig. 85).⁴ The prints can be dated fairly precisely to the period when Bos was based in Antwerp: in 1540 he became a free master in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, and in 1541 a burgher, indicating that he had arrived at least some time before in the city on the Scheldt.⁵ From there he fled, probably to Paris, in 1544 after he was accused of heresy.⁶ A date sometime in the early 1540s for the drawing and the prints fits rather well with the style of the drawing, which comes closest to that of the New York tapestry design for the *Story of Joshua* series (cat. 55), dated in the mid- to late 1530s.⁷

The *Fall of the Giants* is in several different ways the culmination of Coecke's emulation of the art of Raphael and his school. First, the composition of the drawing (cat. 20) is directly based on the fresco decoration on the same subject on the south and west walls of the Sala dei Giganti in the Palazzo Te in Mantua by Raphael's pupil Giulio Romano (fig. 86).⁸ Similarly, the composition of Coecke's *Revolt of the Giants* (cat. 19) includes a direct quote from the Sala dei Giganti's vault: the figure of Apollo holding his lyre (fig. 87).⁹ Moreover, the burly men in *Revolt* and the leaner ones in *Fall* are directly inspired by the works of Giulio and Raphael, respectively. In fact, Coecke's successful imitation of their style has led many scholars to attribute the designs after which Bos made his prints to Giulio.¹⁰ Although to my knowledge the Amsterdam drawing has never



Fig. 85. *The Fall of Phaethon*. Cornelis Bos, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–44. Engraving, 9¼ × 7⅜ in. (23.5 × 18.9 cm). British Museum, London (1928-7-16-22)



19

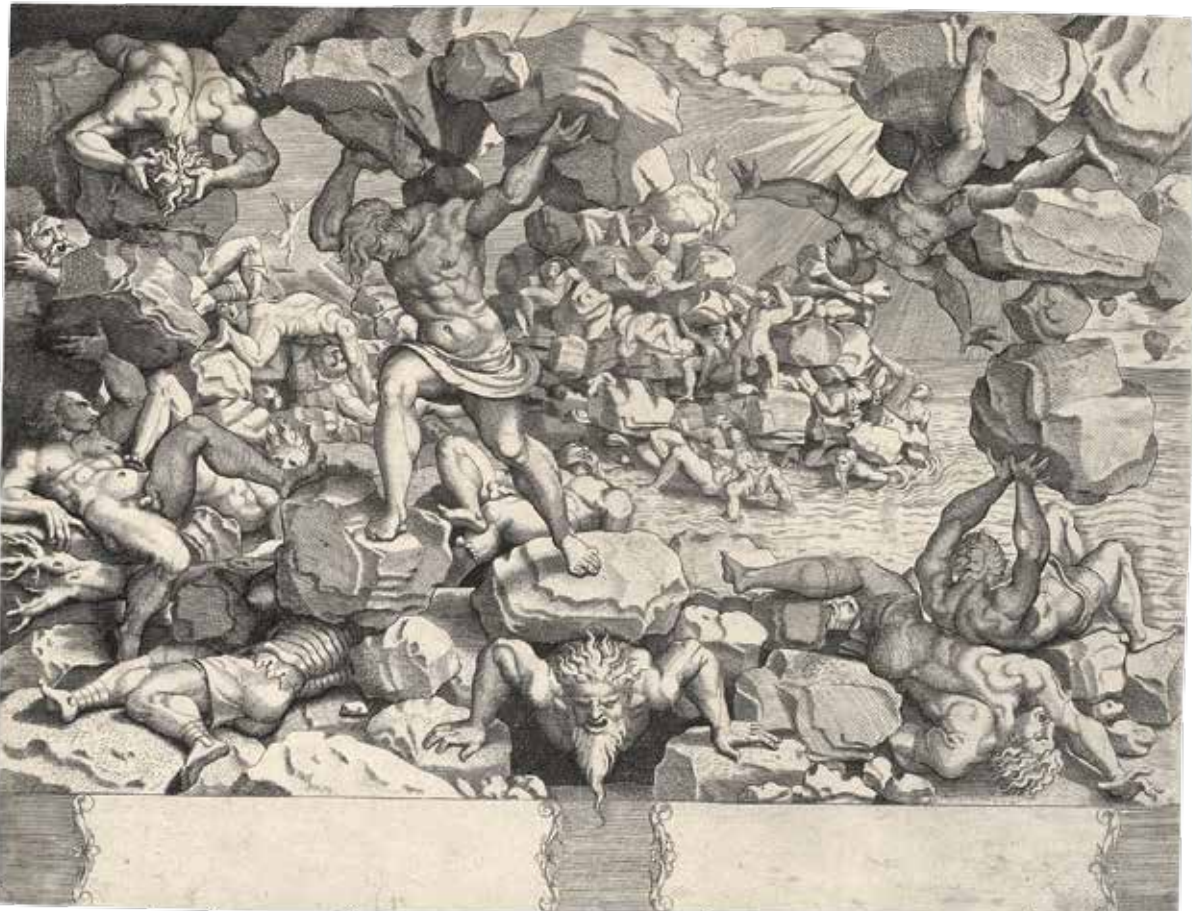
been catalogued as an Italian work, Raphael's influence can be felt especially strongly in it: not only in its composition and style but also in its technique, which seems to imitate that of several drawings of the late 1510s, in particular some often associated with Raphael's assistant Giovanni Francesco Penni (for an example, see fig. 88).¹¹ A description of the Italians' technique—"brush, wash, and white heightening over black chalk underdrawing, usually with a pen outline, and sometimes with internal pen hatching to strengthen the relief"¹²—applies almost exactly to Coecke's drawing in Amsterdam.

The degree to which Coecke succeeded in emulating his models indicates that he must have had an intimate knowledge of their art in the original. Although the most advanced Netherlandish artists of the time, including Coecke and Bernard van Orley, had experienced the influence of Raphael already by the 1520s, after the arrival of the Italian master's cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries,¹³ the more thorough Raphaellesque influence evident in Coecke's Amsterdam drawing is difficult to explain without assuming he studied the works of Raphael and his circle in Italy. Mantua, rather than Rome, seems the most likely place where this could have happened. It was in the capital of the Gonzaga that Giulio went on to

work after Raphael died, and it was there that he constructed and decorated the Palazzo Te.¹⁴ Giulio, as one of Raphael's artistic heirs, must also have been the owner of a large part of his master's studio estate, including many drawings.¹⁵ Coecke's knowledge of the Sala dei Giganti itself, which was not reproduced in print before the later seventeenth century, could have been gained from the original paintings, mainly executed by Giulio's assistant Rinaldo Mantovano between about 1532 and 1534, as well as from Giulio's preparatory drawings.¹⁶ The date of the frescoes naturally leads to the assumption that Coecke visited Italy, and Mantua in particular, before or (more likely) after his visit to Constantinople in 1533. This is our strongest argument against the widely held view—following Karel van Mander's muddled account of the artist's life—that Coecke's visit to Italy should be dated in the 1520s.¹⁷ A visit to Italy about 1533 would also explain the marked change in Coecke's style near that date, as evident, among other things, from a comparison between the designs for the *Life of Saint Paul* series from before, and those for the *Seven Deadly Sins* and *Joshua* series from after, the trip to Constantinople. In fact, Wolfgang Krönig suspected as much as early as 1936, based on his understanding of Coecke's stylistic development.¹⁸



20



21



Fig. 86. *The Fall of the Giants*. Giulio Romano and workshop (primarily Rinaldo Mantovano), ca. 1532–34. Fresco. Camera dei Giganti, Palazzo Te, Mantua



Fig. 87. *Apollo Holding His Lyre in the Clouds*. Giulio Romano and workshop (primarily Rinaldo Mantovano), ca. 1532–34. Fresco. Camera dei Giganti, Palazzo Te, Mantua



Fig. 88. *The Miraculous Draft of Fishes*. Attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni or Raphael, ca. 1514. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, white gouache, over black and red chalks, on light brown prepared paper, 7⁷/₈ x 13³/₄ in. (20 × 33.9 cm). British Royal Collections (RL 12749)

Of the same size, with similar cartouches for textual inscriptions, and depicting related episodes in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the prints of the *Revolt* and the *Fall* must have been conceived by Coecke and Bos as pendants. Their subject is the Gigantomachy as described in *Metamorphoses*, book 1, lines 151–62.¹⁹ The inscription on the *Revolt* quotes directly from Ovid’s text (lines 152–55): “They say that the Giants essayed the very throne of heaven, piling huge mountains, one on another, clear up to

the stars. Then the Almighty Father hurled his thunderbolts, shattered Olympus, and dashed Pelion down from underlying Ossa.”²⁰ The print does not depict Jupiter’s victory, but the moment preceding it, when the race of the Giants is storming heaven, armed with bare tree trunks and carrying heavy rocks. Pelion and Ossa were two of the mountains they had piled atop each other in order to reach the gods. Surprised by the attack, some of the Olympians—Apollo, Diana, Minerva, Mercury,

Jupiter (abducting Ganymede in the guise of an eagle)²¹—can be recognized at upper left. The engraving of the *Fall*, of which one impression of a first state survives,²² but no impressions with the text for which its cartouches were intended, may have been left unfinished. It is of slightly lesser quality and may be the work of an assistant, rather than of Bos himself. It was possibly intended to be inscribed with the following lines of Ovid's poem (1.156–58): "When those dread bodies lay o'erwhelmed by their own bulk, they say that Mother Earth, drenched with their streaming blood, informed that warm gore anew with life."²³ The engraving depicts the overthrown assailers, but not the bloodshed and renewal of life.

Like Giulio's fresco in Mantua and other contemporary renderings of the Gigantomachy, Coecke's and Bos's prints must probably be understood in the context of Charles V's image as a ruler protecting his domains from foreign assaults, like Jupiter protected the existing order from the Giants.²⁴ The designer and the printmaker undoubtedly understood the appeal of the subject. In fact, the attribution of the two prints' design to Coecke, together with a print made by Bos, the *Fall of Phaeton* (fig. 85), suggests the two artists were eager to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the medium of printmaking. From documents, it is known that Coecke and Bos entered a business partnership in 1542, in which Bos received in consignment for sale the Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio editions published by Coecke (see cat. 17).²⁵ Now that at least three engravings have been recognized as the fruit of a collaboration between the two men, it becomes clear that their partnership also focused on the publication of original prints. In this, Coecke, who one can assume took the lead in the collaboration, may have had—once again—Raphael in mind as his model, whose successful collaboration with the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi had spread his reputation far beyond the cities in which his paintings could be admired.²⁶ In the Netherlands, a similar approach to printmaking, with specialized engravers or etchers reproducing designs specifically made for this purpose, would be firmly established by the publisher Hieronymus Cock starting in 1548.²⁷ However, Coecke and Bos can now be credited for having attempted something similar slightly earlier—an enterprise that seems to have been cut short by Bos's forced departure from the region, and perhaps also by Coecke's activity in other fields.

SA

22.

Descent from the Cross

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–45

Oil on panel

Triptych: central panel 8 ft. 7½ in. × 5 ft. 7¾ in. (262 × 172 cm); left and right wings each 8 ft. 11⅞ in. × 2 ft. 9⅛ in. (274 × 84 cm)

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (112)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

There are no extant signed paintings by Pieter Coecke van Aelst. When, in 1917, Max Friedländer first attempted to group the works by the artist, he relied on the documented woodcut frieze *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45), several drawings inscribed with the name of Pieter van Aelst, and the semi-documented *Last Supper* (cat. 5) that had survived in numerous dated examples.¹ He was unaware at that time of an important document published in 1877 by F. J. van den Branden, which in 1938 Leo van Puyvelde realized could be connected with a large triptych at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.² The



exteriors of the wings of cat. 22

document states that on January 30, 1585, the painter Ambrosius Boschaert declared that the previous year Simon Simons bought from Daniel de Villers in Antwerp an altarpiece by master Pieter van Aelst that comprised a Descent from the Cross in the center, Christ's Descent into Limbo and the Resurrection of Christ on the inside of the wings, and the Conversion of Saint Paul on the outside of the wings. This work was delivered by Daniel de Villers to Lisbon to be sold there through the local dealers Jerome de Franchi and Genevois and Jasper Glas.³ The proximity of this document to Coecke's lifetime—indeed his widow was still alive—favors the reliability of the information. There is no mistaking that this is the monumental triptych, which for many years graced the Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios in Lisbon before it was transferred, certainly by 1836, to what is now the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. It was perhaps during the time the triptych was at the convent that it was altered in its shape and dimensions (see fig. 89). Although it survived the Iconoclasm, the triptych unfortunately provides no clues as to its original commission or location in Antwerp.⁴

The sharp vertical angle of the tumbling figures on the interiors of the wings and, especially, on their exteriors suggests that the triptych was intended for an elevated position such as a high altar.

If the preliminary drawing for this monumental altarpiece had survived, it probably would have looked something like the design for the *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* triptych of about 1535 (cat. 18). Both the Lisbon triptych and the drawing for the Baptism triptych depend on a tipped-up space to enable the convincing placement of the greatest possible number of figures. In addition, on the interior left wing of each, Coecke placed a large repoussoir figure in the right foreground to anchor the composition and invite the viewer into the scene and its theme. The energetic expression in both triptychs is conveyed by animated figures in a variety of poses (viewed from the back, profile, three-quarter, *en face*), all looking in different directions. This is balanced by the hovering and relatively static heavenly beings above—God the Father in the Baptism triptych and Christ in the two wings of the Deposition triptych.



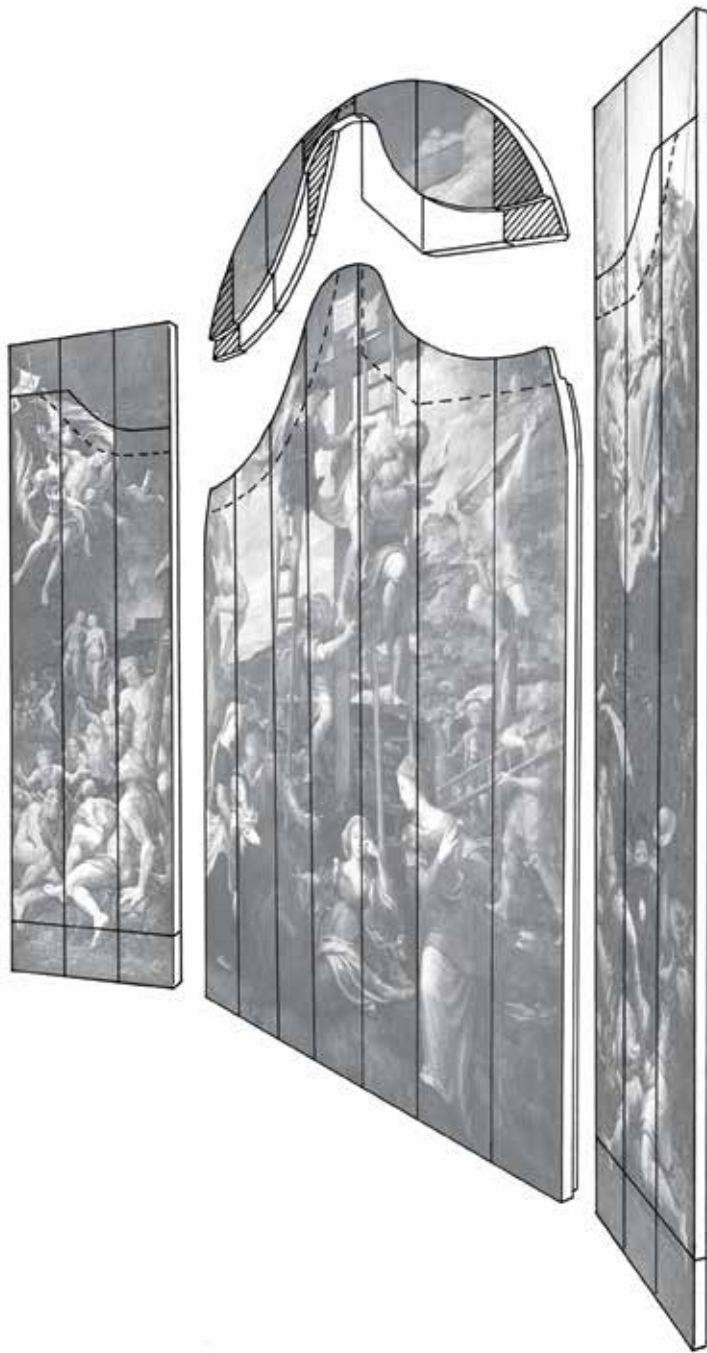


Fig. 89. Diagram of cat. 22. The upper and lower portion of the wings and the upper portion of the central panel have been altered. The ogee shape visible within the central panel suggests that it has been enlarged, but almost all of the boards that constitute the “addition” closely match the grain characteristics of the corresponding boards and must, therefore, have been original to the panel. The panel had likely been cut and then the original material reattached by a half-lap joint, effectively shortening the panel by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (9 cm). The wings were instead reconstructed with new material.

In its design achievement, however, the Deposition triptych goes a step further than the Baptism triptych. This may not be so obvious at first because of the relatively conservative, even *retardataire*, presentation of the central Deposition scene compared with the compositionally complex and audacious appearance of its interior and exterior wings. The Deposition scene in the triptych is influenced most closely by Jan Gossart’s large-scale painting of about 1525 (fig. 90).⁵ Although Coecke reversed the scene right for left, he generally followed Gossart’s

arrangement of the figures on the two ladders who support the weighty body of Christ as it is let down from the cross.⁶ Also similar in pose are the three figures at the lower left—the Virgin Mary supported by two weeping Marys (in Gossart’s version) and by a Mary and Saint John (in Coecke’s version). But Coecke moved one of the weeping Marys to the center of the foreground, and he repositioned Gossart’s Mary Magdalen away from the foot of the cross to a more prominent place at the lower right.

The daring and innovative compositions of the Lisbon triptych’s wings—depicting the Descent into Limbo and the Resurrection inside, and the Conversion of Saint Paul outside—are certainly due to Coecke’s enhanced experience with Italian art. The sophisticated articulation of the musculature of the male figures and the subtle chiaroscuro transitions of tone were initially inspired by models by Raphael and Raphael’s pupils of whom Coecke had learned through the drawings and cartoons sent from Rome to Brussels for various tapestry projects.⁷ This must have stimulated Coecke to see additional works firsthand on a trip to Italy, either on his way to Constantinople in 1533, on his return route, or on a separate visit.⁸ This direct exposure, however it took place, was responsible in Coecke’s work for the new and successful arrangement of beautifully modeled nude figures, tumbling out of the painting into the viewer’s space.

Key among these artists who influenced Coecke was Giulio Romano, who at the behest in 1524 of Federigo II Gonzaga, marquis then duke of Mantua, moved to that city to carry out extensive architectural and decorative programs at the Palazzo Ducale and the Palazzo Te. This work, which went on into the 1540s, consumed the efforts of Giulio Romano and a large group of assistants. Stijn Alsteens and Nadine Orenstein note, in catalogue numbers 20 and 21, general and specific borrowings from Giulio Romano’s Sala dei Giganti in the Palazzo Te. For the Deposition triptych wings, both inside and outside, Coecke appears to have been especially influenced by the fresco paintings of 1536–40 for the Sala di Troia in the Palazzo Ducale, as well as those in the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo Te (figs. 91, 92). In the former, the tumbling figures in various poses and seen in sharp foreshortening, as well as those interspersed with and falling beneath the horses, provided particularly compelling models for the figures on Coecke’s exterior wings. In addition, the superb modeling of the nude bodies in chiaroscuro treatment presented Coecke with an ideal for which to aim. Here and there one can identify specific figure types and poses from Giulio’s works that Coecke modified, making them his own. For example, the right foreground figure in Christ in Limbo with his head thrown back in sharp profile, wide-eyed and with open mouth, appears to be modeled after Giulio’s figures in the Sala di Troia in the Palazzo Ducale (figs. 93, 94). In another case, Coecke changed his initial plan as a result of encountering Giulio’s models. The head of Mary Magdalen, who is featured at the right in the foreground of the central panel, was first



Fig. 90. *Deposition*. Jan Gossart, ca. 1525. Oil on panel, 55½ × 42 in. (141 × 106.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

underdrawn and painted in three-quarter view,⁹ but Coecke repainted the head in sharp profile following Giulio's nymph in the *Banquet of Cupid and Psyche* on the west wall of the Sala di Psyche in the Palazzo Te (figs. 95, 96, and 97). Like Giulio's nymph, Coecke's Magdalen turns her head abruptly to her right. And she similarly wears her lush, curly hair pulled in at

the nape of the neck and in twisted locks spilling over her right shoulder onto her breast.

To achieve this Italianate paradigm in his latest known paintings, Coecke employed a style of underdrawing that was different from his earlier works. What he was striving for was greater attention to the modeling of the figures and a more dramatic



Fig. 91. *Diomedes Fighting Igeus and Phlegeus*. After designs by Giulio Romano, 1536–40. Fresco. Sala di Troia, Palazzo Te, Mantua



Fig. 92. *Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche*. After designs by Giulio Romano, ca. 1525–30. Fresco. Sala di Psiche, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua



Fig. 93. Detail of cat. 22



Fig. 94. Detail of a man from the *Trojan Horse*. After designs by Giulio Romano, ca. 1536–40. Fresco. Sala di Troia, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua



Fig. 95. Infrared reflectogram detail of cat. 22



Fig. 96. Detail of cat. 22



Fig. 97. Detail of a nymph from the *Bacchanalia*. After designs by Giulio Romano, 1525–30. Fresco. Sala di Psiche, Palazzo Te, Mantua

lighting scheme. These features are evident in his drawings of about 1535–40, namely in *Christ as the Fount of Mercy* (cat. 11) and the *Fall of the Giants* (cat. 20),¹⁰ as well as in the cartoon for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (cat. 43). In these drawings the sophisticated structure of parallel-hatching in varied directions and the addition of a wash and white heightening work together to introduce the convincing three-dimensional modeling of the figures. Coecke's approach was the same in the underdrawing of his paintings for the Deposition triptych, where the earlier nervous, squiggly line that defines form is mostly absent in favor of a more sophisticated tonal approach. The interiors of the wings show a spontaneous and direct underdrawing that expresses an enhanced understanding of the human body and a clear method of describing its form. The preparatory drawing directly on those panels is freer and looser than that found in the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* cartoon but nonetheless builds on

the stylistic achievements of the latter (compare figs. 26, 27, and 28). The newly found spontaneity and directness of Coecke's approach are perhaps most evident in the Conversion of Saul on the exterior of the triptych wings, which was carried out in grisaille, producing a trompe l'oeil sculptural relief.¹¹ As those wings were thinly painted, some of the stages of modeling—the rapid and summary black chalk underdrawing superimposed by a wash that further defines the chiaroscuro treatment—can be seen with the naked eye (figs. 98, 99). To this, Coecke added, in the final painted layer, ministrokes in parallel-hatching that are made directly into the wet paint to reinforce the sculptural nature of the handling. This feature, seen in Coecke's earlier works (see cat. 6), is now even more successfully integrated into the other aspects of his execution.

The fortuitous survival of this majestic altarpiece from Iconoclasm and its long period of protection in but a few Portuguese



Fig. 98. Infrared reflectogram detail of exterior of a wing of cat. 22



Fig. 99. Detail of exterior of a wing of cat. 22

collections provides us with one of the most important examples of Romanism from the middle of the sixteenth century, about 1540–45. Furthermore, it offers a unique counterpoint to Coecke’s better-known monumental art form, his tapestries.

MWA

23.

The Triumph of Antwerp

Le triumphe d’Anvers fait en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d’Espaign[e]

Cornelius Grapheus

Published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1550

Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

10³/₈ × 8 × ³/₄ in. (26.5 × 20.5 × 2 cm)

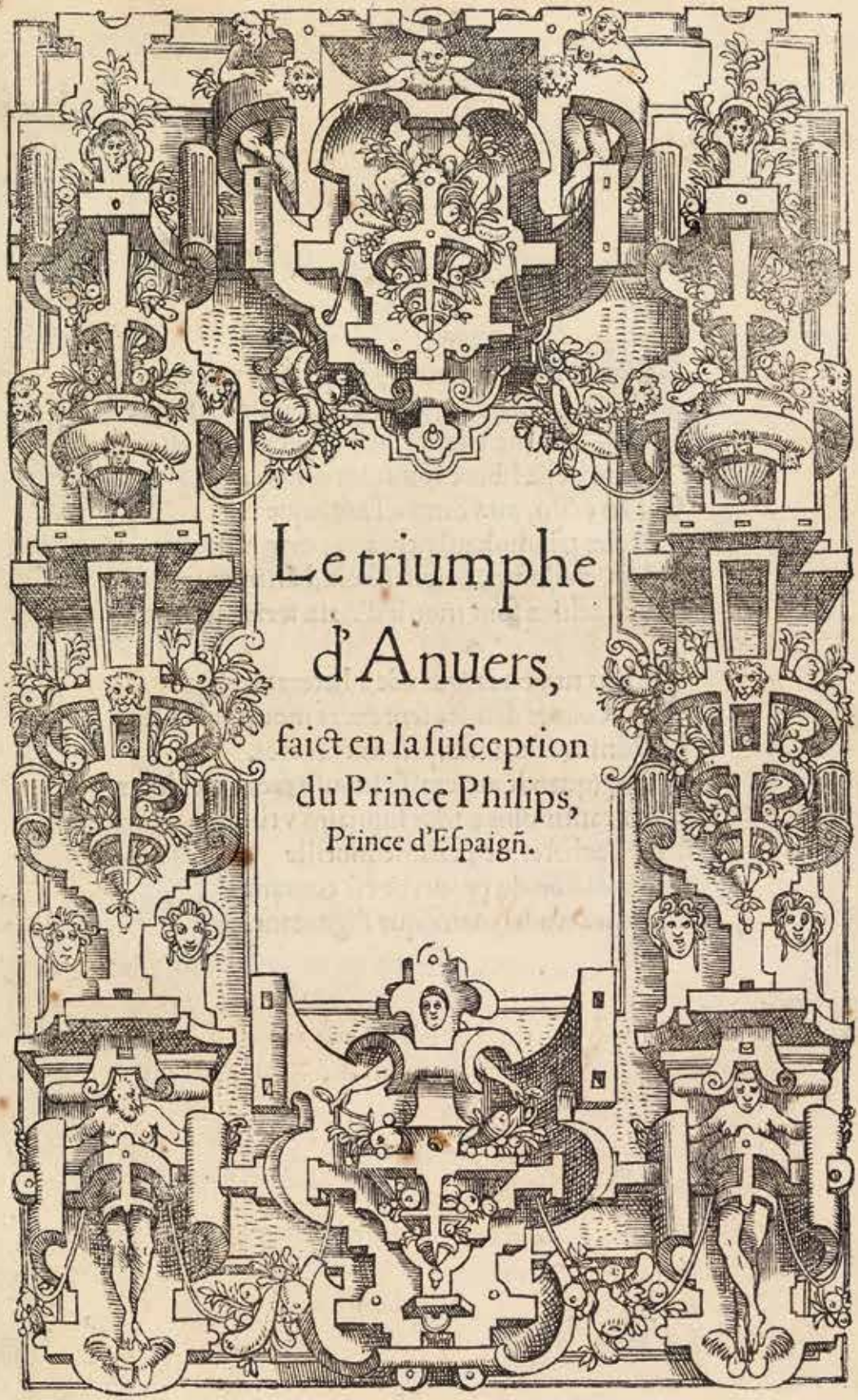
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.43)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

On September 10, 1549, Philip, prince of Spain, entered Antwerp. Philip’s father, Emperor Charles V, had sent his son and heir to the Netherlands as a sign of the renewed contract between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Burgundian provinces, and triumphal entries held a symbolic role in this respect similar to present-day coronations.¹ Philip was ceremoniously feted in each of the Netherlandish cities that he visited on this trip, and *Le triumphe d’Anvers* records the ephemeral decorations and festivities that were created for the important event held in Antwerp. The book was written by Cornelius Grapheus (Cornelis de Schrijver, also known as Scribonius), a native of Aelst and secretary of the city of Antwerp. Grapheus also conceived of the ceremony’s allegorical iconographic program.² In all, 1,726 artists and craftsmen were employed to create the decorations, which consisted of twenty-one triumphal arches as well as theaters made of wood and covered with paintings, tapestries, stucco reliefs, and trompe l’oeil ornament. The communities of foreign merchants—the Genoese, Florentines, Germans, English, and Spanish—were also drawn into the fete, each requested by the city magistrate to finance and erect one of the triumphal arches that are recorded in the book (fig. 100). The elaborate festivities, which included music and dancing, ended with a banquet and fireworks. Unfortunately, it rained heavily that day and in the text Grapheus deeply laments the fact that, after all the effort expended, the decor was difficult to view.

Antwerp called upon its abundant local talent to create the decorations for the fete. The artists known to have participated include Antonio Palermo, Jan Mandijn, Frans Floris, and Lambert van Noort. Whether Coecke was involved with the festivities is uncertain; most of the records concerning Philip’s entry were destroyed in a fire in 1576.³ Scholars have argued that an artist as well known as Coecke must have been appointed to oversee, if not design, at least some of the decorations. More recent opinion, however, leans toward the view that he had little to do with it, since he is not mentioned by Grapheus in this capacity and none of his later biographers record his participation in this important event.⁴

Coecke did publish Grapheus’s description of the festivities, which he issued in Latin, French, and Dutch editions



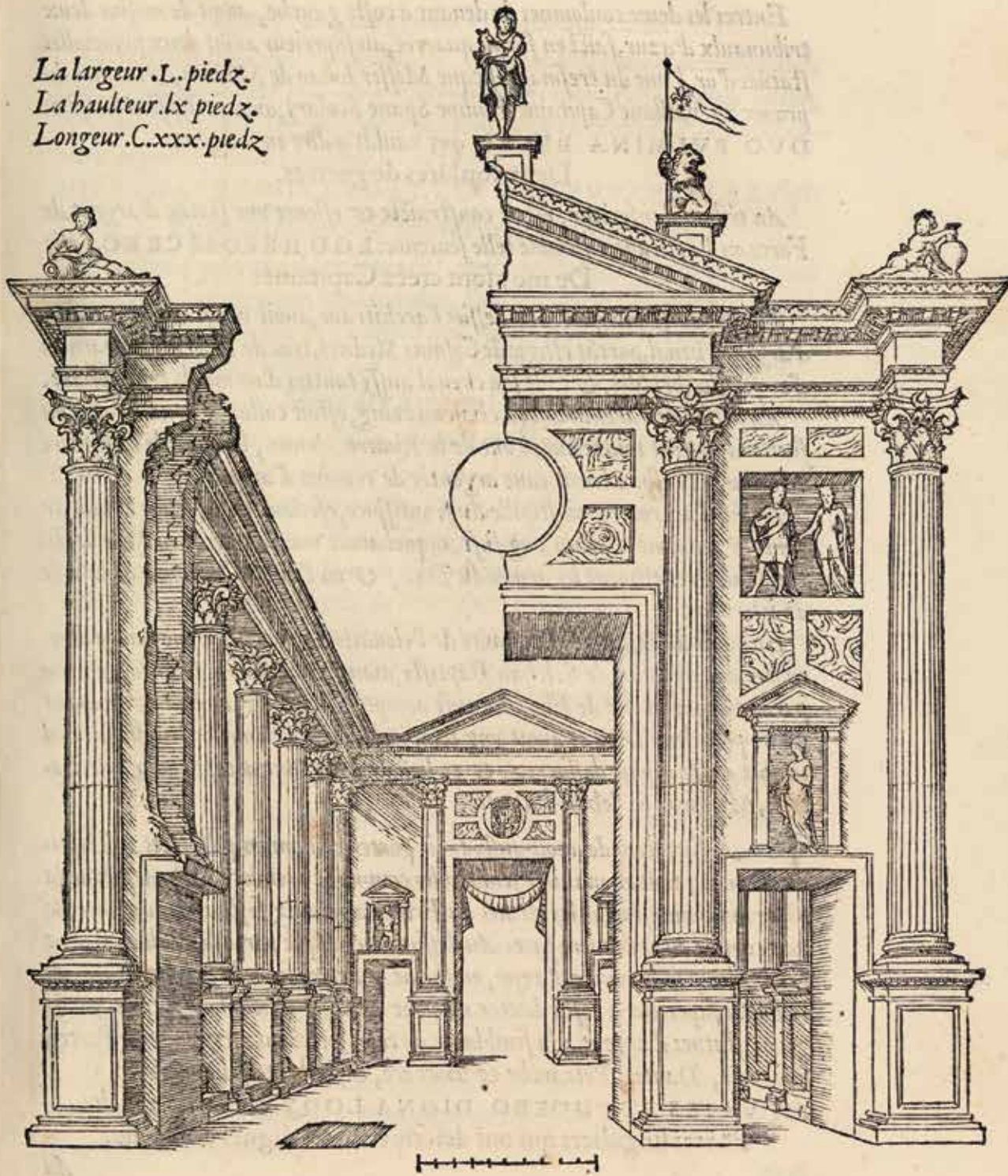
Le triumphe
d'Anuers,
faict en la susception
du Prince Philips,
Prince d'Espaign.

Desportes

ps. Desportes

La Gallerie triumphalle des Florentins,
a veoir par dedens & dehors.

La largeur .L. piedz.
La haulteur .lx. piedz.
Longeur .C. xxx. piedz.



G iij

Fig. 100. Triumphal Portico of the Florentines

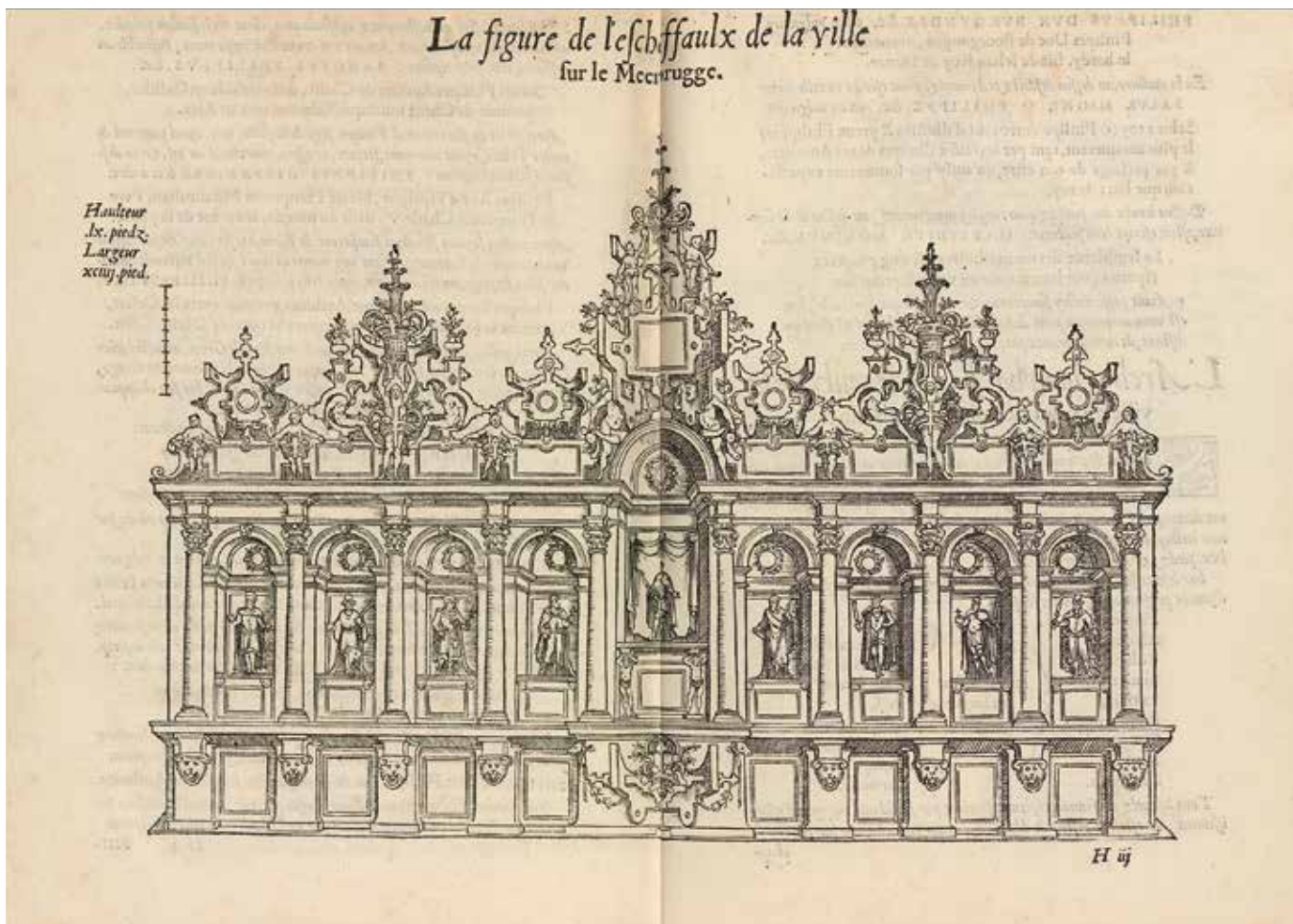


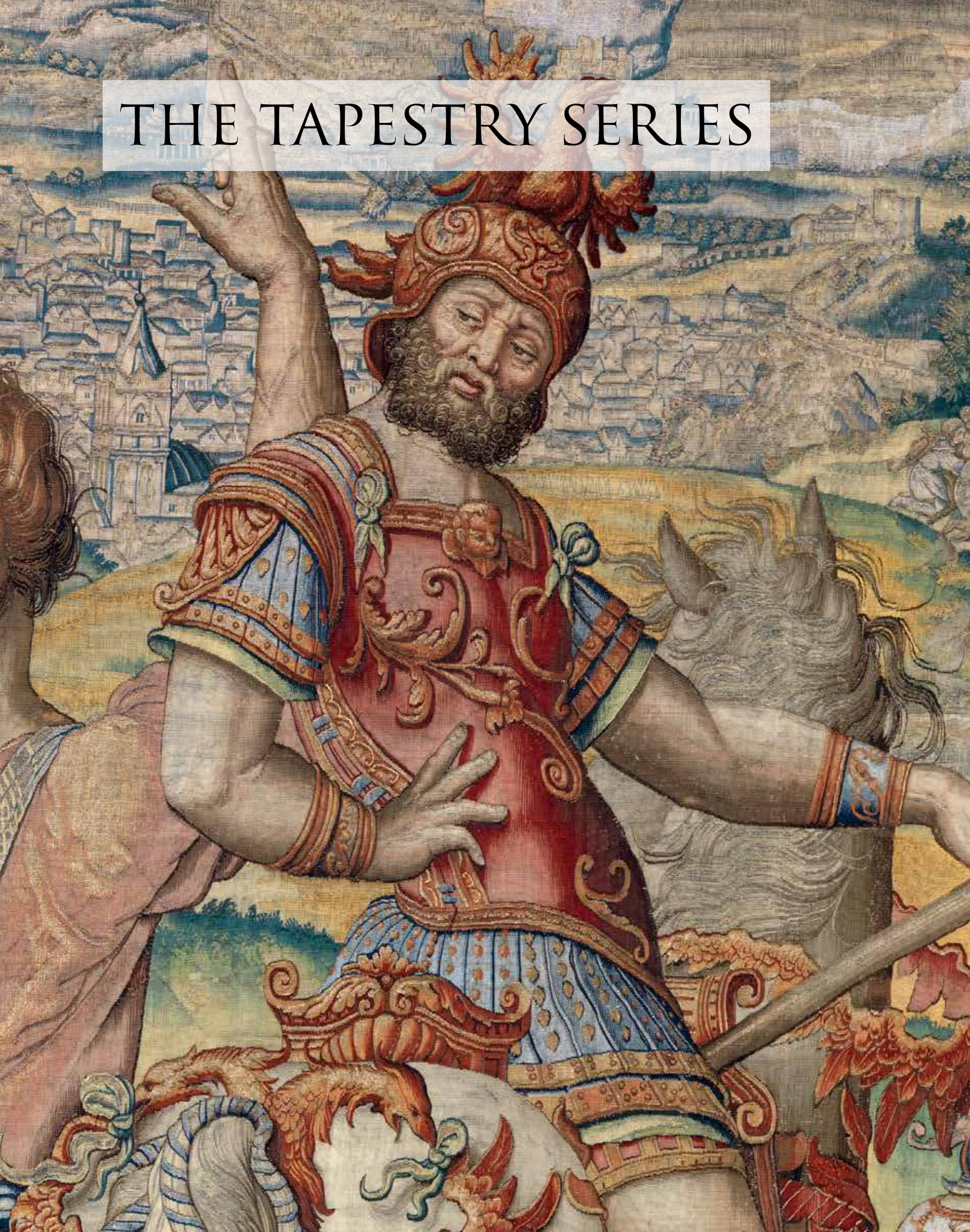
Fig. 101. *Scaffold of the City*

and illustrated with thirty-one woodcuts depicting the various arches and stages. Coecke received a printer's permit to publish the book on March 17, 1549.⁵ As with his publication of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise (cat. 17), Coecke's publication of this book was ambitious: he produced an elaborately illustrated tome in several language editions at one time. Though Coecke himself would not have cut the fine woodblocks that served to print the illustrations, he would have drawn his designs on the surface of the block in preparation for a professional cutter to carry out the intricate carving, as was customary. While the text of the book describes all of the performances and decor created for the event, Coecke's illustrations focus solely on the architecture. The structures created for the event vary in style from Netherlandish Mannerist designs with Fontainebleau-influenced banded ornamentation to highly classical Renaissance pieces. Coecke's book is among the first

to illustrate this hybrid Netherlandish approach to architecture.⁶ The woodcut *Scaffold of the City*, for instance, depicts an extremely ornate scaffold with elaborate strapwork designs set above a classical Renaissance columned structure. The iconography of the scaffold is focused on Philip, with the prince in the center flanked by eight other rulers from earlier periods also named Philip (fig. 101). In contrast, the enormous Triumphal Portico of the Florentines was a simple, classical structure lined with Corinthian columns (fig. 100). Unlike many of the other arches, its iconography primarily related to the city that erected it, featuring at top a sculpture of Florence's patron saint, John the Baptist. Coecke's recent experience in translating and publishing Serlio's treatise on architecture can be seen here in the ichnographic illustrations (ground plans) that are paired with many of the structures, as well as the views that illustrate structures cut open to reveal their interiors. NMO



THE TAPESTRY SERIES





DESIGNING AND DEFINING TAPESTRIES: THE THREE STAGES OF TAPESTRY PRODUCTION

Sarah W. Mallory

LARGE, NARRATIVE TAPESTRIES, particularly those produced during the medieval and Renaissance periods, were the result of a collaborative process that included, in essence, three stages.¹ First, the designer sketched the preliminary composition for the tapestry and refined this into a more detailed rendering, called in Dutch the *patroon in't klein*, *petit patron* in French. Second, a painter copied the design of the *petit patron*, enlarged to the tapestry's intended size, onto a tapestry-sized piece of cloth or, increasingly more commonly, a large expanse of paper sheets pasted together. This painting, referred to as the cartoon, was the final template, or model, for the tapestry's design. In the third step of the process, the cartoon was handed over to the master tapestry weaver, whose team of journeymen weavers would weave the tapestry using the cartoon as their guide. Occasionally, weavers implemented small changes to the design, such as variations in thread colors. Thus, the finished tapestry was a collaboration that typically reflected the artistic input of many hands beyond those of the initial designer.

Tapestries are made by weaving together two sets of threads known as the warp and the wefts. Warp threads are the support, like a blank canvas, and on to them are woven perpendicularly the weft threads, which provide the colors that gradually build up to form a tapestry's picture, like strokes of paint on that canvas. A tapestry's warp threads are usually undyed and are made of wool or linen. These threads are stretched vertically over the loom. Weft threads usually comprise colored wool, silk, and, sometimes, precious-metal-wrapped threads. Weavers intertwine these threads in an orderly, gridlike fashion by inserting a variety of weft threads over and under the warp threads with shuttles on to which the colored threads are spooled, then tamping the wefts so tightly together that they conceal the warp from view. Warps are the backbone of every tapestry and provide the foundation for the wefts; although hidden from view in a finished

Fig. 102. Discontinuous weft threads.
Real Fábrica de Tapices, Madrid

Fig. 103. Reverse of a detail of the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* from the *Poesia* (fig. 212)

Fig. 104. Obverse of fig. 103



tapestry, the warp threads are vital components and the very elements that give tapestries their distinct, ribbed texture and their strength. Wefts, because they are introduced only where the design demands a patch of that particular color, are rarely woven in and out across all the warps. Rather, they are incorporated in areas as dictated by the cartoon's design. When weavers need to introduce a new color, they knot the existing weft in place, snip off or tuck in any loose ends, and add another color using a different weft thread; these are called "discontinuous wefts" (fig. 102). Examination of the reverse side of a tapestry reveals the various methods weavers used to change colors: gradual hatching, distinct slits, or structurally more complex interlocked wefts. Tapestry backs, because they are seldom seen and rarely encounter direct exposure to light, do not fade as severely as the fronts of tapestries and therefore preserve a truer sense of wefts' original depth of color (figs. 103, 104).

Historically, weavers worked facing what would be the back of the tapestry, using either a high-warp (vertical) or low-warp (horizontal) loom (figs. 105, 106). For work on low-warp looms, the tapestry cartoon would be cut into strips and placed directly beneath the loom's warp threads. With high-warp looms, the cartoon was hung either flush against the back of the warp threads or on the wall behind the weavers. If the cartoon was hanging behind the weavers, they would replicate the design by looking at its reflection in a mirror positioned behind the warps. Because the weavers copied the cartoon working on the back of the tapestry, when the tapestry was finished, removed from the loom, and turned over to reveal its front, the woven representation was the reverse of the cartoon. However, when they used the high-warp loom mirror method to copy the cartoon's design, weavers avoided this reversal. On both kinds of looms, the tapestry cartoon was turned at a ninety-degree angle to the warp threads (fig. 107), meaning that weavers were copying the cartoon's design sideways. This way, when the finished tapestry was hung, the warp threads that were vertical on the loom would become more supportive horizontal elements. This would also allow for monumentally wide tapestries to be woven without the need for massive, equally wide looms. The cartoon was not physically part of the completed tapestry and could be reused multiple times in order to make duplicate tapestries.

Fig. 105. Tapestry being woven on a high-warp loom. Real Fábrica de Tapices, Madrid

Fig. 106. Tapestry being woven on a low-warp loom.

Fig. 107. Weavers working at a high-warp loom with the cartoon behind them and a mirror hanging on warp threads in front. Real Fábrica de Tapices, Madrid

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST'S DRAWINGS FOR TAPESTRIES

Stijn Alsteens

THE ONLY SUBSTANTIAL body of fully autograph works by Pieter Coecke van Aelst that has come down to us are his drawings. The tapestries, stained-glass windows, prints, and decorative objects he designed were executed by other specialized artists and craftsmen, who more or less faithfully followed the models provided to them; and only very few of the many paintings that go under his name seem in fact to have been touched by Coecke himself (see Ainsworth, “Pieter Coecke van Aelst as a Panel Painter”). To reconstruct his stylistic development through the 1530s and 1540s, we have to rely mainly on the drawings, related as many of them are with securely dated tapestry series and other major commissions.¹ Judging from the drawings that survive, there can be little doubt that Coecke’s main professional focus was the production of tapestries, for which the southern Netherlands, and especially the city of Brussels, had gained a great reputation already in the preceding centuries. Indeed, it is interesting that the earliest mention of the artist in print, in Lodovico Guicciardini’s *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), highlights his activity as “great painter and inventor of tapestry cartoons.”² In what follows, an attempt is made to understand the varying roles played by Coecke’s tapestry designs in the process leading up to the woven final result.

Rather curiously, the preserved preparatory drawings related to each of the most securely documented tapestry series in Coecke’s oeuvre are not evenly spread. A number of them are highly finished, of the type that was made to give the commissioner or patron an accurate idea of the proposed composition and details of the weaving. They are often designated with the French term *petit patron*, to distinguish them from the lifesize cartoons, or *grands patrons*.³ For the series of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, on which he worked about 1533–35 (see Cleland, “The Seven Deadly Sins”), one autograph *petit patron* and three workshop replicas after *petits patrons* are known. For the *Story of Joshua* series, on which Coecke worked about 1535–37 (see Buchanan, “The Story of Joshua”), three splendid autograph *petits patrons* have come down (cats. 55, 57, and 58), which, however, differ considerably from the compositions of the related tapestries. But for the *Life of Saint Paul* series, which must have occupied him around 1530 (see Delmarcel, “The Life of Saint Paul”), a larger number of preparatory drawings, and of different types as well, have survived—at least one for each of eight out of the nine compositions. Only for the tapestry of the *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* (cat. 38) has no related drawing surfaced. The fact that far fewer drawings for



Fig. 108. Detail of cat. 25



Fig. 109. Detail of cat. 26

the two later series are known, and that these offer a much more limited view of the artist's working process, must be regarded as accidental. Preparatory drawings of the same types represented in the *Saint Paul* group would have existed for the *Sins* and *Joshua* series as well. This essay is based on the assumption that the *Saint Paul* drawings inform us not only about Coecke's way of working on that particular set but on his method of designing tapestries in general. Indeed, they must document to a large extent the general working method followed in the great age of tapestry production better than any other surviving drawings by a Netherlandish fifteenth- or sixteenth-century designer, including those of Coecke's great predecessor Bernard van Orley.⁴

If drawings survive from such relatively remote times as the early sixteenth century, it is often because they are highly finished and were recognized—independent of changes in taste—as the accomplished products of artists with an exceptional gift, worth preserving for subsequent



Fig. 110. *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, retouched by a later hand, ca. 1529–30. Pen and brown ink, brown-gray wash, retouched in pen and black ink, 10¼ × 19½ in. (26.1 × 49.4 cm). Musée Jenisch, Vevey (1968-031)

generations. The initial sketches for a composition, on the contrary, have usually been lost, either because they were not thought much of or because they differed too much from an artist's trademark style and were not recognized as his. If any sketches survive, it is often by accident—for instance, because they were made on the verso of more worked-out drawings. The case of Coecke is not different. A lone sketch of what looks like two or more interacting figures can be found on the verso of catalogue number 16. The more loosely drawn backgrounds of some of the pen drawings can fill in our understanding of his sketching style. Hardly anything else remains from the moments when a design was just starting to take form in the artist's mind, and he took the first steps to record his ideas on paper. Such sketches would have represented individual figures or figure groups, as in the one just mentioned, or the general outlines of larger compositions. The only extant example by Coecke of the latter category that is firmly related to a tapestry is a small sheet in Amsterdam from the 1540s (cat. 63). Very quickly drawn in pen with some wash, it contains only the most basic information regarding the main actors of the scene depicted, their pose and costume, and a summary indication of the background architecture and landscape.

Two drawings document a further stage, where more than just the main features of a composition have been established, and Coecke was satisfied enough with the result to follow the path he marked out, rather than change it. The drawings, in Darmstadt (cat. 25) and Mettingen (cat. 41), relate to two of the tapestries of the *Saint Paul* series. Although less detailed than the *petits patrons* that would follow later, they no longer belong to an exploratory phase and could be called—for want of a better or historical term—“preliminary designs.” The fact that the two drawings share the same style and technique (pen and ink, finished rather carefully with a medium-size brush) and are roughly the same size (about fifteen by thirty centimeters) already suggests that making such drawings was a common practice for Coecke, and that his process was a quite systematic one. The sheet in Mettingen is slightly larger and may never have been cropped, as it includes the framing



Fig. 111. *The Conversion of Saul*. Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30 or after. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{7}{8}$ in. (14.1 × 30.8 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 13279)



Fig. 112. *The Conversion of Saul*. Attributed to the workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1530s (?). Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, brown washes, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14 × 30 cm). Private collection, New York

line drawn by the artist to indicate where the composition ends. It is possible that some of the drawings by Van Orley related to tapestries also belong to this stage,⁵ although his drawing style always seems to have been more cursory than Coecke's. Further, in Van Orley's case, one does not have the advantage of being able to compare the preliminary design with the definitive one. Coecke's drawing in Darmstadt can be compared with the drawing that must have followed it: a second sheet in Mettingen, which represents the stage of the *petit patron*, or finished design (cat. 26). In many ways, the compositions are identical. But Coecke added more figures in the background, extended the composition slightly at left, and gave rhythm to the scene by inserting



Fig. 113. Detail of cat. 27

three groups of trees—a compositional device he used often, and which was adopted at about the same time by Van Orley in his designs for the *Hunts of Maximilian* series (see figs. 49, 133).

Where Coecke's related drawings in Darmstadt and Mettingen differ most is in the level of care lavished on the execution (compare figs. 108 and 109). Indeed, the Mettingen *petit patron* and six of the others related to the *Saint Paul* series are among the most technically sophisticated Netherlandish drawings of the first half of the sixteenth century. Although at first they may not look very different from the two preliminary designs discussed above, in fact these *petits patrons* are much more complex in execution and must have taken the artist considerably more time to make. Coecke seems to have started with an underdrawing in black chalk, which later became almost invisible, either because it was erased or because it was nearly completely covered with other media. As a second phase, Coecke drew the entire composition in most of its details with pen and a fine brush, sometimes applying the pen and brush lines on top of each other, sometimes using them on their own. The brush is mostly employed to fill in details within the main contours of a form, to provide modeling by way of hatching, or to delineate secondary figures and details. If this is the role of a second violin, it is still a more extensive use of the brush's ability to produce supple, soft strokes than found in most drawings by Coecke's contemporaries. Generally they relied more on the pen's incisive lines and used the brush only to add more or less broad washes to their compositions. Coecke seems to have picked up a broader brush only after having finished with the finer one and the pen, now focusing on the repartition of light and shadow and further modeling. Then he must have completed the entire composition with a mocha-colored tone, against which darker pen and brush lines and highlights in white gouache, applied at the final stage, stand out. Relatively little of the paper is left blank, but reserves of space are used to great effect in the modeling of the figures, providing most of the highlights, and they can also be seen in the background skies. Gouache is



Fig. 114. Photomontage of cat. 28, fig. 124, and detail of cat. 29

also used judiciously, either complementing the white of the paper to give an even greater glow to the sky or, when applied more freely, adding an extra layer of vegetation or lending ornamental accents to the costume and hair of some of the figures. The result of Coecke's full array of techniques is a subtle yet unusually rich variation of tone, from the white gouache laid over the off-white of the paper support to the diverse gradations of brown applied with pen and brush. The tones are complemented by the variation of lines, applied with a fine pen and brushes of different thickness, and areas filled in with even washes. The draftsman we encounter in these sheets was a fastidious one, who enjoyed working on these *petits patrons* beyond the point required for their purpose.

Most of the seven *petits patrons* for the *Saint Paul* series are so much alike that they were probably produced as a set. From the sheet in London (cat. 27), it can be deduced that they were all originally about fifty-one centimeters wide, while the drawing in Los Angeles (cat. 30) indicates that their height must have been approximately twenty-nine centimeters. This is three to four centimeters higher than the five other drawings, but these lack the Latin inscription below the image present on the Getty sheet, which they must all have had before they were cropped. The drawing in London still retains traces of Coecke's framing line, below which its now-lost inscription stood. Original framing lines also appear in an eighth finished drawing, in Lübeck (cat. 39), which is related to the tapestry *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa*. The pentimenti in the drapery of Paul and in two of the figures intersected by the column behind the saint—one seated, one standing—make clear that the drawing must have preceded the other, almost identical, version of the composition in Vienna (cat. 40), in which these corrections have been integrated. The dimensions of the Lübeck sheet, which correspond to those of the one in Vienna and the seven others, and its neatness and finish seem to indicate it was at least started as a *petit patron*. Perhaps it can

be assumed that Coecke, while working on it, got inspired to make improvements on the composition's previous iteration (a drawing, or drawings, of the type of the "preliminary designs") and then wished to present this latest version of the composition in flawless form. However, in the case of the drawing of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* in Mettingen (cat. 26), pentimenti, most notably the added trees, seem not to have bothered Coecke—unless, of course, he repeated the composition in a drawing that has not survived.

One more type of drawing must be discussed before the leap from *petit patron* to full-size cartoon can be made. A little-known sheet in Vevey of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* (fig. 110)⁶ corresponds in almost every detail with the *petit patron* of the composition in Munich (cat. 33). Drawn mainly in pen, with some discreet use of wash, the Vevey drawing has been termed the "lesser version."⁷ The drawing in Munich is indeed much more lovingly finished, with the painterly washes, white heightening, and elaborate brushwork described above. However, this should not be taken as meaning that the drawing in Vevey preceded the one in Munich. In fact, the former is more probably an autograph replica, or *ricordo*, made after the latter, serving as an efficient record of the *petit patron*, with the few differences in the composition (a handful of figures missing in the background of the Vevey drawing) and in the detailing of the heads (especially those of Saint Paul and the men at his feet and behind him) due to simplification rather than to fresh inspiration. Although the Vevey drawing is generally well preserved and enough of the accomplished draftsmanship is visible to warrant a full attribution to Coecke, it was sadly disfigured at an unknown date. The composition was gone over in pen and black ink in a particularly insensitive way, an intervention that is hard to explain unless the person responsible thought of it as an improvement.

The making of *ricordi* must have been a more common practice in the past than usually acknowledged. Three of the four known drawings related to Coecke's *Sins* series are *ricordi*, and nonautograph ones at that. When autograph, as in the case of the drawing in Vevey, it is of course difficult to tell a *ricordo* apart from a primary version if the latter is no longer known. When nonautograph, *ricordi* can be difficult to distinguish from ordinary copies, sometimes made outside the artist's workshop or immediate circle, and often of later, or even much later, date. An interesting case is provided by Coecke's *Conversion of Saul*, for which the *petit patron* has survived in London (cat. 27). Two more drawings related to the composition exist: one in Berlin has sometimes been accepted as autograph, but the hesitating penmanship reveals it to be a copy (fig. 111);⁸ another, published here for the first time, is clearly also a copy (fig. 112).⁹ Both drawings follow Coecke's drawing technique, with brushwork used for broad washes as well as finer detailing and hatching. Especially the Berlin drawing imitates Coecke's style so well that it must have been produced in his workshop as a record of the composition. However, minor differences among the three sheets indicate that the two nonautograph versions of the *Conversion* must reflect other (possibly autograph) drawings, which are now lost. That both sheets are of the same size, which is also that of Coecke's preliminary designs discussed earlier, lends support to the argument that they originate from his workshop, or at least faithfully reflect works originating from the workshop. If they can indeed be seen as records of two closely related, relatively finished, and largely identical lost preliminary designs, they also confirm the impression of Coecke as a highly systematic artist and a perfectionist, who was prepared to make several drawings to obtain the result he expected from himself.¹⁰

The function of the *ricordi* would have been varied, with probably little importance attached to the distinction between autograph and nonautograph ones. Although sources are lacking



regarding their use, it can be assumed their first role was that of a “backup.” As the detailed *petits patrons* represented the culmination of a long process, an artist would want to avoid the risk that the result could get lost. The *petits patrons* would be presented to the instigators of the tapestries, who, depending on terms of the contract, may in some cases have been allowed to keep them as an integral part of the commission they were funding. In such a scenario, the *ricordi* would have been the main trace of the finished compositions remaining in the artist’s hands. They could serve at later occasions not only as documentation of a past project but also as the basis of new editions, which could either remain faithful to the original one or, on the contrary, be updated where deemed necessary. An interesting example is found among the drawings for Van Orley’s *Hunts of Maximilian*, for which five autograph *petits patrons* and a complete set of twelve workshop *ricordi* exist.¹¹ For the panel devoted to the month of March, the *petit patron* is in Leiden and the *ricordo* is at the Louvre.¹² The composition includes a detailed view of the imposing ducal palace in Brussels, but while the *petit patron* represents the palace as it existed before 1533, corrections were made to the *ricordo* to reflect changes in the architecture that occurred up until approximately 1555.¹³ As Van Orley died in 1541, the corrections did not originate with him. Although it is not known whether these changes were made in preparation for a new edition of the tapestries, the case illustrates well the value of *ricordi* when the *petit patron* was no longer available or when it was preferred to keep the latter untouched.

Unlike Van Orley, who colored the drawings for at least two of the series he designed (see cat. 3), Coecke does not seem to have applied color to his small-scale drawings for tapestries. Given the highly colorful results toward which tapestry designers worked, this omission could be surprising. Earlier artists, too, had produced colored drawings, such as the so-called Coëtivy Master, active in France about 1465–70, who made some of the oldest surviving northern *petits patrons* that can be related to known tapestries.¹⁴ Coecke is said by Karel van Mander to have been “an accomplished draftsman . . . in watercolor,”¹⁵ and he did use watercolor in his design for a nautilus cup (cat. 15), which probably served as the *modello* for the patron as well as for the goldsmith entrusted with making the cup. We can be certain Coecke played no role in the cup’s execution, which may be exactly why he chose to be more precise regarding color in this case than when he was working on a tapestry project. Indeed, the lack of color indications in his tapestry designs can be taken as a sign that he was closely involved in the production of the *grands patrons*. Most traces of Coecke’s cartoons come, coincidentally, from the *Saint Paul* series: one almost intact cartoon has survived for the *Martyrdom* (cat. 43), as well as two fragments for the *Conversion of Saul* (cat. 28, fig. 124), two for the *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* (cats. 31, 32), and one for *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* (cat. 36). If Coecke was present when these cartoons were painted and even participated in their creation, he could have applied his ideas for the colors directly at that stage. This may have happened by painting the relevant areas, but also by marking these with a letter or word, and leaving the coloring to assistants. Such color indications are indeed found throughout the intact cartoon (see Delmarcel, “The Life of Saint Paul”) and in one of the cartoon fragments (cat. 28).

Although it can be lamented that most of the cartoons after Coecke’s design have been lost, the fact that any fragments remain at all today is exceptional. Hardly any exist for Van Orley’s tapestries, and the only other significant survival from the Netherlands dating before 1550 are the ten cartoons for the *Conquest of Tunis* series in Vienna, produced by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen in collaboration with Coecke (see Buchanan, “The Conquest of Tunis”).¹⁶ Among sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists, only in the case of Coecke do we have the unique opportunity to compare

the tapestries, the cartoon and cartoon fragments, and the corresponding *petits patrons*. Two instructive examples should be discussed briefly here. The two cartoon fragments for the *Conversion of Saul* (cat. 28, fig. 124) relate to the *petit patron* in London discussed above (cat. 27) and depict adjacent parts of the composition (fig. 114). As should be expected, the fragments correspond exactly to the earliest tapestry in Munich (cat. 29). Small differences, however, between the London drawing and the cartoon make it clear that the design evolved even after it seems to have reached the stage of the *petit patron*. These very late alterations are particularly visible in the group of soldiers (fig. 113). For *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*, the cartoon has not been preserved, but for *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra*, a comparison between the *petit patron* in Los Angeles (cat. 30) and the related tapestry (fig. 130) indicates that the cartoon must have been more detailed than the *petit patron*, most notably in the ornamentation of the columns, which are left blank in the drawing. Both examples again strongly suggest that Coecke oversaw and participated in the production of the cartoons himself.

Another indication of Coecke's personal involvement is the high quality of the cartoons, which moreover display the characteristics of Coecke's style from before his voyage to Constantinople. This is especially true for the almost intact *Martyrdom* cartoon (cat. 43) and the two fragments in a private collection (cats. 32, 36), which are less heavily worked up and reveal more clearly the quality of the fluid underdrawing in black chalk. Although it is likely that more than one set of cartoons for the *Saint Paul* series were made to produce the different editions of the tapestries, it should be borne in mind that the original cartoon could also have been reused at a later date, at which time it would have been retouched. Later restorations may also have altered the appearance of some cartoons. At the time the cartoons were made, the designs could be adapted to special requirements of the prospective buyer. This is well illustrated by the drawing in Munich of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* (cat. 33), which shows a wider composition than any of the tapestries of that subject. No doubt, Coecke's original intention as recorded in the drawing is the more harmonious and interesting one, and more in keeping with the composition of most of the other designs for the *Saint Paul* series. Yet the consistency of the cropping of the design in the surviving tapestries suggests that it was modified either before or when the cartoon was made in such a way that all the main narrative elements—the preaching itself and the baptism of Lydia—would fit within the new format's square. Such condensation might fulfill a patron's wish for a panel of lesser width.

The above discussion, although largely based on the works related to the *Saint Paul* series, may be taken to apply to Coecke's method of designing tapestries throughout his career. Of course, every commission could have presented a slightly different situation and slightly different challenges. The design of the *Story of Joshua* series seems to have reached the stage of the *petits patrons* (cats. 55, 57, and 58) when it was decided that they should be adapted. As suggested in my discussion of these drawings, Coecke may have understood, or he may have been told, that his original designs were too ambitious and overestimated the weavers' and the medium's abilities to reproduce the depth and movement evoked in the compositions.

After the *Joshua* series, of which the first woven set was delivered in 1538, very few drawings by Coecke or his circle related to tapestries exist. This could be purely a result of chance, but it could also indicate a shift in Coecke's interests. In the 1540s, his main activity seems to have been focused on the production of books on architecture (cat. 17). For the designing of tapestries, he may have chosen to rely more heavily on his workshop, which would certainly have been possible if it consisted of talented and well-trained assistants. The only autograph drawing related to a known

tapestry that can be dated to the last decade of his life is the sketch mentioned earlier (cat. 63), on which an assistant may have based the *petit patron*, which must have shown the design in much greater detail. The only drawing related to the *Poesia* series, perhaps the most attractive of the late tapestries from Coecke's workshop, may have served as a *petit patron* or a *ricordo* thereof, but it is certainly not an autograph work. Indeed, the rather unimaginative composition of this particular panel suggests Coecke was involved in its making only from afar. He also seems not to have been fully invested in the making of two extant *petits patrons* for monumental windows in Saint Petersburg (cat. 67, fig. 73). This end to Coecke's career as a designer, or at least the impression produced by what is known from this later period, may be somewhat disappointing. But it does not remove anything from the masterly and rich material surviving from the previous decade, which offers such an unparalleled opportunity to fathom the complex process that led to the making of some of the most splendid treasures in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art.



24

24.
*A Horseman Abducting a Woman in a Landscape
 with a Battle*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530
 Pen and brown ink, brown wash; squared for transfer in black chalk
 (laid down)

10³/₈ × 18³/₈ in. (26.5 × 47.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
 At lower right, inscribed *J Con . . . et* in pen and brown-gray ink
 (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting)

Hamburger Kunsthalle (23989)
 See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Although in compromised condition, this drawing is one of the most significant additions to Coecke's oeuvre in recent years. Despite being associated by the nineteenth-century collector Georg Ernst Harzen with Coecke's presumed teacher Bernard van Orley and by the late Eckhard Schaar, until 1997 head of the Hamburg print room, with Coecke himself, it was recently rediscovered by Annemarie Stefes among the Hamburger Kunsthalle's anonymous French drawings.¹ The attribution to Coecke becomes evident in comparing the drawing to some of the designs for the *Life of Saint Paul* series, in which very similar horses and warriors appear, similar women in rich dress, and similar trees overgrown with ivy. The drawing's execution is simpler than that of most of these sheets and closer to those for the *Story of Joshua* and *Seven Deadly Sins* series; but the

comparisons above make clear nonetheless that the Hamburg drawing must date from about the same period as the *Saint Paul* drawings, that is, from about 1530.

Because its size and format correspond to those of the *Saint Paul* designs, there can be little doubt that the drawing also was made as a tapestry design. As long as doubt remains whether the *Story of David* series at the British Museum is by Coecke (see cat. 4), the Hamburg sheet is his only known design for tapestry from before his trip to Constantinople (and, as argued in this catalogue, to Italy) other than the group for the *Saint Paul* set. Whether the series for which the drawing was intended was ever executed is not known; the squaring of the composition suggests that it was enlarged, possibly for a cartoon.

The subject of the composition remains elusive. At center, a knight on horseback abducts a young woman, probably a princess, whom another women tries in vain to rescue; two more companions lament the event at lower left. In the left background, horsemen chase a group of men. At right, a group of cavalymen fight each other; in the background, a few others, apparently dragging prisoners behind them, are headed in the direction of a massive tower or town. The story can be presumed to be taken from ancient history or mythology, but none of the commonly depicted abductions of women—those of Europa, Proserpina, Helen of Troy, or the Sabines—seems to fit the situation depicted by Coecke here.

SA

THE LIFE OF SAINT PAUL

Guy Delmarcel

AMONG THE OUTSTANDING tapestry series of the southern Netherlandish Renaissance is the *Life of Saint Paul* attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.¹ This was perhaps the first of Coecke's monumental tapestry series. Attribution to Coecke is confirmed by the corpus of preserved preparatory drawings for the *Saint Paul* series, alongside stylistic comparison with his better-documented works. Ultimately, the series illustrated the story of Saint Paul in nine main episodes, following the narrative in the biblical Acts of the Apostles: (1) the Stoning of Saint Stephen (cats. 25, 26); (2) the Conversion of Saul (cats. 27–29); (3) Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra (cats. 30–32); (4) Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi (cats. 33, 34); (5) Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books (cats. 35–37); (6) Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem (cat. 38); (7) Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa (cats. 39, 40); (8) Saint Paul on the Island of Malta (cat. 41); and (9) the Martyrdom of Saint Paul (cats. 42–44). There is evidence that the series was woven nine times during the sixteenth century; six sets survive, at least in part. Not one of these sets has a clear enough pedigree to make definitive dating possible, but through mentions in archival documents, stylistic analysis, and reconstruction of individual sets, we can draw some conclusions.

Iconography and Design

Although Coecke is not named in contemporary documents as the designer of the *Life of Saint Paul* tapestry series, the general execution of the compositions and the figures unquestionably points to his very specific style. The idiosyncrasies of his figures show emotive, sometimes even tormented, characters, with exceptionally long necks and distorted attitudes. These figures face each other almost as if they were dancing, with streaming locks of hair and sometimes rather unrealistically draped clothing. The composition of the Conversion of Saul in grisaille on the outside of the wings of the *Descent from the Cross* triptych in Lisbon (cat. 22), a better-documented work, is directly related to the drawn preliminary design (cat. 27) for the tapestry of the *Conversion*, which again supports attribution of this and of the other tapestries in the *Saint Paul* series to Coecke. In addition, Coecke's handwriting can be recognized on a preparatory drawing for *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* in Los Angeles (cat. 30), and his name appears, although perhaps noted by a different hand, on a preliminary drawing for *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* in Vienna (cat. 40).

Conceived about 1530, Coecke's project for a tapestry series devoted to the apostle Paul must inevitably have invited parallels and competition with the then most famous tapestry series of the Italian Renaissance, the ten tapestries of the *Acts of the Apostles*, commissioned by Pope Leo X, designed by Raphael and his studio, and woven in Brussels between 1516 and 1521 for the adornment of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.² Four of the ten subjects were specifically devoted to Saint Paul.³ After Raphael's *Acts* were woven, the original cartoons were probably sent back to Italy, but copies were kept in Brussels and were reset on the looms for generations to come. Coecke was clearly inspired by various elements in this series. The main scene of *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* (fig. 116) was inspired by Raphael's *Conversion of the Proconsul* (fig. 115), but with the whole composition turned forty-five degrees to the left.⁴ The attitudes of both King Agrippa and Festus are reminiscent of the gesture of the outstretched arm of Sergius Paulus and the man next to him in the *Acts* tapestry. Here Agrippa is also enthroned in front of a niche. Paul himself, standing on the lower step of the open loggia, stretches out his arms as he does in Raphael's tapestry of *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* (fig. 117).⁵ Even the lictor, seated in front with his legs crossed, is reminiscent of the lame cripple in the foreground of Raphael's *Healing of the Lame Man*. Comparable influences can be noted in other tapestries in the *Life of Saint Paul*. In the *Stoning of Stephen* (see cats. 25, 26, fig. 122), the man holding a stone at the left in the tapestry behind Stephen resembles the executioners in the same scene of Raphael's *Acts* series, in which the figure at the left also hides his face behind his arm.⁶ The figure of God appearing in the clouds in the *Conversion of Saul* (cat. 29) relies on Raphael's similar tapestry (fig. 118) as well as on his *Vision of Ezekiel* tapestry (fig. 7), while Saul's distorted pose seems to cite Raphael's fallen Ananias in the *Acts* tapestry. Coecke also shows awareness of more recent tapestry designs coming from Italy; for example, the helmeted horseman on the rearing horse at the right of the drawing, seen from behind, in his *Conversion of Saul* is a variant of the mounted Scipio in the *Battle of Baecula* in the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* series, often attributed to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni and perhaps designed as early as 1523 (fig. 119).⁷

Four of the nine episodes in Coecke's *Saint Paul* series display open-air scenes sustained by impressive buildings. *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* (cat. 37) takes place in front of the temple of Diana in Ephesus, and *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* (cat. 30) at the temple of Jupiter there. Two other scenes, *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* (cat. 38) and *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* (cats. 39, 40), are located in open loggias. All these buildings reflect a very clear knowledge of antique architecture with its balance and symmetry. The candelabrum ornaments at the inferior part of the columns of the *Sacrifice at Lystra* (see fig. 120) belong to the common grammar spread by Italian examples, and the vine in spiraling around the columns in *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* may refer to the Solomonic columns in Raphael's *Healing of the Lame Man* tapestry in the *Acts* series. One of the most notable features of *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* is the shape and position of the loggia, most complete in the tapestry version now in Detroit (fig. 116), under which the Roman governors are listening to the apostle. The angular perspective according to which the building is worked out is absolutely unique on such a scale in southern Netherlandish Renaissance tapestry. It is not surprising, however, to find this in a work designed by Coecke given his later work translating and publishing the architectural treatises by Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio (cat. 17).⁸ Although Coecke did not publish these works until almost a decade after he designed the *Saint Paul* series, his interest in classical architecture could have started much earlier: editions of works by Vitruvius had been available since the end of the previous century, and Cesare Cesariano's 1521 Italian translation of Vitruvius's *De Architectura* incorporated no fewer than 124 plates, including illustrations



Fig. 115. *Conversion of the Proconsul* from the *Acts of the Apostles*. Cartoon for the tapestry by Raphael and workshop, 1515–16. Body color on paper mounted on canvas, 11 ft. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times 14 ft. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (342 \times 446 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, on loan from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 912948)

of plinths or altars shown in angular perspective.⁹ The altar motif was also picked up by Raphael on a small scale in his *Sacrifice at Lystra* tapestry in the *Acts*. A similar small altar is in *Saint Paul in Front of the Altar of an Unknown God*, made about 1530 by another important Renaissance painter in the Low Countries, Lambert Lombard (1506–1566).¹⁰ Coecke himself would later return to this motif in his tapestry of *Joshua's Last Speech to the Israelites at Sichem* now in Vienna (fig. 162).¹¹

Dating

If attribution of the *Life of Saint Paul* series to Pieter Coecke van Aelst is generally accepted, there is considerably less agreement on the date he commenced these designs. Traditionally, that has been given as after 1533.¹² That year Coecke undertook his journey to Constantinople, from which he brought back drawings later worked up into the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* woodcut frieze (cat. 45). His experiences in Turkey, and this record of them, have conventionally been cited as explanations of the presence in the *Saint Paul* tapestries of several figures depicted in oriental style.¹³ However, it has convincingly been shown that the artistic genesis of the series should be situated earlier, about 1529–30: the earliest mention of a completed tapestry weaving of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* series is found in records of Francis I, king of France, who in January 1533 had already paid the dealer Joris Vezeleer for a *Saint Paul* set.¹⁴ Although this was a seven-piece set, not a nine-piece set, the subjects and dimensions match those of the surviving tapestries from designs by Coecke.¹⁵



Fig. 116. *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Jan van der Vyst, Brussels, probably before 1546. Wool and silk, 13 ft. 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times 23 ft. 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (413 \times 718 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts (24.29)

Genesis of the Series and Chronology of the Sets

Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* was woven multiple times. At least nine sixteenth-century editions can be traced either from surviving works or from documentary references. These nine sets fall into two distinct groups, or generations, of weavings. The initial chronology of the weavings is hard, if not impossible, to establish. Few secure data are known for the preserved sets.

The first documented set, the one delivered to Francis I in 1533, was burned in 1797. From inventories of the French royal collection, it can be ascertained that this set was woven in wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, and included only seven pieces: it did not include *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*.

The earliest recorded reference to the second known weaving, which partially survives in Madrid (see cat. 44), is in the 1558 inventory of the possessions of Mary of Hungary. This set passed to her niece Joanna of Austria and subsequently into the Spanish royal collection. Like Francis I's set, it was described as a seven-piece set and excluded the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*.¹⁶ Only five of the seven pieces are preserved; the two that are lost are the *Conversion of Saul* and *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra*.¹⁷ This set was woven with wool and silk.

The third edition survives in part in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. It was woven with wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads (see cat. 34). Mentioned in inventories of the collection of the dukes of Lorraine from 1575 and 1606 onward, it was also a seven-piece set (of which



Fig. 117. *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* from the *Acts of the Apostles*. Designed by Raphael, 1515–16. Tapestry woven under the direction of Pieter van Edingen, called van Aelst, Brussels, between 1516 and 1521. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 16 ft. 4½ in. × 17 ft. 6½ in. (498 × 535 cm). Vatican Museums, Vatican City (43876)

four tapestries are extant). With border styles dating to the 1530s, this set may have reached the Lorraine collection for the 1541 marriage of Francis of Lorraine and Christine of Denmark, niece of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.¹⁸ More certainly, the set subsequently entered the Habsburg collection in Vienna following the marriage of Archduchess Maria Theresa and Francis I Stephen of Lorraine (d. 1765). The seven subjects were not identified in the Lorraine inventory, but it is likely that they corresponded to those of the editions belonging to Francis I and Mary of Hungary. The sets in Madrid and Vienna bear an apparently identical monogram, a letter P in an O. We have attributed it, hypothetically, to Paulus van Oppenem, whose activity in Brussels is documented in 1510 and 1529. This mark can also be found on a *Life of Moses* now in Châteaudun, woven about 1545 by Willem Dermoyen, with Van Oppenem acting as subcontractor.¹⁹

By this circumstantial evidence one may presume that the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* were designed later, in a second stage of creation. However, as far as we know them from the sets in which they were included, they do not present



Fig. 118. *Conversion of Saul* from the *Acts of the Apostles*. Designed by Raphael, 1515–16. Tapestry woven under the direction of Pieter van Edingen, called van Aelst, Brussels, between 1516 and 1521. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times 17 ft. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (464 \times 533 cm). Vatican Museums, Vatican City (43872)

obvious stylistic differences from the seven first subjects. The fourth documented weaving of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul*, and the earliest to include nine tapestries, was the set (since lost) delivered to Henry VIII, king of England, sometime between September 1538 and September 1539; it was woven with wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads.²⁰

A further set, probably originally including nine pieces, survives in part; it was woven in wool and silk. Over the centuries, this *Saint Paul* set was dispersed among several collections, with tapestries discarded or lost, but it can be reconstructed based on identical borders and equivalent height measurements: *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* in the Kurhessische Stiftung, formerly in Schloss Friedrichshof, Kronberg (near Kassel), and now in Schloss Fasanerie, Fulda (fig. 120); *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. 37), *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* belonging to the KBC Bank, Belgium (cat. 38), and *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* at the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 116).²¹ Of these four tapestries, only *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* bears a workshop mark. It most

likely belonged to a little-known Brussels weaver named Jan van der Vyst, who can be associated with this mark based on a document dating to 1562.²² The same mark appears on the *Grotesque Months* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), a series made about 1550 for which Van der Vyst acted as a subcontractor for another Brussels weaver, Cornelis de Ronde.²³

These dispersed pieces now in Fulda, Boston, the KBC Bank, and Detroit might have belonged to either the fifth or the sixth sets recorded in documents. Henry VIII acquired an additional nine-piece *Life of Saint Paul* sometime between September 1545 and September 1546; it was woven with wool and silk. Possibly the dispersed *Saint Paul* set belonged to the Royal Collection, since the piece in Schloss Fasanerie might have been brought over by Empress Friedrich III, Queen Victoria's oldest daughter.²⁴ However, it is perhaps even more likely that the dispersed set belonged to a different nine-piece edition, with an Italian provenance, described in 1603 in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Pope Clement VIII. According to research currently under way by Florence Patrizi, Aldobrandini's set passed to his nephew Cardinal Ippolito in 1638, later entering the collections of the Pamphilj family, to which it belonged in 1747, subsequently passing to the Doria family. By 1876, the last general inventory of the Doria family's possessions recorded only four surviving pieces from this *Life of Saint Paul* set. Their subjects as well as their dimensions are identical to the four existing tapestries of this group.²⁵ They may have passed into the art market in later years, for the tapestries now in Boston and Detroit were in an Austrian collection in 1924, and the Kurhessische Stiftung's tapestry reached the Schloss Friedrichshof before 1895.²⁶

With these early *Saint Paul* editions in Madrid, in Vienna, and the dispersed set, as with other southern Netherlandish tapestries from the early Renaissance, the richly decorated borders are as striking as the draftsmanship and the splendor of the figures in the main pictorial scene. All three editions are defined by wide frames, bordered on each side by an outline suggesting masonry flanking a scaly cylindrical column, perhaps the trunk of a palm tree, forming the core of a rich display of vegetation with clusters of flowers and fruit. Birds and naked cherubs clamber along the trunks and among the clusters. In the top border, cartouches containing explanatory texts in Latin are set in the floral decoration. These arrangements are typical of many large tapestry series originating in Brussels between 1530 and 1540.²⁷ The borders of these editions are very similar; indeed, they share certain putti figure groups, though they are not identical. The dispersed set, for example, stands out with its wealth of motifs, with cherubs both in the lateral and horizontal borders, and the cartouches are seemingly suspended from masonry frames by fine ribbons. The *Saint Paul* sets in Madrid and Vienna have such figures only in the lower border, more typical of other series designed by Pieter Coecke, such as Mary of Hungary's *Seven Deadly Sins* (Patrimonio Nacional; see cat. 47) and the *Story of Joshua* (cats. 54, 56, and 59).

A seventh edition of the *Life of Saint Paul*, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (cat. 29), is the only surviving nine-piece set that is complete. An eighth edition partially survives in the Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo.²⁸ Both these sets share identical borders that are strikingly different from those of the earlier editions. Much wider and more ornate, these borders are characterized by medallions with scenes from Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalypse* and small pergolas with figures of gods set among clusters of flowers.²⁹ Although the borders are so much wider than those of the earlier editions, the total average height of the tapestries is the same as that of the previous sets (about 420 cm), implying that the heights of the central compositions were reduced; a close look at particular tapestries (see cats. 29, 34, and 44) indeed reveals that Coecke's scenes were compacted and the figures' positions amended to compress the compositions. In addition, the *Saint Paul* set in Munich can be paired with a set of the *Planets*, of a design attributed to Michiel



Fig. 119. *Battle of Baecula* from the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio*. Designed by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni, between 1523 and 1532. Tapestry woven under the direction of Lacroix, Manufacture Royale des Gobelins, Paris, between 1688 and 1689. Wool and silk, 14 ft. 3¼ in. × 21 ft. ¾ in. (435 × 642 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA5388)

Coxcie and also in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, that shares the same proportions and identical borders. These *Saint Paul* and *Planets* sets in Munich seem to have been treated as a pair from their time of weaving and can be traced back to Duke Albert V of Bavaria. According to documentary sources, on October 6, 1563, Tommaso Baroncelli wrote from Antwerp to his master Ottavio Farnese that the German banker “Giovanni” (Hans) Fugger was offering for sale at his Antwerp branch two tapestry sets woven with gold, silver, and silk, one depicting the *Life of Saint Paul* and the other the *Seven Planets*.³⁰ Farnese was contemplating acquiring some southern Netherlandish tapestries, but according to Baroncelli in a letter of March 11, 1564, to him, he opted not to purchase these two sets.³¹ Four weeks later, on April 8, 1564, the two sets were mentioned again in a letter sent from Antwerp, this time by Christoph Friesinger to Emperor Maximilian II, listing tapestries available in Antwerp. The area of the nine *Saint Paul* tapestries measured 550 ells and that of the *Planets*, 346.5 ells.³² Maximilian, too, apparently did not buy any of these sets, as both appeared again, with identical measurements, in the inventory of Hans Fugger in Antwerp, assembled on June 27, 1565.³³ According to ongoing research by Iain Buchanan, the inventory was made after the death of Hans Fugger vom Reh, son of Gastel Fugger. From as early as 1538, he was acting for the Augsburg Fuggers in Antwerp. Moreover, Fugger owned not only the tapestries but also six cartoons of the *Planets* set, and his inventory also mentioned documents relating to expenses incurred for the weaving of both sets.³⁴ Duke Albert V of Bavaria must have acquired both sets after June 1565 and before 1571, when the *Planets* set was mentioned in his inventory.³⁵ During the same period, the duke also ordered the *Labors of Hercules* from designs by Frans Floris in Antwerp.³⁶

The sets in Munich and in Toledo both include a monogram that very probably indicates production under the same master weaver. This mark, also occurring on a set of the *Life of Venus* designed in the style of Bernard van Orley and in the Patrimonio Nacional,³⁷ probably belonged to

Frans van den Bossche, who was active in Brussels before he settled in Tours in 1575 where he was known as François Dubois. The mark appears on a receipt he signed in his adopted country.³⁸ Moreover, three of the Toledo pieces bear a rare city mark of Antwerp, where the Fugger bank was storing the cartoons; this suggests that Van den Bossche had a workshop or a subcontractor there.³⁹ The borders on the Munich and Toledo sets pertain stylistically to the second half of the sixteenth century, and they appear on two other series of the period, namely the *Labors of Hercules* (Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels) and three pieces from a probably larger *Life of Jacob* (Fundación Selgas-Fagalde, Cudillero, Asturias), both sets of which bear a monogram convincingly attributed to the Brussels manufacturer Frans Schavaert (act. ca. 1550–70).⁴⁰

A ninth edition of the *Life of Saint Paul*, woven in wool and silk, preserved in a very fragmentary state, and recently published, is in the Schlossmuseum Arnstadt. Fragments of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen*, the *Conversion of Saul* (fig. 121), *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi*, and *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* are the remnants of a set of nine that was acquired in Antwerp in 1559 by Günter XLI, count of Schwarzburg, from the well-known merchant and Coecke's frequent collaborator Pieter van de Walle.⁴¹ The tapestries are deprived of their borders, which condition precludes definite association with the *Life of Saint Paul* sets with 1530s borders or those with 1560s borders.⁴²

We may conclude that the preserved sets were woven over at least two generations: the first in the 1530s, exemplified by the lost sets of Francis I and Henry VIII and the surviving sets in Madrid, Vienna, and the dispersed locations; the second, in the 1560s and perhaps earlier, exemplified by the sets in Munich and Toledo. It has been established that the surviving sets of the *Saint Paul* series bear the monograms of at least three different weavers, who are all so far poorly documented and of whose products only a few have survived. We are left with the impression that the original cartoons, most of which are now lost, either circulated for a short time among multiple workshops or were controlled in a kind of joint venture. Joris Vezeleer could have ordered the original cartoons, as he sold the first documented edition to Francis I in 1533; another possibility is Pieter van de Walle, who provided the set to Günther of Schwarzburg in 1559. Alternatively, since the Fugger bankers owned cartoons as well as an edition of the series in Antwerp in 1565, it is credible that they initially ordered the cartoons from Coecke, conceiving the series as a speculative venture to be sold to European courts and nobles of the time. Yet another possibility, as Elizabeth Cleland argues (cat. 29), is that the Fuggers' cartoons could have been a second (or even a third) set, with compressed designs and widened borders, possibly not made until after Coecke's death.

The largest tapestries in the series contain three inscriptions in the upper border, which correspond to three episodes below, the two at left and right being relegated to the background but still clearly visible. This arrangement is related to a tradition in tapestry design since the first third of the century, notable, for example, in the *Triumphs of Petrarch* and Bernard van Orley's *Los Honores*, and it would have seemed rather archaic by the time Coecke designed the *Saint Paul* series about 1530 and certainly by the second generation of weavings in the 1560s.⁴³ The cartoons of the first generation of weavings (Madrid, Vienna, the dispersed set) were clearly shared among successive workshops, and it is apparent that the border inscriptions were also transmitted: most texts on these oldest editions are identical, with some minor exceptions and variants. They follow the biblical texts from the book of Acts quite closely. The inscriptions on the second generation of weavings (Munich and Toledo), for their part, contain more divergences and are less accurate. For example, in *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra*, the stoning of Saint Paul is mentioned on the right, over its representation, in the Fulda piece from the first generation's dispersed set, whereas



Fig. 120. *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Jan van der Vyst, probably before 1546. Wool and silk, 13 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 22 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (425 \times 680 cm). Schloss Fasanerie, Fulda (Kurhessische Stiftung)

in the second generation's Munich version it is given on the left, out of chronological sequence, and on the right over the stoning scene the inscription is repeated from the *Stoning of Saint Stephen*. In their center inscriptions, the tapestry in Fulda follows the narrative of Acts 14:10–12 quite faithfully (*Lystrii viro miraculo arbitantes Paulum ac Barnabam deos esse eisdem sacrificaturi hostias immolari parant*; “Witnessing the man miraculously healed, the Lystrians thought Paul and Barnabas were gods and they prepared to sacrifice animals to them”), whereas the tapestry in Munich is more general (*Iovis sacerdos a Paulo carpitur quod sacrificare vellet tauros cum populis*; “The priest of Jupiter is attacked by Paul because, together with the people, he wanted to sacrifice bulls”). In *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*, the piece in Boston from the dispersed set mentions on the left “twelve men of Ephesus” (*XII viri ephesii*), in accordance with Acts 19:6–7, and on the right it refers to the young man fallen from the window as Eutychus (*adolescens eutiique*); these details are omitted in the Munich version.

The success of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* in later times is difficult to gauge, since it is sometimes hard to determine whether an archival mention of a *Saint Paul* set refers to the Coecke design or to Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, in which scenes of Paul's life play a prominent role. Cardinal Mazarin, one of the greatest collectors of the seventeenth century, apparently owned a sixteenth-century Brussels-woven edition of Coecke's series, made with gold and silver, ornamented by a floral border with inscriptions in cartouches at the top. He also ordered another set, designated as “Saint Paul neuf” in his inventories, woven from 1639 onward in the Parisian workshop of Jean Lefebvre,

who lived in the Galeries du Louvre. This set, now lost, was very probably copied from the older southern Netherlandish one.⁴⁴ Another *Life of Saint Paul* set was woven in Nancy by the southern Netherlandish émigré weaver Bernard van der Hameyden from 1616 onward, but it too has apparently been lost.⁴⁵ Cartoons after Coecke's designs were still circulating in Brussels in the early seventeenth century and were used in part in a set of the *Acts of the Apostles*, issued from the manufactories of Jan Raes the Elder (1574–1651) and Jacob Geubels the Younger. In this set the Raphaelesque models were complemented by Coecke's *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*, divided into two panels, and the left part of *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem*.⁴⁶ Geubels produced at least one set based on Coecke's designs, but with the empty spaces on the floor totally filled with small plants. The border type refers to a typical late sixteenth-century style, ornamented with allegorical figures in aediculae, interrupted by bunches of flowers.⁴⁷ Much better cartoons were put on the loom, at least once, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Two of these, the *Conversion of Saul* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*, with matching borders and the signatures of Brussels weavers Albert Auwercx (d. 1709) and Guillaume van Leefdael (d. 1688), were formerly at Callaly Castle, Alnwick, Northumberland. Two others, fragmentary compositions of *Saint Paul on the Island of Malta* and *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* bearing the signature of Guillaume van Leefdael, belong now to the Kulturstiftung des Hauses Hessen, Eichenzell.⁴⁸ A notarial act dated August 26, 1678, mentions collaboration of Auwercx, Van Leefdael, and Jan Leyniers the Younger for the production of a *Saint Paul* set.⁴⁹ In the inventory of Albert Auwercx's estate, drawn up in 1714, the *Saint Paul* cartoons are mentioned, and his son Philippe owned one-third of them. This set of cartoons must still have comprised all nine pieces, since that number of cartoons, painted on paper with body painting, subsequently came into Philippe's possession and were cited in his own posthumous inventory of April 25, 1740.⁵⁰ The only cartoon surviving nearly intact from the series, the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*, preserved in the Museum of the City of Brussels, very probably belonged to this group (see cat. 43). Painted with charcoal and body color on paper, it incorporates written instructions for the colors and is now recognized as by Coecke's own hand. Of the thousands of tapestry cartoons painted in Brussels over the centuries and subsequently used in manufacture, this is the only one still surviving in the country of its origin.⁵¹

In addition to these southern Netherlandish weavings, a tapestry with *Saint Paul on the Island of Malta*, woven to Coecke's design, is preserved in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. It bears the coat of arms of Andrzej Chryzostom Zaluski (1650–1711; bishop, 1683) and faithfully reproduces the original sixteenth-century composition. The grotesques in the border design as well as the overall color scheme, for their part, are quite uncommon among southern Netherlandish tapestries, and no other piece of this set has yet come to light.⁵²

That no fewer than six sets of this series have survived, with a further three documented editions lost, woven over a period of some thirty years through the 1530s to the 1560s, points to a contemporary popularity that should not be underestimated. In the period of the advancing Reformation, the life of Saint Paul, as described in the Acts of the Apostles and his Epistles, was a very popular subject among the Protestants. It is known, for instance, that in Naumburg in 1520, under the Lutheran government, an altar was overpainted by Georg Lemberger with a picture of the Conversion of Saul.⁵³ In 1568, Maerten de Vos executed a cycle of five paintings for the dining room of the wealthy Antwerp merchant Gillis Hooftman, who sympathized with Calvinism; the three of these that survive repeat themes from the Coecke series, namely *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (private collection), the *Burning of the Books in Ephesus* (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels), and the *Shipwreck in Malta* (Musée du Louvre, Paris).⁵⁴ Paul could serve as a model and



Fig. 121. *Conversion of Saul* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry woven in an unknown workshop, Brussels or Antwerp, before 1559. Wool and silk, 9 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 12 ft. 8 in. (300 \times 386 cm). Schlossmuseum, Arnstadt (G09)

inspiration for preaching the true faith to the heathens. Henry VIII of England had particular reasons for his interest in Saint Paul. As Thomas Campbell has put it: “With the repudiation of the papacy and the institution in 1534 of the Act of Supremacy, Saint Paul became an especially resonant figure for English Reformers because he provided an alternative to Petrine authority. Similarly, Paul’s teaching that we must render to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s was a crucial dictum in Henry’s efforts to reject papal jurisdiction.”⁵⁵ But since the Roman Church also claimed to represent the true faith, we also find *Saint Paul* sets owned by Catholic royals such as Francis I and Mary of Hungary. Like so many other series in which the lives of biblical characters were portrayed — such as Abraham, Jacob, Tobias, and Samson — the life of Paul, too, was perhaps a popular subject for the medium of tapestry precisely because there was a wealthy clientele for it on both sides of the religious divide. Only one other design for a tapestry *Life of Saint Paul* can be mentioned for the sixteenth century, namely the series of the *Lives of Saints Peter and Paul*, designed by Pieter de Kempeneer, alias Pedro de Campaña, and woven in Brussels by Frans Ghieteels between 1563 and 1567 for the Abbey of Saint Peter in Ghent. Three of the five tapestries related to Saint Paul illustrate scenes similar to those of Coecke’s (*Conversion of Saul*, *Saint Paul on the Island of Malta*, and *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*) but were designed with completely different compositions and in a very dissimilar style.⁵⁶ With this single exception, Coecke’s *Life of Saint Paul* shared the distinction with Raphael’s *Acts of the Apostles* of dominating the production of subsequent southern Netherlandish tapestries on this theme.

25.

The Stoning of Saint Stephen

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30, retouched by Peter Paul Rubens,
ca. 1609–10

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash, retouched with white and
light brown gouache and brush and brown-gray ink
5¾ × 10⅜ in. (14.6 × 26.4 cm)

Watermark: none

Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. At lower right,
the collector's mark of the marquis de Lagoy (Lugt 1710); to the right,
inscribed 39 in pen and brown ink (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century
handwriting). Verso: at upper right, inscribed vertically *Altorf* in graphite
(nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *vgl. Bild von*
Giulio Romano in graphite (twentieth-century handwriting)

Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (AE 376)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

26.

The Stoning of Saint Stephen

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen in two shades of brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened and
corrected with white gouache, over black chalk (laid down)
10¼ × 19⅝ in. (26 × 49.7 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

Verso of the secondary support, twice the collector's mark of Thomas
Parry Jones-Parry as *T.P. Jones-Parry* and *Llwyn ONN* in an oval, stamped
in purple (not in Lugt)

Draiflessen Collection (Liberna), Mettingen (D 70)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

The proper subject of the episode illustrated in the first panel of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* series, in its nine-part iteration, is not Saint Paul, who is included only peripherally in the scene as the child Saul, seated in a lower corner. The perpetrators of the cruel act represented at center have strewn their clothes at his feet (Acts 8:1). The victim of their violence and subject of the panel, who is simultaneously seen as the man being cast out of Jerusalem in the right middle ground, is Saint Stephen, one of the early deacons of Christianity, as well as its first martyr.¹ Charged with speaking "blasphemy against Moses and against God" (Acts 6:11), Stephen was stoned by his accusers. Saul, although a bystander, is described by the Bible as "consenting to his death" (Acts 7:59). Two preceding episodes from Stephen's story can be identified in the background of both drawings discussed here: at left, his accusers have "stirred up the people, and the ancients, and the scribes" and have arrested Stephen (Acts 6:12); at right of center, in a loggia before a tower-like building, he is brought before the Sanhedrin and formally accused, while everyone who looks at him sees "his face as if it had been the face of an angel" (Acts 6:15). In addition, the version of the composition in Darmstadt (cat. 25) shows two figures in the clouds at upper right, perhaps in reference to the Bible passage where it is said that Stephen, just before being stoned, "being

full of the Holy Ghost, looking up steadfastly to heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God" (Acts 7:55).

A comparison between the two drawings under discussion is most instructive, as it presents a probably unique instance in Coecke's body of works of the survival of the drawing that may have served as the *petit patron* of a composition, as well as a less finished version belonging to a preliminary stage (see Alsteens, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"). By coincidence, the latter, in Darmstadt, is quite well known, while the former, the magnificent sheet now in Mettingen, is largely unknown. Although it is tempting to consider the Darmstadt drawing a "first sketch," it is more likely to be the result of a series of preceding sketches, now lost, some of which may have focused on certain figures or groups of figures.² Far removed from the sophisticated technique of the Mettingen version and other drawings identified as *petits patrons* for the *Saint Paul* series, the use of media in the Darmstadt drawing is nonetheless more refined than may initially be apparent. A first layer of the pen work seems to have been strengthened with a slightly darker ink at a second stage, and in several areas, Coecke used a brush to apply ink not only in broad washes but also in individual strokes.

Originally the drawing in Darmstadt must have looked similar in its degree of finish to a second drawing in Mettingen, representing Paul's landing on Malta (cat. 41); the two works also share a size smaller than that of any other autograph sheet related to the *Saint Paul* series.³ Later some very subtle additions were made to the Darmstadt sheet — as far as I can see, only in brush and ink and white gouache, not in pen — by Peter Paul Rubens, who had the habit of improving on many of the drawings in his collection. Rubens's reworking of the sheet, first recognized by Michael Jaffé in the 1960s,⁴ and accepted by most authors since, can be read as a Baroque critique of Coecke's mannerisms. The flat right foot and the dance-like pose of the man at right behind Stephen were made to look more stable. Originally his pose must have looked as we see it in the more finished version in Mettingen and in the tapestry. Of the legs of the two overlapping figures at the left behind the saint, the central two were retained by Rubens, but their small, flat feet were enlarged. The outer leg of the figure at the front was erased with gouache, whereas Rubens left the outer leg of the back figure untouched, giving rise to what looks like one figure with two upper bodies and three legs. In reworking the two stone throwers seen from the back in the foreground, and especially the one at right, Rubens used white gouache and minimal, supple brushwork to add plasticity and weight to the elastic actors of Coecke's sketch.

There are relatively few differences in the composition between the Darmstadt and Mettingen versions of the Stoning of Saint Stephen, even in the architectural backdrop: the Mettingen *petit patron* has three additional figures in the crowd at



25



26

left and, more noticeably, four lush trees. These set a stage for Stephen's martyrdom almost as intimate as the one invented by Coecke for Paul's preaching at Philippi (cats. 33, 34). In the *petit patron*, the composition is slightly extended at left, which

Coecke seems to have indicated with a vertical line running the entire height of the sheet. The only surviving tapestry generally corresponds to the *petit patron*, although there are many differences in the details (fig. 122).⁵ Rather than to changes



Fig. 122. *The Stoning of Saint Stephen* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 24 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (420 \times 740 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T 71/8)

made by Coecke himself in his composition, these may be due, at least in part, to the fact that the hanging belongs to a second-generation weaving not recorded before 1564 (see Delmarcel, “The Life of Saint Paul”), which was made from a cartoon that was perhaps somewhat corrupted. It has been pointed out that Coecke’s composition — especially in the agitated movement of the witnesses surrounding Stephen and his position in the central foreground — is reminiscent of a cartoon made by Giulio Romano about 1520–21 (fig. 123).⁶ However, it cannot readily be explained how Coecke would have known Giulio’s composition. Certainly, the presence of several turbaned men in Coecke’s design can be dismissed as grounds for dating the drawing and the *Saint Paul* series after his 1533 trip to Constantinople, though it has repeatedly been used in this way (see Delmarcel, “The Life of Saint Paul”).⁷ In fact, the turbans in the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and some of the other designs of the *Saint Paul* series are distinctly fanciful compared with the simpler and more realistic ones seen in Coecke’s record of his trip, the woodcut *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*, and in certain of the later drawings (cat. 45).⁸ Given the violence of the subject and the general composition, the opening of the series with the Stoning of Stephen as witnessed by Saul prefigures its conclusion with the latter’s own martyrdom.⁹

SA



Fig. 123. *The Stoning of Saint Stephen*. Giulio Romano, 1520–21. Charcoal and black chalk on paper, mounted on canvas, 13 ft. 6 in. \times 9 ft. 4 in. (411 \times 285 cm). Vatican Museums, Vatican City (40753)

27.

The Conversion of Saul

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache; below, framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist

10³/₈ × 20³/₈ in. (26.3 × 51.9 cm)

Watermark: none visible

Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Dyce 190)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

28.

Horse's Head from The Conversion of Saul

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530

Brush drawing in brown ink with distemper, over black chalk pricked for transfer

14⁵/₈ × 12³/₄ in. (37 × 32.5 cm)

British Museum, London (1887-6-13-64)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

29.

The Conversion of Saul

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

13 ft. 10⁵/₈ in. × 24 ft. 6⁵/₈ in. (423 × 748 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark probably of Frans van den Bossche on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, PAVLVS ACCEPTIS A PRI[N]CIPE SACER / DOTV[M] LITERIS, PERCIT DAMASCV[M] // SAVLVS SVBITO COELESTIS LVCIS FVLGORE I[N] TERRA[M] COLLAPSVS / AVDIT HESV[M] DICE[N] T E[IS] SIBI, SAVLE, QVID ME PERSEQVERIS // PAVLVS NOCTV PER MVRV[M] SPORTA / DEMISSVS, I[N]SIDIAS TVTVS EVADIT

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T 3844.1)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

Saul's vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus and his subsequent conversion to Christianity constitute perhaps the most important moment in the narrative of his life. Certainly, this cataclysmic transformation from a Roman citizen named Saul to the Christian Paul, about to join the ranks of apostles, afforded Coecke, designer of the *Life of Saint Paul*, the greatest opportunity for drama. This is the second episode in Coecke's ultimately nine-piece series of tapestries although, as



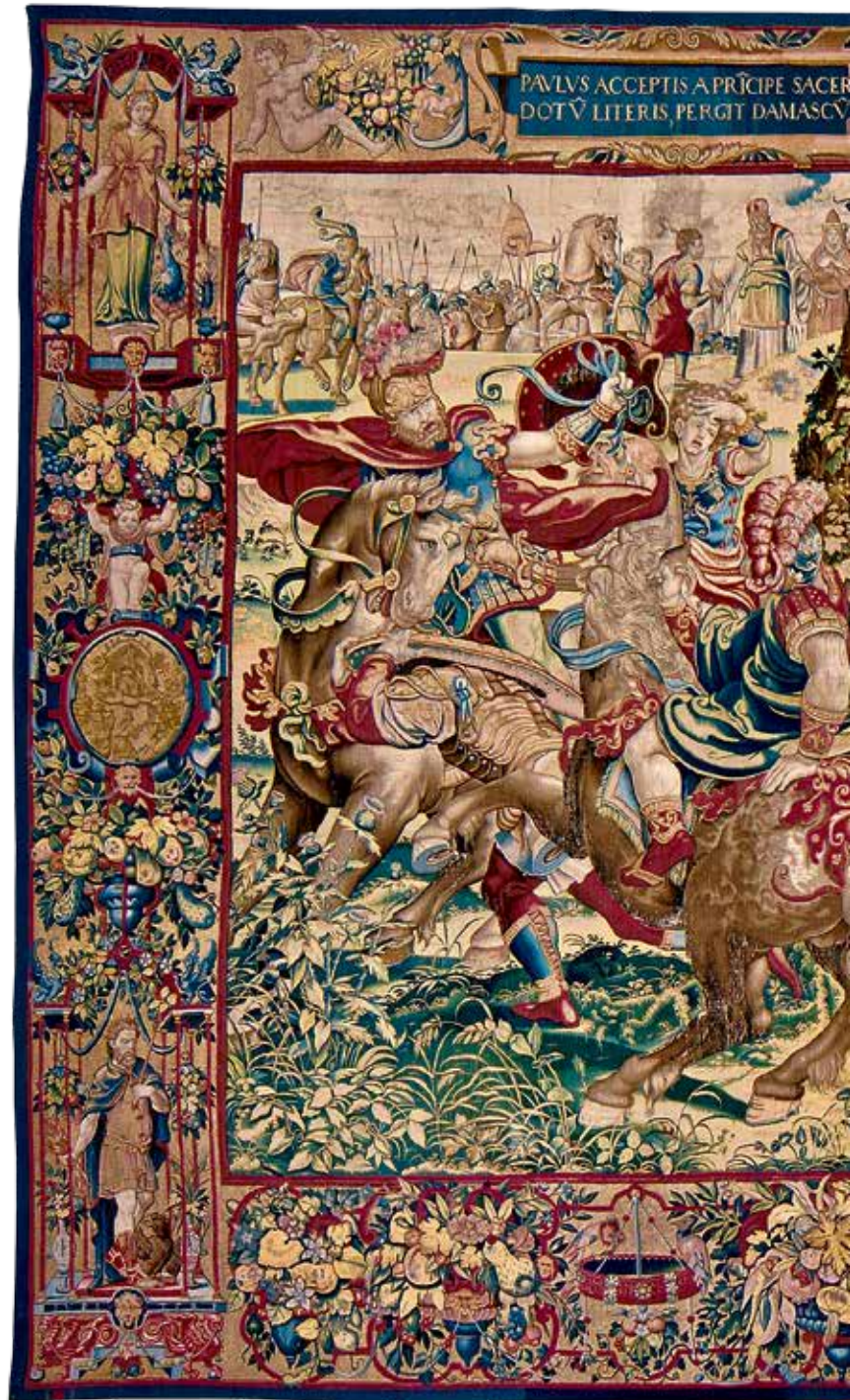
27



Guy Delmarcel discusses (“The Life of Saint Paul”), apparently when Coecke first designed the *Life of Saint Paul* as a seven-piece series, this was the opening scene.

The action explodes across the tapestry’s surface, as the heavens literally obliterate the sky and the resurrected Jesus, accompanied by hosts of cherubim, speaks directly to Saul, sending horses and men scattering in terror. In a clearing at the center of the scene, Saul, immobilized and vulnerable, half sits, half lies in a pose indebted to the famous classical statue of the *Dying Gaul* (known from the early sixteenth century), but his head is raised upward in wonder as he reaches out a hand to try and block Jesus’s blinding light.¹ As Delmarcel notes, Coecke was almost certainly also aware of Raphael’s *Conversion of Saul* in his *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry series (fig. 118), which had shaken Brussels’s artistic circles when the cartoons arrived in the hands of weaving director Pieter van Edingen (called van Aelst) a little over a decade earlier.² Even more strikingly—and intriguingly—the foreground figure on the rearing horse, seen from behind, is also recognizable in the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio*, attributed to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni (fig. 119) and first woven in Brussels at approximately the same time as the earliest documented set of Coecke’s *Life of Saint Paul*.³

Coecke’s daring deviations from the Italian prototypes are perhaps more interesting than his debts. Quite unlike Raphael’s asymmetrical, concave solution in which the converging observers seem to pierce the back of the tapestry, Coecke hinged his



representation on the central axis of Saul and Jesus, scattering the rest of the figures outward, as though they are about to exit the tapestry altogether. In the monochromatic *petit patron* (cat. 27), drawn in mirror image to compensate for reversal in the weaving process, the vigor of Coecke’s composition comes to the fore as the designer honed poses and positioning. This design is purposefully the antithesis of an ordered, composed, and contained tapestry design (like cat. 34, for example). By thus confounding our expectations, Coecke caused the viewer to share a sense of Saul’s discomfort, and in this design he arguably achieved much greater emotional impact than Raphael did



29

in his design for the same subject. Coecke combined the drama of Raphael's bolting horses with storm-like weather billowing great swaths of drapery and captured the raw fear of soldiers cowering under their shields. In the *petit patron* we witness Coecke's opening design in his earliest attributed tapestry series when he was completely unshackled from collaboration with a more established master like Bernard van Orley or Jan Mertens van Dornicke (see, for example, cat. 4). In order to have Francis I's set woven and delivered by January 1533, the cartoon must have been completed by early 1530 at the very latest.⁴ And dating the development of the initial designs to about 1529,

Pieter Coecke must have been only in his late twenties when he designed the *Life of Saint Paul*.

If the *petit patron* allowed development of the composition, the full-size painted cartoon enjoyed the introduction of color. As lamentable as the great loss of the complete, intact cartoon is, a partial sense of this vital second phase of production is provided by surviving fragments like catalogue number 28 and figure 124. Catalogue number 28 is painted with broad, fluid lines and contours sufficiently thick, dark, and incisive for weavers to be able to follow; like the drawing, it is in mirror image to reflect orientation in the finished tapestry. Coecke emphasized



Fig. 124. *Soldiers from the Conversion of Saul*. Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul* by the workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530. Brush drawing in ink with distemper, $20\frac{1}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ in. (51.2 × 44.3 cm). British Museum, London (1887-0613-64)

the striking red of the bridle, which indeed captures the eye and pulls it to the center of the tapestry (the horse is the one just below Christ). This cartoon fragment records Coecke's care to impart the vital elements of this particular detail, like the soldier's hand gripping the bare neck of the horse and the panicked beast's flaring nostrils and open, big-toothed mouth; but he has also captured its straggly mane and the modeling of its head, achieving with some well-placed hatching a sense of the skull beneath the skin.

It is likely that two versions of Coecke's painted cartoon for the *Conversion of Saul* existed. As Guy Delmarcel explores, the earliest weavings of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* included seven pieces, and only subsequently, in the late 1530s, when Henry VIII obtained his set, was it transformed into a nine-piece series, supplemented by a new first piece, the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (cats. 25, 26), and the current fifth piece, *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* (cat. 37). By the 1560s, nine cartoons for Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul*, with distinctive wide borders like the one on catalogue number 29, were in the possession of the Fugger family of merchants at their branch in Antwerp. Although it is conceivable that Hans Fugger simply acquired secondhand the seven original cartoons probably first used for Francis I plus the two extra episodes added before Henry VIII got his set, it seems more likely that the Fuggers had a new set of cartoons made: as Delmarcel notes, though the borders are considerably wider than those of the earlier weavings (see cats. 34, 37, 38, and 44), the tapestries themselves



Fig. 125. *The Conversion of Saul*. Circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1538 (?). Pen and brown ink, light brown wash, heightened with white on brown paper, sheet $4\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.2 × 40.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1963 (63.76.7)

are no larger, indicating that the central fields were reduced. It is particularly telling to compare the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* from the Fuggers' venture (fig. 143) with the surviving cartoon in Brussels (cat. 43).

The first documented weaving of the later wide-bordered sets (that is, the set in Munich, to which cat. 29 belongs) was complete by 1563, thirteen years after Coecke had died. As Stijn Alsteens discusses ("Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"), the drawing of the *Conversion of Saul* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. 27) was almost certainly a preparatory work, used by Coecke to communicate his plans for the design to the cartoon stage, with the nearly identical drawing in Berlin (fig. 111) being a subsequent copy of it, probably undertaken in Coecke's workshop and retained as a record.⁵ These drawings document Coecke's original 1529–30 intentions. Yet comparison of the drawings with the *Conversion of Saul* tapestry in Munich (cat. 29) from the Fuggers' undertaking reveals some small but significant changes in the top third, which serve to compress the composition. The group of figures in the top right of the drawing (left in the tapestry), for example, has been lowered considerably and positioned more closely together, in the tapestry being partly obscured by the shield-waving soldier in the middle ground below them; at the upper left (right in the tapestry) the group of three background figures and townscape has likewise been compressed in height and crowded together. Similar cramping in the lower left (right in the tapestry) results in a confusing jumble of overlapping equine and human legs,



avoided in the more spacious drawing. Only three tapestry versions of the *Conversion of Saul* survive (Arnstadt, Toledo, and Munich). Of these, the Arnstadt panel (fig. 121) is in too fragmentary a state to be able to be certain to which generation of weavings it belongs. The Munich and Toledo tapestries are both from the later broad-bordered sets. Since the cartoon is in fragments, there is no way to ascertain whether this shrinkage of the composition between the drawing and the tapestries is a coincidence or whether it is the result of these surviving *Conversion* tapestries having been woven after a second, adapted set of cartoons, apparently made after Coecke's death.

A three-part inscription in Latin in the upper border captions the scene. Paraphrasing the book of Acts 9:1–26, it can be translated as “Paul receives a letter from the High Priest [and] sets out for Damascus,” “Suddenly Saul falls to the ground at the brilliance of the light from the heavens, [and] he hears Jesus saying to him, ‘Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?’” and, summarizing his subsequent escape from the dangers faced after joining the Christians, “Paul being lowered from the wall in a hamper at night, evades all enemies.”

The *Conversion of Saul* was apparently a compelling subject for Coecke, one to which he returned at least three times: in addition to this tapestry design, a drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 125) seems to record a slightly different solution for this iconography devised by Coecke, while many years later, he would revisit it yet again in the grisaille exterior wings of the *Descent from the Cross* triptych in Lisbon (cat. 22). In addition to the different sets of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* tapestries dispersed throughout Europe, drawn records of the design were also kept,

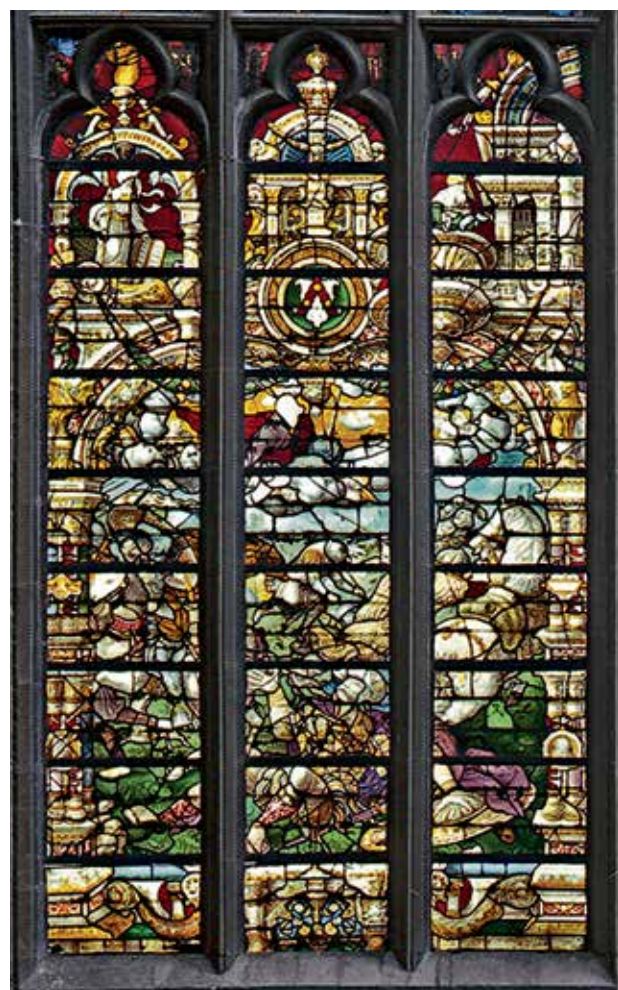


Fig. 126. *The Conversion of Saul*. Detail of stained-glass window honoring Léon d'Oultres. Unidentified designer, 1530. 19 ft. 8¼ in. × 10 ft. 9⅞ in. (600 × 330 cm). Cathedral of Saint Paul, Liège



Fig. 127. *The Conversion of Saul*. Unknown designer working in the circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1545. Fired ceramic tiles, 38 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 76 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (97 × 194 cm). Vleeshuis Museum, Antwerp (AV1571)



Fig. 128. *The Conversion of Saul*. Michelangelo, 1542–45. Fresco. Cappella Paolina, Vatican

exemplified by the Berlin drawing (fig. 111). These may have served to transmit Coecke's distinctly southern Netherlandish reinterpretation of Raphael's work to designers working in various media from stained glass (fig. 126) to ceramics (fig. 127), in which Coecke's centralized, loosely symmetrical composition and particular effects like his soldiers cowering under their shields can be recognized.⁶ Such were the repercussions of Coecke's design that, intriguingly, the *Conversion of Saul* in Michelangelo's last great painting cycle, in the Cappella Paolina in the 1540s (fig. 128), seems to show as much awareness of Coecke's tapestry design as it does of Raphael's in the *Acts of the Apostles* (fig. 118).⁷

The Tapestry from Albert V's Set

Catalogue number 29 comes from the fifth or sixth of the surviving sets of the *Life of Saint Paul*, and it was part of the second generation of *Saint Paul* weavings discussed by Guy Delmarcel ("The Life of Saint Paul"). This set postdates the partially surviving first-generation sets now in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional (cat. 44), in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (cat. 34), and the set now dispersed among Fulda (fig. 120), Boston (cat. 37), Leuven (cat. 38), and Detroit (fig. 116), as well as the much-damaged weaving in Arnstadt (fig. 121).⁸ The Munich set was made about the same time as the remaining, partially surviving set now in Toledo, which was acquired by the chapter in 1619 from the estate of Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (1546–1618), archbishop of Toledo and Grand Inquisitor of Spain.⁹ Both the sets in Munich and Toledo share the same broad borders that combine luscious swags and bunches of fruit and flowers with delicate red strapwork, picking up the reds of the central scene. At each corner are gods: Juno with her peacock, Jupiter and his eagle, Venus with Cupid, and serpent-bearing Saturn. In the *Conversion of Saul*, central

cartouches in the lateral and lower borders are represented as shallowly carved reliefs depicting scenes from the book of Revelation: the Lamb opening the book with the seven seals (5:6) to the left, the twenty-four elders surrounding the throne in heaven (4:2–4) to the right, and an unidentified view of a prisoner before three judges in the center.¹⁰

The edition of the *Life of Saint Paul* of which catalogue number 29 is part is particularly well documented, as Guy Delmarcel notes. It was available on the art market in Antwerp by October 1563, but it could have been woven some years earlier. This weaving was apparently commissioned by the far-reaching merchants of the Fugger family, who at least by 1565 also owned cartoons for the series, and it was made on speculation together with a seven-piece set of the *Planets*. The latter series was not designed by Coecke, but its tapestry cartoons were made to coordinate neatly with the *Life of Saint Paul* thanks to matching borders and corresponding dimensions, as well as shared weaving styles, palette, and raw materials since both were made under the direction of the same master. Like the other pieces in this set of the *Life of Saint Paul*, catalogue number 29 bears the mark of Frans van den Bossche. As Delmarcel notes, the Fuggers seem to have contracted this Brussels- and apparently also Antwerp-based weaver to direct the weaving of both the Munich and the Toledo *Saint Paul* sets, as well as the *Planets* set with matching borders. Those particular sets remained available for some years, reportedly passed over by both Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma, and Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, and were still in the Fuggers' stock in mid-1565, before eventually being acquired by Albert V (1528–1579), duke of Bavaria. Remaining in Munich to this day, it is the only complete nine-piece set of the *Life of Saint Paul* to survive.

EC

30.

Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brush and brown ink, pen and darker brown ink, brush and white gouache, over black chalk

11 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (29.5 × 46.4 cm)

Watermark: none

At lower center, inscribed *Lijstrenses uolunt sacrificare Paulo ac barnabæ;*

Paulo quidem / ut mercurio, barnabæ uero ut Joui, &c. Paulus ab eisdem

/ lapidatur atq[ue] uelut mortuus extra ciuitate protrahitur in pen and

brown ink, by the artist; at lower right, inscribed 7 [?] in black chalk

(seventeenth- or eighteenth-century handwriting?). Verso: at upper left,

inscribed *fl. 8* in pen and brown ink (eighteenth-century handwriting);

below, inscribed *5 p. à rem . . .* in graphite (modern handwriting)

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (99.GA.7)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

31.

Head of an Old Bearded Man, Pointing to the Left from Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, ca. 1530

Brush and watercolor and gouache, brush and pen and brown ink, over black chalk; pricked for transfer

18 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (47.7 × 36.9 cm)

Watermark: none

At lower right (on the sleeve), inscribed *jau* in pen and brown ink,

in sixteenth-century handwriting

British Museum, London (1887-6-13-65)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

32.

A Man Looking up from behind the Altar from Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, ca. 1530

Watercolor, gouache, brush and brown ink (?); pricked for transfer

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (27.2 × 31.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

Collection of Philip Taaffe, New York

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.



30



31

The drawing for the third panel of the *Life of Saint Paul* series (cat. 30), now in Los Angeles, surfaced only in 1999. With drawings in Mettingen, London, Munich, Ghent, Vienna, and Hamburg (cats. 26, 27, 33, 35, and 42), it belongs to the most finished of the preparatory drawings related to the set, and they undoubtedly all served as *petits patrons*.¹ Of these, the sheet discussed here is taller than the others by three centimeters or more, a difference caused by the lower margin, which is filled by three lines in Latin underneath a freehand framing line. Traces of a similar framing line below the image can be found in at least one of the other drawings (cat. 13),² and it is probable that they, too, once had such margins and inscriptions. Although the handwriting of the inscription on the Getty drawing is not identical to that of the autograph signed receipt of 1537 (cat. 14), many of the letters are formed in a manner close enough to conclude that the inscription documents the first iteration of Coecke's humanist cursive script.

The *petits patrons* for the *Saint Paul* series display a technique of which the full sophistication is not immediately apparent. Coecke seems to have laid out the composition of each design with a fine pen, possibly tracing it from a preceding drawing. Rather than a true sketch, this first layer seems to be at the same time quite detailed (see, in the drawing presented here, the architecture, the background scenes, and the ornamentation of the altar) and quite summary (see many of the faces). When drawing with the pen, Coecke was apparently already anticipating the next step: a thorough reworking with a deftly handled, relatively fine brush. The ink used for this second layer seems to have faded more over time than the one used with the pen, giving the impression that the latter was the finishing touch. But it is clear that most of the details, as well as some more important elements of the present composition (such as the turbaned man before the column at left), were added only at the second stage with the brush, when final adjustments were also made



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(for example, in the foremost ox). Finally, Coecke finished the drawings with white gouache, which he used not only as conventional heightening but sometimes also in a more painterly way, as in the face and hair of the man running to the right in the foreground. Despite this surprisingly fragmented technique, Coecke managed to give the drawings a beautifully unified appearance. One way in which he achieved this is by toning the paper with a light brown wash. He does not seem to have been bothered by the uneven, occasionally exploratory, character of certain passages; more likely, he sought the effect.

The inscription on the Los Angeles drawing describes the main scene depicted, as well as the one in the left background, both of which follow the scene at right, where Paul, who is preaching as an apostle with Saint Barnabas in the city of Lystra (now called Klistra, in modern-day Turkey), heals a cripple after “seeing that he had faith to be healed” (Acts 14:9). Paul and his companion are hailed as gods. In translation, the inscription reads:

The habitants of Lystra want to sacrifice in honor of Paul and Barnabas — to Paul as if he were Mercury, to Barnabas as if he were Jove, etc. Paul is stoned by them and dragged out of the city looking like a dead man.

The central scene shows the moment when Paul and Barnabas “rending their clothes . . . leaped out among the people, crying, and saying . . . We also are mortals, men like unto you, preaching to you to be converted from these vain things, to the living God” (Acts: 14–15). Although this episode in the life of Paul had not often been depicted before, Coecke had at least one prominent example: Raphael’s composition of the same subject for the *Acts of the Apostles* series, which Coecke certainly



Fig. 129. *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* from the *Acts of the Apostles*. Cartoon for the tapestry by Raphael and workshop, 1515–16. Body color on paper mounted on canvas, 11 ft. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 17 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (347 \times 532 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, on loan from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 912949)



Fig. 130. *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 21 ft. (420 \times 638 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T 3846)

knew, as the set was woven in Brussels about 1516–17 from Raphael's original cartoons (fig. 129).³

Coecke did not follow his Italian model closely; Raphael's version is perhaps most directly felt in the gesticulating throng of worshippers approaching from one side, while Paul and Barnabas rend their clothes on the other side of the altar. In contrast with Raphael, Coecke chose to create a more symmetrical composition, dominated by the temple of Jupiter in the background; in this, the scene is very similar to that of one of the later compositions in the *Saint Paul* series, *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* (cats. 35–37). Although the series was conceived about a decade before Coecke started publishing the treatises of Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio (cat. 17), his interest and competence in the classical architectural style are already evident here.

Two sixteenth-century weavings of Coecke's *Lystra* composition survive, one in Schloss Fasanerie, Fulda (fig. 120), and one in Munich (fig. 130).⁴ Only the first is from Coecke's lifetime; it follows quite closely the *petit patron*, and in the case of pentimenti in the drawing, such as the one in the ox, it follows the brushwork, confirming this was added after the drawing was set up in pen. Many of the details, however, date to after the *petit patron* was made, such as the grotesques ornamenting the columns of the temple and the Greek letters on the high priest's garment. The contrast between light and shadow in the architecture seems greater in the tapestry than in the drawing, but on closer inspection, one discovers that Coecke used black

chalk, in addition to wash and white gouache, to indicate this repartition. Black chalk was also used for the steps behind the altar; in the tapestries, the steps' darker vertical slabs of marble contrast with the light horizontal ones. The comparison also makes clear that the drawing must have been cropped a little at right, as the corresponding part of the tapestry in Fulda shows one more figure.

All these later changes must have been made in the cartoon, the creation of which, one can assume, was at least overseen by Coecke, if he did not work on it himself. Two fragments can with some confidence be said to have been part of the original cartoon: one representing the bearded man behind the altar (cat. 31), the other the man who, half hidden by the altar table, holds the legs of the ram seen from the back (cat. 32). The first fragment is inscribed *jau* on the man's sleeve in contemporary handwriting, for *jaune* or "yellow" in French, then as now one of the two languages used in Brussels.⁵ Because the sleeve is in fact painted yellow, the word was probably intended for the assistant coloring the cartoon, rather than for the weavers. Like the other surviving cartoon fragments of the *Saint Paul* series and the more complete cartoon in Brussels (cat. 43), the *Lystra* fragments are also pricked for transfer, which would have served the production of replicas. That a replica or replicas were probably made is, along with the high quality of the fragments, a strong argument that they indeed belonged to the "mother version" of the cartoons, produced by Coecke and his workshop about 1530.

SA

33.

Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi

Petit patron for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white
10 × 19 in. (25.3 × 48.4 cm)

Watermark: none

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (1927:79 Z)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

34.

Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, Brussels,
ca. 1535

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
13 ft. 9¾ in. × 12 ft. 9½ in. (421 × 390 cm)

Inscribed in a cartouche in the upper border, PAVL[US] DIE
SABBATHORV[M] EGRESS[US] CIVITATE[M] PHI[LIPPI]S AD FLVMEN, /
MVLIERIB[US] QVÆ ILLIC CONVENERANT PRÆDICAT CHRISTVM

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T III/1)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

This is the fourth episode in Coecke's nine-piece series of the *Life of Saint Paul*, the third in its initial seven-piece iteration.

The tapestry comes as a gentle respite from the violence of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (cat. 25), the drama of the *Conversion of*

Saul (cat. 27), and the urban commotion of *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* (cat. 30). It reflects the more cerebral element of Paul's journeys, when he traveled throughout the Mediterranean lands preaching the words of Christ and converting many who heard him. In this instance, the narrative takes place in the Macedonian city of Philippi, described in the book of Acts (16:12–18), where Paul and his followers prayed with the town's womenfolk at the banks of the river, where they were wont to congregate, converting and baptizing many, as well as exorcising a spirit of divination from an indentured girl. The inscription in the upper border of the tapestry describes the scene: "On the Sabbath, Paul left the city of Philippi to [go to] the river and preached about Christ to the women assembled there."

The tranquil composition reflects the domestic routine of the Philippian women and their acquiescent response to Paul as he sits and talks to them. Coecke's design fosters a sense that, like the women just arriving, we have stumbled upon this scene, and the male in the foreground, perhaps one of Paul's companions (Silas or Timothy), seems to motion to us not to disturb Paul's narrative. The little dog and the two young children playing with the exquisite draperies worn by their mother (probably the wealthy convert Lydia) add to the tender domesticity of the scene. The country setting, the gently gesticulating bearded preacher, and his enthralled audience from contemplative women with crossed arms to bystanders leaning around trees to get a closer look, the playing children, and even the presence of the dog—all develop motifs first used ten to fifteen years earlier in *John the Baptist Preaching* (fig. 131), part of a tapestry series of







Fig. 131. *John the Baptist Preaching* from the *Life of John the Baptist*. Unknown designer, ca. 1515. Tapestry woven in an unknown workshop, probably Brussels, ca. 1515–20. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 13 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (355 \times 405 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 4/3, 10005831)

the *Life of John the Baptist* that was made in Brussels and eventually passed into the Spanish royal collection.¹ It is conceivable that Coecke was familiar with that design, whether in drawn, painted-cartoon, or woven form. In the pyramidal composition of Paul and the two principal female figures, Coecke clearly acknowledges Bernard van Orley's *Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People* (cat. 3) in his *Romulus and Remus* tapestry series.

The drawing in Munich (cat. 33) records a more horizontal composition, stretching the landscape, which is articulated by the two trees to the left and right and hinges on the elegant Philippian woman standing at the center. At the far right of the drawing, opening the episode (it would have been at left in the tapestry), we see the Macedonian man who came to Paul in a vision during the night and urged him to travel to Macedonia to spread his ministry there (Acts 16:9); at the far left (what would have been right in the tapestry) the episode draws to a close with the river baptism of the Philippian women, the consequence of

the power of Paul's preaching in the central scene. Overall, the design of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* as Coecke developed it in the drawing seems almost a foil to the final episode of the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (cats. 42–44), which is similarly composed but horrifically altered in spirit.

Five tapestry versions of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* survive: in addition to catalogue number 34 in Vienna, one is in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, a fragmentary piece is in Arnstadt, and examples are in Munich (fig. 132) and in Toledo.² Without exception, all of the *Preaching at Philippi* tapestries crop the composition in slightly varying ways. It is therefore tempting to regard the drawing in Munich as Coecke's *petit patron*, recording his ideal composition before it was handed over to be replicated in the full-size cartoon, with the ultimately trimmed compositions occurring in the subsequent phases of cartoon painting and/or tapestry weaving. The close copy of the drawing in Vevey (fig. 110), albeit compromised

by a later hand, reinforces this impression; apparently it is a workshop copy made to retain a record of the design, as seems to have been the case with so many of Coecke's other tapestry design projects.³ However, comparison of the drawing with each of the surviving tapestries reveals that the differences go further than cropping lateral scenes. In the tapestries, the central group of Paul, the seated woman, and the standing woman is pulled much closer together, bringing the standing woman's hands in line with Paul's elbow and the seated woman's head. This tightening of the space in the tapestry diminishes much of the women's retinue in the drawing: three of the followers have been excluded altogether. The background has similarly changed dramatically: unlike the baptism's placement at the far left of the drawing, in the tapestries it occurs in the middle-ground center, immediately to the right of the standing women. The cityscape behind is altered, with the castle shifted to the (woven) left and a distinctive, high-arched bridge added. Other, subtler changes imply that Coecke had not yet perfected the design with the Munich drawing. The woman leaning around the tree, for example, gazes at Paul in both the drawings — a motif also used in *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death*

(cat. 6) — but much more arrestingly, in all of the tapestry versions she stares right out at us.

In sum, it seems as though comparison of the drawing in Munich with the surviving tapestry versions allows us a glimpse of Coecke's response to restrictions of circumstance. Catalogue number 33 seems to be Coecke's finished *petit patron* for the tapestry, with the episode of Paul preaching at Philippi and its subsidiary scenes honed to his satisfaction. However, probably because of intervention by the dealer or agent overseeing this venture, Coecke was obliged to make his design more compliant with the adaptability required of the most successful tapestry cartoons. The composition of the Munich drawing, though exquisite, could not be easily cropped without losing a key element of the narrative, the baptism of the Philippian women. By pushing the central protagonists closer together and adapting the middle ground to include the baptism scene immediately to the (woven) right of the standing women, Coecke achieved a more versatile cartoon design, which could be folded or cropped to allow the weaving of a smaller tapestry should circumstances demand. The varying widths of the five surviving versions reveal that this would indeed be the case.



Fig. 132. *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 × 18 ft. 4 1/8 in. (422 × 559 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (71/9)

Thus, it is likely that a further drawn design, subsequent to the Munich drawing, must have been made for this episode, but its survival or current whereabouts remains unknown.

*The Tapestry from the Collection of Charles III,
Duke of Lorraine*

Catalogue number 34 is part of the edition of the *Life of Saint Paul* belonging to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁴ The three other surviving pieces in this set are *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem*, *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa*, and the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*. The initial owner of this set is not recorded, but by the end of the sixteenth century, it was almost certainly in the collection of Charles III, duke of Lorraine (1543–1608), along with examples of Coecke's *Story of Abraham* and, apparently, his *Seven Deadly Sins*. An inventory of his possessions drawn up between May 1575 and January 1606 included "seven pieces of tapestry where is [depicted] the Story of Saint Paul, made of fine silk, enhanced by gold and silver with a broad border with abundant cornucopias full of fruits held by little children."⁵ It is possible that Duke Charles III inherited the *Life of Saint Paul* through his great-uncle Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, as Guy Delmarcel suggests ("The Life of Saint Paul"), but there is as yet no documentary evidence of this. Like many of Charles III's other tapestries, the set subsequently reached Vienna following the 1736 marriage of his descendant Francis I Stephen of Lorraine to the Habsburg archduchess Maria Theresa.

Except for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*, the surviving pieces of the set in Vienna have slightly cropped compositions. Even so, this was not a cost-saving measure, for the raw materials were rich and the cropping itself was achieved with such finesse that the compositions seem almost to benefit from it. In the case of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi*, the squarer format optimizes the pyramidal effect of Paul and the two Philippian women.⁶ This was not simply a case of turning back the edges of the cartoon: the representation at the left edge of the tapestry's central field was amended to disguise the fact that this is not the full composition. The man striding into the scene from the right in the drawing was eliminated altogether instead of being awkwardly bisected. Such a change could not have been undertaken lightly, for it necessitated the addition to the cartoon of a couple of twiggy branches, some reed-like grasses, and alternating bands of lit and shaded grass at the left edge of the tapestry. Given the approximate date of weaving, it is conceivable that these amendments to the cartoon were undertaken in Coecke's workshop. In keeping with this care and with the sumptuousness of the materials, the tapestry was beautifully woven, with a soft, subtle palette. Unlike the ostentatiously bravura effects with precious-metal-wrapped threads used in Willem de Pannemaker's tapestries (see, for example, cat. 47), the silver and silver-gilt are here used very delicately,

imparting a warm glow to the patterned textiles and sun-splashed highlights. The borders with their warm red grounds and abundance of fruit and delicate blooms, stylistically datable to the 1530s or early 1540s, are similar to those on Mary of Hungary's set in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional (cat. 44) and the dispersed set of which catalogue numbers 37 and 38 were part. Each tapestry with these borders features putti playing at different activities in the lower corners; those of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* show caged birds and pudgy, apple-holding putti who echo the toddlers in the central scene.

Only one piece in the *Life of Saint Paul* set subsequently owned by the dukes of Lorraine includes a weaver's mark: the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*. The same mark appears on two of the surviving tapestries in the edition that belonged to Mary of Hungary (see cat. 44). This weaving director, who was also responsible for Henry VIII's edition of the Coecke-designed *Seven Deadly Sins* (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins"), has been tentatively identified by Guy Delmarcel ("The Life of Saint Paul") as Paulus van Oppenem, already active by 1510 but still working, with Willem Dermoyen, in the mid-1540s. Noting that Duke Charles III's inventory listed this as a seven-piece set, taking into account Van Oppenem's period of activity and, above all, dating the style of its borders, this edition of the *Life of Saint Paul* belongs to the earlier sets of the first generation of weavings, when the series apparently consisted of only seven pieces (before the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* were added). This set was probably woven in the 1530s, about the same time as those received by Francis I in 1533, by Mary of Hungary, and probably just predating the nine-piece sets acquired by Henry VIII before September 1539 and, again by Henry, before September 1546, and the one that belonged to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini by 1603.

The two surviving versions of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* from the second generation of sets of the *Life of Saint Paul* are in Munich (fig. 132) and in Toledo. These were almost certainly woven after Coecke's death and were quite possibly based on a second, adapted set of cartoons.⁷ Just as comparison of the *Conversion of Saul* tapestry in Munich (cat. 29) with its *petit patron* (cat. 27) demonstrates that the woven composition was compressed to take up slightly smaller dimensions, the same is true with the second-generation *Preaching at Philippi* as it compares with the earlier tapestries like catalogue number 34: the expanse of sky is trimmed, the background cityscape has been shrunk in height and positioned lower so that the castle tower becomes level with the standing woman's headdress, and the corner toddler has been raised so that his hand, playing with the apple, now overlaps his mother's skirts. This last detail, ironically, coincides with Coecke's initial intentions expressed in the Munich drawing, which shows this part of the design, at least, coming full circle. EC





35.
Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30 or 1535
Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache
10¼ × 17¾ in. (25.9 × 45 cm)

Watermark: none visible

Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent (TEK 3504)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

36.
Man's Head from Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, ca. 1530 or 1536
Brush drawing in brown ink with distemper, over black chalk pricked for transfer
13⅞ × 9⅝ in. (33.3 × 24.5 cm)

Collection of Philip Taaffe, New York
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

37.
Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*
Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529 or 1535
Probably woven under the direction of Jan van der Vyst, Brussels, probably before 1546
Wool and silk
13 ft. 3½ in. × 22 ft. 6⅞ in. (405 × 686 cm)

Inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, XII VIRI EPHESII PAVLO IMPONENTE / MANVS, ACCIPIVNT SPIRITVM SANCTV[M] // PLERIQVE EPHESII PER PAVLI SERMONEM CONVERSI MAGICOS / LIBROS PRECIO ÆRIS L M EXVRVNT // PAVLO PROLIXIVS[QUE] DISSERE[N] TE ADOLESC[E]N[S] EVTICI[QUE] / SONO OPPRESS[QUE] DECIDIT MORTV[QUE] PAVL[QUE] EV[M] SVSCITAT

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (65.596)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

The three scenes in this composition pick up the narrative of Paul's life when he was on his third missionary journey, during which he paused in Ephesus, on the coast of Ionia in Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), for almost three years. Three captions in the upper border of the tapestry narrate the scenes at the upper left, across the foreground, and in the upper right: "When Paul lays his hands upon them, twelve men of Ephesus receive the Holy Spirit" (left); "Many Ephesians, converted



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by Paul's discourse, burn books of magic worth fifty thousand copper coins" (center); and "And while Paul was discoursing at length, the youth Eutychus, overcome by sleep, fell to his death and Paul revives him."¹ The first two events, which took place in Ephesus, are described in Acts 19:1–21. The last happened slightly later in Paul's travels, in Troas, when Eutychus, having fallen asleep in the window embrasure of a room where Paul had been preaching for many hours, tumbled out three stories to the ground and was killed but then was miraculously revived by Paul. This is described in Acts 20:7–12.

The first few editions of the *Life of Saint Paul* did not include this tapestry. As Guy Delmarcel notes ("The Life of Saint Paul"), the sets owned by Francis I and Mary of Hungary and the one subsequently owned by the dukes of Lorraine contained only seven pieces and skipped from *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* (cat. 34) to *Saint Paul Seized at the*

Temple of Jerusalem (cat. 38). The first documented edition of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* to include nine tapestries was the silver- and silver-gilt-woven set that Henry VIII owned by September 1539.² Although long believed lost, a tapestry that recently surfaced in Spain (fig. 135) might have belonged to this edition. It might well be significant that one of the first sets, perhaps the first, to include the two added scenes, the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (cat. 25) and this *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*, belonged to the English king. The decision to supplement the series with the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* could simply have been a response to Raphael's already much-admired *Acts of the Apostles*, which opened Paul's part of the narrative with his participation in Stephen's martyrdom. However, Stephen was martyred because of his reminder to the crowd that "Yet the most High dwelleth not in houses made by hands" (Acts 7:48). If Stephen's words held any special

implication for Henry and his advisers, it was probably a gibe against the Vatican, in keeping with the Church of England's break from Rome and its rejection of papal authority with such acts as the 1534 Act Concerning Peter's Pence and Dispensations. At the time, its additional interpretation as indicative of the symbolic rather than material nature of the Eucharist, increasingly championed in the Protestant doctrine (something to which Anne Askew would allude during her 1546 trial for heresy when she asked "wherfore S. Steven was stoned to death"), would probably have been as abhorrent to Henry as to the pope.³ The second added scene, *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*, however, could not help but hold connotations for its observers given the politics of the period, and it seems incontrovertible that there must have been symbolic motivation for adding it. In London, book burnings were not unusual during this time, with burnings of "great baskets full" of Lutheran books recorded throughout the 1520s, and William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament symbolically burned at Cheapside Cross in November 1530.⁴ King Henry, in his role as head of the English Catholic Church, could simply claim to be following in the footsteps of Saint Paul, instigating the destruction of "Heretical Books" and "Erroneous Books and Bible Translations" in proclamations of 1529 and 1530 and issuing a "Proclamation Prohibiting Unlicensed Printing of Scripture" in 1538, about the same time his *Life of Saint Paul* was first documented in the Great Wardrobe.⁵ More disturbingly, the receipt of Henry's silver- and silver-gilt-woven edition, sometime between September 1538 and September 1539, coincided with the horrific burnings at the stake, ordered by the king, of twenty Anabaptists in 1535, and another four in November 1538.⁶ It may not be coincidental that for centuries, the principal liturgy of the English Church had been the ancient Salisbury Liturgy, which was based on the Liturgy of Saint Paul, also called the Liturgy of Ephesus, in contrast to the Liturgy of Saint Peter, or Rome, used by the Roman Catholic Church.

Whether or not Henry was the instigator of the additional two scenes to the series, he was apparently sufficiently attached to this *Life of Saint Paul* that he acquired a second nine-piece set, documented in the Great Wardrobe by September 1546. It was less sumptuously woven, with just wool and silk threads, and it could conceivably have included this very tapestry. Though particularly resonant for proponents of the English Reformation, there was nothing overtly anti-Catholic about the added scenes, and they apparently came to be permanent inclusions in later weavings of the series no matter who the patron.

If, as seems likely, the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* were added to the series only after it had already been woven at least three times, they could well have been designed later than the rest of the series. In order for the tapestries, woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads, to have been delivered by September 1539 at the outside, the latest their cartoons could have been supplied



to the weavers would have to have been about mid-1536.⁷ Thus, the design for the two panels could date as late as 1536. However, if this was the case, it seems clear that the agent for the supplemented editions returned to Coecke, indicated by the attributions of the drawings in Darmstadt (cat. 25), Mettingen (cat. 26), and Ghent (cat. 35). If Coecke did only conceive these designs as late as the mid-1530s, he must have self-consciously constrained himself to return to his earlier style, characteristic of the rest of the series, for consistency's sake.

Composed in mirror image to compensate for reversal by the weaving process, the drawing in Ghent was probably the *petit patron* on which the tapestry's cartoon was based, as Stijn Alsteens discusses ("Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"). Coecke anchored the frantic and fervent activity of Paul's followers against an imagined but architecturally convincing rendition of the Ephesian Library of Celsus. Audaciously, he made the flames seem to take hold of the textile



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support, engulfing the represented scene, their smoke drifting out to the viewer. In this beautifully rendered fire, Coecke could have been emulating the similar effect achieved in Bernard van Orley's *Month of January* (fig. 133) in his *Hunts of Maximilian*.⁸ And the debt the overall composition of *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* owes to Van Orley's *Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People* (cat. 3) in his *Romulus and Remus* tapestry series, also cited in *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* (cat. 34), cannot be coincidence. These nods to Van Orley notwithstanding, *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* heralds the innovations and energy that Coecke brought to tapestry design. As in the *Conversion of Saul* (cat. 27), Coecke enlivened the composition by suggesting that it is about to spill out of the tapestry: Paul himself stands at the very edge, while the pile of burning books looks set to topple out into our space, causing the putti in the border to look up at them in concern and pull each other out of harm's way. The

protagonists, from the calm authority of Paul and his followers, to the fervor of the converted crowd and the pensive observation by the Muslim bystander, provided Coecke with the opportunity to develop an album of particularized facial types, giving free rein to his distinctive proclivity for physiognomies expressive to the point of caricature. The surviving fragment cut from the cartoon (cat. 36) records the soul searching of one man, who holds a book toward the flames but looks away as though unwilling to break completely from his pagan roots.

The Tapestry from the Dispersed Set

This tapestry is part of a weaving from which four pieces are known, dispersed among Fulda (fig. 120), Boston (cat. 37), Leuven (cat. 38), and Detroit (fig. 116). The early provenance of this edition is not known, but as Delmarcel notes, it might well have been one of two documented sets: the second set (wool and silk only) acquired by Henry VIII sometime between



Fig. 133. *The Month of January* from the *Hunts of Maximilian*. Designed by Bernard van Orley, ca. 1528–31. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan and/or Willem Dermoyen, Brussels, 1531–33. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 19 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (434 \times 580 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 7324)

September 1545 and September 1546, or a set that was taken to Italy and, by the early seventeenth century, belonged to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.

This edition lacks the sumptuous precious-metal-wrapped threads used in the lost sets of Francis I and Henry VIII, and in the one owned by the dukes of Lorraine (cat. 34), but like Mary of Hungary's set (cat. 44), also woven with wool and silk only, the craftsmanship is very fine. Delmarcel identifies the mark on this edition's *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* (cat. 38) as that of the Brussels weaving director Jan van der Vyst. Van der Vyst was one of the weavers who inspected Willem de Pannemaker's reedition of Pieter Coecke's *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* for Philip II in 1562 (see Cleland, "The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona"). Other than the fine *Grotesque Months* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Van der Vyst's output is relatively unknown, but this *Life of Saint Paul* set shows that he was fit to the task of translating Coecke's daring designs into wool and silk. Effects like the thick gray smoke enveloping the architecture and obscuring the crowd, the ears of corn in the bed of the fire, and the prickly teasels on the bush in the lower

right corner attest to the skill of the weavers working under Van der Vyst. The tapestry benefits from sharp highlights on the drapery articulating every fold and crease, powerful color contrasts of the warm reds, blues, and yellows of the protagonists' costumes against the soft greens of the beautifully rendered foliage, and the crisp veined marbles and polychromy of the library. The delightful border is from the same group used in the other first-generation sets (cats. 34, 38, and 44), although in this instance, the motifs in the lower corners diverge, with a caryatid-like nymph at the left and, at the right (as in cat. 38), a putto holding a cornucopia.

The third surviving tapestry version of this scene is in the set in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (fig. 134), part of the considerably later second generation of weavings. As with the other tapestries in this later edition in Munich, the composition has been cropped and compressed, losing the spaciousness of Coecke's original design, and the foreground and flanking foliage have been changed. Perhaps most to its detriment, though, is the way the books in the Munich version no longer appear about to tumble out of the tapestry.

EC



Fig. 134. *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 8½ in. × 23 ft. 11 in. (417 × 729 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (71/10)



Fig. 135. *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529 or 1535. Tapestry woven in an unknown workshop, Brussels, probably before 1539. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 17½ in. × 18 ft. ½ in. (340 × 550 cm). Private collection, Spain

38.

Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Jan van der Vyst, Brussels, probably before 1546

Wool and silk

13 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. × 26 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (422 × 808 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan van der Vyst on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, PAVLVS A MILITIB[US] CC LANCEARIIS CC / EQVITIB[US] LXX CÆSAREAM ABDVCITVR // PAVLVS A IVDÆIS PROTRACTVS E TEMPLO, PERCVTITVR, AT PER / TRIBVNVM ET MILITES EREPTVS, IN CASTRA INDVCITVR // PAVLVS STANS PRO GRADIBVS, SV / AM APVD POPVLVM CAVSAM AGIT; inscribed in the borders of the robes of the two full-length figures at far left, VNVM CREDE DEVM NEC VANA IURES PER IPSVM

KBC Bank Collection, Leuven

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

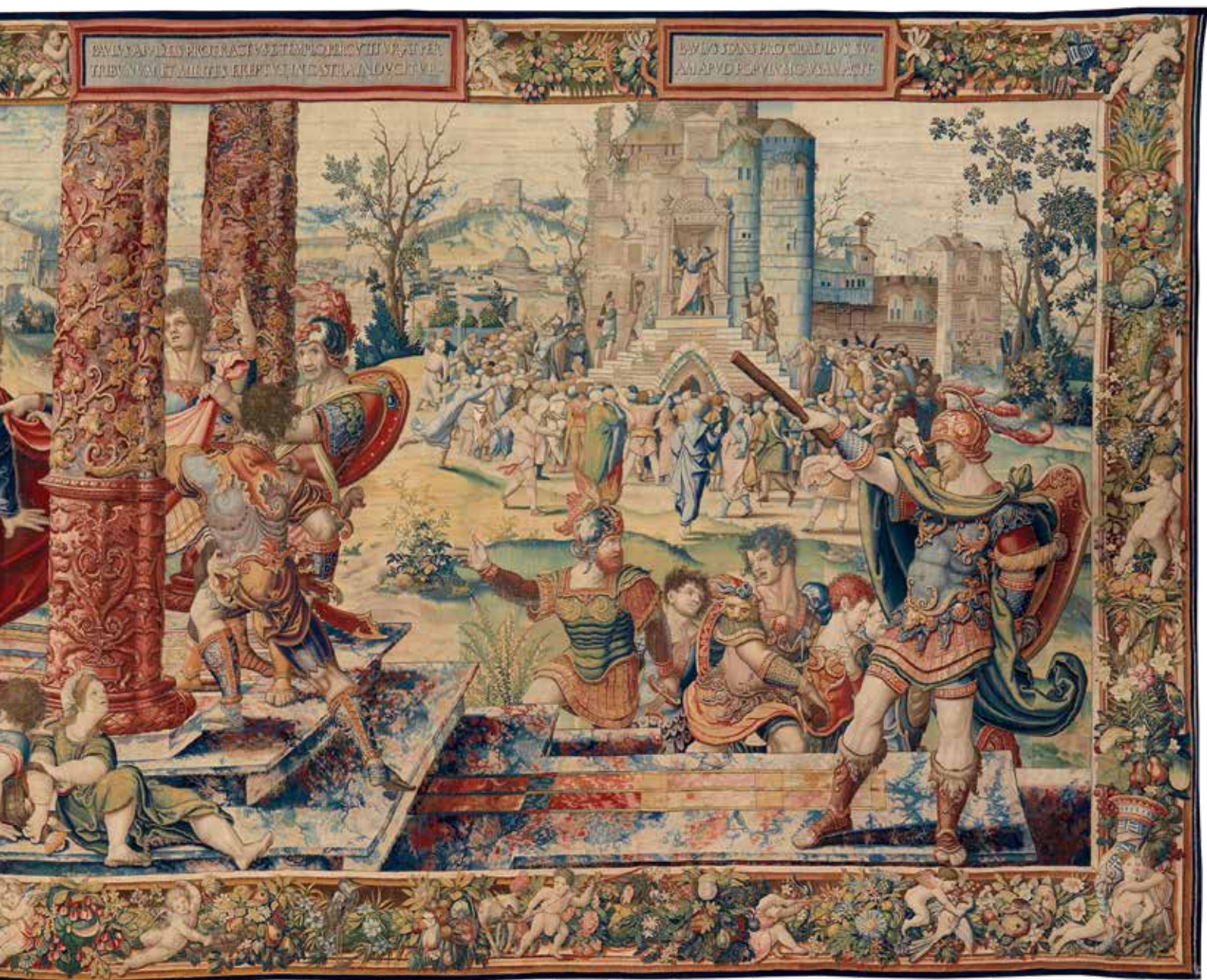
Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem was the fourth episode in the initial seven-piece iteration of the *Life of Saint Paul* series, the sixth in the later nine-piece sets. It represents the events in Jerusalem, described in Acts 21:27–23:23, when a crowd of townsmen recognized Paul and, accusing him of inciting rebellion against traditional Jewish laws and profaning the precincts of their temple, tried to lynch him. Paul was “rescued” when the captain of the Roman garrison intervened and arrested him, first giving him the opportunity to address the crowd, although his words went unheeded.

The inscriptions in Latin in the upper border caption the scene as “Paul is led off to Caesarea by 200 soldiers, 200 spearmen, and 70 horsemen”; “Paul is dragged out of the temple by the Jews; he is beaten but is rescued by the captain of the garrison and the soldiers and led to the soldiers’ quarters”; and “Paul stands firm at the top of the step and in the presence of the people, he urges his cause.” In the foreground, the Roman soldiers stride boldly up the steps to the temple, ready to enter the jostling fray as the apostle is pushed out of the building by the crowd. The uncertainty of the soldiers’ status — whether friend or foe as they protect Paul from the lynching but do so by arresting him — is conveyed by Coecke’s contrasting the frightening, gnarled older soldier at the center of the composition, who catches our eye and grins maliciously as he pulls at Paul’s red mantle, with the cool, controlled authority of the commanding officer at the right, ordering the crowd back. Taking inspiration from iconography usually reserved for the mocking of Christ and achieving an effect reminiscent of his panel painting *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 2), Coecke filled the porch with a jeering rabble, who pluck at Paul’s clothing and even grab a fistful of his hair, in a chilling foretaste of the executioner’s action at Paul’s death (see cat. 43). Against the frenetic poses and caricature-like grimaces, Paul retains his dignity. The figure



at the doorway who looks back in helpless alarm might be one of his followers, perhaps Timothy. Inscriptions bordering the mantles of the two full-length figures closest to the temple doorway repeat the refrain “Believe in one god; do not swear by him in vain.” In the subsequent scene in the background to the right, Paul preaches to the belligerent and gesticulating crowd from the steps of the temple, with Roman soldiers standing guard. The narrative continues in the background at the left of the tapestry: the captain of the garrison, having learned of Paul’s status as a Roman citizen and investigated the locals’ grievances against him, dispatches Paul to Caesarea to escape a plot to kill him, under guard of two hundred footmen, seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen.

Stretching the scene back to this hazy, distant vista, Coecke characteristically also brought the composition all the way



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forward as though encroaching into our space. The captain's left foot overhangs a step of the temple, his toes seemingly projecting out of the tapestry; to the left, the seated girl and the youth on hands and knees are set to scramble down from the step and out of the tapestry. Coecke achieved a sense of stunning richness with the temple, cladding some of its porphyry columns with gilded foliage, decorating the pedestal by the door with a golden relief carving of a naked figure and even giving the paving stones a glorious appearance of variegated marble. The fantastical uniforms of the soldiers and the rich patterned cloth of the Jewish costumes afforded Coecke further opportunities for embellishment, but he countered this opulence with the gentle greens and muted blues of the surrounding landscape. Neither preparatory drawings nor cartoon fragments survive for this episode.

The Tapestry from the Dispersed Edition

This tapestry comes from the partially surviving set dispersed among Fulda (fig. 120), Boston (cat. 37), Leuven (cat. 38), and Detroit (fig. 116). As discussed above (Delmarcel, "The Life of Saint Paul"), the early provenance of this edition is not known, although it could well be one of two documented sets: the second set of the *Life of Saint Paul* acquired by Henry VIII before September 1546 or a set that by 1606 had entered the possession of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. The tapestry of *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* is the only one of the four surviving pieces of this set to bear a weaver's mark. As Delmarcel notes, it is the mark used by Jan van der Vyst. Originally comprising nine pieces, this set can be dated, thanks to its border style, to the later 1530s or early 1540s. The weaving of this *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* is as fine as



Fig. 136. *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, Brussels, ca. 1535. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 13 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (420 \times 410 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T III/2)

Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books from the set. The tapestry displays patches of virtuoso weaving in such passages as the veined marbles and porphyry and the gleam of light catching on damask silks. Although woven only in wool and silk, with no precious-metal-wrapped threads, the weavers compensated with their remarkably abundant and daring use of color: from the architecture, to the costumes, and even the auburn red and striking silvery blue of the Roman soldiers' hair. Like the tapestry borders of other first-generation sets, this one

is decorated with fruit, flowers, and putti; here the aggressive behavior of the putti in the lower register reflects the violence of the central scene.

Two other tapestry versions of this scene survive from what Delmarcel has classed as the first generation of weavings, those in Madrid and Vienna (fig. 136). Of the later, second-generation sets, this episode survives in the sets in Munich and Toledo (fig. 137). Of all the weavings of this episode, catalogue number 38 includes the fullest version of the composition, with no cropping at all. In contrast, in Mary of Hungary's panel (now in Madrid), the commanding figure of the captain of the garrison was awkwardly abbreviated; in the precious-thread-woven set now in Vienna, this figure was excluded altogether. As in other tapestries in the second-generation editions of the series, the Munich and Toledo versions of *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* suffer from a general compression of the central scene, here occasioning the narrowing of the temple steps, so key to Coecke's clever sense of space, as well as the trimming of the expanse of sky and the truncation of the background temple's towers. In all the other versions of both generations, the priest-like figure in green loses his foot behind a pedestal, thereby diminishing the sense of momentum with which he rushes forth in catalogue number 38. Most strikingly of all, perhaps, is that this piece is the only one of all the surviving weavings of this composition to include the two leftmost protagonists exiting the temple: a face barely glimpsed and, in front of him, the wealthy but demurely dressed full-length figure. This man, with furrowed brow and concernedly set mouth, is perhaps one of Paul's followers. His distinctive features seem so particular and individualized, however, that Coecke must have designed him from life—might this be a portrait of one of Coecke's contemporaries? It remains perplexing why this figure was apparently added to the cartoon for just this particular weaving of it. But the tapestry certainly gains by his presence. EC



Fig. 137. *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Antwerp, before 1575. Wool and silk, 13 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 26 ft. 1 in. (425 \times 795 cm). Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo (San Pablo no. 5)



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39.
Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30
Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink; framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist
10⁵/₈ in. × 20 in. (27 × 50.9 cm)

Watermark: none visible

St. Annen-Museum, Kulturstiftung Hansesstadt Lübeck (AB 380)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

40.
Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30
Pen and brown and brown-gray ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache
10¹/₈ × 19³/₈ in. (25.6 × 49.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible

On base of column at lower center, *Peter van Aelst* in pen and brown ink; at lower right, inscribed [D*V?] 1526 in pen and brown ink (16th-century handwriting)

Albertina, Vienna (7581)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.



Fig. 138. *Saint Paul before Agrippa* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 9 in. × 24 ft. 3 in. (419 × 739 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T 3845)

Iconography and Subject Matter

This episode, the seventh in the nine-piece series (fifth in the seven-piece one), picks up the action after Paul's arrival in Caesarea from Jerusalem (cat. 38). Coecke's full intentions for the composition are recorded in two nearly identical drawings (cats. 39, 40), discussed in detail by Stijn Alsteens ("Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"). Designed in mirror image to the tapestry to compensate for the reversal caused during the weaving process, Coecke opened with a calm scene in the upper right of the drawings, reminiscent of the gentle *Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi* (cat. 34), that shows Paul meeting with the Roman procurator of Judea, Antonius Felix, and his wife, Drusilla; both listened to Paul preaching over the course of his extended stay in the administrative capital. The tapestry versions that include this scene, now in Detroit and Munich (figs. 116, 138), have a caption above it in the upper border: "Paul preaches Christ to procurator Felix and his wife Drusilla."¹ The central scene shows Paul pleading his case to King Herod Agrippa II, called Marcus Julius Agrippa, his sister Berenice, and Antonius Felix's successor, Porcius Festus. This is captioned in the tapestries: "Paul appeals to Caesar in the presence of Procurator Festus and King Agrippa and Berenice, and recounts to them what happened to him."² In the left background of the drawings (right in the tapestries), the narrative continues with Paul's embarkation on a ship to Rome

in order for him to put his case to the emperor in person. The inscription in the upper border of the tapestry versions reads: "Having boarded the ship with Aristarchus, Paul is escorted to Rome."³ These events are recorded in Acts 24:22–27:2.

From Drawings to Tapestries

As Guy Delmarcel discusses ("The Life of Saint Paul"), Coecke modeled Paul's pose on the figure's representation in *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* (fig. 117) in Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* series, while the setting and the stances of Agrippa and Festus reflect the *Conversion of the Proconsul* (fig. 115) in the same series, but rotated forty-five degrees.⁴ As if plucking Raphael's curly-haired youths bearing fasces from the *Conversion of the Proconsul*, Coecke included three such figures in *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa*. The lictors' presence serves to reiterate the law and authority of the Roman tribunal. But in formal terms, the two who are seated also provide Coecke with the opportunity to portray similar poses seen from different angles, furthering the intricate sense of space he developed via the oblique view of Agrippa's pavilion.

There are some minor but noteworthy differences between the drawings and most of the tapestries of this episode. Both drawings, for example, include an elegant lady lifting her skirt off the ground as she steps forward and glances out to the distance at far right; but in all the tapestry versions except that in



Fig. 139. *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Paulus von Oppenem, Brussels, before 1558. Wool and silk threads, 14 ft. 1½ in. × 22 ft. 9½ in. (430 × 695 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 32/3, A. 363-12280)

Detroit, this figure is replaced by a grave-faced, older bearded man seen in profile at the far left (figs. 138, 139). In the Detroit version from the dispersed set, which could have belonged to Henry VIII or Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (see cats. 37, 38), she is included, implying that she did feature in at least one version of the cartoon. In both drawings, the architecture is left crisp and undecorated, with plain socles, smooth column shafts, and blank pedestals. Yet in all the tapestries, the columns are ribbed and have egg-and-dart moldings for part of their height, the socles are heavily decorated, and in all but the Detroit version, the pedestals are adorned with figurative scenes, as though shallowly carved reliefs, showing pairs of erotic nudes. These are in the style of Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio.⁵ Such is the multitude of decorative details throughout the architecture that these elements must have been developed and added during the cartoon painting, once again implying Coecke's active and inventive role at this stage of the production process.

Of the three surviving weavings of *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* from the first generation of the *Life of Saint Paul* tapestry sets, the one in Detroit was not reduced, but the other two were: about an eighth of the composition is missing from the version in Mary of Hungary's set in the Spanish

Patrimonio Nacional (fig. 139), the important strip at the left side of the tapestry, which, in Coecke's drawings, included the background scene with Festus's predecessor, Antonius Felix; the other version, now in Vienna, like Mary of Hungary's probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, is even more reduced, missing both this earlier scene of Paul with Antonius Felix and Drusilla, and everything to the (woven) right of the temple, including the embarkation to Rome in the background.⁶ These curtailments were all acknowledged when the cartoon was prepared since the inscriptions that captioned these scenes were also removed from the upper border: whereas all three inscriptions are included in the full version in Detroit (fig. 116) as well as the second-generation version in Munich (fig. 138), only two inscriptions are shown on the piece in Mary of Hungary's set (fig. 139), describing the scenes of Paul's defense and of his embarkation; on the much-cropped version in Vienna, there is only one inscription, captioning the central scene. Since the edition now in Vienna, in particular, must have been extremely expensive (it was woven with an abundance of precious-metal-wrapped threads), these curtailments of Coecke's designs and the consequent gaps in the narrative must not have been considered detrimental to the overall success of a tapestry edition.

EC



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41.
Saint Paul Landing on Malta

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash

6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (15.7 × 34.9 cm)

Watermark: small coat of arms

Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist. Verso: inscribed with letter C

Draiflessen Collection (Liberna), Mettingen (D 162)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Rarely seen, this drawing is one of the few related to the *Life of Saint Paul* tapestries that document the preliminary stages of Coecke's work on the design of the series. In size, technique, and style, it is closely related to a drawing in Darmstadt for the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (cat. 25), for which a later version also survives (cat. 26; see also Alsteens, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"). The composition, which unites three different episodes from Saint Paul's visit to Malta, is complex. Especially the crowd of onlookers surrounding Paul on the beach and their varied and agitated poses make it probable that several exploratory sketches preceded the drawing. Rather than a sketch, the drawing should probably be understood as a step closer to the—in this case, lost—*petit patron*. An additional argument against its being a sketch is the framing line, which is exceptionally preserved in the sheet under discussion, and proves it was not, or hardly, cropped, unlike the Darmstadt drawing. As the empty margins show, Coecke did not include an ornamental design for the borders, at least not at this stage. The pen work is loose and swift, sometimes rather negligent, but also relatively detailed; the washes are occasionally quite painterly, as in the tree and the stormy sky above the water at

right. As in the Darmstadt drawing, Coecke went over parts of the first stage of the drawing in a darker brown ink—another sign that this was more than a sketch.

The three moments illustrated are set on the sea at right, the beach at center, and the town in the left background. They depict events related to the shipwreck of the vessel that was supposed to take Paul to Rome, where he would stand trial. Instead, the ship ran aground: "the forepart indeed, sticking fast, remained unmovable: but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the sea" (Acts 27:41). The Roman centurion in charge of Paul's transport then "commanded that they who could swim, should cast themselves first into the sea, and save themselves, and get to land" (Acts 27:43). The inhabitants of Malta, the island on which they had arrived, kindled a fire for the rescued; in Coecke's composition, the old, bearded man before the tree has been wrapped in a warm blanket. As Paul was assisting with the fire—in the drawing he carries a bundle of sticks under his arm—a viper came out of the flames and bit his hand. The Maltese at first understood this as a sign that he was "a murderer, who though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance doth not suffer him to live" (Acts 28:4); but when Paul freed himself from the snake and was not harmed, they decided he must be a god. In the left background, before the city, Paul is the tiny figure in the loggia healing the father of his host, Publius, the chief of the island; the older man was "sick of a fever, and of a bloody flux" (Acts 28:8). The news of his recovery spread, and others also came to the apostle to be healed. Among the crowd arriving, Coecke drew a man on crutches.

The subject of Paul's landing at Malta seems to have been rarely depicted before Coecke,¹ who used the billowing smoke of the fire on the beach to lend his composition unity as well



Fig. 140. *Saint Paul Landing on Malta* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, before 1558. Wool and silk, 13 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 17 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (420 \times 542 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 32/4, A. 367-12444)



Fig. 141. *Saint Paul Landing on Malta* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 \times 18 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (426 \times 571 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T71/11)

as drama. This effect is lost in the two woven versions of the composition that survive, in Madrid, from the first generation of weavings of the series (fig. 140), and in Munich, from the second (fig. 141).² In both tapestries, the swaths of smoke have been toned down, and the distant glimpse of the shipwreck

has been drawn closer to the center of the scene, excluding the expanded view of the survivors dragging themselves onto the beach. In the absence of a more finished drawing or the cartoon, it remains unknown at what stage these alterations were made and who was responsible for them.

SA



42.

42.
The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30
Pen and brown ink, brush and gray brown ink, heightened with white
gouache, on light brown prepared paper
10¹/₈ × 17¹/₂ in. (25.8 × 44.3 cm)

Watermark: none

Hamburger Kunsthalle (21544)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

43.
The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

Cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst and workshop, ca. 1535
Brush in brown ink with distemper, over black chalk
11 ft. 2⁵/₈ in. × 12 ft. 7¹/₈ in. (342 × 384 cm)

Numerous inscriptions, probably color indications, in pen and brown ink,
probably by the artist

Museum of the City of Brussels
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.
Not in exhibition

44.
The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*
Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30
Probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, Brussels,
before 1558
Wool and silk
13 ft. 10¹/₈ in. × 16 ft. 1 in. (422 × 490 cm)

Weaver's mark, probably of Paulus van Oppenem on right selvage
at bottom; inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, ALII ALIIS
SVPLICIIS DIRE AFFECTI / PIAS ANIMAS CHRISTO REDDVNT // ROME
PAVL[US] CAPETE [?] DANAT[US] [?] FLEXIS GENVB[US] / ET ERECTIS
OCVLIS SA[N]GVINE CV[M] LACTE CHR[IST]O REDIT // COMPLVRES
CRVCIBVS AFFIXI CRV- / DELI INTERITV CHRISTVM SEQVTVR

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 32/5, 10004024)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Life of Saint Paul* culminates with the stunningly dramatic *Martyrdom*, veering away from the biblical narrative in which Paul's death was not recorded. Taking his cue from later commentaries by the likes of Saint Dionysius the Corinthian, Saint Epiphanius of Salamis, Saint Jerome, and Euthalius, Coecke showed Saint Paul and his followers horribly martyred just outside Rome during what would have been the reign of Nero. The violence of Paul's demise is accentuated by the awkward, twisted poses of the Romans and the tensed bodies of Paul's living followers, their friends' severed heads and headless torsos littering the foreground, blood staining the grassy ground red. Against this gruesome chaos, Paul retains his dignity, praying to Christ even as the executioner grasps him by the hair — echoing the motif in *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* (cat. 38) — and prepares to raise his saber. In formal and compositional terms, this scene is the foil to Coecke's original intentions in the wider version of *Saint Paul Preaching to the Woman of Philippi* that is recorded in mirror image in the

drawing in Munich (cat. 33). In detailing and emotional impact, however, they are poles apart, the *Martyrdom* showing the horrific repercussions of Paul's work in the other. Unlike most of the rest of the series, there is minimal sumptuous detailing in the design of the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*, with no decorative architecture and no extravagant textiles. Even the exotic costume worn by the commander standing on the (woven) right is considerably muted in comparison with earlier scenes. Inscriptions in the border of the tapestry versions caption the full horror of the scene, the description at the left saying, "Some people having been horribly tortured, others horribly killed, they gave back their devout souls to Christ"; and at the right, "Many people were nailed to crosses, [and] followed Christ in [this] cruel way to perish." The inscription in the center cartouche of catalogue number 44 is grammatically flawed and therefore hard to decipher, but it seems to state that "In Rome Paul . . . [?] . . . [?], [with] bended knee and noble aspect, he gave back his blood with milk to Christ." Perhaps not surprisingly, this inscription was apparently not reused, with the two



other surviving tapestries of this episode (in Vienna and in Munich) instead including the more informative central caption that “With very many others, [also] believers of Christ, Paul was put to the sword because of Nero’s madness and barbarity.”¹

The drawing in Hamburg (cat. 42) was probably Coecke’s *petit patron*, intended to guide the translation of the design from its initial small scale to the huge painted cartoon. A nearly complete cartoon also survives (cat. 43). Both are discussed by Stijn Alsteens (“Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s Drawings for Tapestries”). Comparison of the surviving tapestries of this episode with the drawing and the cartoon clarifies a sense of the stages at which Coecke developed the composition. For example, in the drawing, the Roman soldier to the (drawn) left of Paul’s executioner, roughly pulling a woman by her wrist, has a cruel, young face with tousled curly hair; in the tapestries, he appears as a timeworn, gnarled figure with close-cropped hair, recognizable in type with protagonists in Coecke’s *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 2) and *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* (cat. 38). Coecke incorporated this replacement in the cartoon stage. Similarly, in the drawing, the bearded soldier to the (drawn) right wears an exotic helmet with a single metal crest; in the cartoon, Coecke developed this into an altogether more frightening horned animal’s head, like those traditionally worn by Roman standard-bearers. Other surviving cartoon fragments attributed to Coecke (cats. 28, 31, 32, 36, 62, fig. 124) hint at the artistry in their execution, but the extraordinary expanse of the Brussels cartoon allows appreciation of Coecke’s touch, almost certainly by his own hand, throughout, from the characterization of faces to the modeling of forms under drapery. The care with which Saint Paul is represented is breathtaking, with his furrowed brow and the great sadness of his expression rendered with the minimum of contours, and the tempera highlighting infusing his face and hair with life. Like any skilled cartoon painter, Coecke used line sparsely to keep the composition clear and easily translatable for the weavers who would copy this model at the loom. However, the painting has none of the rigid sterility of most other known tapestry-cartoon fragments from this period, which were apparently executed by cartoon specialists faithfully scaling up a master’s designs with little artistic input of their own expected or, indeed, allowed. In this difference of approach, Coecke’s cartoon is comparable with the other great early sixteenth-century surviving examples, Raphael’s *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry cartoons in the British Royal Collection.²

The *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* cartoon in Brussels is not the original one of the composition, for that has since been lost. The initial cartoon must have been made by 1530, in time for the weaving of the earliest documented tapestry set, which was recorded in Francis I’s hands by January 1533. However, as Maryan Ainsworth discusses (“Pieter Coecke van Aelst as a Panel Painter”), recent infrared reflectographic examination of the cartoon in Brussels has revealed that, in underdrawing



technique, catalogue number 43 bears minimal resemblance to Coecke’s other works dated to the late 1520s and early 1530s and instead shows the characteristics he developed only after his experiences in Italy in 1533. About 1535, at the time Coecke was apparently augmenting his *Saint Paul* series with two extra scenes, the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books*, he also painted a new *Martyrdom* cartoon, catalogue number 43. The outlines of the image on the cartoon were pricked to transfer the outlines of the design onto new supports and perhaps also the tapestry warps



44

themselves. In addition, there is evidence that the design on the Brussels cartoon was itself achieved by following a model pricked for transfer; the most likely source was Coecke's earlier *Martyrdom* cartoon, replicated for reasons about which we can only conjecture. Discussing the drawings for the *Conversion of Saul* (cat. 27, figs. 111, 112), Alsteens ("Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries") notes that Coecke was apparently a perfectionist who would rather draw a new *petit patron* from scratch than compromise it with a small alteration. It is not so strange to imagine the original *Martyrdom* cartoon returning to

Coecke's workshop for replication, and perhaps repair, about the time he was designing two new episodes. As discussed above, weavers must regularly have returned some *Saint Paul* cartoons to Coecke's workshop at various stages between weavings to amend and supplement figures (see cats. 34, 38, and 39). Coecke seems to have reined in his designs of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* and the *Burning of the Heathen Books* to coordinate as harmoniously as possible with the style of the earlier existing episodes (in fact, Alsteens, in cats. 25 and 26, contends that the *petits patrons* for these additional episodes were made

at the same time as the rest of the series and simply not painted up into cartoons or woven into tapestries before 1539). On the surface of this cartoon, Coecke similarly avoided stylistic innovation, but the underdrawing tells its own story.

For all its great beauty as an autonomous work of art, the cartoon was essentially a valuable working tool and just one step in the production process. As such, it was retained in workshops, mended, and reused by craftsmen until at least the early eighteenth century, when it was included among a group of cartoons in the estate of the Brussels tapestry master weaver Albert Auwercx, inventoried in 1714.³ A late seventeenth-century tapestry of the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* in the Museum of the City of Brussels (fig. 142) reveals that the cartoon had already lost quite a substantial vertical strip, about a quarter of the total work, from its right side before that tapestry was woven, with the large modern patch of foliage in the lower right corner already included in slightly different form.⁴ Subsequent to the weaving of Auwercx's tapestry, the cartoon lost almost as wide a strip from its left edge, and with it the figures of the commander and the lictor.

The Tapestry in Mary of Hungary's Edition

Catalogue number 44 was part of the set that belonged to Mary of Hungary (1505–1558), governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, and was included in the inventory of her possessions

drawn up in 1558. Some of the tapestries in this partially surviving set (five pieces remain in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional) bear a weaver's mark indicating an O and a P, which Guy Delmarcel ("The Life of Saint Paul") has convincingly suggested might be that of a Brussels weaver named Paulus van Oppenem. The mark of this same master weaver is also on some of the *Life of Saint Paul* set in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; its early provenance is not known, but by the late sixteenth century, it belonged to the dukes of Lorraine (see cat. 34). Van Oppenem was also, apparently, responsible for Henry VIII's edition of the Coecke-designed *Seven Deadly Sins*, of which one piece, *Avarice*, survives in the Morgan Library in New York (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins"). Though not as well known now as such master weavers as Willem de Pannemaker (cats. 47, 64) or Willem de Kempeneer (cat. 60), Van Oppenem also directed weavers who were clearly very skilled and able to tackle the nuances of Coecke's cartoons. Mary of Hungary's set was probably one of the earlier editions, since it consisted of only seven, rather than nine, tapestries. Like the set made before the mid-1540s for Henry VIII (the second of this series that he acquired), it was woven only with wool and silk and did not contain any precious-metal-wrapped threads. It includes the lush borders composed of clusters of fruit and flowers, with cavorting putti at the corners, which have been stylistically dated to the 1530s and early 1540s. In this piece, pairs of putti



Fig. 142. *The Martyrdom of Saint Paul* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529. Tapestry woven under the direction of Albert Auwercx, Brussels, ca. 1678. Wool and silk, 9 ft. 2¼ in. × 13 ft. 9⅞ in. (280 × 420 cm). Museum of the City of Brussels (E1921/1)



Fig. 143. *The Martyrdom of Saint Paul* from the *Life of Saint Paul*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 7¾ in. × 24 ft. 2⅛ in. (416 × 737 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T 3856)

support platters on their heads; the other *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (Kunsthistorisches Museum), also apparently woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, differs slightly, perhaps more in keeping with the grim subject matter, for its putti struggle as they ride on frightening crouched fauns.

It is particularly noteworthy that, although the Brussels cartoon (cat. 43) remained in use well over a century after Coecke's death, it was apparently not one of the cartoons owned by the Fuggers in Antwerp and used for what Delmarcel has termed in his essay the second generation of weavings. Comparison of the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* in Munich (fig. 143) with catalogue number 44 and with the *Martyrdom* in Vienna reveals that, as with the other episodes in the second generation (see cat. 29), the central composition has been compressed slightly. Most noticeably the two earlier tapestries follow the Hamburg drawing and the Brussels cartoon, and leave a discernible gap between the lock of Paul's hair in the executioner's grip and the pair of horsemen in the middle ground above riding toward the execution site. In the slightly compressed version in Munich,

by contrast, this horizontal strip of ground has been pinched in such a way that the horses' hooves are level with and even overlap the lock of Paul's hair. This compression continues in subtle pockets throughout the composition of the tapestry in Munich, also lowering the background hillocks and awkwardly causing the figure climbing the tree at the (woven) left to tap his foot on the crown of the head of the man pursuing him. There is no physical evidence of folding or trimming on the Brussels cartoon to have enabled this, and such is the complexity with which the compression is tiered throughout the composition that these changes could not have been substituted by the weavers without a painted model to guide them. Thus, it seems increasingly apparent that, as suggested in catalogue number 29, the set of *Life of Saint Paul* cartoons owned by the Fuggers by the 1560s was a near duplicate but amended set, quite possibly painted after Coecke's death, with updated, fashionably wide borders but perpetuating the essence of Coecke's designs for a second generation of patrons.

EC

CUSTOMS AND FASHIONS OF THE TURKS

Nadine M. Orenstein

COECKE'S SPECTACULAR *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (*Moeurs et fachons de fair de Turcz*) is unique in the history of printmaking.¹ The woodcut, composed of seven scenes printed from ten carved woodblocks, measures about fifteen feet in length. The frieze evokes in pictures the people, customs, and landscape of the Ottoman Empire that Coecke witnessed on the journey he took to Constantinople (now Istanbul) in 1533. The print was not issued by his wife, Mayken Verhulst, until 1553, twenty years later and three years after the artist's death. It was based on Coecke's designs drawn after his return and intended most likely for an unrealized tapestry series. The naturalistic rendering of the traditions and habits of foreign cultures set before panoramic landscapes and city views in frieze form was unprecedented in Netherlandish art at the time.

The title page of the print (fig. 144) reveals the source of Coecke's imagery: it states that the scenes were "au vif contrefaictes par Pierre Coeck d'Alost, luy estant en Turquie, l'An de Iesuschrist M.D. 33" (drawn from life by Pierre Coeck d'Alost, when he was in Turkey, the year of our lord M.D. 33). Karel van Mander described Coecke's voyage in his biography of the artist, published in 1604:

He was urged on by some tradesmen, tapestry-makers from Brussels called Van der Moeyen, to travel to Constantinople in Turkey where they were planning to undertake something special by making beautiful, costly tapestries for the Great Turk, and they got Pieter to paint some things for that purpose to show the Turkish Emperor; but since the Turk, according to his Mohammedan Law, did not want figures of people or animals, it was fruitless and nothing came of it—except that a useless journey and high expenses incurred. Pieter, who was there for about a year, learned the Turkish language, and, as he could not be idle, he meanwhile, for his own pleasure, drew the city of Constantinople from life with many neighboring locations; these things are published in woodcut print.²

The accuracy of the specific details in Van Mander's account may be questionable, but archival sources provide evidence for the trip.³ The Augsburg merchant Jacob Rehlinger and the Antwerp merchant of luxury goods Pieter van der Walle signed a contract, still extant, with the Brussels tapestry maker Willem Dermoyen on June 15, 1533. In the contract, the two merchants arranged with the tapestry maker for an option to create new editions of Bernard van Orley's *Hunts of Maximilian* and *Battle of Pavia*, and they received samples of each series to send abroad.⁴ A second document between Rehlinger and a Venetian jeweler, Marco di Niccolò, signed in Venice two



Fig. 144. Title page and first scene with borders, *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1553. Woodcut. British Museum, London (E,6.1)

months later, on August 18, 1533, clarifies further that the sample tapestries were to be offered for sale by the Venetian to Süleyman the Magnificent, whom Van Mander called the Great Turk. It seems likely that the merchants were hoping the Ottoman sultan, wanting to rival Western monarchs, would commission a set of tapestries glorifying his reign.⁵ Van Mander's statement that Dermoyen got Coecke to paint some images for tapestries has led some to assume that the images in the woodcut were the ones that they tried to sell to Süleyman. It is unlikely, however, that Coecke produced the designs for the present woodcut before he went to Constantinople to show to the sultan, since stylistically they seem later. Indeed Van Mander mentioned that Coecke made drawings while he was there. Coecke, who clearly had an interest in Eastern subjects, must have taken advantage of the trip for the possibility of seeing this part of the world up close. The costumes and settings that he observed there certainly informed a good deal of his later work.

As Van Mander noted, the tapestry commission never materialized. This statement is confirmed by Cornelis de Schepper, a Netherlander who was in Constantinople at the same time as Coecke and the tapestry merchants. De Schepper, sent by Charles V to negotiate a treaty with Süleyman, wrote in a letter to the emperor that the merchants were experiencing difficulties in their efforts to sell Süleyman the tapestries.⁶

While Coecke is not mentioned in any of the documents relating to the expedition, he can be connected to the various figures involved. Rehlinger certainly knew Coecke: about a decade later he translated Book IV of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise into German for Coecke's 1542 publication of the work (see cat. 17). Coecke can also be connected to the expedition via the

Antwerp merchant Van der Walle, who sold a set of the artist's *Sins* (cats. 46–53) to Mary of Hungary in 1544. Coecke may have started designing the series before he left for Turkey. It is not known when Coecke might have departed for Constantinople. Annick Born posits that he may have gone along with De Schepper, who arrived in Constantinople in May 1533, or he may have left Venice with the sample tapestries soon after the date of the second contract, August 18, 1533.⁷

How the drawings that Coecke must have created during his trip evolved into the present frieze is not clear. The inscription on the title page (see fig. 144) states that he prepared the images for the printing process: “lequel aussy de sa main propre a pourtraict ces figures duysantes à l'imprimer d'ycelles” (who also by his own hand drew these figures for use in printing them). It should be noted that Coecke would not have cut the actual woodblocks himself. This task, which was executed with great refinement in this instance, would have been reserved for a professional block cutter, of which there were many in Antwerp at the time.⁸ Whether the inscription means that the frieze was already in production when Coecke passed away and that he had drawn the figures directly on to the woodblocks, as was customary, or that Verhulst created the frieze from preexisting drawings by her husband as a tribute to him is uncertain.⁹ As Cecilia Paredes has pointed out, this substantial undertaking must have been meant to capitalize on a fascination with Turkish customs that can also be seen in European literature of the 1540s and early 1550s.¹⁰ In fact, Gillis Coppens van Diest, who printed *Le triumphe d'Anvers* and several editions of Serlio's treatise for Coecke and Verhulst, was one of the main publishers of this type of literature in Antwerp.

The frieze was originally accompanied along its length by an architectural entablature and a base, the latter bearing a descriptive text in French that elucidates Coecke's images. In addition, ornately framed title and colophon pages were attached at the beginning and end (fig. 144).¹¹ These elements are lacking in the impression exhibited here, though it includes a Dutch inscription in an early hand that provides descriptive captions for the images. Van Mander indicated that the scenes should be read from right to left starting with the image of Süleyman on horseback proceeding through Constantinople; however, the French text that originally accompanied the frieze numbered the scenes from left to right beginning with the scene of the travelers' camp at night.¹² We will follow the latter arrangement as we delve into the images below.

While the seven episodes of the frieze are distinct, separated by terms (male and female columnar figures) in Turkish dress, a loose narrative of sorts exists. It is only partly a chronicle of a journey to Constantinople; about midway through, the story leaves the Westerners behind and shifts its focus directly to Ottoman subjects. The first three images of the print provide a taste of the route that travelers to Constantinople would have experienced—such trips averaged four to six weeks in length.¹³ Here the Europeans are represented as a long procession of travelers with laden horses winding their way through varied terrain. The initial scene depicts a nighttime encampment. The travelers, at the upper right, make their way down a steep and rocky path. In the middle ground, Europeans, Turks, and people of other nationalities distinguished by their dress build fires, bed down their horses, and fall asleep. The French inscription that accompanied the frieze identifies the location as Slavonia (now eastern Croatia). At front and center stands a figure extending an arm in gesture toward a man in profile about to plant a standard in the earth. The gesturing man was identified by Van Mander as a self-portrait of Coecke (fig. 146).¹⁴ Indeed, his square, bearded face bears some resemblance to the portrait of Coecke engraved by Jan (Johannes) Wierix (see fig. 1). The second scene depicts the expedition making its way from mountainous terrain to lower elevations. Peddlers approach to sell drink, food, and even horseshoes. The accompanying



Fig. 145. Detail of *Mars and Venus Bathing*. Giulio Romano, ca. 1526–28. Fresco. Sala di Psiche, Palazzo Te, Mantua



Fig. 146. Detail of cat. 45, section 1



Fig. 147. *The Muster at Barcelona* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Tapestry designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1546–48. Tapestry woven by Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1548–51. Wool, silk, and precious-metal wrapped threads, 17 ft. 5½ in. × 23 ft. 5½ in. (532 × 715 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/2, A32510761)

inscription identifies these locals as “femmes gregeoises,” or Greek women. The men with pointed hats who attend to the horses have been identified as Bulgarian.¹⁵

The third scene functions as a transition between the European travelers, who leave the viewer behind, and the Turks, who now dominate the representation. In the distant background, the expedition descends to the foot of a mountain, where the travelers prepare to traverse a river and move off to the right. In the foreground, another group on horseback proceeds diagonally over a hill. They head in the opposite direction from the Europeans and they wear distinctly Turkish clothing. On the left, a circle of the Easterners shares a meal; on the far right, a man fills a bottle from a spout while another squats to relieve himself on the ground. Farther back three Muslims are praying.

From the fourth image on, we are securely in the world of the Ottoman Turks and their customs. The scene depicts the Festival of the New Moon at the end of the Ramadan fast. The appearance in the evening sky of a slender lunar crescent, in the upper right, inaugurates the celebrations for the onlookers, several of whom carry torches. Additional celebrants arrive in a crowded cart. In the landscape behind them stand a mosque and a hill town that has been identified as

Philippopolis (in Bulgaria).¹⁶ The plain in the distance is dotted by numerous tumuli; these are ancient burial mounds located near the Maritsa River.¹⁷ The following scene shows a contemporary Turkish burial. A funeral party makes its way up a hill carrying the deceased on a stretcher. The group approaches a cemetery where, on the left, a man prepares the grave. The city on the hillside in the background has been identified as Andrinople (now Edirne, Turkey).¹⁸ In the sixth scene, we finally arrive in Constantinople, the city renamed for the Roman emperor Constantine, which was now the center of the Ottoman Empire. Set before a view of the city that stretches into the following scene, a procession celebrating the circumcision of a small boy is taking place. He is seen here carried on the shoulders of a woman at center. The ritual is identified in the French text, but Van Mander mistakenly described it as a wedding.¹⁹ A cheerful parade of figures led by musicians crosses the foreground. In the left background, a group of men dance in a circle to proclaim the good news. Several important monuments can be distinguished on the skyline: on the left the Church of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator, in the center the Church of the Holy Apostles, and on the right the Süleymaniye Mosque, built not long before Coecke's trip. In the seventh and final scene, a lengthy procession winds its way through the center of Constantinople toward the minareted Fatih Mosque, prominent on the horizon at left. Most significant among the riders who file past the Hippodrome, a landmark of the city's Greco-Roman past, is Süleyman the Magnificent, shown in strict profile on the right. The print has served scholars as valuable testimony to the appearance not only of Ottoman architecture but also of the major monuments of the city following its fall to the Turks in 1453.²⁰ The buildings around the Hippodrome have been condensed and slightly rearranged to fit the image, but many are identifiable. Among them is Hagia Sophia, the great church turned mosque, visible on the horizon at right, just to the left of the Egyptian obelisk erected in the Hippodrome by Theodosius in 390. The column with the twisted serpents, brought from Delphi by Constantine in 324, appears on the right just behind the sultan. The large tower to the left of Hagia Sophia may be the Galata Tower constructed by the Genoese.

As Born has noted, the iconographic program of the frieze shares certain characteristics with Van Orley's *Hunts of Maximilian* (see figs. 49, 133), which paired images of the everyday life of the nobleman, later emperor, with topographical sites of Habsburg power in the Netherlands under his successor Charles V. Likewise, the frieze surveys important areas of the Ottoman Empire and pairs Süleyman with significant monuments in Constantinople.²¹

While Coecke must have brought home many sketches of people and customs "drawn from life" during his trip, he depicted the scenes in the frieze through the lens of a sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist steeped in a vocabulary of figures and compositions originating in Renaissance and earlier sources. For instance, he took the pose of his own figure in the first scene from that of the nude Mars in the Sala di Psiche in Mantua's Palazzo Te, which dates to about 1526–28 (fig. 145).²² Coecke's figure, with extended arm, mirrors Mars, who stands in the same pose in reverse. It is suggested in this catalogue that Coecke may have returned from Constantinople via Italy, and this visual quote certainly provides evidence that he visited Mantua. Coecke's figural sources can also be found among German prints. Julius Held noted that the composition of the Festival of the New Moon relates to Albrecht Dürer's etching *Landscape with Cannon* (1518).²³ Coecke's echoing of this earlier image featuring Turks and Hungarians suggests that he was looking at prints with related subject matter as he created his designs. Another print depicting Eastern types that Coecke must have consulted is Martin Schongauer's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (ca. 1575). It appears to have served as inspiration for the scene of Süleyman riding past the Hippodrome, with its procession of figures diminishing in size on the left, as they move into the background, and

a mounted figure in profile on the right.²⁴ The figure of Süleyman on horseback is indebted to the mounted knight in Dürer's famous print *Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513).²⁵ Coecke is likely responsible for inserting the same pose for the figure of Charles V, as well as a Schongauer-inspired procession into the distance, in the *Muster at Barcelona* from the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry set (fig. 147).

Customs and Fashions of the Turks was not exceptional as a long printed frieze. The producers of this piece must have been aware of at least some of the multiplate woodcut friezes that preceded it, including several created in the Netherlands, in particular *King of Cochin* by Hans Burgkmair (1508), *Triumph of Christ* after Titian (1517), *Nine Heroes* by Lucas van Leyden (ca. 1520), *Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian I* by Albrecht Altdorfer, Burgkmair, Dürer, and others (1526), and, most notably, Jan Swart van Groningen's *Süleyman and His Cortege* (1526).²⁶ *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*, however, bears many signs that it was initially meant as a design for a set of tapestries. The predecessors mentioned above share a common trait that distinguishes them from Coecke's piece: they depict processions, typically with a long line of figures parading one after the other across the entirety of the frieze, usually against a blank or minimal background that provides little indication of location. While *Customs* begins and ends with processions of sorts—a trail of travelers winds its way through the first three scenes, and the frieze ends with the procession of Süleyman and his cortege through Constantinople, a scene that harks back to earlier triumphal prints—Coecke's print differs from the earlier works in its episodic quality. Each scene is separate from the next and treats a distinct subject. In this respect, the sequence of the frieze relates more to tapestry series. The architectural elements framing the images—the entablature and inscribed base, as well as the terms—also place the piece further into the realm of tapestries, which often were accompanied by architectural surroundings and inscriptions. Finally, the compositions with figures close to the picture plane, set before expansive landscape settings that look as if they might be wandered through by the viewer, relate more to Coecke's tapestry designs than to prints of this period.



45.

Customs and Fashions of the Turks

Moeurs et fachons de fair de Turcz

After Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1553

Published by Mayken Verhulst

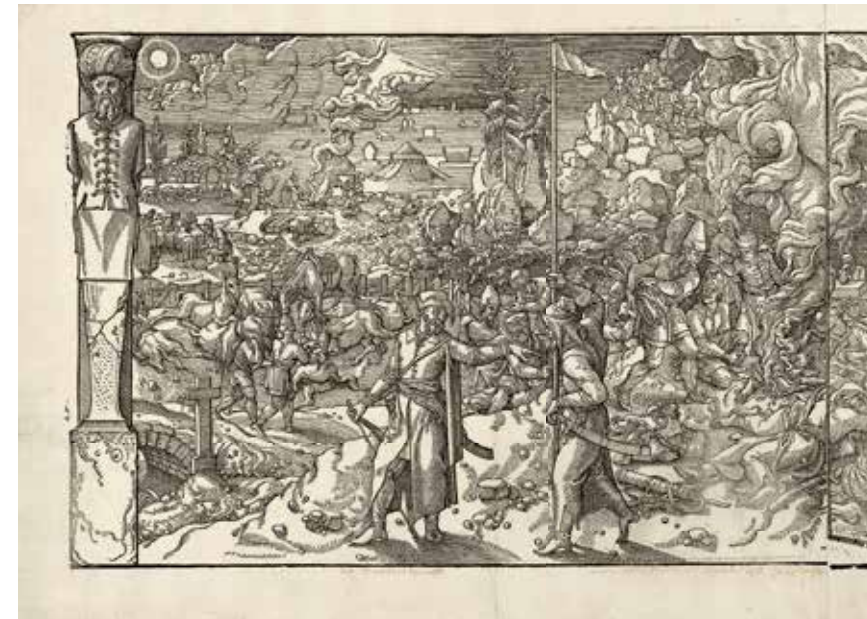
Woodcut, frieze printed from ten blocks

1 ft. 2 in. × 14 ft. 11³/₈ in. (35.5 × 455.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.85.1-7a,b)

See Checklist, pp. 366-74.



section 1



section 4



section 5



section 6



section 2



section 3



section 7



THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

Elizabeth Cleland

AFTER PIETER COECKE van Aelst's spectacular achievement with the *Life of Saint Paul*, his next surviving tapestry series is the seven-piece *Seven Deadly Sins*, of which at least five sets were woven. Coecke's authorship of these designs was acknowledged in a contemporary manuscript (cat. 46) that describes these tapestries "of which master Pieter van Aelst, painter of Antwerp, made the designs and compositions." This, combined with Coecke's stylistic characteristics in the series, renders it one of the few securely attributed works in his oeuvre.

Iconography and Design

The seven deadly, or capital, sins are pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust, as ruminated on in that order by Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) in his *Summa Theologica* (I–II.84.4) and by Saint Bonaventure (1221–1274) in his *Breviloquium* (III.ix). The conflict between the vices and the virtues for mankind's soul had long been a subject dear to the medieval heart, building on a revival of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, and there was no shortage of literary inspiration, from printed albums of iconological exempla to morality plays and tracts like the *Buch von den sieben Todsünden und den sieben Tugenden* (published in Augsburg in the 1470s and 1480s), the *Moralité de l'homme pécheur* (published by Antoine Vérard in Paris in 1481), Pierre Gringore's *Chasteau de Labour* (published by Vérard in 1499), and *Elckerlijck* (published in 1495, loosely translated into English as *Everyman* in the 1520s).¹ These vices would have been familiar as allegorical figures in earlier tapestry series, where they were often identified in banderoles, from the *Allegory of the Redemption of Man*, dating to the turn of the sixteenth century, to the *Triumph of the Virtues over the Vices* of the 1510s, and the *Moralidades* and *Honores* series of the 1520s, these last often attributed to Bernard van Orley.² However, by minimizing the mirroring virtues, Coecke took a step away from the moral didacticism that the earlier works shared.

It has often been noted that Coecke must have been provided with an iconographic program for this series and that he followed a detailed descriptive text composed by some as yet unidentified humanist scholar. Jan-Karel Steppe's discovery of the manuscript in Madrid (cat. 46), which claims to describe the "Significance of the seven tapestries of the seven deadly sins for Willem de Pannemaker of which master Pieter of Aelst, painter of Antwerp, made the designs and compositions," bears this out: although the surviving transcription appears to postdate the tapestries

(they are referred to as already extant, and the watermark has been associated with paper produced between 1546 and 1553), it almost certainly records the directive text provided to Coecke as he embarked on the designs.³ A later inscription also mentioning Willem de Pannemaker has been added in a different hand, in grammatically elusive Latin.⁴ The document was later bound together with a printed ordinance of Francis I, king of France, dated July 24, 1534, and with a handwritten copy of a prognostication, probably celebrating Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and written about 1520.⁵ An analysis of the latter prompted Jan Veenstra to suggest that this bound volume of texts belonged to Mary of Hungary and was taken by her back to Spain after her retirement as governor of the Habsburg Netherlands in 1555.⁶

In the manuscript, every protagonist is identified by name, with the circumstance of his or her commitment of the sin in question explained, and the general compositional distribution of the figures across the tapestries indicated. However, Coecke did not blindly follow the directions given to him. Indeed, such are the discrepancies that it has been posited, albeit unconvincingly given the heading of the manuscript, that its author was not referring to the tapestries themselves but rather to a since-lost series of Coecke's preliminary drawings.⁷ Coecke seems to have been constrained to stick to the instructions, but he stretched their application to the limit. Whereas the manuscript gives almost equal prominence to counterfoil virtuous protagonists, in the tapestries Coecke included them only as tiny background narrative episodes, hardly visible to the naked eye, awarding all prominence to his procession of sinners; whereas the manuscript names each and every figure, Coecke, after dallying with this traditional device in preliminary drawings



Fig. 148. *Scriptura* from the *Moralidades*. Designed by an artist working in the circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1515. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, probably Brussels, before 1528. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 18 ft. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (415 \times 566 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 5/1 A. 258-6758)



Fig. 149. *Prudence* from the *Triumph of the Seven Virtues*. Designed by an artist working in the circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1530. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, Brussels, ca. 1535. Wool and silk, 14 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 18 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (450 \times 559 cm). Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (62.19.3)

like *Sloth* (cat. 51), excluded any identifying text from his scenes, thereby avoiding a cacophony of names; whereas the manuscript crowds fifteen, twenty, as many as thirty, figures into each tapestry, Coecke, though sticking to these numbers, diminished the scale of some to render them minuscule and inconspicuous bystanders. By making these simple changes, Coecke took what was essentially a very traditional, conventional scheme and transformed it into something that must have seemed astonishingly modern to his contemporaries.

Although the description of each vice in the written program draws to a close with a rhyming couplet, these are not included in the tapestries. Instead, there is a two-line inscription in Latin in a cartouche in the upper border of each of the *Sins* tapestries. Each of the four sets that still retain their borders displays a different border design; even so, the inscription associated with each sin is repeated almost verbatim in all the sets, implying some sort of memorandum that was reused in preparing the borders for the weaving of each new *Sins* edition. This memorandum cannot have been the French written program as it is preserved in the Madrid manuscript, for it does not include the Latin captions. Although the author of the French program is not known, the Latin

inscriptions can be identified as selections from the *Hecatodistichon*, also called the *Distiques moraux*, composed by Publio Fausto Andrelini (1450–1518), published in Paris from 1512 onward.⁸ Andrelini, commonly known as Fauste Andrelin, though born in Forlì and trained in Bologna, spent most of his professional life in Paris, where he arrived in 1488. Working at the University of Paris, he enjoyed the protection of the French kings Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I.⁹ Also in a development from the written program, Coecke’s designs backdrop each of the *Sins* against a city appropriate to the protagonists: Babylon for *Pride*; Siracusa and Delphi for *Avarice*; Rome for *Lust*; Constantinople for *Envy*; Bethulia for *Gluttony*; Jerusalem for *Anger*; and Nineveh for *Sloth*.

Coecke’s designs for the *Seven Deadly Sins* were approximately contemporary to the anonymous *Triumph of the Seven Virtues* tapestry series (fig. 149), but while that series picked up where the *Moralidades* (fig. 148) left off, Coecke leaped ahead and achieved something quite radical in its departure from convention.¹⁰ In Coecke’s simple and uncluttered visual translation of the written program, the massive cast of characters was whittled down to a handful per tapestry, providing room to develop each figure in a careful ballet of poses within a believably light and airy panoramic landscape setting. The scenes are imbued with a startlingly innovative clarity, setting these tapestries eons apart from their precursors stylistically, if not by date. Consciously rejecting the packed stage sets of Bernard van Orley’s *Honores* or the swarming crowds of the *Moralidades*, Coecke stripped the theme down to a splendidly uncluttered effect. He borrowed the compositional device of a sequence of chariots that had already been developed in illustrated texts and tapestries of *Petrarch’s Triumphs*, a subject that Coecke may have gone on to tackle in stained-glass design.¹¹ As has sometimes been noted, the general composition of the *Sins* also seems to give a nod to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni’s recently completed *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio*.¹² In Coecke’s series, a kind of subversive triumphal procession of sin progresses from left to right,



Fig. 150. *Avarice* from the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, Brussels, before 1536. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 7 in. × 24 ft. 3 in. (475 × 739 cm). The Morgan Library and Museum, New York (AZ130)



Fig. 151. *Envy* from the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1548–49. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 22 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (450 \times 685 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XXX 3)

between and across the seven tapestries. The order of the tapestries set out in the manuscript differs from the sequence used by Saints Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure; when a set of the tapestries was displayed hanging side by side, according to the written program, this inglorious parade would seem to advance around the room, creating the effect of a wonderful circular procession from *Pride* through *Avarice*, *Lust*, *Envy*, *Gluttony*, and *Anger* to *Sloth*, and back to *Pride*.

If the composition of the *Seven Deadly Sins* was radically different from the previous decades' monumental allegories, the design of some of the figures peopling the processions acknowledged Orleyesque precedent. The roots of the figure of Cleopatra in *Gluttony* and of the central horse in *Lust*, for example, lie in the unicorn-riding Chastity in *Scriptura*, the third piece in the *Moralidades* series (fig. 148). They do not come as a surprise if, as we suppose, the younger Coecke spent time with Bernard van Orley and collaborated on some of the massive cartoons for tapestry designs that seem to have come out of his workshop. Other aspects, though, predict or coincide with Coecke's stylistic developments of the 1530s, like the suitably drooping trees and torpid donkey of *Sloth* (cat. 53) that reoccur in the exhausted *Caravanes* in the second panel of the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* print frieze (cat. 45).

Dating

The design of the *Seven Deadly Sins* series had traditionally been ascribed to 1537 based on a date on a drawing of *Pride* in Frankfurt (see cat. 47), until Thomas Campbell pointed out that the earliest documented weaving of the *Seven Deadly Sins* had already been completed by September 1536.¹³ Indeed, it might even have been made by September 1535, because sometime between these two dates this first set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* was recorded in the collection of Henry VIII, king of



Fig. 152. *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Titian, 1520–23. Oil on canvas, 69½ × 75 in. (176.5 × 191 cm). National Gallery, London (NG35)

England. The reference was a record not of delivery but, rather, of payment for lining the tapestries, which Campbell has reasonably interpreted to indicate that the set must have been a very recent addition to the collection. Only one tapestry survives from Henry's set; it is *Avarice*, now at the Morgan Library, New York (fig. 150). Given the high quality of this tapestry's weave, its detail, its tight warp count and sophisticated technique, and the complexity of its raw materials, which include silver-gilt-wrapped threads, it probably took as much as a year to complete, even if it was woven at an incredibly intense pace. To weave all seven tapestries of Henry's set must have taken the better part of two years, whether they were made simultaneously in a spectacularly well-organized workshop with about three or four looms in use, or as a joint venture in a pair of workshops. This would put the starting date of the weaving to the autumn of 1534 at the latest. Painting the seven massive cartoons, none of which has survived, must have dominated Coecke's activities throughout much of 1534: as argued

in catalogue number 43, the exquisite quality of the surviving cartoon fragments for the *Life of Saint Paul* implies that Coecke took on much of the execution of cartoons for his tapestry projects himself, rather than relying on a team of collaborators, which seems to have resulted in the unevenness of some of the more fast-paced projects that are sometimes attributed to Van Orley, like the *Honores*.

This must have been an extremely busy time for Coecke. He had spent most of 1533 traveling to, around, and back from Constantinople. Bearing in mind the time Coecke needed to accommodate the 1535–36 ownership of Henry's finished tapestries, Campbell has suggested that he must have made the designs between about 1532 and 1533, that is, before his voyage began. It is indeed likely that the commission for the series came as early as 1532, with the iconographic program written and Coecke starting to conceive the designs. The references to figures in the *Moralidades* indicate a lingering indebtedness to Orleyesque design, and as Campbell has shown, other figures, such as the girls representing Timidity and Despair in *Sloth* (cat. 53), fit stylistically with Coecke's earliest drawings (cat. 8).¹⁴ The drawing for *Sloth* (cat. 51) similarly shows Coecke's initial intention to include conventional inscriptions naming the characters listed in the program. However, some catalyst seems to have steered Coecke away from this course and, in more general terms, to push the *Seven Deadly Sins* series into new design territory.

The finished designs likely postdate Coecke's experiences of the Middle East. There are clear parallels between the series and Coecke's drawn records of his trip, later formalized and published in the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45), not least the sense of space, the setting, and the compositional device of continuous panoramic landscape with verdant middle ground and distant mountainous terrain. In *Sloth*, the Süleyman the Magnificent-like figure representing the written program's "Saracens" seems to demonstrate a greater understanding, even of details like turban construction, than the fantastically exotic observer in *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* (cat. 37). The figure also hints at experience deeper than simply a good print source

(and such a source remains to be identified). According to Alsteens, Ainsworth, and Orenstein (see cats. 19, 22, and 45), Coecke, returning from Constantinople through Italy, must have visited and learned from Giulio Romano's frescoes in progress at the Palazzo Te in Mantua. In *Gluttony*, the sin's fluttering drapery, the oblique glance and irresistible dynamism of the Bacchus-like figure, and the leering, nearly naked Silenus with his weighted stance make it tempting to conjecture that Coecke might also have stopped at Alfonso d'Este's court in nearby Ferrara and seen Titian's work in the Camerino of the Castello Estense (fig. 152).¹⁵

It seems, therefore, that Coecke could have received the commission and the iconographic instructions for the *Seven Deadly Sins* in 1532 and started work on its conception but completed and perfected his designs during and immediately after his travels in Constantinople. Probably back in Antwerp in late 1533, he could have had the drawn designs finished by the beginning of 1534, which would allow six to eight months to paint the cartoons and deliver them to the weavers by late summer 1534 at the latest. This might also help to explain why the iconographic program feels so dated compared to the tapestries. Only a year or two may have passed, but Coecke had lived through a lifetime of new experiences. There are other indications of a change in taste, or perhaps notions of appropriateness, between the writing of the program and the final design of the tapestries; in *Avarice*, for example, the programmer's sinful "ecclesiastical figures" were diluted to dandily dressed members of the laity.

Genesis of the Series and Chronology of the Tapestry Sets

Tapestries from five sets of the *Seven Deadly Sins* have survived. Each set is distinguished by a different border design. In the cases in which duplicates of the same episode have survived, it is apparent that there are shifts in palette and in the detailing of costumes and other apparel among the different sets. From a combination of dates provided by documentary evidence and sequential changes in border design (discussed in greater detail in cats. 47–53), these sets can be chronologically situated.

The earliest documented edition was probably the one belonging to Henry VIII, if the Coecke set mentioned in the king's 1547 posthumous inventory was indeed the *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestries that were in the Tower of London by September 1535–September 1536. Of that set, only *Avarice* (now at the Morgan Library, New York) survives (fig. 150); it bears as weaver's mark an uppercase letter P in a circle. Edith Standen suggested this might have been an early iteration of Willem de Pannemaker's mark, but Guy Delmarcel has recently and more convincingly proposed that this was the mark used by the Brussels master weaver Paulus van Oppenem, who was also apparently responsible for two surviving sets of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* (cats. 34, 44).¹⁶ Records have not been kept of the circumstances of Henry VIII's purchase or of his subsequent enjoyment of the tapestries, but the *Sins* were clearly among the more sumptuous tapestries in the increasingly splendid royal collection. At the time of the 1649 Commonwealth sale, the set was given a very high valuation (2,430 pounds) and was among the tapestry series held aside for Oliver Cromwell's use; it was hanging in the Paradise Room of Hampton Court Palace at his death.¹⁷

The second edition was probably the one delivered to Mary of Hungary (1505–1558), governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, by the Antwerp-based dealer Pieter van der Walle in November 1544 for the sum of 8,256 livres (paid in installments; see cat. 47); this was woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker and one other as yet unidentified weaver. Although the supplier of Henry VIII's set is not known, Pieter van der Walle did provide the English royal court with luxury

goods, as Campbell has shown.¹⁸ By 1539 Van der Walle received the protection of a grant of safe conduct from Henry on the understanding that the king would enjoy first refusal on all goods Van der Walle took into the country. Before 1540 he provided a “newe bed of riche aras” for Henry’s son Edward, and sometime before 1547 he delivered *Romulus and Remus* tapestries to the king. The four tapestries that survive from the *Seven Deadly Sins* set that Van der Walle delivered to Mary of Hungary are in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional (series 22). Its borders seem to have been designed specifically for this set, with the actions of the putti cavorting in the corners tailored to correspond to the sin depicted. Not enough of Henry VIII’s set survives to ascertain whether this was also the case for his, but from the Morgan Library’s *Avarice*, it is apparent that Henry’s borders, though very similar, were not identical to the ones on Mary of Hungary’s set. Given the 1544 delivery date of Mary’s set to her, the latest the edition could have been woven was 1542–44, but there is no reason why it could not have been woven earlier. The weaving of Mary of Hungary’s set is spectacular, with virtuoso passages of basket weave to build up relief and texture throughout, intricate hatching of colors, and copious amounts of silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads (see cat. 47). The *Avarice* from Henry VIII’s set has suffered from centuries of handling and display, so it is difficult to gauge how splendid the set might once have looked; however, it is apparent that the weaving style, though skillful, is not as overwhelmingly rich as Mary’s, having little or no basket weave, for example.

The third surviving edition belonged to Lamoraal, count of Egmont, prince of Gavere (1522–1568), passing into the hands of Philip II of Spain after Egmont’s execution (see cat. 49). This was woven by the same unidentified weaver whose mark appears on one of the surviving tapestries in Mary of Hungary’s set. The Spanish Patrimonio Nacional also owns the six surviving tapestries from this edition (series 21).

A subsequent edition, apparently made later than both Mary’s and Egmont’s sets, was also woven under Willem de Pannemaker’s direction and is now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (see cat. 53, figs. 151, 153). Six of these tapestries bear de Pannemaker’s mark; the seventh (*Gluttony*) has a partial and as yet unidentified mark (it is too fragmented to usefully compare with the unidentified marks on the two Patrimonio Nacional sets). Although its initial owner is not known, it might have belonged at one time to Charles III, duke of Lorraine (1543–1608), in whose collection at Nancy a *Seven Deadly Sins* set was recorded in the late sixteenth century.¹⁹

A fifth known edition is represented by a single tapestry, *Gluttony* (Metropolitan Museum; cat. 50).²⁰ It has lost its original border, so the master who directed the weaving is unrecorded, and it is difficult to situate this set with the others since so much depends on the sequential development of the border designs. Technical examination shows that this piece can comfortably be attributed to mid-sixteenth-century workmanship, and its sophisticated raw materials include silver-wrapped threads.

Two further *Seven Deadly Sins* sets, documented but apparently not extant, might also have been editions of the Coecke-designed series, the second perhaps even the set from which the Metropolitan Museum’s *Gluttony* came. In late July 1539 the nobleman Laurent (or Laureijs) de Blioul, a member of Charles V’s Privy Council, gave the collegiate church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula in Brussels “seven pieces of tapestry showing the Seven Deadly Sins.”²¹ And, second, included in the list of tapestries confiscated from the estate of Egmont’s ally Jan IV van Glymes (1528–1567), marquis of Bergen op Zoom and count of Walhain in Brabant, were seven tapestries showing “the depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins”; as Alexandre Pinchart pointed out, however,



Fig. 153. *Anger* from the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1548–49. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 26 ft. 1 in. (455 \times 795 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XXXV 2)



Fig. 154. *Triumph of the Church over Ignorance and Blindness* from the *Triumph of the Eucharist*. Designed by Peter Paul Rubens, ca. 1626–28. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan Raes the Elder, Brussels, 1626–33. Wool and silk, 16 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 24 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (490 \times 752 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA D/3, 00610325)

the reference to a pope and a cardinal in the representation of *Sloth* suggests that these were different from or adapted versions of Coecke's designs.²²

Several editions, instead of having a unique early association with one owner, were apparently produced in relatively quick succession, especially if the set given by Laurent de Blioul in 1539 was from this Coecke series. It is noteworthy that the Madrid manuscript identifies these tapestries primarily by their weaver and their designer ("for Willem de Pannemaker of which master Pieter of Aelst, painter of Antwerp, made the designs and compositions") rather than by the name of their patron or, since this particular transcription was apparently made after the fact, their owner. This omission of reference to a patron or owner might indicate that the genesis of the series was not a particular commission by one potentate but a commercial venture by a group of very skillful, if notably young, Netherlandish craftsmen: Coecke was in his early thirties; the editions in Spain and in Vienna bearing Willem de Pannemaker's mark represent the earliest recorded projects of this weaver, although he had surely already perfected his skills in the workshop of his talented father, Pieter. Since Willem died an old man in 1581, he was probably born about 1500 and thus about the same age as Pieter Coecke. The dealer who supplied Mary of Hungary's set was Pieter van der Walle; he might also have been the dealer for Henry VIII's set. As discussed above (cat. 45), Coecke's 1533 visit to Constantinople was apparently made in tandem with Pieter van der Walle's venture to tempt Süleyman the Magnificent to acquire reeditions of some of Willem Dermoyen's great tapestry series. Van der Walle and Willem de Pannemaker apparently worked together again before 1547, by which year the dealer had already delivered to Henry VIII the set of *Romulus and Remus* tapestries mentioned above, probably designed by Coecke's contemporary Michiel Coxcie; although these have not survived, the edition that Jan van der Walle, Pieter's son, delivered to Philip II in 1550 bears de Pannemaker's mark.²³ A year later, Jan delivered the Coecke-attributed *Story of the Creation* (cat. 69) to Cosimo I de' Medici. As Delmarcel notes ("The Life of Saint Paul"), Pieter van der Walle was also purveyor of at least one of the editions of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul*. By 1556, Pieter van der Walle supplied Philip II's agent Antonio de Guzmán with a five-piece *Poesia* set, also attributed to Coecke and woven in de Pannemaker's workshop (cat. 68).

Documentation of the *Seven Deadly Sins* series therefore involves the same network of master weavers and dealers that becomes increasingly familiar—and significant—the more one delves into Coecke's work. Henry VIII might have been the initial patron of the series, his advisers providing an iconographic program to which Coecke would be expected to keep. However, it is just as possible that, as with Coecke's voyage to Constantinople, the *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestry series was a commercial venture, funded in part and set into motion by the dealer Van der Walle, conceivably in partnership with Willem de Pannemaker to oversee and, where necessary, subcontract the weaving, perhaps with Coecke himself providing the designs and cartoons at least partially on speculation of extra remuneration as the series prospered and sets were sold. Indeed, given the supplementation of the written program with phrases from Fausto Andrelini's *Hecatodistichon*, it is even conceivable that the series might originally have been targeted for Andrelini's last patron, Francis I of France, one of the first owners of Coecke's previous series, the *Life of Saint Paul*. In the event, however, there is no evidence that Francis ever acquired a set of this *Seven Deadly Sins*.

The set in Vienna has traditionally been dated about 1555; even if it was woven considerably earlier than this, as suggested in catalogue number 53, it would still be more than a decade later than the earliest documented edition. It is a testament to the power of Pieter Coecke's design that his cartoons continued to be prized and woven so many years after their creation. If his travels to Constantinople and through the Italian peninsula helped inspire these superlative designs, did the

designs, in turn, inspire a great Venetian master? The evocative figure of Pygmalion of Cyprus possessively clutching his Venus statuette in *Avarice* finds such a parallel in Titian's 1568 *Portrait of Jacopo Strada* that it is tempting to conjecture that Titian knew Coecke's design, although the circumstances of this knowledge are so far unexplained.²⁴ Closer to home, the Bruges painter Antoon Claeissens reused Coecke's flagon-bearing taverner in his 1574 *Banquet of the Magistrates* (Groeningemuseum, Bruges).²⁵ By the 1620s, the chariot motif would once more be put to use by Peter Paul Rubens in his *Triumph of the Church over Ignorance and Blindness* (fig. 154), the culmination of the twenty-piece *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series; indeed, the parallels between the head-clutching agony of Coecke's Meleager crushed under *Anger's* wheels (fig. 153) and Rubens's snake-haired Envy beneath Ecclesia's chariot suggest that Rubens was borrowing directly from his illustrious predecessor.²⁶

46.

The Seven Deadly Sins

Manuscript of the iconographic program for the tapestry series
Anonymous author, composed before 1533, this version transcribed
between ca. 1546 and 1553

Pen and ink on paper, 9 folios
8 7/8 × 6 1/4 × 3/8 in. (22.5 × 16 × 1 cm)

Watermark: three cotises with a six-pointed star in the dexter canton
Inscribed on fol. 1, otherwise blank, in a different hand from the rest of the
text, *pannemakere / Dabitur memento domine david*; on fol. 2, as a heading
preceding the rest of the text, *Signifiance de sept tappis / des sept pechez
mortelz pour / guillaume pannemakere desquelz / a fait les patrons et ordon-
nances / maistre pierre van aelst paintre / d'anvers*

Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (6015)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

47.

Pride

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels,
before 1544

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
15 ft. 3/8 in. × 25 ft. 5 1/2 in. (458 × 776 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of
Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche
in upper border, TVRGIDA VENTOSOS IMITATA SVPERBIA FOLLES /
PASCITVR AERIO CORPVS INANE NOTO

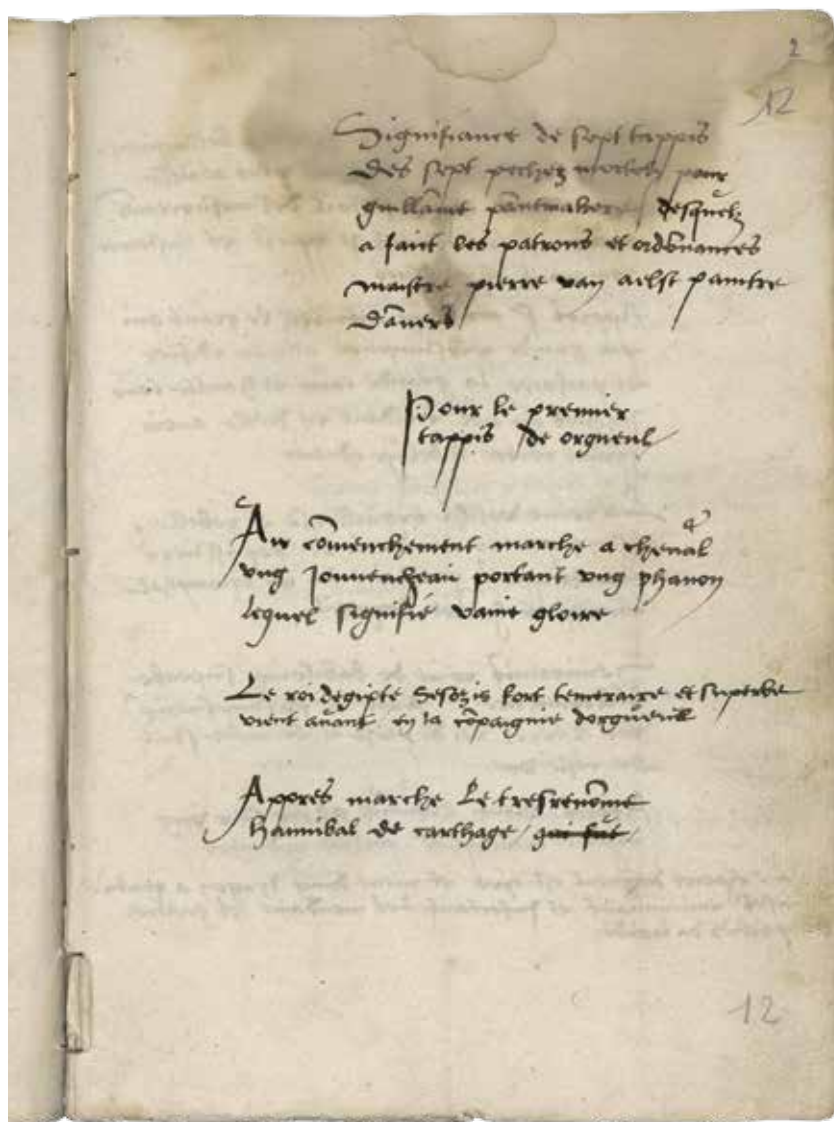
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de La Granja de San Ildefonso
(TA 22/1, 10004091)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

Pride is personified by a winged woman wearing a crown,
seated on a triumphal chariot whose bronze adornments of
scepter, crown, and baton are symbols of power and sover-
eignty. The panoply of war trophies at Pride's feet and the
cuirass pierced through with a lance that she triumphantly
holds aloft allude to the confrontation between peace and
violence, fruit of this deadly sin. The beast pulling her chariot,
summoned from infernal darkness, is the apocalyptic dragon,
its seven crowned heads surmounted by forked horns.

Opening the triumphal cortege is Vainglory, a young man
mounted on a white steed and holding a standard on which
appears a peacock, attribute of Pride. Behind him is Hannibal
of Carthage on horseback, with an eagle on his helmet and a
double-headed eagle on the caparison of his mount. Standing
behind Hannibal is the monumental figure of Nimrod, the
founder of Babylon and the builder of the Tower of Babel, while
on horseback is the rebel queen Vashti, who defied Ahasuerus.
Xerxes, king of Persia, is seen in a breastplate and a red cloak,
riding next to the triumphal chariot, while crushed under the
wheels are Jugurtha of Libya, Darius the Mede, Syphax, and the
head of the wretched Pompey. According to the iconographic
program recorded in the Madrid manuscript (cat. 46), the two
dancing women behind the chariot personify Sedition and
Ambition, while shrouded in the dark smoke from which the
apocalyptic monster emerges to lead the triumphal chariot is
the nude, haggard, and equally apocalyptic figure of Death, rid-
ing a famished horse. Issuing forth from the phantasmagorical
head of Lucifer is Ingratitude, the demon associated with Pride
by Dante. The fantastic representation of the city of Babylon
in the background shows sections of a number of buildings
evoking the temples of Marduk and the royal palace of Nebu-
chadnezzar. Rising above to the (woven) right is a helicoidal
ziggurat of seven stories, Nimrod's Tower of Babel, an architec-
tural allegory of human pride and defiance of God. Overhead,
Modesty, mother of Humility, is a young woman crowned with



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laurels, emerging from the clouds beneath the rays of the sun and flying over the scene on the higher celestial plane.

In the lower border, depicted among garlands of fruit, flowers, and palm trunks that surround the main scene, is a large peacock that repeats the attribute on Vainglory's standard. Putti in the lower corners of the border bear the attributes of Prudence, Wisdom, and Magnanimity. The cartouche in the upper border, supported at each end by a putto, contains a distich in Latin that translates as "Inflated pride imitates the bellows that are filled with wind. A vain and fictitious body, fed only on air." It is taken from the work of the Italian humanist and poet Publio Fausto Andrelini (1450–1518), a friend of Erasmus and collaborator with him on the composition of the *Adagia*.¹

None of Coecke's preliminary drawings for *Pride* has survived; the drawing of *Pride*, dated 1537, at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt (fig. 155), is part of the group of *ricordi* made after the fact in Coecke's workshop (see cats. 48, 52).

The Tapestry in Mary of Hungary's Edition

Mary of Hungary purchased a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* in 1544 from the Antwerp merchant Pieter van der Walle.² The tapestries subsequently adorned her palace in Binche,

faithfully reflecting her court's mixture of tradition and classicist, Mannerist culture radiating from Italy. Six of the tapestries — excluding *Pride* — were on display on the wall facing the windows in the main hall at Binche during the state visit in 1549 by Mary's brother Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and her nephew the future Philip II. Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, in his commentary on this event, noted that the tapestries were adorned with marvelous figures.³ *Pride* was apparently given a distinctive location away from the other six hangings: in the corner of the hall, between the chimney and two daises. It was the only tapestry in the *Sins* set for which Calvete provided neither a transcription nor a translation of the inscription in its upper border.

Again distinguished from the rest of the set, *Pride* was listed as the first scene in the "history of the Seven Deadly Sins" in the inventory of Mary of Hungary's possessions drawn up by Rogier Patie, her treasurer, after her death on October 18, 1558, in Cigales, Valladolid. As laid down in her will, the set passed into the hands of her nephew and heir Philip II, a fact recorded in a marginal note in the inventory.⁴ The *Seven Deadly Sins* would have been familiar to Philip from his visit to Binche in 1549. After arriving in Madrid, this set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* came



Fig. 155. *Pride*, ricordo of the design of the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1537. Pen, ink, and wash on paper, 8¼ × 8¼ in. (21 × 21 cm). Städel Museum, Frankfurt (15320)

to be known in the Real Oficio de la Tapicería (Royal Tapestry Works) as “the Old Sins,” to distinguish it from “the New Sins,” the set Philip had obtained from the count of Egmont (see cat. 49).⁵ The set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* that Philip inherited from Mary of Hungary retained all seven of its pieces between the time of the inventory carried out at his own death in 1598 and that of Charles III in 1788, in which it was described as “of fine coloring and grand design.”⁶ After the fire at the Alcázar palace in Madrid in 1734, it was sent by order of Ferdinand VI to the Real Fabrica de Tapices (Royal Tapestry Manufactory) for major restoration in 1750–51.⁷ During the reign of Ferdinand VII (1808, 1813–14), however, this set suffered the loss of various pieces and has come down to us reduced to just four tapestries.⁸

In 1668, Cosimo I de’ Medici saw the *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestries hanging in the royal apartments of the Alcázar in Madrid and astutely compared them to “the celebrated ones in London,” meaning the set acquired by Henry VIII between 1530 and 1535, of which only *Avarice* survives.⁹ Given the loss of the tapestries of *Pride* from all except the slightly later set in Vienna, this is the oldest surviving weaving of Coecke’s *Pride* design.

CHC

48.

Lust

Ricordo of the design for the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, after ca. 1534

Pen and brown ink, gray wash

8¾ × 16½ in. (21.3 × 41.8 cm)

Watermark: none visible

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (1961.64.7)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Not in exhibition

49.

Lust

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Woven in an unidentified workshop, Brussels, before 1568, probably ca. 1545

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

14 ft. 6¾ in. × 26 ft. 8⅞ in. (443 × 815 cm)

Inscribed in the upper border, CVRA PLACENS, PRÆDVLCÉ MALVM, TRISTISQ: VOLVPTAS, / HEV VESANA FVRENS PECTORA CÆCAT AMOR; inscribed in the lower border, TORQVENTEM MEA MEMBRA / SITIM SEDA[UI]STIS AMARAM

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 21/2, 1000h 089)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

Pieter Coecke designed *Lust* as the least terrifying of the *Seven Deadly Sins*.¹ Indeed, notwithstanding the presence of Death with his hourglass, this is without question the most joyful of the series: almost all of the protagonists are smiling. This is also the episode in which Coecke’s deviation from the tone of the written program is most striking.

Dancing beside the chariot, Voluptuousness smiles out, engaging the viewer and, with a flourish, heralding her mistress, Dame Lust. This doe-eyed Lust, with her rosy crown all but hiding the bony protuberances on her head, is considerably less intimidating than her “horned and insane” counterpart in the manuscript description.² The seven-headed beast pulling her chariot and the poisoned chalice she holds aloft pick up the attributes of the biblical Whore of Babylon (Revelation 17:3–5). The circular convex mirror in her other hand, symbol of vanity, is amusingly echoed by the putti in the borders of the tapestry shown here. On a prancing white mare, Venus heads the procession. She carries a banner adorned with a ram and three magpies (respectively symbolizing lust, vanity, dissipation, and robbery), and her incorrigible son, Cupid, squirms on her lap, shooting his darts at the great lovers of mythology and history, Aeneas, Paris, and Achilles, and at Solomon, author (or at least dedicated recipient) of the Song of Songs. Medea, with her contented expression and elegantly embellished gown, modestly riding sidesaddle, hardly seems the crazed, infanticidal sorceress



48



49

of legend. A friendly-faced demon in the lower left corner of the tapestry grins salaciously up at the cavorting couples in Lust's entourage, who appear considerably less demented than those "lured by transitory desires and deadly concupiscence" in the written program.³ Chaste Daphne's desperate metamorphosis into a laurel tree to escape Apollo's unwanted advances is here substantially diluted in a background vignette. Lucretia's awful rape by Sextus Tarquinius and Semele's cruel, if spectacular, death by jealous Juno's trickery, both described in the written program, are whittled down to the inclusion of the figures of suicidal Lucretia and of Semele being crushed under the wheels of Lust's chariot, providing the only truly discordant notes in the tapestry design. The tragic pair of young Roman lovers, Pyramus and Thisbe, gorily envisioned in the text as "all soiled in [Pyramus's] own blood,"⁴ have been excluded altogether. Chastity, patiently awaiting the compensations for abstinence, flies overhead.

As Stijn Alsteens mentions ("Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"), the drawing at Yale (cat. 48) was probably not part of the initial design stage but, rather, part of a group of drawings, other examples being *Sloth* at Bowdoin (cat. 52) and *Pride* in Frankfurt (fig. 155), that were made after the finished compositions of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, probably as records of the designs and perhaps kept in Coecke's workshop. The draftsman, most likely copying the finished cartoons, used washes to capture the luminosity of the final works.

Three tapestry versions of *Lust* based on Coecke's design survive: in the set acquired by Mary of Hungary, now in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional; in the edition owned by the count of Egmont (cat. 49), also in the Patrimonio Nacional; and in the edition that possibly belonged to Charles III, duke of Lorraine, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Though each has different borders, all include a banner in the upper border with an inscription in Latin that translates, "The pursuit of pleasure leads to misery and sorrow, for unbridled love blinds and deranges the heart,"⁵ a rather florid paraphrase of the written program's "Blind love [and] unhappy joy repay pleasure with painful sadness" (Aveugle amour Liesse malheureuse / rendt pour plaisir tristesse doloireuse). On Egmont's version, another inscription, in the lower border, reads, "Twisting my own member, you have allayed my bitter thirst," seeming to caption the charitable act of a beggar receiving alms represented in the cartouche above, but possibly with a double entendre.

As in the other episodes in this series, Coecke tiered the composition from the gently undulating foreground, with its sparse undergrowth, through the middle ground with the procession, to the wide-open and luminous vista of a sprawling city, this time Rome, and distant mountain ranges. Trees anchor the right edge of the tapestry, while the left dissolves into the billowing smoke and Bosch-like demons of hellfire. Such is the dynamism of the protagonists and their mounts that, though the primary compositional pull is from left to right with the

movement of the procession, the gamboling animals and the figures' poses, glances, and gestures also reach back into the landscape and push out into the viewers' space. What could easily degenerate into a chaotic and indecipherable jumble, Coecke managed to rein in to precisely the right degree.

The Tapestry from the Egmont Set

Catalogue number 49 comes from the third surviving edition of the *Seven Deadly Sins* and was first documented in the collection of Lamoraal, count of Egmont, prince of Gavere (1522–1568). His execution at the hand of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, third duke of Alba, at that time governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was internationally condemned. Afterward Alba sold Egmont's possessions in Antwerp but kept the *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestries for King Philip II of Spain. The tapestries reached Spain before 1570; the six surviving pieces of the set, *Avarice*, *Lust*, *Envy*, *Gluttony*, *Anger*, and *Sloth*, remain in the Spanish national collection. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories the two *Seven Deadly Sins* sets in the collection, subsequently numbered 21 (cat. 49) and 22 (cat. 47), were distinguished as the Old Sins ("los pecados viejos") and the New Sins ("los pecados nuevos"). Modern scholars tend to identify the Old Sins as the earlier set, acquired by Mary of Hungary, and the New Sins as that later obtained from Egmont, including catalogue number 49. However, it is worth noting that from 1666 onward, the New Sins were valued considerably more per ell than the Old, and consistently from 1598 onward, the New Sins were larger than the Old; both characteristics of series 22 (cat. 47) compared to series 21 (cat. 49) suggesting that this distinction in the inventories might bear further investigation.⁶ Most modern scholars, however, assume that this set postdates Mary's, since it was woven using marginally less sophisticated and time-consuming techniques and not quite such copious amounts of precious-metal-wrapped threads.⁷ Perhaps a more persuasive point is that the borders of Egmont's set are based on those of Mary of Hungary's: the cavorting putti in Mary's set nestle among flowering vegetation and beautifully observed fauna and bird life, and in Egmont's set they are updated and relocated as the corner pieces in a grotesque-like design incorporating herms, swags of fruit, strapwork, and reclining figures in chariots. This type of aesthetic was more in vogue in the late 1540s and the 1550s, a taste exemplified, rather than necessarily heralded, by Cornelis Floris the Younger's *Fantastic Chariots*, published in 1552. Comparable motifs enveloping whole tapestries also decorated, for example, bed hangings, perhaps commissioned by Philip II himself, of which examples survive in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional and the Metropolitan Museum.⁸

Since different borders distinguish each edition of Coecke's *Seven Deadly Sins*, it is probable that the cartoons represented only the main pictorial fields and did not include borders, and that separate strips of cartoon for borders would have been



attached to the looms in each case. For the Egmont set, the decision seems to have been made to shrink the dimensions, perhaps to make slightly smaller panels with marginally wider borders, not by reducing the cartoons but simply by lapping the border strips about twenty centimeters over the bottom edge of the same painted cartoons and fifteen centimeters over the left-hand edge of the cartoon (right-hand edge of the tapestry). To meet the need to crop the scenes, these edges make the most sense, since in Coecke's designs each scene closes abruptly at the right (left of the tapestry), flush with the chariots' followers, and in each the winged virtues above the processions often fly with their wings and drapery touching the upper border. In some of the Egmont *Sins*, including *Lust*, the exclusion of a strip of foreground has resulted in awkwardly cropped limbs. Instead of Coecke's design in which the protagonists appear ready to ride out into our space, we see Medea's donkey and Solomon's horse seeming to sink into a quagmire batted by the border.

Regardless of the decision to crop the scenes in the Egmont set, considerable expense must have been approved for the raw materials: the wefts include silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads, which were used to model the foreground foliage as well as to embellish the fabrics and details of the costumes. The palette, though faded, still shows what must have been a wide range of colors, including the strong crimsons of the tack of Medea's donkey and the border of her gown, which is noticeably different from that worn by her counterparts in *Lust* in the other sets. The weaving of Egmont's *Sins* edition displays considerable skill and careful technique, particularly in the modeling of facial features by the use of slits in the weave. Nonetheless, absent from this set are the bravura patches of basket weave and of color hatching that distinguish Mary of Hungary's edition (see cat. 47). The weaver who directed the manufacture of the Egmont edition, thus far unidentified, apparently also had charge of the weaving of at least *Lust* in Mary of Hungary's set, on which his mark also appears. Thus his workshop was apparently well able to achieve these more sophisticated, if time-consuming, feats when they were called for, but in this instance he purposely kept to a quicker and plainer simple weave.

EC

50. *Gluttony*

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*
Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34
Probably woven in Brussels, between ca. 1550 and 1560
Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
12 ft. 9 in. × 22 ft. 3 in. (388.6 × 678.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Frederic R. Coudert Jr., in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh A. Murray, 1957 (57.62)
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.



Iconography and Design

Gluttony is the fifth tapestry listed in the iconographic program in the Madrid manuscript (see cat. 46). Though none of the figures is identified by an inscription, they can be recognized from the description of this episode in the written program. Sitting on her chariot at the left, Dame Gluttony leers out of the tapestry; she is one of the few of the principal vices in Coecke's series to directly catch the viewer's eye — at least in this woven version. She clutches a string of sausages in one hand and in

the other she holds a ewer, true to the program's description: "Dame Gluttony without worries, holding a pot always ready to make greasy flesh."¹ Crowding around the back of her harpy-drawn chariot is a busy team: "cooks taverners, entertainers pastry chefs and all masters and mistresses of sweet cakes."² At Gluttony's side rides "Philoxenus wanting to have a throat as long as that of a swan in order to be able to savor and taste good wine," probably referring to the legendary Greek glutton from fifth- or fourth-century B.C. Philoxenus of Leucas.³ It was



50



Fig. 156. *Gluttony* from the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 9½ in. × 26 ft. 6⅞ in. (450 × 810 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 22/3, A. 360-12154)



Fig. 157. *Gluttony* from the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified master, Brussels. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 10½ in. × 26 ft. 6⅞ in. (423 × 810 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 21/4, A. 257-7427)

Philoxenus, with his elongated neck, whom Cesare Ripa would later choose to illustrate the entry on Gluttony in his *Iconologia* (Venice, 1593). Next, the glamorous and richly dressed lady, riding sidesaddle and twisting around to face us, is probably meant to be “Cleopatra, queen of Egypt so prodigal who reduced to poverty Mark Anthony Roman consul and made him spend an infinite treasure.”⁴ Also on horseback is “Alexander the Great, the great gourmand”; in front of him, on foot, “Thaïs the courtesan,” who purportedly persuaded Alexander to burn down the palace at Persepolis during a drinking game.⁵ Nearly naked “Silenus the drunkard,” riding a donkey, seems about to lurch right out of the tapestry and into our space, in a typical Coecke touch.⁶ Riding at the head of the procession is probably young Bacchus, though he is not named in the program, where this figure is described only as “Gluttony’s standard-bearer.”⁷ Perhaps for variety’s sake, he is crowned with hops rather than the grapevines worn by Dame Gluttony and old Silenus. On the pennant he holds aloft are a hedgehog, who according to Plutarch greedily carried fruit on his prickles, and a fierce bird that is most likely meant to be a vulture, long characterized in medieval bestiaries as a glutton for its carrion-scavenging habits (a similarly eagle-like vulture, described in the written program, pulls Avarice’s chariot, fig. 150).⁸ The standard-bearer’s counterpart, bringing up the rear of this procession at the left of the tapestry, is Death, “like a huntsman” chasing the dissolute and gluttonous to an early grave.⁹ Tiny figures in the background landscape illustrate as a foil the story of the virtuous Old Testament heroine Judith, described in the program as “sober and discreet”:¹⁰ visiting the tent of the invading general Holofernes, she used to her advantage his gluttonous and intemperate inclinations to lull him into drunken torpor, thereby enabling her to decapitate him. Similarly as a virtuous foil, “the beautiful virtue of Temperance” flies overhead.¹¹

The Tapestry in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Four tapestry versions of *Gluttony* based on Coecke’s designs survive: those from the sets first owned by Mary of Hungary (fig. 156) and Lamoraal, count of Egmont, prince of Gavere (fig. 157), and the one from the set now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Catalogue number 50 was probably woven slightly later than these. Only the inner borders have been retained (and, of these, only the vertical elements are original), thus losing any record of the main border’s design and of the weaver’s marks. Detailed technical examination has shown that the tapestry’s original dyes, raw materials, and weaving style are synonymous with mid-sixteenth-century weaving.¹² Although certain sophisticated techniques like hatching and basket weave were attempted, overall the tapestry lacks the exquisite visual effect of the other sets, and it is probably fair to say that it represents the third tier of production, following the primary editions for Henry VIII and Mary of Hungary, woven in virtuoso technique under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem and Willem de Pannemaker, and the second range, still splendid but not quite as ostentatious, acquired by the dukes of Egmont and, eventually, Lorraine.

No other pieces from this set are known to have survived, and its early provenance remains unknown. Given the tapestry’s attributed date, it is possible that it belonged to the documented *Seven Deadly Sins* series confiscated from the estate of Jan IV van Glymes (1528–1567), marquis of Bergen op Zoom and count of Walhain in Brabant (see Cleland, “The Seven Deadly Sins”), which, if it was indeed an edition of Coecke’s *Sins* series, apparently included some minor amendments.¹³ Whether or not this version of *Gluttony* belonged to Glymes, it represents a rather less splendid, mid-sixteenth-century reedition of Coecke’s design, possibly less expensive and more accessible to the broader market and, as such, helping to spread and perpetuate his inventions.

EC

51.

Sloth

Preliminary drawing for the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532

Pen and brown ink, brown wash

8¾ × 15⅜ in. (22.2 × 38.9 cm)

Watermark: gothic P with trefoil

At center left, inscribed *Somnus* and, at upper right, *Sardanapalus*, both by the artist

École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Mas.408)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

52.

Sloth

Ricordo of the design for the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, after ca. 1534

Pen and brown ink, gray wash

8¾ × 15⅝ in. (22.2 × 39.8 cm)

Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine (1932.37)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Not in exhibition

53.

Sloth

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1548–49

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

14 ft. 9⅛ in. × 22 ft. 11⅝ in. (450 × 700 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in the upper border, CORRVMPVNT FORTI CELSAS CVM PECTORE MENTES / OCIA PLVMOSO DESIDIOSA THORO

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XXXV/5)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

Sloth, the final tapestry listed in the written program, draws the *Seven Deadly Sins* cycle to a close with the visual equivalent of an exhausted whimper, quite distinct from the clamor of the processions that came before it. In marked contrast to the turbulent battle raging in the distance, Dame Sloth and her followers drag themselves through a sleepy landscape. In keeping with the scene, even the creepers on the trees droop. Setting the excruciatingly slow pace is Sloth's snoozing standard-bearer, identified as *Somnus* (Sleep) in the drawing in Paris (cat. 51), in keeping with the description in the Madrid manuscript; the snail on his banner proclaims the tempo of the march, and he seems on the cusp of tipping off his steed. On her donkey-led chariot, Sloth herself reclines, idle, sleeping, and too weary to do good, according to the written program. The three figures in her wake are Timidity, Despair, and Cowardice, ironically clad in

armor. Despair crosses her arms and hides her hands in apathetic resignation, in a motif that would later be cited as the attribute of *Pigritia* (Laziness) in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593).¹ Diligence flies overhead in an energetic swirl of billowing drapery and fluttering wings in marked contrast to the lethargy below.

A second inscription on the Paris drawing, beneath the classical pavilion in the background, indicates that it houses Sardanapalus and his entourage. The battle and the burning palace to the right on the tapestry recall how this Assyrian king's legendary decadence ended in despair as he committed suicide, surrounded by his treasures and concubines, on a massive funeral pyre at the fall of Nineveh. Sardanapalus is the only historical victim of Sloth named in the written program. It is possible that other personages were identified on the now-lost final page of the text; indeed it has been suggested that the richly dressed youth, lounging against his companion and carelessly dragging his cloak on the ground, and the older man supporting him might represent Alexander the Great with Aristotle, the latter famously converting his charge from the dissolute and slothful life he had been leading.² Overall, however, it is striking how the text's author chose to emphasize the universal nature of Sloth rather than single out particular examples, as he did with the other sins. Thus Sloth infects "all states of people, pagans, Saracens, Christians, princes, kings, queens, nobles, serfs, young and old."³

The Saracen rides erect and gazes fixedly ahead in a posture conspicuously contrary to the attitudes of Sloth's other followers. Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe's tentative suggestion that he might be meant to represent the languid Sardanapalus is unconvincing.⁴ More thought provoking is his identification by Georges Marlier, Emmanuelle Brugerolles, and Thomas Campbell as Süleyman the Magnificent.⁵ His resemblance to Süleyman, captioned "the great Turk" in Coecke's *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45), is undeniable; his features correspond to those subsequently immortalized in panel paintings, prints, and a portrait medal in the British Museum.⁶ The dating of Coecke's work on the *Seven Deadly Sins* series is unrecorded. As we have suggested ("The Seven Deadly Sins"), in order for the tapestries to have been designed, had cartoons painted, and been woven in time to be delivered to Henry VIII between September 1535 and September 1536, their earliest record, Coecke probably began conceiving the series in 1532 but honed the designs in 1533, just before or during his travels to Constantinople, and completed them on his return to Antwerp. In this case, the portrayal of Süleyman would reflect Coecke's own experience of him, recorded in sketches subsequently worked up into the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*. If, by contrast, the *Sins* designs predate Coecke's journey, the design source on which Coecke was depending cannot be confidently identified beyond the generic types typified by Albrecht Dürer's *Ottoman Rider* watercolor (Albertina, Vienna). The inclusion of Süleyman in Sloth's procession draws irresistible comparisons with the sultan's actual magnificent progress from Constantinople,



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via Belgrade, to Vienna in 1532, which was described by German and Italian observers in terms of classical triumphs, probably intentionally designed as such by the journey's instigator, Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha.⁷ But whether this echo in the tapestry's design was intentional or coincidental remains a mystery.

It is further tantalizing to conjecture why Coecke chose to include Süleyman. There are apparently no other portraits of contemporaries in the *Sins* series (except, perhaps, for a self-portrait wittily tucked into *Gluttony*).⁸ Mary of Hungary, owner of the second set of the *Sins*, might have enjoyed Süleyman's shaming inclusion since he had been responsible for the death of her husband, Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, following the Ottoman victory at the 1526 Battle of Mohács; but the choice of Sloth as the vice associated with him instead of, say, Pride, is puzzling. When the program for the series was first conceived, probably about 1531–32, Mary's brother Emperor Charles V was at war with the sultan. The embarrassing failure of Charles's troops to appear and challenge Süleyman when he arrived with his army in Vienna in 1532 would make one think that if anyone could be accused of idle and careless inaction at that juncture, it was Charles himself. It seems equally unlikely that potential supporters of Süleyman, the French and Italians, would enjoy such a conspicuous representation of their ally among this collection of vices. By late 1533, when Coecke was probably finishing the designs, the same would count for the Habsburgs, who by then were courting the sultan with embassies of peace and overtures of friendship. Whichever alliance taken in the early 1530s by the rich and powerful of Europe targeted to own editions of this series, an image of Süleyman the Magnificent was unlikely to go unnoticed. Coecke's motivation for including this representation is enigmatic.

The drawing in Paris (cat. 51) is distinct from the tapestry versions in the identifying inscriptions that Coecke wrote on it. Otherwise its composition reflects the fully developed plan for the tapestry, and, as Stijn Alsteens suggests ("Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries"), it probably functioned as Coecke's *petit patron*, the guide for painting the cartoon. The drawing at Bowdoin (cat. 52), on the other hand, is probably a later, workshop copy, part of the same set as the *Lust* at Yale (cat. 48) and the *Pride* in Frankfurt (fig. 155) that were made after the finished compositions, likely as records of the designs and perhaps kept in Coecke's workshop.

Three tapestry versions of *Sloth* based on Coecke's designs survive: the one from the set owned by Mary of Hungary, the one from the set owned by Lamoraal, count of Egmont, and catalogue number 53 from the set now in Vienna. Though the borders are different, each includes an almost identical inscription in Latin taken from Publio Fausto Andrelini's *Hecatodistichon*. The inscriptions on this version and that of Mary of Hungary translate as "A noble mind with a courageous breast are tainted by slothful Idleness on a feathered couch"; on Egmont's version, "breast" (PECTORE) is replaced with "body" (CORPORE).⁹



Both these inscriptions are quite unlike the written program's more contemplative "Idleness, careless sloth, shadow of death is [the] cause of sadness" (Oysivite negligente paresse / umbre de mort est cause de tristesse).

The Tapestry in the Vienna Edition

Catalogue number 53 comes from the fourth surviving set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum,



53

Vienna, the only set to have survived in its entirety. All the pieces in this set except *Gluttony* bear the mark of Willem de Pannemaker; on *Gluttony*, there is a much-restored scrap of a different and as yet unidentified mark that is too fragmentary to be usefully compared with the unidentified mark that appears on the sets of Mary of Hungary and the count of Egmont (both in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional; see cats. 47, 49). The raw materials of the set in Vienna are not quite as rich as the others,

for while it includes silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads, less copious amounts were used. Like Egmont's set, most of the tapestries in this edition have had their foregrounds partially cropped, although some of the more awkward amputations in the Egmont set have been avoided.

The origins of the *Seven Deadly Sins* set in Vienna are unknown.¹⁰ However, it may be significant that a *Seven Deadly Sins* set was recorded among the possessions of Charles III,

duke of Lorraine (1543–1608), many of whose other tapestry commissions and acquisitions, including sets of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* (see cats. 29, 34, 37, 38, and 44) and *Story of Abraham* (Cleland, "The Story of Abraham"), subsequently reached Vienna by way of the 1736 marriage of his descendant Francis I Stephen (duke of Lorraine, 1728–37; Holy Roman Emperor, 1745–65) to the Habsburg archduchess Maria Theresa. A late sixteenth-century inventory of Charles III's collection at Nancy included "six pieces where are [depicted] the seven deadly sins."¹¹ The reference to six rather than seven tapestries is slightly disconcerting. However, we recall that Mary of Hungary apparently displayed only six of her *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestries as a homogeneous group in the great hall at Binche during her reception for Emperor Charles V and Prince Philip of Spain in 1549 (see cat. 47).¹²

Coecke's cartoons appear to have been reused for weaving this set after Egmont's edition was finished, bolstering the suggestion (see cat. 49) that the cartoons were not cut for Egmont's set but instead pinned under the applied border cartoons on the loom. The borders on the Vienna edition are different again from those on the sets that came before. The corner putti used on Mary of Hungary's and Egmont's sets are here jettisoned, but the reclining figures in chariots, the herms, and the baskets of fruit from Egmont's set reappear on the Vienna tapestries. The grotesque surround was updated, sharpened, and more clearly articulated to resemble the types of designs

being developed in the mid-sixteenth century by Cornelis Floris and Coecke's acquaintance Cornelis Bos (see "Timeline"). This set has traditionally been dated to about 1555, probably because of the 1552 publication date of Floris's *Fantastic Chariots*.¹³ However, Floris's designs were as much a symptom as a catalyst, for Brussels weavers had been working with the Raphaelesque designs for the *Grotesques of Pope Leo X* and then Perino del Vaga's for the Doria *Grotesques* since the 1520s.¹⁴ Delmarcel has noted that Coecke was developing this type of "scroll work" after 1545.¹⁵ The grotesque borders of the Vienna *Seven Deadly Sins* were in turn subtly adapted and reused as the borders of a three-part tapestry series depicting scenes from Genesis, probably begun about 1550, that was designed by Michiel Coxcie and woven in the Brussels workshops of the de Kempeneers, Jan van Tieghem and, probably, Pieter van Aelst the Younger for Sigismund II Augustus, king of Poland (1520–1572), and almost all delivered to Wawel Castle, Kraków, in time for his nuptials with Catherine of Austria in 1553 (see figs. 224, 242).¹⁶ Since the borders of the Vienna *Sins* develop motifs they share with the Egmont edition, the borders of which are themselves based on those of Mary of Hungary's edition, it seems clear that the borders of Sigismund II Augustus's series must be based on the borders of the *Sins* tapestries in Vienna rather than vice versa, as has traditionally been posited. Thus, the weaving date of this *Seven Deadly Sins* set can be placed earlier than the 1550 design date of Coxcie's series for the Polish king. E C



THE STORY OF JOSHUA

Iain Buchanan

THE *Story of Joshua*, the *Life of Saint Paul*, and the *Seven Deadly Sins* together constitute the core three tapestry series most securely associated with Pieter Coecke van Aelst.¹ Of the surviving preliminary drawings for the *Story of Joshua* series, one bears Coecke's monogram (cat. 58), while another includes his recognizable handwriting (cat. 30).

Design

The Old Testament military commander Joshua was a familiar figure in late medieval literature and in painted and woven allegories thanks to his inclusion—alongside Hector of Troy, Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar, King David, Judas Maccabeus, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon—as one of the Nine Worthies, epitomes of knightly valor and virtue.² Nevertheless, the dramatic and violent narrative of Joshua's exploits, as recounted in the Bible's Book of Joshua, was a relatively rare subject in sixteenth-century tapestry production. Captioning the scenes with Latin inscriptions, Coecke seems to have designed at least ten episodes for the series, some in multiple versions, recounting the invasion and occupation of the Promised Land by the Israelites under Joshua's command: (1) *Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land* (cat. 54), (2) the *Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones* (cat. 55, figs. 164, 158), (3) the *Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab* (cat. 56), (4) the *Flight of the Israelites before the City of Ai and the Execution of Achan* (fig. 159), (5) *Joshua Praying before the Ark after the Defeat at Ai* (cat. 57), (6) *Joshua's Victory over Ai* (cat. 58), (7) the *Gibeonite Deception* (cat. 59), (8) the *Victory over the Amorites and Deaths of the Five Kings* (fig. 160), (9) the *Battle of Merom and Death of Jabin, King of Hazor* (fig. 161), and finally, (10) *Joshua's Last Speech to the Israelites at Sichem* (fig. 162). Although one ten-piece tapestry edition is documented, the two other documented sets included only eight pieces. The one surviving edition, in Vienna, perhaps to be identified with one of the documented sets, likewise includes eight pieces (without the scenes *Joshua Praying before the Ark after the Defeat at Ai* and *Joshua's Victory over Ai*).

Comparison between the drawn record of the *Story of Joshua* (cats. 55, 57, and 58) and the one surviving tapestry edition reveals substantial developments and changes made to the series before the tapestries were woven. The two related drawings of the *Crossing of the River Jordan* (cat. 55,



Fig. 158. *The Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones from the Story of Joshua*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1536. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen, Brussels, probably before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 9½ in. × 26 ft. 10⅞ in. (451 × 820 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/2)

fig. 164), for example, differ from the tapestry version (fig. 158) in many of the figures and details. Even greater changes evolved around Coecke's representations of Joshua's activities at the city of Ai. The Israelites' first attack on Ai failed because of Jehovah's displeasure at Achan, who had duplicitously kept some of the plundered riches of Jericho against Joshua's orders. This is the subject of the fourth tapestry in the series, the *Flight of the Israelites before the City of Ai and the Execution of Achan*. The episodes represented in the tapestry overlap chronologically with the scene of *Joshua Praying before the Ark after the Defeat at Ai*, known only as a preliminary drawing (cat. 57), in which the execution of Achan is represented in the background. In the tapestry, the two scenes are reversed in importance: the execution of Achan and his family is now in the foreground and the prayer before the ark (Joshua's sacrifice to Jehovah) in the far distance. The sixth scene in the series, *Joshua's Victory over Ai*, is again known only from the preliminary drawing and for some reason was never carried out in tapestry (cat. 58). Here Joshua, seen from the back, looks toward Jehovah in the clouds, who points toward Ai, with the battle in the middle distance.

In the series as a whole, the figure of Jehovah receives emphasis in the drawings while appearing in only the first two tapestries. Instead, Joshua becomes the dominant figure in the tapestries, conspicuous in all the scenes, usually as the central figure in the foreground, often viewed from behind while directing the action, and always identically dressed in the armor of a Roman centurion with a red cloak and feather-decorated helmet. Even in the final tapestry, *Joshua's Last Speech to the Israelites at Sichem*, where Joshua is represented as a much older man, he is clad in the same armor but with his helmet to one side.

Further evidence that the drawings represent still-evolving designs is the shifting of several of the drawn figures into different contexts or groupings in the tapestries. For example, the pose of



Fig. 159. *The Flight of the Israelites before the City of Ai and the Execution of Achan from the Story of Joshua*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1536. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen, Brussels, probably before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 22 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (457 \times 680 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/4)

the woman embracing the tree in Coecke's drawing of *Joshua's Victory over Ai* is used in the tapestry of the *Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones*. In an instance of regrouping, the mother and child with a boy on the left in the drawing of the *Crossing of the River Jordan* also appears in the tapestry of this scene, but with the boy now holding the hand of his mother.

In its design, the *Story of Joshua* series bears similarity to some of Coecke's earlier works. To some extent, the series shares compositional characteristics with his woodcut series *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45). In both, the artist employed high horizons, dominating foreground figures, and subsidiary scenes arranged in a sequence of parallel planes. Further, the classical and statuesque female figures in the tapestries, standing to the side and appearing to comment on the action, find their parallels in some of the woodcuts, such as the passage of the caravan (fig. 163) and the feast of the circumcision (cat. 45, section 6). However, in general effect, the *Joshua* series is more exaggerated and emotional than the woodcuts and, as such, closer to the twisted figures in the foregrounds of the inner wings of Coecke's *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22).

Coecke drew on a range of artistic precedents to achieve the style and mood of the *Joshua* series. A clear visual quote is the kneeling Joshua in *Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land*, based on Albrecht Dürer's engraving the *Prodigal Son* (ca. 1497). Coecke's response to Italian design is also appreciable. As Guy Delmarcel notes, the oblique perspective view of the great stone serving as an altar in *Joshua's Last Speech to the Israelites at Sichem* was



Fig. 160. *The Victory over the Amorites and Deaths of the Five Kings from the Story of Joshua*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1536. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen, Brussels, probably before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 7 in. × 21 ft. 11¾ in. (475 × 670 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/6)

derived from the diagram illustrations in both Italian reeditions of Vitruvius's architectural theories, as well as from the *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* (fig. 129) in Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry series.³ The influence of Raphael's designs is also apparent in the pose of Joshua in *Joshua's Last Speech*, which is derived from that of the blind Elymas in the *Conversion of the Proconsul* (fig. 115).⁴ In addition, Rotraud Bauer, Guy Delmarcel, and Thomas Campbell have all noted stylistic quotations in the *Story of Joshua* from the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* tapestry series, attributed to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni.⁵ Campbell has also identified figures of frolicking babies from Giovanni da Udine and Tommaso Vincidor's *Giochi di Putti* tapestry series reused in the borders of the one surviving *Joshua* tapestry edition, woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen.⁶

Dating

The earliest recorded woven edition of Coecke's *Story of Joshua*, consisting of eight pieces made with gold and silver metal-wrapped threads, was delivered to the French king Francis I in October 1538.⁷ Each tapestry probably took about a year to weave, and the eight pieces were probably on the looms simultaneously. To permit this vast operation to go forward, Coecke's cartoons must have been ready for the weavers by summer 1537 at the latest.



Fig. 161. *The Battle of Merom and Death of Jabin, King of Hazor* from the *Story of Joshua*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1536. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen, Brussels, probably before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 1 7/8 in. × 22 ft. 1 in. (462 × 673 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/7)

Genesis of the Series and Chronology of Editions

The circumstances of the original commission of the designs for the *Story of Joshua* tapestry series remain uncertain. The first documented version belonged to Francis I; six years later, Emperor Charles V acquired a set; a further *Joshua* set, arguably also of Coecke's series, belonged to Henry VIII of England at the time of his death in January 1547.

Francis I acquired his eight-piece set of the *Story of Joshua* in 1538 from a Genoese merchant, Emmanuel Riccio, who was resident in Antwerp, according to French royal records. In October Riccio received 13,190 livres, 12 sous, and 6 deniers of a total amount due to him of 15,440 livres, 12 sous, 6 deniers for the eight tapestries, measuring a total of 171 ells and a demi-sixteenth.⁸ An additional payment was made to Riccio on March 29, 1539, for the transportation of the tapestries from Paris to Lyon and thence to Compiègne.⁹ The eight tapestries are listed, with their measurements, in the 1551–52 inventory of Francis I's tapestry collection.¹⁰ At the command of the French Directory, the set was burned in 1797 along with most of the French royal tapestry collection, in an attempt to extract the gold and silver content.¹¹

The *Story of Joshua* associated with Henry VIII, also now lost, was listed in the king's posthumous inventory, drawn up in 1547.¹² In this instance, identification of the set with the Coecke-designed series is somewhat problematic as Henry's set contained ten rather than eight tapestries,



Fig. 162. *Joshua's Last Speech to the Israelites at Sichem*. Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen, Brussels, probably before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 21 ft. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (460 \times 660 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/8)

and furthermore the one known scene in the set does not correspond with those definitely attributable to Coecke. As Campbell has discussed, the only illustration of one of the lost tapestries appears in a watercolor by Richard Cattermole of the Queen's Bedchamber at Windsor Castle, made for William Pyne's *The History of the Royal Residences*. It shows a scene of Joshua dividing Israel into tribes, a subject that is not represented among the surviving drawings or tapestries from Coecke's set.¹³ However, as Campbell has argued, this image and a surviving seventeenth-century weaving apparently also based on the lost tapestry *Joshua Dividing Israel among the Tribes* do display some stylistic similarity to Coecke's work, and it is possible that Henry VIII's ten-piece set was an expanded version of Coecke's *Story of Joshua* series.¹⁴

By far the greatest written record of the *Story of Joshua* relates to the set acquired by Charles V. According to a document made on December 8, 1544, Charles V ordered the payment of 10,000 livres to the Brussels-based master weaver Jan Dermoyen for an eight-piece set of the *Story of Joshua* made with gold and silver thread and silk.¹⁵ Charles V had originally purchased the tapestries on October 13 of that year and, by the terms of the document, payment was to consist of a first installment of 2,500 livres made immediately, with the remaining 7,500 livres paid over a three-year period, with each payment falling on October 13 of that year. The first installment of 2,500 livres was indeed made to Dermoyen on December 8, 1544, and was acknowledged by him on

December 10.¹⁶ A second receipt by Dermoyen, dated March 28, 1545, has also survived.¹⁷ This was for the sum of 5,000 livres, to be delivered in two payments each of 2,500 livres, the first on November 30, 1545, and the second at Easter 1546–47. Consequently, by Easter 1546/47, Dermoyen would have received 7,500 livres of the 10,000-livre price of the set. Another small payment of 39 livres, 4 sous, and 6 deniers, documented on July 1, 1549, has also been linked to the *Joshua* set.¹⁸ This last sum was apparently due to Jan and Rodrigo Dermoyen because of the lateness in payment for certain unspecified tapestries, and its receipt was signed by them on July 2, 1549.¹⁹ However, the connection to the *Joshua* set is by no means certain, and the payment may have been for some other commission involving the Dermoyens.

All eight *Joshua* tapestries were already listed in Charles V's collection in the 1544 inventory made by his *tapissier*, Jehannin Nicolay. The inventory entry stated that the tapestries had been bought on behalf of Charles V by Mary of Hungary in November 1544.²⁰ However, not long after that date, Charles's set of the *Story of Joshua* disappeared from view. It was not listed in the 1598 inventory of Charles's son Philip II among the tapestries Philip II acquired from his father. There is, likewise, no record of the set subsequently on display at any major festivity or event at the Habsburg court.

Only one tapestry edition of Coecke's *Story of Joshua* survives. This is the eight-piece set now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.²¹ The set's provenance before it entered the museum remains unknown, but it corresponds to the edition that belonged to Charles V: on the right selvage of each of the eight pieces is the weaver's mark of Jan Dermoyen. Dermoyen was a member of the large and well-known Dermoyen family of weavers, active in Brussels from about 1530.²² The Dermoyens had funded Coecke's travels to Constantinople (see cat. 45), and Jan was probably the cousin of Willem Dermoyen, who, together with Pieter van der Walle and Jacob Rehlinger, formed the consortium that attempted to sell sets of the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* to Süleyman the Magnificent in 1533.²³ Willem Dermoyen had woven important sets of the *Battle of Pavia* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) and the *Hunts of Maximilian* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) for Charles V about 1528–30, and in 1535 he sold a twelve-piece set of the *Story of Hercules* (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid) to Mary of Hungary.²⁴ It was Jan who was paid for transporting these *Hercules* tapestries to Mechelen. Jan's mark is also found on the *Salve Regina* (Palencia Cathedral), the *Triumphs of Petrarch* set (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid), and, according to Jan-Karel Steppe, a *Story of Esther* set in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.²⁵ The playing putti, fruit, and flowers in the rich borders of the Vienna *Joshua* edition resemble those on some editions of Coecke's *Saint Paul* and *Sins* series, but they also closely relate to other tapestries from the Dermoyen workshop including, without the putti, the *Salve Regina* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* (figs. 49, 133). The ten-piece set of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* (Hearst Castle, San Simeon, California), made by an unidentified weaver about 1550–57 for Jacques d'Albon, marshal of Saint-André, also displays the same combination of playing putti and foliage decoration in the borders.

In 1539 both Jan and Willem Dermoyen were part of a group of weavers accused of the weaving abuse of "retouching"—adding details and modeling in paint rather than through the process of weaving. As a result, in March 1544, Jan Dermoyen was fined 300 guilders.²⁶ Despite this setback, only a few months later Charles V purchased the *Story of Joshua* from him.



54.

Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Joshua*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, before 1538

Woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen and/or Gielis Imbrechts, Brussels, probably before 1544

Wool, silk, and metal-wrapped threads

14 ft. 10³/₈ in. × 19 ft. 7⁷/₈ in. (453 × 599 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan Dermoyen or Gielis Imbrechts on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, CONFORTAT DEVS IOSVE DVCEM CVIVS / IVSSV IN TERTIV DIEM ISRAEL PARAT / TRASIRE IORDANEM INVATE RVBEN CV SVIS

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK XIX/1)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

The scene depicted in this tapestry opens the biblical book of Joshua.¹ Kneeling at the center foreground of the tapestry is Joshua himself, armed for battle. He holds a lance in his left hand, and he is dressed *all'antica* in a plumed helmet, a cuirass with lion-mask epaulettes, and, on his feet, caligae. Beside him on the ground lies his elaborately decorated shield. Joshua's gaze is directed toward the upper right corner of the composition, where Jehovah, accompanied by two cherubim, appears in the clouds, in an arrangement not unlike that of God the Father giving life to Adam in Michelangelo's ceiling fresco in the Sistine Chapel (painted 1508–12). For Joshua's dress and physiognomy, Coecke revived a type he had developed in his earlier *Life of Saint Paul* series: the centurion standing at the right of *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* (cat. 38). As Rotraud Bauer noted, details in the *Joshua* series can be recognized in Coecke's other works, not least in the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (see cat. 45).²

In the Old Testament account, Jehovah commanded Joshua to cross the Jordan with the Israelites: "From the desert and from Libanus unto the great river Euphrates, all the land of the Hethites unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your border" (Joshua 1:4). God's commandment to Joshua that he "take courage, and be strong" (Joshua 1:6, 7, 9) is eloquently expressed in the armor-clad appearance of the protagonist. This is also a subtle reference to the military conflicts that are to follow.

In the middle ground at left, the viewer encounters Joshua again, depicted from behind, instructing the Israelite leaders to urge the people to prepare themselves for departure and the journey: "And Josue commanded the princes of the people, saying: Pass through the midst of the camp, and command the people, and say: Prepare your victuals: for after the third day you shall pass over the Jordan and shall go in to possess the land, which the Lord your God will give you" (Joshua 1:10–11). In the distance, two armored warriors sound trumpets. Behind them, the camp is visible with its tents and multitude of camp





followers extending to the upper edge of the tapestry. Coecke captured the sense of a massive throng of people by means of countless stylized heads, the furthestmost rendered as dots. In contrast, at the right edge of the scene, Coecke developed a more intimate figure group, separated from the rest of the composition by a tree trunk: a warrior hastens toward a young woman with two children, perhaps to bid them farewell, thus alluding to the passage: “Your wives, and children, and cattle shall remain in the land which Moses gave you on this side of the Jordan: but pass you over armed before your brethren, all of you that are strong of hand, and fight for them” (Joshua 1:14). In formal terms, Coecke skillfully linked this scene to the main action with Joshua’s lance, which points directly toward them.

The Tapestry in the Kunsthistorisches Museum

The tapestry of *Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land* is part of the only known surviving set of Coecke’s *Story of Joshua*. There are eight hangings in the set (including cats. 56 and 59), which in this instance seems to have been the full quota of the edition (see Buchanan, “The Story of Joshua,” for the possibility that Henry VIII had a ten-piece set). Although the circumstances through which this *Joshua* set came to be in Vienna are unknown, it is usually identified with the set acquired by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V from Jan Dermoyen in 1544 (see Buchanan, “The Story of Joshua,” for the details of this commission).³ On the selvages of all eight tapestries is the mark of the city of Brussels, together with a weaver’s mark composed of three letters (*I, C* or *G, M*), which are usually identified in the literature as the initials of the Dermoyen family, for whom Coecke had previously traveled to Constantinople.⁴ However, more recent research associates the initials GIM with Gielis Imbrechts, a *tapissier* active in Brussels from about 1540 to 1562.⁵

All the *Joshua* tapestries in the Kunsthistorisches Museum feature borders containing dense assemblages of fruit and foliage against scaly tree trunks. Here and there, birds animate the lateral borders while putti disport themselves in the horizontal bands. The fruit and foliage motifs are almost identical on all eight tapestries, whereas the putti display variations in pose and gesture. In the upper border, two putti hold the cartouche framed in scrollwork that contains the inscription in Latin identifying the events depicted in the tapestry. In *Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land*, the inscription translates as “God gives Joshua courage as leader. At his command, the people of Israel prepare to cross the Jordan in three days.” Almost identical putti can be seen in the borders of Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni’s *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* (see fig. 119); the extant seventeenth-century Gobelins-woven version of that series in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, was based on the lost *editio princeps*, which, like this *Story of Joshua*, was made under the direction of the Dermoyens in Brussels.⁶

KSVL

55.

The Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Story of Joshua*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, over black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk

12 × 19 in. (30.5 × 48.4 cm)

Watermark: none

At lower center, inscribed *Præcepto domnj filijs / Israel Jordanem Transeuntibus. xij. ex ipsis Viri Singulj, ½ [?] / Singules in rej gestæ memoriam deferunt Lapides.* in pen and dark brown ink, by the artist; to the right of the third line of this inscription, inscribed .1527. in pen and light brown ink (sixteenth-century handwriting); to the right of the second line of this inscription, inscribed *dragen xij steenen wter jordane // worden ooc xij . . . inde iordane . . .* in pen and light brown ink, possibly by the artist; at lower left, inscribed *Cocke / Van alost* in pen and brown ink (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting);¹ at lower right a collector’s mark attributed to Pascalis (Lugt 2707), with the number 42 in pen and gray ink; to the right, inscribed *II* in pen and brown ink, by or for Pierre Crozat (Lugt 3612)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, 2001 and 2000 Benefit Funds, and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2002 (2002.431)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Three preserved preliminary drawings for the *Story of Joshua* series stand out as arguably the most accomplished tapestry designs of Coecke’s oeuvre: the present work, in the Metropolitan Museum, and two in Paris, one in the Louvre (cat. 57) and one in the Frits Lugt Collection (cat. 58). The three sheets are also Coecke’s latest preserved autograph drawings related to known tapestries, with the exception of a small sketch in Amsterdam (cat. 63). Stylistically and technically, they fit well in the period of the design for the *Seven Deadly Sins* series (cat. 51), that for the window in Antwerp Cathedral of 1537 or shortly before (cat. 13), and that for the print of the *Fall of the Giants* of the early 1540s (cat. 20). This time frame conforms to the independent dating of the *Joshua* series, of which a set was delivered to Francis I, king of France, in 1538 (see Buchanan, “The Story of Joshua”).

In addition, the Metropolitan’s drawing bears a long Latin inscription, in a script that comes exceptionally close to the beautiful *cancellaresca corsiva* of an autograph and signed receipt by Coecke from 1537 (cat. 14). Although seemingly part of the autograph in Latin, the date inscribed on the drawing—1527—is in fact written in a different ink and must be wrong. Apart from the stylistic considerations mentioned above, there is the figure of the woman leaning against the date palm to the left, whose costume is Greek and based on sketches Coecke made during his trip to Constantinople in 1533; a woman in very similar dress appears in plate 2 of his woodcut *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (fig. 163).²

One more autograph drawing related to the *Joshua* series exists—a little-known sheet that sheds light on the



development of the design of the Metropolitan's drawing (fig. 164).³ Its composition is nearly identical to that of the larger and more finished New York version (cat. 55), but they differ in numerous details. Most notably, the smaller sheet includes two men climbing in trees, and the group of women at lower left is differently arranged. Subtle differences in the grouping and pose of figures in the right half of the sheets highlight Coecke's minute work on the composition. Because the drawing in New York is more polished and more successfully resolved, for example, in the depiction of the men quarrying stones at lower right, it is probable that the sketchier drawing preceded it. Interestingly, Coecke seems to have had the idea of the woman in Greek dress while working on the sketch and loosely added her in black chalk on top of the tree drawn with pen.

The drawings depict the Jews crossing the river Jordan after their long passage through the desert following the exodus from Egypt. According to the biblical account, the waters of the river "swelling up like a mountain" allowed the Israelites to pass through a "channel that was dried up" (Joshua 3:16–17). Coecke depicts the priests conveying the Ark of the Covenant while the people come across with their belongings. Joshua is standing on the river's east bank, proclaiming the command of the Lord, who can be seen seated in the clouds, to "choose twelve

men, one of every tribe" to carry a stone from the riverbed and build "a monument of the children of Israel for ever" that "all the people of the earth may learn the most mighty hand of the Lord" (Joshua 4:2, 7, and 24). This is the moment summarized in Coecke's Latin inscription and in the shorter one in Dutch to its right, which may also have been written by him.⁴ Another monument erected on the west bank of the river—the smiling term baring his genitals, surrounded by women and children at lower left—is a somewhat mystifying detail of the composition but one that is clearly not insignificant, as it appears prominently in both related drawings. Perhaps it should be understood as a reference to the circumcision, commanded by God, of all the children born since the Jews left Egypt under Moses (Joshua 5:2–7). The two men in the left background, whose story immediately precedes the crossing of the river, are those sent by Joshua "to spy secretly" (Joshua 2:1) the land west of the Jordan. The Greek woman and the man at her feet holding a cornucopia probably stand for the civilized, fertile land into which the Jews are about to enter.

The complexity of the New York drawing's composition makes clear that it must have been preceded by numerous preliminary sketches, and not only the one reproduced here in figure 164. Like the two drawings in Paris for the same series, it presents a perfect example of Coecke's refined technique,

recognizable in the subtle washes and hatching applied with a brush, and the apparent use of a dry pen and a slightly coarse paper, resulting in pen lines of a pleasingly “granular” quality. The execution of all three drawings is flawless, and pentimenti are rare. Their finish and the fact that they are all squared for transfer in black chalk indicate that they must have been conceived as *petits patrons*. However, the difference in dimensions between the drawing in New York and the two in Paris and the lack of Latin inscriptions on the latter suggest they may in fact belong to two different sets of *petits patrons*. However this may be, the set or sets to which the three drawings belong must have been rejected, because none of them were followed in the tapestries: the subject of the Metropolitan’s drawing was treated in one of the final tapestries (see fig. 158), as was that of the Louvre’s drawing (see fig. 159),⁵ but with strongly differing compositions. No weaving of the subject of the Lugt drawing exists.⁶

Given the divergences between the New York and Louvre drawings and the tapestries depicting the same subjects, it must be assumed that Coecke himself or the commissioner of the tapestries was dissatisfied with the designs. Comparison

between the Metropolitan’s drawing and its related tapestry is instructive in this light. They both contain the same narrative elements: Joshua conversing with God, the spies in the background, the people walking through the riverbed, and the collecting of the twelve stones. The woven design, however, adheres to a somewhat simpler scheme. Like the two Paris designs, the Metropolitan’s drawing displays the same impressive command over all elements of the composition that Max Friedländer so admired in Coecke’s Turkish woodcut series (cat. 45): the natural flow, the freedom in the depiction of depth, and “the groupings, the movements and large gestures, the rhythm of the graceful poses, the foreshortening and variations in the lively, often twisted figures.”⁷ It may have been exactly the virtuoso nature of the designs that led to the decision to abandon them: the weavers may not have been able to do them justice and to achieve the admirable balance between complexity and clarity that distinguishes Coecke’s work in general, and the drawings for the series discussed here in particular.

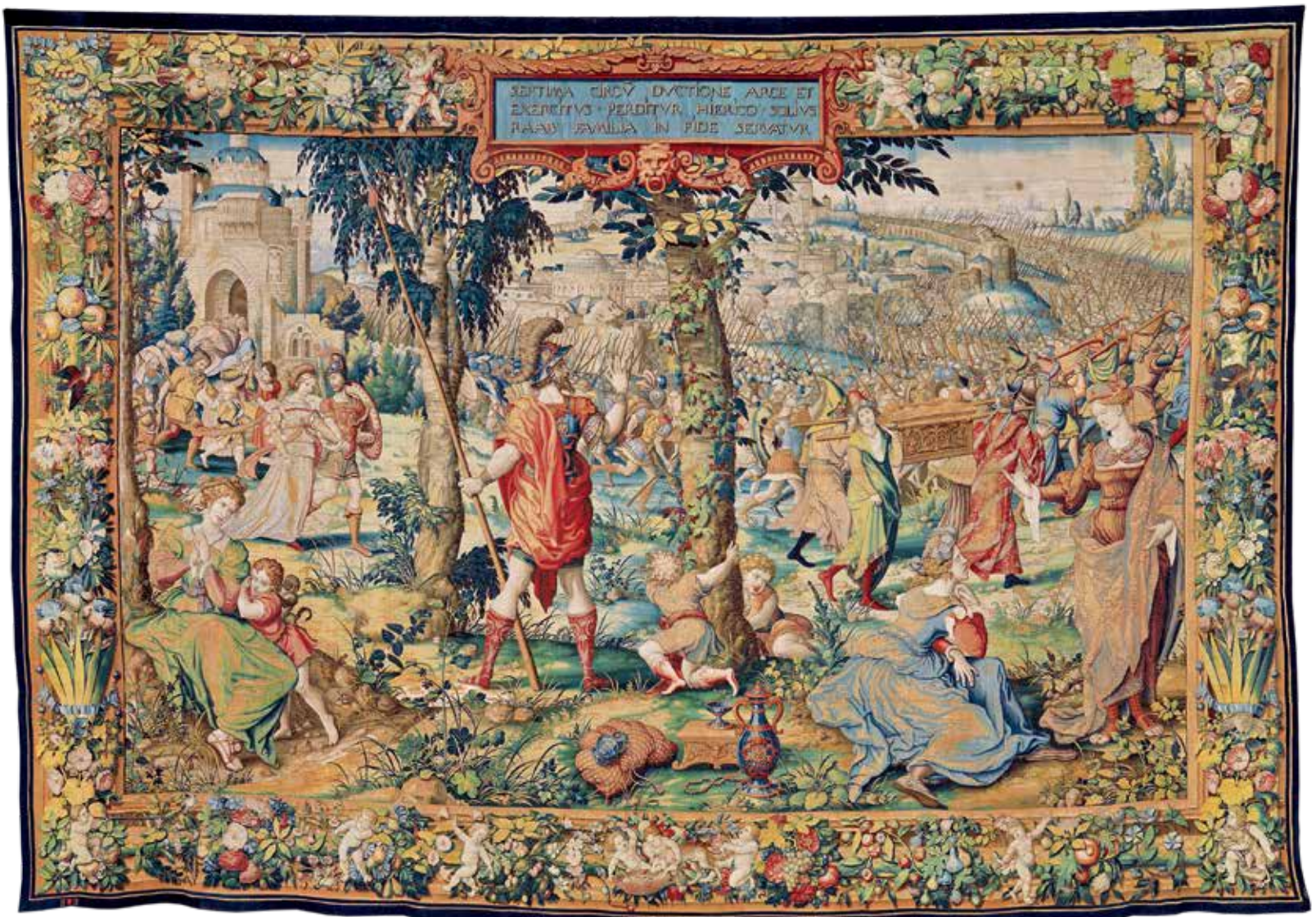
SA



Fig. 163. Detail of cat. 45, section 2



Fig. 164. *The Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, over black chalk, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (14.3 × 26.4 cm). Location unknown



56

56.
The Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Joshua*
 Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, before 1538
 Woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen and/or Gielis Imbrechts,
 Brussels, probably before 1544
 Wool, silk, and metal-wrapped threads
 14 ft. 11½ in. × 21 ft. 11¾ in. (456 × 670 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of
 Jan Dermoyen or Gielis Imbrechts on right selvage at bottom; inscribed
 in cartouche in upper border, SEPTIMA CIRCV DVCTIONE ARCE ET /
 EXERCITVS PERDITVR HIERICO SOLIVS / RAAB FAMILIA IN FIDE
 SERVATVR

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/3)
 See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

In this tapestry, Coecke picked up the narrative after Joshua and his people crossed the river Jordan. Again seen from behind and in the foreground, Joshua appears here slightly to the left of center. His gaze is directed back toward his soldiers and his people, who carry the Ark of the Covenant as they circle Jericho. Going before the Ark, some of the seven priests can be seen blowing on trumpets. Once a day for six days the procession walked around the walls of Jericho, as described in the book of Joshua (6:3): “Go round about the city, all ye fighting men, once a day: so shall ye do for six days.” On the seventh day, on which they circumambulated the city seven times, the people, who had been silent up to that point, were told by Joshua to shout with one voice, whereupon the walls of Jericho fell down: “So all the people making a shout, and the trumpets sounding, when the voice and the sound thundered in the ears of the multitude, the walls forthwith fell down: and every man went up by the place that was over against him: and they took the city”

(Joshua 6:20). In the background, with the panorama of the city, Coecke impressively rendered this moment when the walls of Jericho collapsed and the city could be stormed.

The scene at the left depicts the rescue of Rahab the harlot, spared because she had concealed two of Joshua's messengers. At Joshua's bidding, the messengers were sent into the city to escort her, together with her family and possessions, to safety. Coecke showed the young woman hand in hand with one of the armor-clad messengers at the head of her family as they leave the city through a gate. The caption in the cartouche in the upper border describes the composition as "After the Lord [Joshua] had passed around the fortified town seven times, Jericho fell and only Rahab and her family were saved because of the promise."

Along the front edge of the composition are some of the precious and metal objects taken during the capture of the city that were to be dedicated to God: "But they burned the city, and all things that were therein; except the gold and silver, and vessels of brass and iron, which they consecrated into the treasury of the Lord" (Joshua 6:24).

In both this scene and in *Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land* (cat. 54), the figure of Joshua seen from behind relates to the same types visible in Coecke's contribution to the *Conquest of Tunis*, such as the Turk seen from behind at the right-hand edge of the *Quest for Fodder*.¹ Surprisingly, Coecke included a number of figures, positioned

prominently in the foreground of the representation of the *Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab* who have no discernible connection with the subject depicted. On the left, for example, sits a young woman with elaborately braided hair wearing a green dress interwoven with gold-wrapped threads, her hands folded at her breast; beside her stands a young boy with a monkey clinging to his back. On the right, another female figure is seated on the ground, dressed in blue, with her chin in her hand, while in front of her stands a young woman with the index finger of her right hand raised in a gesture of admonition. Two children play around the creeper-clad tree trunk that divides the composition into two. Repoussoir figures such as these constitute a characteristic element of Coecke's oeuvre.

The Tapestry in the Kunsthistorisches Museum

Like catalogue numbers 54 and 59, this tapestry of the *Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab* belongs to the one surviving set of the *Story of Joshua*, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Although at least three *Joshua* sets seem to have been woven after Coecke's designs (see Buchanan, "The Story of Joshua"), the set now in Vienna is traditionally believed to have been that acquired by Charles V in 1544. That set was supplied by Jan Dermoyen; the mark on this tapestry is usually identified as that of either Jan Dermoyen himself or the subcontractor Gielis Imbrechts.²

KSvL



57

57.
*Joshua Praying before the Ark after the Defeat
 at Ai*

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Story of Joshua*
 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37
 Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, over black chalk, on light brown-
 gray paper, squared for transfer in black chalk (laid down)
 10⁵/₈ × 15³/₈ in. (27 × 39.1 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
 At upper center, inscribed *vluchten voer haij*, and at lower center, *Josue.7.*, in
 pen and brown ink, by the artist; along the lower edge, framing line in pen
 and brown ink, probably by a later hand; at lower left, inscribed *Cock.* (or
Coek.?) in pen and brown ink (nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower
 right, inscribed 12 in pen and brown ink (Lugt 3612)

Musée du Louvre, Paris (19204)
 See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

This drawing at the Louvre is one of three extant *petits patrons* for the *Story of Joshua* series. Of the three, it falls second in the narrative, following the sheet at the Metropolitan Museum, which depicts Joshua leading the Jews across the river Jordan (cat. 55). The third drawing is preserved in the Frits Lugt

Collection, Paris (cat. 58). A discussion of the designs as a group, and of their style and relationship to the surviving tapestries, can be found in the entry for the Metropolitan's drawing, for which a preliminary sketch also exists (fig. 164).

The drawing at the Louvre illustrates an episode of Joshua's story following the siege of Jericho. One of the Jews, Achan, stole booty from the city, notwithstanding Joshua's interdiction to do so (Joshua 7:1). In response, God made his anger felt by allowing the Jews to be defeated by the inhabitants of Ai, a city to the west of Jericho, to which Joshua had sent a small army. Ai and the fleeing Jewish soldiers are seen at upper right, where Coecke wrote the words "vluchten voer haij" (fleeing from Ai). In the foreground, Joshua has taken off his helmet and kneels before the Ark of the Covenant, which is protected by a tent; he asks God in despair: "why wouldst thou bring this people over the river Jordan . . . to destroy us?" (Joshua 7:7). Appearing in a cloud and surrounded by putti, God indicates how the Jews can return to favor: the stolen loot should be burned, together with the offender. Identified the next morning, Achan, "and the silver and the garments, and the golden rule, his sons also and his daughters, his oxen and asses and sheep, the tent also, and

all the goods” were stoned and burned (Joshua 7:24–25). This concluding scene, overseen by Joshua and a priest, is depicted at upper right.

As in the cases of the two other *petits patrons* for this series, the Louvre drawing exemplifies the height of Coecke’s art as a designer of tapestries. Perhaps the only pentimento of note in the nearly flawless sheets can be seen here in the left hand of one of the priests to the extreme left in the drawing. The subject of the drawing was treated in one of the tapestries of the *Joshua* series (fig. 159),¹ as was the subject of the Metropolitan’s drawing (cat. 55). However, while these tapestries contain the same episodes seen in the designs, they diverge significantly in the arrangement of scenes and figures and the organization of the narrative, making clear that Coecke’s preserved drawings must have been followed by a new, now-lost, set of *petits patrons*. The tapestry related to the Louvre drawing shows Joshua’s army fleeing from Ai, Joshua praying before the Ark, and the death of Achan, but the composition has been entirely reworked. The main subject has become the death of Achan, while the fleeing army and Joshua’s prayer have been relegated to the left and right background, following a format introduced in Netherlandish tapestry by Bernard van Orley in the 1520s and used by Coecke in his own *Life of Saint Paul* series.² Overall, the final designs reflected in the *Joshua* tapestries adhere to a somewhat simpler scheme, while the drawings display the full scope of Coecke’s artistry. Possibly the complexity of the designs was beyond the ability of the weavers to match, and simpler designs may have been requested by them or the tapestries’ commissioner, or Coecke himself may have realized that he had to adapt his initial, more ambitious, compositions. SA

58.

Joshua’s Victory over Ai

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in the *Story of Joshua*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37

Pen and brown and brown-gray ink, brush and brown ink, over black chalk, squared in black chalk (laid down)

10³/₄ × 13³/₈ in. (27.2 × 34 cm)

Watermark: none visible through the secondary support

At upper center, inscribed *haij v[er]brant*, and at lower center (on the Ark of the Covenant), monogrammed AP (in reverse), in pen and brown ink, by the artist; below, inscribed *Josue 8 cap.* and framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist; to the right, inscribed *The taking of the City of Ai* in pen and brown ink (nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed 5 in graphite (twentieth-century handwriting). Verso (visible through the secondary support by aid of transmitted light): inscribed 3 *olde velle* (?) in pen and brown ink (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century handwriting?). Verso of the secondary support: at upper center, inscribed (upside down) *Stradanus* in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); at center, inscribed 4/15 in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); at lower center and right, inscribed *P. Coecke van Aelst, ontwerp voor een der tapisserieën/ uit de Josua-serie/ vergelijk Louvre 19.204 en P. Wescher in Belvedere XII p. 29 e.v. in* graphite, by Frits Lugt

Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (4818)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

In contrast to the two other drawings that must have been made as *petits patrons* for the *Story of Joshua* series (cats. 55 and 57, discussed extensively in the relevant entries), this drawing in the Frits Lugt Collection, Paris, has no extant tapestry representing its subject. However, it is of equally high quality as the two other sheets, at the Metropolitan Museum and the Louvre. The Lugt drawing, moreover, is significant for having been inscribed by Coecke with his monogram AP (in reverse on the tomb, at center), making it one of the few signed drawings by the artist, and one of only a handful of securely attributed works in any medium by his hand. If intended to be woven, these initials would have made a striking example of a designer’s signature on a tapestry; usually only the monogram of the weaver was included, appearing on a selvaige.¹ As mentioned in the discussion of the Metropolitan’s drawing (cat. 55), the two drawings in Paris differ in size from it and lack the former’s Latin inscription, suggesting that the two Paris sheets may belong to a different set of designs made for the same commission.

While the Louvre drawing shows Joshua’s initial defeat at Ai, the Lugt drawing depicts his second, and this time successful, attack on the city. As related in the book of Joshua, the Lord instructed the Jews’ leader to lay an ambush, ordering part of his army to hide itself, while himself appearing with the rest of his forces to attract the attention of the king of Ai. When the king emerged to fight them, Joshua’s troops fled, but only in order to lure Ai’s inhabitants farther away from their city. Now emptied, it was burned down by the forces coming out of hiding. Joshua, following the Lord’s command, “stretched out the spear that he had in his hand toward the city” (Joshua 8:18); his figure and



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the line of his spear dramatically divide Coecke's composition. Coecke marked the city, seen in the center background, with the words "hajj verbrant" (Ai burned down) and used brown wash to evoke the smoke that the inhabitants saw "rise up to heaven" (Joshua 8:20). In the middle ground, the people of Ai are caught between the two parts of the Jewish army. Joshua is depicted here again, with his sword, facing the chariot of the king, who will be captured and hanged. The pyramid behind the battle scene could represent the "great heap of stones" that was built on top of the king's body to commemorate the battle (Joshua 8:29).

As both drawings in Paris illustrate events around Joshua's battles at Ai, it may have been decided that one woven panel on the subject was sufficient. While the Louvre drawing has a corresponding tapestry, the idea to include a tapestry in the series on the subject of the Lugt drawing was apparently abandoned. Nonetheless, some of its motifs—the women and children and the decorative objects in the foreground, and the figure of Joshua seen from the back, with his spear (drawn with a ruler) dividing the composition—were reused in the *Joshua* series for the tapestry depicting the siege of Jericho (cat. 56). SA

59.

The Gibeonite Deception

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Joshua*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, before 1538

Woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen and/or Gielis Imbrechts, Brussels, probably before 1544

Wool, silk, and metal-wrapped threads

14 ft. 10 in. × 19 ft. 5½ in. (452 × 593 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan Dermoyen or Gielis Imbrechts on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, IMMOLATVR DEO GABAONITE TANTQVA / A LONGE VENERINT CONFEDERANTVR / IOSVE DEPREHESA FRAVDE DOLET ISRAEL

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/5)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

The narrative represented in this tapestry is devoted to chapters 8 and 9 of the book of Joshua and is captioned in the upper border as “A sacrifice is offered up to God. The Gibeonites claim to come from afar. They enter into an alliance with Joshua and Israel suffers when the deception is discovered.” Following the capture of the city of Ai, Joshua builds an altar of stones on Mount Ebal, on which burnt offerings are made (Joshua 8:30, 31). People stand near the priests with the Ark of the Covenant, described in verse 33. In the foreground is an eloquent rendering of the alliance made by Joshua and an ambassador of the Gibeonites. Having heard how Joshua had dealt with Jericho and Ai, the Gibeonites resorted to guile in order to escape the same fate. Dressed in shabby garments and carrying dry, moldy bread and worn-out wineskins, they appeared before the Israelite leader, pretending to have come from far away, and persuaded him to make a pact with them, offering themselves as servants in return. When Joshua went to Gibeon three days later and discovered their deception, he was forced to spare the Gibeonites because of the oath he had sworn them. But, as described in chapter 9, verses 20 and 21, he made them his bondsmen in perpetuity.

The bearded spokesman of the Gibeonites kneels before Joshua in tattered clothing, a wineskin in his hand. In front of him on the ground stands a broken pitcher. With his right hand he gives a piece of bread to one of Joshua's companions: “Behold, these leaves we took hot, when we set out from our houses to come to you, now they are become dry, and broken in pieces, by being exceeding old” (Joshua 9:12). A sack filled with yet more bread lies behind him on the ground, about to be seized by a dynamic male figure. To emphasize what is being said, another figure, partially cut off by the border of the tapestry, is shown entering the scene from the right and holding out torn and tattered textiles for all to see: “These bottles of wine when we filled them were new, now they are rent and burst. These garments we have on, and the shoes we have on our feet, by reason of the very long journey are worn out, and



almost consumed” (Joshua 9:13). These animated figures of the Gibeonites recall figures from Coecke's *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* from the *Life of Saint Paul* series.

The Tapestry in the Kunsthistorisches Museum

Like catalogue numbers 54 and 56, the *Gibeonite Deception* belongs to the sole surviving tapestry edition based on Coecke's



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designs. Now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, it is usually identified as the documented edition acquired by Charles V from the Dermoyen manufactory in 1544 (see Buchanan, “The Story of Joshua,” for details of the archival evidence). The mark included on this tapestry is probably that of Gielis Imbrechts, although Jan Dermoyen has also been mooted in the literature as owner of this monogram.¹

In the weaving of this edition, little expense was spared with the raw materials used, for even the tattered clothing of the Gibeonites incorporates a good deal of precious-metal-wrapped threads in the translation of Coecke’s design into the tapestry.

KSVL

THE STORY OF ABRAHAM

Elizabeth Cleland

DURING THE TIME Coecke was editing, translating, and publishing the architectural treatises of Sebastiano Serlio and Vitruvius for the enjoyment and erudition of his colleagues and countrymen (see cat. 17), he was also active designing tapestries. With the impressive *Story of Joshua* only just on the looms recently behind him, he remained with the Old Testament in his work on the next tapestry project, the *Story of Abraham*. This ten-piece series was apparently one of his most popular yet, with at least six editions made and a staggering thirty-nine tapestries from these different sets known to have survived. However, attribution of the *Abraham* series raises almost as many questions as it answers, and although Coecke's hand is recognizable in its ultimate design, as we shall see, given the circumstances that probably brought him to the project, it is possible that Coecke himself might have wrestled with the inclusion of the *Story of Abraham* in his stable of inventions.

Iconography and Design

Since the close of the fifteenth century, the taste for monumental tapestry series celebrating the Old Testament patriarchs had been growing. There are isolated examples of less well known stories such as, for example, that of *Jonathan Maccabeus* (Burrell Collection, Glasgow), but without question at the forefront were the numerous versions of the *Story of David*.¹ The *David and Bathsheba* series designed by Jan van Roome was, perhaps, the apex of this narrative's popularity, although the subject continued to appeal throughout the sixteenth century (see cat. 4). Cycles of *Jacob*, *Solomon*,² and *Esther* (see cat. 67) followed, and *Abraham* was a similarly natural choice. In terms of narrative interest and compelling design opportunities, Abraham's life, recounted in the book of Genesis (11:26–25:11), provided ample material, from his travels throughout Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Levant to his alliances and enmities and the tumultuous episodes with his wife, Sarah, her handmaid, Hagar, and their respective offspring, Isaac and Ishmael. But for power-wielding Renaissance patrons, it was Abraham's special covenant with God and his status as first patriarch of the Israelites that held the most interest. Coupled with the sustaining notions of his loyalty to his Messiah and his strength of character when tested, whether by the visit of the three angels or, more dramatically, at God's commandment that he sacrifice his beloved son and heir, Abraham



Fig. 165. *God Commands Abraham to Lead the Israelites into Canaan* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer (Flemish, active ca. 1522–48), Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 14 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 26 ft. 1 in. (455 \times 795 cm). Château de Chambord

was the perfect prototype and foil for modern leaders' own situations. As Thomas Campbell has argued, Henry VIII, king of England, and his advisers invoked Old Testament precedent in Henry's efforts to break with the Vatican and achieve recognition as head of the English church.³ Similarly, the aldermen of Brussels felt the paternal bond and filial duty between Abraham and Isaac to be a particularly appropriate counterpart to the relationship of Charles V and his son and heir, Philip, when they chose a series of paintings of Abraham's life to feature in the ephemeral decorations welcoming Prince Philip to Brussels in 1549.⁴ Other decorations for those festivities included the scenes of the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek and blind Isaac Blessing His Son Jacob painted on a triumphal arch erected in the Cantersteen. In addition, tapestries of the *Story of Abraham* decorated the great room of the Brussels town hall for a banquet in Philip's honor. Unsurprisingly, given its metaphorical possibilities, tapestry versions of Abraham's story were appealing. There is evidence of other *Abraham* tapestry series in addition to the one on which Coecke worked. A three-piece set belonged to Isabella the Catholic of Castile, and the 1555 inventory of her daughter Joan the Mad of Castile, included a panel representing the Angel Appearing to Abraham.⁵ A series of the *Story of Abraham*, different from the one Coecke was involved with, was owned by Charles V's daughter Joanna of Austria, princess of Portugal.⁶ By the close of the sixteenth century, the narrative would prove particularly popular for expensive tapestry-woven cushion covers made on both sides of the English Channel.⁷

The *Story of Abraham* series attributed in part to Pieter Coecke is treated in ten episodes, spanning Abraham's life from his youth until the beginning of his son's bloodline: (1) God Commands

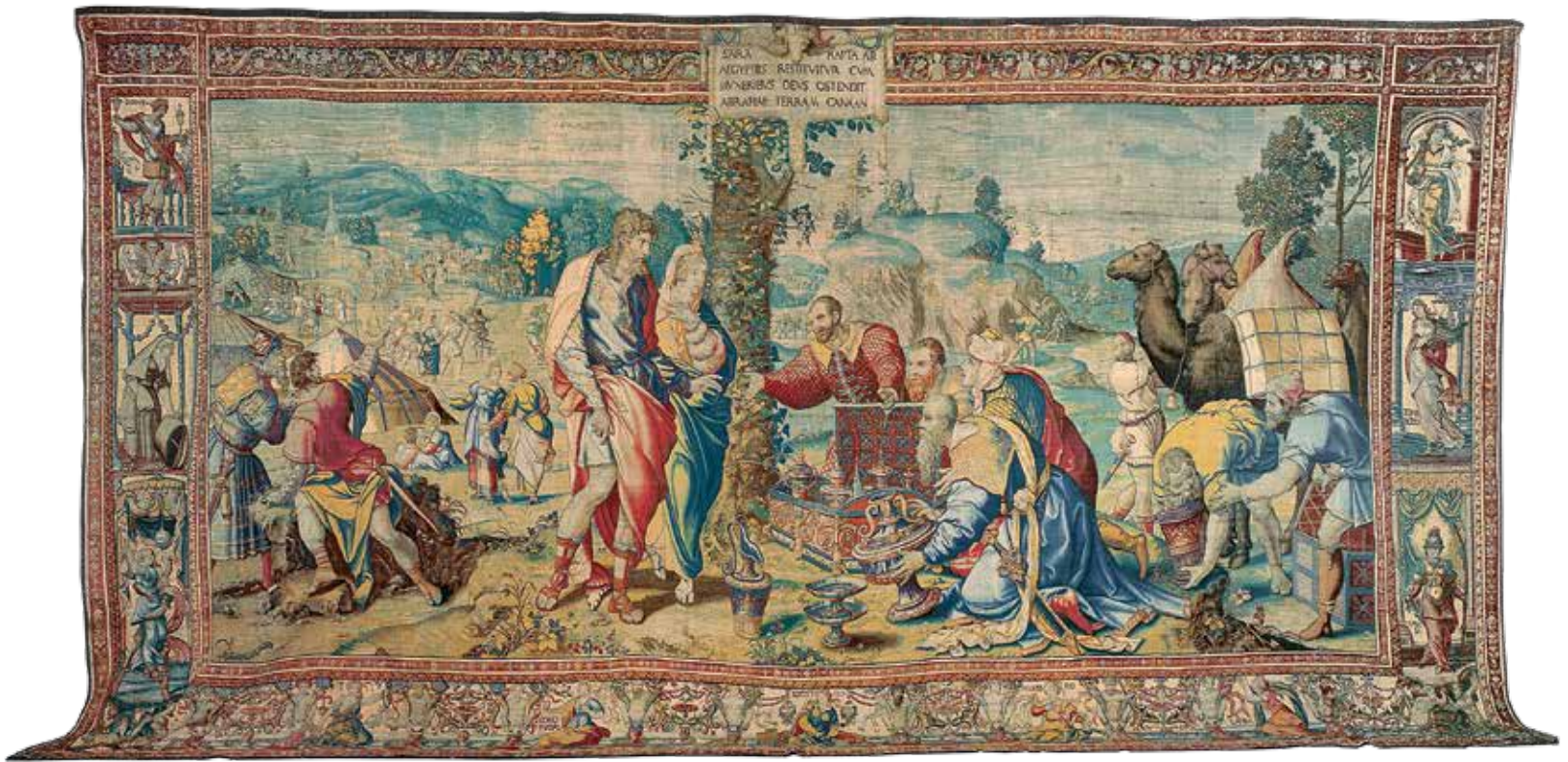


Fig. 166. *The Return of Sarah by the Egyptians from the Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 11 in. × 30 ft. 3³/₈ in. (485 × 923 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 29/2, A. 361-12167)



Fig. 167. *The Separation of Abraham and Lot from the Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer and Pieter van Aelst the Younger, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 10¹/₈ in. × 27 ft. ³/₄ in. (483 × 825 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T II/3)



Fig. 168. *The Meeting and Marriage of Jacob and Rachel* from the *Story of Jacob*. Design attributed to Bernard van Orley, ca. 1529. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, ca. 1535–40. Wool and silk, 13 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 26 ft. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (421 \times 796 cm). Burrell Collection, Glasgow (46.110)

Abraham to Lead the Israelites into Canaan (fig. 165); (2) the Return of Sarah by the Egyptians (fig. 166); (3) the Separation of Abraham and Lot (fig. 167); (4) the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek (cat. 60); (5) God Appears to Abraham and the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (fig. 169); (6) the Circumcision of Isaac and the Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (fig. 174); (7) the Sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 175); (8) the Purchase of the Field of Ephron (fig. 176); (9) the Oath and Departure of Eliezer (fig. 177); and (10) Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well (fig. 178).

Since this *Story of Abraham* series was first published, the hand recognized at the core of its designs has not been that of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, but rather that of the renowned Bernard van Orley.⁸ His *Story of Jacob*, of which several editions survive, bears clear parallels with the *Story of Abraham* and provides a significant precedent for that series.⁹ Like the *Story of Abraham*, the *Story of Jacob* is a monumental ten-piece series. Designed in the late 1520s or at the beginning of the 1530s (the first documented edition was sold in 1534), the final tapestry in the *Story of Jacob* includes a figure bearing the monogram VSAOR (for Bernardus ab [Latin for “from” or “van”] Orley). Both the *Jacob* and the *Abraham* series demonstrate a preference for tripartite compositions, a device favored by Van Orley and his circle that also characterizes his *Legend of Our Lady of the Sands*, the *Ages of Man*, and some of *Los Honores*. On the whole, the compositions in both the *Jacob* and *Abraham* series enjoy a gentle rhythm of settings, in which the sequence of action passes between landscape and interior space across each tapestry. Beautifully observed physiognomies and twisting poses vibrate with life, anchored by the static architecture, of which every bit of veined marble, and each intricately carved pedestal and shaft, is almost lovingly conveyed. As in the *Jacob* series, each of the ten tapestries in the *Story of Abraham* has the feel of an epic narrative, with huge casts of characters stretching from foreground to distant vistas in what feels almost a regression from the pared-down, centrally focused compositions of Coecke’s *Life of Saint Paul*. The parallels between



Fig. 169. *God Appears to Abraham and the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 24 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (465 \times 760 cm). Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo

the *Jacob* and the *Abraham* series stretch even as far as the reuse of particular figure types, such as Jacob meeting Rachel in the background of the second *Jacob* tapestry (fig. 168) with a similarly located pair of observers in *God Commands Abraham to Lead the Israelites into Canaan* (fig. 165). Although the *Story of Jacob* has Van Orley's monogram and the design of the series can confidently be attributed to his hand, the execution and skill of the detailing through the ten scenes vary to such a degree that it has been argued that the painting of the cartoons in the *Jacob* series was undertaken by different masters, possibly in different workshops, and perhaps even including participation by the young Pieter Coecke van Aelst.¹⁰

The *Story of Abraham* was designed about 1537–38, approximately ten years after the *Story of Jacob*. While in earlier literature the *Abraham* series was sometimes linked with Van Orley, sometimes with Coecke's contemporary Michiel Coxcie, it was Guy Delmarcel who first noted an element of Coecke's design traits in the series.¹¹ Campbell responded with the proposal that, though the initial designs of the *Story of Abraham* were developed by Bernard van Orley, the completion of the designs and execution of the cartoons fell to his natural successors Michiel Coxcie and Pieter Coecke van Aelst after his untimely death in January 1541.¹² Citing the better-documented scenario of the windows for the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles in the collegiate church (now the Cathedral) of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula for which Coxcie and Coecke submitted their own designs for the completion of Van Orley's project after his death (see "Timeline"), Campbell suggested a similar scenario for the *Story of Abraham* tapestry series.¹³ Bolstering his argument, a drawing convincingly attributed to Coxcie (fig. 179) records an alternative solution for the representation of the fourth tapestry in the series, the *Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* (cat. 60). At its core are similar Orleyesque traits, but Coxcie's design bends them to his characteristically sturdy, muscled figures and an exterior setting not at odds with those developed in Coxcie's three-part *Scenes from Genesis* tapestry series (see figs. 224, 242). A second drawing,

showing the *Separation of Abraham and Lot* (fig. 170), also attributed to Coxcie, similarly opts for heavy-set figures seen head-on, unlike the elegant, twisting forms of Abraham and Lot, seen from behind, in Coecke's solution in the tapestry.¹⁴ Campbell hypothesized that whereas Coecke apparently lost out to Coxcie for the Holy Sacrament windows, in the case of the *Abraham* tapestries it was Coecke's gently rhythmic and more elegant and decorative designs that were preferred. With what were probably Van Orley's design ideas sifted through Coecke's filter, the ten tapestries that ultimately make up the *Story of Abraham* are characterized by the immediately legible clarity of compositional emphasis displayed in Coecke's other series. Even so, the *Story of Caesar*, on which Coecke was apparently working about the same time (see cats. 61, 62), makes a much more logical stylistic development from his *Story of Joshua* (cats. 54–59), with its sinuous principal figures, their slim, elongated poses, and their lively, quick expressions, than the *Story of Abraham*. If Coecke was constrained to stick within Van Orley's general outlines after he had completed the *Joshua* series and turned to *Abraham*, this might explain why. All the same, the *Story of Abraham* does benefit from some characteristics typical of Coecke's work, from the anchor of the central tree in the *Return of Sarah by the Egyptians* and the *Separation of Abraham and Lot* to the almost dance-like harmony of Sarah in step with Abraham also in the *Return of Sarah by the Egyptians*. His illusion of sensory effects is startling, conjuring up the sounds of the rippling water in the well, the breeze gently rustling drapery, and the restless shifting of the harnessed camels in *Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well*. Though sharing Van Orley's enjoyment of colors and textures displayed in the *Story of Jacob*, Coecke brought his experiences to bear in honing the design of the *Story of Abraham*: his travels in the Middle East helped create a more believable sense of place, while the sharpened architectural elements of the still splendid but now more coherent structures doubtless reflect his study of Serlio and Vitruvius.

Although displaying aspects of pure Coecke style, the *Story of Abraham* needs to be approached from the context of Van Orley's tapestry projects, in which he designed tapestries but invariably handed over the reins for cartoon execution to a stable of different artists. This was probably the case with *Los Honores*, in that instance partly due to the time constraints if that series was indeed commissioned with only six years in hand for design and production, as Guy Delmarcel has convincingly argued.¹⁵ It is also a route traceable in one of the great "lost" tapestry series of the early



Fig. 170. *The Separation of Abraham and Lot*. Attributed to Michiel Coxcie, ca. 1537–38. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 22 in. (27.5 × 56 cm). Private collection, Brussels



Fig. 171. *December* from the *Months of Lucas*. Design attributed to the Master of the Months of Lucas, ca. 1535. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, ca. 1540. Wool and silk, 10 ft. 4 in. × 12 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (315 × 384 cm). Denver Art Museum (1944.20)



Fig. 172. Detail of *The Separation of Abraham and Lot* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 25 ft. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (477 × 777 cm). Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.7)

1530s, the *Months of Lucas*. These are usually attributed to the anonymous Master of the Months of Lucas working in Van Orley's circle. He was apparently a contemporary of the young Coecke and Coxcie, at the cusp of their careers, working in a similar, perhaps at times overlapping, context. The principal edition of the *Months of Lucas* has been lost: part of the French royal collection, it was burned in 1797 in an attempt to extract its precious-metal-wrapped threads. However, another mid-sixteenth-century set, also woven in the workshop of Willem de Kempeneer, formerly in the Barberini collection, has partially survived (fig. 171), along with a group of six drawings.¹⁶ Later, updated French-woven variations of the series can also help reconstruct its appearance to a certain extent. Clear, if unexpected, design details link the *Months of Lucas* with the *Story of Abraham*. In *December*, for example, the appealing family group in the lower right can be recognized, in reverse and in suitably classicized costume, at the lower left of the *Separation of Abraham and Lot* (fig. 172). The figure of a seated drummer with leg outstretched, twisting around to look back, in *May* reappears in female form also in the *Separation of Abraham and Lot*. The foreground pair in *January* (fig. 173) reappears as Rahab and her escort in Coecke's *Fall of Jericho* (cat. 56) in his *Joshua* series, and in *February*, the lady playing backgammon in front of a blazing fire relates to Coecke's *A Peasant and Three Women at a Game of Backgammon in a Brothel* (cat. 8). These parallels even extend to the distinctive borders of the *Months of Lucas*, in which roundels of relief portrait sculpture and frolicking putti are set against a lush ground of swags and garlands of fruit, flowers, and foliage: these borders, minus the central zodiacal cartouche, appear around the extant panel from one edition of the *Story of Abraham* (Chambord, fig. 165), discussed below, as well as the *Story of Caesar* (Vatican Museums), also attributed to Coecke (fig. 183). These links probably denote parallel scenarios rather than a direct connection, for the formative presence behind both the *Months of Lucas*

and the *Story of Abraham* is Bernard van Orley, whose invention originated the shared figure patterns that were subsequently retained and refined by two distinct younger artists, the Master of the Months of Lucas and the infinitely more inventive Pieter Coecke van Aelst. The key elements of the *Story of Abraham* cartoons that did not originate, even vaguely, with Bernard van Orley were their borders; these are featured on four of the six surviving editions. Almost certainly in response to Raphael's daring invention with the lateral borders of the Brussels-woven *Acts of the Apostles*, Coecke developed distinctive broad niches housing male and female allegorical figures, each identified by name: *Risus* (Laughter), *Trinitas* (Trinity), *Hospitalitas* (Hospitality), *Fama Bona* (Good Reputation), and so forth. As Campbell has exhaustively shown, what differentiates these most dramatically from Raphael's *Acts* borders is that each border of each *Abraham* tapestry hosts a different group of characters, adapted to comment on the events of the particular episode they border.¹⁷ Thus Coecke developed to an extraordinary degree the device he first seems to have used in the borders of some of the *Seven Deadly Sins* sets, in which the activities of the putti in the borders, different on each panel, correspond to the sin represented, including drinking on *Gluttony*, and admiring their reflection in a mirror on *Lust*.

Dating

The earliest references to the *Story of Abraham* series imply that at least two sets were completed by 1544. The English royal accounts situate the *Story of Abraham*, together with the *Story of Caesar* (see Karafel, "The Story of Julius Caesar"), in Henry VIII's collection and ready for lining sometime between September 1543 and September 1544. It is likely that Henry's set was already in London by December 1543 because the accounts refer to a January 1544 New Year's bonus given to the artist Nicolas Bellin of Modena for having delivered the king's "story of Abraham"; the medium is not mentioned, however, so it is not definite that this was the tapestry set, although it probably was.¹⁸ At nearly the same time, in 1544, Beltrán de la Cueva, third duke of Albuquerque, acquired his edition of the series in Flanders, according to a note in his 1560 inventory.¹⁹

Henry's set would certainly have taken considerably longer to weave than Beltrán de la Cueva's since its raw materials include a staggering amount of the more cumbersome precious-metal-wrapped threads, and the tapestries' technique combines simple weft-faced weave with more time-consuming work like basket weave. At a production rate of about one square meter every two months, it would have taken approximately sixteen months for five journeymen weavers working simultaneously to weave just one of the tapestries. Assuming that the master weaver directing this edition, Willem de Kempeneer, had four looms in use at once, it would have taken as long as four years to produce the entire ten-piece set. In order to have had all the tapestries in the set completed



Fig. 173. *January* from the *Months of Lucas*. Design attributed to the Master of the Months of Lucas, ca. 1535, with additions by Joseph Yvart, Charles Chastelain, and perhaps Louis de Boulogne the Younger, with borders by Pierre Josse Perrot. Tapestry woven under the direction of Michel Audran, Manufacture Nationale des Gobelins, Paris, 1732–37. Wool and silk, 11 ft. 10 1/8 in. × 10 ft. 4 in. (361 × 315 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944 (44.60.1)



Fig. 174. *The Circumcision of Isaac and the Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael*, from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 9¼ in. × 26 ft. 4⅞ in. (482 × 805 cm). Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.4)

by September 1543 at the earliest, the weaving probably began in autumn 1539 at the earliest. Allowing a year for the cartoon painting, Coecke’s involvement probably started in late 1537 or soon after; Van Orley may well have begun gestation of the project considerably earlier, perhaps in part explaining what would have been almost *retardataire* parallels with the earlier *Jacob* series.

Bearing in mind that Van Orley died in 1541, this revised, earlier dating, if correct, is especially significant because it shows that Van Orley’s death was not the catalyst for Coecke’s involvement. Indeed, the weaving of the *Story of Abraham* must already have been under way by the time Van Orley died. The decision to hand over to a younger artist to complete the final designs and undertake the cartoon painting can probably be viewed as a natural development of the working method on many of Van Orley’s tapestry projects. With Van Orley still alive and apparently playing a role in the decision to choose between Coxcie and Coecke, in contrast to the posthumous Holy Sacrament window project, Coecke would definitely hold the advantage since his style shared and developed so many of Van Orley’s own aesthetic concerns.

Chronology of the Tapestry Editions and Genesis of the Series

Only one of the surviving editions of the *Story of Abraham* includes precious-metal-wrapped threads, the set that was already in the Royal Collection in London by September 1544 at the latest and is now at Hampton Court Palace (cat. 60, figs. 174, 175, and 178). All ten pieces of the set bear the mark of the Brussels master weaver Willem de Kempeneer. Acknowledging the splendor of its

materials and exquisite detailing of its weaving, both Delmarcel and Campbell have convincingly suggested that this was probably the first edition of the series.²⁰ Campbell further posited that the series might have been a special commission put into motion by the English king himself, given the appropriateness of the iconography to Henry VIII's personal and political circumstances.

It is striking, however, how soon the cartoons were reused, again under Willem de Kempeneer's direction, for the edition acquired in Flanders in 1544 by Beltrán de la Cueva (fig. 166). The weaving of this set must have begun not long after the start of Henry's set, and the two editions' time on the looms probably overlapped, implying either that de Kempeneer directed a massive workshop or, more likely and more within guild restrictions, that he subcontracted at least some of the weaving to other workshops. If there was only one set of Coecke's cartoons, this must have involved a carefully timed ballet of operations enabling the cartoons to travel among looms. About 1614–16, the set was acquired from Beltrán de la Cueva's heirs by King Philip III of Spain. Seven pieces of it survive in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional; four of them have the mark of Willem de Kempeneer.²¹

Chronologically, the next documented weaving of a set of the *Story of Abraham*, almost certainly from this series, was the "most splendid tapestry set" on display in the great room of the Brussels town hall during the banquet held by the city on May 5, 1549, in honor of Prince Philip, later King Philip II of Spain.²² Unfortunately, nothing can be ascertained about this set, neither who lent it for the festivities nor what became of it. As Campbell has noted, the Spanish chronicler who admired it, Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, also referred to the *Our Lady of the Sands*



Fig. 175. *The Sacrifice of Isaac* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 16 ft. $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 25 ft. $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. (488 \times 792 cm). Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.9)

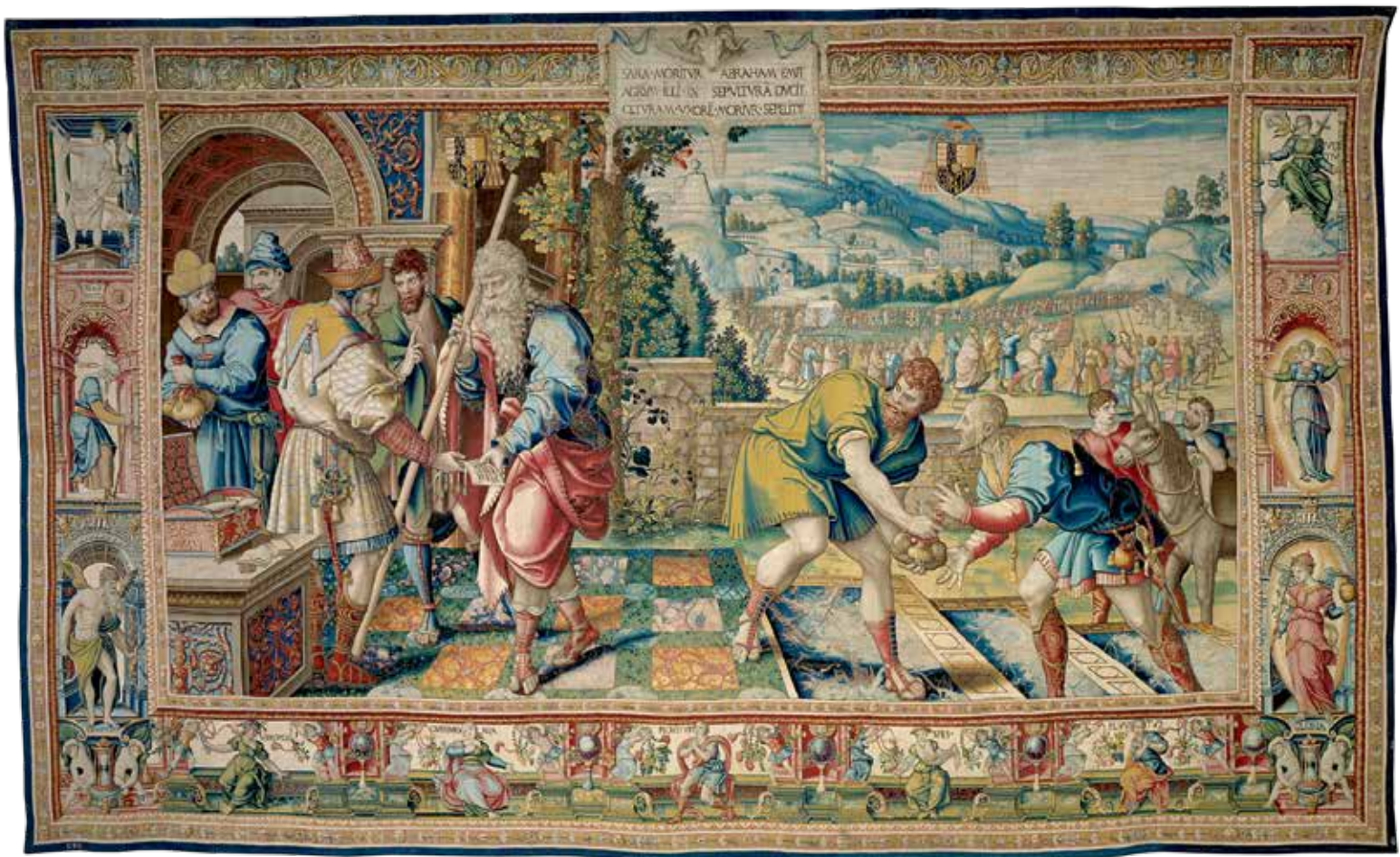


Fig. 176. *Purchase of the Field of Ephron* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer and Pieter Coecke van Aelst the Younger, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 27 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (483 \times 825 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T II/10)

tapestries as “most splendid” despite their lack of precious-metal-wrapped threads, so there is no reason to rule out any of the known *Abraham* editions as being on display in the town hall just because they are woven only with wool and silk.²³ In addition, the term “riquissima” that Calvete used could indicate a splendid, lavish, or beautiful display rather than simply connote a valuation of materials.²⁴

The third surviving edition is the ten-piece set in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (figs. 167, 176, 177, and 181); this set includes armorials that were inserted after weaving.²⁵ Again this set was woven, at least in part, under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer: all ten pieces display his mark; seven also have the mark usually identified as that of Pieter van Aelst the Younger (with whom, among others, de Kempeneer collaborated to produce the three-part *Scenes from Genesis* tapestry series for Sigismund Augustus of Poland by 1553); and the other three pieces accompany de Kempeneer’s mark with an as yet unidentified mark resembling an *A* and an *f*, which, as Nello Forti Grazzini has observed, is very similar, perhaps the same, as the mark on an earlier *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* (not the series attributed to Coecke) discussed below (fig. 192).²⁶ By the late sixteenth century, this set belonged to Charles III, duke of Lorraine (1543–1608), who also apparently owned an edition of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (see Cleland, “The Seven Deadly Sins”); the set reached Vienna following the 1736 marriage of his descendant Francis I Stephen to the Habsburg archduchess Maria Theresa.²⁷ Using the description in the duke’s 1575–1606 inventory “with the armorials of my Lord, the cardinal of Lorraine,” twentieth-century historians have identified this as a reference to Charles II of Lorraine-Vaudémont (1561–1587), although he usually went

by the name “cardinal de Vaudémont.” A peculiar feature of the armorials, in which the cross of Lorraine rests under the cardinal’s hat rather than rising up behind it, reveals that these were added by a different cardinal of Lorraine: Charles, duke of Chevreuse (1524–1574), who was known as the “cardinal de Guise” from 1547 and, after the death of his uncle in 1550, as the “cardinal de Lorraine” until his death in 1574. Charles, duke of Chevreuse, cardinal of Lorraine, was quite likely the original owner, who customized his purchase. An extremely powerful member of the French court, he was also archbishop of Rheims (in which capacity he crowned three kings of France, Henry II, Francis II, and Charles IX) and an infamous politician and power monger.²⁸ If Mercedes Viale Ferrero’s tempting proposition that Charles was the patron of the exquisite *Unicorn* set of verdure with animals now in the Palazzo Borromeo at Isola Bella is correct (see Forti Grazzini, “Verdures with Animals”), he also clearly had a taste for top-quality tapestries.²⁹ Charles, duke of Chevreuse, cardinal of Lorraine, was cousin of Duke Charles III’s father, which was probably the route by which the *Abraham* tapestries entered Charles III’s possession.

The fourth surviving edition also displays the mark of Willem de Kempeneer and is similarly woven only in wool and silk. Its early, perhaps original, owner was Beltrán de la Cueva’s compatriot Gonzalo II Fernández de Córdoba, third duke of Sessa (1520–1578). Eight pieces of this edition remain, some in fragmentary state, in the Church of Santa Cruz in Toledo, whose chapter acquired the set from the duke of Sessa, or more likely from his estate following his death in 1578 (see fig. 169). The tapestries were not yet in the cathedral in 1575, when an inventory was taken, but were included in the subsequent surviving inventory, dated 1588.³⁰ Echoing Calvete’s response to the set



Fig. 177. *The Oath and Departure of Eliezer* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer and Pieter Coecke van Aelst the Younger, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 27 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (483 \times 825 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T II/8)



Fig. 178. *Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 25 ft. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (477 \times 777 cm). Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.5)

on display in the Brussels town hall in 1549, the clerk of the 1588 inventory in Toledo characterized the ten *Abraham* tapestries as “muy ricos.”

A single piece, *God Commands Abraham to Lead the Israelites into Canaan*, is in the collection of the Château de Chambord (fig. 165).³¹ This edition is unlike all the other surviving sets because it has different borders: as mentioned above, the borders are the same as those on the *Story of Caesar* and the *Months of Lucas*. The weavers’ mark on the Chambord *Abraham* reveals that it, too, was made under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer. Perhaps, in this instance, de Kempeneer chose to replace the allegorical borders’ cartoons with the medallion-and-foliage borders in order to create a “mega set,” visually linking different series via shared borders for sale as matching groups, as Frans van den Bossche did with Coecke’s *Life of Saint Paul* and the otherwise unrelated *Planets* (see Delmarcel, “The Life of Saint Paul”). Whether this version of the *Story of Abraham* was made to dovetail with the *Months of Lucas* or the *Story of Caesar* (if de Kempeneer was indeed responsible for the Vatican set) must remain conjecture.

Finally, one further edition of the *Story of Abraham* partially survives in fragments, also now part of the British Royal Collection.³² Acquired as a four-piece set in 1661 and subsequently permanently installed in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey, any borders and, therefore, any weaver’s marks were covered from view. In the late sixteenth century, Coecke’s cartoons were updated and cropped, resulting in a derivative series recorded by two further late sixteenth-century *Abraham* sets, one in Munich since at least 1584 (now shared by the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum and the Residenz), and the other at Hardwick Hall since 1592.³³

Although it is tempting to imagine Henry VIII as the patron who set this series into motion, an alternative scenario could be that it was Willem de Kempeneer himself who masterminded the *Abraham* project with Bernard van Orley. The parallels with the Orleyesque *Story of Jacob* are not simply stylistic. Like the *Abraham* series, the *Jacob* series was woven numerous times in very quick succession. As with the *Abraham* series, those *Jacob* sets that still bear weaver's marks indicate Willem de Kempeneer's direction. And like the *Abraham* series, only one edition of the *Jacob* series was woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads; an exquisite fragment of this set survives in an American private collection.³⁴ Subsequent *Jacob* editions were made on speculation and sold to the Antwerp-based dealer Joris Vezeleer and the Spanish merchant Diego Arranda; by the early 1530s, Henry VIII had acquired one edition, and about the same time, another was bought by Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi. As with the *Abraham* cartoons, variations of the *Jacob* cartoons continued to be used, adapted, and updated by Jan de Kempeneer, Willem's son, late into the sixteenth century.³⁵ It seems likely that Willem de Kempeneer and Bernard van Orley had a business collaboration designing and weaving on speculation the huge ten-piece *Story of Jacob* and repeated this successful scheme some years later for the *Story of Abraham*, with Coecke stepping in to complete the aging Van Orley's work. Indeed, if Van Orley and de Kempeneer blazed the trail with their collaborative venture, it is possible that it was the inspiration for the similar roles of Coecke and Willem de Pannemaker for some of Coecke's other important series (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins").

60.

The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Abraham*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38

Woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

15 ft. 9 in. × 25 ft. 6¾ in. (480 × 779 cm)

Inscribed in cartouche in upper border, SODOMA EXPVGNATA LOTH CAPITVR / ABRAHA[M] VT ILLV[M] RECIPIT REX MELCHISEDEC / VICTORI ABRAHÆ OFFERT PANE[M] ET VINUM; inscribed in side and lower borders, beginning at upper left, VICTORIA, PAX, AMOR PROXIMI, VIOLENTIA, DEPRÆDATIO, GRATITUDO, PUGNA, TYRANNIS, FAMA BONA, HONOR, TIRANNIS

Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.10)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

In the far distance at left, an army besieges a hilltop city.

Unseen in the tapestry but explained in the inscription is the fact that Abraham's nephew Lot, from whom he had parted company in the previous tapestry, has been taken prisoner. A great battle rages on the hillside beneath the city, as Abraham and his men fight and manage to overcome the invading forces of the four Mesopotamian kings, Chedorlaomer, Amraphel, Arioch, and Tidal, and rescue Lot. At the right in the tapestry are the fortified walls and splendid turrets of the liberated city of Sodom. Bearded Abraham, staff in hand, commands the center of the scene as he gestures toward the large, ornately decorated amphora of wine that Melchizedek, high priest and king of Salem, has personally brought out to welcome him. In the middle ground at left, Abraham's men, thirsty after their exertion, drink wine from gourds and cups. Two serving men, one at each side of the tapestry, carry out provisions, great baskets filled with loaves of unleavened bread; they bend under the weight of their loads, giving Coecke an opportunity to portray their taut muscles and distended veins. The inscription in the cartouche in the upper border captions the scene: "Sodom having been stormed, Lot is taken prisoner. Abraham recovers him. King Melchizedek offers bread and wine to the victor, Abraham." It is carefully lettered, immediately legible, and illusionistically portrayed as if on a sheep's pelt suspended from the bordering frieze. This inventive development of the more mundane cartouches of Coecke's earlier series is also used in the *Story of Julius Caesar* (see fig. 183).

This is the fourth tapestry in the *Abraham* series. The allegorical figures in the border continue the themes of war, victory, gratitude, and concord of the central field, identified along the left edge as Victory, Peace, and Brotherly Love, with Good Reputation, Honor, and Tyranny on the right, and Violence, Pillage, Gratitude, Battle, and Tyranny (again) along the lower border. As in each of the *Abraham* tapestries, the complete effect of the border plays a sophisticated spatial game: the frieze along the upper border marks a parallel with the viewer's



space, with the energetic figures of the lower border seeming to spill out into our space, while the niches of the lateral borders gently carve recesses away from us, and the narrative action of the central scene bores back into a distant, mountainous vista. The illusion provided by the borders of a shallowly carved architectural surround to the deep recession of the landscape is particularly effective when all ten tapestries hang side by side, abutting each other and producing a continuous frieze along their upper register.



60

A drawing in Paris attributed to Coecke's contemporary Michiel Coxcie may record an alternative design for this episode (fig. 179), and if this is the case, it is interesting to note the similarities. These extend to Melchizedek's pose, the ornate decoration and positioning of the jug of wine, if not its outline, and the bearded, muscled, and bending servants. Recalling, as these elements also do, Jacob and his companions in the *Story of Jacob*, they probably record Van Orley's original plans for the scene (see Cleland, "The Story of Abraham"). But it is particularly telling to see how differently Coxcie built the

narrative up around them. Instead of locating the meeting in a palatial forecourt, Coxcie set the figures in the rolling landscape of the Vale of Shaveh, open to the elements and with the dregs of battle only yards away. In doing so, he retained the more traditional setting, exemplified in fifteenth-century panel painting by Dieric Bouts's *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament* in Sint-Pieterskerk, Leuven (fig. 180).¹ Coecke, by contrast, relocated the scene to benefit the splendor and sumptuousness that characterize the *Abraham* series as whole. The extensive use of silver-gilt-wrapped thread casts a golden hue over the entire



Fig. 179. *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*. Attributed to Michiel Coxcie, ca. 1537–38. Pen and brown ink over traces of chalk, 11 × 16¾ in. (27.9 × 42.6 cm). Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris

sequence, as though the events are being seen through a tinted filter. These extraordinarily precious materials are complemented by Coecke’s design, which brims over with representational richness, from the ornately decorated metal plate of the amphora and footed tazza to the wealth of pattern and detailing of the costumes of Melchizedek and even of his servants. The stone wall across the middle of the tapestry serves to organize the chronology of the narrative, with the battle raging behind it and the victors’ celebrations in front.

The Tapestry in Henry VIII’s Set

As discussed in “The Story of Abraham” above, of the six surviving editions of the *Story of Abraham*, Henry VIII’s set, with its splendid raw materials that are unique to the set at Hampton Court Palace and with the documentary evidence placing it in royal possession by September 1544 at the very latest, was most likely the primary edition of the series.

In exploring the design roots of the *Story of Abraham* as well as the chronology of the weavings, we see that the *Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* is one of the more informative of the tapestries in the series. The comparative material of

Coxcie’s drawing in Paris elucidates the roles of Van Orley, Coxcie, and Coecke. In addition, there are three other extant weavings of this episode: the one in the set owned by Beltrán de la Cueva, third duke of Albuquerque (Spanish Patrimonio Nacional); that in the set probably owned by Charles, duke of Chevreuse, cardinal of Lorraine (fig. 181); and the one acquired by Gonzalo II Fernández de Córdoba, third duke of Sessa (Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo). All were woven only in wool and silk, and so differ from Henry VIII’s in raw materials. Not only this, but they all have a different inscription, longer and noticeably less carefully represented: “Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of God Most High, goes to greet Abraham when he returned from the slaughter of the four kings, offering him bread and wine.”² There is so far no obvious explanation for this change. Furthermore, as Thomas Campbell has observed, the versions formerly belonging to the cardinal of Lorraine (fig. 181) and the duke of Sessa include two more figures at the far right: a female observer and another bearded man. It is possible that their inclusion was a later addition to the cartoon, correcting some physical damage incurred after at least two uses already, as Campbell has suggested.³ Yet this



Fig. 180. *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, interior of the left wing of the *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament*. Dieric Bouts, 1464–68. Oil on panel, 34¾ × 28 in. (88 × 71 cm). Sint-Pieterskerk, Leuven



Fig. 181. *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* from the *Story of Abraham*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer and an unidentified weaver, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 27 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (483 \times 825 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T II/4)

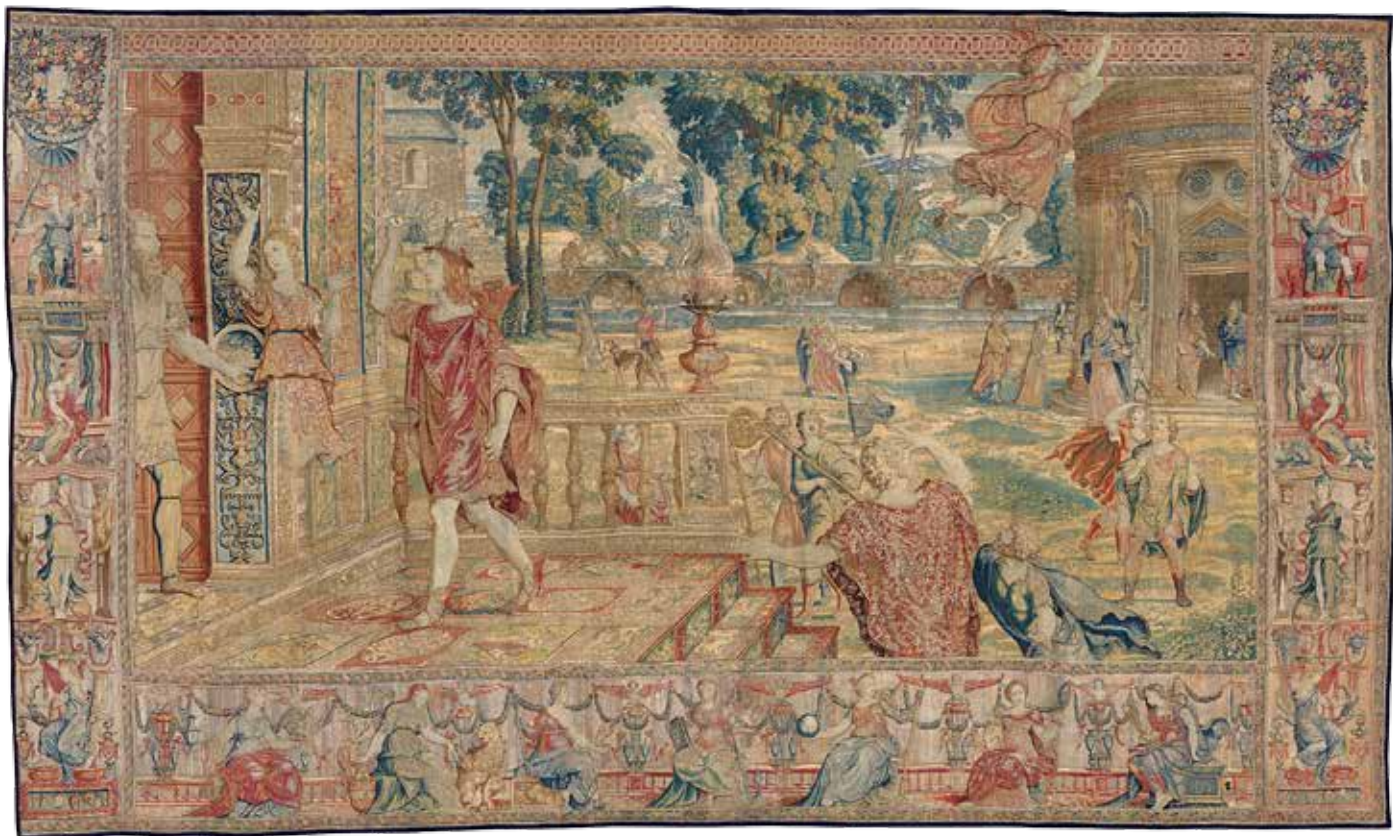


Fig. 182. *Mercury Changes Aglaurus to Stone* from the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design attributed to Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona, ca. 1540. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1570. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 23 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (432 \times 719 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.134)

seems more than a utilitarian patch: their presence tightens up the right side of the scene, allowing clearer articulation of the architecture and doorway and adding a dynamic thrust into the center of the composition as the second figure strides forward, all casting dramatically lengthened shadows. Thus, as we have already seen with the *Life of Saint Paul* (cats. 34, 38, and 39), it seems that Coecke continued to think about these designs even after the cartoons were painted and in use, and he might have temporarily taken them back into his workshop to amend them in between weavings. This, or as was apparently the case with the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (cat. 43), he painted a new cartoon some years after completing the original version. Interestingly, the striding, bearded man, in particular, responds in stature and physiognomy to Italian exempla, either the designs of Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona, as Campbell has suggested, or Lodi's compatriot Giulio Romano. The first edition of Lodi's *Story of Mercury and Herse* (partially surviving in the Palazzo Quirinale in Rome) was woven in Brussels about the same time as Henry VIII's *Story of Abraham*.⁴ In an apparent circle of influence, the embellishments to Lodi's designs in Willem de Pannemaker's considerably later, early-1570s reeditions of the *Story of Mercury and Herse* (including fig. 182) seem themselves to be a response to the ornate surface patterns, decoration, and glowing richness of Coecke's *Abraham* and subsequent *Vertumnus and Pomona* series (see cats. 64–66).⁵

If the *Story of Abraham* was a speculative venture on the part of the master weaver Willem de Kempeneer as suggested in the "Story of Abraham" essay above, it made sense that he would approach Henry with the first and most splendid edition of the series. The subject matter of the patriarch Abraham would clearly resonate with the English king as much as, perhaps even more than, with his Habsburg and Valois counterparts, and by the early 1540s, Henry VIII's penchant for sumptuous tapestry sets was widely known and appreciated. In the early 1530s, de Kempeneer had apparently either sold an edition of his *Story of Jacob*, designed by Van Orley, directly to Henry or supplied it to him via an intermediate dealer, perhaps the Antwerp-based Joris Vezeleer.⁶ In addition, de Kempeneer was on good terms with Henry's court tapestry keeper, or "arrasman," Jan Mostinck, who had testified on his behalf in Brussels in 1539 when de Kempeneer was accused of breaking guild regulations by painting embellishments onto his tapestries.⁷ There might even have been an element of gratitude or reciprocation in the splendor of the *Abraham* set he supplied to Henry four years later. This set was highly prized, receiving the most expensive valuation at the time of the Commonwealth sale, and like the edition of Coecke's *Seven Deadly Sins* also in the English Royal Collection, it was set aside for use by Oliver Cromwell. Regularly included among regalia at royal events after the restoration of the monarchy, the entire set remains at Hampton Court Palace.⁸ EC

THE STORY OF JULIUS CAESAR

Lorraine Karafel

A TEN-PIECE SET of grand-scale tapestries with scenes from the life of Julius Caesar, first woven in the early 1540s, was recorded in the inventories of King Henry VIII of England, Pope Julius III, and Margaret, duchess of Parma. The spectacular design earned the admiration of contemporaries: a visitor to Hampton Court Palace in 1600 enthusiastically praised the luxurious textiles that had been acquired by Henry as “very large and choice tapestries showing the story of Julius Caesar and Pompey. Best of all is one of Pompey’s assassination on the coast of Egypt: the picture is woven into the tapestry to the very life.”¹ Those hangings, unfortunately, are now lost. The original series survives in only one tapestry, dated 1549 and held by the Vatican Museums, which depicts Caesar’s dramatic assassination in the Roman Senate (fig. 183). Two preparatory works for the designs are also extant: a drawing in Munich, *Scene from the Story of Julius Caesar*, identified as the *Departure of Caesar* (cat. 61); and a fragment in Brussels from the cartoon for the *Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia* (cat. 62).² Based on these works, along with extant tapestries from later reweavings, the ambitious series has been reconstructed and attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.³ The designs, probably made about 1540–41, can be linked stylistically to Coecke’s earlier work and testify to the artist’s continued activity in the 1540s as the leading tapestry designer in the Netherlands.

Iconography and Design

The life of Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.), the Roman general and statesman, is known through his own writings and accounts by other Romans, including Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius. In his famous *Parallel Lives*, Plutarch paired Caesar with the Greek general Alexander the Great, whom Caesar emulated. Daring military campaigns defined Caesar’s career: he conquered broad regions of present-day Germany and France, and invaded Britain. His quest for power, however, brought civil war to the Roman Republic in 49 B.C. As Caesar led his troops across the Rubicon River, leaving Gaul and entering Italy to march on Rome, he recognized his fateful gamble by famously declaring, “Let the die be cast.”⁴

Ultimately, Caesar triumphed over his rival Pompey (106–48 B.C.) and then entered Rome to be crowned sole head of state. While Caesar’s reign brought peace and prosperity, his tyrannical



Fig. 183. *The Assassination of Caesar* from the *Story of Julius Caesar*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41. Tapestry probably woven under the direction of Willem de Kempe-
neer, Brussels, 1549. Wool and silk, 16 ft. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 23 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (495 \times 710 cm). Vatican Museums, Vatican City (43788)

dictates finally brought his downfall. Cassius and Brutus, trusted comrades, led the conspiracy to assassinate him. On March 15, 44 B.C., Caesar's divisive rule ended with his bloody murder in the Roman Senate. As Plutarch describes the scene: "Those who had prepared themselves for the murder bared each of them his dagger, and Caesar, hemmed in on all sides, whichever way he turned confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter."⁵ The story of Caesar's legendary life, from his rapid rise to his horrifying fall, not only fascinated his contemporaries but also resonated with later eras.⁶

In the Middle Ages, a sympathy with Caesar developed, as he became a model for noble rulers and kings. He was admired for his considerable accomplishments yet served as a potent reminder of the temptations of power. As one of the Nine Worthies, Caesar joined other ancient, biblical, and contemporary figures whose virtues made them exemplars. In this guise, Caesar became a subject for moralizing texts such as the thirteenth-century *Faits des Romains* and was depicted in artworks, including tapestries.⁷ Tapestries from a fourteenth-century weaving of the *Nine Worthies*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, simultaneously presents Caesar in two roles: as a classical warrior, in antique dress and holding his sword, and as a ruler, enthroned and crowned.⁸ A four-piece set of the *Story of Julius Caesar* woven in the Netherlands about 1460 and now in

the Bernisches Historisches Museum depicts scenes from Caesar's life in a late-medieval setting.⁹ While the tapestries' circumstances of design and production are not known, the set has associations with the Burgundian court, for which the subject held great appeal.¹⁰ The Bern tapestries again emphasize Caesar as a warrior and as a ruler. In the first scene, the Republic's governing triumvirate—Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus—is seated in the Senate. In the tapestries' final scene, Caesar rules alone, although his fate looms as the companions who surround him reach for their weapons. The medieval tradition of depicting Caesar may have informed Coecke's *Story of Julius Caesar*, but with Coecke's designs, which feature classical architecture and costumes, the narrative expanded to become a human drama of public triumph and personal emotion.

As noted above, Coecke's *Caesar* tapestries have not survived in a complete ten-piece set. Their likely subjects and original appearance, however, have been thoughtfully reconstructed by Thomas

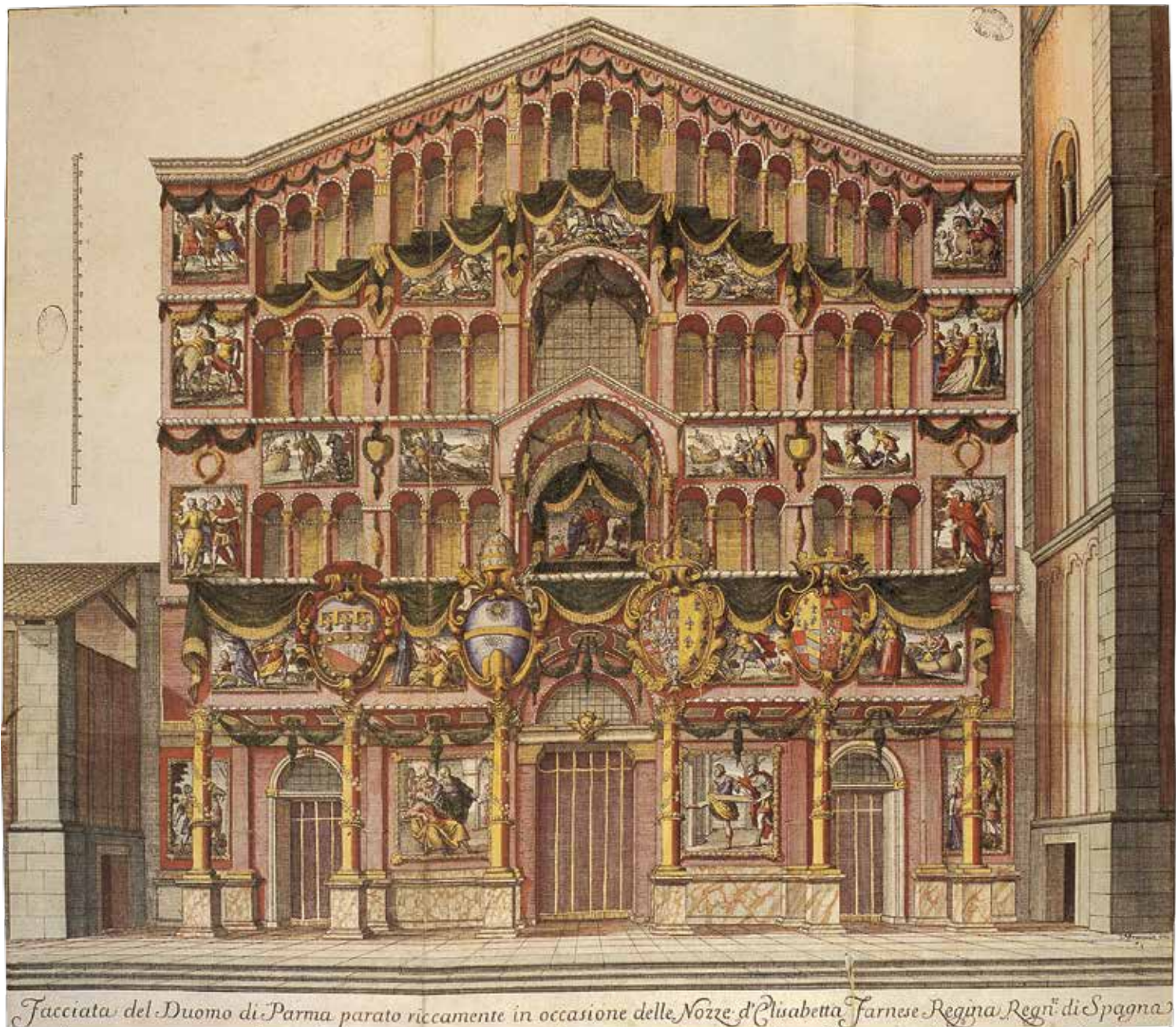


Fig. 184. Facade of Parma Cathedral on the Occasion of the Marriage of Elisabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain, from *Ragguaglio delle nozze della Maestà di Filippo Quinto e di Elisabetta Farnese* (Account of the Wedding of Philip V and Elisabeth Farnese). Francesco Domenico Francia, published by S.A.S. Parma, 1717. Aquatint with watercolor. Biblioteca Palatina, Parma



Fig. 185. *The Departure of Caesar* from the *Story of Julius Caesar*. After designs by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41. Tapestry woven under the direction of Martin de Vos, Brussels, ca. 1660. Wool and silk, 14 ft. 3 in. × 15 ft. 6 in. (434 × 473 cm). Powis Castle, Powis Collection (National Trust), Powys, Wales (11810 80.4)

Campbell.¹¹ Working with the extant 1549 weaving in the Vatican Museums (fig. 183), the preparatory drawing in Munich (cat. 61), and the cartoon fragment in Brussels (cat. 62), along with later rewavings, inventory records, and contemporary descriptions, Campbell identified nine of the ten subjects in the series, some with more certainty than others. The existing tapestry, drawing, and cartoon provide evidence of three subjects: the Assassination of Caesar, preserved in the Vatican Museums tapestry; the Departure of Caesar, with its composition seen in the preparatory drawing in Munich; and the Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia, identifiable in rewavings of the design seen in the cartoon fragment (see fig. 186). Additional subjects, derived from existing weavings and written records, include Caesar Breaking into the Treasury; the Assassination of Pompey; the Battle of Pharsalus; Caesar Killing a Giant (or the Battle of Germania); Spurina Predicting Caesar's Fate; and Caesar with a Prisoner. Later editions included scenes of Caesar Crossing the Rubicon; Caesar Approaching Brindisi; the Sacrifice of a Bull; and the Embarkation of Caesar's Troops. Although it is unclear which of the subjects were woven in the 1540s, the original series must have been astonishing for its ambitious range of compositions.

Further evidence of the original designs and their subjects appears in an eighteenth-century print recording a display of the *Caesar* tapestries acquired before 1550 by Margaret of Parma (fig. 184). The weavings adorned the facade of Parma Cathedral on September 16, 1717, to celebrate

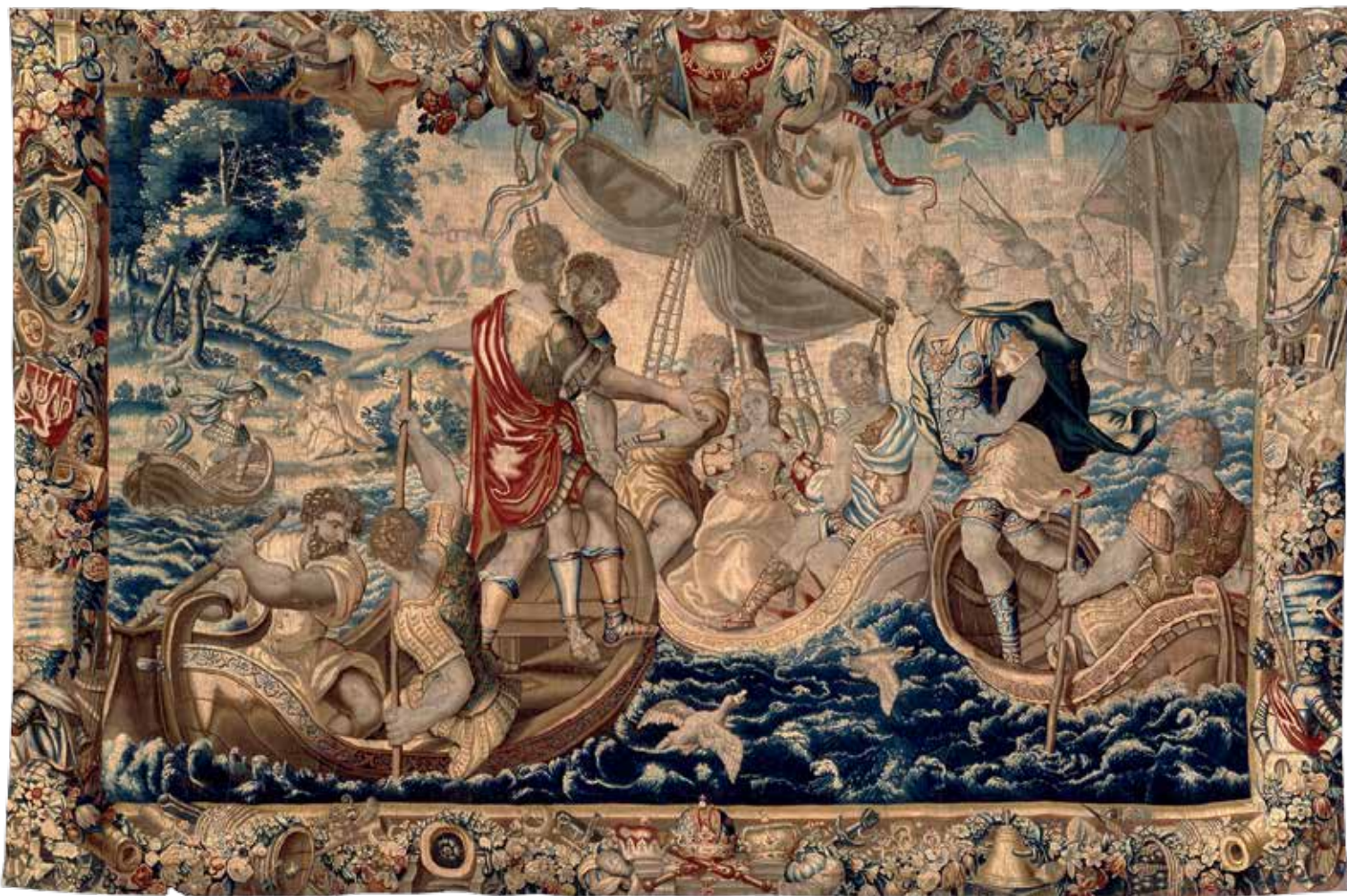


Fig. 186. *The Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia* from the *Story of Julius Caesar*. After designs by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41. Tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1660. Wool and silk, 11 ft. 5 in. × 17 ft. (348 × 518 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh (54.5.1)

the marriage of Elisabeth Farnese and Philip V of Spain. While the print offers a useful rendering of the lost designs, the presentation apparently included not only Margaret's weavings but also hangings from another set of the *Story of Julius Caesar*, a later reweaving of the same designs acquired before 1575 by Alessandro Farnese, Margaret's son.¹² Nello Forti Grazzini identified the tapestries in the print, drawn from both Margaret's and Alessandro's sets, as the *Battle of Pharsalus*, the *Departure of Caesar* (appears twice), *Spurina Predicting Caesar's Fate* (appears twice), *Caesar Crossing the Rubicon*, the *Embarkation of Caesar's Troops*, the *Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia*, the *Assassination of Pompey*, the *Assassination of Caesar*, *Caesar with a Prisoner*, and *Caesar Breaking into the Treasury*.¹³ While Forti Grazzini determined nine of the compositions in Alessandro's set, the tenth remains unknown, along with the specific subjects in Margaret's set.

The majority of the subjects associated with the *Caesar* series emphasize vigorous and at times violent action: they range from tumultuous, multifigured battle scenes, such as *Caesar Killing a Giant* or the *Battle of Pharsalus*, to compositions that concentrate on a few key figures, such as the scenes with the murders of Caesar and Pompey. As counterpoints to these action-focused panels, the depictions of the *Departure of Caesar* and *Pompey's Reunion with Cornelia* present deeply emotional moments, with the composition highlighting the inner tensions of the characters. In the *Departure of Caesar*, for example, a distraught wife reaches out toward her husband as he mounts his horse; the space between the couple suggests the distance that will soon separate them.

Although no documentation attests to Coecke's role in the production of the *Story of Julius Caesar*, scholars have attributed the tapestries' designs to him based on stylistic similarities to earlier work. For example, in the Vatican Museums' *Assassination of Caesar*, the man in the foreground who turns from the viewer, his right arm raised as he prepares to strike the fallen ruler, repeats the pose of the man, probably Nimrod, accompanying Pride in one of Coecke's designs for the *Seven Deadly Sins* series (cat. 47). Coecke's penchant for gestures made with outstretched arms and for dramatic contrapposto can be traced in his documented designs for the *Sins* and for other series such as the *Life of Saint Paul* (cats. 25–44) and the *Story of Joshua* (cats. 54–59). These same features also appear in several of the *Caesar* compositions, from *Caesar Killing a Giant* to the *Departure of Caesar*. In addition, the *Caesar* tapestries share design elements with another tapestry set first woven in the early 1540s and attributed to Coecke, the *Story of Abraham* (see Cleland, "The Story of Abraham").¹⁴

The drawing in Munich, which has long been attributed to Coecke, further suggests the artist's involvement in the *Caesar* series (cat. 61). Max Friedländer and Georges Marlier both gave the sheet to Coecke,¹⁵ and with Campbell's identification of it as a *modello* for the *Departure of Caesar*, Coecke's name became linked more decisively to the *Caesar* designs.¹⁶ The drawing's composition also recalls designs by that formative influence on Coecke, Bernard van Orley, particularly his studies of 1524 for a series of tapestries depicting the *Story of Romulus and Remus* (see cat. 3).¹⁷

The *Caesar* designs reflect the broader northern tapestry tradition, with its emphasis on ornament and detail in dress and architecture, as well as Van Orley's inventive designs. The compositions also reveal an awareness of the work of Raphael and his followers, with a focus on monumental figures, dramatic moments, and an archaeological interest in the antique. Coecke certainly knew Raphael's innovative designs for the ten-piece *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries, woven in Brussels between 1516 and 1521 for Pope Leo X (see figs. 115, 117, 118, and 129). He also seems to have been familiar with the cartoons for two other series of tapestries with classical themes: the twenty-two-piece *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni, woven in Brussels in 1533–34 for Francis I of France (whose appearance is recorded in fig. 119), and the seven-piece *Furti di Giove* designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria, woven in the Netherlands, probably Brussels, between 1531 and 1536 (see fig. 211).¹⁸ Especially the stage-like architectural frames of the *Furti di Giove* may have influenced Coecke. A more detailed analysis of these relationships may provide a better understanding of Coecke's design approach, his absorption of Italian pictorial ideas, and his increasing fascination in the 1540s with the literature and forms of ancient Rome.

Genesis of the Series and Chronology of the Tapestry Sets

The earliest recorded weaving of the *Caesar* tapestries was delivered to Henry VIII of England between September 1543 and September 1544.¹⁹ This luxuriously produced set, replete with gold- and silver-wrapped threads, has been identified by Campbell as the *editio princeps* of the design.²⁰ Whether the compositions were specially commissioned for Henry or originated as a speculative venture is not clear. The subject, certainly, would have appealed to the English king, who would have seen parallels between himself, ruler of Britain, and Caesar, who had conquered Britain. Caesar's military genius along with his public and private accomplishments were, in fact, extolled in a contemporary text by Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*.²¹ This study, intended as a guide for the education of a young prince, was published in 1531 under Henry's patronage. Elyot's

commentary, presenting Caesar as a model for young rulers, great in his accomplishments yet brought down by his overwhelming desire for power, coincided with Henry's real political and religious ambitions, and his need for an heir to succeed him.²²

A second set of *Caesar* tapestries was acquired by Pope Julius III before 1555, when a ten-piece set in wool and silk was listed in the Vatican inventory as "large panels, without gold, with the Story of Augustus Caesar: ten pieces purchased during the time of Pope Julius III."²³ Only one piece from this set, the *Assassination of Caesar*, survives today (fig. 183). Dated 1549, presumably the year of its weaving, the tapestry features an elaborate border of classical portrait medallions and putti playing amid lush garlands of fruit and flowers; the putti are borrowed from one of Raphael's tapestry designs for Leo X, the *Giochi di Putti*. A Latin inscription in the upper border comments on the violent scene: "The note containing the conspiracy is given to Caesar but without reading it he goes to the Senate House where, as he is seated on the throne of the Senate, a crowd invades and dispatches him with twenty wounds, and thus, this man, who had showered the entire earth with the blood of citizens in the end floods the Senate House with his own blood."²⁴ A later inventory identifies two of the set's compositions, the present subject as the *Conspiracy* (*La congiura*) and another as the *War of Germany* (*La guerra di Germania*).²⁵ Other subjects in the set are not known, but surely, owning a set of tapestries with the story of his Roman namesake would have appealed to Pope Julius. Between 1550 and 1555 he built a luxurious villa in the antique style outside the Porto del Popolo in Rome, which served to house his extensive collection of ancient sculpture.

Margaret of Parma obtained a third *Caesar* set before 1550, when the tapestries, in wool and silk, appear in an inventory as "five bails of Flemish tapestry with ten pieces of the history of Julius Caesar. Six door panels with the same story."²⁶ As Forti Grazzini has noted, these tapestries may be the same set that Cammillo Campani described as "most beautiful" when he wrote from Bologna to Cristiano Pagni, secretary of the Medici court, on July 15, 1550, to offer the set to Cosimo I, duke of Florence.²⁷ The tapestries were refused and were, perhaps, then offered to Margaret.

The one surviving tapestry from the set acquired by Pope Julius—and the only extant first-generation weaving of Coecke's designs—does not, unfortunately, bear a weaver's mark. However, the distinctive border of the piece, with its classical medallions, also appears on a tapestry from the *Story of Abraham*, now in the collection at the Château de Chambord (fig. 165).²⁸ That tapestry, *God Commands Abraham to Lead the Israelites into Canaan*, features the mark of Willem de Kempeneer, who also wove the *Abraham* set that was delivered to Henry VIII in the early 1540s (see Cleland, "The Story of Abraham").²⁹ De Kempeneer, as a leading merchant-weaver in Brussels who provided tapestries to both Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France, may well have produced Henry's *Story of Julius Caesar* as well as the Vatican set that belonged to the pope.³⁰

The question of de Kempeneer's relationship with Coecke is intriguing. Did de Kempeneer and Coecke devise both the *Caesar* and *Abraham* series as speculative projects that were then developed for a particular patron, Henry VIII? Or did Henry commission the tapestries outright? Further research may clarify this point and contribute to a better understanding of how these enormously costly projects were initiated and how they developed. After Coecke's designs for the *Story of Julius Caesar* were used for at least three sets—those acquired by Henry VIII, Pope Julius III, and Margaret of Parma—the series remained very popular and was woven numerous times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These weavings included design variations and sometimes alternative scenes; the later versions even included different inscriptions.³¹

About 1560–70, the *Story of Julius Caesar* was woven based on altered, second-generation cartoons. King Erik XIV of Sweden acquired an eight-piece set from this edition, and Alessandro

Farnese's set of ten pieces was also made at this time. At least five sets were woven from second-generation cartoons, as suggested by the varied border designs on extant pieces.³² In the seventeenth century, additional sets, some of which adhere closely to Coecke's original compositions, were produced, including tapestries now at Powis Castle in Wales and at the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh (figs. 185, 186).³³

Many questions remain about the *Story of Julius Caesar* series and Coecke's role as designer. The single extant first-generation tapestry, the *Assassination of Caesar*; the preparatory drawing in Munich; and the cartoon fragment in Brussels merely hint at the spectacular compositions that formed the first set, rich with silk, gold, and silver, acquired by Henry VIII. Especially impressive is the range of compositions in the *Caesar* series, from sweeping scenes of battle and triumph to focused moments of intimate emotional intensity. The designs present not only Caesar's remarkable accomplishments but also speak eloquently of human frailty. The first set of the *Story of Julius Caesar* tapestries, one of the most important woven in the mid-sixteenth century, must have astounded its Renaissance audience. The designs, melding drama and poetry, testified to Coecke's continued ambitions in the 1540s as a tapestry designer of outstanding skill and extraordinary invention.



61.

The Departure of Julius Caesar

Ricordo of the design for the tapestry in the *Story of Caesar*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41

Pen and brown ink, wash

4½ × 12 in. (11.5 × 30.6 cm)

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (1957:119 Z)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

62.

Head of a Man from the Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia

Fragment of the cartoon for the tapestry in *The Story of Julius Caesar*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41

Black chalk and body color

17⅞ × 13⅞ in. (45.3 × 35.2 cm)

Private collection, Brussels

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

These two drawings were made in preparation for two tapestries in the *Story of Julius Caesar*, an ambitious ten-piece series first woven in the early 1540s. Representing two different stages in the tapestries’ production, the works give a rare glimpse into the design process. The pen-and-ink composition in Munich with figures in a landscape (cat. 61) records the appearance of the small-scale *petit patron*, from which a full-scale cartoon would have been made. The fragment depicting a man’s head (cat. 62) is from the full-scale cartoon that the weavers placed under or behind their loom as visual reference while they worked. With only one tapestry from this series’ original weaving in the 1540s extant—the Vatican Museums’ *Assassination of Caesar* (fig. 183)—the drawings document other compositions in the series and provide evidence of Coecke as the tapestries’ designer.

The small compositional drawing, called a “mythological scene” by Georges Marlier, depicts on the right a Roman



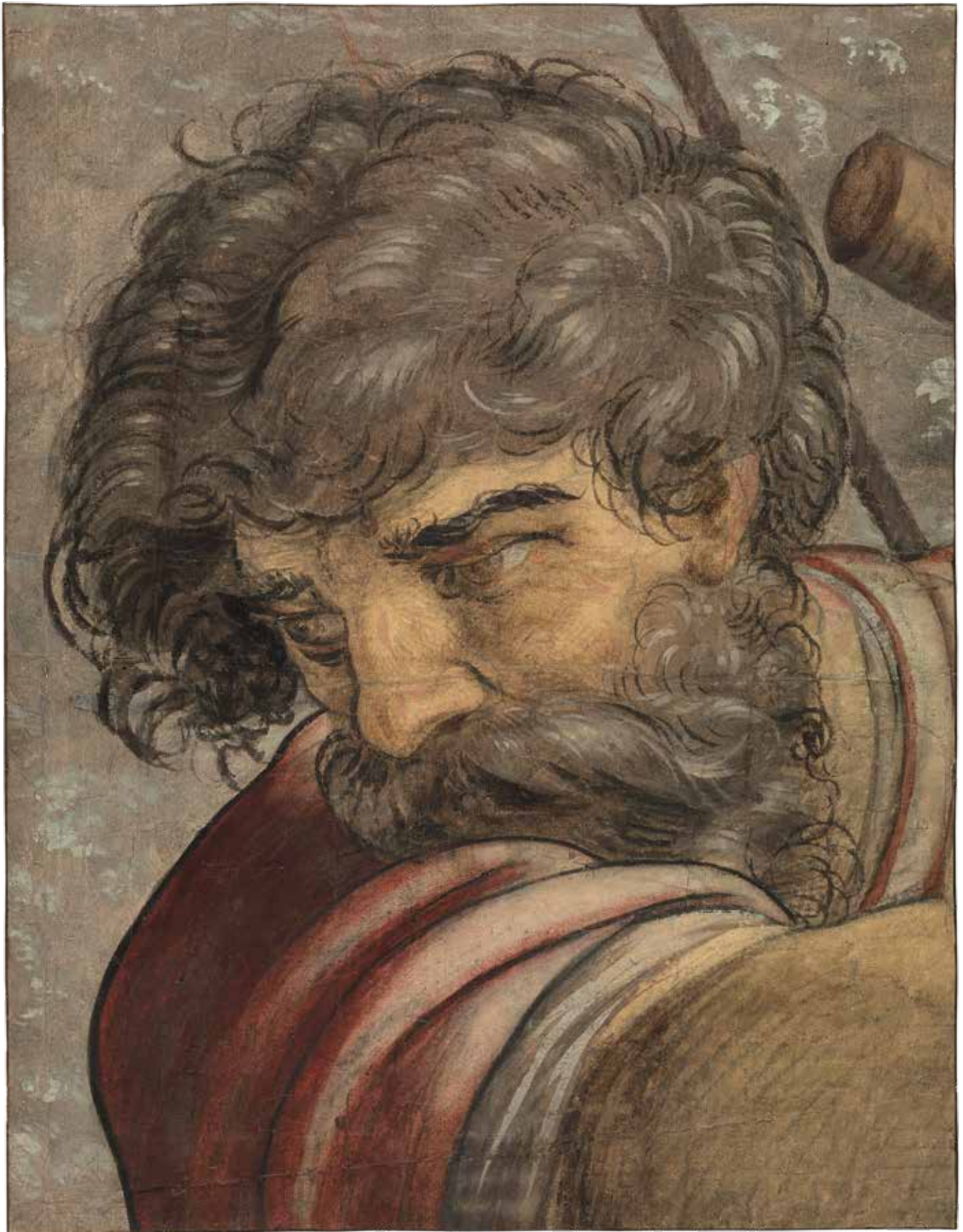
61

soldier, dressed in cuirass and cape, mounting his horse (cat. 61).¹ On the left, an elegantly attired young woman reaches yearningly toward him as her attendant hurries her away to a waiting boat; a group of women follows. Set along a wooded shore, the landscape gives way to gently rolling hills and, in the distance, a city. As the man and woman in the foreground look longingly toward each other, the drawing seems to capture the anguish of their parting; the space between the pair eloquently foretells the much greater distance that will soon separate them.

The sheet was identified by Thomas Campbell as a *modello* for the tapestry the *Departure of Caesar*, with the Roman general taking leave of his wife (fig. 185).² A *Caesar* set acquired by King Erik XIV of Sweden in 1560–61 included this subject, and inscriptions on extant seventeenth-century rewavings identify the scene.³ However, there is a possibility that the composition was originally intended to represent not Caesar

but his rival Pompey. Another sixteenth-century panel bears an inscription that refers to Pompey, whose wife sought safety on the island of Lesbos before the Battle of Pharsalus: “The great man seeks his camp. Cornelia sadly takes ship for Lesbos, expecting a dire fate for the man.”⁴ While the subject of the Munich drawing cannot definitively be determined, the composition’s narrative, with its tender moment of leave-taking, offers a parallel to another panel in the series, the *Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia* (fig. 186), a meeting that was recounted by Plutarch in his *Life of Pompey*.⁵ Together the two scenes offer a counterpoint to the series’ other designs, known from later rewavings, with their multifigured scenes of battle, triumph, and death, bringing a poignant, poetic note to the tapestries’ story.

Scholars including Marlier and Max Friedländer have attributed the unsigned Munich drawing to Coecke.⁶ Although in 1973



62



Fig. 187. *The Departure of Caesar*, *ricordo* of the design for the tapestry in the *Story of Caesar*. Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41. Pen and gray ink and wash within pen and gray ink, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ in. (11.9 × 31.1 cm). Private collection

Wolfgang Wegner proposed as the author another artist, Jan Swart van Groningen, Thea Vignau-Wilberg again assigned the sheet to Coecke in 1995, citing the drawing's stylistic similarity to Coecke's work of about 1540.⁷ Linking the drawing to the *Caesar* set, Campbell noted the composition's rapid line, accentuated use of shadows, and focus on movement, all characteristic of Coecke's work, but not of Swart's.⁸ More recently, Stijn Alsteens has suggested that the drawing may be a copy, possibly made in Coecke's workshop, citing a consistent, somewhat static, approach in its rendering and the fact that the composition remains carefully within the sheet's confines, which is typical of copies, while originals often extend to the sheet's edges.⁹ A second drawing of the same composition (fig. 187) was recently attributed to Coecke's workshop; like catalogue number 61, it is probably also a *ricordo* of Coecke's lost *petit patron*.¹⁰

The cartoon fragment depicting a man's face looking down and to the right is, in contrast, rendered in an exuberant hand, with broad strokes in black chalk defining the man's tousled hair, unruly brows, and rugged features (cat. 62). It can be identified as part of the cartoon for the *Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia* through comparison with a seventeenth-century reweaving of the design (fig. 186). The face in the fragment appears, in reverse, on the boatman at the tapestry's far left, looking over his shoulder as his powerful arms work his oar.

Since tapestries were woven from the back, with the weaver closely following the cartoon placed under or behind the loom, cartoons are normally oriented in reverse to the weaving's finished front (see figs. 102–7).

The cartoon painter of the *Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia* has not been identified. However, Campbell pointed out the similarity of the boatman's face with figures in tapestry designs associated with Coecke, including those for the *Story of Abraham*, and also with Bernard van Orley's designs from about 1530, such as those for the *Hunts of Maximilian* (figs. 49, 133).¹¹ These parallels suggest that the boatman is a "type," developed in Van Orley's workshop, where Coecke may have worked, and was subsequently reused by both Van Orley and Coecke.¹² While workshop practices are not completely understood, it is likely that cartoons such as the *Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia* were produced in Coecke's large workshop under the artist's supervision and perhaps occasionally with his intervention.

As rare documents of the design process, these drawings offer insight into the production of the *Caesar* tapestries, from the small-scale *petit patron*, detailing the composition, to the vigorously painted full-scale cartoon used by the weavers. With the extant *Assassination of Caesar* tapestry in the Vatican Museums, these works are all that remain from the 1540s of the *Story of Caesar*, one of Coecke's most ambitious designs. LK

THE STORY OF TOBIAS

Stijn Alsteens

DESPITE BEING ONE of the smallest and most modest works of Coecke's known oeuvre, a drawing in Amsterdam depicting the marriage of Tobias and Sara (cat. 63) is precious for our understanding of the style of the last decade of Coecke's life and the way his workshop may have functioned in those years. Indeed, very few other undisputed autograph drawings can be dated to this period. Apart from the magnificent *Fall of the Giants* (cat. 20), a print design that could still belong to the 1530s, the only exception may be a sheet in Warsaw (fig. 207) that has been recently attributed to Coecke and in its sketch-like character is not unlike the Amsterdam drawing.¹ The Warsaw drawing is very probably a design for a tapestry, although no related weaving is known; in the case of the Amsterdam sheet, a tapestry depicting the same composition exists in Gaasbeek Castle, near Brussels (fig. 188). These drawings and the tapestry make it clear that Coecke remained active as a designer even while his personal interest may have shifted to the publication of architectural books (see cat. 17). Indeed, the Amsterdam drawing showing the *Marriage of Tobias and Sara* suggests a tapestry series that originally included eight, perhaps as many as ten, pieces.² Multiple editions of this series were woven: Gaasbeek Castle contains an incomplete set of four pieces; an eight-piece set is in the Museo Diocesano, Tarragona; and another incomplete set of five pieces was on the art market in the late 1920s.³

Together the known designs depict eight episodes from the life of Tobias, following the apocryphal book named after his father, also Tobias (or Tobit): (1) young Tobias presenting the archangel Raphael to his parents (Tobit 5:10–22); (2) the marriage of young Tobias and Sara (Tobit 7:15–16); (3) the strange events during their wedding night (Tobit 8:1–10; fig. 189); (4) the arrival of Gabelus at the wedding (Tobit 9:7–9); (5) the departure of Tobias and Sara (Tobit 10:10–13); (6) Tobias and Raphael arriving at his parents' home in advance of Sara (Tobit 11:1–15); (7) the curing of the elder Tobias and departure of Raphael (Tobit 11:13–17, 12:20–22); and (8) the death of the elder Tobias (Tobit 14:2–6). The story of Tobias was a popular subject for tapestries, evidenced by three distinct series all dating to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. In addition to the series recorded in the Gaasbeek set, another eight-piece series, attributed to Bernard van Orley, was woven at least twice (one set is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). The designs of this series were reworked into a third series, of which a set owned by Henry VIII partially



Fig. 188. *The Marriage of Tobias and Sara* from the *Story of Tobias*. Designed by an anonymous Brussels artist, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst (and workshop?), ca. 1540s. Tapestry woven by an unidentified workshop, Brussels, probably before 1550. Wool and silk, 11 ft. 5 in. × 12 ft. 9½ in. (348 × 390 cm). Gaasbeek Castle, Lennik (255)

survives in the British Royal Collection, while a set acquired by Mary of Hungary remains in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional.⁴

The Amsterdam sheet has received little attention, and the attribution to Coecke is fairly new, notwithstanding the fact that the drawing once belonged to the great connoisseur Max Friedländer, whose writings on Coecke remain an essential contribution to an understanding of his oeuvre. On the basis of an inscription on the verso of the sheet, it had previously been believed to be the work of the little-known Barend Dircksz. (“Dove Barend,” or Deaf Barend), a contemporary of Van Orley and Coecke active in Amsterdam, and the father of the painter Dirck Barendsz.⁵ When sold in 1959 with Friedländer’s collection, the drawing was catalogued as the work of an anonymous Netherlandish artist. The attribution to Coecke seems to have been proposed first by Karel G. Boon in 1978 and is entirely convincing. The slender figure type, flat feet, and granular quality of the lines are all characteristic for Coecke. It is true that the drawing is executed in a much more cursory style than is usually associated with him, but similar passages do occur in the background of undisputed drawings, such as one in the Frits Lugt Collection (cat. 58) and a drawing in London, possibly a design for a small glass panel (fig. 190).⁶

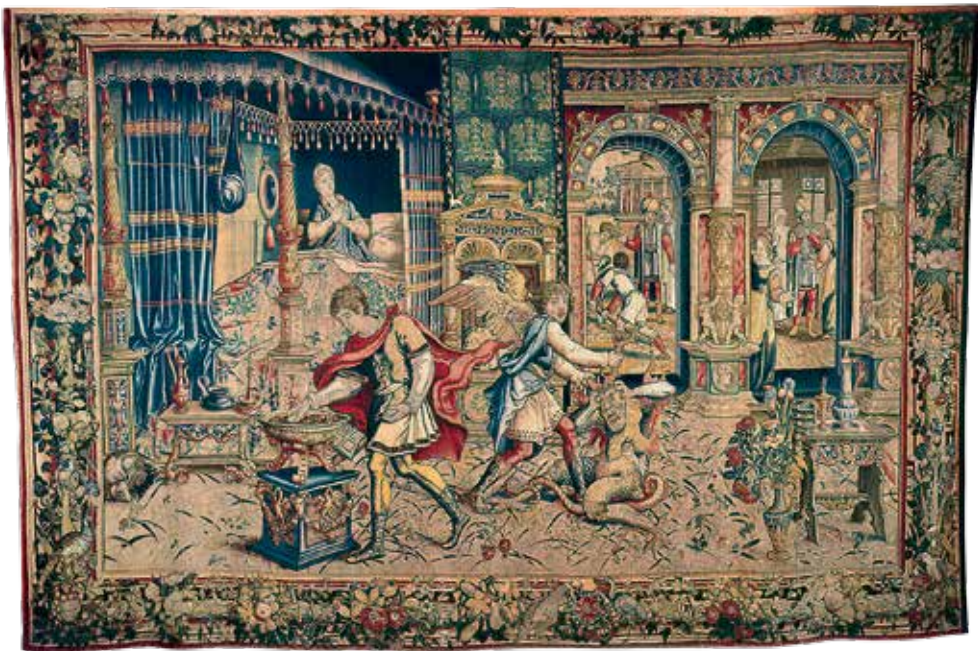


Fig. 189. *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sara* from the *Story of Tobias*. Designed by an anonymous Brussels artist, after a design by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (and workshop?), ca. 1540s. Tapestry woven in an unidentified workshop, Brussels, before 1550. Wool and silk, 12 ft. 9½ in. × 21 ft. 11 in. (390 × 668 cm). Gaasbeek Castle, Lennik (256)



Fig. 190. *The Idolatry of Solomon*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 4¾ × 3⅝ in. (11.9 × 9.3 cm). British Museum, London (1946-7-13-971)

If the Amsterdam drawing is by Coecke, the final designs for the related tapestries in the *Story of Tobias* series cannot without question be attributed to him alone. Unaware of the Amsterdam sheet, Heinrich Göbel gave their design to Jan van Roome, an attribution that certainly fails to convince.⁷ Some of the tapestries display the refinement of composition and complexity one would expect from an artist like Coecke at the height of his craft, notably the panel depicting the events occurring on the wedding night of Tobias and Sara (fig. 189).⁸ Others, however, including the one based on the Amsterdam drawing, seem somewhat less inspired, or at least simpler, with most figures close to the viewer and acting on the surface plane. Placing the action at the surface could be taken as a characteristic trait of Coecke's late style, one also found in a workshop drawing of the *Triumph of Mordecai* (cat. 67). The simpler composition could also have been Coecke's response to the weavers, who may have deemed some of his designs overly complex, as suggested here in connection with the *Story of Joshua* series, of which the woven versions differ considerably from the autograph designs (see cats. 55, 57, and 58). But in the case of the *Joshua* series, the *petits patrons* are without any doubt by Coecke's own hand; in the case of the *Tobias* series, the Amsterdam drawing is the only known indication of Coecke's role in the creation of the series. It represents a much earlier stage of design than that of the *petits patrons*: it contains only the most basic information regarding the pose and costume of the main actors of the scene and a summary indication of the background architecture and landscape. Could it be that Coecke provided only the general outlines of the compositions of the *Tobias* series, leaving their elaboration, including the production of the *petits patrons* and the cartoons, to assistants or a collaborator? In the absence of any other preliminary drawings or cartoons for the set, this question must remain open. Attesting to the designs' appeal, a group of eight sixteenth-century drawings in the Musée du Louvre that appear to have some connection with the work of Jan Swart van Groningen and were retouched with oil by Peter Paul Rubens replicate figure groups from some of these compositions, although not the episode of the Marriage of Tobias and Sara, and add a further scene: the opening episode of the elder Tobias accusing his wife Anna of stealing a goat (Tobit 2:20–21).⁹

63.

The Marriage of Tobias and Sara

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Story of Tobias*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–45(?)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk

2⁷/₈ × 4³/₈ in. (7.3 × 11 cm)

Watermark: none

Verso: at lower right, inscribed *a* in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Dooven Barent / Die Hochz des Tobias* in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1964-44)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.



63

THE STORY OF VERTUMNUS AND POMONA

Elizabeth Cleland

IN THE TAPESTRY series that Pieter Coecke van Aelst designed after the remarkable histories of *Abraham* and *Caesar*, he brought to tapestry design a strikingly different visual language. Working in a style more akin to his printed works of this period (cats. 17, 23), in the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* Coecke relinquished monumental narrative in favor of a poetic sequence of tableaux set in loggias that illustrate Vertumnus's chameleonic wooing of Pomona.

Iconography and Design

The popularity of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a source of subject matter throughout the arts was well established by the sixteenth century. Tapestry design was no exception, from a *Story of Phaeton* and the splendid *Story of Mercury and Herse* (fig. 182), to Coecke's *Poesia* (cat. 68).¹ The charming love story of two of the lesser-known deities, Vertumnus and Pomona, appears in book 14, lines 609–771. Ovid describes how the Roman divinity of the seasons, Vertumnus, sought to woo uninterested Pomona, goddess of fruit trees and gardens, by assuming eight different disguises, appearing first as a harvester (fig. 191), then as a farmer (fig. 193), a herdsman (cat. 64), a vintner (cat. 65), a fruit picker (cat. 66), a soldier (fig. 194), a fisherman (fig. 195), and finally, an old woman (fig. 196). It is in the final disguise that he achieves his aim, catching Pomona's attention by recounting to her the cautionary tale of Iphis and Anaxarete. Ultimately sensing her newfound sympathy to be wooed, Vertumnus removes his disguise, revealing his true identity and winning Pomona's heart (fig. 197).

In the mid-1530s, an anonymous Flemish artist, much inspired by Italian models, designed a tapestry series of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* (fig. 192); only one fragmentary edition of this series survives, apparently woven in the same as yet unidentified workshop as some of the tapestries in the cardinal of Lorraine's *Story of Abraham* (Cleland, "The Story of Abraham"). As Nello Forti Grazzini and Guy Delmarcel have suggested, this *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* could well have been commissioned by King Francis I of France as a gift for some unknown recipient; a slightly outdated version of the French royal arms appears on the set, and the story itself had already found favor at the court of Fontainebleau.² The designer of this *Vertumnus and Pomona*

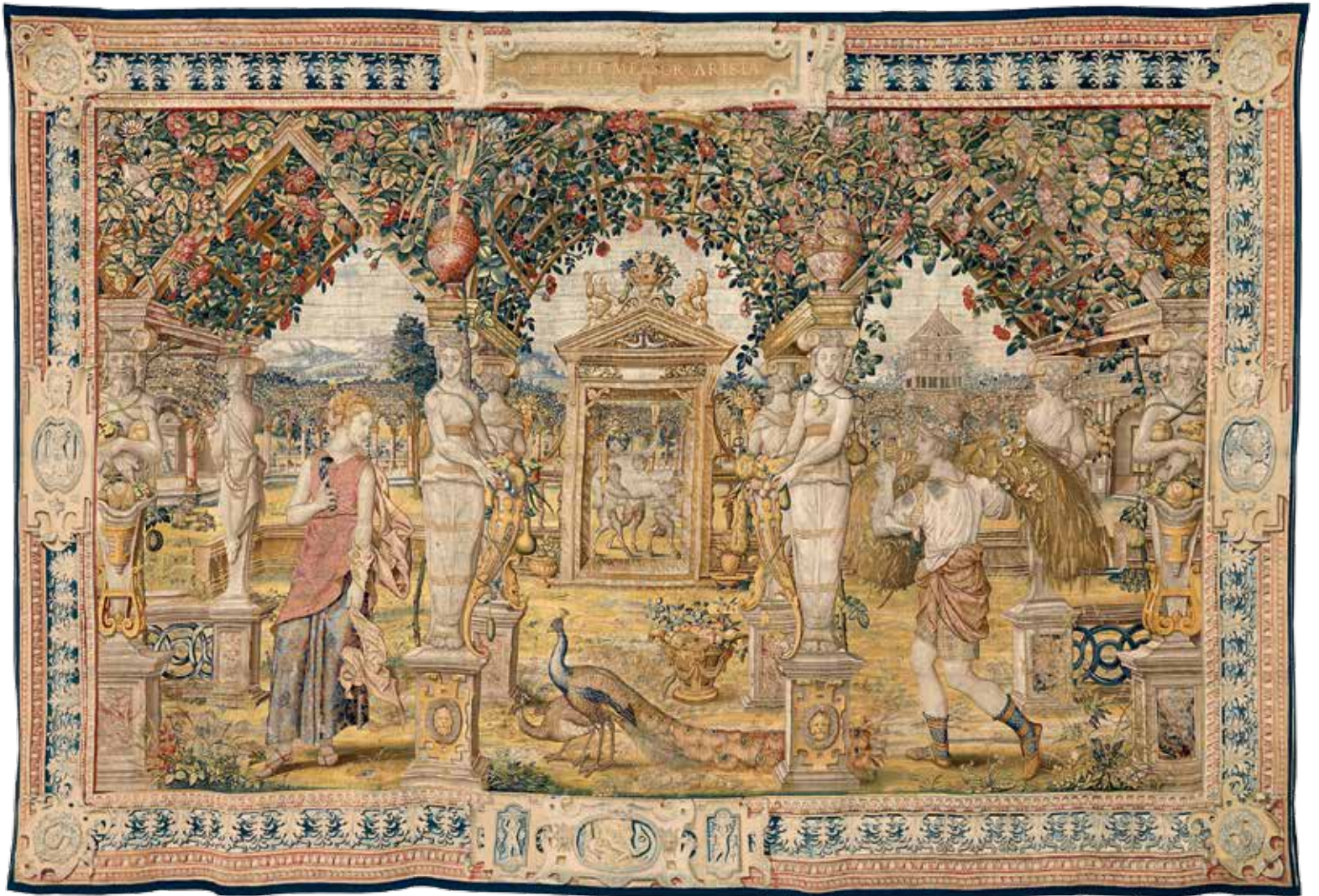


Fig. 191. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Harvester* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 7¾ in. × 20 ft. 8⅞ in. (416 × 632 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 18/1)

located the story in a varied landscape setting, filled with narrative details. The tapestries are appealing, but there is no record that duplicate sets were ever woven.

Approximately a decade later, the subject was tackled again in a series of tapestry designs in an astonishingly inventive manner, achieving overwhelming popularity and subsequently being re woven countless times, far into the seventeenth century. It is this second series that can be attributed to Coecke. In the past the series was unconvincingly linked to a gamut of different artists, one of the most persistent attributions being to Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen because of the stylistic links between protagonists' physiognomies and figure types in the *Conquest of Tunis* and the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*.³ However, if Vermeyen was indeed the lead artist of the *Conquest of Tunis*, Coecke's role in its design has since been convincingly established (see Buchanan, "The Conquest of Tunis"), and it is precisely the details attributed to him, like the group of women in the foreground of catalogue number 70, that link it with the style of *Vertumnus and Pomona*. As Georges Marlier noted, more recently bolstered by Thomas Campbell and Iain Buchanan, works in Coecke's painted oeuvre, not least the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22), also provide strikingly similar poses and facial types (fig. 96).⁴ Vertumnus-like men witness the Conversion of Saul on the exterior of the triptych's wings (fig. 99). Pomona-like women can also be spotted in Coecke's *Story of Julius Caesar* (cat. 61) and in the *Poesia* (cat. 68), now also attributed to Coecke



Fig. 192. *Pomona Surprised by Vertumnus* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Anonymous designer, ca. 1532. Tapestry woven under the direction of an anonymous weaver, ca. 1535–40. Wool and silk, 16 ft. 2¼ in. × 14 ft. 1¼ in. (493 × 430 cm). Art Institute of Chicago (1940.86)

(see Paredes, “The Poesia”). The same hand seems at work in the *Christ as the Fount of Mercy* drawing (cat. 11). It is possible that Coecke worked on this *Vertumnus and Pomona* series with collaborators, as has sometimes been suggested. However, the exciting challenge of developing such a new style of garden-situated tapestry, articulated by the classical architectural style with which he was now so familiar, makes it seem more likely that the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* is purely his own invention. Given the evidence of his prowess in surviving cartoons (unfortunately none remain of *Vertumnus and Pomona*), he would most probably also have continued to retain an active role in the cartoon-painting process, overseeing assistants, in keeping with his recent grant from the Antwerp magistrate for his work training cartoon painters (see “Timeline”).

Peeling away the extraneous narrative details and condensing the secondary characters of Ovid’s story, Coecke anchored each of the nine tapestries with the principal figures of Vertumnus and Pomona, in the first eight positioning them to either side of the composition and finally, in the ninth, unifying them as one entwined central whole. True to the deities’ identities, Coecke designed their settings as a series of gardens filled with vines, trellises, and fruit trees. Each is articulated with a different pergola or loggia.⁵ These structures display an awareness of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, as Cecilia Paredes has shown, and Coecke’s clever use of architecture and sculpture can also be understood in the context of his study of Serlio and Vitruvius.⁶ Coecke achieved not just intellectual kudos but also the opportunity to playfully juxtapose the naked

caryatids with modest Pomona and the leering stone fauns with the earnest expressions of the main protagonists. With this setting, Coecke was initiating, rather than simply responding to, a growing taste for garden tapestries: as Delmarcel has noted, by Philip II's death in 1598, 40 percent of his tapestry collection showed gardens and landscapes.⁷ The design of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* manages to combine a spatially clever illusion of a panoramic garden seemingly enclosing the viewer in a room hung with the full set, with the magical and romantic otherworldliness that helped to make this series so appealing.

Three different border designs enclose the surviving sixteenth-century editions: all show a startling move away from the traditional flora and fauna of Coecke's earliest series, and even from the grotesques that border the later editions of these series (for example, cats. 29, 49, and 53). Instead, not dissimilar to the borders on the subsequent *Conquest of Tunis* and the *Poesia* series, the *Vertumnus and Pomona* borders function more as *trompe l'oeil* picture frames, one in particular (cat. 66) imitating the rich effect of *champlevé* enamels in delicate Moorish patterns. A fragment of the same border design is in the Metropolitan Museum.⁸ In all three border designs, each tapestry has three cartouches illustrated with scenes represented as though they are relief sculpture or carved cameo: the lateral cartouches show additional narratives from Ovid, different in almost every tapestry but all illustrating episodes in which the character's metamorphosis was into

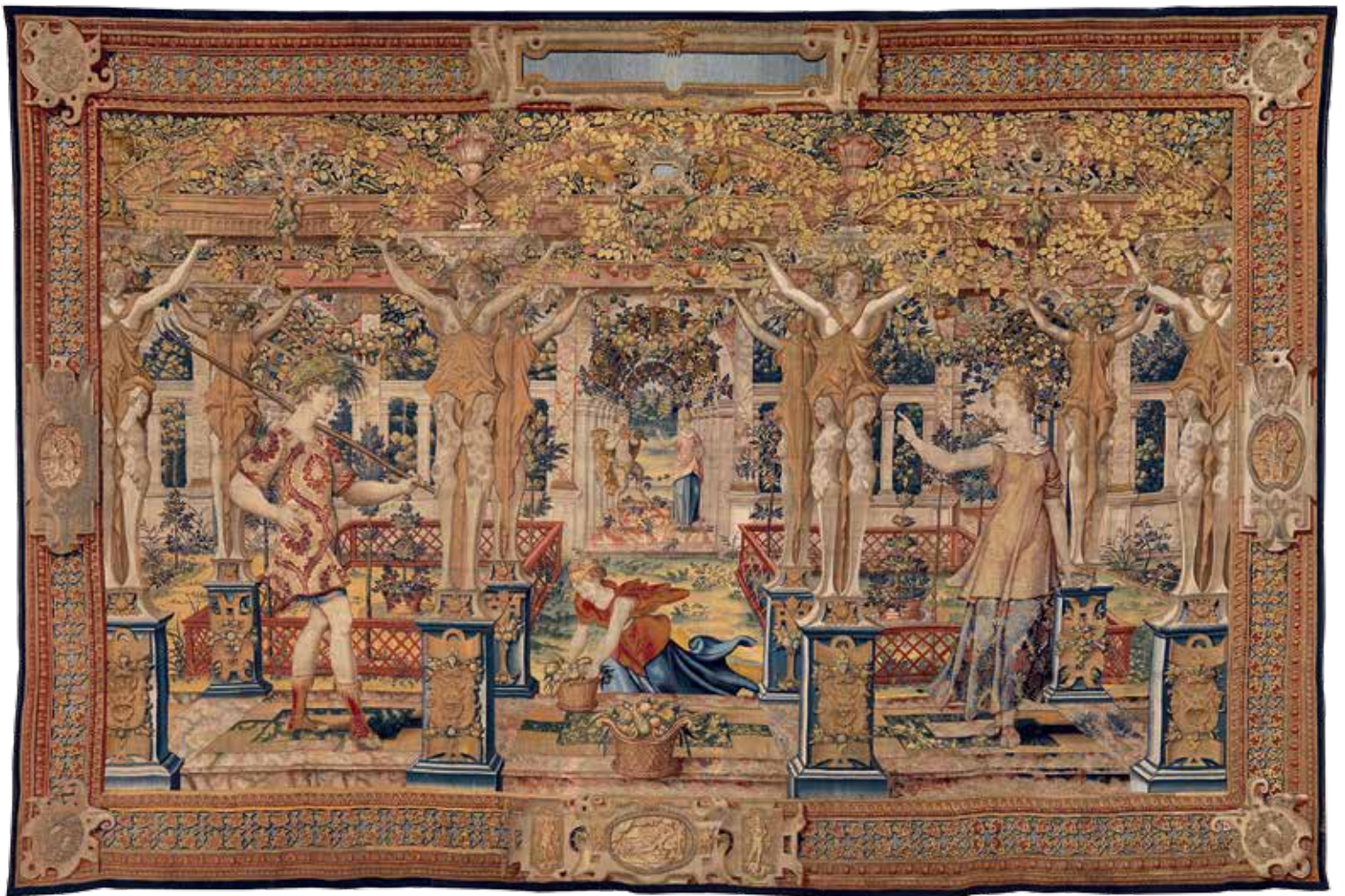


Fig. 193. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Farmer* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 1¼ in. × 21 ft. 3⅛ in. (430 × 648 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 17/1, A. 360-12138)

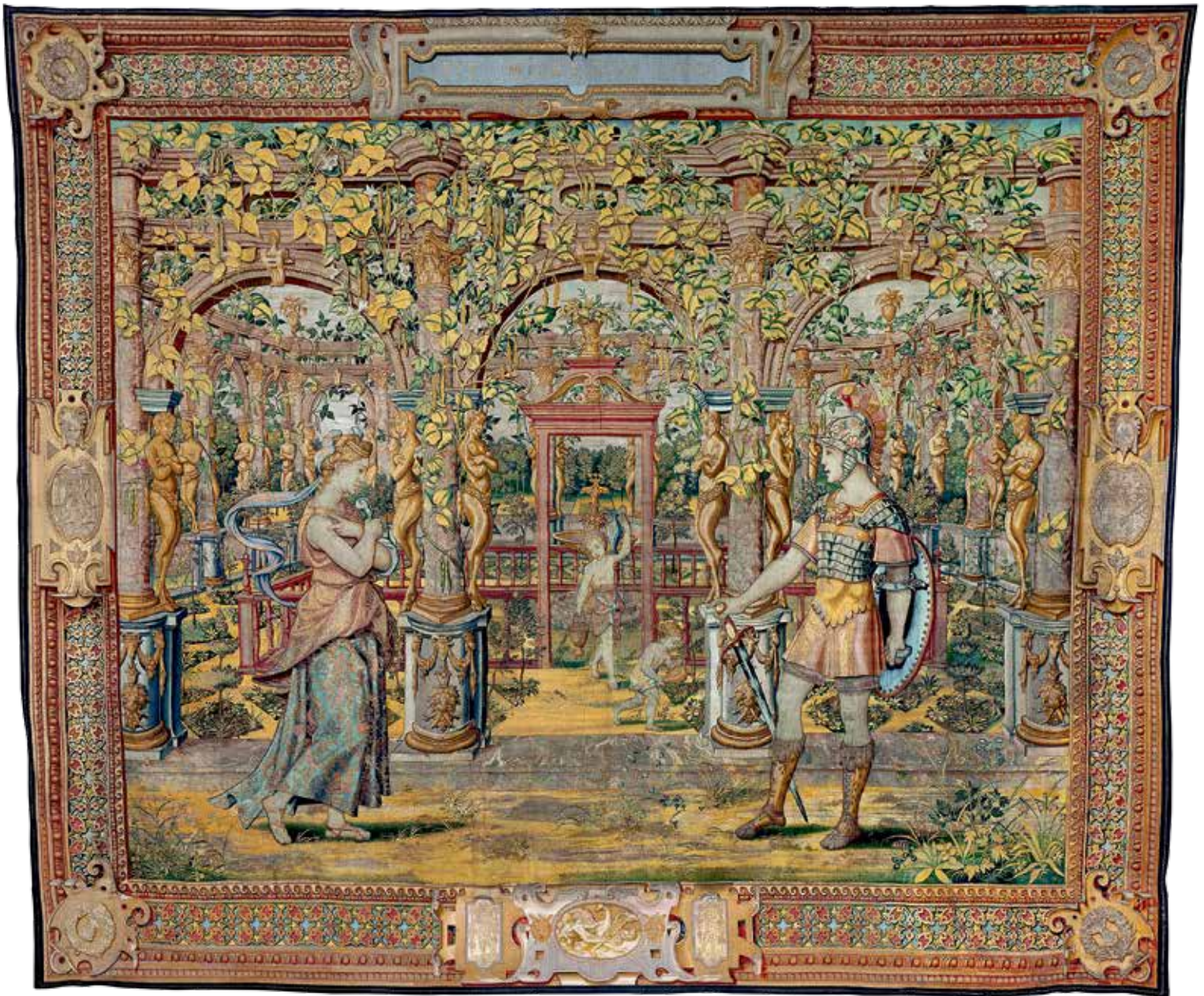


Fig. 194. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Soldier* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 15 ft. 5 in. (360 \times 470 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XX/6)

a plant or a tree; the cartouches in the lower borders show Jupiter's various amorous adventures recounted in the *Metamorphoses*, again different in each of the nine tapestries.⁹ As Ludwig Baldass noted, the scenes in these cartouches bear striking stylistic similarities to engravings of the gods by Étienne Delaune, but given the later date at which Delaune was working it seems more conceivable that he was responding to the *Vertumnus and Pomona* tapestries rather than vice versa as Baldass believed.¹⁰ The poetic elegance of Coecke's *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* also hints at the appearance of one of the great, lost, sixteenth-century series, the *Story of Cupid and Psyche*, which is known only from French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century woven versions. The clear parallels between the figures of *Vertumnus and Pomona* and those in the *Story of Cupid and Psyche*, not least *Vertumnus Recounting the Tale of Iphis and Anaxarete to Pomona* in Vienna and the *Old Woman Recounting the Story of Psyche* (Wadsworth Atheneum and the Château de Fontainebleau), certainly support the hypothetical attribution of the *Psyche* series to Coecke (see Cleland, "Recognizing Pieter Coecke van Aelst").

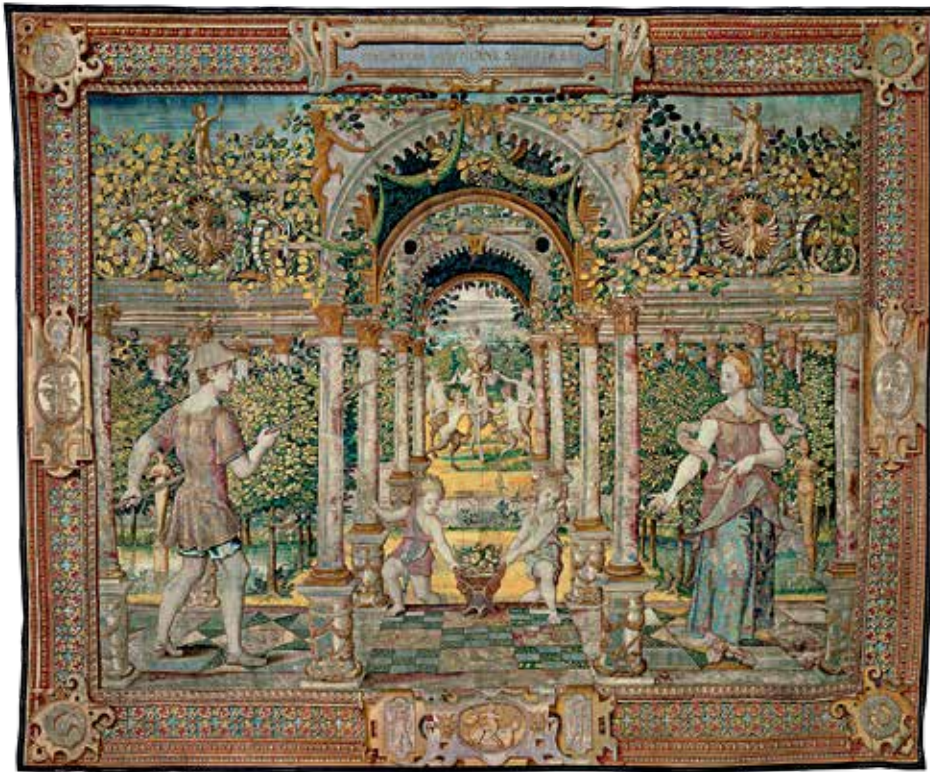


Fig. 195. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fisherman* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 14 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (360 \times 455 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XX/7)



Fig. 196. *Vertumnus in the Guise of an Old Woman* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 5 in. \times 55 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (348 \times 140 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 17/5, A36012141)



Fig. 197. *Vertumnus Reveals His True Identity to Pomona* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 17 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (417 \times 520 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 17/6, A36012149)

Dating

The earliest record of this *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* series dates to February 1548, to a set woven with gold that was already in the possession of Mary of Hungary.¹¹ Supposing that all nine pieces of this set had approximately the same dimensions as the surviving examples (20 square meters each), working four weavers per tapestry at a rate of just over one square meter per two months each, with four looms working simultaneously, the set would have taken roughly two and a half years to complete, starting in mid-1545 at the very latest. If this was indeed the first edition, as is often supposed, Coecke probably developed the designs and painted the cartoons during 1544.

Chronology of the Tapestry Editions and Genesis of the Series

At least four sixteenth-century editions of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* survive: three partial sets in the collection of the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional (series 16, cat. 65, figs. 200–202; series 17,



Fig. 198. *Hercules Supporting the Celestial Heavens from the Spheres*. Anonymous designer. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, before 1547. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 10 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (345 \times 308 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 15/1, A2607592)

cat. 64, figs. 193, 196, 197, and 203; series 18, figs. 191, 204) and one complete set shared between the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon (cat. 66, figs. 194, 195).¹² Two of the Patrimonio Nacional's sets, with different borders, have the mark of Willem de Pannemaker (series 16, 17); the remaining sets, in Spain (series 18) and in Vienna and Lisbon, bear the mark of an as yet unidentified master weaver, a mark similar to, perhaps the same as, the mark on the *Spheres*, made for King John III of Portugal before his death in 1557 (see fig. 198).¹³ All four of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* sets are exquisitely woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads. The full provenance of none of them is known for certain: one of the sets was inventoried as already in the Spanish royal collection in 1598, but the other two only entered royal hands by 1701–3.¹⁴ It remains problematic to identify which of the surviving editions in Spain arrived before 1598 and which in the eighteenth century.

The February 1548 reference to Mary of Hungary's *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* tapestry set was made in the contract between Mary of Hungary and the master weaver Willem de Pannemaker for the *Conquest of Tunis* series. Described as "the tapestry set of the poem of Vertumnus and Pomona, which her Royal Majesty has bought from Joris Vezeleer,"¹⁵ it was cited as a quality yardstick for the use of precious-metal-wrapped threads. The master who directed the weaving of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* set was not named, but it is implicit that it was de Pannemaker himself given the context. Mary of Hungary's set was on display in her palace at Binche when Charles V visited with his son the future Philip II in 1549; the chronicler Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella

described all nine pieces in some detail.¹⁶ In addition, sometime before 1550, Mary of Hungary paid Willem de Pannemaker for “a small piece of Pomona,” woven only in wool and silk, which might have been an addition to this set: its dimensions, “17 ells or thereabouts,” are comparable to two of the pieces in the *Vertumnus and Pomona* set that de Pannemaker later made for Philip II.¹⁷

This later set commissioned by Philip II is the second documented edition. While Willem de Pannemaker was in Madrid in 1561, having personally accompanied Philip II’s replacement tapestries of the *Apocalypse* on their journey from Brussels, the king requested him to weave a new edition of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*.¹⁸ Interestingly, Philip II rather cautiously required de Pannemaker to weave the first two tapestries of the series and then have them checked and approved by the dean and sworn men of the Brussels tapestry weavers’ guild before weaving the rest of the set. By coincidence, one of the weavers who approved the tapestries was Jan van der Vyst, weaving director of one of the editions of Coecke’s *Life of Saint Paul* (cats. 37, 38). The guild’s approval, given in May 1562, together with de Pannemaker’s bill and a subsequent payment memorandum, which Jan-Karel Steppe published in full, reveals three key points: first, that de Pannemaker had to have new, full-size cartoons painted (over a decade after Coecke’s death), possibly by his brother-in-law the cartoon painter Josse; second, that the seven (not nine) tapestries in this edition were of dramatically varying dimensions, one up to 36 ells square, others only 18 ells square; and third, that this edition was woven only in wool and silk and included no precious-metal-wrapped threads.¹⁹ Thus, Philip II’s set cannot be any of the editions now in the Patrimonio Nacional, which are all splendidly heavy with silver-gilt thread. The valuation of de Pannemaker’s set for Philip reiterates this: it was priced at 8 pounds per ell, which is the same valuation given to a nineteen-piece wool- and silk-woven *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* included in the tapestry inventory of the Spanish royal collection taken at Philip’s death in 1598.²⁰ De Pannemaker’s 1562 set was almost certainly part of this nineteen-piece group, possibly amalgamated with a duplicate weaving. But by the time of Count Valencia de Don Juan’s publication of the Spanish royal tapestry collection in 1903, all trace of these nineteen wool- and silk-woven tapestries had disappeared. At least part of the group might have included the nine tapestries representing the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* that were recorded as destroyed during a fire that raged through the Alcázar palace in Madrid in December 1734.²¹ The new cartoons apparently remained with de Pannemaker but were reused only with the king’s permission (see below). Although early twentieth-century scholars noted that Philip’s half brother Don John of Austria (1547–1578) commissioned a wool- and silk-woven duplicate edition, subsequently bequeathed to Philip (so joining Philip’s pieces in the nineteen-piece set inventoried), no documentary reference substantiates this intriguing possibility.²²

In July 1565, a further edition of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* is mentioned, again woven by Willem de Pannemaker, this time for Peter Ernst I, count of Mansfeld (1517–1604).²³ It is cited in a letter to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the influential statesman, collector, and confidant of Philip II, from Granvelle’s factotum Maximilian Morillon. Writing mainly about de Pannemaker’s work on a reedition of the *Conquest of Tunis* and apparently in response to a query from the cardinal, Morillon noted that “Mansfeld is using the *Pomona* cartoons which Joris Vezeleer had had made by the former [de Pannemaker] and I would never permit that he use yours without your permission because we are under such little obligation to him.”²⁴ In 1607, Albert VII, archduke of Austria, and Archduchess Isabella acquired Mansfeld’s eight-piece *Vertumnus and Pomona* set, together with other tapestries, from his heir.²⁵ According to documentation of this transaction, the Mansfeld *Vertumnus and Pomona* cost 9 pounds per ell, implying that the tapestries were woven with wool and silk but no precious-metal-wrapped

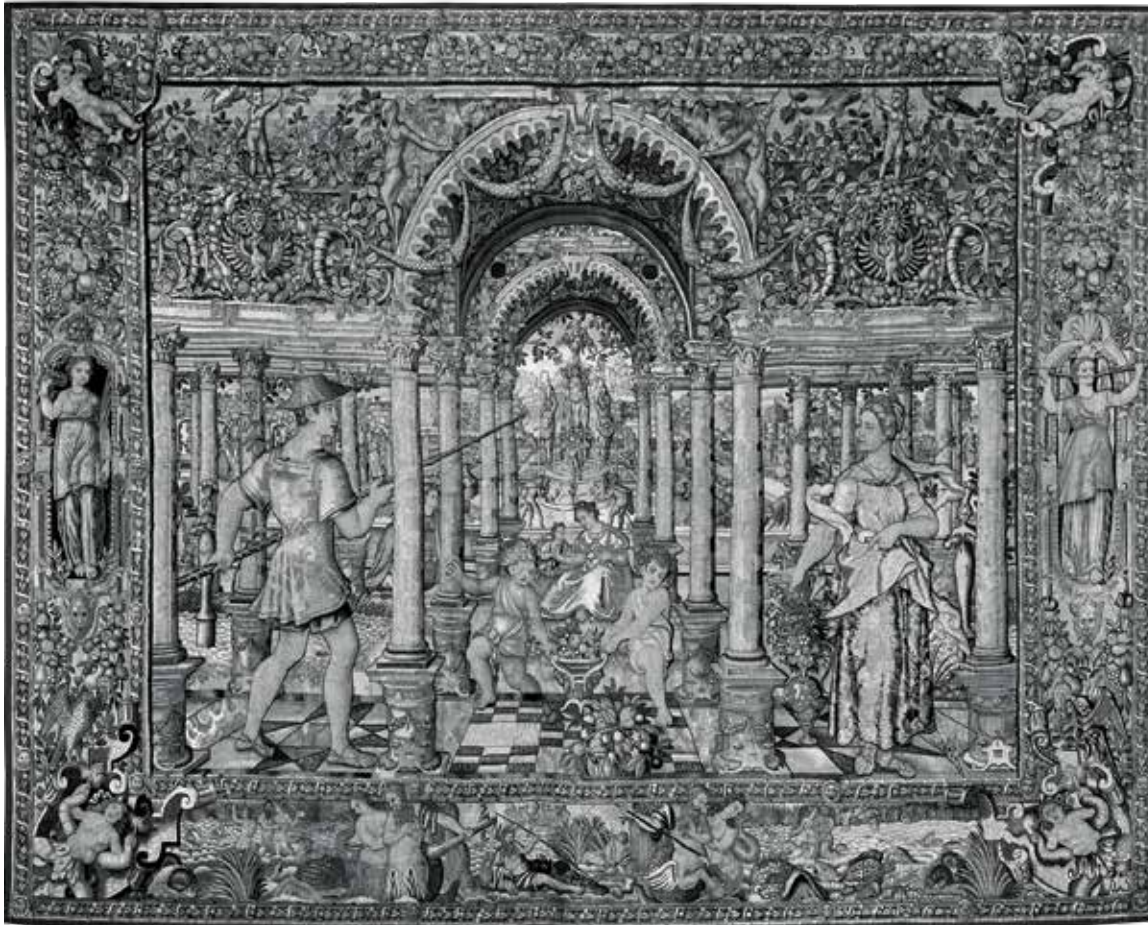


Fig. 199. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fisherman* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Designed after Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of an anonymous weaver, perhaps Maarten Reymbouts the Elder, Brussels, ca. 1615. Wool and silk, 13 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 13 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (410 \times 421 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (48.402)

threads. Apparently Albert and Isabella liked their *Vertumnus and Pomona* so much that they commissioned the Brussels master weaver Maarten Reymbouts the Elder to weave at least one replica (fig. 199 probably records the appearance of this set and might indeed have been part of it). Further seventeenth-century reeditions also survive, woven under the direction of Jan Raes the Elder and Jacob Geubels the Younger.

While the wool- and silk-woven *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* sets made for Philip II and for the count of Mansfeld have been lost, Mary of Hungary's edition almost certainly remains among those still in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional (series 16, 17, and 18). Mary's tapestry collection was eventually inherited by her nephew Philip II following the 1573 death of his sister, Joanna of Portugal, who had inherited the use of Mary's tapestries during her lifetime. Mary's nine-piece set, woven with silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads, has been included in every inventory taken of the Spanish royal collection since Philip's death in 1598 (alongside the since-lost, less valued, wool-and-silk nineteen-piece "set").²⁶ However, it is not possible to identify exactly which these are among the surviving examples: as noted above, two further sets woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads were added to the Spanish royal collection by 1701–3. Calvete's 1549 description of Mary of Hungary's *Vertumnus and Pomona* set includes all the inscriptions on the tapestries. On the basis of this, Paredes and Buchanan have argued that Patrimonio Nacional series 16 (hereafter referred to as PN16) can be identified as Mary's set.²⁷ Given that this set, PN16, shows some differences from all other known editions of *Vertumnus and Pomona*, Buchanan has suggested that this is the only



Fig. 200. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Soldier* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Probably designed after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1561. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, probably after 1561. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 8 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (425 \times 258 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 16/4)

true record of Vezeleer's cartoons, whereas all the others must be based on Philip II's cartoons. If so, this would be hugely significant since, if Coecke designed and painted Vezeleer's cartoons, Philip's were made more than a decade after Coecke's death. The three differences are the figure of the soldier in the sixth tapestry (fig. 200), the fisherman in the seventh (fig. 201), and, most important, the culminating scene in which Vertumnus reveals his true identity to Pomona. In PN16, this scene is depicted in a narrow, vertical tapestry (fig. 202) with both protagonists standing, compared with the splendidly enthroned pair in the other two editions in Spain (see fig. 197) and the edition in Vienna. However, the situation is almost certainly not so clear-cut, and the much smaller panels distinct to PN16 might not actually have been part of Mary of Hungary's set. First, none of the tapestries now in the Patrimonio Nacional includes the full inscriptions on the final tapestry that are recorded by Calvete, although one of the enthroned versions (in PN18) is missing its border on which the full inscription might originally have been included in a cartouche. One of the tapestries with another of the key inscriptions, the opening *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Harvester*, has been lost (from PN17), so it is not possible to gauge whether it might have included the full inscription recorded on Mary's edition. Second, and farther reaching, the current Patrimonio Nacional numbering, and indeed border distribution, distinguishing the three editions in its collection might not be historically accurate: in 1879, the various *Vertumnus and Pomona* tapestries in the Spanish royal collection were gathered together and elements were selected to decorate the ballroom (now the formal dining room) in the Palacio Real in Madrid for the occasion of King Alfonso XII's marriage to Maria Cristina of Austria.²⁸ From the three sets, some of the complete tapestries were chosen, while other tapestries were cut down to fit the



Fig. 201. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fisherman* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Probably designed after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1561. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, probably after 1561. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 63 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 14 ft. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (161 \times 434 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 16/5)

dimensions required and subsequently were permanently fixed into place.²⁹ Some of the fragmentary remaining pieces were patched, and in some instances, borders were removed and reattached, not necessarily to the correct pieces. Although the different editions are now formalized as Patrimonio Nacional series 16, 17, and 18, it is not clear whether this follows their original groupings. This might also partly explain the confusion in early twentieth-century literature about whether there were three or four editions in the Patrimonio Nacional and what their materials were.³⁰ There are also stylistic reasons (discussed in cat. 66) suggesting that the distinctive PN16 pieces were based on the 1561–62 cartoons. Finally, the seventeenth-century reeditions also imply that PN16's variant *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fisherman*, at least, was not in Mary of Hungary's set: Reymbouts's version from about 1615 (fig. 199), based on Mansfeld's set which was categorically stated to have been made after the original Vezeleer cartoons, differs from PN16's smaller scene and instead uses the same *Fisherman* as in the edition in Vienna and in PN18.³¹

The *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* seems to have begun as yet another example of a venture between a weaving director and a dealer, this time Willem de Pannemaker and Joris Vezeleer. If Vezeleer owned the original set of cartoons, it was—according to Morillon—de Pannemaker who supplied them, apparently turning once more to Coecke, his collaborator with the phenomenally successful *Seven Deadly Sins*. The *Vertumnus and Pomona* series clearly also held widespread appeal, and it is possible that the commission from Philip II, almost twenty years later, required a set of new cartoons because Vezeleer's had become shabby with use. That notwithstanding, the records of Mansfeld's edition imply that the cartoons were still serviceable two decades after their first use. Unless Philip II's wool-and-silk edition is rediscovered, it is well-nigh impossible to gauge how much this second set of cartoons diluted the power of Coecke's original designs. With their innovative garden settings, it is difficult to exaggerate the influence of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* on subsequent tapestry design. *Vertumnus and Pomona* provided the inspiration for derivative series like the Cardinal Granvelle's *Garden Scenes*, for which the cartoons were apparently painted by Willem de Pannemaker's brother-in-law Josse; for the exquisite *Puttini* woven by de Pannemaker for Ferrante Gonzaga; and for the pergola and garden tapestries produced in large numbers by the workshop of de Pannemaker and successive generations of weavers until late in the seventeenth century.³²



Fig. 202. *Vertumnus Reveals His True Identity to Pomona* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Probably designed after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1561. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, probably after 1561. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 63 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (434 \times 161 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 16/8, A35912107)

64.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Herdsman

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, sometime between ca. 1548 and 1575

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

13 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 17 ft. 7 in. (418 × 536 cm)

Weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, TRANSIT IN AGRICOLAM

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 17/2, 10004061)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

This is the third of the approaches by Vertumnus, exemplum of perseverance, to Pomona, exemplum of virtue.¹ Appropriate to the inscription in the border cartouche captioning this scene, “he changed into a herdsman,” Vertumnus wears a short blue tunic with a cloak open at the shoulder and carries the long stick or goad used by farmers for support while plowing, to goad the oxen, or to remove earth that became stuck to the plow. On his head is the *cucullus* or hood of the Roman slaves, peasants, and shepherds, which he doffs to Pomona, using this new disguise as a way to gaze at her beauty. The dynamism of his confident stride and swinging arms contrasts with the almost monolithic and silent volume of the female figure. As in the rest of the series, Vertumnus and Pomona perform a repertory of gestures and postures reflecting *actio* or *pronuntiatio*, the fifth canon of classical rhetoric, linked to the theatricalization of verbal expression and rendering of eloquent gesture as a manifestation of deep feelings. Pomona looks around at Vertumnus, though her back remains turned in indifference. Her left hand holds her characteristic attribute, the pruning hook, against her breast, while with her right she holds the fruit gathered in her tunic.

In contrast to Vertumnus's elegantly bucolic outfit, the patterning of Pomona's garments imitates the rich fabrics of Lucca, with asymmetrical motifs of Byzantine and oriental origin and griffins with haloes of sun's rays.² The precious-metal-wrapped threads used to weave her gown and create this effect recall the rich apparel of Polia when Poliphilo first saw her, as described by Francesco Colonna in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.³ Similarly, when the daughter of Doña Beatriz Pacheco dressed up as Pomona during the courtly theatrics organized by Mary of Hungary at her palace at Binche in honor of the visit by Charles V and Prince Philip in 1549, special notice was given to her splendid costume. The chronicler Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella described her “gown of silver blue cloth . . . embroidered with gold twist of very rare and polished workmanship . . . The headdress she wore was made of her own fair

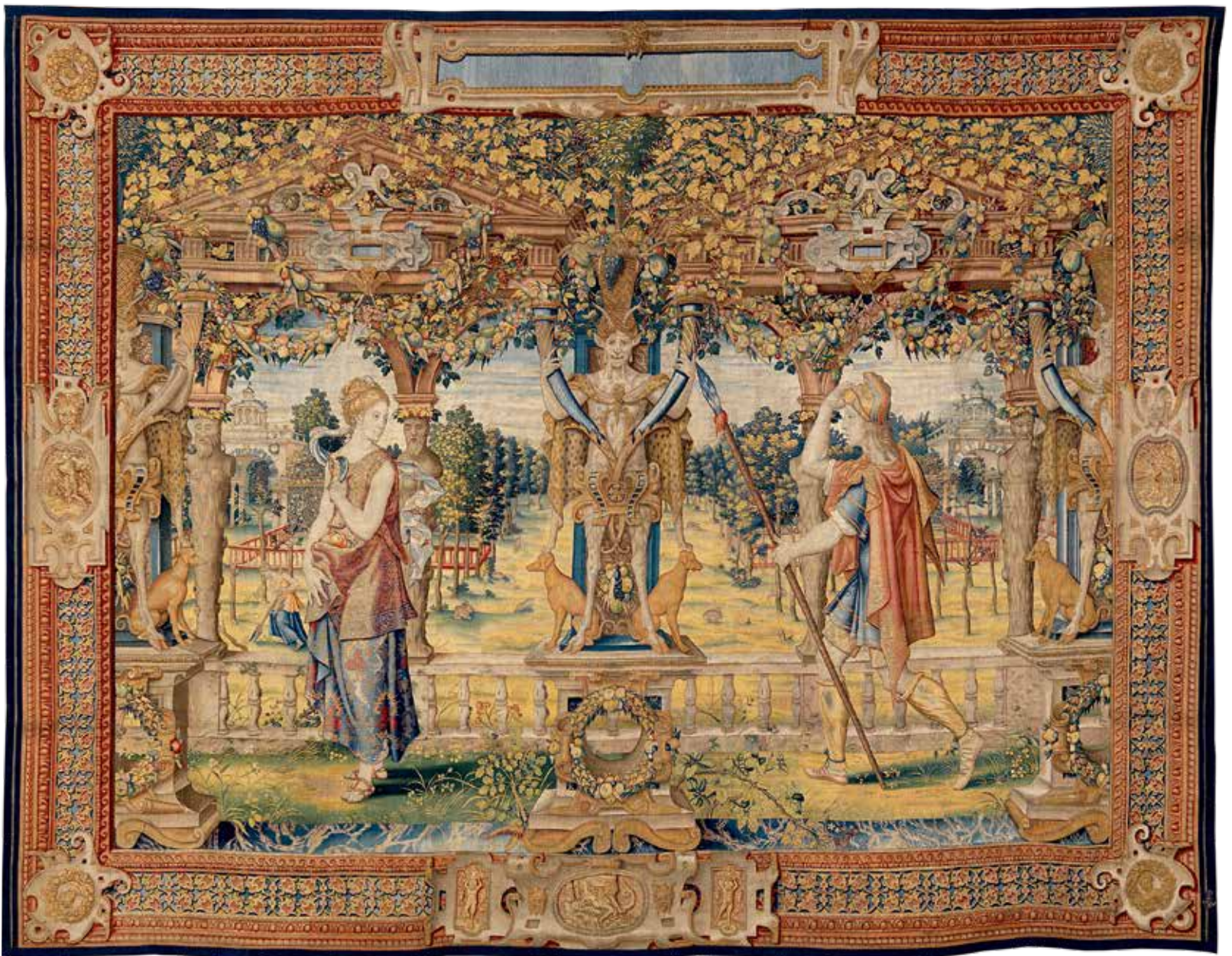
hair caught up in a very subtle net of braids made from the same hair. . . . When the meal was finished, the beautiful Pomona gave the Emperor and Queen Mary and the Prince each a very lovely fresh nosegay of carnations embellished with spun gold and pearls.”⁴

In the portico in which Vertumnus and Pomona stand, cornucopia-bearing fauns support the entablatures, while vine-covered triangular pediments neatly divide the scene into two compartments, framing each of the protagonists. In the middle ground, herms support arches on a balustrade. In the background, Pomona can be spied hoeing the earth of her orchards, which are enclosed like a medieval *hortus conclusus*. Symmetrical, lantern-domed temples close the perspective to the left and right. The garden scene, to which there is no explicit reference in the verses of Ovid, has a literary source, as Cecilia Paredes has recently shown, in the gardens of Pomona described by Boccaccio in chapter 26 of his *Ameto* or *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*.⁵

The border is extremely similar to those on other series woven by Willem de Pannemaker, including the *Poesia* (see cat. 68). With its egg-and-dart molding and stylized floral meanders, recalling the designs of Cornelis Floris the Younger and ones published by Hieronymus Cock, it was called “arabesques” in the inventories by analogy with oriental decorative motifs.⁶ The additional corner busts and lateral cartouches evoke the terrible destiny of those who spurned love: on the left, Daphne is transformed into a laurel tree, pursued by Apollo; on the right, nursing mother Dryope is turned into a black poplar for picking lotus flowers that were actually the transformed nymph Lotis. The cartouche in the lower border depicts a passage in the Loves of Jupiter, in which he transformed himself into a serpent to seduce Olympia.

The Tapestry in Patrimonio Nacional Series 17

This tapestry is part of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* set owned by the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional numbered series 17, distinguishing it from two other partial *Vertumnus and Pomona* sets in the Patrimonio Nacional's collection, numbered 16 (see cat. 65) and 18.⁷ Of these three sets, just one was in the Spanish royal collection at the time of Philip II's death in 1598; the other two only came into the collection by 1701–3, and it remains unclear which set is which (see Cleland, “The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona”). This tapestry, like the others in Patrimonio Nacional series 17, bears the mark of Willem de Pannemaker, and it is therefore tempting to relate it to the documentation in the archives of Simancas recording Philip II's orders for various tapestries on the theme of Vertumnus and Pomona from de Pannemaker, beginning in 1561 and concluding with the final payments made between 1576 and 1578 through Cardinal Granvelle.⁸ However, as noted by Cleland, series 17 cannot be that commission since it includes precious-metal-wrapped



64

threads and since the hangings in the set are all approximately the same size. Instead, it is possible that this edition comes from the earliest documented weaving of the series, made by Willem de Pannemaker for Mary of Hungary and that Philip II inherited from her. But as yet, it remains uncertain whether Mary's edition can be firmly identified as this series 17 or as series 16 (cat. 65), which also has de Pannemaker's mark.

The set Philip II inherited from Mary of Hungary was often displayed at court occasions. The so-called Jardines de Pomona

(Gardens of Pomona), for instance, decorated the bedchamber at the Alcázar palace in Madrid when the matrimonial capitulations of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria were celebrated on August 22, 1612.⁹ The same tapestries were displayed at the royal ceremonies for the granting of the hand of the Infanta Maria Theresa of Austria and her betrothal to Louis XIV in June 1660, when they formed part of the hangings in the Spanish room in the ceremonial pavilion on Pheasant Island in the Bidasoa River.¹⁰

CHC

65.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Vintner

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544

Probably woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

13 ft. 9³/₈ in. × 16 ft. 2¹/₂ in. (420 × 494 cm)

Inscribed in cartouche in upper border, SVMPTA FIT FALCE PVTATOR

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 16/3, 10004060)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

In his fourth appearance to Pomona, Vertumnus adopts the disguise of a vintner, or vine pruner, wearing a straw hat adorned with feathers. He delivers his amorous exhortation to Pomona with his left hand raised and the fingers separated in a rhetorical attitude. The goddess, who holds her pruning hook over her breast with her right hand, listens to the lover's speech with an expression of distaste, her other wrist on her hip. The Latin inscription in the border paraphrases Ovid's text: "He comes as a pruner, pruning knife in hand."

They face each other under a pergola formed of a complex mixture of architraves, volutes, and anthropomorphic figures resting on marble caryatids that represent the Three Graces: Aglaea, Euphrosyne, and Thalia. Standing nude with their arms linked, they allude to the matrimonial theme of the tale, since according to Roman mythology, the Three Graces corresponded to three different archetypes of woman: the virgin, the wife, and the lover, identified with the names Castitas, Pulchritudo, and Voluptas. According to Sophie Scheebalg-Perelman, these caryatids were inspired by the tapestry series the *Gallery of Francis I*, woven in Fontainebleau between 1540 and 1547 to designs by the Italian painter Rosso Fiorentino.¹ This would support Nicole Dacos's conjecture that the artist Léonard Thiry de Belges might have had a hand in producing the *Vertumnus and Pomona* cartoons, since he worked from 1536 to 1540 at Fontainebleau under the direction of Rosso and Francesco Primaticcio and may also have seen the *Gallery of Francis I* in Brussels in 1544, when it was shown to Charles V on the occasion of the visit of his sister Eleanor, wife of Francis I.² In the background, Pomona's gardens are enclosed by Ionic columns joined by balustrades adorned with vases of flowers, following the model of the Italian-style Renaissance garden with marble pilasters and bases like those illustrated in xylographs throughout Aldus Manutius's 1499 publication.³

The border, made up of Greek meanders interlaced with rows of wave, beaded-molding, and acanthus-leaf motifs, is woven with silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads, which give

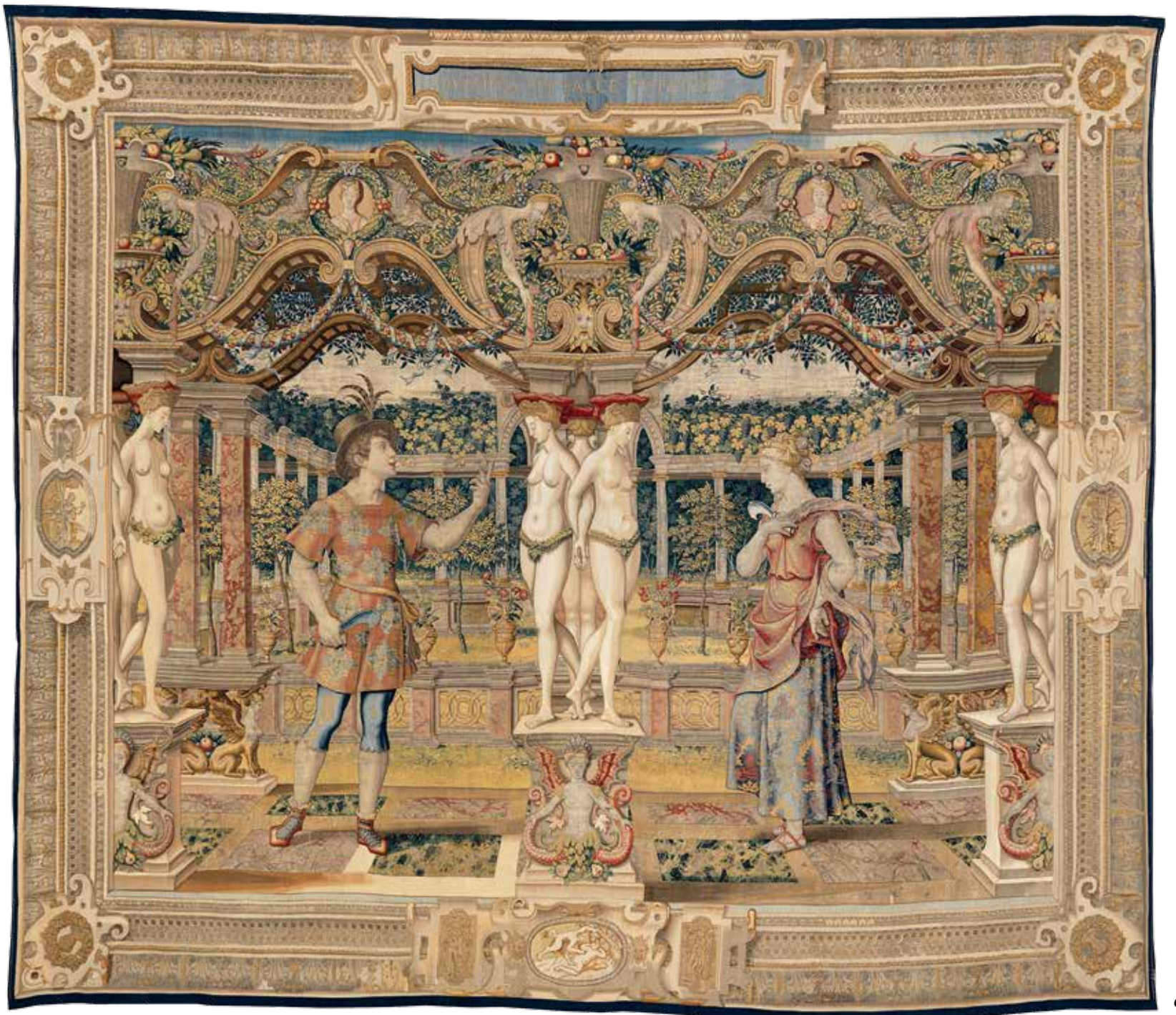
it a heavy metallic sheen as though it were a frame fashioned by a goldsmith. Of the three border types that frame the surviving editions of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*, this is the most similar to the one used by de Pannemaker for the tapestries of the *Conquest of Tunis* (cat. 70). In the corners are masks; in the lateral borders, cartouches with scenes of mythological figures being transformed into trees; and in the lower border, a cartouche represents the episode in the Loves of Jupiter in which he rapes Antiope by taking the form of a satyr. This last cartouche, with its crude drawing and composition, is a woven addition made in the Real Fabrica de Tapices in Madrid to replace what was cropped from the hanging in 1879 during the redecoration of the ballroom in the Palacio Real.

The Tapestry in Patrimonio Nacional Series 16

This tapestry belongs to the partially surviving set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional now known as series 16. Inventories of the Spanish royal collection from 1788 onward distinguished this edition from two other *Vertumnus and Pomona* sets in the collection (now, series 17 [see cat. 64] and 18) according to its border design, referring to it as "with a border of Greek ornamentation."⁴ Although, since it lost the lower part of its borders, the tapestry of *Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Vintner* no longer includes a weaver's mark, other pieces in this set bear the mark of Willem de Pannemaker. As noted above (Cleland, "The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona"), de Pannemaker was responsible for numerous editions of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*, some directly after Coecke's cartoons, others after later cartoons adapted from Coecke's designs, but only one of de Pannemaker's documented sets was woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads: the one made for Mary of Hungary before 1548. It remains difficult to ascertain whether it was set 16, of which this tapestry is part, or set 17 (cat. 64) that Philip II inherited from his aunt and took to Madrid. The second and third *Vertumnus and Pomona* sets in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional did not arrive there until later.

The *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* was frequently used in Spanish court ceremony. In 1570, for example, various tapestries of *Vertumnus and Pomona* were sent to Segovia as decoration for the city's castle, where Philip II was married to his fourth and last wife, Anna of Austria.⁵ And in 1576, the same monarch selected the tapestries of the fable of Vertumnus and Pomona to decorate both his own chamber and that of his nephew King Sebastian I of Portugal in the hospice of the monastery of Guadalupe, where the two monarchs met in conference. In this way he was emulating the ceremonies with which his aunt Mary of Hungary had welcomed him to the palace of Binche during his first journey to the Low Countries in 1549.⁶

CHC



66.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Fruit Picker

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544

Woven under the direction of an unidentified master, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

13 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times 16 ft. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (425 \times 500 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels, on bottom edge at left; unidentified weaver's mark, on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, LECTVRV[M] HIC POMA PVTARES

Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (2329)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

With clippers tucked into his tunic and carrying a ladder as though he has just come down from a fruit tree, Vertumnus rushes toward Pomona, who gestures with her right hand to keep him at bay and holds a pruning knife in her left hand. Strewn at their feet, brilliant red cherries continue the fruit-picking theme of this, the fifth tapestry in the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Against the activity of the background fruit pickers, the force of amorous Vertumnus's entry is expressed in his dynamic pose and his golden hair, dramatically swept back from his face.

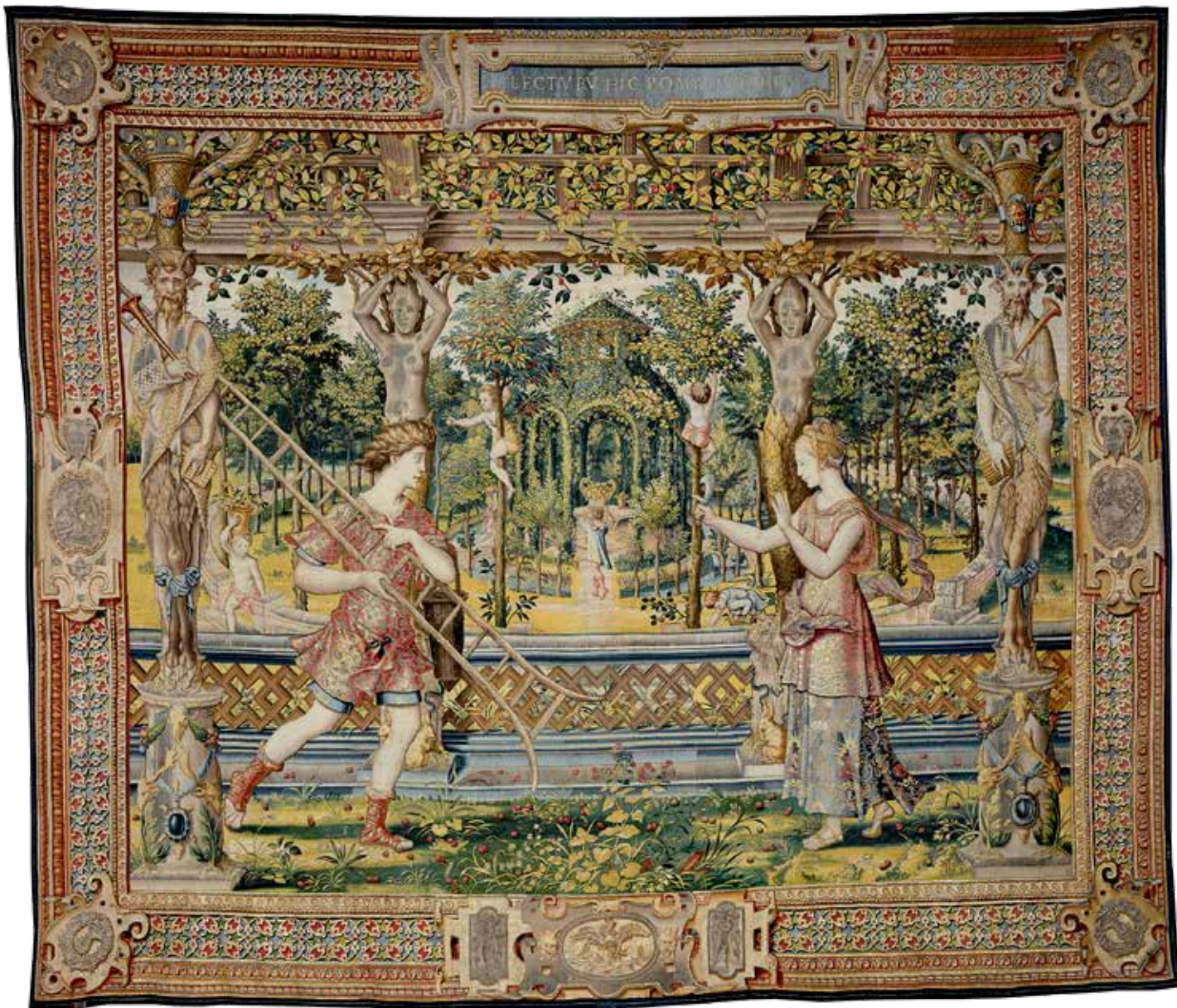
The subtlety of palette and ethereality of design blur the distinction between the world inhabited by Vertumnus and Pomona and the sculptural decoration of the scene. Pomona's garden so pulsates with life that this even seems to infuse the statuary. The female caryatids recall Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel tree: their lower limbs encased by "actual" bark ending at mossy roots on the pedestals, with "actual" tree branches creeping around their heads. Cecilia Paredes has noted the similarity between these caryatids and those of Giovanni Dossi's design for the Sala delle Cariatidi in the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro (1529–30).¹ Caryatids of Marsyas, familiar also from the *Poesia*, flank the scene, magically lifelike with their draped torsos, furry flanks, and "actual" ties binding them as if ready to receive Apollo's cruel punishment (see cat. 68). At the bases of the pedestals of the female caryatids, rabbits graze and vividly colored lizards and snakes seem to slither upward, until one sees their mirror image apparently "carved" on the other pedestal. In the background, an orchard encloses a moated, vine-clad pavilion. The children scaling the fruit trees exude the same spirit as those in Federigo II Gonzaga's tapestry series *Puttini*, designed by Giulio Romano a few years earlier and, indeed, are even closer to the garden-set *Puttini* made for Ferrante Gonzaga by Willem de Pannemaker at least four years after the first weaving of *Vertumnus and Pomona*, and probably designed by the Brussels-based Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona, who could well have known Coecke's *Vertumnus and Pomona* series.²

As he did particularly in the *Story of Abraham* (cat. 60), Pieter Coecke van Aelst again infused the design of this series with an opulent sense of material richness. Here, though, this is conveyed less by the decorative architecture and more by the costumes of the two principal protagonists: Vertumnus is clad in a red and gold tunic, and Pomona, in an even richer gold-worked garment over an exquisitely embellished skirt imitating the effect of a three- or four-color brocaded lampas silk of the type now commonly attributed to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian manufacture.³

The inscription in the border captions the scene: "Here you would think him about to gather apples," taken almost directly from the Latin (*Metamorphoses* 14.650). Continuing the sumptuous, jewel-like colors of the central field, the background to the border imitates the effect of champlevé enamels, laid out in a Moorish pattern. At the corners are garlanded female heads, while the lateral and lower borders are punctuated by cartouches that look like relief-carved stone or cameos against strapwork surrounds, shaded so that they seem to curl away from the frame. The two side scenes show the episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of Dryope (right), who was transformed into a lotus by the nymph Loti while she was picking flowers for her child, and of Leucothoe (left), transformed by Helios into an incense plant as her furious father, Orchamus, buried her alive. In the lower border cartouche, Jupiter, in the guise of an eagle, rapes the handsome youth Ganymede, a subject to which Coecke would return in the *Poesia* (Paredes, "The *Poesia*," fig. 208).

This Edition

This tapestry is part of a complete nine-piece set now shared between the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon. The original owner of this edition of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* is not known. Thus, it is difficult to narrow down its dating. As mentioned above (Cleland, "The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona"), it cannot be Mary of Hungary's pre-1548 edition, for that set remained in the Spanish royal, now national, collection. Nor can it be either of the sets made in the 1560s for Philip II and the count of Mansfeld: they were both woven only with wool and silk. This set in contrast shimmers with precious-metal-wrapped threads. All three documented editions were made under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker. The Vienna-Lisbon set, though also woven in Brussels, bears the mark of an as yet unidentified weaver (the mark was long misidentified as a sign used by the dealer Joris Vezeleer). Although this master remains anonymous, the skill of the weavers working under him is striking and technically as proficient as the best work of de Pannemaker's workshop. In parts, the weavers altered their rhythm of weaving to wrap multiple warp threads with silver-gilt-wrapped wefts, achieving a gleaming and bulky line that articulates the patterned cloth of Vertumnus's tunic.



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Similar effects are combined with brick-like basket weave, again with silver-gilt-wrapped threads, to represent the distinctive brocaded silk of Pomona's skirts. Such is the abundance of precious-metal-wrapped thread that the highlighting around her stomach and across Vertumnus's chest and thigh is rendered in gold, suggesting the glow of brilliant sunshine above this garden scene. The mark of the same weaving director seems also to appear on John III of Portugal's set of *Spheres* that was woven before 1557 (fig. 198), indicating he was evidently already working on prestigious commissions in the 1540s. The Vienna-Lisbon edition could have been made about the same time, perhaps even earlier, than Mary of Hungary's set supplied by Vezeleer. The cases of Willem de Kempeneer's *Story of Jacob* and *Story of Abraham* (see Cleland, "The Story of Abraham"), one version of the former of which certainly also passed through Vezeleer's hands, demonstrate precedent for the

management of multiple editions of the same series simultaneously on the looms in different workshops.

Since Philip II's edition is lost, it is not possible to state certainly whether the Vienna-Lisbon edition was woven after Coecke's original cartoons or after the later set of cartoons made for the Spanish king. However, there are some indications that this Vienna-Lisbon edition does record Coecke's original scheme. All nine panels survive in the Vienna-Lisbon edition, and all are almost identical in size and rectangular format. In contrast, de Pannemaker's bill for the cartoons that were newly made in 1561–62 (see Cleland, "The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona") shows that they were markedly different in dimensions, with one 36 ells square, two 30 ells square, two 24 ells square, and finally, two only 18 ells square. Indeed, this might provide a clue about Philip's need for new cartoons, if he wanted particular and odd sizes and shapes to meet

specific dimensions for a predetermined final location. The low and wide *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fisherman* (Patrimonio Nacional series 16; fig. 201), which differs so distinctly from the tapestry of the same scene in the Vienna-Lisbon edition (fig. 195) and in the fragmentary Spanish Patrimonio Nacional series 18, has not been cut down: the shading, the squat Ionic columns, and Pomona's hand illusionistically overhanging the parapet all reveal that this is a complete composition meant to be viewed from below. This low *Fisherman* possibly records the appearance of the 1561–62 cartoon, implying that the different Vienna-Lisbon set was made from Coecke's original cartoons. Similarly, the *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Soldier* in the Vienna-Lisbon edition (fig. 194) probably records Coecke's 1540s cartoon, while the narrow format of the *Soldier* in Patrimonio Nacional series 16 (fig. 200) might be another of the smaller and oddly sized pieces woven from Philip II's 1561–62

cartoons. While the source for PN16's imperial soldier is not known, the cartoon painter obtained his Pomona by reversing Pomona from the discarded original *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fisherman*, still an elegant figure but here rather awkwardly reaching for Vertumnus.

Comparing catalogue number 66 with the two other surviving *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fruit Picker* tapestries in the editions in Spain (PN17 and PN18) reveals it to be markedly similar to de Pannemaker's equally sumptuous PN17 version (fig. 203). However, there are a number of small differences with the PN18 version (fig. 204), which, though also copiously woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads, does not achieve quite the same spectacular effect. PN18 includes wildlife (a frog in the foreground to the left, a rabbit behind Pomona's foot, and a parrot on the balustrade) that is missing from catalogue number 66 and PN17. The detailing of the tree glimpsed at the



Fig. 203. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fruit Picker* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 13 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 16 ft. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (422 \times 500 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 17/4, A36012137)

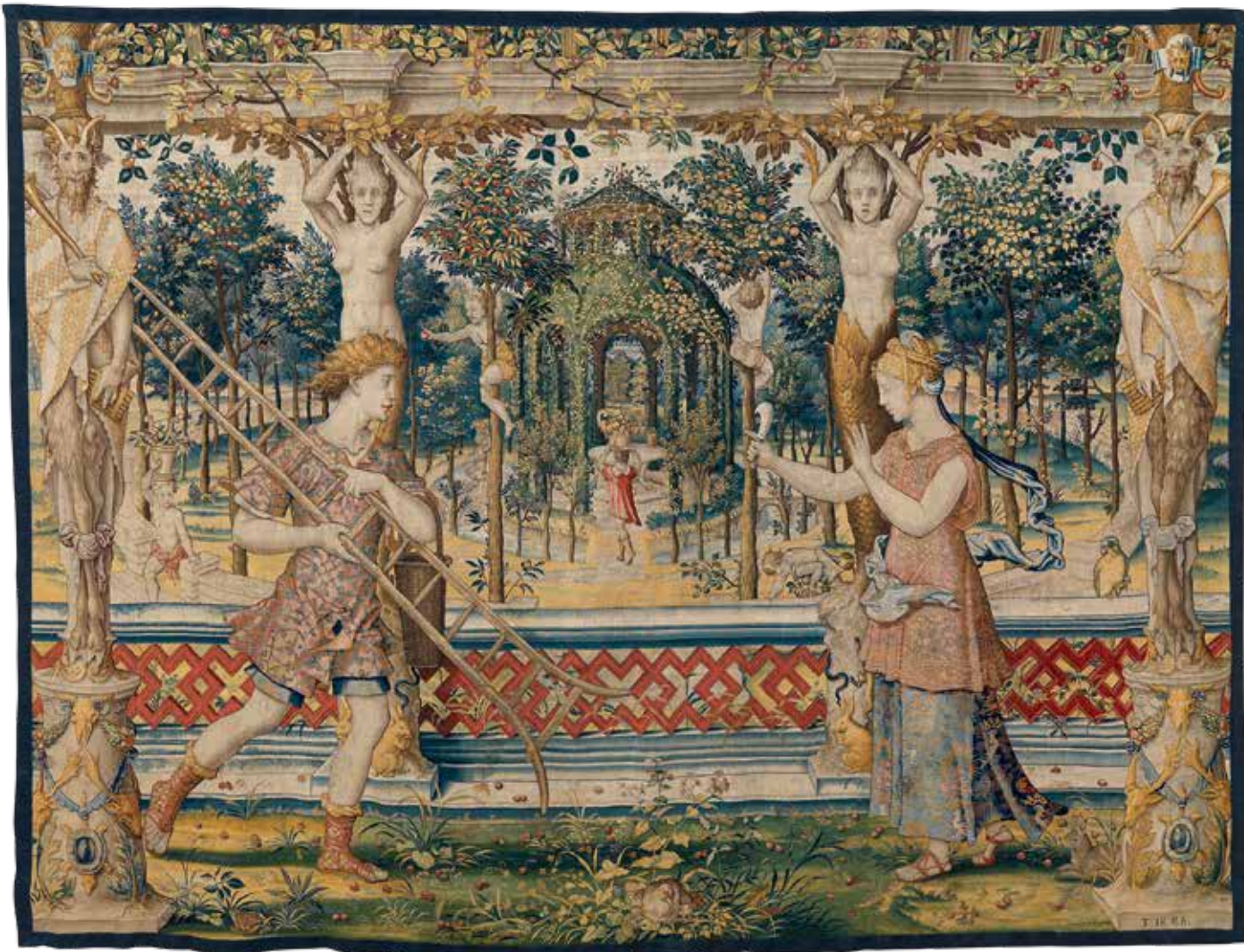


Fig. 204. *Vertumnus in the Guise of a Fruit Picker* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544. Tapestry woven under the direction of an unidentified weaver, Brussels, probably after 1561. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 10 ft. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 13 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (330 \times 410 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 18/5, A36612380)

center of the background arbor, the color of the balustrade and Pomona's sandals, and the tarnished silver highlights on the caryatids are all different in catalogue number 66 and PN17 from what we see in PN18. Taken as a group, these differences might imply that the Vienna-Lisbon edition of which catalogue number 66 is part and PN17 record Coecke's original cartoon, and PN18 the 1561–62 cartoon. The Vienna-Lisbon edition shares the same border designs used by Willem de Pannemaker on PN17. A handful of further differences, unique to catalogue number 66, suggest some areas of license left to the weavers'

discretion, such as the cool blue tunic of the central figure and Pomona's pink rather than blue stole.

It is not recorded how the nine-piece *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* reached the Habsburg imperial collection in Vienna, ultimately passing into the Kunsthistorisches Museum. In 1937, one piece from the set, catalogue number 66, was approved for deaccessioning and by February 1938 had been sold to the Armenian collector Calouste Gulbenkian (1869–1955). EC

THE TRIUMPH OF MORDECAI

Stijn Alsteens

LITTLE IS KNOWN about the context of a drawing in Paris representing the *Triumph of Mordecai* (cat. 67), the moment in the Old Testament story of Esther when her adoptive father is rewarded for loyalty to the Persian king by being led through the city on the king's horse in royal clothes and crown (Esther 6:11). A related tapestry, which reproduces the drawing's composition in reverse, has not been located since it was published by Heinrich Göbel in 1923, when it was in a German private collection (fig. 205).¹ Although the drawing was published under Coecke's name only in 1966 by Georges Marlier, it had appeared already in 1671 as the work of "Pieter Vantelet" (for Pieter van Aelst) in the inventory of the great German collector and banker Everhard Jabach, when his collection was acquired for the French crown.² There can indeed be little doubt that the Paris design hails from Coecke or his immediate circle: the graceful figures, their strict Greek profiles, and the spare style are characteristic of Coecke's late works (see below). Frits Lugt missed "in this rather severe composition, the spirit of that more turbulent master," that is, the earlier style of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* and the *Story of Joshua* series, prompting him to prefer an attribution to Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen.³

Something of Coecke's later sparseness can be seen in the panels of the *Descent from the Cross* triptych in Lisbon (cat. 22), dating to about 1540–45, especially in the exterior of the wings, where one finds the same slim, elongated bodies and pointed profiles that appear in the Paris drawing. Even closer is the style of two designs for monumental windows in Saint Petersburg, dated 1542 and 1548, especially the later one (fig. 206;⁴ for the earlier drawing, see fig. 73). Similar profiles, comparable putti and children, and an identical way of drawing the classicizing costumes—very simple, somewhat angular, and barely modeled with narrow strips of hatching—are characteristic of both the 1548 drawing and the sheet of the *Triumph of Mordecai* (cat. 67).

The question remains, however, whether these later drawings are autograph works by Coecke. In different ways, the draftsmanship in both the 1548 and Paris drawings is rather more hesitating and stiff than one expects from the master himself. Moreover, the drawing in Paris ends within the edges of its support, as if it were copied from a slightly smaller drawing; a bracket in each of the four corners even indicates the limits of the original composition or sheet. It seems these drawings are the product of artists active in Coecke's circle, in each case possibly working after a lost original by him. The puzzle of the Paris drawing is not solved by the connection, already noted by Marlier, between the figure of Mordecai and the nearly identical depiction of Sultan Süleyman the



Fig. 205. *The Triumph of Mordecai*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1545–50. Tapestry woven in an unidentified workshop, Brussels, ca. 1550. Materials and dimensions unknown. Location unknown

Magnificent in the last plate of Coecke’s woodcut series *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45).⁵ Coecke is known to have reused a figure at least once in works that are entirely or largely by his own hand, so this repetition does not exclude his authorship of the Paris drawing’s model. The beautifully classical architecture seen behind Mordecai, although closely related to the view of Constantinople in the woodcut, is not identical to any of the buildings in it. On balance, it seems most likely that the Paris sheet is a copy by an assistant working after Coecke.

The difficulty with Coecke’s late tapestry designs, and with his late works in general, is that so few survive, and most of those that do seem to lack in quality when compared with the magnificent drawings for the *Saint Paul*, *Seven Deadly Sins*, and *Joshua* series. This apparent decline holds true for a highly finished drawing, also in Paris, related to the *Poesia* series (see fig. 213).⁶ The build of the figures, especially of the men, and their profiles are comparable to those of the drawing from 1548 in Saint Petersburg and the *Mordecai* drawing in Paris. But its style and technique are entirely different, and also different from Coecke’s earlier autograph work, indicating that this, too, is at best a copy after a lost design by the master. One of very few convincing attributions to Coecke himself of a late tapestry design is a recent discovery in Warsaw (fig. 207).⁷ Its cursory style has nothing of a copy; rather, it can be compared with more sketchily drawn works that are generally accepted as Coecke’s, including a small, unassuming drawing in Amsterdam (cat. 63). The inscription below the Warsaw scene, specifying target dimensions of “sonder den boort 25 [35? 57?] ellen” (“without the border 25 [35? 57?] ells”), implies that this was a preliminary design for a work of considerable dimensions—given Coecke’s specialty, probably a tapestry. Like the one in Amsterdam, the Warsaw drawing probably dates from the 1540s. Could it be that Coecke made such sketches to hand over to assistants, who would execute more detailed *petits patrons*, and eventually cartoons? Certainly, the tapestry related to the Amsterdam drawing and the other panels that belong to the same series reflect Coecke’s style, but without the complexity and refinement of, say, the *Joshua* series. The same can also be said of the tapestry of the *Triumph of Mordecai* (fig. 205).

The Warsaw drawing is perhaps also relevant to the drawing of Mordecai in another way. Although the compositions of the drawings differ too much to make it likely that they are related to the same series, they both depict scenes from the book of Esther, which tells the story of the orphaned Jewish young woman who, after being adopted by Mordecai, became queen of the Persian king Ahasuerus.⁸ Esther used her position to plead for mercy for her people (Esther 5:1–4)—the subject of the Warsaw drawing. Earlier, with Esther’s help, Mordecai had managed to thwart an attempt to kill Ahasuerus, for which Ahasuerus granted him the triumphal procession of the Paris drawing, ordering, “let the first of the king’s princes and nobles hold his horse, and going through the street of the city, proclaim before him and say: Thus shall be honoured whom the king hath a mind to honour” (Esther 6:9). In the absence of any other drawings—original or not—or tapestries, little can be said about the exact extent and the specific scenes of the other panels to which the Paris or the Warsaw drawing may have related. But the attractive tale of Esther was a favorite with contemporaries of the artists responsible for the drawings, and extant series can give an idea of the scenes that could have preceded and followed the now-isolated designs of Mordecai’s triumph and Esther’s plea.⁹



Fig. 207. *Esther before Ahasuerus*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1545–50 (?). Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, 7¼ × 10 in. (18.5 × 25.3 cm). Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw (Rys.Ob.d.715 MNW)

Fig. 206. *Design for a Stained-Glass Window with a Monk Kneeling before an Apparition of the Virgin and Child, with Saint Anthony of Padua*. Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, 1548. Pen and brown ink, brown and gray-brown wash, 21⅜ × 8⅝ in. (54.2 × 22 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (OR 5849)

67.

The Triumph of Mordecai

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry

Circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1545–50

Pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash (laid down)

6⁵/₈ × 11 in. (16.9 × 27.9 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. Verso: at upper center, inscribed 52, and below *Q^ov.* in red chalk, by Everhard Jabach (Lugt 2122^c); to the right, Jabach's paragraph (Lugt 2959)

Musée du Louvre, Paris (20736)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.



67

THE POESIA

Cecilia Paredes

THE FIVE-PIECE *Poesia*, or *Fables of Ovid*, share with the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* (cats. 64–66), the *Story of the Creation* (cat. 69), and the *Conquest of Tunis* (cat. 70) a stable of related figure types, physiognomies, and compositional devices.¹ For a long time, this group was attributed to Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, principal designer of the *Conquest of Tunis*.² Following more recent appreciation of the role Pieter Coecke van Aelst played as Vermeyen's collaborator in the *Conquest* series, it becomes clear that those elements closest to the *Poesia*, and indeed to the *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Creation* series, occur in the foreground scenes of the *Conquest*, in other words those areas now attributed to Coecke (Buchanan, "The Conquest of Tunis"). Although other artists, such as Léonard Thiry de Belges, have sometimes been suggested as designer, the most widely held attribution for the design of the *Poesia* is now given to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.³

Iconography and Design

The only known edition of the *Poesia*, acquired by King Philip II of Spain in 1556, remains in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, where it was called *Poesías*.⁴ Described in the payment record as "the five panels which are of *poesia*," the series was itemized by the subjects' names in Philip's posthumous inventory as: "the first of Ganymede, the second of Andromeda and Perseus, the third of Icarus, the fourth of Phoebus, the fifth of Achilles."⁵ The first three panels represent the *Rape of Ganymede* (fig. 208), *Perseus Liberating Andromeda* (fig. 209), and the *Fall of Icarus* (fig. 210). Although the last two, the *Flaying of Marsyas* (cat. 68) and the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* (fig. 212), seem to differ, it is apparent that the clerk of the inventory was citing the inscriptions that appear on these two tapestries: "Phoebus [Apollo] flays Marsyas" and "the maiden's death placates Achilles."⁶

While during the mid-sixteenth century it was established practice to dedicate complete tapestry series to the story line of a single classical myth, the *Poesia* instead offered a selection of contained mythological subjects, with their point in common their inclusion by the Roman poet Ovid in his narrative poem the *Metamorphoses*: the Rape of Ganymede in book 10, Perseus and Andromeda in book 4, the Fall of Icarus in book 8, the Flaying of Marsyas in book 6, and the Sacrifice of Polyxena in book 13. The selection and combination of these five stories in a pictorial series



Fig. 208. *Rape of Ganymede* from the *Poesia*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1556. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 5 in. × 10 ft. 11⁷/₈ in. (348 × 335 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, La Granja de San Ildefonso (TA 19/3, A. 264-7783)

representing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have no precedent and were not used again. Thus further study, not undertaken here, into possible intermediate textual sources for the iconography of this series might prove fruitful.⁷ In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid did not grant the same importance to all these fables: only a few lines refer to the Rape of Ganymede and the Flaying of Marsyas, for example. The tapestry designs include details not mentioned by Ovid, perhaps again indicating an intermediate source. Both Ganymede and Icarus were included in Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (1531), and it is conceivable that the *Poesia* series might have enjoyed a whole sublevel of symbolic meaning for its original viewers that has not yet been registered in modern scholarship.

With his reputation as a tapestry designer firmly established during the 1530s with the *Life of Saint Paul*, the *Seven Deadly Sins*, and the *Story of Joshua* series, in the 1540s Coecke collaborated with Vermeyen on the *Conquest of Tunis* and was principal designer of such new series as the *Poesia*. Along with the *Caesar* (cat. 61) and *Mordecai* (cat. 67) designs, these series from the 1540s lack the

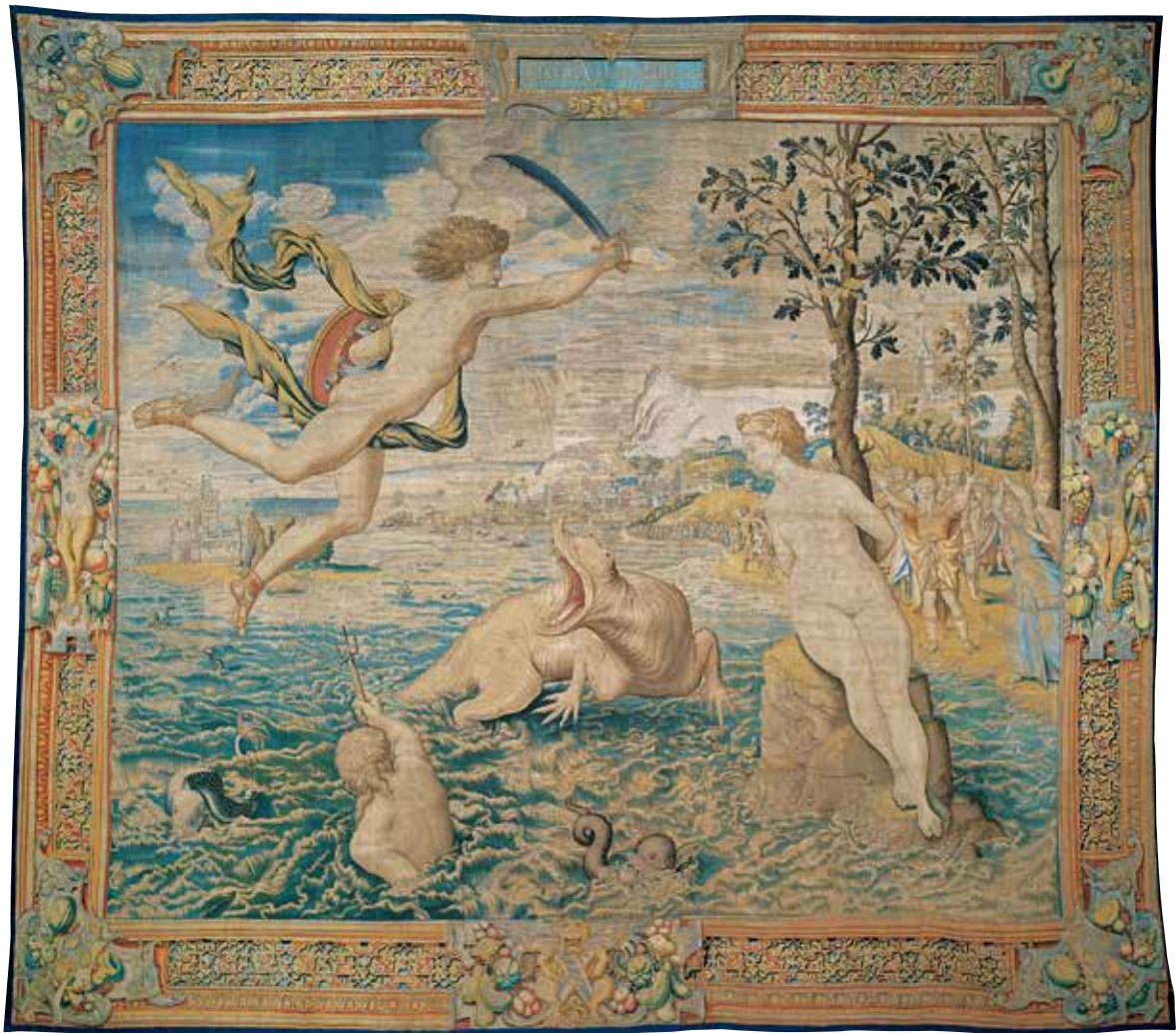


Fig. 209. *Perseus Liberating Andromeda from Poesia*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1556. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 13 ft. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (356 \times 406 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, La Granja de San Ildefonso (TA 19/2)

drama and turbulence of many of Coecke's earlier designs, but they reflect the more refined classicism already observable in his *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45). The single surviving drawing associated with the *Poesia* series, the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* (fig. 213), shares the crisp, clear delineation also detectable in the *Triumph of Mordecai petit patron* (cat. 67) attributed to Coecke's circle, while the compositional scheme relates to a drawing, perhaps also from the circle of Pieter Coecke, of the *Story of Daedalus*.⁸

The handling of the landscape settings in the *Poesia* shows Coecke's characteristic flair, in the footsteps of Bernard van Orley, with a structural role accorded the trees that frame the scenes and articulate depth in the middle distance, particularly comparable in the *Fall of Icarus* (fig. 210) and Coecke's *Design for a Triptych with Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 18). Similarly, many of the physiognomies are familiar from Coecke's other works: Andromeda (fig. 209) and Polyxena (fig. 212), for example, demonstrate the elegance and distinctive features that distinguish Coecke's female figures from those of his Netherlandish peers, also detectable in the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22) and the water carriers in the *Quest for Fodder* (cat. 70) in the *Conquest of Tunis*; Daedalus's bearded face (fig. 210) matches Coecke's old man archetype, used for instance in his depictions of God and patriarchs (see cats. 54, 59); and the young men—companions of



Fig. 210. *Fall of Icarus* from the *Poesia*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1556. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 8½ in. × 10 ft. 3¼ in. (357 × 313 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, La Granja de San Ildefonso (TA 19/1, A2647783)

Ganymede (fig. 208), spectators at Marsyas's death (cat. 68), and Trojan warriors witnessing Polyxena's sacrifice (fig. 212)—find their counterparts in the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 53) and the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45).

Whereas tapestry series traditionally share a narrative discourse and a unifying, repetitive structure through their whole ensemble, Coecke developed a considerably more multifaceted composition for the *Poesia*. Behind the apparent simplicity of each tapestry's composition, a more complex formal language emerges when one considers that the series seems to have been conceived as pairs of mythological diptychs.⁹ *Perseus and Andromeda* and the *Fall of Icarus* form the first of these monumental pairs, sharing similar marine landscapes and depicting duos of nudes in contrapposto. The *Flying of Marsyas* and the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* form a second pair, with both compositions hinged on naked protagonists in central, elevated positions in comparable hilly landscape settings, the martyrs Marsyas and Polyxena mirroring similar gestures. The *Rape of Ganymede* as a composition depicting ascending movement remains isolated in the group, although, as discussed below, it is conceivable that a subject such as the *Fall of Phaeton* might have been considered to round out the sequence. The minimalism and balance of the compositions across the series are also reflected in the markedly smaller size of the tapestries than is usual in traditional tapestry



Fig. 211. *Jupiter and Juno*. Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Furti di Giove* by Perino del Vaga, ca. 1532–35. Pen and dark brown ink with brown and gray wash, heightened with white, 17 × 15¾ in. (43.2 × 40 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Acquisitions Fund and Annette and Oscar de la Renta Gift, 2011 (2011.36)

cycles: altogether, the five panels extend 20 meters instead of the 50 to 70 meters reached by Coecke's immense allegories or narratives like the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cats. 47, 49, 50, and 53) and the *Story of Joshua* (cats. 54, 56, and 59).

The spatial nuances of the *Poesia* series probably reflect Coecke's sophisticated response to Italian precedent, in particular the work that Perino del Vaga, Raphael's former collaborator, created for the condottiere and admiral Andrea Doria in his palazzo at Fassolo (now the Palazzo del Principe in Genoa), during the 1530s. Perino's cartoons for the *Furti di Giove* tapestry series that he designed for Doria were among the Italian designs being woven in the Brussels tapestry workshops in the mid-1530s.¹⁰ The creative three-dimensional concept of Perino's *Furti di Giove*, developed in drawings such as *Jupiter and Juno* (fig. 211), might have contributed to Coecke's consideration of formal display in his *Poesia* tapestry designs.¹¹ The marine character of the *Poesia* landscapes and the tapestries' monumental nude forms also seem like responses to the example of Perino's frescoes in the Palazzo del Principe's Sala di Giove and Sala di Nettuno, the latter itself partly borrowed from Raphael.¹² The melee of naked bodies in *Jupiter Expelling the Giants* frescoed on the vault of the Sala di Giove together with the gigantism but also the stylishness of Jupiter and his feminine conquests in the *Furti di Giove*

tapestries have left their marks on all the principal protagonists in the *Poesia*.

Coecke apparently ultimately gathered other successful figure types from Italian contemporaries. The *Rape of Ganymede*, for example, seems to be a faithful reiteration of Michiel Coxcie's drawing of the same subject for his *Loves of Jupiter* ensemble, engraved by Cornelis Bos about 1545, but Coxcie derived this figure, in turn, from one of Michelangelo's four drawings made for Tommaso dei Cavalieri in Rome in 1532–33 (the *Punishment of Titus*, the *Fall of Phaeton*, and a *Bacchanal of Children* being the subjects of the other three).¹³ As Nicole Dacos has observed, the figure of Perseus in the second *Poesia* tapestry also refers to Michelangelo, borrowing from his *Archers*, widely known thanks to an engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet.¹⁴ The frightened and agitated horse added on the left side of the *Rape of Ganymede* tapestry is adapted from Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni's *Battle of Zama*, part of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* tapestry series, the cartoons for which were also in Brussels from the early 1530s throughout the 1540s.¹⁵

It is possible that Coecke adopted this Italianate language partly in response to tastes being developed in Flanders about this time. From the 1540s, the Habsburg court in Brussels seemed to prize Italian High Renaissance artistic language as appropriate to express its magnificence and the triumph of its imperial authority.

Dating

The first documented mention of an edition of the *Poesia* tapestries is the payment (in installments) from Philip II to the Antwerp dealer Pieter van der Walle between December 1556 and March 1557. However, it is apparent that the design of the series should be dated considerably earlier, before



Fig. 212. *Sacrifice of Polyxena* from the *Poesia*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1556. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 11 ft. 5¾ in. × 19 ft. 4¼ in. (350 × 590 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, La Granja de San Ildefonso (TA 19/5)



Fig. 213. *Sacrifice of Polyxena*. Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Poesia*. Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48. Pen on light brown paper, gray wash, heightened with white, 9⅜ in. × 19⅝ in. (23.8 × 50 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (19073)

Coecke's death in late 1550. Coecke probably designed the tapestries in the second half of the 1540s; as suggested below, his original patron might have been Mary of Hungary. Throughout the 1540s, Mary was occupied with the construction of and major decorative enterprises linked to the adornment of her palace at Binche, and the *Poesia* could be related to those initiatives.



Fig. 214. Interior of the Great Hall in the Palace of Binche. Anonymous, after 1549. Pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash, watercolor, highlights in gold, 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (39.8 × 37.9 cm). Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (F. 12930, plano C)

If Coecke designed the *Poesia* about 1547–48, the cartoons would have been ready for the weavers in 1549. However, the only known edition bears the mark of Willem de Pannemaker, who at this point was just starting supervision of the weaving of Philip II's massive *Conquest of Tunis* (see cat. 70). Between 1549 and 1554, Mary of Hungary, overseeing her nephew's *Tunis* project, requested that de Pannemaker dedicate all his forces to the making of those tapestries. Thus, though designed in the late 1540s, the weaving of the *Poesia* could only have been realized either before 1549 or after 1554. Since the *Poesia* were not described as at Binche in 1549 (see below), it is most likely that their weaving dates after 1554, when de Pannemaker had finished supervising the *Conquest of Tunis*. De Pannemaker must have maintained the intense momentum of production his workshop(s) achieved about this time, for in order to be finished in about two years, the *Poesia* tapestries must have been on looms simultaneously, with their weavers working at a remarkable rate.

Genesis of the Series

Given their title, their subject matter, and their link with Philip II, the *Poesia* have naturally been discussed in connection with Titian's cycle of paintings of the same name for the same patron.¹⁶ By the time the tapestries were acquired by Philip in 1556, Titian had already delivered to him two of the six mythological canvases inspired by the *Metamorphoses*, to which the artist referred in his correspondence as "poesie," likening them to visual poems. The paintings composing Titian's cycle of *Poesie*, commissioned and completed between 1553 and 1562, included *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda*. Taking inspiration from drawings by Michelangelo and repeating a compositional mode used in his *Furies*, Titian also thought of his subjects as pairs, balancing *Diana and Calisto* with *Diana and Acteon*.¹⁷ It is conceivable that Titian's appellation of his paintings influenced the title assigned to the tapestry edition acquired by Philip II, and clearly the paintings had an important effect on the artistic milieu of the Habsburg court.¹⁸ However, the traditional association of the woven *Poesia* design and iconography with the tastes of Philip II and, in particular, his *Poesie* paintings is something of a red herring since the genesis of the tapestry series should be set considerably earlier (about 1547) and its catalyst was more likely Mary of Hungary than her nephew.

The decorative scheme at Binche that Mary of Hungary pursued during the last years of her regency in the southern Netherlands reveals an interest in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹⁹ Mary's collection at Binche received international exposure in 1549 during the feast she gave in honor of her brother Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his son the future Philip II. In addition to written accounts of the event, a drawing depicting the Great Hall at Binche (fig. 214) provides a vivid image of the artistic display in the court architectural context, revealing an iconographic and stylistic awareness of how representations of the antique could celebrate the triumph of the Habsburg House and glorify Charles V.²⁰ The Great Hall was filled with monumental scenes of unusual mythological subjects taken from Ovid's poems. According to the description by Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, two immense paintings depicting the Competition between Apollo and Marsyas

(visible in the drawing) and the subsequent Flaying of Marsyas were situated in the galleries above the colossal chimneys at either end of the room. On the southeastern walls, between the large windows, were installed three of the four *Furies* commissioned from Titian by Mary of Hungary in 1548: *Titus*, *Sisyphus*, and *Tantalus*, which, combined with *Ixion*, constituted a group of mortals condemned to eternal damnation for having offended the gods.²¹ On the dorsal of the baldachin was the Fall of Phaeton, indebted to Michelangelo's design on the Cavalieri drawing, combined with two less common subjects, Phlegias Thrown into Hell and Jupiter and Encelades. In this iconographic context, had they been available, the *Poesia* tapestries would have provided, in pairs, good and bad exempla: Marsyas and Icarus carrying the negative aspect of punishment, while Perseus and Polyxena were, like Ganymede, recompensed. Given the concept of four of the *Poesia* as pairs, it is perhaps telling to note that the Fall of Phaeton depicted on the baldachin would have provided a perfect negative counterpoint to Ganymede's ascension. Mary of Hungary's set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (see cat. 47), not shown in the drawing, completed the complex iconographical program that was presented through these *exempla in malo*, as a warning to any considering challenging Charles V's authority and simultaneously demonstrating the supremacy of Habsburg power.

Although work on the *Conquest of Tunis* delayed the weaving of the *Poesia*, Coecke's designs were probably initially conceived as part of (or in the wake of) this great *Metamorphoses* decorative scheme at Binche. The *Poesia* designs clearly display the artistic imprint of Coecke rather than of his peer Michiel Coxcie, but Coxcie did play an important role in the decoration of Binche and shared with Coecke an awareness of the lessons that could be learned from contemporary Italian art.²² The artistic relationship between Pieter Coecke and Michiel Coxcie in the conception of the *Poesia* needs to be explored further, although whether this extended to the same sort of collaboration that Coecke and Vermeyen enjoyed with the *Conquest of Tunis* remains debatable. Ultimately, the weaving of the *Poesia* coincided with the destruction of the palace at Binche in 1554, suggesting that by the time of the set's completion, Mary of Hungary would have been considerably less enthusiastic to acquire it. This being so, Pieter van der Walle apparently had to turn to new clients, with the set soon finding a home in Spain.

68.

The Flaying of Marsyas

Tapestry in the set of the *Poesia*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1556

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
11 ft. 3⁷/₈ in. × 15 ft. 3 in. (345 × 465 cm)

Weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at bottom;
inscribed in cartouche in upper border, MARSIAM EXCORIAT PHOEBUS

Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de La Granja de San Ildefonso
(TA 19/4, 10004158)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

Like the other tapestries in the *Poesia* series, the *Flaying of Marsyas* displays a markedly frontal composition, subdivided into two planes by the horizon line, reflecting the series's overriding theme of interaction between the celestial and the earthly. The young Apollo, nude, clean-shaven, ringlet-haired, and crowned with laurel leaves, appears at the center of the composition, dramatically outlined against the sky, accentuating the formal and anatomical qualities of his figure. Transformed into a cruel torturer, he prepares to punish Marsyas for daring to challenge him to a musical contest. He holds the satyr by his characteristic goat's beard, having tied his wrists together with a rope and hung him from the branches of an oak tree on a small hillock. Apollo's profile and expression recall busts designed by Léonard Thiry de Belges, to whom this series is sometimes also attributed.¹ Lying at the foot of the tree are Apollo's blue and gold chlamys and his lyre.² The satyr's goatish legs, proper to his anthropomorphic nature and a reflection of the transition from animal to human form, have been tied separately to the roots of the tree. Apollo's leg advances between them in a movement of aggressive intent that is confirmed by the violent twist of his mouth and the threatening position of his right arm, whose hand grips the curved knife with which he will flay his defeated opponent. The willow on the left emulates the weeping of the grieving Argives, and some lichens, a probable allusion to the satyr's skin, hang from the branches of the oak on which Marsyas is suspended, for the horrific moment of the skinning itself is omitted from the scene.

In the background are the passages leading up to the punishment, inspired not so much by Ovid's account as by the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus (first century B.C.) and the *Fabulae* of Hyginus (first century A.D.).³ Athena appears attired in armor and helmet, angry at seeing her cheeks disfigured by the effort of blowing into the flute, reflected in the waters of a clear spring that bubbles out of the surrounding rocks and is collected in a fountain. To the right is the competition pitting the satyr and his aulos, shown here as a golden clarion, against Apollo and his lyre. They are surrounded by lascivious fauns

embracing maenads, since the flute, by contrast with Apollonian music, purportedly led to ecstasy and irrational urges.⁴ The fertile fields of Celaenae in Phrygia, where the duel took place, are evoked by shrubs and plants like bramble and bitter nightshade that climb up the trunks of the trees.⁵

The earthly folk watch and comment at the left. Coecke brought the viewer closer to the action by sweeping the foreground into our space and, seemingly, equating our observation of the scene with the represented spectators. The placement of this group echoes similar arrangements in the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* (fig. 212) as well as the *Triumph of Mordecai* (cat. 67), on which Coecke was also working about this time. The Argive farmer pointing toward Marsyas's torment in a narrator-like move might allude to the didactic interpretation of the episode by the author of the *Ovide Moralisé* that the satyr was an incarnation of sinners' pride and madness and his sacrifice an allegory of the punishment for ignorance, audacity, and temerity.⁶ From a political point of view, the subject of Apollo and Marsyas was one of the many mythological stories, according to the interpretation of Boccaccio and humanist culture, that warned subjects of the danger of opposing the mighty.⁷

The cartouche in the upper border, not dissimilar from those Coecke recorded in his *Triumphe d'Anvers* (cat. 23), acknowledged his awareness of the works of Vitruvius and Serlio. In it Coecke captioned the scene, "Phoebus flays Marsyas." This is set against an egg-and-dart design and stylized arabesque-like frets relating to contemporary inventions by Cornelis Floris the Younger and ones published by Hieronymus Cock.⁸ The style of border can be seen in other tapestry series woven by Willem de Pannemaker, such as the *Story of Romulus and Remus* acquired by Henry VIII before 1547 and the reissue of the same series bought by Philip II in 1550, as well as some of the editions of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* (see cats. 64, 66). In an apparent nod to the subject matter, the border is here augmented with masks with fruit in the four corners; cartouches with infantile fauns—perhaps intended to suggest Marsyas's disciple Olympus, in reference to the Dionysiac celebrations—in the lateral borders; and in the lower border, a bronze lion clutching cornucopias overflowing with fruit.

The Tapestry in Philip II's Edition

This is the only known edition of the *Poesia*. Made under the direction of the master Willem de Pannemaker, the weaving is exquisite. The *Flaying of Marsyas* includes some sophisticated passages such as the representation of Apollo's flesh tones and the modeling of his muscles, subtly outlined to make them stand out against the sky. The tension of Marsyas's torso is transmitted by the shadows of the ribs and the furrows of the veins, rendered thanks to the weavers' skill at combining silks and wools in different gradations between white and yellow and in gentle crimsons and violets. The transparency of the water of Athena's spring and the gleam of the mist and whitish foam



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thrown up by the water as it falls were woven with silver threads so that the reflected light would shimmer, although the passage of time deprives us of these chromatic qualities with the oxidation of the metal-wrapped threads transforming these areas into grayish patches.

Philip II acquired the five *Poesia* tapestries during his second journey to the Low Countries, made primarily to attend the abdication ceremony of his father, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (King Charles I of Spain), in Brussels on October 25, 1555. By a warrant from King Philip, dated in Brussels on November 20, 1556, the royal purveyor Antonio de Guzmán, resident in Antwerp, paid Pieter van der Walle for the total length of the five tapestries, 173 ells in all, at the rate of 15 florins per ell.⁹ Also involved in the transaction was Juan López Gallo, Philip II's *factor general* (commercial and diplomatic agent) in the States of Flanders, as well as the banker Gaspar Schetz; between them they controlled the most important commercial activities and the trade in artworks between Flanders and Spain.¹⁰

The *Poesia* tapestries were numbered and recorded in Philip II's posthumous inventory in 1589 by the master tapestry maker Francisco de Torres and the keeper of the jewels Hernando de Espejo, who identified each one with a brief title taken from its inscription and valued the set at 3,369 gold ducats.¹¹ After the tapestries were recorded in Charles III's will in 1788, they ceased to be called the *Poesías* and were known as the *Fábulas* (*Fables*).¹² Because of the male and female nudes, the tapestries in the *Poesia*, like those in the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*, were branded as "deshonestas" (improper or indecent) by the officials in charge of the Real Oficio de la Tapicería (Royal Tapestry Works), recorded with notations written on the linings of the hangings. The set nonetheless continued to be displayed at courtly betrothal ceremonies and during the Corpus Christi procession around the square alongside the Alcázar in Madrid.¹³

CHC

THE STORY OF THE CREATION

Lucia Meoni

THE DESIGN OF the seven-piece *Story of the Creation* tapestry series can be attributed with confidence on stylistic grounds to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.¹ Although drawings and cartoons have not survived, the tapestries themselves reveal close similarities with Coecke's other works. The weaving of the set may have been completed about 1547–48, as it was delivered to Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora di Toledo in Florence in mid-1551 and soon became one of the most prized of the Medici's tapestry holdings.

Coecke presumably designed the *Creation* a few years before his contemporary Michiel Coxcie worked on the designs of a six-part *Story of the First Parents*, the first of three tapestry series illustrating scenes from Genesis woven for King Sigismund II Augustus of Poland. In contrast to Coxcie's compressed narrative, depicting the activities of Adam, Eve, and their offspring, Coecke's more expansive series covers all of the episodes of the Creation described in the second and third chapters of the book of Genesis.² Beginning with (1) *The Creation of Adam* (fig. 215); (2) *God Leads Adam into the Garden of Eden* (fig. 216); (3) *Adam Names the Animal Kingdom* (fig. 217); and (4) *The Creation of Eve* (fig. 218), Coecke turned next to (5) *The Original Sin* (fig. 219) and (6) *God Accuses Adam and Eve after the Fall* (cat. 69), culminating the narrative with (7) *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden* (fig. 220).³

Design

In the past, attribution of the design of the Medici *Creation* series has shifted between Coecke and Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen.⁴ Scholars have tended to recognize the same hand at work in the *Creation* and in the tapestry series the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* and the *Poesia*, both attributed to Coecke (see Cleland's and Paredes's essays in this volume). Yet there are also parallels with aspects of the *Conquest of Tunis* series, attributed to Vermeyen (see Buchanan, "The Conquest of Tunis").⁵ In recent years, Thomas Campbell's analysis of the *Conquest* has revealed Coecke to have been Vermeyen's collaborator in its design.⁶ Furthermore, the remarkable parallels between figures in the *Creation*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Poesia*, and *Conquest* series and those in Coecke's well-documented *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22) dissolve any reservations regarding Coecke's role as principal designer of the *Creation*, just as of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Poesia* series.



Fig. 215. *The Creation of Adam* from the *Story of the Creation*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan van Tieghem, Brussels, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 16 ft. $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 18 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (488 \times 560 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 21)

In the *Creation*, Coecke draws from a repertoire of faces, bodies, and movements familiar, for example, from his design of the *Triumph of Mordecai* (cat. 67), the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22), and the woodcut *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45), as well as from his earlier tapestry series. The cherub in the *Expulsion* (fig. 220), for instance, harkens back to Cleopatra in *Gluttony* from *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 50). Similarly, Eve’s face in *God Accuses Adam and Eve* (cat. 69) echoes that of Medea in *Lust* (cat. 49), and the pose of her body, curled up in the vegetation, recalls that of a figure in the *Story of the Prodigal Son* drawing (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles). Further, Adam and Eve in the *Original Sin* (fig. 219) relate to Neoptolemus and Polyxena in the *Poesia* series (fig. 212), as well as Coecke’s drawing of *Christ as the Fount of Mercy* (cat. 11).⁷

The *Creation* series—like the *Poesia* and *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*, which also belong to the 1540s—represents a shift from the crowded and complex compositions of the previous decade’s *Sins*, *Life of Saint Paul*, and *Story of Joshua* series. True to his reputation as one of the first so-called Romanizing (“romanisti”) painters, Coecke displays an understanding of Italian Renaissance design in the luminous and low horizons of the *Creation*, and in the classical and sculptural nudity of the figures dominating the landscape.⁸ Even in *God Leads Adam into the Garden of Eden*, the *Original Sin*, and *God Accuses Adam and Eve*, in which the protagonists reappear across consecutive episodes in the same composition, these figures move easily within abundant space.



Fig. 216. *God Leads Adam into the Garden of Eden* from the *Story of the Creation*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 22 ft. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (482 \times 695 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 19)

The new stylistic developments that distinguish Coecke's tapestry series of the 1540s from those of the 1530s could be due to his experiences in Italy and increasing awareness of Italian design, as attested by his translation in 1539 of the treatises of Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio into Dutch (cat. 17 with fig. 79).⁹ The *Creation* vividly recalls the frescoed scenes from Genesis in the first vault of the Vatican Loggia decorated by Raphael and his studio in 1519. In Coecke's *Creation*, God has the same naturalism and lightness of movement seen in the Loggia paintings by Giulio Romano, Giovanni Francesco Penni, and Guillaume de Marcillat (fig. 221). The birds gliding through the air with widespread wings, the elephant, lion, and unicorn in *Adam Names the Animals* are all reminiscent of the Loggia's *Creation of the Animals* by Giovanni da Udine and Pellegrino da Modena. Even the *Creation* tapestries' borders, with grotesques in the manner of bronze low reliefs woven in yellow gold and dark ochre on a pinkish background, knowingly adapt the pictorial structures of the Loggia, in which friezes painted in fresco to imitate bronze run below the main scenes.¹⁰

The poses of Adam in Coecke's *Original Sin* (fig. 219) and Eve in *God Accuses Adam and Eve* (cat. 69) are similar to those in his drawing from the late 1530s (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) after Baldassare Tommaso Peruzzi's frescoed Golden Vault in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, finished about 1521.¹¹ In Coecke's tapestry *God Accuses Adam and Eve*, Eve, although rendered with

somewhat inaccurate anatomical proportions, reprises Michelangelo's *Temptation of Adam and Eve* on the Sistine Chapel ceiling and also relates to an engraving after Michelangelo's lost painting of *Leda and the Swan* produced by Cornelis Bos, Coecke's acquaintance in Antwerp.¹² In Coecke's *Expulsion* (fig. 220), the blond, curly-haired cherub guarding the Tree of Life with his flaming sword has the same stunned gaze and parted lips as the youth supporting Christ in Jacopo da Pontormo's *Deposition* (Santa Felicita, Florence), completed in 1528, of which no early prints exist (fig. 223).¹³ And further, Coecke's Eve plucking the forbidden fruit in the *Original Sin* (fig. 219) implies study of Botticelli's profiles and female nudes (fig. 222). Given these links, it is tempting to suggest that Coecke, traveling through Italy, dedicated a visit to Florence, where a well-established community of southern Netherlandish immigrants had resided since the previous century.¹⁴

In the *Creation* series, the focus is on the actions of the figures rather than on the settings, which had so fascinated Raphael in his designs for the Stanze of the Vatican. Coecke's scenes have more in common with Giulio Romano's works in Mantua, such as his *Laocoön* fresco of 1536–40 in the Sala di Troia of the Palazzo Ducale, which expressively reinterprets ancient Roman reliefs with intensely dramatic figures and vibrant movements.¹⁵ In particular, the *Laocoön* human chain is recalled in the *Creation of Eve*. Although the emotive power of Giulio's figures may be greater than that of Coecke's, both artists redirect dramatic attention away from the setting and toward foreground protagonists. While this comparison depends on the timing of Coecke's travels in Italy, which remains under discussion, so precise are Coecke's visual quotations of the Vatican frescoes and other Italian works that these seem to have been based on something more vivid than decades-old memories or drawings circulating in the North.¹⁶

Although documentary evidence is lacking, the hand of Coecke's brother-in-law, the important landscapist Jan van Amstel, has sometimes been identified in some of Coecke's works. It is



Fig. 217. *Adam Names the Animal Kingdom* from the *Story of the Creation*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan van Tieghem, Brussels, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 2¼ in. × 27 ft. 4 in. (463 × 833 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 626)



Fig. 218. *The Creation of Eve* from the *Story of the Creation*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan van Tieghem, Brussels, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 11 in. × 20 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (485 × 631 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 16)



Fig. 219. *The Original Sin* from the *Story of the Creation*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. × 24 ft. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (483 × 759 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 18)



Fig. 220. *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden* from the *Story of the Creation*. Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan van Tieghem, Brussels, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 21 ft. (483 \times 640 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 20)

conceivable that he, or another specialist in Coecke's workshop, contributed some of the landscape and zoological details in the *Creation* series, as might also have been the case with the *Verdures with Animals* tapestry series (see Grazzini, "Verdures with Animals").¹⁷

The borders of the *Creation* series develop the monochrome ornament and Roman-relief effect already evident in Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* (figs. 115, 117, 118, and 129), Bernard van Orley's *Hunts of Maximilian* (figs. 49, 133), and the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* designed by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni (fig. 119). Flowers and animals, real and imagined, as well as bacchic processions, are represented as if displayed upon illusionistic wrought iron (called *feronneries*) and leatherwork (*cuirs*). This exuberant figurative decoration is noteworthy as one of the earliest examples of Netherlandish grotesques, locally called *Rollwerk*. This style was inspired by the paintings in Nero's Domus Aurea, which had given rise to the ornamental vocabulary of the school of Raphael.¹⁸ Similar friezes border the 1547 maiolica *Conversion of Saul* (fig. 127), sometimes attributed to Coecke, and abound in the frontispieces of his printed works (cats. 17, 23).¹⁹



Fig. 221 Detail of the *Division of the Waters and Firmament* from the *Creation of the World*. Giovanni Francesco Penni, ca. 1519. Fresco. Vatican Loggia, Vatican Museums, Vatican City



Fig. 222. Detail of the *Calumny of Apelles*. Sandro Botticelli, 1494–97. Tempera on wood, 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 35 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (62 × 91 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1890.1496)



Fig. 223. Detail of the *Deposition*. Jacopo da Pontormo, 1525–28. Oil on wood, 10 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. × 75 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (313 × 192 cm). Capponi Chapel, Santa Felicità, Florence

In particular, the rigorous and solidly architectural structure of *ferronneries* and *cuirs* in Coecke's *Le triumphe d'Anvers* (cat. 23), designed in 1549 and published in 1550, is not unlike the decorative patterns in the borders of the Medici *Creation* tapestries. A few years later Coxcie was creating similar grotesque borders for his *Scenes from Genesis*, including the *Story of the First Parents* (fig. 224), and about the same time the Vienna edition of Coecke's *Sins* (cat. 53) had new grotesque borders added. The precise chronology of these works remains uncertain, but the monochrome borders of the *Creation* series, like those of the famous tapestry series from the first decades of the sixteenth century cited above, may indicate an early date for their design. Coecke, along with the engraver Bos and the Antwerp designer, architect, and sculptor Cornelis Floris the Younger (fig. 225), must be considered an originator of this type of grotesque.²⁰

Dating and Genesis of the Series

Surviving archival evidence reveals that Cosimo I de' Medici and his wife, Eleonora di Toledo, received the set of seven *Creation* tapestries in Florence from two agents cited in the documents with Italianized names—Andrea d'Angulo and Enrico Nels—on behalf of Jan van der Walle on June 13, 1551.²¹ It is conceivable that this set was woven three or four years before its arrival in Florence.

No editions of the *Creation* other than the Medici one are known. The absence of other editions of the series could suggest that Duke Cosimo had paid for the cartoons, not just the tapestries, requiring that the cartoons also be returned to him.²² This was the usual custom of the Medici family beginning in the fifteenth century, and in many cases the tapestry cartoons and drawings were produced by Italian artists and sent from Italy to the southern Netherlands.²³ In fact, the bishop of Cortona, Giovan Battista Ricasoli, Cosimo's ambassador to the court of Charles V, had suggested to Cosimo in April–May 1545 that he send tapestry cartoons to the southern Netherlands from Florence but leave the painting of the landscapes to local specialists in the genre. Cosimo's response to the ambassador is not known, and other documents have not been found concerning this subject.²⁴ Regarding the *Creation* series, neither drawings nor cartoons for the project can be identified as having been in Florence. In any case, it is evident that the seven *Creation* tapestries were not designed by an Italian artist, in the manner Ricasoli suggested to Cosimo.

Most likely the Florentine *Creation* is to be identified with a set then called the *Story of Adam and Eve* that was being offered for sale on the art market. The tapestries were mentioned in a memorandum written on August 14, 1549, from Prague to the court tapestry weaver Jan de Roy on behalf of Catherine of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand of Habsburg, archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia, who was to marry Francesco III Gonzaga of Mantua in October of that year.²⁵ They were on the market in Augsburg, home of Jacob Rehlinger, the sometime business partner of the Van der Walles, who would later sell the *Creation* set to Cosimo and Eleonora. In 1533 Rehlinger participated with the Van der Walles in the same tapestry venture to Constantinople that seems to have taken Coecke there in that period.²⁶ Moreover, Rehlinger had worked with Coecke on the German translation of the fourth book of Serlio's architectural treatise, published in 1543 (cat. 17).²⁷

Substantial evidence survives to identify the weavers of the Medici *Creation* set. One of the tapestries bears the city mark of Brabant-Brussels, while recent examination has revealed the right-hand selvages of the set to include weavers' monograms, sometimes fragmentary but nevertheless identifiable.²⁸ The mark of Jan de Kempeneer is on all of the pieces at the bottom of the right selvage, while at the top of this selvage that of Jan van Tieghem appears on four of the tapestries, and

that of Frans Ghieteels on the other three.²⁹ The presence of two marks on each tapestry evidently denotes the division of labor between the weavers executing the set, and possibly indicates the *Creation* was a business venture undertaken by de Kempeneer in collaboration with Van Tieghem and Ghieteels.

Van Tieghem and Ghieteels were brothers-in-law and often worked in association with each other: in addition to their weaving of the *Verdures with Animals* (cat. 71), based on designs often attributed in part to Coecke, and a set of *Grotesques with Arms of Poland and Lithuania*, both made for Sigismund II Augustus, they shared work on the two earliest-known reeditions of the Raphael-designed *Acts of the Apostles*, made about 1549–50, now in Madrid and Mantua.³⁰ In both the *Grotesques* and the Mantua *Acts* they collaborated with an anonymous weaver known as the Master of the Geometric Mark. The marks of Van Tieghem and Ghieteels appear also on the *Story of Cyrus the Great* (Madrid), woven about 1557–58. The pair was joined by Jan de Kempeneer (again) and his father, Willem, as well Pieter van Aelst the Younger and the Master of the Geometric Mark in the weaving of the above-mentioned great three-part *Scenes from Genesis* cycle—the *Story of the First Parents* (fig. 224), the *Story of Noah* (fig. 242), and the *Story of the Tower of Babel*—also for Sigismund II Augustus, almost all delivered to Wawel Castle, Kraków, by 1553.³¹ Van Tieghem subsequently wove an adapted reedition in seven tapestries of the same *Story of the First Parents* (Munich).³²

In the case of the *Creation* set, the presence of de Kempeneer's initials on every tapestry may indicate that he oversaw the project. Certainly, de Kempeneer was active as a merchant to the same extent that he was as a weaver, maintaining contacts with the best Netherlandish manufacturers in Brussels and the leading commercial center of Antwerp. In 1540 de Kempeneer is documented in Antwerp as representing the affairs of his father, Willem, the Brussels-based tapestry weaver whose prestigious workshop had been responsible for five of the surviving editions of the *Story of Abraham* (see Cleland, "The Story of Abraham"), also attributed to Coecke. In 1550–55, he was involved in organizing the new trading hall for the tapestry market in Antwerp, the Tapissierspand.³³

Cosimo and Eleonora made their contract, however, not with de Kempeneer but with the well-known Antwerp-based merchant Jan van der Walle.³⁴ Van der Walle and his father, Pieter, were no strangers to projects in which Coecke played a role, having previously provided Mary of Hungary with her edition of the *Sins* (cat. 47) and subsequently selling the *Poesia* (cat. 68) to Philip II of Spain, as well as participating in the tapestry venture to Constantinople offering reeditions of the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* to Süleyman the Magnificent that likely involved Coecke. It is possible that de Kempeneer enjoyed commercial dealings with the Van der Walle family, another shared project being the *Grotesques with Monkeys* tapestry set, for which in 1556 de Kempeneer was named in the acts of sale to Philip II, together with Pieter van der Walle.³⁵

The initiating circumstances of the Medici acquisition of the *Creation* set remain little known. As is documented, Jan van der Walle's two agents, Andrea d'Angulo and Enrico Nels, delivered the *Creation* to Florence. Cosimo, though consumed not only by his efforts to strengthen his rule as duke of Tuscany but also by financing the costly enterprise of establishing large-scale tapestry workshops in Florence, did not miss the opportunity to acquire the prestigious set, which perhaps had even attracted the attention of the Habsburgs and was seemingly being offered at an affordable price.³⁶ The ensuing contract, made when the tapestries were already in Florence and underwritten by the ducal couple, Cosimo and Eleonora, in 1551, guaranteed payment within three years. However, it is apparent that the terms of the agreement were not respected, as the final payment for the *Creation* set was not made until 1558 after many supplications from Van der Walle.³⁷



Fig. 224. *Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden* from *Scenes from Genesis: The Story of the First Parents*. Design attributed to Michiel Coxcie, ca. 1549. Tapestry possibly woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, before 1553. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 15 ft. 2¼ in. × 28 ft. ¼ in. (463 × 854 cm). Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków (1)

The preservation of the complete *Creation* tapestry set was largely due to the significance given it by Cosimo, who at least from 1553 stored the set in the secret Guardaroba.³⁸ In subsequent years, the Medici and Lorraine grand dukes maintained this practice, holding the luxurious weavings in reserve for special occasions such as major diplomatic meetings and state festivities, when the tapestries would furnish reception rooms in the Palazzo della Signoria (Palazzo Vecchio) and later in the Palazzo Pitti and elsewhere. At times they were even displayed outdoors. When the set was first deposited in the Guardaroba, the tapestries did not include the armature necessary to hang them, implying that in 1553 they had not yet been shown. They were on view on June 24–25, 1588, during the reign of Grand Duke Ferdinando I, when the festivities for Saint John the Baptist, patron of Florence, were celebrated: chroniclers recorded a sumptuous exhibition of tapestries in the *ringhiera* (parapet) of the Palazzo della Signoria, in the Loggia dei Lanzi, and along streets, in Via Vacchereccia and Via Por Santa Maria. The occasion was marked by the arrival of many foreign visitors to Florence. In a letter to Pietro de' Medici of June 26 of that year, Valerio Ruggeri stated that among the many sets of tapestries on display was a “Creazione del mondo” (*Creation of the World*), hanging in Via Por Santa Maria. The *Creation* set was apparently again exhibited during the feast of Saint John the Baptist in 1590 and 1591.³⁹ A record of payment entered on June 20, 1626, to the chief weaver Jacopo van Asselt for restoring the seven tapestries of the set can almost certainly be associated with their display that year for the feast of the Baptist.⁴⁰ Between 1627 and 1659 several “colonne,” as they are called in the documents (literally “columns,” but in fact vertical decorative friezes), were woven in the Medici tapestry manufactory from cartoons by the Florentine painter Michelangelo Cinganelli to accompany the display of the *Creation* set. The

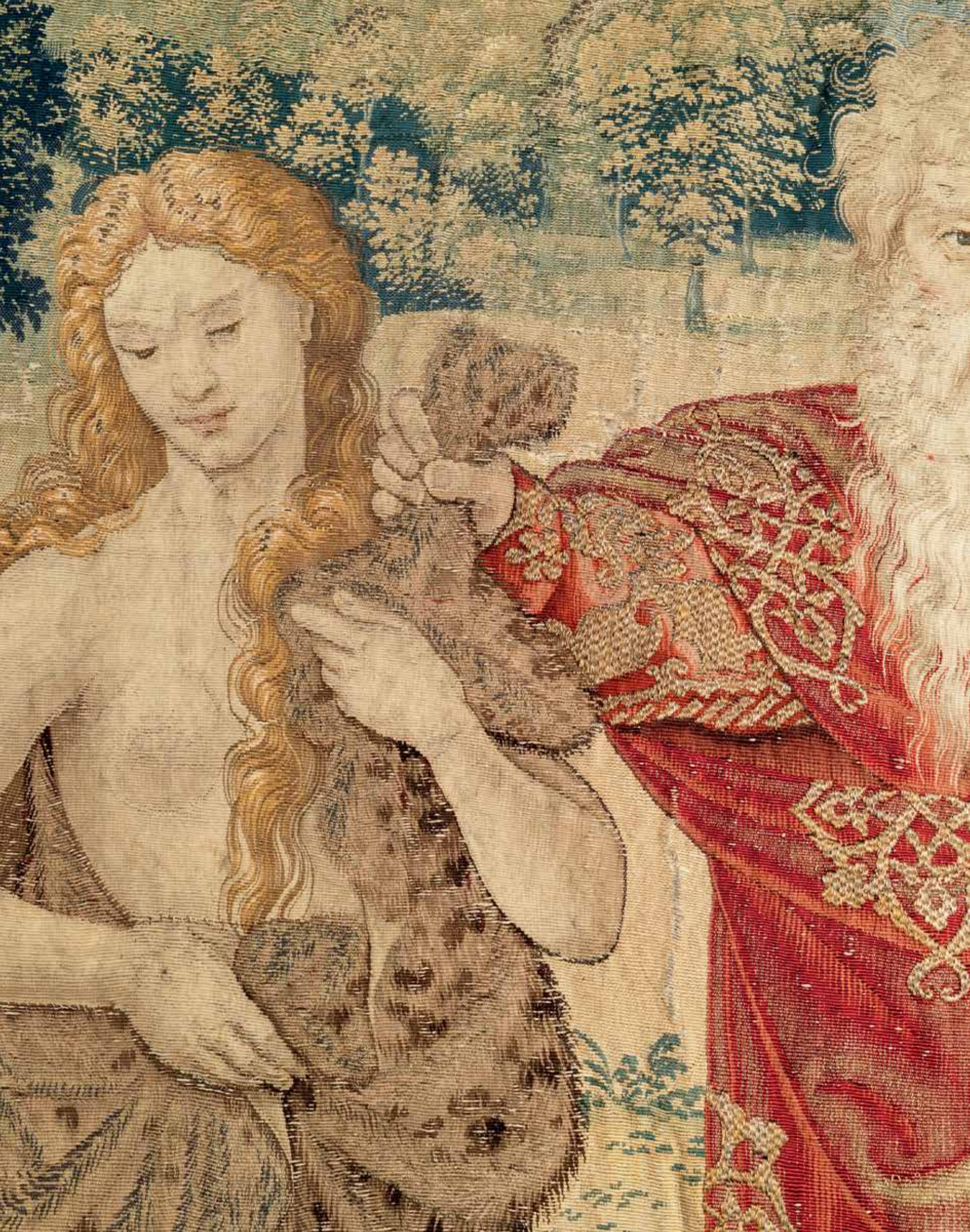


Fig. 225. *Fantastical Ship*. Cornelis Floris the Younger, 1543. Watercolor, 3⁷/₈ × 14¹/₄ in. (9.8 × 36.2 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-1913-155)

first four of these decorative pieces, delivered by Van Asselt in 1627, were possibly ordered from the Florentine manufactory by the reigning archduchess, Maria Maddalena of Austria, widow of Cosimo II de' Medici, and by Christina of Lorraine, her mother-in-law, in anticipation of the celebrations in July 1628 for the coming-of-age of Ferdinando II and his investiture as grand duke.⁴¹ In 1641 the tapestry set was requested from the Guardaroba by Cardinal Carlo Decano, and in 1667 by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, in both cases to furnish the Medici palace in Rome's Piazza Madama.⁴² On the occasion of the marriage of the Grand Prince Cosimo, the future Cosimo III, with Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans in 1661, the tapestries were hung along the length of the nave in the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore (the Duomo) in Florence, alongside the Medici's most prestigious woven sets. In 1665 the seven tapestries and their seventeenth-century decorative friezes, or *colonne*, were displayed in the house of the Prior Zanchini (perhaps Giovan Battista Zanchini) on Via Maggio, where a French duke and his court were lodged on their journey to Rome.⁴³

Proof of the special appreciation enjoyed by the *Creation* set is also the fact that four of the seven tapestries were copied as paintings, commissioned by Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici before 1628 and displayed in his winter apartments in the Palazzo Pitti from 1638 until 1663–64.⁴⁴ Although the painted copies of the *Original Sin* and the *Expulsion from Eden* are now lost, the *Creation of Adam* by a certain "Niccolò fiammingo pittore" and the *Creation of Eve* by the painter Francesco Bianchi Buonavita are today preserved in Florentine collections.⁴⁵ In Florence, only one other case is known of tapestries being copied as paintings, when two of the twenty pieces of the most celebrated Medici tapestry set, the *Story of Joseph*, were replicated in the sixteenth century.⁴⁶

Beyond the extraordinary quality of the *Creation* tapestries' design and weaving technique, perhaps the honor accorded the set was in recognition of the reputations and prestige of their designer and weavers, and the former's connection with the Habsburg court. Duke Cosimo I was, indeed, much indebted to Charles V for his political rise.⁴⁷ Of the Netherlandish tapestries in the Florentine grand ducal collections, only the *Valois fêtes* enjoyed similar fortune, almost certainly because that series celebrated the magnificence of the court of Catherine de' Medici, queen of France, and had dynastic implications for the history of the Medici family in Florence.⁴⁸



69.

God Accuses Adam and Eve after the Fall

Tapestry in the set of the *Story of the Creation*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1548

Woven under the direction of Jan de Kempeneer and Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, completed by 1551

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

15 ft. 8½ in. × 22 ft. 11½ in. (479 × 700 cm)

Weaver's mark of Jan de Kempeneer on right selvage at bottom; weaver's mark of Frans Ghieteels on right selvage at top; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, ADAMVS ET EVA DEI VOCIS TRANSGRESSIONIS INCREPATI INDVVNTVR AMICTV PELLICEO

Depositi Arozzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Citta di Firenze, Arazzi 1912–25, 17)

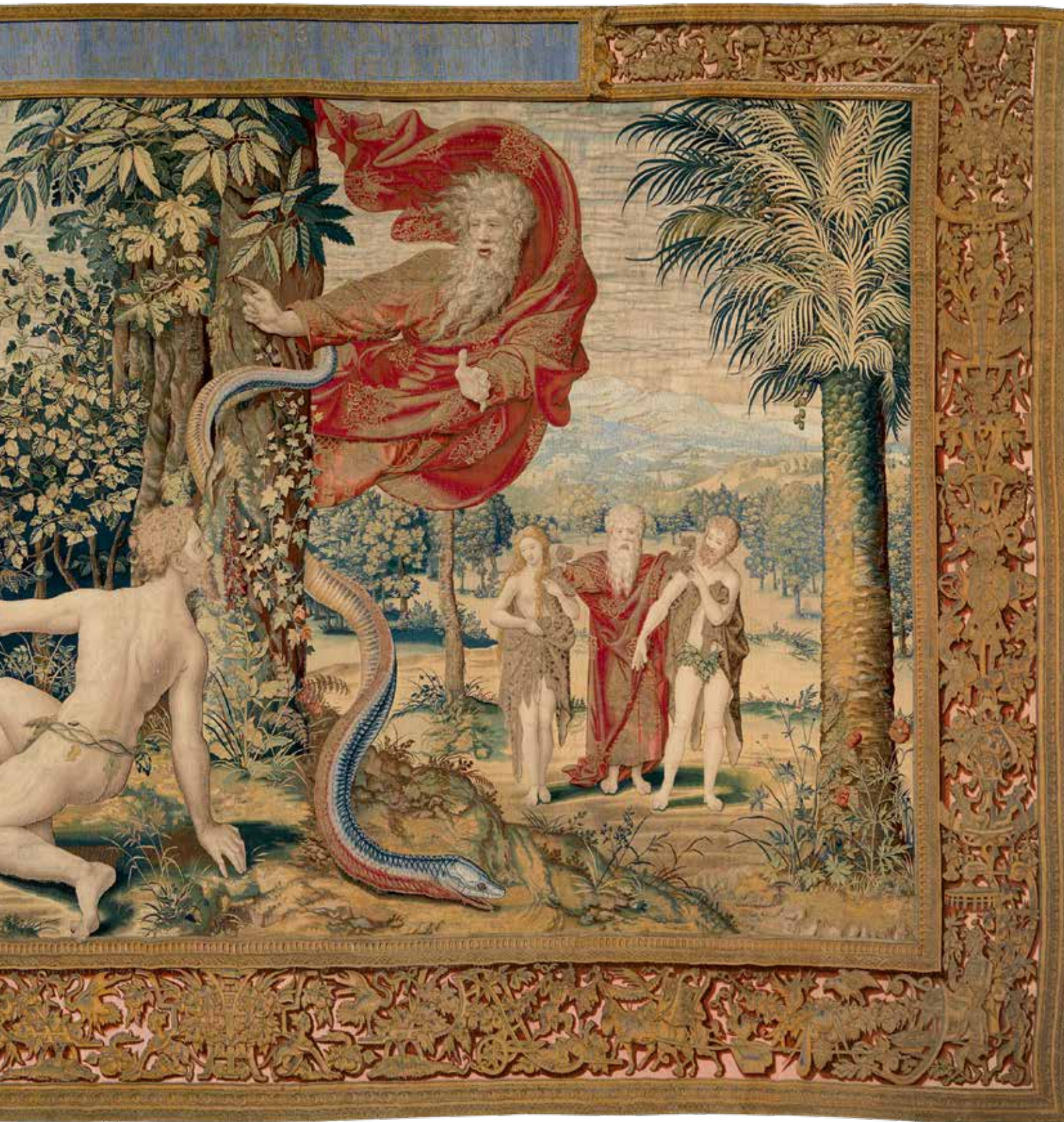
See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

This tapestry is the sixth episode in the seven-piece *Story of the Creation*. As captioned in the gold-woven inscription in the upper border, “Having been reproved by the voice of God for the transgression, Adam and Eve are clothed with garments made of skins.” The lush and peaceful setting of Eden is disturbed by the drama of the moment as an angry God sweeps into the scene, his robe echoing the sinuous curve of the serpent. The long, thick serpent slithers around the tree trunk and, terrifyingly, seems about to carry on its path out of the tapestry and into our space. Its red and blue coloring, even more intense on the unfaded reverse of the tapestry, jars against the soft greens and browns of Eden; perhaps the colors allude to an imbalance of the elements occasioned by the Fall—red representing fire and blue, water. At the left, Eve cowers in shame as Adam, already garbed in a leafy girdle, points to her accusingly. Subtly but brilliantly, his toes project out of the garden, over the edge of the border, and into our own imperfect world. Buxom and beautiful, Eve makes a stylistic bridge between the nudes of Michelangelo and Rubens. So compelling is the visual evidence that it seems, once again, that Rubens was aware of this design and learned from Coecke’s example (see also cat. 25, and figs. 153, 154). In the middle ground at the right the narrative continues as God clothes the pair in preparation for their banishment.

Though, as discussed by Lucia Meoni (“The Story of the Creation”), the series is not universally attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, many motifs in it are recognizable from his other works, not least the physiognomies of Adam and Eve and their elegantly elongated limbs with proportionally tiny feet seen on figures in the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* and the *Poesia*. As Meoni notes, there is a strong facial resemblance between Eve and Medea in *Lust in the Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 49). Coecke’s Eden echoes the sun-bleached, tree-filled background landscapes glimpsed in the *Story of Abraham* (fig. 175). The device of the central tree as an anchor around





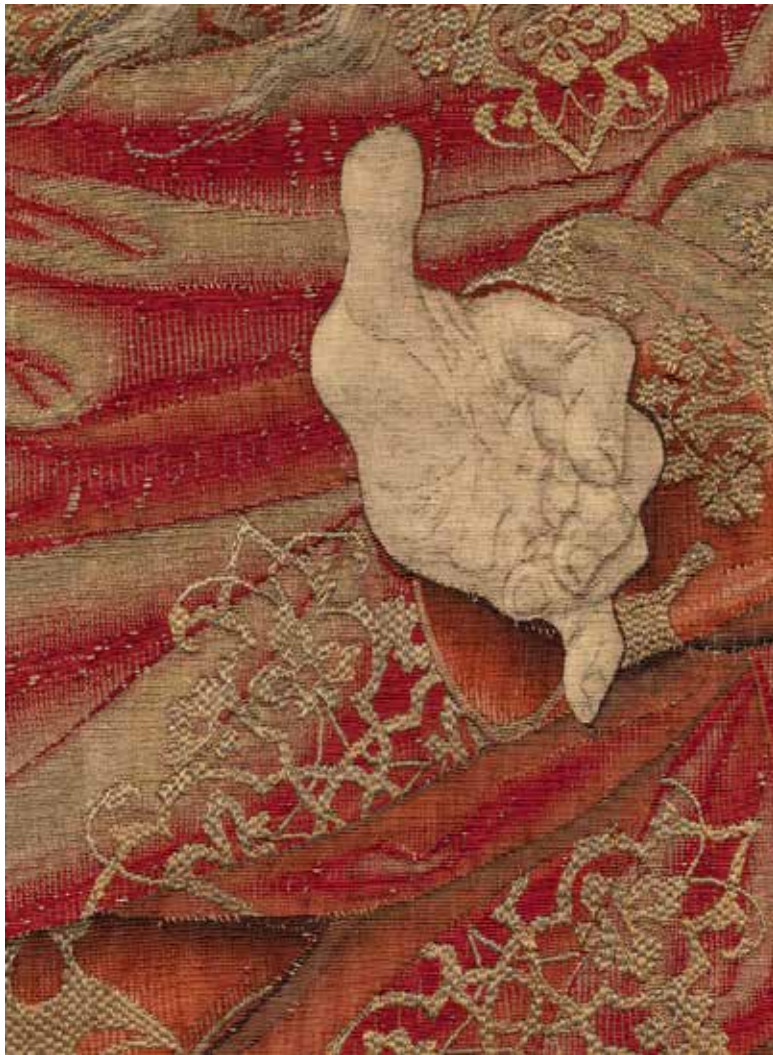


Fig. 226. Detail of cat. 69



Fig. 227. Detail of cat. 69

which the composition rotates is already familiar from the *Joshua* (cat. 56), *Abraham* (fig. 167), and *Poesia* (cat. 68) tapestry series. Perhaps most telling of all is a comparison of the composition of *God Accuses Adam and Eve* with Coecke's painting *Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death* (cat. 6).

The borders around the tapestries in the *Creation* are startlingly innovative. Their decorative effect of golden figurative elements shadowed as though lying over a single-color ground predicts the distinctive framing devices of Frans Spiering's tapestries woven more than fifty years later.¹ As Meoni notes in her essay, the grotesques that Coecke developed are worthy of special attention. They take on an altogether darker edge than the elegant and playful composites of Perino del Vaga and Cornelis Floris the Younger, and they are considerably more menacing than the rather staid borders of Michiel Coxcie's pre-1553 *Scenes from Genesis* (see figs. 224, 242). Instead, the open-mouthed snarling dragons; monkey-faced fauns; strange lop-eared, lion-maned, cloven-hoofed men dragging chariots; fluttering moths; and sharp-beaked birds, aggressively open winged, all find counterparts in the count of Egmont's edition of the *Seven*

Deadly Sins (see cat. 49), whose weaving is here dated to about 1545. Rendered somehow even more nightmarish by their gilded and heavily shadowed appearance in the *Creation* series, Coecke's grotesques continue the spirit of the hellfire demons of the great fifteenth-century Netherlandish painters Rogier van der Weyden, Dieric Bouts, and Hieronymus Bosch, representing an alternative to the ultimately more popular, light, and airy grotesques developed in tapestry design by Italian and French artists in the 1540s and 1550s, and subsequently perfected by such artists as Hans Vredeman de Vries.²

This Edition

Cosimo de' Medici's set of the *Creation* was delivered to Florence in June 1551 by agents of Jan van der Walle. We can estimate a weaving period of approximately a year and a half: The rate of weaving was probably just over one square meter per two months since the tapestries are heavy with cumbersome precious-metal-wrapped threads and are carefully woven. However, de Kempeneer managed to speed up production of the complete set dramatically by sharing the weaving with the

workshops of Frans Ghieteels and Jan van Tieghem, which meant that all seven of the tapestries could be on the looms simultaneously. Factoring in some time to transport the finished textiles from Brussels to Florence, it can be estimated that the weaving probably began in the autumn of 1549 at the latest. If this was the first edition, that would place Coecke's design and cartoon-painting activities about 1548. Alternatively, if the 1549 reference to a *Story of Adam and Eve* on the market in Augsburg, cited by Meoni, does refer to an earlier edition, or indeed to the actual set subsequently offered to Cosimo as Meoni suggests, dates of the design and the weaving would have to be pushed back approximately two years. However, unless further evidence comes to light, the connection seems too tenuous to insist on; the existence of Coxcie's *Story of the First Parents*, which was being designed about this same time, hints at the popularity of the subject.

The weaving of the *Story of the Creation*, directed by Jan de Kempeneer, recalls the ambitious Old Testament projects of the *Story of Jacob* and the *Story of Abraham* (see Cleland, "The Story of Abraham"), which also bore the de Kempeneer mark, although that of Jan's father, Willem. The role of the Van der Walle family as suppliers, already familiar to Coecke's circle thanks to the *Seven Deadly Sins*, the *Life of Saint Paul*, and the Constantinople venture, would be repeated in the similar

circumstances of the sale of the Coecke-attributed *Poesia* series five years later (cat. 68). Although *God Accuses Adam and Eve* was apparently woven in Ghieteels's workshop rather than de Kempeneer's, it shares the extraordinary beauty, dexterity, and material richness of weaving characteristic of Henry VIII's *Story of Abraham*. Such is the wealth of precious-metal-wrapped threads that even the highlighting of the fronds of the palm tree is represented in gold. In God's crimson mantle, imitating brocaded silk, the weavers combined basket weave in silver-gilt-wrapped thread with instances of wrapping multiple wefts (fig. 226). There are bravura passages of contrasting effect, like Eve's wavy golden hair blowing out past the prickly briar rose (fig. 227), as well as breathtakingly nuanced hatching, like the flesh tones modeling Adam's inner thigh.

Over the finished weaving, the *Story of the Creation* was further embellished with embroidery with silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads; in *God Accuses Adam and Eve* embroidery outlines the contours of the foliage of Adam's makeshift girdle and articulates the leaves on the bushes behind him. Such needlework enhancement of tapestry on this scale is practically unprecedented, and it is likely that this was undertaken locally in Florence at some point during the decades after the set was delivered.

EC

THE CONQUEST OF TUNIS

Iain Buchanan

THE *Conquest of Tunis* was the largest, costliest, and best documented of all the tapestry series made for Emperor Charles V.¹ The tapestries record the victorious four-month campaign that had taken place more than a decade before, when the young emperor recaptured the city of Tunis in 1535 from the Turks. Contracts for both the designing of the cartoons and the weaving of the first edition survive. Also to hand are many other documents recording the progress of the commission and the costly materials used in the weaving process, including letters written between Charles V and his sister Mary of Hungary. The latter supervised the project as Charles was not in the Low Countries for much of the time it was being undertaken.

Pieter Coecke van Aelst was not the primary artist responsible for this series. Instead, Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (1500–1559), a painter and printmaker in the service of the Habsburg court, signed the contract for the cartoons. The documents reveal, however, that Vermeyen turned to a collaborator to help him complete the designs and related cartoons. Although this collaborator is not universally accepted to have been Coecke—Pieter Coecke van Aelst the Younger, Coecke's son, and Pieter Fabri van Aelst have both, for example, been suggested as alternatives—comparison between the foreground scenes of the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries and Coecke's other attributed works reveals undeniable stylistic cohesion.²

Iconography and Design

In 1534 the city of Tunis was seized by Khayr ad-Din (Barbarossa), the chief governor of North Africa and grand admiral of the Ottoman navy under Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. From this base, Barbarossa threatened all the shipping in the Mediterranean, apart from that of his ally, France. Charles's campaign the following year, when he restored the city to his Tunisian vassal, Mulay Hasan, was celebrated as a splendid victory. Charles himself took overall direction of the campaign, with the land forces led by Alfonso d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara and Vasto, and the fleet commanded by Admiral Andrea Doria. Charles had brought Vermeyen to Tunis as part of the imperial retinue, doubtless to record the campaign. The decision to commemorate this victory in a pictorial cycle was not, therefore, unexpected, although a pause of eleven years divided these events and the commission of the tapestry series.



Fig. 228. *Map of the Mediterranean* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1548–51. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 29 ft. $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (520 \times 895 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/1)

The tapestries present a highly detailed and topographically accurate record of the campaign across twelve pieces. The series opens with a (1) *Map of the Mediterranean* (fig. 228), representing the site of the action, showing the coasts of Africa and Europe from the viewpoint of Barcelona. The narrative continues with (2) *Muster at Barcelona* (fig. 147); (3) *Landing off the Cape of Carthage* (fig. 229); (4) *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage* (fig. 230); (5) *Siege of Goletta* (fig. 231); (6) *Quest for Fodder* (cat. 70); (7) *Fall of Goletta* (fig. 232); (8) *Battle of the Wells* (fig. 233); (9) *Fall of Tunis* (fig. 234); (10) *Sack of Tunis* (fig. 235); (11) *March on Rada* (fig. 236); and closes with (12) *Departure from Goletta* (fig. 237). The original edition survives almost intact in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, in the Palacio Real, Madrid. Only two pieces are missing, the *Battle of the Wells* and the *March on Rada*, but their appearance can be reconstructed from the surviving cartoons in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and from later tapestry versions. The ninth and tenth pieces have been damaged, the *Fall of Tunis* cut on the left, the *Sack of Tunis* cut on the right.³

The borders of each of the tapestries are embellished with the imperial double-headed eagle in the upper corners, the Cross of Saint Andrew and Burgundian flint and steel in the lower corners, and the double-columned *Plus ultra* device of Charles V in the middle of the lateral borders. Lengthy inscriptions in Castilian in the upper borders, and in Latin in the lower borders, provide exact descriptions of the action in each tapestry. The choice of Castilian was most unusual and indicates that the series was intended for a Spanish location. In contrast to custom, the sequence of action in the *Conquest of Tunis* unfolds from right to left due to the Barcelona viewpoint, as is expressly stated on the cartouche held by Vermeyen in the *Map of the Mediterranean*.

Charles V is portrayed prominently on horseback in the middle ground of the second tapestry, the *Muster at Barcelona*, and as quite a small figure, directing the action, in the background of



Fig. 229. *The Landing off the Cape of Carthage* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1548–51. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 30 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (530 \times 925 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/3)



Fig. 230. *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1546–48. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1548–51. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 30 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (525 \times 925 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/4)



Fig. 231. *The Siege of Goletta* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1546–50. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1550–52. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 31 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (530 \times 957 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/5)



Fig. 232. *The Fall of Goletta* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–50/51. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, completed by May 1553. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 30 ft. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (525 \times 920 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/7)



Fig. 233. *The Battle of the Wells* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1546–50. Tapestry woven under the direction of Judocus de Vos, Brussels, between 1712 and 1721. Wool and silk, 16 ft. 10 in. × 37 ft. 4 in. (513 × 1138 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T X/4)

several of the other tapestries. Vermeyen, the artist present during the campaign, is also represented, appearing in a full-length self-portrait, dressed in classical style and standing in front of a column, in the first tapestry, the *Map of the Mediterranean*. He is shown again, as a much younger man, sketching the scenes in the fourth tapestry, the *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage*, the sixth tapestry, the *Quest for Fodder*, and the tenth tapestry, the *Sack of Tunis*, where he is now accompanied by an unidentified male figure. In addition, each tapestry in the series has a cartouche on the right border with text specifying the position from which Vermeyen took his view. In the first edition, these cartouches are terminated by the mark of the master weaver entrusted with the commission, Willem de Pannemaker, a rare occurrence, as his mark can also be found in the customary place on the right selvage of each tapestry. The cartouches indicate the importance given both to de Pannemaker as the weaving director of the set, and to Vermeyen as principal designer of the series.

Vermeyen, though a painter and printmaker in the service of the Habsburgs—in particular, Margaret of Austria, Mary of Hungary, and the Emperor Charles V—appears to have had no prior experience designing tapestries or making their cartoons. Instead, he is documented as a portrait painter of Charles and Mary, and of Cardinal Erard de la Marck, Charles’s loyal supporter. In May 1530 he traveled to the Diet of Augsburg and thence to Innsbruck to paint the portraits from life of Charles’s brother Ferdinand of Austria, his wife Anna, and their four children.⁴ In 1534 Vermeyen was in Spain, and the following year he accompanied Charles on his Tunisian campaign. Several works by Vermeyen resulted from his visit to Tunis. He was granted an imperial privilege in 1536 to issue prints related to the Tunisian campaign, and this was renewed in 1537 and 1542.⁵ His will of September 24, 1559, listed a number of copperplates of Tunis, which he bequeathed to his son, Jan Vermeyen the Younger, who was then in Spain.⁶ These Tunisian etchings include a *Plan of Tunis*, executed from life and dated 1535, as well as a *Portrait of Mulay Ahmad* and *Mulay Hasan and His Retinue at a Repast*.⁷



Fig. 234. *The Fall of Tunis* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Design by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–50/52. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, completed by January 1553. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. 2¾ in. × 27 ft. 4 in. (525 × 833 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/9)



Fig. 235. *The Sack of Tunis* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–50/52. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, completed by January 1553. Wool, silk, and precious-metal-wrapped threads, 17 ft. 2¾ in. × 27 ft. 4 in. (525 × 833 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/10)

Vermeyen received his commission for the cartoons of the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry series only in 1546. Although he is the sole artist named in the contract, dated June 15, it is clear on a documentary basis that he had the assistance of Coecke. The contract states that Vermeyen was to make the cartoons himself on good paper, following the preliminary drawn designs that had been shown to Mary of Hungary and modified by her. Each cartoon was to measure seven and a half ells in height (including the border at half an ell), or approximately sixteen and a half feet. Vermeyen was to make the work to these exact measurements and by compass, to use the best and liveliest colors, and to work with extreme diligence, not accepting any new commissions until the cartoons



Fig. 236. *The March on Rada* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–51. Tapestry woven under the direction of Judocus de Vos, Brussels, between 1712 and 1721. Wool and silk, 17 ft. 3½ in. × 29 ft. 2½ in. (527 × 890 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T X/7)

were completed and delivered to the satisfaction of their majesties and other knowledgeable persons. The whole work was to take a period of eighteen months with the payment set at 30 stuivers per ell, giving an approximate total price of 18,720 livres. According to the contract, Vermeyen was also allowed “to employ, at his own cost, well-trained and able painters to help him make the cartoons as good as possible.”⁸

As the execution and delivery of the cartoons were increasingly delayed, it became apparent that Vermeyen, inexperienced in this medium, was obliged to take advantage of his right to an assistant. Almost two years after the contract was signed, Mary of Hungary wrote to Charles V that the cartoons were “not as advanced as she would have wished,” but that she hoped the weavers would not be delayed for too much longer now that Vermeyen was being helped by another painter.⁹ That this painter was Coecke is revealed in subsequent documents in which he is mentioned by name. On November, 16, 1550, for example, a certain Jehan Nerin, “armoyeur” of Brussels, was paid 45 livres for delivering four “palles de fer” (iron stoves) to the houses of Pieter Coecke and Willem de Pannemaker, where, it was stated, the cartoons and tapestries of the *Conquest of Tunis* were being made.¹⁰ The receipt makes no mention of Vermeyen. Shortly afterward, on December 6, 1550, Coecke died, and in a letter of December 17 to Charles, Mary linked this event with Vermeyen’s failure to deliver the tapestry series: “As for the tapestry of Tunis I cannot accompany it on this trip, because apart from all the delays of the workers, it has pleased God to take to himself the painter master Pieter.”¹¹ She then added that it would be necessary to engage another painter.

The visual evidence corroborates the hand of a second designer joining the project and amending Vermeyen’s designs. Only one of Vermeyen’s preparatory drawings for the cartoons of the series has survived: the ninth scene, the *Fall of Tunis*, which is in fragmentary condition (fig. 238).¹² Drawn in pen, ink, and wash and, due to the inversion of the weaving process, a mirror image to the orientation of the tapestry, it shows part of the city wall of Tunis close to the Bab Suwaiqa, or

market gate. Where the gate appears in the tapestry (fig. 234), however, the figure groups around it have been changed: the violent attack of the soldiers on the women in the middle ground in Vermeyen's drawing has been replaced in the final design in the tapestry by a group of soldiers gambling for the possession of two women and a child. Furthermore, the dead bodies in the foreground of the drawing have been amended and partially obscured in the tapestry by supplicant living figures.

The surviving cartoons for the series, in Vienna, include all but two scenes, the *Map of the Mediterranean* and the *Fall of Tunis* (see figs. 228, 238). Executed in black chalk or charcoal, with some colors in gouache or watercolor, the cartoons are not all fully colored; some details in the middle ground and background are restricted to only one or two colors. Vermeyen must have used his sketches from life for the details of the topography, the portraits of the participants, the ships, and the military engagements. This sense of precise visual record does not apply to the foreground figure groups framing and defining the action, which are much more generic and invented in appearance. Tellingly, the female water carriers in the *Quest for Fodder* (fig. 240) are cutouts pasted on top of the cartoon, implying that some of the foreground groups and changes to the compositions were applied only at a relatively late stage.

In support of the documentary evidence, stylistic comparison between the cartoons and other works by Coecke confirms that several of the foreground figure groups can be attributed to him. For example, in the *Quest for Fodder*, the soldier holding his dying companion is identical in pose to the central figure in Coecke's *Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones* (fig. 158), a scene from his *Story of Joshua* tapestry series (cats. 54–59). Similarly, the standing man seen from behind in the *Siege of Goletta* is based on Joshua in the *Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab* (cat. 56). Several figures behind him carrying foliage are similar in pose to those lighting the fire in the *Flight of the Israelites before the City of Ai and the Execution of Achan* (fig. 159). Stylistic links can also be made to Coecke's *Seven Deadly Sins* series (cats. 47–53): for example, the pose of the horseman seen from behind in the foreground of *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage* revisits Coecke's design of the horse and rider seen to the right in *Anger* (fig. 153). Further, many of the



Fig. 237. *The Departure from Goletta* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1546–50/52. Tapestry woven under the direction of Francisco van der Goten at the Real Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara, Madrid, between 1730 and 1745. Wool and silk, 19 ft. 1½ in. × 32 ft. 2¼ in. (583 × 981 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (PN 10020789)



Fig. 238. *The Fall of Tunis*. Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Conquest of Tunis*. Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, ca. 1545. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, 14 × 13⁵/₈ in. (35.5 × 34.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1963-265)



Fig. 239. Detail of the *Sack of Tunis* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Cartoon for the tapestry by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, 1548–52. Body color on paper mounted on canvas, 17 ft. 1¹/₂ in. × 27 ft. 9⁵/₈ in. (522 × 847.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG2045)

Turkish men in the foregrounds of the *Conquest* series correspond in dress and figure styles to those in Coecke's woodcut series, *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45). For instance, the group of horsemen on the right in the *Quest for Fodder* echoes in pose and appearance the riders on the right of the *Procession of Süleyman the Magnificent through the Hippodrome*. Coecke's tall and elegantly posed female type can, likewise, be recognized both in the water carriers in the *Quest for Fodder* and the *Battle of the Wells* cartoons, and at the base of the cross in his *Descent from the Cross* altarpiece (cat. 22). These female figures, who assist the Turkish troops, are not Turkish in dress but are generic and quite unlike those by Vermeyen in his drawings, etchings, and cartoons of Tunis: Vermeyen's Turkish women are heavier and broader in appearance, less elegant in pose, and usually veiled or with their heads covered.

This kind of visual analysis of the *Conquest* cartoons and tapestries suggests that Coecke designed and contributed the foreground figure groups for four of the cartoons: *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage*, the *Siege of Goletta*, the *Quest for Fodder*, and the *Battle of the Wells*.

Dating

Although the idea for a pictorial record of Charles V's Tunisian campaign might have been in consideration from the mid-1530s, the official start of the *Conquest of Tunis* project dates to the signing of the contract for the cartoons on June 15, 1546. The cartoons were already in progress sometime after May 11, 1547, when Vermeyen received an advance of 300 guilders toward their production costs. Coecke was apparently not collaborating with him at this point. Just over a year later, on February 20, 1548, de Pannemaker signed a contract for the weaving of the tapestries, although the cartoons had not yet been finished.¹³ Most likely Coecke had joined Vermeyen's project by April 19, 1548, when, as mentioned above, the arrival of an assistant caused Mary of Hungary to anticipate that the pace of work would pick up. From Mary's subsequent reference to Coecke's death in

December 1550 (see above), it is apparent that the *Conquest* series was one of the projects occupying the artist at that date. Since the first four tapestries were already finished and inspected by June 1550, a considerable part of Coecke's contribution must already have been finished.¹⁴ The rest of the cartoons were probably completed by a further hand quite soon after his demise.

Genesis of the Series and Chronology of the Tapestry Editions

The *Conquest of Tunis* was woven in the Brussels workshop of de Pannemaker, under whose direction Philip II of Spain's *Apocalypse* and *History of Noah* were also made, as well as, after Coecke's designs, the editions of the *Seven Deadly Sins* woven for Mary of Hungary (cat. 47) and the set now in Vienna (cat. 53), the *Poesia* acquired by Philip II (cat. 68), and the two documented editions of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* owned by Mary and by Philip, and the further surviving edition of the same series which reached the Spanish Habsburg collections (cats. 64, 65).¹⁵

The contract for the weaving of the *Conquest of Tunis* series, signed between de Pannemaker and Mary of Hungary on February 20, 1548, is a longer and rather more complex document than that made with Vermeyen for the cartoons.¹⁶ This is because it contains stipulations regarding the costly materials to be used in the tapestries, the financing of the set, and the conditions under which the weavers were to work, with special penalties imposed for any delays. De Pannemaker was instructed to make the tapestries from the cartoons, which he had already viewed, with gold- and silver-wrapped metal thread, silk thread, and wool. Mary of Hungary was to supply the metal thread from Lyon, and de Pannemaker had to keep a record of its use. It was further stated that this gold- and silver-wrapped thread was to be of the same (or better) quality as had been used in the tapestry set of *Vertumnus and Pomona* purchased by Mary of Hungary from the Antwerp merchant Joris Vezeleer. The silk thread was to come from Granada to the value of 6,637 livres, which sum was to be deducted from the overall price for the weaving in twelve equal payments. De Pannemaker had to follow the cartoons neatly and exactly, using the best and most vivid colors. He was to employ seven weavers working from dawn to dusk on the tapestries. The price was 12 livres an ell, which gives an approximate cost for the whole weaving of 14,976 livres. In the case of any delays a fine of 100 livres per tapestry was payable to Mary of Hungary and the corrections were to be at de Pannemaker's expense. De Pannemaker received an advance of 400 livres, to be followed by another 400 livres six months later, with the remaining balance payable on completion of the set. Rather surprisingly, no date of completion for the set is given in the contract. Finally, and most unusually, de Pannemaker was to receive an annual pension of 100 livres if the work was deemed satisfactory. This pension was first paid to him on August 20, 1549, and in April 1554, after the completion of the tapestries, it was raised to 200 livres.¹⁷ As de Pannemaker lived until 1581, his pension added another 5,900 livres to the already high price of the series.



Fig. 240. Detail of the *Quest for Fodder* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Cartoon for the tapestry attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, ca. 1548–50. Charcoal and body color on paper mounted on canvas, 12 ft. 7½ in. × 27 ft. 3½ in. (385 × 832 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG2042)

The progress of the weaving can be followed in detail from the surviving documents. De Pannemaker began in 1548 by working on four tapestries and increased this number to six in June 1550.¹⁸ In April and May 1551 the first four tapestries were finished and inspected by the officials of the tapestry guild, Jan van der Meeren, Frans Geubels, and Niclaes Hellinck.¹⁹ The pieces were named in their certification as “the muster,” “the skirmish,” “the navigation,” and “the map,” the first four tapestries in the series, indicating that de Pannemaker began by weaving the tapestries in chronological order. It seems that de Pannemaker used four to six looms at a time, and the contract stipulates seven workers per tapestry, giving an overall figure of twenty-eight to forty-two workers employed on the weavings, which must have been exceptional for the Brussels industry. Difficulties arose with other weavers in Brussels and Antwerp who were attempting to entice de Pannemaker’s workers away with higher wages. In response to this problem, Mary of Hungary wrote on March 17, 1551, to Viglius de Zuichem, president of her Privy Council, ordering that the guilty parties be punished or chastised because the work done by de Pannemaker was “in service for His Majesty, who wishes the completion of these works as soon as possible.”²⁰ Charles V certainly took a close interest in the progress of the series, and in a letter to Mary of May 18, 1551, from Augsburg he expressed his regret at not being able to see the tapestries.²¹

On July 20, 1552, “the camp” and “the quest for fodder” were finished and approved by the guild officials. They were followed on January 24, 1553, by the ninth and tenth pieces, which went together to show “the sack.”²² In May 1553 the seventh, eleventh, and twelfth tapestries were approved, and the eighth, “the battle,” which was the last tapestry to be completed, was approved on August 14, 1553.²³ De Pannemaker was given an additional 673 livres on April 20, 1554, for corrections to the tapestries, which were required mainly in the inscriptions.²⁴ Finally, on April 21, 1554, all twelve tapestries were measured, examined, and approved by the guild masters Jan Ghieteels, Frans Geubels, Andreas Mattens, and Hubert de la Motte.²⁵ Apart from the payments to de Pannemaker, there were some other sums paid on September 7, 1551, to the weavers François de Lille, Guillaume Noest, and Pieter van Aelst, who served as “cousturiers” for lining and finishing the tapestries, and on February 15, 1552, to Laurens Jolly, Jehan Aelst, and Jehan Noest.²⁶

No expense was spared on the specially sourced raw materials used in the *Conquest of Tunis*. An expert named Louis Chaussard (Loys Saussart) was expressly sent by Mary of Hungary to purchase the silk thread in Granada, where he remained for two years, seven months, and twenty days. Chaussard received 6,772 livres, with which he bought 559 pounds of silk thread at the cost of 6,637 livres; he then arranged for their transportation to Brussels. This was not the total amount spent, for according to another record of payment, the actual final sum was 10,000 livres. The contract does not specify the colors to be used in the tapestries, but they are listed in another document by Simon de Parenty, *valet de chambre* to Mary of Hungary, and comprised 103 pounds of green of seven kinds, 34 pounds of red in six hues, 40 pounds of various grays, 16 pounds of violet of three kinds, and 52 pounds of the assorted colors turquoise, blue, green, orange, gray, and yellow.²⁷ There is no total price for the gold and silver thread in the surviving documentation. According to the contract, 7 livres of metal thread were to be used per ell, which gives an approximate overall figure of 8,736 livres. The different types of gold and silver thread were supplied by the Antwerp merchant Jacob Welser, and they could vary in price depending on their quality. If the figure of 10,000 livres for silk thread is combined with 8,735 livres for metal thread, the total cost of the materials was 18,735 livres. The cost of weaving the set was about 14,976 livres (less the sum of 6,637 livres to be deducted from de Pannemaker’s final price as his advance on silk thread). This gives an approximate overall cost for the materials and the weaving of the tapestry set of 27,074 livres, making the series the most expensive ever made for Charles V and one of his largest commissions.

Charles V presented the *Conquest of Tunis* as a wedding gift to his son Prince Philip of Spain and his bride, Mary Tudor of England. Their marriage took place in Winchester on July 25, 1554, and in that same month de Pannemaker, his two aides, and a servant were paid 276 livres for transporting the set to London.²⁸ The tapestries did not arrive in time for the wedding, but they were present at the triumphal entry of Mary and Philip into London on August 18. A printed description of the event describes how the royal couple, residing at Whitehall, received two royal gifts:

The one from the Emperour which is XII pieces of Arras worke, so richelie wrought with golde, silver and silke, as none in the world maye excell them. In which pieces be so excellentlye wroughte, and sette out all the Emperoures maiesties procedinges and victories againste the Turkes, as Apelles were not able (if he were alive) to mende any parcell therof with his pensell. And the other present from the Queene of Polonia, which is a pair of Regalles, so curioslye made of golde and silver, and so set with precious stones, as lyke or none suche have bene seldome sene.²⁹

De Pannemaker returned to Brussels only after this presentation, in September 1554. The tapestries did not remain long in England after they came into Philip's possession. In January 1555 (1556 New Style) they were hung in the transept of the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp, for the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, presided over by Philip.³⁰ In July 1556 they were packed for transport from Calais, via England, to Spain (where they remain in the Palacio Real, Madrid). Before this took place, they were displayed in the Great Hall of the Palace of Coudenberg in Brussels so that they could be seen by Ferrante Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla and formerly governor of Milan.³¹

The tapestry cartoons were stored in Brussels and used by de Pannemaker to weave other sets on a reduced scale for Mary of Hungary, Eleanor of Austria, and Charles V's ally Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the duke of Alba.³² Another set was made for Maria of Portugal, who left it to King Sebastian of Portugal in her will of 1577.³³ None of these additional sets made for the Habsburgs has survived. However, four of the cartoons were used as the basis for a single composite tapestry of the *Conquest of Tunis*, now in Mechelen Town Hall, woven for Cardinal Granvelle by de Pannemaker between 1564 and 1566.³⁴ A new cartoon was required for this tapestry, which was made by de Pannemaker's brother-in-law, the painter Joos (or Josse) van Noevele, and completed by June 1565. The original cartoons probably went into the collection of Archduke Ernst of Austria, governor of the Netherlands, at the end of the sixteenth century. The posthumous inventory of the archduke's possessions, made on July 17, 1595, lists ten cartoons with the impresa of Charles V, which had been acquired from the collection of Peter Ernst I, count of Mansfeld.³⁵ The impresa probably refers to the double-columned *Plus ultra* device that appears in the *Conquest of Tunis*, as this emblem of Charles is woven into the borders of the tapestries and must have been part of the original designs.

Later editions of the *Conquest of Tunis* were woven in Brussels by Judocus de Vos between 1712 and 1721 (see figs. 233, 236), and in Madrid and Seville by Jacob and Frans (Francisco) van der Goten between 1730 and 1745 (see fig. 237). Working from either the original cartoons or copies thereof, de Vos was unable to include in his set the episodes from the two cartoons that are now, and clearly were already then, missing: the original first piece, the *Map of the Mediterranean*, and the original ninth piece, the *Fall of Tunis*. He made new border designs and also included his own self-portrait in the foreground of the *Sack of Tunis*, immediately below the portraits of Vermeyen and his companion. This set is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.³⁶ Jacob and Francisco van der Goten, in Spain, for their part, were apparently working from new models made after the actual tapestries of Charles V's edition, and their set included all twelve pieces; it remains in the Real Alcázar, Seville.³⁷

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The Quest for Fodder

Tapestry in a set of the *Conquest of Tunis*

Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen with Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1546–50

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1550–52
Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads
17 ft. 2¼ in. × 30 ft. 8⅞ in. (524 × 937 cm)

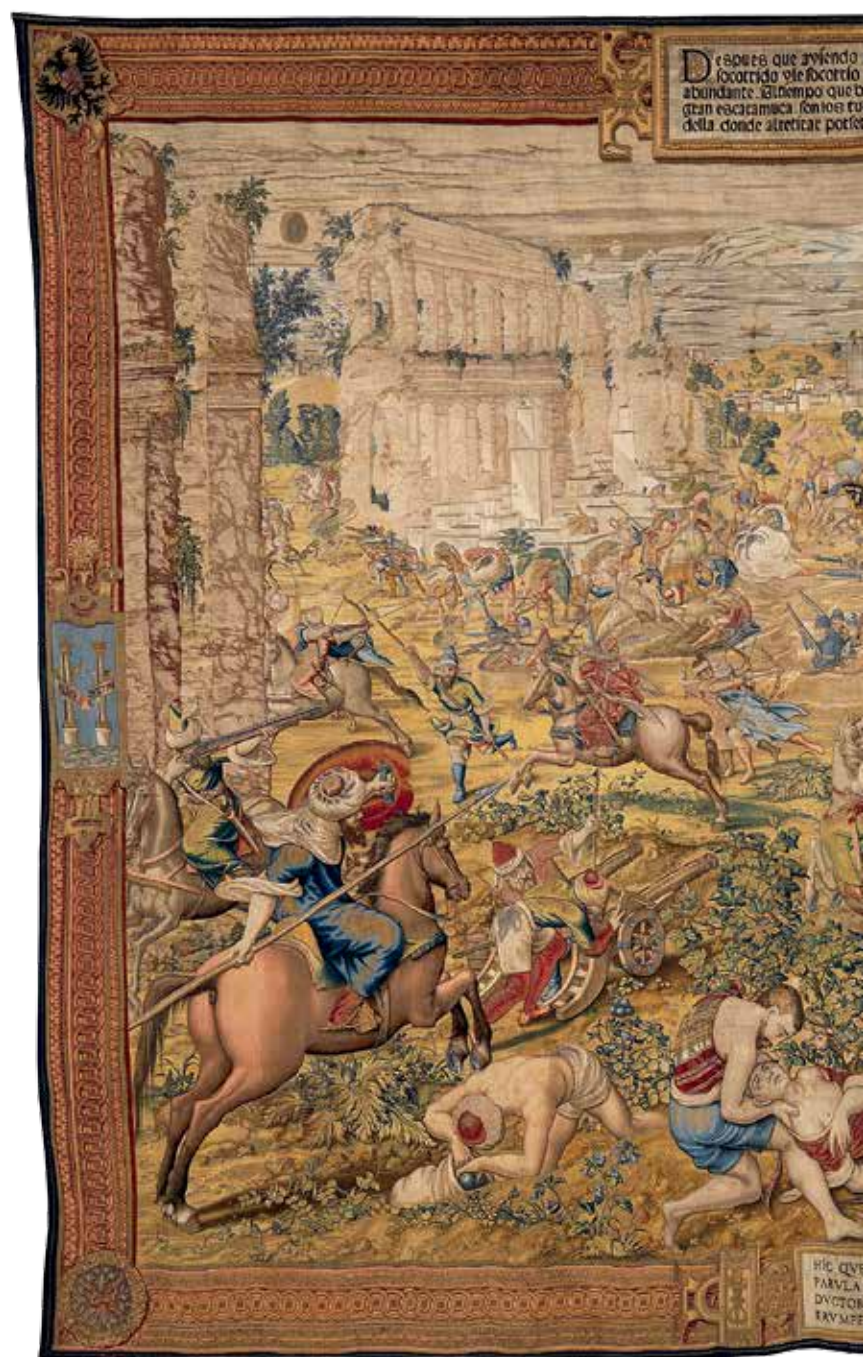
City mark of Brabant-Brussels, on bottom edge at far left; weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker, on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, *Despues que aviendo necesidad de bitualla para los cavallos: el marques Alarcon fue por ella: y cargaron tantos moros sobrel, que fue necesario ser / socorrido y le socorrio el emperador con alguna gente de a cavallo y de pie. Otro dia va el duque dalva con mayor numero de gente y trae prouision / abundante. Al tiempo que buelve, salen los turcos de la Goleta a medio dia contra los españoles y otros soldados que guardan los reparos, trauase una / gran escaramuça. Son los turcos encerrados con alguna perdida de los suios en la Goleta. Llegan nuestros soldados a subir peleando sobre los reparos / della donde al retirar por ser el trecho largo y descubierto recibē[n] mucho daño de los arcabuzeros y artilleria de los enemigos;* inscribed in cartouche in lower border, *HIC QVESITA PRIVS MAGNO DISCRIMINE FRVSTRA / PABVLA: PRAESIDIO MVLTO MAIORE PETVNTVR / DVCTORE ALBANO VALLVS PRODVCITVR. HOSTIS / ERVMPENS ITERVM TELIS INFESTAT IBERVM // HIC IRA RAPITVR ANIMOS STIMVLANTE FEROCES / TE[N]TAT OPVS COEPTV[M] PREMIT. VRGET. FERVIDVS I[N]STAT / IMPIGER AGGERIBVS GOLETTE PRAELIA MISCENS / A TERGO REDIENS HOSTILI A MOLE LABORAT;* inscribed in cartouche in right border, *VI. Hase de consi / derar q[ue] esta sesta / pieça se mira des / de los aq[ue]ductos q[ue] / van al cabo de car / tago cabe los lu / gares q[ue] esta en el / dexa[n]do a Tunez / a la mano derecha / y el norte a la iz / quierda y mira[n] / do a la Goleta / por derecho,* followed by Willem de Pannemaker's mark twice

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/6, 10005907)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74.

Iconography and Design

This tapestry, the sixth in the series, narrates events one month after Charles V's departure from Barcelona, when the Spanish fleet arrived at the port of Carthage and anchored facing the ruins of its Roman aqueduct. According to the Spanish caption in the upper border: "After the need arose for victuals for the horses, the marquis Alarcón went out for them, and so many Moors charged upon him that he had to be assisted and the emperor went to his aid with some men on horse and on foot. Another day the duke of Alba goes out with a larger number of people and brings abundant provisions. Just as he returns, the Turks make a noon sortie from Goletta against the Spanish and other soldiers who are manning the defenses, a great skirmish breaks out, and the Turks retreat with some losses inside Goletta, while our soldiers arrive to fight their way over its defenses upon withdrawing from which, the ground being wide and without cover, they are done much harm by the enemy harquebusiers and artillery." The narrative is reiterated in the Latin captions in the lower border: "Then, at the orders of Alba, they go out in much greater strength to find the victuals, which they had sought earlier at great risk and in small number. As they approach the ditches before the fort, the enemy makes



a sortie and troubles the Spaniards once again with their arrows. Transported by rage, which inflames their fierce souls, the Spaniards attack full of ardor, harassing their opponents and, in their enthusiasm, fighting right up to the fortifications of Goletta. On withdrawing from the enemy fortress, they suffer greatly."¹ These accounts tally with the chronicle written by eyewitness Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490–1536), who, in addition, noted that "The day was already very advanced when the nomad and Turkish cavalry appeared in greater number [and] . . . began to attack our men."²

The imperial fleet is glimpsed in the Gulf of Tunis near the horizon, with imperial troops disembarking and bivouacking in tents before the "Torre del Agua" (Water Tower) and "Torre de la Sal" (Salt Tower), while standards displaying the Ottoman



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crescent wave over the fortress of Goletta. In the middle distance, Turks attack the imperial troops during their successive sorties to gather fodder for the horses. Charles V, on horseback, leads the German cavalry and the Spanish infantry under the standard showing Saint James the Great and the Cross of Burgundy.³ He wrote about this experience in a letter dated June 29, 1535, sent from the imperial camp at Goletta to Lope de Soria, his ambassador in Venice.⁴ The emperor's active presence during the campaign justified perception of it as a crusade and promoted his image as champion of the Pax Christiana and heir to the mission begun by his ancestors the Reyes Católicos (Catholic Monarchs).⁵

Borrowing a compositional device used by Bernard van Orley in his *Battle of Pavia* series,⁶ Coecke located the attack

by the Turkish and nomad archers, arquebusiers, and cavalry in an elliptical middle and foreground space. The divergent centrifugal and centripetal movements of the riders and their Arab steeds add great dynamism to the scene, recalling the similar effect in Coecke's earlier *Conversion of Saul* in the *Life of Saint Paul* series (cat. 29). Indeed, the dying Turkish archer in the immediate foreground, the beheaded men, and the treatment of the vegetation and architectural setting, in this case the pillars of the aqueduct at Carthage, all find parallels in Coecke's *Saint Paul* series. A Turk on horseback charges into the scene at the lower left and is about to hurl a spear, which leads the eye directly to the emperor and to the Gulf of Tunis in the background; in the lower right corner, two Turkish soldiers displaying severed heads of enemies as trophies to the Ottoman



Fig. 241. Detail of cat. 70

admiral Khayr ad-Din (Barbarossa) and his corsairs claim our attention. The beautiful figure group of the two women providing water to those corsairs, outstanding with the rich textiles of their garments and their statuesque poses, was almost certainly the result of Coecke's intervention in the cartoons (fig. 241).

In the cartouche in the right border the inscription testifies to viewers of the tapestry that "It must be borne in mind that this sixth piece is seen from the aqueducts which lead to the cape of Carthage and includes the places that lie on it: leaving Tunis on the right hand and the north on the left and looking at Goletta straight ahead." The elevated viewpoint situates us watching the skirmish from the aqueduct, with the vanishing point located at the tiny vertical form of the "Salt Tower."

The border design is characterized by interlacing circles, perhaps inspired by the decorations of Cornelis Bos, interspersed with cartouches with the explanatory inscriptions in Spanish and Latin. In the upper corners are the two-headed eagle, symbol of the Habsburgs, and the arms of the monarch; in the lower corners, the raguly saltire (ragged cross) of Saint Andrew and the flint and steel of the Order of the Golden Fleece, symbols of Burgundy. The cartouche in the left border displays Charles V's motto, *Plus ultra*, inscribed in a banner twining around his device of the Pillars of Hercules, which allude to his goal of going beyond (*plus ultra*) the conquests of his predecessors, like a new Hercules, and pursuing the discovery and evangelization of the antipodes to establish the new limits of the modern world.

The Tapestry in Charles V's Edition

At the time Charles V wrote to Mary of Hungary seeking news of his *Tunis* series in 1551 (see Buchanan, "The Conquest of Tunis"), this tapestry was on the loom in Brussels, being woven simultaneously with the preceding piece, the *Siege of Goletta*.⁷ As explored in detail in Buchanan's essay, the master weaver directing this project, Willem de Pannemaker, was encouraged to spare no expense on raw materials. In the *Quest for Fodder*, this is apparent in the predominance of gold tones, a result

of both silver-gilt-wrapped threads and silks dyed in brilliant shades of yellow, evoking the scorching sun of the African summer. These warm tones contrast with the sumptuous multi-colored textiles worn by the female figures and the splashes of color of the local vegetation, like the grapevines in the foreground, the leafy olive trees framing the group of corsairs at the right, and the palms in the distance. The rich nuances of color in this tapestry evince the splendor of the silks dyed in seven hues of green and blue, three of crimson, four of purple, three of violet, and six of red that Willem de Pannemaker's receipt of March 13, 1549, showed as having arrived from Granada.⁸

After Charles V gave the tapestries to Philip and his bride, Mary Tudor, who, according to the councilor Juan de Figueroa, admired them "greatly," the tapestries eventually arrived in Spain.⁹ According to Philip II's 1598 posthumous inventory, the *Conquest of Tunis* was kept in the Real Oficio de la Tapicería (Royal Tapestry Works) at the Alcázar palace in Madrid.¹⁰ Thereafter the set formed part of the royal decorations and was hung regularly during the baptisms of princes and infantes in the cathedral and the Church of San Pablo in Valladolid and in the Royal Chapel of the Alcázar in Madrid. Other occasions on which the set was displayed were the oaths sworn by the crown princes at the monastery of San Jerónimo in Madrid, marriage capitulations, peace proclamations, and ambassadorial receptions, which were generally held in the Salón Dorado (Golden Hall) of Madrid's Alcázar.¹¹ These "rich hangings of when the undefeated lord Emperor Charles V went to Africa to take Tunis and Goletta" were even hung at the reception held in that hall by Philip IV for the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in 1649.¹² Indeed, the *Conquest of Tunis* was exhibited so often on solemn occasions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that Philip V (1700–1746), concerned for the preservation of the set, issued an order in 1731 for a copy of the set to be woven at the Real Fábrica de Tapices (Royal Tapestry Factory) in Madrid and titled *Story of Charles the Fifth*, a task concluded in 1745.¹³

CHC

VERDURES WITH ANIMALS

Nello Forti Grazzini

THE *Verdures with Animals* series is recorded in a set of forty-four pieces that survive at Wawel Royal Castle in Kraków, but it must have included many more tapestries that are now lost.¹ The design of this series has frequently been linked, in toto or in part, to Pieter Coecke van Aelst. However, close inspection of the tapestries and analysis of the one known preparatory drawing (in the British Museum) encourage a reappraisal of this attribution. In particular, the circumstances of the commission of the series, almost certainly made expressly for Sigismund II Augustus, king of Poland (1520–1572; r. 1548–72), raise an alternative possibility among Coecke’s contemporaries: Jan Tons the Younger, perhaps assisted by his younger relative Willem.

Iconography and Design

Sigismund II Augustus’s massive, three-part *Scenes from Genesis* set, depicting the *Story of the First Parents* (see fig. 224), the *Story of Noah* (see fig. 242), and the *Story of the Tower of Babel*, probably designed by Michiel Coxcie, has been referred to in this book (Meoni, “The Story of the Creation” and cats. 53, 69).

Although the *Verdures with Animals* series is usually regarded as later and unrelated, tapestry scholar Carmen Cramer Niekrasz has shown that the *Genesis* and the *Verdures with Animals* in Wawel Castle are instead closely related on a thematic level.² Introductions to mid-sixteenth-century encyclopedias frequently described the exploration, observations, and descriptions of the natural world contained therein as endeavors to reconnect with the lost knowledge enjoyed by the Old Testament patriarchs Adam and Noah. Belief was that Adam and Noah had been given full knowledge of the secrets of nature: Adam was described in the Bible as the one to whom Jehovah gave dominion over nature, with the responsibility of naming all the animals; Noah, on instructions from God, saved the earth’s nonhuman creatures in his ark. Adam’s authority over the animals ended with his expulsion from Eden, and among his descendants only Noah could temporarily recuperate it. Thus these two biblical figures were the models for sixteenth-century naturalists’ intellectual mission, and they could stand in for the sovereigns who supported and financed these scholars’ collecting and study, as well as illustration, of the artifacts they gathered. From this point of view, Cramer Niekrasz observes, the tapestry series *Scenes from Genesis*



Fig. 242. *Noah's Sacrifice* from *Scenes from Genesis: The Story of Noah*. Design attributed to Michiel Coxcie. Tapestry woven under the direction of Jan de Kempeneer and Jan van Tieghem, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 15 ft. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 23 ft. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (462 \times 711 cm). Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków (12)

and *Verdures with Animals* could have hung together as a single decorative program in Wawel Castle or Sigismund II Augustus's other residences with a focused figural, cultural, and celebratory message, the sequential nature of which, on a conceptual level, was underscored by a visual and stylistic homogeneity between the two series that was emphasized by the use of the same borders. Sigismund II Augustus is not renowned for any great passion for *naturalia* that might explain this commission, although his library did include authoritative ancient and medieval texts on animals (Aesop, Claudius Aelianus, Albertus Magnus) as well as contemporary treatises by Conrad Gessner, Pierre Belon, and Richard Wotton.³

There was some tradition for the large-scale representation of both familiar and more exotic or fantastical animals in tapestry design, whether their inclusion was symbolic, as in the *Hunts of the Unicorn* series (especially the forest-set *Unicorn Is Found*); decorative, sometimes flattened like heraldic devices, against a millefleurs ground; or narrative and intended to evoke exotic travel in far-off lands, as in the *Conquests of the Indies*.⁴ However, the veritable zoological encyclopedia of the *Verdures with Animals* series represents an innovative turning point in the representation of animals in tapestry. The creatures in this series—ferocious African cats, European predators, Asiatic and Western quadrupeds, birds, and fish—are all lifesize, and they have a real sense of weight and naturalism in the way they appear and move. In short, they are more realistic and recognizable

than ever before. These animals inhabit extraordinarily real landscapes, whereas in earlier works the settings had no relationship to the beasts placed in them (and they often contained geographically incompatible species). The *Verdures with Animals* appear almost as *tableaux vivants* giving the viewer the impression of a real encounter with animals from distant lands. Some scenes represent wild beasts fighting or predators stalking prey, but for the most part the animals in these landscapes coexist peacefully and exchange serene glances with the viewer. There are occasional traces of human life in the backgrounds—small figures or buildings—but rather than suggesting the primacy of humans over nature they accentuate the otherness of the latter. These tapestries do not tell a human story; instead, nature is their only protagonist. Although these tapestries are not entirely free from the beliefs about the behavior of animals assigned them in ancient treatises, the Bible, and medieval bestiaries, nature is presented as a grand spectacle and an earthly phenomenon to be discovered and observed. This series must have been commissioned out of the same curiosity that at that time had stimulated new, illustrated, scientific (or pseudoscientific) encyclopedic treatises on animals, as well as the collections of objects from the natural world known as *Wunderkammers*.⁵

Only one preparatory drawing can be associated with this series: *Animals in a Wood*, in the British Museum, stylistically datable to about 1550 (fig. 243).⁶ An inscription, added later, ascribes it to *P V Aelst fe[cit] 1549*. The drawing is very close stylistically and iconographically to the tapestries in Kraków. An Indian rhinoceros, copied from Albrecht Dürer's 1515 woodcut of the beast Manuel I of Portugal had sent that year from India as a gift for Pope Leo X, but which died shortly after it arrived in Marseille, is watched by other animals: monkeys, a parrot, a civet (an African carnivore),



Fig. 243. *Animals in a Wood*. Attributed to a Netherlandish artist, perhaps Jan Tons the Younger, ca. 1550. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, squared for transfer, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.4 × 52 cm). British Museum, London (1900,0613.1)



Fig. 244. *Deer Couched, Wild Mammal, Duck* from *Verdures with Animals*. Design attributed to a collaborator of Michiel Coxcie, perhaps Jan Tons the Younger, ca. 1550. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, ca. 1550–60. Wool and silk, 62¼ in. × 11 ft. 9 in. (158 × 358 cm). Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków (31)

an Indian elephant, a wild cat (?), a lobster, two salamanders, goats, an otter, and, in the distance, two dromedaries.⁷ The careful proportional diminution of the background trees and those growing atop the rocky archway creates an amazing sense of spatial recession, with the arch becoming something like an enormous cavern with a thin, earthen roof but open at the back, somewhat fantastically, revealing a second landscape. Executed in pen and brown ink with gray wash and squared for transfer, the drawing is not yet a *petit patron* but more likely a preliminary study: it is a little sparse in terms of details of vegetation and landscape, which would probably have been developed closer to the process of translating the design into a cartoon. Although no tapestry depicting this scene survives among the *Wawel Verdures with Animals*, a 1735 inventory of the tapestries at the Polish court reveals that they did once include a piece representing a rhinoceros, an elephant, and monkeys.⁸

Dating and Attribution

Partly in keeping with the evidently much later inscription on the drawing in the British Museum, many scholars chose to attribute the *Verdures with Animals* tapestry series and/or this drawing to Coecke or his workshop.⁹ In contrast, Rotraud Bauer and Thomas Campbell, by excluding the series from their discussions of Coecke's work, implicitly rejected this attribution.¹⁰ Another suggestion sometimes repeated in the literature is that the drawing be linked to Coecke's son and namesake, Pieter Coecke van Aelst the Younger, although this is remarkably tenuous since there are no known works associated with the brief activity of the younger Coecke, who also died very young.¹¹

Since it is likely that the *Verdures with Animals* were commissioned by Sigismund II Augustus as foils to his *Scenes from Genesis* series, they cannot be dated earlier than his accession to the throne in 1548.¹² Furthermore, since Stanislaw Orzechowski's description of Wawel Castle during Sigismund's marriage to Catherine of Austria in 1553 mentions pieces from the *Genesis* series but none of the *Verdures with Animals*, it is likely that the *Verdures* were designed and woven slightly



Fig. 245. *Landscape with Duck, Turtle, and Deer* from *Verdures with Animals*. Design attributed to a collaborator of Michiel Coxcie, perhaps Jan Tons the Younger, ca. 1550. Tapestry woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, ca. 1550–60. Wool and silk, 12 ft. 11⁷/₈ in. × 53¹/₂ in. (396 × 136 cm). Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków (56)

later than the biblical series or at least when that series was well under way.¹³ About the time the *Verdures* series was being designed, Coecke had just moved from Antwerp to Brussels, and between 1548 and his death in 1550, he was working in collaboration with Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen on the *Conquest of Tunis* (see Buchanan, “The Conquest of Tunis”).¹⁴ Given the documented pressure applied by his Habsburg patrons to complete the *Tunis* series, it is difficult to imagine that Coecke would have had the time to work on sketches for the *Verdures* as well. In addition, it is illuminating to contrast the *Verdures with Animals* with the *Story of the Creation* tapestries, convincingly attributed to Coecke (see Meoni, “The Story of the Creation”); the subject matter lends itself nicely to a comparison.¹⁵ The open and airier panoramic vistas, more rhythmically spaced trees, and less forceful animals in the *Creation* differ markedly from those in the *Verdures*, although it is possible that it was an assistant and a specialist in *naturalia*, not Coecke himself, who painted these elements in the *Creation*.

To this author, the most convincing attribution to date of the *Verdures with Animals* cartoons is that to the Brussels-based workshop of Jan Tons the Younger and/or Willem Tons, father and son, if it was indeed the former who, as asserted by André Félibien and Henri Sauval, painted the landscapes in Van Orley’s cartoons for the *Hunts of Maximilian* (see figs. 51, 133).¹⁶ Certainly, Karel van Mander praised Willem Tons as an excellent painter of plants and animals, and in 1577–79 he is documented in Brussels, where he executed cartoons for tapestries commissioned by Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex and Lord Chamberlain to Elizabeth I of England.¹⁷ The dynamic, realistically rendered animals, naturalistic plants, and vine-wrapped trees in the *Hunts* are immediate precedents and prototypes for the scenery in the *Verdures with Animals* series. Furthermore, this author would also attribute to this designer of the landscapes in the *Hunts of Maximilian* and the *Verdures with Animals* series the preparatory drawing in the British Museum (even if it is of lesser quality) and the four drawings of hunting scenes in Paris and Vienna and three of landscapes with figures in Paris (discussed and illustrated above by Alsteens in cat. 7, fig. 52). It is also worth noting that a configuration of landscape similar to that in the British Museum drawing is detectable in the anonymous and apparently little-woven tapestry series the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*, of about 1535–40, which preceded Coecke’s dramatically more successful series (see Cleland, “The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona,” and fig. 192).¹⁸

Given the new, and convincing, thinking that Sigismund II Augustus’s *Verdures with Animals* were designed specifically as accompaniments to his three-part *Scenes from Genesis*, it is likely that the artist who designed them had also played a role in the landscape elements of the *Genesis* series, collaborating with their principal

designer, Michiel Coxcie. The first tapestry in the *Story of the First Parents* (fig. 224), for example, includes small ravines, foreground stumps, and grasses, fish- and fowl-filled pools of water, promontories with exposed roots, densely foliated trees, and multitudes of animals similar, and in some cases identical, to forms throughout the *Verdures with Animals*.¹⁹ The civet and the tortoise from the *Sacrifice of Noah* in the *Genesis* series (fig. 242) in, respectively, the *Deer Couched*, *Wild Mammal*, *Duck* (fig. 244) and the *Landscape with Duck, Turtle, and Deer* (fig. 245), are but two representative examples.²⁰ Tellingly, these same two animals also reappear on Coxcie's painted panels of the *Temptation* and the *Expulsion from Paradise* now in Vienna (fig. 246). Coxcie, like Van Orley before him, probably sought his collaborator for *naturalia* locally, in Brussels, where he worked, perhaps the same Jan Tons the Younger who had worked on the *Hunts*, or perhaps Tons's probable son and artistic heir, Willem.

The possibility that the Tonses of Brussels were responsible for the cartoons of *Verdures with Animals* is given further credence by the fact, already noted in the literature, that François Tons, a tapestry maker and Willem's nephew, took a mid-sixteenth-century cycle of cartoons for *Landscapes with Animals* related to the present series with him to Pastrana in Spain when he moved there from Brussels in 1621–22.²¹ These cartoons may have been works made by his grandfather, which then stayed in the family shop.

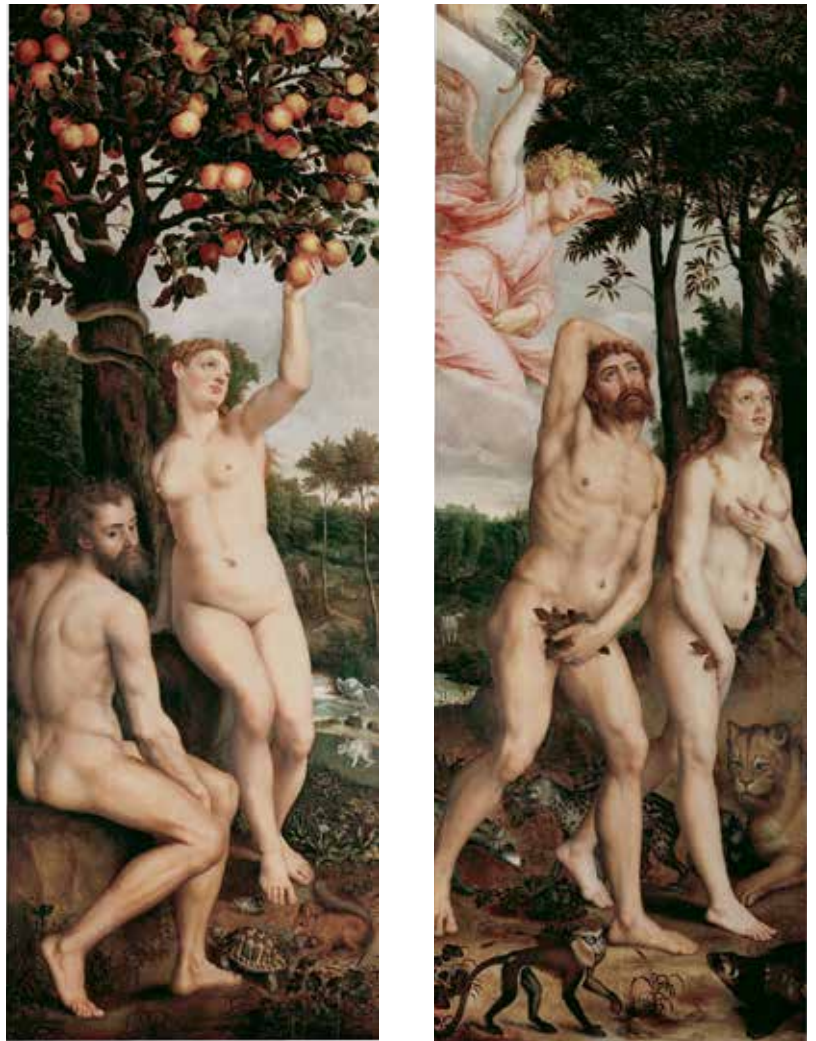


Fig. 246. *The Temptation* and *The Expulsion from Paradise*. Michiel Coxcie, ca. 1540–50. Two altarpiece wings, oil on panel, 93¼ in. × 34½ in. (237 × 87.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG 1031, 1032)

Genesis and Influence of the Series

The *Verdures with Animals* tapestries in Kraków retain the marks of four Brussels-based master weavers. One of these can be identified as Jan van Tieghem, another perhaps Frans Ghietels; the other two remain unidentified, although Pieter van Aelst the Younger is sometimes suggested in connection with one of these marks.

Although no further editions of the *Verdures with Animals* are known, elements of their designs were reused in later tapestry sets. For example, reiterating that a cartoon based on the British Museum's drawing at one time existed, and that it, or a copy of it, was still available to Flemish tapestry makers about 1600, the unfinished and borderless tapestry *Landscape with Rhinoceros* (fig. 247), one of a pair and probably made in Brussels at the end of the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth, is an exact, if more detailed, replica in reverse of the composition in the drawing.²²

Willem Tons, who was most likely either the designer or the son of the designer of Sigismund II Augustus's *Verdures with Animals* series, returned to this same group of dynamic indigenous and exotic animals and their settings when he apparently collaborated on a *Labors of Hercules* tapestry series of about 1560–70, again with Michiel Coxcie.²³ Willem Tons was probably also

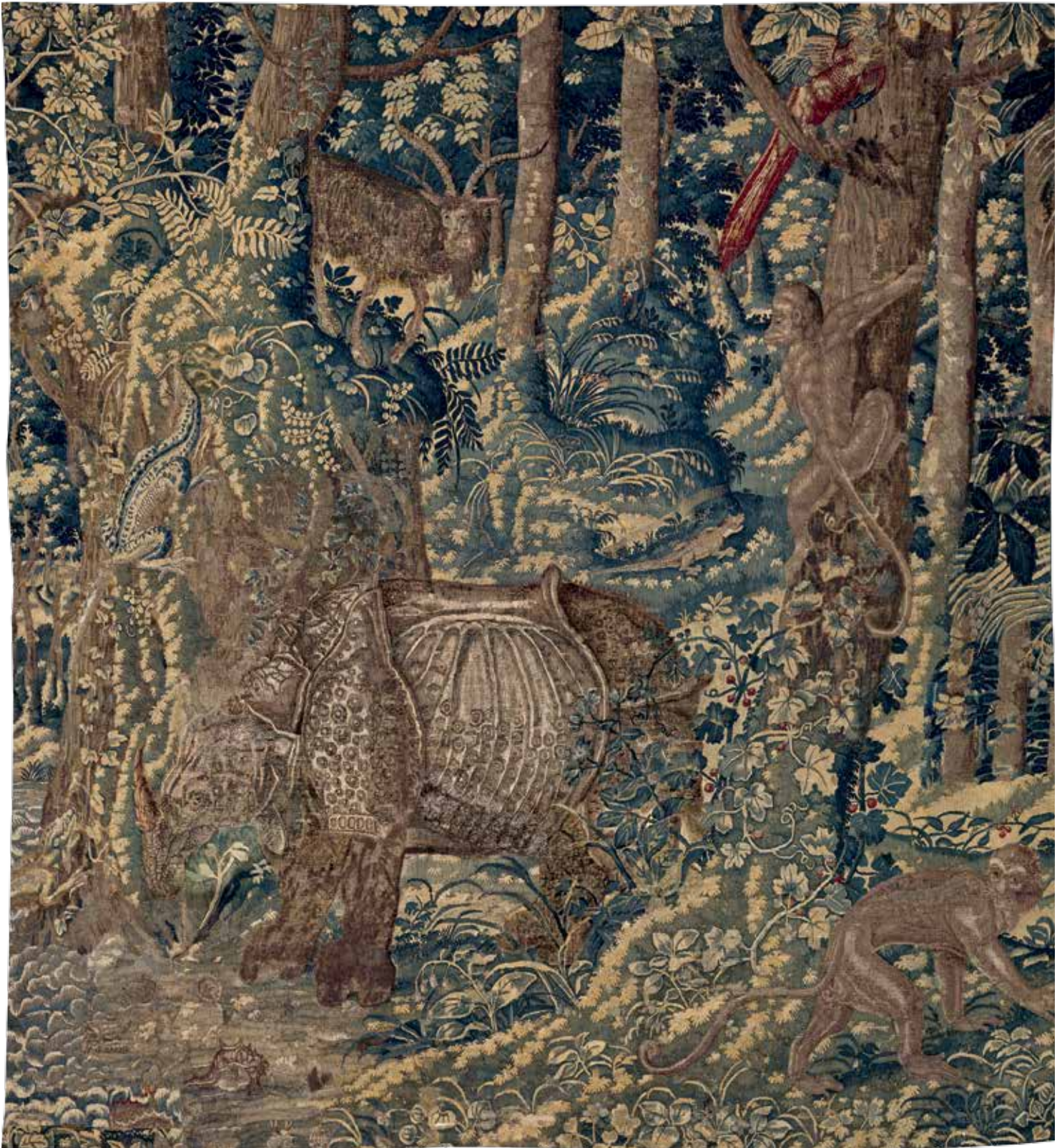


Fig. 247. *Landscape with Rhinoceros*. Design attributed to a collaborator of Michiel Coxcie, perhaps Jan Tons the Younger. Tapestry woven under the direction of an anonymous Flemish weaver, end of 16th–beginning of 17th century. Château de Puyguilhem, Villars, lent from the Mobilier National, Paris

responsible for another magnificent series of animal-themed tapestries that reused many of the devices, and even some specific animal groups, from the *Verdures with Animals*. This is the six-piece series generally called the *Unicorn* tapestries, woven in Brussels about 1560–70 and now in the Palazzo Borromeo on Isola Bella in Lake Maggiore, Italy.²⁴ The *Unicorn* series was probably commissioned by Charles of Guise (1524–1574), cardinal of Lorraine (see also Cleland, “The Story of Abraham”); in the seventeenth century, the *Unicorn* tapestries belonged to Cardinal Mazarin, and in 1787 Cardinal Vitaliano VII Borromeo gave them to his nephew Giberto V Borromeo, who moved them to their current location. The Tons workshop continued to produce animal designs to supplement this series or create others, which, though not surviving as completely, were apparently produced over and over by manufactories in Brussels through the first third of the seventeenth century. Notable examples of these later works include the series *Landscapes with Animals* that Jan Raes the Elder wove with the assistance of Catharina van den Eynde between 1611 and 1614 for the wealthy Roman prelate Cardinal Alessandro Montalto.²⁵ This series reused several scenes from the *Unicorn* series combined with original motifs or extended with patterns plucked from other sixteenth-century cartoons, including in its *Landscape with a Rhinoceros* (private collection, Belgium) various elements from the British Museum’s *Animals in a Wood* drawing. Aspects of the drawing are also recognizable in the slightly later *Landscape with Monkeys* (on the art market in Milan in 1969), part of the above-mentioned *Landscapes with Animals* series woven in 1622–27 by François Tons in Pastrana.²⁶

Even considering the vast bibliography on the tapestries in Kraków and the related *Unicorn* set in Isola Bella, a number of questions about the genesis of these tapestries remain unanswered, including proof of the identities of the artists who made the cartoons, the dates of execution of the cartoons, and the names of all the manufacturers. Some aspects of the cultural context of the two series have been clarified, but we still know nothing of the role of the patrons in commissioning these works or of the intellectuals who worked for them and selected the subjects and content of the tapestries. What we can say for certain is that these tapestries are among the loveliest and most valuable executed in Brussels in the sixteenth century.

71.

Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak

Tapestry in the set of the *Verdures with Animals*

Design attributed to a follower of Bernard van Orley, perhaps Jan Tons the Younger, ca. 1550

Woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, ca. 1550–60

Wool and silk

14 ft. 5¼ in. × 67 in. (440 × 170 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels, on bottom edge at center; weaver's mark of

Frans Ghieteels, on right selvage at bottom

Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków (59)

See Checklist, pp. 366–74

Not in exhibition

Iconography and Design

In a gently rolling, grassy parkland setting, a shallow brook curls into view around the wooded bank, rendered with such lifelike veracity that the sound of its sun-dappled waters skipping over the sandy riverbed almost seems discernible. Beneath the watchful eye of two birds of prey, three cranes fish for food. With its startled expression, the nearest crane seems almost surprised by its rather more ambitious prey, as it grasps a snake in its beak. This massive, python-like creature is an exotic addition, unexpected and terrifying in scale compared with its European cousin, the viper. Glimpsed on the right bank, a wolf lurks, watching the struggle between fowl and reptile.

This tapestry figures among the forty-four tapestries surviving in the *Verdures with Animals* series made for Sigismund II Augustus, king of Poland.¹ It is one of twenty-four long, narrow hangings, which were clearly commissioned with a specific location in mind. Like all the other pieces in this series, *Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak* is set within a narrow trompe l'oeil frame, represented as though carved and gilded, around which is a simple bloom-and-ribbon border on a rosy ground with two grotesque panels. Elements of these grotesques, in this instance the two naked men yoked together in the trappings of a chariot and the exotic bird helping support a swag of fruit, are recognizable from the borders of the three-part *Scenes from Genesis* tapestry series woven slightly earlier under the direction of Frans Ghieteels and his brother-in-law Jan van Tieghem, as well as the de Kempeneers and probably Pieter van Aelst the Younger, also for Sigismund II Augustus. These particular figures can be seen in the *Lord's Wrath* panel of the *Tower of Babel*.²

The designs of the forty-four surviving *Verdures with Animals* fall into two groups: the larger group by far consists of unambitious designs that build conventional and schematic landscapes around what were clearly pattern drawings for animals or sources adapted from illustrated books. *Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak* belongs in the considerably smaller, second group, made up of tapestries with exquisitely nuanced designs in which the hand of a skilled designer is recognizable. In these, fauna and wildfowl are situated within carefully composed settings with as much attention as the designer would normally



give to human protagonists. In catalogue number 71, the crane, like Coecke's Saint Paul (cat. 37) or Adam (cat. 69), balances at the very edge of the picture plane as if about to step out of the tapestry, the snake in its beak disconcertingly also attempting to wriggle out into our space. The wolf peers around the ivy-clad tree trunk in a motif also recognizable in Coecke's paintings and tapestries (see cats. 6, 34, 56, and 69).

Given the vast number of cartoons needed for the *Verdures with Animals* series—perhaps as many as fifty—it is clear that one artist could not have been personally responsible for each and every one, or even for their *petits patrons*. Nonetheless, considering the visual demands and the cost of such a sizable special commission, there must have been a principal artistic director guiding the project. Some of the designs are of such high caliber that it is reasonable to detect the hand of a master like Coecke behind these few. *Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak* is such a piece. If it was Coecke who was the guiding hand, these would have been the last tapestries he designed before his untimely death in December 1550. However, as Nello Forti Grazzini points out (“Verdures with Animals”), scholars have increasingly questioned whether Coecke played any role in the design of *Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak* and the rest of the series. Jan Tons the Younger, the landscape specialist who reputedly collaborated with Van Orley on the *Hunts of Maximilian* (figs. 51, 133), is arguably a more convincing attribution than Coecke, even given the parallels with Coecke's characteristic compositional devices. Notwithstanding the twenty-odd years between the *Hunts* and the *Verdures* series, the similarities between their landscape details and spatial concepts are striking. As such, the *Verdures with Animals* series provides a timely reminder that, just as at the beginning of Coecke's career (see cats. 4, 7), Brussels weavers continued to be provided with designs by a whole circle of collaborators and followers of

Bernard van Orley, alongside whom Coecke worked and whose output he would almost certainly have known and, increasingly, have influenced.

This Edition

Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak has the mark identified with Frans Ghieteels, the same Brussels master weaver who was also partly responsible for the Coecke-attributed *Story of the Creation* (cat. 69), as well as one of the collaborators on the other huge series acquired by Sigismund II Augustus, the three-part *Scenes from Genesis*, which the *Verdures* may have been made to complement.³ Again, the weavers working under Ghieteels's direction were clearly talented and skillful, managing to obtain a range of effects from the wools and silks at their disposal. They achieved effects of light, transparency, and refraction on the water, if anything even more spectacular than those in Willem de Kempeneer's *Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well* in the *Story of Abraham* (fig. 178).

Even though some of the cartoons, like that for catalogue number 71, apparently enjoyed special attention from their designer, many of the other pieces in the series received more cursory treatment. Given the massive number of tapestries in this series, it is clear that there must have been an element of making-do to prepare the cartoons for weaving as promptly as possible. Certainly, the grotesque border panels have the air of being cobbled together, near-random sections lifted from existing, complete border cartoons and folded or trimmed to size to supplement the central scenes, regardless of awkward cropping of limbs and asymmetrical arrangement. Nonetheless, in overall effect, the combination of a great design with skillful weaving achieved in *Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak* a tapestry at once peaceful and thrilling, poetic and disturbing.

EC

EPILOGUE: VIRTUE TRIUMPHS OVER DEATH

Elizabeth Cleland

ON THE FEAST OF SAINT NICHOLAS, December 6, 1550, Pieter Coecke van Aelst died, aged only forty-eight. Whereas his contemporary Michiel Coxcie, born just three years earlier than him, in 1499, would go on to enjoy a further four decades of productivity, Coecke's arc of development was prematurely broken at the peak of his productivity.

From the beginning to the end of his career, Coecke was but one of a whole generation of artists working under the benevolent stylistic yoke of Bernard van Orley, and this is reflected in works frequently attributed to him, some of which can, we suggest, now be laid aside from his oeuvre (cats. 4, 7, and 71). Parallels with such artists as Jan Tons the Younger, the Master of the Months of Lucas, and the Master of the Prodigal Son have been noted. But without question, Coecke's remarkably wide productivity and increasingly independent style single him out as a more fascinating, thoughtful, and pioneering artist than his contemporaries. We can follow three phases in his development. His first independent works in the late 1520s and at the start of the 1530s (cats. 1–10, 24–44) reveal his early and respectful parries to the challenges laid by the formative influences of Jan Mertens van Dornicke and Bernard van Orley and, via imported tapestry cartoons and prints, of Raphael and Giulio Romano. His travels in 1533 proved the catalyst to his second phase. Experiencing the light and landscapes of the Mediterranean lands, combined with opportunities to view works by his admired Italian counterparts such as Raphael, Botticelli, Giulio Romano, and Titian on his journey back north from Constantinople, in all likelihood pausing in Rome, Florence, Ferrara, and Mantua, perhaps even meeting with the likes of Giulio Romano at work, heralded a refinement of technique and draftsmanship traceable in his drawings (cats. 11, 12) and underdrawings (cats. 22, 43) and appreciable in the monumentality and confidence of his *Sins*, *Joshua*, *Abraham*, and *Caesar* tapestry series (cats. 46–62). By the 1540s, the third phase of Coecke's productivity saw him combining increasing professional success and recognition with his phenomenal printed output of contemporary architectural theory. In the *Descent from the Cross* triptych and the late tapestry series (cats. 22, 64–70), a new poetic elegance distinguishes his figures, evidencing his continued awareness of stylistic cues from Italy, whether it be familiarity with the *petits patrons* arriving from the hand of Perino del Vaga, or émigré artists working in Flanders like Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona.

Yet not for nothing was it Coxcie rather than Coecke who earned the posthumous moniker “the Flemish Raphael,” for while the solid Michelangelesque forms and borrowed patterns of

Coxcie's work were sometimes almost exaggerated in their literal homage, Coecke's response to Italy was considerably more subtle and intellectual, particularly in the third stage of his development. Coecke reacted with wit and elegance to the gauntlet laid down by the Italians, marrying their spatial daring and monumental corporality with the exquisite observation of the natural world, physiognomies, and material texture inherent to the previous hundred and fifty years of Netherlandish art. Tapestry design, with the medium's scale, palette, materials, and intrinsic decorative qualities, proved the perfect conduit for his skills, the ideal means through which he could express his artistry. Coecke deserves his place in the Netherlandish canon, from Rogier van der Weyden and Dieric Bouts, through Gerard David, to Bernard van Orley, with Coecke bridging the gap to Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who would later marry Coecke's youngest daughter, Mayken.

With fate denying us Coecke's mature period, we can only conjecture how he would have developed: whether he would increasingly have forsaken painting and tapestry design in favor of his printed projects, as some suggest (cats. 63, 67); or whether, conversely, the tapestry series on which he worked in the later 1540s indicate a new refinement and sensitivity on the cusp of even greater things if he had lived. Even after death, Coecke retained a conspicuous, albeit static, artistic presence, with his wife, the artist Mayken Verhulst, ensuring posthumous publication of the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (cat. 45) and the continued reeditions of his translations of Serlio's *Books of Architecture* (cat. 17). Similarly, cartoons after his tapestry designs continued to be duplicated and reused, from the relatively faithful 1550s versions of the *Life of Saint Paul* (cat. 29) to the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona* and the *Story of Julius Caesar*, repurposed and adapted throughout the seventeenth century. As we have seen, some of Coecke's *Life of Saint Paul* cartoons were still valued and, apparently, used in the 1710s.

Coecke's name and legacy continued to be cited in proto-art-historical surveys long after true understanding of the breadth and importance of his designs had been eclipsed. But, even in increasing obscurity, he remained an artist's artist. The great Peter Paul Rubens owned, and reworked, one of his drawings (cat. 25) and responded to his example (see Cleland, "The Seven Deadly Sins" and cat. 69); Sir Joshua Reynolds owned both Coecke's *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus* drawing (cat. 16) and a version of the *Last Supper* painting, even going so far as to recommend the purchase of catalogue number 5 to the fourth Duke of Rutland.

When facing the work of an artist whose output is as rich and, at least nowadays to many, as unexpected as that of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, there is no end to the avenues that are worthy of focused study. Our concentration on his mastery as a designer of tapestries serves as a reminder of the prestige and importance that tapestry design held for the most esteemed artists of the Renaissance period. It is hoped that this volume and the exhibition it accompanies will encourage further research into this greatest of northern Renaissance artists and his design legacy.

Lay not [your] foot, reader, on this [spot] chosen by Pieter Coecke, called from Aelst,
as his holy resting place

Court painter to Emperor Charles V and to Mary Queen of Hungary,
of incomparable talent, artistry, and industriousness

Maria, his wife, very sad for her late, much loved husband

He lived 48 years, 4 months, 2 days.

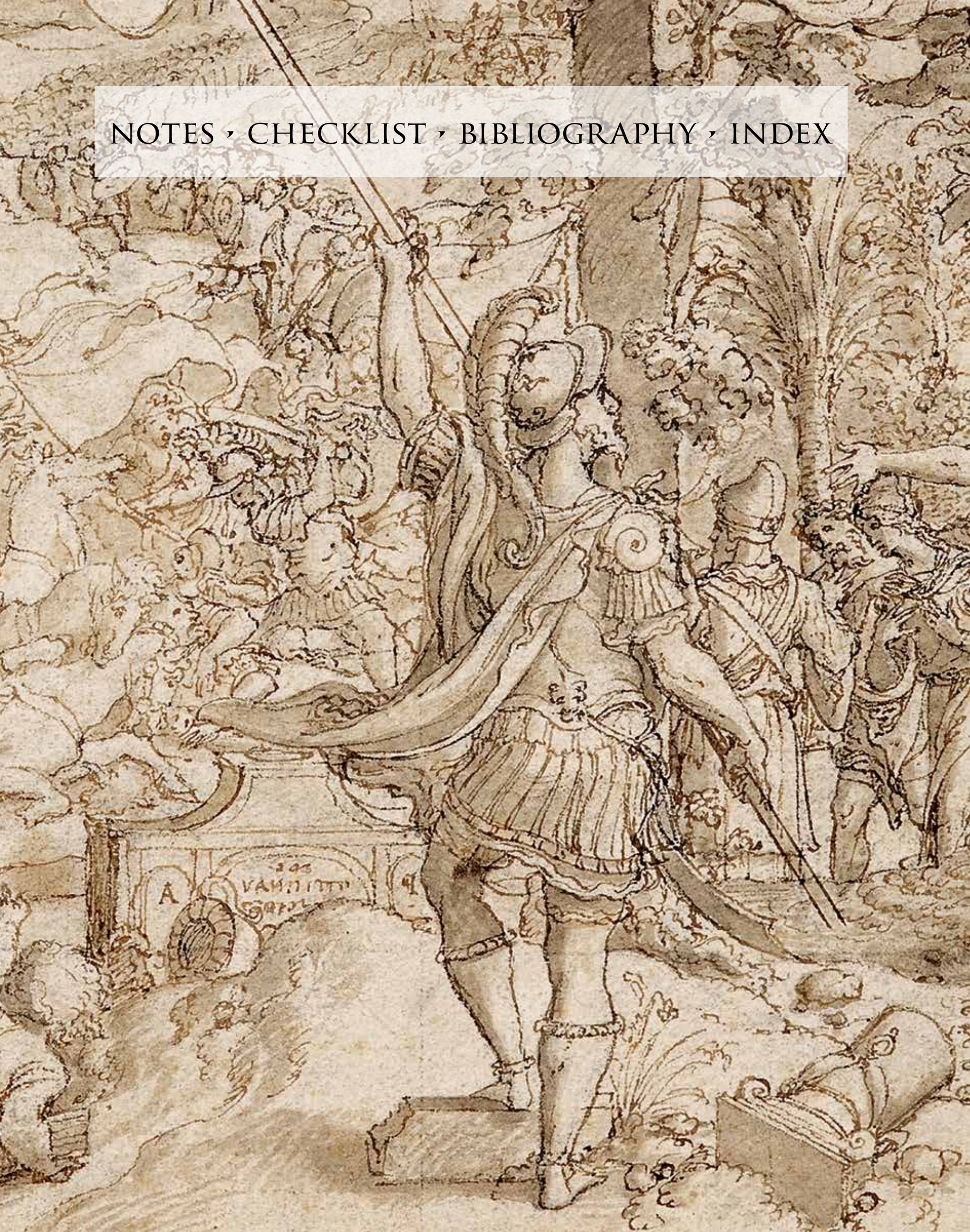
He died in Brussels on December 6, 1550.

He was born in Aelst on the August 14, 1502.

Virtue triumphs over Death.¹



NOTES , CHECKLIST , BIBLIOGRAPHY , INDEX



NOTES

Recognizing Pieter Coecke van Aelst Elizabeth Cleland

1. Guicciardini 1567, p. 143; Braun and Hogenberg 1965, vol. 2, pt. 4, p. 10; van Mander 1604, fol. 218r. For a full discussion of references to Coecke in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century sources, see Marlier 1966, pp. 21–34.
2. Lampsonius 1572, pl. 16: “Pictor eras, nec eras tantum, Petre, pictor Alostum . . . tu, Serli bilinguis / Interpres, Belgas, Francigenasque doces.”
3. The engraving, by Hendrickx, dated 1665, purports to depict a statue of the Giant of Antwerp, Druon Antigon, and represented as though carved at the base of the pedestal is the inscription PET. VAN AELST. PICT. IMP. CAROL. V. FECIT, AO MDXXXIII. As Marlier (1966, pp. 42–43) noted in his brief discussion of this record, the dating is problematic.
4. This is discussed in Roobaert 2004, p. 39, and Roobaert 2005, pp. 173–74. See also Kerkhoff 2008, pp. 191, 193.
5. The inscription on the gravestone, since destroyed, was transcribed in Sweertius 1613 (p. 293), and a marginally abridged version was recorded in the registers of the church and published in Baert 1847–48, p. 540, and Wauters 1878, p. 140; for a discussion, see Roobaert 2004, p. 40, and “Epilogue: Virtue Triumphs Over Death.”
6. For example, most recently in Jardine 2004, p. 120. Roobaert (2004, pp. 11–124) tackles the various Pieter van Aelsts from the perspective of the archival sources, convincingly disproving the theories put forth by Szymdyki (2002) but partially flawed by a lack of any stylistic analysis.
7. For traditions of authorship acknowledged on paintings and tapestries, see Cleland 2014b. Bernard van Orley’s monogram on the tapestry *Jacob and Joseph Reunited* (Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels) is an early example (see Elizabeth Cleland, “The Story of Abraham”).
8. See Roobaert 2004, p. 39.
9. See Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 352, 381.
10. For example, named as such in Baert 1847–48, pp. 540–41; in Wauters 1878, p. 3; and in Schoy 1879, pp. 134–40.
11. Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), pp. 181–82, nos. 141–57; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), pp. 104–5, nos. 141–57B, supp. 403–5; Marlier 1966, pp. 415–25.
12. Benesch 1925/1971; Steinbart 1933; Corbet 1950; Steppe 1969; Halbtorn 1981; Fontaine Verwey 1976; Jansen 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; De Jonge 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Roobaert 2004; Konowitz 2005; Born 2008; Annick Born in Cassel 2013, pp. 138–39, no. 27; Borusowski 2013; Alsteens 2014a, 2014b, and forthcoming.
13. See Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, and Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 379–91.
14. For the *Story of Cupid and Psyche*, see Campbell in New York 2002, p. 390. Jean Coural (in Versailles 1967, pp. 56–59) and Isabelle Denis (in New York and Madrid 2007–8, p. 132), in contrast, echoed Vasari’s attribution (1568/1912–15, vol. 6, p. 116) to Michiel Coxcie, as does Nello Forti Grazzini (1994, vol. 2, pp. 531–41, nos. 178–80) writing about an even later, eighteenth-century version, in the Palazzo del Quirinale. For attribution of the *Story of Romulus and Remus* to Coecke by the Royal Museums of Fine Arts in Belgium (3379/1–8), see <http://www.fine-arts-museum.be/fr/la-collection/artist/coecke-van-aelst-pieter-1?letter=c>; see also Silver 2008.
15. For the Antwerp accounts, see Roobaert 2004, p. 31.
16. See Adelson 1985, p. 15.
17. See Duverger, J. 1977; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 278, 279, 299, 531; Maryan W. Ainsworth in New York 2002, p. 312; Campbell in New York and Madrid 2007–8, p. 20. For the ensuing persecution and diaspora, see New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 17–53.
18. “schilder ende patroonmakere”; Roobaert 2004, p. 31.
19. Examples include the cartoon after Perino del Vaga’s design for *Jupiter and Danae* for the *Furti di Giove* tapestry series (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and the fragments attributed to Raphael’s assistants, now in the Metropolitan Museum (22.72.3, .4, .5, .6).
20. For record of payment to Daret for cartoon painting, see Lorient 1889, pp. 82–83, no. 55; for Tura, see Franceschini 1995, pp. 111 (doc. 154b), 191 (doc. 270x), 234–5 (doc. 324a), and Campbell in New York 2002, no. 8, esp. pp. 111–12; for Leonardo da Vinci, see Vasari 1550, vol. 3, p. 565. For instances of specific reference to *patroon-schilders* (cartoon painters), see Crick-Kuntziger 1927b, p. 15, and Duverger, J. 1969. And for an example of the terminological distinction between the “master” providing the *petit patron* and the “painter” undertaking the cartoon, see Van Even 1860, p. 181 nn. 2, 3.
21. It has been suggested that the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons at the Victoria and Albert Museum have a higher level of detail and finish than was normal or needed in cartoons; see Fermor 1996, pp. 63, 85–91, and Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 197, 210. For three fragments of versions made much more legible by thick black contours, minimal hatching, and lighter color washes of the *Acts* cartoons in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, see Benjamin Peronnet in Chantilly 1997, pp. 76–80, nos. 15–17, and Campbell in New York 2002, p. 193.
22. Wauters (1878, pp. 129–30) published the 1563 archival document in which Peter de Kempeneer’s yearly stipend of 50 Rhineland guilders from the city of Brussels was justified to cover “t maken van de patroonen voor de tappissiers deser stadt . . . gelyck meester Michiel Van Cocxyen gehadt heeft” (the making of designs for the tapestry weavers of this town . . . just as Michiel Coxcie has had). As shown by Roobaert (2005, pp. 173–74), the earliest record of this 50 guilder payment to Coxcie is in 1555.
23. This probably accounts for the minimal discussion of Coxcie’s tapestry designs in the exhibition “Michiel Coxcie: The Flemish Raphael” (M—Museum Leuven, October 31, 2013–February 23, 2014; see Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk 2013–14, p. 33), a point raised in Carpreau 2013, p. 36. It is anticipated that the doctoral research currently underway by Anne-Sophie Laruelle at the Université de Liège will shed new light on this topic.
24. Félibien 1685, p. 553.
25. Mallory 2014.
26. See Delmarcel 1999a, p. 124; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 300–301; and Cleland and Karafel 2014, no. 46.110.
27. See also Born 2008.
28. Ibid.
29. Although Coecke’s participation in the *Conquest of Tunis* is not universally accepted, we agree with Buchanan’s conclusions in his essay, which reflect those of Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 385–91. Roobaert (2004, pp. 101–3) set forth a thought-provoking caution against identifying Vermeyen’s documented collaborator as Coecke, suggesting instead Pieter Fabri van Aelst, but his argument flounders when faced with the overwhelming stylistic evidence of Coecke’s involvement.
30. For Vincidor, see Dacos 1980, and Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 191, 229–45; for Lodi, see Nello Forti Grazzini in Madrid 2010, pp. 47–59.
31. See Roobaert 2004, pp. 12, 19–21, 96–117.
32. The building and the distant cityscape in cat. 2 bear some relation, for example, with a Coeckesque drawing in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ13280), the cityscape of Jerusalem in which appears in another drawing, also in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ5525), and was copied in at least one manuscript miniature; see Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren in Los Angeles and London 2003–4, pp. 508–15, nos. 170–72.
33. For an excellent recent appraisal of Jean Cousin the Elder as a designer, see Paris 2013–14, esp. pp. 26–223. For Raphael, see Clifford 2013 and Karafel 2013.
34. For Vellert, see Konowitz forthcoming; for Rombouts, see Bruijnen 2011.
35. It is worth noting that Roobaert (2004, pp. 27–29) entertains the idea that Coecke’s workshop was equipped to make glass windows.
36. For a discussion of formative nineteenth-century European tapestry historians, see Cleland 2014a. The scholarship most responsible for returning awareness of the significance of tapestry into general art historical surveys include Brown, Delmarcel, and Lorenzoni 1996; Delmarcel 1999a; New York 2002 and New York and Madrid 2007–8, both compiled by Thomas P. Campbell; and Brosens 2011.

Pieter Coecke van Aelst as a Panel Painter Maryan W. Ainsworth

1. Van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 130–31, fol. 218r.34; and vol. 3, p. 74.
2. Félibien 1685, p. 553.
3. Jansen 2007, p. 84; Born 2008, pp. 95–96.
4. See Born 2008, p. 103 n. 8, citing Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rekenkamers, Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes, Brussels, 4979, 1522–23, fol. 17v.
5. Stadsarchief, Antwerp, “Schepenregisters, sub Keyser en Ballinck,” 169, 1526, fol. 147v.
6. Marlier (1966, pp. 109–16) identified Jan Mertens van Dornicke with the Master of 1518, whose works show many parallels with early works by Coecke. This identification has not been universally accepted. See Jansen 2007, p. 86 n. 16, and Born 2010, pp. 131–40, for further discussions. Concerning the relationship between Jan Mertens van Dornicke and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, see Born 2010, pp. 264–75.
7. Rombouts and Van Lerijs, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 108.
8. Friedländer 1917; Marlier 1966, p. 17.
9. Jansen 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2007.
10. For further information on this print, see cat. 5, esp. note 9.
11. Marlier 1966, p. 94. The document, in Stadsarchief, Antwerp, “Protocollen van notaris Zeger ’s Hertogen,” 1543–44, fol. 21v, was cited in Van den Branden, F. J. 1883, p. 154.
12. Van den Branden, F. J. 1883, pp. 154–55, and “Acta no. 39” 1938.
13. See Marlier 1966, p. 76, for the entire document.
14. The *Last Supper* (The Duke and Duchess of Rutland Collection, Belvoir Castle; cat. 5) was studied at the request of the Metropolitan Museum in February 2013 by the author, Annick Born, and Emile Gezels with infrared reflectography and by Ian Tyers with dendrochronology. Annick Born and Maximiliaan Martens studied the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (cat. 22) with Osiris infrared reflectography equipment on November 11–15, 2008. This triptych was studied again during 2012–13 by Susana Campos and her team at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, with infrared reflectography, X-radiography, and ultra-violet photography during the cleaning and restoration of all of the panels in 2013–14. The underdrawing in the Lisbon triptych was documented with an Osiris high-resolution IRR camera with an InGaAs detector by Sónia Lopes da Costa, Laboratório HERCULES, Universidade de Évora, and Laboratório José de Figueiredo, Direção Geral do Património Cultural.
15. See Ainsworth 1982; Ainsworth 1990.
16. Friedländer 1906, p. 581.
17. Marlier 1966, pp. 206–8; Born 2010, pp. 229–30.
18. Marlier 1966, chap. 2, pp. 109–45.
19. Friedländer 1915, pp. 84, 86, no. 71.
20. Leeftang 2004–5, esp. pp. 253–67.
21. For Van Orley’s underdrawing style and conventions, see Ainsworth 2006 and Galand 2013, pp. 109–20. See also Hendrikman 1999, Périer-d’Ieteren 1979, and van den Brink 1995.
22. In cat. 4, Stijn Alsteens leaves open the question of attribution of the drawing to Coecke.
23. On Jan Mertens van Dornicke’s workshop at the time of his death, see Jansen 2007, pp. 87–89.
24. Jansen 2007, p. 89.
25. See Ainsworth 2006.

26. My special thanks to Annick Born and and Maximilian Martens for sharing their material on the technical documentation of the *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*. They studied the painting with Osiris infrared reflectography equipment from August 31 to September 1, 2009.

27. See Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 188–93, 204–10.

28. See Ainsworth 2006, esp. p. 115, fig. 21.

29. See Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 191–92, citing Fermor and Derbyshire 1998, pp. 240–43, and research by Carmen Bambach.

30. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 192.

31. The cartoon was examined with infrared reflectography in Brussels in July 2013 by a team from the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK/IRPA), under the guidance of Christina Currie, with support provided by the Metropolitan Museum.

32. For further information about the dating of this cartoon, see Elizabeth Cleland's discussion in cat. 43.

1.

Adoration of the Magi

1. Ewing 2004–5, pp. 274–75 n. 4, where Yao-Fen You's "apt description" was in an unpublished communication to Ewing in 2003. See also You 2004–5. In addition, see Vermeylen 2001.

2. Ewing 2004–5, pp. 281–99.

3. Valentiner 1905; Friedländer 1915, pp. 84, 86; Marlier 1966, pp. 117–63. See Annick Born in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005–6, p. 215, for a summary of their points of view.

4. Marlier 1966, pp. 112–15. For a biography of Jan Mertens van Dornicke and the question of his identification with the Master of 1518, see Born in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005–6, p. 225.

5. Other versions of this type are in Loseley Park, Surrey; one sold at Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne (center panel only, November 15, 2003, lot 1098); Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht; and Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, among others. See Born 2010, figs. 202–4, 206, 207. Another example was recently sold at Christie's, Paris April 15, 2013, lot 3.

6. These are in Alte Pinakothek, Munich (1480); Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection (383); and the Metropolitan Museum (21.132.2).

7. This conforms to the type discussed in Verougstraete-Marq and Van Schoute 1989, pp. 116–20, nos. A.M–V.B. 11–13, attributed to an Antwerp Master, after the Master of 1518, and Quentin Metsys.

2.

Christ Carrying the Cross

1. For a comparison of this painting with a panel in the Metropolitan Museum (43.95) that represents a *tableau vivant* as part of the Procession of the Holy Blood, see Trowbridge 2009.

2. Pickering 1953, esp. p. 24.

3. James Marrow noted that Netherlandish Passion tracts introduce these figures to most of Christ's journeys, including the Carrying of the Cross; Marrow 1979, pp. 145–48.

4. Düsseldorf 1904, p. 172, no. 173.

5. Scheibler 1904.

6. Friedländer 1906, p. 581.

7. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (KdZ 13280); Held 1933, p. 279.

8. Georges Marlier in Brussels 1963, p. 84, no. 74, and Marlier 1966, pp. 196–97, fig. 136, p. 195. Friedländer later acknowledged that it was "broadly related to Coecke's style and may have been actually done in his workshop" (Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 [1975], p. 38).

9. Marlier 1966, p. 197.

10. For a discussion of other Antwerp Mannerist versions of this theme, including works of the Jan Mertens van Dornicke and Pieter Coecke van Aelst groups, see Born 2006.

11. Marlier in Brussels 1963, p. 84, no. 74, and Marlier 1966, p. 197. For Van Orley's tapestry, see Maryan W. Ainsworth

in New York 2002, pp. 304–21, esp. pp. 304, 309, 316, 318, ill. pp. 311, 313.

12. Held saw here the influence of a lost painting by Jan de Cock that also had echoes in Joos van Cleve's view of Jerusalem in the background of the Louvre *Lamentation of Christ* (Held 1933, pp. 276–79).

13. This pose is also found in Van Orley's *Christ Carrying the Cross* that is the reverse of *Saint Helena in Rome* (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels), illustrated in Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 8 (1972) pp. 104–5, no. 99, pl. 98.

14. Ainsworth in New York 2002, p. 316.

15. Marlier in Brussels 1963, p. 84, no. 74, and Marlier 1966, p. 196. Schongauer was influenced by a lost painting by Jan van Eyck, a copy of which is in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; see Kemperdick 2004, pp. 54, 81 n. 134; and Rotterdam 2012–13, p. 307, no. 88.

16. A good copy of similar size (107 x 80 cm) is in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (668). Friedländer (1967–76, vol. 12 [1975], p. 105, no. 152a) considered it of the same quality as the Basel painting, but Marlier (1966, p. 197) rightly acknowledged that it is not by the same hand and is weaker in handling.

3.

Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People

4.

Saul Rewarding David with His Daughter Michal; verso: Sketch of a Face (?)

1. Van Mander 1604, fol. 218r. For Van Orley, see Farmer 1981, Ainsworth 1982, and Galand 2013. The drawings attributed to Coecke's probable first teacher, his father-in-law Jan Mertens van Dornicke (or the artist with whom Van Dornicke is convincingly identified, the Master of 1518), have more in common with the drawings of the Antwerp Mannerists and the young Jan Gossart than with the more progressive artists of the 1520s and 1530s, such as the later Gossart, Van Orley, and Coecke. For Van Dornicke (also called Jan Mertens or Jan van Doornik) and the Master of 1518, see Ainsworth, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst as a Panel Painter"; for drawings attributed to him, see Peter van den Brink in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005–6, pp. 136–43, nos. 53–57; and Starcky 1981. For Gossart as a draftsman, see Stijn Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, pp. 89–103, nos. 64–84, 86–111.

2. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (978 Z–981 Z); see Farmer 1981, pp. 275–77; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 73–74, 76–77, 78–80, 104, 118–19, 127, 158–60, figs. 49–52; Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, pp. 63–65, 129–32, nos. 50–53; Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 295–96, 297, figs. 138, 139.

3. Galand 2013, p. 35.

4. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 99, ill. (as after a design attributed to Van Orley). For the entire Madrid series, see *ibid.*, pp. 93–99, ill. (as attributed to Van Orley); and Campbell and Buchanan in New York 2002, pp. 300, 440, under no. 51, fig. 143 (as after designs by or attributed to Van Orley).

5. For a discussion of the relationship between the Madrid tapestries and the Munich drawings, see Ainsworth 1982, pp. 95 n. 47, 158–60; the quote is from p. 95 n. 47.

6. Popham 1932, p. 35, no. 2, pl. XII; Farmer 1981, p. 334, no. D9; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 151–53, fig. 38.

7. Mahl 1965, p. 7; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 296; Campbell 2007, pp. 195–98, 306–7, 335–36.

8. For the *Nassau Genealogy*, see Ainsworth 1982, pp. 173–75, figs. 53–57; Bevers in Munich 1989–90, pp. 49, 58, 62, 133–35, nos. 46–49; and Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 299–300, fig. 142. For the *Hunts of Maximilian*, see Balis et al. 1993; and Campbell and Guy Delmarcel in New York 2002, pp. 297–99, 329–38, nos. 37–40. The quote, by Campbell, is taken from New York 2002, p. 295.

9. Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (1853-10-8-13–1853-10-8-17); see Popham 1932, pp. 22–23, nos. 3–7, pls. vi–vii. For this series, see also Marlier 1966, pp. 342–44 (as attributed to Van Orley); Farmer 1981, p. 299, figs. 282–83 (as attributed to Van Orley or his circle); Campbell in New York 2002, p. 301 (as by the workshop or a follower of Van Orley); and Campbell 2007, pp. 219–22. See also the tapestries mentioned in notes 11 and 12, below.

10. With the exception of the composition representing David's promotion, all of the scenes illustrated are accurately identified in Popham 1932, pp. 22–23. The series as it is preserved in the British Museum, however, opens with Samuel anointing David (1853-10-8-16), and not with the battle between David and Goliath (1853-10-8-14), as Popham suggested.

11. For the Burgos set, see Beauvois-Faure 1969. The Burgos set has no panel corresponding to the British Museum drawing depicting David promoted as captain (1853-10-8-13; see Popham 1932, p. 23, no. 6, pl. vii), but includes tapestries representing the meeting of David and Abigail (1 Sam. 25:23–35) and a military scene, for which see Beauvois-Faure 1969, pp. 31, 34, 36–38, figs. 5, 6.

12. A tapestry related to the drawing reproduced here in figure 37, formerly in the Barberini collection and the collection of the tapestry historian Charles Mather Ffoulke, Washington, D.C., and in 1974 given by Daniel Donahue to the archbishop of Los Angeles (annotated copy of Ffoulke 1913, p. 43, Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), is described in Friedländer 1909, p. 169, as of mediocre quality; see also Joseph Destrée in Brussels 1905b, p. 34, no. 20; and Farmer 1981, p. 299. A tapestry related to the left half of another drawing of the series (1853-10-8-14; see Popham 1932, p. 22, no. 3, pl. vi), in which David refuses Saul's armor, is in the collection of Michael Chow, Los Angeles (Sabas 2011, ill. p. 228).

13. For Coecke's coat of arms (azure three crescents argent), see Marlier 1966, p. 35. Coecke's name (*peetere Coecke/Coecke van Alste*) is inscribed on the verso of 1853-10-8-13 (Popham 1932, p. 23, no. 6, pl. vii).

14. Pierre-Jean Mariette in Paris 1741, p. 89, under lot 797.

15. Friedländer 1909, p. 169 n. 5; Corbet 1950, p. 20, no. 6; Marlier 1966, pp. 342–44; Farmer 1981, p. 299; and Campbell in New York 2002, p. 301.

16. This possibility was first suggested in Friedländer 1909, p. 169 n. 5.

17. This idea was suggested in Corbet 1950, p. 20.

18. Popham 1932, p. 36, no. 7, pl. XIII.

19. The inscription, which has been read as MD31, is found on the verso of 1853-10-8-14 (Popham 1932, p. 22, no. 3, pl. vi).

5.

Last Supper

1. My thanks to Stijn Alsteens, who helped to transcribe these two Dutch inscriptions. The second one is very abraded, dark, and difficult to read.

2. My thanks to Timothy J. Wengert, Ministerium of Pennsylvania Professor of Reformation History at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, who recognized the connection of the lower far right roundel inscription with those in the other two lower roundels.

3. See in the "Checklist" the provenance for cat. 5. The Getty Provenance Index records a Dürer *Last Supper* changing hands on May 7, 1821, at Christie's, bought by Barnett Senior from the collection of Henry Proctor of Windsor for 7 guineas.

Then, in July that year, the painting was acquired by the fifth Duke of Rutland as by Albrecht Dürer; see Belvoir Miniments Account 651 (private account book of the fifth Duke of Rutland, 1819–33), July 14, 1821, payment to John Brydone. My thanks to Peter Foden of Peter Foden Consultancy Ltd. for this information; email to the author, April 3, 2013. Irvin Eller (1841, p. 326) noted in his book on Belvoir Castle that the *Last Supper* was acquired by the "present Duke of Rutland" and that it was considered the last great work of Albrecht Dürer. It hung in the family dining room and, according to Eller, was admired by Turner, who "considered the view through the window, of the Savior's entrance into Jerusalem, worth the whole sum given for the picture."

It is particularly interesting to note that Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) was on close terms with Charles Manners (1754–1787), fourth Duke of Rutland from about 1770 to 1787: Reynolds painted his portrait about 1775 (private collection), about 1778 (Belvoir Castle), and in 1784 (Belvoir Castle) and sold him numerous paintings. Reynolds mentioned a *Last Supper* in his correspondence with "Cunningham" on December 29, 1785: "In regard to the last supper of Lucas van Leyden, I have the same picture of a larger size. I only wished to know the painter. Neither of them I am certain are by Lucas van Leyden"; Ingamells and Edgcombe,

eds. 2000, pp. 156–57. “Cunningham” may have been William Burton Conyngnam (1733–1796), among other posts Teller of the Exchequer of Ireland and Treasurer of the Royal Irish Academy, who had sat to Reynolds in 1761; Ingamells and Edgcombe, eds. 2000, p. 154. Reynolds went to the Low Countries in July–September 1781 and July–August 1785, and he might have acquired the painting then. The *Last Supper* was probably the one sold with Joshua Reynolds’s belongings in 1795. While it may be identical with the Belvoir Castle *Last Supper*, which was once attributed to Lucas van Leyden, this cannot be determined through any surviving accounts. My thanks to Peter Foden for his help with this question; email to the author, April 3, 2013. My thanks also to Donato Esposito, 2012–13 Metropolitan Museum Fellow, for calling the Joshua Reynolds letter to my attention; email to the author, March 20, 2013.

4. My thanks to Timothy Wengert.

5. Royal Museums of Fine Arts (1393); Hymans 1881; Marlier 1966, pp. 93–108.

6. See Marlier 1966, pp. 97–99, for a list of the then-known dated versions.

7. First published by in Weale 1862, p. 487. Marlier 1966, pp. 93–94. See Leesberg 2012, pt. 2, p. 270. There is also a drawing (whereabouts unknown) from the circle of Coecke after one of the versions of Coecke’s *Last Supper* that is inscribed *HG 1585*, referring to Goltzius’s print; Christie’s, Amsterdam 1998, lot 1.

8. Stadsarchief, Antwerp, “Protocol van notaris Zeger’s Hertogen,” 1543–44, fol. 21v; Marlier 1966, p. 94. The document was cited in Van den Branden, F. J. 1883, p. 154.

9. Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 61, and Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), pp. 36–37. Krönig 1957, pp. 161–62, among others. A departure from this view is the recent publication by Danièle Séraphin and Jacques Lauprêtre (2013, pp. 199–261), which adds confusion by attributing a very weak copy of the *Last Supper* in the Samatan collection, Paris, to Coecke himself and the Belvoir Castle painting quite impossibly to Hendrick Goltzius. A refutation of this theory cannot be addressed within the restricted length of this catalogue entry but will be treated in a forthcoming article by this author along with Timothy Wengert.

10. Marlier 1966, p. 100.

11. The 1906 exhibition catalogue states that the Duke of Rutland’s painting was earlier thought to be by Albrecht Dürer or Lucas van Leyden before it was called “Flemish painter of the sixteenth century”; London 1906, pp. 64–65, no. 73.

12. Friedländer 1906, p. 581. He also noted that the figure of Christ (namely, the head) in the *Last Supper* was at that time overpainted. An image of the painting with the overpainted Christ head is in Manners 1903, p. 70 (attributed to Lucas van Leyden). The overpainting may have been done by a restorer who endeavored to match the position of the head to that in Goltzius’s print of 1585. The overpaint on the head was removed at an unknown later date.

13. Annick Born (in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005–6, pp. 208–9, no. 88) has recently attributed that painting to Jan Willems. See also Netherlandish (Antwerp Mannerist) Painters, *Last Supper* triptych, Metropolitan Museum (17.190.18a–c). In addition, see Marlier 1966, p. 106.

14. For this stereotypical representation of Judas, see Melnikoff 1993, vol. 1, pp. 147–54.

15. See Krönig 1957, pp. 162–66; Marlier 1966, pp. 101–2. Two tapestry examples that precede Coecke’s painting are a *Last Supper* after Leonardo da Vinci of ca. 1514 (Vatican Museums, Vatican City) and another *Last Supper*, of 1516, that is made entirely in the Flemish style; for illustrations, see Delmarcel 1999a, p. 72. Coecke may have known the latter example, which could have provided a model for the contemplative figure at the far left of the table, his head in his hand.

16. See Innis H. Shoemaker in Lawrence, Kans., and other cities 1981–82, pp. 116–17, no. 30. The *modello* by Raphael or his circle is at Windsor Castle (12757).

17. Marlier 1966, pp. 106–7, fig. 36.

18. Krönig 1957, pp. 169–71; Marlier 1966, p. 104. For a discussion of Dürer’s drawing and print in relation to his interest in the theological discussions of the Reformation, see Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2, pp. 486, 488, no. 259; and Heinz Widauer in Washington, D.C. 2013, p. 111.

19. This style of underdrawing, which is consistent with Coecke’s other paintings of this time, is different from that in the copies after the Belvoir Castle painting, as published in Jansen 2003.

20. Ian Tyers report 590 of March 2013. Copies of this report are found in the Belvoir Castle archive files for the *Last Supper* painting as well as in the Metropolitan Museum Department of European Paintings files for the Coecke exhibition.

21. My sincere thanks to Timothy Wengert (see note 2 above) for discussions on the iconography of this painting in regard to any possible evangelical interpretations; emails with the author of August 7, 11, and 13, 2013. A forthcoming article by this author and Wengert will offer a fuller explanation than it is possible to give here.

22. In some of the copies the two upper roundels have inscriptions in Latin that simply identify the scenes. On the image of David and Goliath is *DAVID GOLIATH FUNDA LAPIDE GLADIO VICIT* (David conquers Goliath with a sling, a stone, and a sword), and on Cain and Abel is *ABEL CLAMAT DE TERRA VOX SANGUIN* (Abel’s blood cries from the earth). The lower roundels sometimes show the date of the painting; see Marlier 1966, pp. 97–98.

23. Thanks to Tanja Kootte and Micha Leeftang at the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, for checking the Vosterman (1528–31) and Van Liesvelt (1542) versions of the Dutch translation of Luther’s German Bible; their email to the author, August 9, 2013. Luther’s New Testament first appeared in September 1522, while the Old Testament’s first five books (Genesis through Deuteronomy) appeared in 1523. By 1524 Old Testament translations through the books of Esther and Psalms were available in Wittenberg. Therefore, the Dutch translator had access to Luther’s German translations, including the very texts that are quoted in Dutch in the Belvoir Castle painting.

24. Marlier 1966, pp. 104–8; Séraphin and Lauprêtre 2013, pp. 180–96.

25. Email to the author from Timothy Wengert, August 13, 2013.

26. Wengert draws attention (email, August 13, 2013) to Luther’s commentary on the Magnificat from 1522, to his “Christmas Postil” of 1522, and to his commentary on Psalm 112.

27. As Wengert points out (email, August 13, 2013), “On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church” was written by Luther in Latin, but it was translated immediately into German and was available in editions from Augsburg, Basel, and Strasbourg.

28. Wengert, email to the author, August 13, 2013.

29. See Decavele 1979–83, p. 29.

30. For an excellent summary of Nicolaas van der Elst’s presence in Antwerp and Brussels, the reformist atmosphere in Brussels in the 1520s, and the 1527 trial of Van Orley and his colleagues, see Galand 2013, pp. 67–70. For the interpretation of Van Orley’s *Alba Passion* tapestries in relation to Luther’s ideas, see Maryan W. Ainsworth in New York 2002, pp. 304–21.

6.

Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death

1. Sotheby’s, London 1976, p. 100, lot 105; Christie’s, London 1994, p. 34, lot 18.

2. Information provided to the author by the owner.

3. Possibly also influential here was Albrecht Dürer’s largest and latest etching, *Landscape with a Large Cannon* of 1518, which features a similar composition of a large tree at the far left on a promontory overlooking a village below and a view into a distant horizon. Dürer’s prints circulated widely and were frequent sources for Antwerp artists and for Bernard van Orley, Coecke’s teacher. See Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1, pp. 210–12, no. 85.

4. The literature on this subject is vast. For a very helpful summary, see Pinson 2008, esp. pp. 175–82.

5. Allegorical representations are not common in Pieter Coecke’s work, and two drawings, *A Peasant and Three Women at a Game of Backgammon in a Brothel* of ca. 1529 (cat. 8) and the *Money-Changer and His Wife* of ca. 1535–45 (Albertina, Vienna), are among the few others that have survived.

6. Pinson 2008, pp. 178–83. This sketchy preparatory drawing in pen and ink in horizontal format (21 x 30 cm) was probably made for a large woodcut or possibly a tapestry, as suggested by Pinson (p. 178 n. 14). For a review of the opinions on the attribution of the drawing to Dürer, see *ibid.*, p. 178 n. 11. See also Doris Kutschbach in Gotha 1998, pp. 124–25, no. 63.

7. Pinson 2008, pp. 178–79, 182 n. 32.

8. Moxey 1980, pp. 138–41.

9. For the sexual connotations of the lute, see Pinson 1998, p. 635.

10. Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1, pp. 68–70, no. 19. See also Meadow 1992.

11. Scillia 1998, p. 89. For Israhel van Meckenem’s copy, see Koreny 1986, vol. 1, p. 197, no. 513.

12. “Ten is niet al teijt vastavent. Der doet kompt en brengt den avent.”

13. For further information on *rederijkers* and their influence on Netherlandish art of the early sixteenth century, see Gibson 1981 and Moxey 1976.

7.

A Seated Mother and Child and Other Figures in a Landscape, with a View of the Village of Elsene and the Abbey of Ter Kameren, near Brussels, Seen from the North

1. The handwriting is that of a collector who owned many other, mainly northern, sixteenth-century drawings, and to whom I hope to devote more attention in the future (for other drawings with similar inscriptions, see Maryan W. Ainsworth in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, p. 77, esp. p. 102 n. 77). Probably identical to the handwriting identified by Frits Lugt as belonging to Jan Gossart’s brother Nicasius (Lugt 1956, p. 246, no. 1774²), the inscriptions date almost certainly to at least a century later. It should be noted that many of the attributions of this collector or dealer are unreliable, although they do attest to an encyclopedic knowledge of sixteenth-century northern art. The observation that in the drawing under discussion only the word *orleij*—sometimes also read *orlajij*—is original (following the remark made in Lugt 1968, p. 52) seems to me incorrect; the word may have been written when the annotator’s pen was more loaded with ink, or with more pressure.

2. For the *Hunts of Maximilian*, see, among other publications, Balis et al. 1993; and Thomas P. Campbell and Guy Delmarcel in New York 2002, pp. 297–99, 329–38.

3. For the topography of places depicted in the tapestries, see De Jonge 1993.

4. The tapestry’s location is unknown. It was offered at the 1902 *Delong* collection sale (Galerie Georges Petit 1902, pp. 58–59, lot 310, ill.); see also Balis 1993, pp. 74, 78, fig. 69.

5. Popham 1926, ill., as by Van Orley; Brussels 1935b, p. 18, no. 421, as by Van Orley. The drawing, here reproduced after Popham 1926, was formerly in the collection of Archibald Stirling (1867–1931), and later of his son William Joseph Stirling (1911–1983), at Keir, Dunblane. What appears to be a slightly weaker but contemporary version of this drawing is an unpublished sheet at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt (2942), in pen and brush and brown ink, with white gouache, on light brown paper (27.5 x 42.4 cm).

6. Benesch 1928, p. 8, no. 44, pl. 13, as by Van Orley or workshop; Farmer 1981, pp. 297, 350, no. D48, as by the workshop of Van Orley; Annemarie Stefes in Vienna 2013, pp. 70, 72, no. 32, as by the workshop of Van Orley. For the two other drawings at the Albertina (7806, 7807), see Benesch 1928, p. 8, nos. 45, 46, pls. 13, 14, as by Van Orley or workshop; Farmer 1981, pp. 297, 349, nos. D50, D49, as by the workshop of Van Orley; and Stefes in Vienna 2013, pp. 70–71, 73, no. 33, as by the workshop of Van Orley. For the drawing at the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (20150), see Lugt 1968, p. 57, no. 190, pl. 90, as by Van Orley; and Farmer 1981, pp. 297, 349, no. D44, as by the workshop of Van Orley. For the entire series of four, see also Farmer 1981, p. 297; and Balis 1993, p. 74, figs. 70–73, as by a follower of Van Orley.

7. For fig. 52, see Lugt 1968, p. 52, no. 176, pl. 83, as by Van Orley; Farmer 1981, p. 346, no. D22, as by Van Orley; Balis 1993, pp. 74, 75, fig. 74. For the other drawing (20149), see Lugt 1968, p. 52, no. 177, pl. 83; Farmer 1981, p. 346, no. D24;

Balis 1993, pp. 74, 75; and Olivia Savatier Sjöholm in Paris 2013, pp. 100–101, no. 18, as by Van Orley. The attribution to the author of the four drawings mentioned in the previous note is suggested in Balis 1993, p. 74.

8. Marlier 1966, pp. 266, 268–72, fig. 213, as by Coecke and possibly another painter; Demus, Klauner, and Schütz 1981, pp. 160–62, as by Coecke; Van de Velde 1987, as by Coecke.

9. I am grateful to Maryan Ainsworth for discussing the Vienna painting with me, and here follow her ideas about its attribution and date.

10. Although there are differences between the view in the painting and that in the drawing, these can be explained as artistic license (*pace* Mielke 1971, p. 307).

11. Catalogue of the collection of Archduke Leopold William of Austria, 1659, published in Berger, ed. 1883, p. cxixvi, no. 212: “das Dorff Etterbeckh bey Brüeszel sambt der Kirchen vom heyl. Creütz.”

12. The city in the background of one of the other drawings from the series (Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris [20149]; see note 7) probably represents Brussels (Lugt 1968, p. 52, under no. 177). The buildings at a pond in the background of the drawing reproduced in figure 52 have not been identified.

13. For Etterbeek, see Henne and Wauters 1851–57, vol. 3, pp. 271–78. See also the following note.

14. G. J. Hoogewerff (1954, p. 49), Georges Marlier (1966, p. 268), and Arnout Balis (1993, p. 76, in the caption of fig. 75) came to a conclusion similar to the one presented here. For the sixteenth-century situation of Etterbeek, Elsene, and the Abbey of Ter Kameren, see the map of Brussels in Jacob van Deventer’s atlas of ca. 1550–65 in the maps department of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, MS 22.090 (15) (reproduced in Ruelens 1884–1908, pt. 9, with text by Alphonse Wauters).

15. Lugt 1949, vol. 1, p. 1, no. 1, pl. 1, as attributed to Jacques d’Arthois; Dorival 1976, vol. 2, pp. 133, 446, no. 242, fig. 242; and Frédérique Lanoë in Port-Royal des Champs 2009, pp. 65–67, no. 45. The artist’s autograph inscription on the drawing reads “La vue de L’abaye de la Cambre proche de/Bruxelles. Religieuses de l’ordre de Citeaux 1654” (view of the Abbey of Ter Kameren near Brussels. Cistercian nuns, 1654).

16. Ann Diels in Brussels 2000, pp. 206–7, no. 62, ill.; Diels and Leesberg 2005–6, pt. 5, pp. 217, 222, no. 1231, ill.

17. For a history of the hospice, see Henne and Wauters 1851–57, vol. 3, pp. 298–305. Its chapel may be recognized in the last building on the right-hand side of the street, which the Vienna painting clearly shows to be a chapel or church.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 298–99, esp. the source from 1424 quoted on p. 198 n. 3.

19. Lugt 1968, p. 52, under no. 175: “quelque roman d’amour.”

20. For the Master of the Months of Lucas, see Standen 1971; Erik Duverger in Ghent 1987–88; Balis 1993, p. 78; and Jaffé 2002, vol. 2, pp. 206–9, nos. 1194–96.

21. Nadine M. Orenstein in Rotterdam and New York 2001, p. 131, no. 31; Orenstein 2006, pp. 122, 135, no. 58, ill.; Dominique Allart in Leuven and Paris 2013, pp. 380–81, 385, no. 1076, ill.

22. For the landscape type, see Spickernagel 1979, pp. 47–62. For the similarities between Van Orley’s, Coecke’s, and Bruegel’s landscapes, see Hoogewerff 1954, p. 49; and Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, p. 152, under no. 208. Compare also Martin Royalton-Kisch in Rotterdam and New York 2001, p. 15.

23. The connection with Domenico Campagnola’s woodcuts is suggested by Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, p. 152, under no. 208. The woodcuts after Campagnola referred to by Anzelewsky are probably not those dated to 1517, but to the period 1530–45, i.e., after Coecke’s and Van Orley’s tapestry designs discussed here; but woodcuts of a similar landscape type after Titian have been dated to the second half of the 1520s (David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro in Venice and other cities 1976–77, pp. 138–39, nos. 21–32, ill.). For Bruegel’s indebtedness to Campagnola, see Royalton-Kisch and Manfred Sellink in Rotterdam and New York 2001, pp. 19–21, no. 13. For Durer’s *Landscape with a Cannon*, see Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 (1808), p. 108, no. 99; and Rainer Schoch in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1, pp. 210–12, no. 85.

24. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 379.

8.

A Peasant and Three Women at a Game of Backgammon in a Brothel

1. Ger Ouyt in New York, Fort Worth, and Cleveland 1990–91, p. 57. See also Marlier 1966, p. 88; and Albert J. Elen in Bleyerveld et al. 2012, “Over de verzameling.”

2. Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 115–16, no. 144. Max Friedländer (1917, p. 85) considered the name a trustworthy old inscription, but not a signature.

3. Similar hands also appear in some of Coecke’s later drawings, notably in the figure seen from the back at lower left of another drawing in Vienna, which can be dated to 1537 or before. Nonetheless, stylistic comparisons of the Rotterdam sheet with Coecke’s drawings from the later 1530s (as made by Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 414) are not as compelling as those made with his earlier drawings.

4. Some scholars have been inclined to accept Ploos’s date (see, for instance, van Gelder 1929, p. 136; and J. Richard Judson in Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, p. 114), yet most have dated the Rotterdam drawing and the other genre scene by Coecke (fig. 18; see note 5) in the reverse way as proposed here (see, for instance, Benesch 1928, p. 9, under no. 50; Marlier 1966, p. 295; and Luijten in New York, Fort Worth, and Cleveland 1990–91, p. 57).

5. Benesch 1928, p. 9, no. 50, pl. 15; Annemarie Stefes in Vienna 2013, pp. 60–61, no. 27; Alsteens 2014b, no. A34, ill.

6. Département des Peintures, Musée du Louvre, Paris (1444); see Foucart 2009, p. 46, ill. The prototype may have been a lost work by Jan van Eyck (Dhanens 1980, pp. 307–9).

7. As already noted by Judson in Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, p. 114. Georges Marlier (1966, p. 90) described the drawing as probably depicting the Prodigal Son.

8. Although illegible, the inscription on the board held by the woman at right must record the score (as proposed in Van Mourik 2006), rather than the peasant’s debits (as proposed, for instance, in Müller Hofstede 1988, p. 22). In 1811, the drawing was described as depicting “verkeerbord-spelers,” i.e., players of *verkeerbord*, a kind of backgammon (Amsterdam 1811, p. 81; for the meaning of the word, see *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, vol. 20 [1986], pp. 123–24). Coecke’s drawing is certainly not the first depiction of backgammon, one of the oldest board games still played (see Parlett 1999, pp. 58–87).

9. The ambiguous meaning of the Dutch word for bird is well known (see de Jongh 1968–69); likewise, open picturers have been found to carry erotic meaning (*ibid.*, p. 45).

10. In 1931 the painting was with the dealers Elkan and Abraham Silberman, Vienna, and in 1933 on the Berlin art market (Glück 1936, p. 197, fig. 2, as by Coecke; Gibson 1978, p. 679 n. 38). It is here reproduced after the former publication. Another version was in the collection of Hans Schwarz, then that of Albert Figdor (1843–1927), both in Vienna; sold by Figdor in Berlin (Paul Cassirer 1930, pp. 83–84, lot 55; reproduced in the sale catalogue, pl. xxxv); acquired by the Berlin museums; then deaccessioned at a sale in Munich (Julius Böhler 1937, lot 688; reproduced in the sale catalogue, pl. 58). See also van Regteren Altena 1939, p. 137, fig. 10, as attributed to Aertgen van Leyden; Gibson 1978, p. 679, fig. 9; and Raupp 1986, p. 209, fig. 188. One of the two versions is almost certainly identical to the painting mentioned in Schubert 1970, p. 99 n. 32, as belonging to Hans A. Wetzlar, Amsterdam, and later listed in the sale in The Hague, Van Marle en Bignell 1953, lot 47, as by Jan Sanders van Hemessen. The connection between these paintings and Coecke’s drawing was first made in Gibson 1978.

11. See the examples given in Gibson 1978, pp. 679–80; Raupp 1986, pp. 208–11; and by Ger Luijten in Amsterdam 1997, pp. 171–73, under no. 31.

12. Among the drawings closest to Coecke are two on mythological subjects in a private collection in Brussels: one depicts Jupiter spying on the sleeping Callisto (formerly at Christie’s, New York 2001, p. 184, lot 152, as attributed to Coecke; see also von Prybram-Gladona 1969, pp. 62–63, no. 93, ill., as by Van Orley), and the other, Jupiter and Ganymede with other figures (formerly at Sotheby’s, London 2001, pp. 52–53, lot 36, as by an anonymous sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist). Another drawing from Coecke’s circle using the chiaroscuro technique, depicting Rebecca and Eliezer at the well, recently surfaced on the Berlin art market (Nicolaas Teeuwisse 2011, pp. 22–25, no. 6, as attributed to Coecke).

13. An example by Van der Goes is at Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (1335); see Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 320, no. 1309, vol. 2, pl. 772, and Fritz Koreny in Antwerp 2002, pp. 130–35, no. 30, ill. For examples by Gossart, see Stijn Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, pp. 98, 308–10, 320–22, 346–48, 369–75, nos. 64, 70, 84, 94–97, ill.; see also several drawings from Gossart’s circle (*ibid.*, pp. 405–6, figs. 303–8). For examples by the Antwerp Mannerists, which are more difficult to date, see Peter van den Brink and Dan Ewing in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005–6, pp. 95–121, 124–41, 145–49, nos. 30–45, 47–56, 59–61.

14. The influence of woodcuts was first suggested by Judson in Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, p. 114. On the beginnings of chiaroscuro woodcuts in Italian art, see David Landau in Landau and Parshall 1994, pp. 146–60.

15. A famous composition, representing the Adoration of the Shepherds and dated to ca. 1520–25, is attributed to Van Leyden and is known in several copies (see Neumeister 2003, pp. 64, 66, 68, fig. 32). An example by Vermeyen is the *Marriage at Cana*, dating to ca. 1530, at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-4820); see Wouter Th. Kloek in Amsterdam 1986, pp. 201–2, no. 76, ill., and in van Os et al. 2000, pp. 149–50, no. 55, ill. For a discussion of these and similar nighttime scenes, including a few earlier sixteenth-century and even some late fifteenth-century examples, see Neumeister 2003, pp. 20–28, 64–86.

16. Neumeister 2003, pp. 79–95.

17. Friedländer 1917, p. 85: “eine Zeichnung, in der heroische Körperlichkeit sich in besonderer Art mit genrehafter Auffassung mischt.”

9.

Resurrection

1. On typological parallels in general and on these scenes in their relationship with the Resurrection in particular, see Karlsruhe 1992, pp. 198–203.

2. Eichberger 2011, pp. 116–19.

3. Here Eichberger refers to Veldman 2006, esp. chap. 4, “The Old Testament as a Moral Code.”

4. These episodes are: God orders Jonah to go to Nineveh, Jonah is thrown into the sea, Jonah is disgorged onto land by the whale, Jonah is sent for the second time to Nineveh, and Jonah suffers under the burning sun. Luther’s 1562 Wittenburg edition may be found on the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt website at <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vdi6/content/titleinfo/994812>; see Eichberger 2011, pp. 122–23, fig. 4.

5. Koelitz 1881, p. 96, no. 153, as Bernard van Orley; Lübke 1887, p. 375; Graefe 1909, p. 59; Renner 1941, p. 49 (copy after Van Orley) and fig. 13.

6. See Krönig 1936, pp. 51–52, for the influence of Van Orley’s triptych. The most recent authoritative publication on Van Orley’s masterpiece, the *Job and Lazarus* triptych, is Galand 2013, pp. 198–235.

7. Wescher 1928, pp. 28–30; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), pp. 63–64.

8. Marlier 1966, pp. 276–77.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 277; Brochhagen 1964, p. 4. Matthias Ubl, curator at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, who is an expert on the works of the Brunswick Monogrammist, believes that the Karlsruhe triptych is completely by Pieter Coecke, while the Nürnberg wings are likely a cooperation between Coecke’s workshop for the foreground and that of the Brunswick Monogrammist in the background; email to Maryan Ainsworth, October 7, 2013.

10. Marlier (1966, pp. 278–82) suggested a connection between the Karlsruhe triptych and a drawing of the Resurrection he considered to be by Coecke that was formerly at the Schaeffer Galleries, New York, and is now at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Fondation Corboud, Graphische Sammlung, Cologne (1967/9). The drawing certainly has a connection with Coecke and, according to Stijn Alsteens, may be a copy after a lost work. It has most recently been published as by Barthel Bruyn the Elder in relation to one of the paintings in Bruyn’s altarpiece for the high altar of the collegiate church of Saint Victor in Xanten. See Cologne 2005, pp. 199–200, no. 58; and Guido von Büren and Vera Torunsky in Bonn 2010–11, pp. 380–86, nos. 257, 258.

11. See New York 2002, pp. 234–40, and figs. 96, 100.

12. See New York 2002, p. 191, fig. 76.

13. Marlier 1966, p. 276.

14. Löcher et al. 1997, p. 570. Löcher thanks Dietmar Lüdtké (then at the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe) for the support of the technical examinations (p. 571 n. 7), but he does not state when or by whom this work was carried out. Peter van den Brink has kindly provided the information that the Karlsruhe triptych was studied by Dolf van Asperen de Boer, Annick Born, Till-Holger Borchert, and himself in 1992. The documentation is housed at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

15. My thanks to Lisa Ekstein in the Paintings Conservation Department of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum for providing me with the IRR results of the Nürnberg panels, and to Margreet Wouters at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, for sending me the 1992 IRR documentation results of the study carried out by Van Asperen de Boer and his students.

10.

Holy Family

1. On Coecke's serial production, see Jansen 2006a.

2. For this theme in art, especially in early Netherlandish painting, see Göttler 2006.

3. On this theme, see Foster 1978, pp. 231–33, and Koerner 1993, pp. 3–33, esp. pp. 14–21, which includes Dürer's similar example of 1492–93, a drawing of the Holy Family in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

4. For the attributions to Gossart and Van Orley, see J. C[ra]b in Aalst 1973, p. 152, no. A197.

5. For examples of paintings of the Holy Family by Gossart, especially ones that feature a melancholic Joseph resting his head on his hand(s) and the event taking place in a classical setting, see Maryan W. Ainsworth in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, pp. 122–25, no. 4, and pp. 180–81, no. 18. For examples of associated paintings by Bernard van Orley, see Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 8 (1972), p. 110, no. 140, pl. 119 (as well as p. 110, nos. 140a and 141 after Van Orley).

6. C[ra]b in Aalst 1973, p. 152, no. A197.

7. Marlier 1966, p. 236 n. 10, where he credits Jan-Karel Steppe with first making the attribution to Coecke.

8. Hollanders-Favart et al. 1974; Bob van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, p. 321, no. 219; Arnout Balis in Ghent 1999–2000, p. 229, no. 99; Carpreau 2008, pp. 51–52.

9. While recognizing the similarity to Pieter Coecke's paintings of the figures and facial types, the morphology of the pudgy hands and fingers, and the supple treatment of the draperies, Annick Born (in Cassel 2013, pp. 138–39, no. 27) finds the details of the execution looser than in autograph works, although, as she admits, this could be due to the general abrasion especially in the flesh tones.

10. Hollanders-Favart et al. 1974. Infrared reflectography was carried out again recently (2012) by David Lainé, and thanks to Marjan Debaene at the M—Museum Leuven. The equipment used was a Xeaics Xeva InGaAs camera, 1700mm, with a 25mm lens.

11. Born in Cassel 2013, p. 138, no. 27.

12. See Matthias Mende in Washington, D.C. 2013, pp. 262–64, no. 105 (including pertinent literature).

13. Hollanders-Favart et al. 1974; Verougstraete-Marcq, Smeyers, and Van Schoute 1981, pp. 308–13; Jordens 1987, pp. 106–44, esp. pp. 131–35; Born in Cassel 2013, p. 138, no. 27.

11.

Christ as the Fount of Mercy

1. For a full discussion of Coecke's stylistic development, see Alsteens 2014b.

2. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 2006, pp. 68–70.

3. For Raphael's *Transfiguration*, see Meyer zur Capellen 2005, pp. 64–65, 195–209, no. 66.

4. Wolk-Simon 1992, pp. 70, 72, 74, 76–77, fig. 15; Birke and Kertész 1992–97, vol. 3, pp. 1631–32, ill.; Alessandro Cecchi in Mantua 2001, pp. 115–16, no. 20.

5. Bock and Rosenberg 1930, vol. 1, p. 53, vol. 2, pl. 44; and Wadell 1969, pp. 47, 118, fig. 68. For Swart, see Marijn

Schapelhouman, Manfred S. Sellink, and Kees Berserik in Amsterdam 1986, pp. 175–77, 245–50.

6. For the *fons pietatis*, see Wadell 1969, Vetter, E. 1970, and Wipfler 2004a. Used as synonyms are *fons misericordiae* or *fons vitae* (Fount of Life), although the latter term is more appropriately applied to a distinct iconographic tradition (Wadell 1969, pp. 9, 19–20; Vetter, E. 1970, pp. 232–33; Wipfler 2004b). For a more detailed discussion of the drawing's iconography, see Wouter Th. Kloek in Florence 2008, pp. 26–29.

7. Adam and Eve at the *fons pietatis* is also the subject of a stone epitaph from ca. 1547 in Bremen Cathedral (Wadell 1969, pp. 122–23, fig. 118) and of a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century engraving by Matthäus Greuter (Hollstein [German] 1954–2014, vol. 12 [1983], p. 122, no. 54, ill.). See also Wadell 1969, p. 21.

8. Kloek in Florence 2008, p. 28.

9. Similarly shaped crosses appear in several other works by Coecke, namely in two drawings from a Passion series at the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1965-202) and at the Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. (1932.198), on which see Marlier 1966, pp. 292, 294–95, figs. 233, 234; Boon 1978, vol. 1, p. 49, no. 134, vol. 2, ill. p. 55; and Alsteens 2014b, nos. A16, A17, ill.; and in designs for two panels of a polyptych with scenes from the Passion at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (MB 1958/T 9); see Judith Niessen in Bleyerveld et al. 2012, entry on the drawing; and Alsteens 2014b, no. A22, ill., and in a private collection (Alsteens 2014b, no. A23, ill.).

10. Wadell 1969, pp. 14–15.

11. The early art historian Filippo Baldinucci recorded two works in the Medici collection of drawings (now at the Uffizi) by “Pieter Covch Van Alcest,” one of which can almost certainly be identified with the present sheet (Baldinucci 1673, n.p.; compare Kloek and Meijer in Florence 2008, p. 26).

12.

The Crossing of the Red Sea

1. See, among many other examples, the headdresses in the woodcut of the Flagellation of Christ from Albrecht Dürer's *Large Passion* of ca. 1497–1500 (Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 [1808], p. 117, no. 8; Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2, pp. 191–93, no. 158, ill.).

2. See, for instance, Benesch 1928, p. 9, under no. 51; and Lugt 1968, p. 63.

3. Georges Marlier suggested a stylistic connection between the Vienna drawing and one representing the Resurrection, now at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Fondation Corboud, Cologne (1967/9); see Marlier 1966, pp. 278, 281–82, fig. 221, as by Coecke. This drawing has subsequently been considered the work of the Cologne painter Barthel Bruyn the Elder (proposed in Tümmers 1967, p. 461, fig. 1; and followed by Uwe Westfehling in Cologne 2005, pp. 199–200, no. 58), based on the fact that the same composition was used for the central panel of Bruyn's altarpiece in Xanten Cathedral (for which, see Guido von Büren in Bonn 2010–11, pp. 380–85, no. 257). However, this attribution to Bruyn fails to convince the present writer, who believes, following Marlier, that the general composition, the dramatic movement, and many details are strongly reminiscent of Coecke's work; but rather than an original work, it appears to be a copy after a lost drawing. Despite the presence of the turbaned man at center, I am inclined to date this design before Coecke's trip to Constantinople and his possible exposure to Italian art, i.e., a few years before the Vienna drawing. This dating is supported by the date of the Xanten altarpiece between 1529 and 1534. How Bruyn would have known the composition remains unclear.

13.

The Consecration of Saint Nicholas as Bishop of Myra

14.

Receipt, dated March 26, 1537

1. Friedländer 1917, p. 91. For the provenance of the receipt see Checklist, cat. 14. I am grateful to Erik Houtman for his assistance in locating the document, and for his indication of the likely date of transfer.

2. Document published in de Reiffenberg 1845, pp. 50–51: “Betaelt aen Peteren van Aelst van een gelas staende in onser liever vrouwen kercke alhier boven sinter claes autae. Iviij lb / Betaelt vore drinckghelt aende gesellen die tzelve gelas setten iij st.” A nineteenth-century copy of this document, possibly made in connection with de Reiffenberg's publication, is at the Rijksarchief, Antwerp (family papers, varia, s.v. Coucke [1537]); see Van den Gheyn 1908, p. 88, no. 5385/4. See also Grieten and Bungeeners 1996, pp. 181–82.

3. For humanistic cursive script in the Netherlands, see Strubbe 1961, vol. 1, pp. 120, 130, vol. 2, pls. XXII, XXV, figs. 51b (dated 1590), 60 (dated 1470–80).

4. The first edition was published in Leuven in 1540. For a facsimile and commentary, see Mercator 1540/1930, with texts by Jan Denucé and Stanley Morrison; see also Osley 1969. For humanistic script, see also Wardrop 1963.

5. For the mercers' altar in Antwerp Cathedral, see Geudens 1891–1904, vol. 3 (1891), pp. 51–63; and Prims 1938. Its location is documented in several eighteenth-century ground plans of the church (see Ria Fabri in Antwerp 2009, pp. 33–35, figs. 18–20).

6. On the extant sixteenth-century windows, see Grieten and Bungeeners 1996, pp. 193–96, nos. 646–47, ill.; Antwerp 1996, pp. 42–45, no. 4, ill. For the window after Coecke's design, see Grieten and Bungeeners 1996, pp. 181–82; and Antwerp 1996, pp. 46–49, no. 5, ill. This window was still in place in 1756, but apparently so much damaged that the mercers' guild decided not to restore it and yielded ownership to the church (Geudens 1891–1904, vol. 3 [1891], p. 52 n. 1).

7. Geudens 1891–1904, vol. 3 (1891), p. 51; Prims 1938, p. 329; Van de Velde 1993, pp. 183–85.

8. Boon 1964, as by Vellert; Ariane van Suchtelen in Bleyerveld et al. 2012, entry on the drawing; Konowitz forthcoming, no. B-D-1. For this commission, see Antwerp 1996, pp. 15–16; Grieten and Bungeeners 1996, pp. 181–82; and Van de Velde 1993, p. 183.

9. The same hand inscribed another drawing by Coecke at the Albertina (cat. 40) with a nearly identical, now almost erased, inscription at lower right: *D*V 1526*.

10. Voragine 2007, vol. 1, pp. 44–55. For Saint Nicholas and his iconography, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 976–88; Celletti 1967; and Petzoldt 1976.

11. Voragine 2007, vol. 1, p. 46: “ipse autem eandem quam prius humilitatem et morum grauitatem in omnibus sectabatur”; translation by William Granger Ryan, Voragine 1993, vol. 1, p. 22.

12. Geudens 1891–1904, vol. 3 (1891), pp. 51–60; Prims 1938, pp. 330–32; Van de Velde 1993, p. 185. Very little is known about the sculptor of the altar, the *antycsknyder* Willem van der Borcht, who had entered the Guild of Saint Luke a few years before, in 1535 (Geudens 1891–1904, vol. 3, p. 53; Duverger, E. 1996).

13. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (1335E-1338E); see Stijn Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, p. 95, no. 86, ill. For a discussion of Netherlandish drawings and cartoons related to monumental windows, see Boon 1983 and Caen 2009, pp. 215–23.

14. Marlier 1966, pp. 356–58, fig. 297; Larionov 2010, pp. 211–13, 359, no. 35, ill. For another design for a monumental window attributed to Coecke, see p. 292, fig. 206.

15. The two donors and Saint Catherine correspond closely to the little we know of Coecke's drawing style in the 1540s (as also discussed in Alsteens 2014b). However, the physiognomy of Saint John is completely foreign to Coecke's manner, and the architecture differs from that seen in other examples of his work, such as catalogue numbers 16 and 18.

16. On the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament and its windows, see Lefèvre 1945a, pp. 121–24; and Lecocq et al. 2005. On the window of John III, see Yvette Vandien Bemden in Brussels 1991a, pp. 126–28, under no. 1; Vanden Bemden 2000; Yvette Vandien Bemden and Isabelle Lecocq in Lecocq et al. 2005, pp. 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 83, 186, 227–28, 234, no. NIX, figs. 55d, 58, 135, 180, 183d, 184, 186, 187; and Reintjens 2013–14, pp. 140–45.

17. The document is quoted in Lefèvre 1945, p. 140.

18. For Cocxie's design, see Reintjens 2013–14, pp. 140–45.

19. Larionov 2010, p. 212.

15.

Design for a Nautilus Cup with Neptune Riding a Hippocampus

1. For a full discussion of the drawing and its reattribution, see Alsteens forthcoming.

2. Although Gossart's drawing of a reliquary at the Morgan Library and Museum, New York (III,127b; see Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, pp. 400–401, no. 110, ill.), may not have been intended as a design for a real object and the earlier assumption that he trained as a goldsmith is untenable (ibid., p. 401), Gossart is known to have designed a triumphal chariot, church furniture, and sculpture (ibid., pp. 95–96, nos. 107–9, ill.). For the two wood sculptures of which the design has been attributed to Gossart, see most recently Micha Leeflang, Marieke van Vlierden, and Henri Defoer in Utrecht and Aachen 2012–13, p. 77, no. 67, ill.

3. For the nautilus cup, see Mette 1995; see also Kassel 1996.

4. Mette 1995 catalogues only three cups produced during Coecke's lifetime (nos. 2, 3, 146, figs. 32, 180). Others are documented only by drawings (ibid., pp. 78, 149–51, 154–55, figs. 120, 123; the drawing reproduced in fig. 116 is certainly no earlier than ca. 1550). For a general overview of Netherlandish goldsmiths' work of the sixteenth century, see Hayward 1976, pp. 104–7, 282–88; Baudouin, Colman, and Goethals 1988, pp. 49–67; and Antwerp 1988–89.

5. Kris 1932, pp. 21–23, no. 33, pls. 21, 22, 83, as a French work of ca. 1530–40; Hayward 1976, pp. 107, 365, fig. 289, as an Antwerp work of ca. 1530–40; Antwerp 1988–89, p. 45, fig. 25, as an Antwerp work of ca. 1530–40; Bimbenet-Privat 1991, p. 128, fig. 87. For Vezeleer, see Schlüter 2006, pp. 147–49.

6. Mette 1995 describes cut nautilus shells as the result of an artistic choice (see esp. pp. 78–81), but it seems more probable that the cutting of at least some of these examples (for instance the cup described ibid., p. 142, no. 307, fig. 115) was prompted by existing damage.

7. See ibid., pp. 106–7, no. 32, fig. 82; some nautilus cups combine, as does Coecke's design, a snail with the figure of Neptune wielding his trident (ibid., nos. 205, 257–58, 147, 272, figs. 34, 35–36, 68, 109).

8. Müller 1990, pp. 33–35, 37, 38, 40, figs. 3–3b; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 87, no. 96, ill. For other designs of vessels by Holbein and his workshop, see Hayward 1976, pp. 109–12, 340–42, figs. 36–48; Müller 1990; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, pp. 149–51, 156, nos. 326, 328, 331e, vol. 2, pls. 214, 215, 218; Müller 1996, pp. 118, 123, 137–39, 148, 162–63, nos. 175, 185, 239–44, 282, 326, pls. 58, 61, 73–75, 83, 98; and Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 76–77, 85–87, nos. 80, 91–95.

9. Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 6 (1952), p. 250, nos. 58, 60; Christine van Mulders in Huysmans et al. 1996, p. 45, nos. P.1/11, P.1/13, figs. 26, 129, 131. For the series, see Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 6 (1952), p. 250, nos. 49–67; van Mulders in Huysmans et al. 1996, pp. 43–49, nos. P.1/1–P.1/21, figs. 26, 119–39; and Peter Fuhring in Leuven and Paris 2013, pp. 36–37, 38, nos. 76a, 76b, ill. The title "Vaesboeck" is the one given in the inventory of the publisher Hieronymus Cock's widow, Volcxken Dierckx, after her death in 1600 (Duverger, E. 1984–2009, vol. 1 [1984], p. 30, under no. 7).

10. Gossart's only known watercolored drawing is at the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (1911-4-12-2); see Popham 1932, pp. 72–73, no. 33, pl. xxvii, as attributed to an anonymous artist active in Antwerp, ca. 1530 or later; and Alsteens 2011.

11. Sylvie Béguin in Paris 1989, pp. 38–39, no. 1, ill., as by Jean Cousin the Elder; Alsteens 2014b, no. A31, ill.; Alsteens forthcoming.

16.

Gaius Fabricius Luscinus Refusing the Gifts from King Pyrrhus (?); verso: Sketches of Figures

1. Karel G. Boon in Florence and Paris 1980–81, p. 79. The subject was unidentified before (see Marlier 1966, p. 295). For Pyrrhus, see Pigler 1974, vol. 2, pp. 391–92.

2. For Fabricius, see Denzler 1973.

3. Plutarch 1914–25, vol. 9, p. 406; translation by Bernadotte Perrin, p. 407.

4. Ibid., pp. 410, 412; translation, p. 413.

5. Ibid.

6. Marlier 1966, p. 295.

7. For Breu's fresco, see Haemmerle 1935–36, n.p., ill. For Bol's painting and related works, see Blankert 1982, pp. 111–14, under nos. 49–53, 55.

17.

The Architectural Treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, Books I–V

1. Fontaine Verwey (1976, p. 174) compares the impact of the publication of these three books to that of a similar series of books in France in the 1540s. On the influence of Coecke's books on painters, notably Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer, see Heringuez 2013.

2. The manuscript was found in the library of the Abbey of Saint Gall, Switzerland, and first published in Italy between 1483 and 1490; Fontaine Verwey 1976, p. 167 n. 1, with further references.

3. For financial reasons, Serlio opted to issue first the books that he assumed would be most popular.

4. On the alphabet, see Johnson 1943.

5. See Vène 2007, pp. 32–33. Dürer's treatise is entitled *Eitliche underricht, zur befestigung der Stett, Schloz und Flecken*; see Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 3, pp. 282–318, no. 276.

6. On Coecke's publication of Vitruvius, see De Jonge 2004b and Fontaine Verwey 1976, pp. 175–77.

7. "Ter begheerten van goeden vrienden wtghegheven duer Peeter Coucke van Aelst."

8. One is in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (40.5.1.GEOM), and one is in the Universitätsbibliothek, Ghent (BHSL.Res.1448) (p. 90, fig. 82).

9. Vène 2007, pp. 129–40, nos. 52–55.

18.

Design for a Triptych with Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist

1. Two of the designs for the polyptych are at the Morgan Library and Museum, New York (1967.10, 1967.11); see Stampfle 1991, p. 29, nos. 50–51, ill.; and Alsteens 2014b, nos. A19, A21, ill. Two are at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (MB 1958/T 9, MB 1958/T 10); see Judith Niessen in Bleyerveld et al. 2012, entry on the drawings; Alsteens 2014b, nos. A20, A22, ill.; and Niessen in Paris and Rotterdam 2014–15, pp. 70–71, no. 16. The fifth is in a private collection; see Alsteens 2014b, no. A23.

2. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 4647); see Stijn Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, pp. 360–62, no. 90, ill. Other mid-sixteenth-century examples include a drawing dated 1555 by Pieter Pourbus at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Mas. 552; see Emmanuelle Brugerolles, with David Guillet in Paris and Hamburg 1985–86, pp. 38–39, no. 68); and one by Maarten van Heemskerck from approximately the same time at the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (KKSgb8153; see Ger Luijten in Amsterdam 1986, p. 258, under no. 139, fig. 139b).

3. The reproduction of the exterior wings in Marlier's 1966 monograph on Coecke (p. 292, fig. 232) seems to indicate that at least until that time, the wings were hinged to the central panel and they could still be closed. In its present museum mount, which has a window on both sides, the triptych is always shown open.

4. In this context, it is interesting to note the survival of several contemporary German drawings, especially by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop, in which the central panel is drawn on a large piece of paper, together with an indication of the altar on which the painting was to be placed; the designs for the wings are drawn on separate pieces of paper and mounted onto the larger sheet. See, for instance, a design for an altarpiece dated ca. 1510 by Hans Süss von Kulmbach at the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (5218-124–5218-127; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, pp. 192–93, no. 410, vol. 2, pl. 263; Butts 2006, p. 137, no. A31, fig. 18); and one from ca. 1519–20 by Cranach at the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 38; Dieter Koeplin in Washington, D.C. 1999–2000, pp. 204–7, no. 89, ill.). An anonymous German example in the collection of the Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg at Wolfegg Castle is particularly interesting because it retains what appear to be the original paper hinges, cut and colored to look like metal ones.

5. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (2784); see Silver 1984, pp. 210, 211–12, no. 16, fig. 118; and Foucart 2009, p. 46, ill. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (741-745); see Lars Hendrikman in Antwerp 2009, pp. 86–97, no. 2; and Galand 2013, pp. 56–57, fig. 4. High altar of the Church of Our Lady, Bruges; see Hendrikman 2008; and Galand 2013, pp. 25, 73–74, fig. 8.

6. See Voragine 2007, vol. 1, pp. 604–15; vol. 2, pp. 970–83. For an English translation, see Voragine 1993, vol. 1, pp. 328–26; vol. 2, pp. 132–40. For Saint John the Baptist, see also Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 431–63; Stramare and Cardinali 1965; and Weis 1974.

7. Cordellier and Py 1992, pp. 514, 516, no. 887, as attributed to Raphael or Giovanni Francesco Penni; Achim Gnann in Mantua and Vienna 1999, pp. 288–89, no. 205, as by Raphael.

8. Dominique Cordellier in Paris 2012–13, p. 153, fig. 178, as an anonymous copy after Luca Penni; Alsteens 2014a, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. C5, ill.

9. Nicole Dacos's attribution to Coecke of "the first red chalk drawing by a Netherlandish artist"—a view of the Palatine with on its recto a view of Saint Peter's in Rome, in the Ashby Collection at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (329)—is not convincing (Dacos 1994; Nicole Dacos in Brussels and Rome 1995, pp. 155–56, no. 67, ill.). As far as surviving drawings allow us to judge, red chalk was mainly used in designs for monumental glass to indicate the stonework (compare cat. 13). Among the earliest uses of red chalk in the north is a drawing by Hans Schäufelein from ca. 1510–15 in the Metropolitan Museum (2002.123); see Freyda Spira in New York 2012, pp. 32–34, no. 14, ill., esp. p. 34 n. 11. Around the same time as Coecke in the drawing discussed here, Maarten van Heemskerck used red chalk in some of his drawings made during his stay in Rome in the mid-1530s, in the album at the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (70 D 2); see Hülsen and Egger 1913–16, vol. 1, pp. v, vi. See also Meder 1923, pp. 126–27.

19.

The Revolt of the Giants

20.

The Fall of the Giants

21.

The Fall of the Giants

1. These include the title pages of his editions of Sebastiano Serlio (cat. 17), the title page and illustrations of the description of the future Philip II's 1549 entry into Antwerp (cat. 23), as well as two other woodcuts (Marlier 1966, pp. 182–83, figs. 124, 125; Alsteens 2011, pp. 79–80, fig. 6).

2. For a full discussion of the drawing, see Alsteens 2014a.

3. For Bos, see Schéle 1965, Mielke 1968, and van der Coelen 1995.

4. See Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 3 (1950), p. 124, no. 57; Schéle 1965, p. 139, no. 62, pl. 24; Alsteens 2014a, ill. In connection with the figure of Jupiter, one is reminded of the figure of God in a drawing attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni at the Louvre (fig. 83), or that by Raphael symbolizing an earthquake, known as *Il Terremoto*, at the Morgan Library and Museum, New York (1977.45); see Oberhuber 1972, pp. 136–37, no. 450, pl. 50; J. A. Gere in New York 1987–88, pp. 118–19, no. 29. Similar dominating, centrally placed deities can be found in some of Coecke's designs: two representing the Baptism of Christ (cat. 18, fig. 84), and his *Fall of the Giants* discussed here (cats. 20, 21).

5. Rombouts and Van Lerijs, eds. 1872–76, vol. 1, p. 137. For Bos's years in Antwerp, where he may have arrived as early as 1537, see van der Coelen 1995, pp. 119–25.

6. Van der Coelen 1995, pp. 125–28.

7. This date is also not contradicted by the watermarks found in several impressions of the related prints; see Alsteens 2014a.

8. Belluzzi et al. 1998, [vol. 2], figs. 895, 897, 898. For the south and west walls, see [vol. 1], p. 455.

9. Ibid., [vol. 2], fig. 879. For the vault, see [vol. 1], pp. 453–54.

10. The attribution of the prints' designs to Giulio can be found in older publications, such as Nagler 1858–79 and Gombrich 1935, as well as in more recent ones, such as Vetter, A. 2002. See also Alsteens 2014a.

11. J. A. Gere in *New York 1987–88*, pp. 177–80, no. 49, as by Giovan Francesco Penni; Martin Clayton in *London and other cities 1999–2001*, pp. 99–103, no. 25, as attributed to Raphael.

12. Joannides 1983, pp. 30–31.

13. For Raphael's cartoons, see Shearman 1972. For their influence on northern artists, see, among others, Dacos 1987 and Sammer 2013.

14. For Giulio and the Palazzo Te, see Belluzzi et al. 1998.

15. For the dating of the Sala dei Giganti's decoration, *ibid.*, [vol. 1], pp. 447–49. For Raphael's heirs and the fate of his studio estate, see Prospero Valenti Rodinò 2006, pp. 68–70.

16. Belluzzi et al. 1998. The earliest reproduction of the painted decoration appears to be a set of eight etchings and a title page by the Roman printmaker Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635–1700). For a discussion of earlier (drawn) reproductions of the Sala dei Giganti, see Alsteens 2014a.

17. Van Mander 1604, fol. 218r. See also Hessel Miedema's comment in *van Mander 1604/1994–99*, vol. 3, p. 75.

18. Krönig 1936, p. 22. The same conclusion was reached— independently, it seems—in Wescher 1968, p. 23; and Born 2008, esp. pp. 99–102.

19. For the Gigantomachy, see Pigler 1974, vol. 2, pp. 95–97; Guthmüller 1986; Vian and Moore 1988, pp. 191–97; Davidson Reid 1993, vol. 2, pp. 1032–36; and Vetter, A. 2002, esp. pp. 15–42.

20. For the Latin text, also given in the heading of cat. 19, see Ovid 1976–77, vol. 1, p. 12. The English translation by Frank Justus Miller is taken from *ibid.*, p. 13.

21. The eagle and Ganymede are the subject of another print signed with Bos's monogram, where they can be seen flying over a building with a tower and a tree (Schéle 1965, p. 139, no. 61, pl. 22, fig. 61). The print should be considered a free—and rather weak—adaptation of the motif in Coecke's design.

22. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome (F.N. 1096); see Massari et al. 1993, pp. 54–55, no. 45.

23. Following the Latin text as given in Ovid 1976–77, vol. 1, p. 12: "obruta mole sua cum corpora dira iacerent / perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram / immaduisse ferunt calidumque animasse cruorem." The translation is taken from *ibid.*, p. 13.

24. For this interpretation of the Gigantomachy, see, among other publications, Vetter, A. 2002, pp. 86–91.

25. Schéle 1965, pp. 15–17.

26. For a general discussion of the collaboration between Raphael and Marcantonio, see David Landau in Landau and Parshall 1994, pp. 103–4, 120–46.

27. For Cock's activity as a publisher, see, most recently, Leuven and Paris 2013.

22.

Descent from the Cross

1. Friedländer 1917, p. 94.

2. Van den Branden, F. J. 1883, pp. 154–55, and "Acta no. 39" 1938.

3. See Marlier 1966, p. 76, for the text of the entire document of the sales transaction registered in the Stadsarchief, Antwerp, "Certificatieboek" 46, 1585, fol. 8r–v.

4. The triptych is in fairly good condition, but the faces of several of the figures were deliberately scratched through with a sharp object, probably during the Iconoclasm (the head of Saint John was particularly disfigured).

5. See Maryan W. Ainsworth in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, pp. 200–204, no. 25.

6. Marlier (1966, pp. 80–81) acknowledged this connection, but he also reviewed the possible relationship of Deposition paintings by many other early Netherlandish artists as well as by Italian artists. To the present author, these connections are tangential at best, and it is the Gossart precedent that is the most important.

7. See Thomas P. Campbell in *New York 2002*, esp. pp. 187–263 and 341–77.

8. See "Timeline."

9. The underdrawing in the triptych was documented with an Osiris high-resolution IRR camera with an InGaAs detector by Sónia Lopes da Costa, Laboratório HERCULES, Universidade de Évora, and Laboratório José de Figueiredo, Direção Geral do Património Cultural.

10. For the close connection of figures in Coecke's *Fall of the Giants* with those in the Deposition triptych, see Stijn Alsteens's discussion in catalogue number 21.

11. Marlier (1966, pp. 85–86) questioned whether the outside of the wings could have been done by an assistant of Coecke's, perhaps working after the master's death. However, Marlier did not compare the working techniques and execution of those paintings with Coecke's drawings that, as described here, show a consistent approach.

23.

The Triumph of Antwerp

1. Kuyper 1994, vol. 1, p. 7. Detailed analyses of the ceremony itself are provided by Kuyper 1994 and Meadow 1998.

2. Grapheus was removed from the post of secretary of Antwerp in 1522—and then reappointed after having been jailed and expelled from the city and later allowed to return. The German edition of Coecke's translation of Sebastiano Serlio (see cat. 17) contains a Latin poem by Grapheus in praise of Coecke.

3. On the existing documents connected to this event, see Roobaert 1960.

4. The arguments for his participation are summarized by Corbet 1960 and those against by Schéle 1965, pp. 74–76.

5. Van der Stock 1998, p. 45; van den Branden, L. 1990, p. 37, no. 168.

6. De Jonge 2004c, p. 483.

Designing and Defining Tapestries: The Three Stages of Tapestry Production

Sarah W. Mallory

1. A late fifteenth-century account detailing these steps can be found in Guignard 1851, pp. ix–xiii, translated in Kane 2010. See also descriptions of production in Cavallo 1993, pp. 17–25; Thomas P. Campbell in *New York 2002*, pp. 5–6; and Cleland 2007, pp. 108–14. For a general discussion of tapestry terminology used in historical documents, see Salet 1988.

Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Drawings for Tapestries

Stijn Alsteens

1. For a complete catalogue of Coecke's drawings and a discussion of their stylistic development, see Alsteens 2014b.

2. Guicciardini 1567, p. 98: "gran' pittore & grande inuettore di patroni da Tapezzerie." Guicciardini's assessment of Coecke's activity was followed in 1568 by Giorgio Vasari (1568, vol. 3, p. 858).

3. The terms are used in the contract between Mary of Hungary and Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen of June 1546 in connection to the commission of the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry series (for which, see Iain Buchanan, "The Conquest of Tunis"; the document is published in Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 344–45). The contract stipulates, among other things, that Vermeyen will make "sur bon grant papier [...] les dicts grans patrons selon les pe[tits] qu'il a monstrés a sa] Majesté" (on good large paper the aforesaid large cartoons after the small ones which he showed Her Majesty; *ibid.*, p. 344). A Dutch translation for *petit patron* (patroen int cleijne) was used in connection with Coecke's design for the stained glass window for the Church of Saints Michael and Gudula in Brussels (see p. 81). For the use of the Dutch word *patroen* (cartoon), see also Boon 1983, pp. 437–38.

4. A catalogue of Van Orley's drawings remains to be undertaken. Most of what survives by his hand or his workshop appears to be *petits patrons* or replicas (see, among other publications, Ainsworth 1982; Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, pp. 49, 58–65, 129–35, nos. 46–53; Balis 1993; and Maryan W. Ainsworth and Thomas P. Campbell in *New York 2002*, pp. 288–328, nos. 34–35, 37–38, ill.).

5. For example a drawing of the Crucifixion at the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (C 1720); see *New York 2002*, pp. 304, 314, no. 34.

6. Dominique Radrizzani in Vevey 1997–98, pp. 104–6, no. 57; Alsteens 2014b, no. A7, ill.).

7. Dominique Radrizzani in Vevey 1997–98, p. 104: "la rédaction pauvre."

8. Bock and Rosenberg 1930, vol. 1, p. 38, as attributed to Coecke; Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 116–17, no. 146, fig. 41; Rotraud Bauer in Halbturm 1981, pp. 37–39, 41, under no. 1, p. 42, under no. 2, fig. 12, as by Coecke; Alsteens 2014b, no. C3, ill.

9. The drawing was acquired on the New York art market in the 1990s. Its watermark, a Gothic P, does not exclude a dating during Coecke's lifetime.

10. A much later example of a compulsively neat draftsman who made several highly similar and finished versions of the same composition is Jacques Louis David (see, as an example, the pair of drawings by him discussed in Stein 2009, pp. 225–26, 228, figs. 12–13).

11. For a discussion of these drawings, see Balis 1993.

12. Special Collections, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden (PK-T-2047); see Campbell in *New York 2002*, pp. 329–39, no. 37. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (20160); see Lugt 1968, pp. 53–54, no. 178, pl. 84; and Campbell in *New York 2002*, pp. 329–39, no. 38.

13. De Jonge 1993, p. 86.

14. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 2140-RF 2147); see Lugt 1968, pp. 17–19, nos. 47–54, pls. 24–27; and Campbell in *New York 2002*, pp. 40–42, figs. 28, 30, nos. 2–3 and pp. 55–64.

15. Van Mander 1604, fol. 218r: "een cloeck teeckenaer . . . in . . . Water-verwe"; for the translation by Jacqueline Penial-Boer and Charles Ford quoted, see van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 1, p. 130.

16. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG 2038–GG 2047); see Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, pp. 41–328, vol. 2, pp. 341–411, pls. XI–XVIII, figs. B6–B16, B18–B30, B32–B38, B40–B46, B48–B54, B56–B62, B64a–B72, B80–B86, B88–B94, B96–B102. For an overview of sixteenth-century cartoons in the Netherlands, see de Koomen 2011.

24.

A Horseman Abducting a Woman in a Landscape with a Battle

1. Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 167, no. 211, with references to Harzen's inventory, and to a note on the drawing's mount by Schaar. The French attribution may have been based on the drawing's inscription, which could have been understood as meaning Jean Cousin; confusion between Coecke and Cousin is recorded in at least one other case (see Alsteens forthcoming).

The Life of Saint Paul

Guy Delmarcel

1. This essay relies in part on my publication about *Saint Paul before Porcius Festus, King Herod Agrippa, and His Sister Berenice* at the Detroit Institute of Arts, Delmarcel 2004.

2. For the *Acts of the Apostles*, see London 2010.

3. These were the *Stoning of Stephen*, the *Conversion of Saul*, the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, and *Paul Preaching in Athens*; for a synthesis of both cartoons and tapestries, see Fermor 1996.

4. See Delmarcel 2004.

5. Krönig 1936, p. 88, cited by Thomas P. Campbell in *New York 2002*, p. 408.

6. Krönig 1936, p. 98.

7. See Paris 1978, pp. 56–57, no. 6.

8. For a more detailed survey of these translations, see Marlier 1966, pp. 379–83; and more recently, Fontaine Verwey 1976.

9. See Tijs 1999, pp. 11–27.

10. Musée de l'Art Wallon, Liège; see Denhaene 1990, p. 50, pl. 52.

11. See Halbturm 1981, p. 30, pl. 25.

12. See, for example, Marlier 1966, p. 314, and Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127, although that date was called into question by Rotraud Bauer in Halbturm 1981, p. 38.

13. Marlier 1966, pp. 309–41.
14. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 408–9; Campbell 2007, pp. 210, 217.
15. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, pp. 270, no. 4, and 302 n. 4. The height of 3.5 ells of Paris corresponds to the average 420 centimeters of the preserved pieces. The seven items are described in detail in a French royal inventory of 1665–66; see Favreau 2005, p. 60. The description of the border is repeated in the later inventory of Louis XIV: “fonds d’or à festons de fleurs et de fruits soutenus par des anges, avec trois inscriptions en lettres d’or au haut de chaque pièce qui en expliquent le sujet”; see Vittet, Brejon de Lavergnée, and de Savignac 2010, p. 32.
16. Checa Cremades, ed. 2010, vol. 3, p. 2904. The subjects of the two tapestries not included in the set can be deduced from the inventory, in which the initial words of the inscriptions on the tapestries were recorded.
17. Patrimonio Nacional, series 32; see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 230; Beer, ed. 1891, p. CLXII, no. 43.
18. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ser. III; see Halbturn 1981, p. 37; Molinier 1885: “sept pièces de tapisseries où est l’histoire de Saint Paul, faictes de soye fine rehaussée d’or et d’argent à un bord large de cornes d’abondance plaines de fruitages tenues par petitz enfans” (p. 475). The motif of the cherubs bearing cornucopia appears also on a contemporary *Phaeton* series (e.g., Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen); see Guy Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, pp. 142–47.
19. Brown, Delmarcel, and Lorenzoni 1996, pp. 202–3; Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, pp. 126, 131. For Paulus van Oppenheim, see Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 308–9.
20. See Campbell 2007, pp. 238–41. A piece of *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books* (fig. 135), woven with gold but lacking its borders, was mentioned as in a Spanish private collection in early 2014, and it has been connected to the edition owned by Henry VIII but without further proof. It was published in Spanish newspapers; see García Calero 2014 and Moreno 2014.
21. Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, pp. 98–103; Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Stepe in Halbturn 1981, p. 44; Delmarcel 2004. The tapestries now in Detroit and Boston were owned by the Bachstitz Gallery, The Hague and New York, in 1924.
22. Stepe 1981, p. 135.
23. Delmarcel and Dumortier 1986, pp. 42, 48–49.
24. Campbell 2007, pp. 240, 305.
25. I am particularly grateful to Florence Patrizi, who provided me with transcriptions of these documents, which she is currently investigating.
26. According to Baldass 1924b, cited in Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, p. 103. The Friedrichshof piece was reproduced for the first time in Bode 1896. My gratitude to Dr. Markus Miller for this reference.
27. For example, such borders appear on the *Hunts of Maximilian* (Musée du Louvre, Paris; figs. 49, 133), the *Battle of Pavia* (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples), the *Apocalypse* (La Granja, Patrimonio Nacional), and the *Life of Tobias* (Castle Gaasbeek).
28. Cortés Hernández 1982, pp. 81–120. The Toledo set comprises subjects 1–4, 6, and 8.
29. Durian-Ress 1981, pp. 213–33.
30. The complete *Planets* set measures 164.8 meters wide by 4.2 meters high, resulting in 346.16 square Flemish ells, in its largest dimensions; the documents give 343.5 ells; see note 33 below. See also Schmitz-von Ledebur 2009, pp. 127–30.
31. Giuseppe Bertini in Colorno 1998, pp. 45, 224.
32. Mentioned by Buchanan 2003, p. 93, with references. My special gratitude to Iain Buchanan for his essential help with this research.
33. This inventory, in the Stadsarchief, Antwerp, Vierschaar, vol. 298, is transcribed and published in part in Roobaert 2010a, p. 16, fol. 7v: “Item noch negen costelycke stucken tapisserien vander historie van Sint Paulus, groot in alles naevolgende de afmetinge vanden meesters die dit gemaect hebben daeraff gemaect 549¾ ellen. / Item noch seven costelycke stucken tapisserie vanden seven planeten, groot in ellen navolgende der scriftelycke afmetinge van meesters daeraff gedaen 343½ ellen.”
34. Same inventory of June 27, 1565, fol. 5r: “Item sessen pampieren patroonen van de seven planeten. . . . item

diverse stucken ende rekeningen nopende den oncosten gedaen by hans fugger int maken van de tapisserien van sint Paulus en van de seven planeten gequoteert n° 61.” The documents listed here as number 61 have not yet been found.

35. Schmitz-von Ledebur (2009, pp. 14, 18) mentions links with the Fugger bank and a purchase of tapestries in an inheritance of a Fugger in 1576, but not the letters by Barocelli or Friesinger. Franz Karg, curator of the Fuggerarchiv in Dillingen, informs me that no specific sales registers from the Antwerp branch of the Fugger for that period are extant.

36. Buchanan 1994. The Fuggers were close to the court in Munich. In 1565, a Johann Jacob Fugger went into service at the court of Albert V, later becoming his “Kammerpräsident.”

37. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 297, 355 (ser. 41).

38. Göbel 1928, p. 267; Schmitz-von Ledebur 2009, pp. 106–7.

39. See Cortés Hernández 1982. I thank Susana Cortés Hernández for providing me with an image of this Antwerp city mark.

40. For these two series, see Crick-Kuntziger 1956a, pp. 49–51, and García Calvo 2009, pp. 32–45. Schavaert was born ca. 1510–13, was a citizen of Brussels in 1538, and was last mentioned in 1576. His monogram appears on a receipt of 1550. Together with Jan Ghietels and Frans Geubels, he was appointed a controller of the weaving of the *Conquest of Tunis* by Willem de Pannemaker in 1553 and 1554. He was mentioned as a “tapissier” in 1557 and as a merchant of tapestries in 1556, and in 1560 he sold two sets of *Hercules* and one of *Caesar* to Cornelis de Ronde, with whom he also had a share in borders for the *Acts of the Apostles*, and of whose will he was executor in 1569–75. See Roobaert 2010b, pp. 25–36.

41. Matthias Klein in Arnstadt 2010, pp. 189–203, nos. 8–11; and for the count’s purchase, p. 190. The count of Schwarzburg was in the service of Emperor Charles V from 1550 onward.

42. Like the versions of *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa* in Munich and Toledo, the Arnstadt fragment includes erotic scenes on the pedestals of its columns that are absent from the earlier edition now in Detroit, but since these scenes do appear on the other first-generation versions in Madrid (see fig. 139) and Vienna, this detail does not help the generational categorization as explored by Klein in Arnstadt 2010, pp. 201–2.

43. For the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, see Campbell 2004a, 2004b; for *Los Honores*, see Delmarcel 2000.

44. Michel 1999, pp. 290–93, 446–47.

45. Ibid.

46. Patrimonio Nacional, series 48, nos. 10–12; see Junquera de Vega and Díaz Gallegos 1986, pp. 72–74.

47. Three pieces of the set belong to the late Medici collections and entered them probably in the late eighteenth century: *Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Books in Ephesus* in the Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale in Florence (Turin 1952, pp. 58–59, pl. 52); the central part of *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* in storage in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (Stefanini Sorrentino 1993, pp. 143–49); and *Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem* in the Soprintendenza, Siena (Meoni 2003, p. 44; with thanks to the author for additional information).

48. Sale, Christie’s, Alnwick 1986, pp. 66–67, lots 94, 95. A fragment with the central part of the *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra* may have belonged to that series; sale, Koller, Zürich 2008, lot 1030, with thanks to Dr. Markus Miller, Kulturstiftung des Hauses Hessen. A third tapestry in Eichenzell, with the same border, apparently relates to another episode of the *Life of Saint Paul*.

49. Brosens 2012, p. 187.

50. Brosens 2004, p. 260: “item eenen patroon geschildert op pampier met waterverve bestaende in negen stucken representerende d’historie van den H. Paulus”; Brosens 2012, p. 186, appendix 1.

51. Marlier 1966, pp. 318–20, and Campbell in New York 2002, p. 409. Some fine fragments of other compositions, but not from *Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa*, are now in the British Museum; Marlier 1966, p. 45. A dating of the Brussels cartoon to 1549, proposed, among others, by Buchanan (1992, p. 383), based on a resemblance of the beheaded figure in the foreground to a similar figure in Dürer’s *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians*, which

appeared in Brussels only that year, is not tenable. The resemblance between the two figures is not convincing. Moreover, Dürer’s figure may have been known in the Low Countries before that time.

52. Zaluski studied in Vienna, Leuven, and Paris. In 1674–75, he traveled in Europe (France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal, then back to France and to Brussels); he was strongly connected with King John III Sobieski of Poland, and between 1676 and 1687 was a chancellor of Queen Maria Casimire. He was involved in endeavors connected with the marriage of their daughter Therese Kunegunde Sobieska and Maximilian II Emanuel Wittelsbach, elector of Bavaria, governor of the southern Netherlands (1692–1706). My thanks to Dr. Katarzyna Polujan, Royal Castle, Warsaw, for this information. The same bishop ordered a *Decius Mus* set (after designs by Rubens) with his arms, of which one tapestry is now in Kraków; see Hennel-Bernasikowa 2000, pp. 167–69, 314.

53. Renate Kroll in Berlin 1983, pp. 312–13.

54. Zweite 1980, pp. 73–77, 267–69.

55. See Campbell in New York 2002, p. 409, and Campbell 2007, passim.

56. See Calberg 1962, ill. pp. 83, 94, 100; and Delmarcel 1981.

25. *The Stoning of Saint Stephen*

26. *The Stoning of Saint Stephen*

1. For Saint Stephen, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 444–56; Gordini and Liverani 1968; and Nitz 1976.

2. An example of a very light sketch of figures in black chalk can be found on the verso of cat. 16 (reproduced in Alsteens 2014b).

3. Of the same size as the Darmstadt and the less finished Mettingen drawings are two nonautograph sheets depicting the *Conversion of Saul*, discussed on p. 118, figs. 111 and 112.

4. As noted on the drawing’s mount. For the drawings retouched by Rubens, see Belkin 2009, and Wood 2010a, 2010b, and 2011. Georges Marlier (1966, p. 316) seems to have been reminded of Rubens without recognizing his hand.

5. Rotraud Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 40–42, no. 1, pl. 26.

6. Tom Henry and Paul Joannides in Madrid and Paris 2012–13, pp. 154–59, no. 25.

7. Influence of things seen on the trip to Constantinople is suggested, for instance, in Marlier 1966, p. 316.

8. As remarked by Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 408.

27. *The Conversion of Saul*

28. *Horse’s Head from The Conversion of Saul*

29. *The Conversion of Saul*

1. For the excavation of the *Dying Gaul* and Renaissance artists’ responses to the statue, see Biernkowski 1908, and Cocke 1985, esp. pp. 112–13.

2. See Lorraine Karafel in New York 2002, pp. 211–14, no. 23.

3. For dating and attribution of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio*, see Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 341–49, and Campbell and Karafel in *ibid.*, pp. 364–70, nos. 41–43; for the *Battle of Baecula*, see Paris 1978, pp. 54–58, no. 6.

4. Francis I’s set was woven with precious-metal-wrapped threads as well as wool and silk, probably taking about two months per square meter to weave: thus, four weavers in collaboration would take approximately fifteen months to weave one tapestry. Going by the usual workshop setup with four looms in use simultaneously, it is possible to estimate that Francis’s complete set of seven would have been ready in about two and a half years.

5. See Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 116–17, no. 146.

6. For the stained glass, part of the window of Léon d'Oultres in the Cathedral of Saint Paul, Liège, see Vanden Benden 1981, pp. 284–319; I am very grateful to Philippe George for drawing this window to my attention. For the tiled picture in the Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerp, see Dumortier 2002, pp. 28–29, no. 12.

7. See Steinberg 1975, esp. pp. 22–41.

8. See Matthias Klein in Arnstadt 2010, pp. 189–203, nos. 8–11.

9. See Cortés Hernández 1982, pp. 27–28.

10. For the borders, see Durian-Ress 1981, pp. 224–25.

30.

Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

31.

Head of an Old Bearded Man, Pointing to the Left from Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

32.

A Man Looking up from behind the Altar from Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

1. This author regards the drawing in Munich to have been made as a *petit patron*, even if it seems that a second one was made afterwards on which the cartoon was eventually based (see p. 153).

The nineteenth-century provenance of cat. 32 (see Checklist) is based on Sotheby's, London 2007, p. 10, citing "lengthy inscriptions on the reverse of the backing sheets, and both frames."

2. The framing line in cat. 13 was later reinforced with a slightly broader pen, but the thinner, original one can still be recognized over most of the width of the sheet.

3. Shearman 1972, pp. 59, 103–5, and *passim*, figs. 34–38; Mark Evans and Anna Maria De Strobel in London 2010, pp. 110–15, no. 8. For other depictions, see Pigler 1974, vol. 1, pp. 395–96. A Netherlandish representation that may be only a few years later than Coecke's design is a painting previously attributed to Jan Sanders van Hemessen, and now given to the Master of Saint Paul and Barnabas, at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (4315); see Bruyn 1985, pp. 20–21, fig. 12; and Ember et al., eds. 2000, p. 103, ill.

4. On the Fulda tapestry, see Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 43, under no. 3, fig. 44. On the Munich tapestry, see Marlier 1966, pp. 320, 322, fig. 259; and Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 43, under no. 3. A panel from a seventeenth-century edition is at the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa; see Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 44.

5. Raskin 2012, pp. 61–62, 64.

33.

Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi

34.

Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi

1. See Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 20.

2. See, respectively, *ibid.*, p. 231; Matthias Klein in Arnstadt 2010, pp. 197–99, no. 10; Borkopp-Restle and Brutillot 2003; Cortés Hernández 1982, p. 104.

3. See Giulio Bora and Dominique Radrizzani in Vevey 1997–98, pp. 104–6, no. 57.

4. See Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 45–53.

5. "sept pièces de tapisseries où est l'histoire de St Paul, faites de soye fine rehaussé d'or et d'argent à un bord larges de cornes d'abondance plaines de fruitages tenues par petitz ansans"; Molinier 1885, p. 475, and Lepage 1886, p. 191.

6. This point was also noted by Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 46.

7. This differs from Bauer (*ibid.*), who believes the Vienna and Munich tapestries were based on the same cartoon.

35.

Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

36.

Man's Head from Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

37.

Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

1. Translations by Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, p. 101. For the provenance of cat. 37 to a private collection in Austria, see Baldass 1924a, 1924b.

2. See Campbell 2007, pp. 238–41.

3. For the Protestants' championship of Stephen and for Anne Askew, see, for example, Kemp 1999, esp. pp. 1038–39.

4. See Hessayon 2007, par. 4.

5. "Enforcing Statutes Against Heresy; Prohibiting Unlicensed Preaching, Heretical Books," issued in March 1529; "Prohibiting Erroneous Books and Bible Translations," issued in June 1530; "Prohibiting Unlicensed Printing of Scripture, Exiling Anabaptists, Depriving Married Clergy, Removing St. Thomas à Becket from Calendar," issued in November 1538; see Hughes and Larkin, eds. 1964, pp. 181–86, 193–97, 270–76; and Gillaspie 2008, pp. 24, 34.

6. Gillaspie 2008, pp. 34–35.

7. This is calculated based on the hypothesis of the tapestries' being woven at a pace of about half a square meter per month each, by four weavers working simultaneously in a workshop with four to five looms in use at one time.

8. See Lefebvre 1993, pp. 34–35.

39.

Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa

40.

Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa

1. PAVLVS PRÆDICAT CHRISTVM FOELICI / PRÆSIDI EIVSQVE VXORI DRVSILLÆ. For the tapestry in Detroit, see Delmarcel 2004.

2. PAVLVS CORAM PRÆSIDE FESTO, ET REGE AGRIPPA, ET BER[E]NICE / APPELLAT CÆSAREM, ET QVE SIBI CONTIGERINT ENARRAT.

3. PAVLVS VNA CVM ARISTARCHO, CON / SCENSA NAVI ROMAN DE DVCITVR.

4. See London 2010, pp. 104–9, 118–23, nos. 7, 10.

5. See Matthias Klein in Arnstadt 2010, pp. 201–2, no 11.

6. For the tapestry in the Patrimonio Nacional, see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 233; for the tapestry in Vienna, see Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 50–51.

41.

Saint Paul Landing on Malta

1. For other depictions, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 1047; and Pigler 1974, vol. 1, p. 399.

2. For the Madrid tapestry, see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 234. For the Munich tapestry, see Marlier 1966, p. 312; Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 51, no. 8.

42–44.

The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

1. PAVLVS CVM ALIIS QVAM PLVRIMIS CHRISTVM PROFITENTIB[US] / INSANIA ET CRVDELITATE NERONIS GLADIO PERCVTTIVR.

2. See Shearman 1972.

3. See Brosens 2012, pp. 185–86.

4. See Crick-Kuntziger 1944, pp. 27–30.

Customs and Fashions of the Turks

Nadine M. Orenstein

1. The most thorough discussions of this piece, upon which much of the present discussion relies, are provided by Stirling Maxwell 1873, Marlier 1966, pp. 55–73, and Born forthcoming.

2. Van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 130–33, fol. 218r–v.

3. The documents are summarized in Born forthcoming; see also Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 379–80.

4. Guy Delmarcel in New York 2002, p. 337.

5. Their trip took place at an opportune moment when the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha was actively purchasing and commissioning works by Western artists for the sultan; see Necipoğlu 1989.

6. Gachard and Piot, eds. 1874–82, vol. 3, p. 539; English translation in Born forthcoming.

7. Born forthcoming.

8. On block cutters active in Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century, see Van der Stock 1998, esp. pp. 59–111.

9. Verhulst received a printer's permit on March 20, 1553, which lists her as working "In de Schiltpadde" (in the Turtle) on Antwerp's Lombardenvest (Rouzet 1975, pp. 42–43); she must have applied for the permit in order to print this frieze and the editions of Serlio's architectural treatise that she issued the same year.

10. Paredes 2005a; on the books about Turks printed in Antwerp in this period, see also Hamilton 2001.

11. Complete sets with the title, colophon, and both borders are rare; one exists in the British Museum. Born has pointed out that the set in the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, was assembled in the nineteenth century (Born forthcoming).

12. Stirling Maxwell 1873, p. 7.

13. Parker 1999, p. 114. The itinerary of Cornelis De Schepper's return trip from Constantinople to Vienna, which took fifty-six days, provides some insight into the many stops made by such expeditions; see Saint Genois and Yssel De Schepper 1856, pp. 111–15.

14. Van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 3, p. 133, fol. 218v.16.

15. Marlier 1966, p. 62; Marlier cites a manuscript by Josef von Karabacek in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, that was intended to be published in 1918 in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* but never appeared because of the war. Karabacek identified many of the locations and other details given by Marlier.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

18. *Ibid.*

19. The Dutch inscription written on the Metropolitan Museum's impression follows van Mander's interpretation of the scene.

20. Wiegand 1908 signaled the woodcut's importance as visual evidence of the city about 1530 and identified most of the recognizable monuments depicted in the image.

21. Born forthcoming.

22. On the dating, see Belluzzi et al. 1998, [vol. 1], p. 371.

23. Held 1931, pp. 130–31.

24. Lehrs 1925, vol. 1, pp. 69–75, no. 9.

25. Suzanne Boorsch in Boorsch and Orenstein 1997, pp. 50–51.

26. On such large friezes, see Silver 2008–9.

The Seven Deadly Sins

Elizabeth Cleland

1. See Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 77–78; Norman 1988; O'Sullivan 2004; and Cleland and Karafel 2014, nos. 46.95, 46.127.

2. For the *Allegory of the Redemption of Man*, see Brosens et al. 2008, pp. 62–68; for the *Triumph of the Virtues over the Vices*, see Jan-Karel Steppe in Brussels 1976, pp. 100–117; for the *Moralidades*, see Delmarcel 2000, pp. 41–42; for *Los Honores*, see Delmarcel 2000.

3. The manuscript was first discussed by Steppe in 1969; see also Steppe and Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 57, citing Briquet 1907, vol. 1, p. 98, nos. 1181–83, for the watermark.

4. I am grateful to Elizabeth Williams and Marek Dospěl for clarifying this in an email, April 14, 2013.

5. See Veenstra and Pignon 1998, pp. 357–69.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

7. Steppe and Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 56.

8. The *Distiques moraux* are reprinted in Carnahan 1907–8, pp. 111–41. Those that supply the captions on the *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestries are: no. 19, “Amor” (on *Lust*); no. 31, “Gula” (on *Gluttony*); no. 32, “Otium” (on *Sloth*); no. 35, “Avarus” (on *Avarice*); no. 36, “Invidus” (on *Envy*); no. 44, “Superbia” (on *Pride*); and no. 64, “Inclementia bellica” combined with no. 66, “Ira” (on *Anger*); respectively, Carnahan 1907–8, pp. 115, 118, 119, 120, 122, 128, 129. For the 1512 publication of the *Distiques moraux* by Josse Bade and Jean Petit, in Paris, see Renouard et al. 1969, p. 88, no. 178.

9. For a biography of Andrelin, see Michaud et al. 1811–62, vol. 2 (1811), cols. 139–41.

10. For the *Triumph of the Virtues*, see Bennett 1992, pp. 99–110, and Delmarcel 1979.

11. For *Petrarch’s Triumphs* in tapestries, see Delmarcel 1989 and Campbell 2004a, 2004b; for stained-glass designs sometimes attributed to Coecke, see Timothy B. Husband in New York 1995, pp. 160–63.

12. Steppe (in Halbtorn 1981, p. 78) alluded to the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio*, for which see Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 341–49.

13. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 381, 414.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

15. For the Camerino, see Caroline Campbell and Amanda Bradley in London 2003, pp. 100–111.

16. The mark on *Avarice* is illustrated in Thomson, W. G. 1906, p. 476, and discussed in Standen 1985, vol. 1, p. 113. In Brown, Delmarcel, and Lorenzoni 1996, pp. 202–3, and Guy Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, pp. 126, 131, the same mark is discussed in relation to the *Life of Moses* tapestry the *Abduction of the Madianite Women and Children* in the Château de Châteaudun.

17. Campbell 2007, pp. 222–26, 356, 361.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 247, 254, 306–7.

19. Molinier 1885, p. 473, and Lepage 1886, p. 185.

20. See Standen 1985, vol. 1, pp. 110–18, and Carò, Chiostri, Cleland, and Shibayama 2014.

21. See Lefèvre 1970, pp. 141, 144.

22. See Pinchart 1885, pp. 86, 87.

23. See Campbell 2007, pp. 306–7, and Buchanan 1999, p. 133.

24. For Titian’s painting, see Michael Jaffé in London 2003, pp. 168–69, no. 38.

25. For Claeissens’s painting, see de Vos 1984, p. 58.

26. For the *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series, see Concha Herrero Carretero in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 218–33, nos. 19–24.

47.

Pride

1. This translation is based on the French translation of the distich on *Pride*, “L’orgueil qui s’enfle imite le soufflet qui s’emplit de vent. Corps fantastique et vain, il ne se nourrit que d’air”; see Brunel 1808, vol. 1, pp. 8–9. Distich by Publio Fausto Andrelini, compiled in Luigi Bigi Pittorio, *Sacra et satyrica epigrāmata* (Basel, 1518). Andrelini gave the seven Latin distiches corresponding to the Seven Deadly Sins exactly as they appear on all the surviving tapestries in the series.

2. Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 84–85.

3. Calvete de Estrella 1552/2001, pp. 316–17.

4. Beer, ed. 1891, pp. CLI, CLIX. The *Story of Hercules*, the *Story of Dido and Aeneas*, the *Story of Scipio*, the *Story of Venus*, two sets of the *Story of Moses*, the *Story of Tobias*, and the *Life of Saint Paul* are some of the series of rich tapestries inherited by Philip II from his aunt and preserved in the Spanish royal collection; see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 155–84, 230–35, 241–47, 297–303, 325–32.

5. In the 1751 inventory of Ferdinand VI, they were listed explicitly as “los pecados nuevos” and “los pecados viejos”; Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 83–87, and Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 143–54.

6. Delmarcel 1999b, pp. 163, 169, no. 2. “Testamentaria de Carlos III, Inventario general y tasación de todos los muebles correspondientes del Real Oficio de la Tapicería de S. M. Católica, que quedaron por fallecimiento del Rey, el señor don Carlos 3º (que esté en Gloria), acaecido en catorce de diciembre de mil setecientos ochenta y ocho,” Archivo General de Palacio (AGP), Madrid, Registros, libro 259, 1788, fol. 228r–v.

7. Herrero Carretero 1992, vol. 1, pp. 454–66.

8. “Testamentaria del Señor don Fernando 7º de Borbón. Año de 1834,” AGP, Registros, libro 4807, fol. 201v. See Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 143–54.

9. Medici 1668–69/1933; Madrid 1994, pp. 499–500. For Henry VIII’s set, see Campbell 2007, pp. 222–26.

48, 49.

Lust

1. For detailed accounts of the iconography, see Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 72–74, and Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 410–16, no. 47.

2. “cornue et insensee”; manuscript program of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 46), fol. 4v.

3. “atraitz par desirs transitoires et mortele delectation”; *ibid.*, fol. 5r.

4. “tout souille dedans son sang”; *ibid.*

5. For the English translation of the Latin inscription, see New York 2002, p. 411.

6. Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 1, pp. 29–31, identified the “Old Sins” as the set now known as 21 and the “New Sins” as 22, presuming the “Old” to have been Mary of Hungary’s set and the “New” as Egmont’s. In Halbtorn 1981, Steppe (pp. 86–87) clarified that set 22 must have been Mary’s and set 21 Egmont’s, and also swapped the identification of the “Old Sins” as 22 and the “New” as 21, repeated by Delmarcel (1999b, p. 163) and Concha Herrero Carretero in Mexico City 2011–12, p. 269.

7. See particularly Bauer and Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, p. 58; Standen 1985, vol. 1, p. 113; and Campbell in New York 2002, p. 414. The exception is Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 143–54; they date the weaving of the Egmont set to about 1545 and Mary of Hungary’s to about 1550. Delmarcel (1999a, p. 127) did not rank the surviving sets chronologically.

8. For those in Spain, see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 225–29; for those in New York, see Standen 1985, vol. 1, pp. 105–9, no. 12.

50.

Gluttony

1. “damme glouttonnie / sans souci tenant le pot tousiours preste / a faire grosses chieres”; manuscript program of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 46), fol. 7r.

2. “cuisiniers / taureniers cabarretiers / pastissiers et toutz / maistres et maistresses de friandise”; *ibid.*

3. “philoxenus desirant avoir le col aussi grant / que dung cygne pour plus longuement percevoir et / gouter le bon vin”; *ibid.*, fol. 7v. For Philoxenus of Leucas, see Dalby 2003, p. 258.

4. “Cleopatra royne degipt fort prodigue laquelle / mist a povrete marc anthoine consul rommain / et luy fist pendre ung tresor infini”; manuscript program of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 46), fol. 7v. This interpretation differs from the one given by Edith Standen (1985, vol. 1, p. 110) and Tischer 1994, pp. 113–20, who identify this woman as Judith and suggested that Cleopatra is a secondary figure, visible immediately behind the standard bearer at the right of the tapestry.

5. “Alexandre le grand fut fort note de gourmandise”; manuscript program of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 46), fol. 7v. “Thays la paillarde”; *ibid.*, fol. 8r.

6. “Silenus lyvroigne marchent”; *ibid.*

7. “le guidon de gourmandise”; *ibid.*

8. For this, and subsequent reiterations including Physiologus, associating the hedgehog with gluttony, see de Tervarent 1958–59, vol. 1, col. 211. For the vulture as glutton in bestiaries, see Clark 2006, p. 247. It is also described as such in the notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci; see Richter, ed. 1970, vol. 2, p. 265. In de Tervarent 1958–59, vol. 1, col. 162; Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, p. 71; Standen 1985, vol. 1, pp. 110, 112; and Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 147, however, this bird is described as a falcon.

9. “La / mort la pourchasse comme veneur”; manuscript program of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 46), fol. 7r.

10. “la sobre et discrete Judith sest eslongee / de infame compaignie de gourmandise”; *ibid.*, fol. 8r.

11. “la belle vertu de temperance”; *ibid.*

12. See Carò, Chiostri, Cleland, and Shibayama 2014.

13. See Pinchart 1885, pp. 86, 87.

51–53.

Sloth

1. Koslow 1975, p. 424.

2. This suggestion, made by Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, p. 70, was repeated in Brunswick and other cities 1985–86, p. 7.

3. “toutz estatz du monde de gentilz / payens sarrasins chrestiens / princes / roix roines / nobles villains / jeunes / vieulx”; manuscript program of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 46), fol. 9v.

4. Bauer and Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, p. 70; countered by Smolak 1994, p. 378.

5. Marlier 1966, p. 70; Emmanuelle Brugerolles with the collaboration of David Guillet in Hamburg 1986, p. 100; Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 414.

6. The medal depicts Süleyman and Charles V; British Museum, London (1906-11-3-1453).

7. See Necipoğlu 1989, pp. 407–10.

8. Cleland 2014b.

9. For a detailed analysis of classical precursors of this type of sentiment, see Smolak 1994.

10. See Bauer and Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, p. 55; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 414; Fernando Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9, p. 187.

11. “six pièces où sont les sept péchez mortelz”; Molinier 1885, p. 473, and Lepage 1886, p. 185.

12. Calvete de Estrella 1552, fols. 182r–83r; the tapestry excluded from this display was *Pride*. It may have been the *Pride* tapestry displayed near the chimney, as suggested by Checa in Ghent 2008 (p. 187), although Buchanan 2008 (p. 152) disputes this supposition based on recorded inscriptions differing from those on the surviving tapestry (cat. 47).

13. By Bauer and Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 57–58; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 111; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 414.

14. See, respectively, Karafel forthcoming and Cleland 2012.

15. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 128.

16. The resemblance was noted by Bauer and Steppe (in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 57–58), who felt the influence flowed the opposite way. For the tapestries, see Misiąg-Bochenska 1972, and, more recently, Maria Hannel-Bernasikowa in New York 2002, pp. 441–47.

The Story of Joshua

Iain Buchanan

1. On the *Story of Joshua*, see in particular Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 19–36; Roobaert 2004, pp. 159–73; Szmydki 2005; and Buchanan 2014, pp. 157–67, no. 5.

2. For the Nine Worthies, see Schroeder 1971.

3. See Delmarcel 2004, p. 26, where the altar is illustrated.

4. For the *Conversion of the Proconsul*, see Mark Evans and Anna Maria De Strobel in London 2010, pp. 104–9, no. 7.

5. Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 20; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127; Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 382, 404.

6. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 382.
7. Laborde 1877–80, vol. 2, pp. 376–77.
8. Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (France) 1887–1908, vol. 8 (1905), p. 302, no. 32144; Laborde 1877–80, vol. 2, pp. 376–77.
9. Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (France) 1887–1908, vol. 3 (1899), p. 758, no. 10973.
10. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971.
11. Guiffrey 1887.
12. British Library, MS Harley 1419, fol. 208r–v; see Starkey, ed. 1998, pp. 268–69.
13. See Campbell 1994.
14. See Campbell in New York 2002, p. 382; Campbell 2007, pp. 300–302.
15. Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille (LADN), Chambre des Comptes B2442, fol. 602; Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rekenkamers/Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes, Brussels (BARA), Acquits de Lille 1167 bis. Published in Szmydki 2005, pp. 106–7, doc. 1; Buchanan 2014, p. 283, cat. doc. 5(1).
16. BARA, Acquits de Lille 1169A. Published in Szmydki 2005, p. 107, doc. 2; Buchanan 2014, p. 282, cat. doc. 5(2, 3).
17. BARA, Acquits de Lille 1169A. Published in Szmydki 2005, p. 107, doc. 3; Buchanan 2014, pp. 283–84, cat. doc. 5(4).
18. Szmydki 2005, p. 108, docs. 4 and 5.
19. LADN, Chambre des Comptes B3339, no. 187. Published in Szmydki 2005, p. 95, doc. 4, and p. 108, doc. 5.
20. For the 1544 inventory, see Delmarcel 2000, p. 168, doc. 5; Szmydki 2005, p. 94; Buchanan 2014, p. 300, no. 3.
21. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, KK T XIX/1–8; see Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 19–31.
22. On the Dermoyens, see Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 33–36; Roobaert 2004, pp. 129–32, 173–217; Buchanan 2014, pp. 50–52.
23. See Kellenbenz 1965; Delmarcel 1993.
24. On the *Story of Hercules*, see LADN, Chambre des Comptes B3357, fols. 180r, 199r. The series is discussed in Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 122–62.
25. Steppe, a most reliable scholar, cites this *Story of Esther* in Halbtorn 1981, p. 34, but the tapestries can no longer be located.
26. Discussed in Schneebalg-Perelman 1961, pp. 203–5, 208–9; Buchanan 2014, p. 52.

54. *Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land*

1. For the popularity of Old Testament subject matter in tapestry and the attribution of the *Joshua* series to Coecke, see Marlier 1966, p. 324, and Friedländer 1917, p. 91.
2. Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 23, 25.
3. See also Houdoy 1871, p. 63, for documentary record of Charles V's set; and Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, p. 260, no. 311, for the set owned by Francis I.
4. For example, Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 33–35; and Roobaert 2004, pp. 165, 170–73.
5. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 364.
6. See Roseline Bacou, Bertrand Jestaz, and Francis Salet in Paris 1978, pp. 5–11.

55. *The Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones*

1. Although the attribution, subject, and dimensions of the present drawing match those given in the inventory of the "second collection" of the Cologne-born banker and collector Everhard Jabach (published in Py 2001, p. 93, no. 266) (see Checklist), it should be noted that the drawing is described as done "sur papier bleu." It must be assumed that this part of the description is an error.

2. As first noted by Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 23, 24.
3. Formerly in the sale of July 10, 2001, Christie's, London, pp. 186–87, lot 148 (Alsteens 2014b, no. A24, ill.). Not directly related to Coecke or his workshop, but probably inspired by cat. 55 is a drawing at the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine (1930.135); see David P. Becker in Brunswick and other cities 1985–86, p. 23, no. 9, as by a southern Netherlandish or German artist of the second half of the sixteenth century. It must be the work of a Netherlandish follower of Coecke and can be dated to the mid-sixteenth century.
4. The Dutch inscription, which is not entirely legible anymore, can be translated as "carry twelve stones out of the Jordan, and twelve are also . . . into the Jordan." The handwriting is almost certainly sixteenth-century, but it looks somewhat different from the Dutch inscriptions on the two drawings for the *Joshua* series in Paris (cats. 57, 58), which are certainly by the artist.
5. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/2); see Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 21–25, no. 2, pl. 1.
6. It can be excluded that the drawings represent "later reworkings of the theme," a possibility allowed for by Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 382.
7. Friedländer 1917, p. 76: "die Gruppierung, die Bewegungsmotive mit großen Gesten, der Rhythmus gefälliger Stellungen, die Verkürzungen und Verschiebungen der schwungvoll und manigfach kontrapostierter Figuren."

56. *The Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab*

1. For the cartoons of this series, see Haag and Schmitz-von Ledebur, eds. 2013, p. 79, fig. 61, and p. 81, fig. 63.
2. Jan-Karel Steppe and Rotraud Bauer (in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 19–36) and Edmond Roobaert (2004, pp. 165, 170–73) identify the mark as that of the Dermoyen; Guy Delmarcel (1999a, p. 364), as that of Imbrechts.

57. *Joshua Praying before the Ark after the Defeat at Ai*

1. Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 26, no. 4, pl. 3.
2. Ainsworth 1982, pp. 145–82.

58. *Joshua's Victory over Ai*

1. For another example of a designer's mark appearing on a tapestry, see Elizabeth Cleland's essay "The Story of Abraham" in this volume, which mentions the inclusion of Bernard van Orley's monogram on a tapestry from his *Story of Jacob* series.

59. *The Gibeonite Deception*

1. Guy Delmarcel (1999a, p. 364) suggests Imbrechts; Jan-Karel Steppe and Rotraud Bauer (in Halbtorn 1981, pp. 19–36) and Edmond Roobaert (2004, pp. 165, 170–73) are among those who associate it with Jan Dermoyen.

The Story of Abraham Elizabeth Cleland

1. For *Jonathan Maccabeus*, see Cleland and Karafel 2014, no. 46.116. For the *Story of David*, see Dhanens 1959; Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman in Brussels 1976, pp. 25–54, nos. 1–11; and Campbell 2007, pp. 119–21, 145–47, 177–87.
2. For *Jacob*, see note 9 below. For *Solomon*, see Campbell 2007, pp. 304–5; and Cleland and Karafel 2014, no. 46.111.
3. See Campbell 2003, pp. 73–74; and Campbell 2007, pp. 289–97.
4. These decorations are described in Calvete de Estrella 1552, fols. 64v, 66v, 70r.
5. See, respectively, Sánchez Cantón 1950, p. 126, and Ferrandis 1943, p. 344.

6. Pérez Pastor 1914, p. 359; Campbell 2003, p. 81.
7. Standen 1985, vol. 1, pp. 199–203, no. 30; Cleland and Karafel 2014, nos. 47.15, 47.16.
8. See, for example, Friedländer 1909, p. 155; Ludwig Baldass in Vienna 1922, pp. 25–30, nos. 32–41; Marillier 1962, p. 7; Cortés Hernández 1982, pp. 39–40; and Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 206.
9. For the *Story of Jacob*, see Crick-Kuntziger 1954; Asselberghs 1972; and Cleland and Karafel 2014, no. 46.110.
10. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 124; and Cleland and Karafel 2014, no. 46.110. For the monogram, see Joos 1985.
11. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 124. For attribution to Coxcie, see Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 102–3; Farmer 1981, p. 315; and Duverger, E. 1992, p. 176.
12. Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 422–23; Campbell 2003, pp. 62–64; Campbell 2007, pp. 283–84.
13. Campbell 2003, pp. 63–64. For the windows, see Vanden Bemden 2000, pp. 178–80.
14. The drawing is in a private collection in Brussels; see Leuven 2013–14, pp. 190–91, no. 23.
15. Delmarcel 2000, pp. 9–10, 16–17. For the collaborative cartoon painting, see Cleland and Karafel 2014, nos. 46.129, 46.130.
16. For the *Months of Lucas*, see Crick-Kuntziger 1930 and Standen 1971; for the later French versions, see Standen and Arnold 1996.
17. The significance of the borders was first observed in Stappers 1996, pp. 72–106, was reiterated in Delmarcel 1999a, p. 124, and was explored in depth in Campbell 2003, pp. 64–70, 79–80; and Campbell 2007, pp. 284–88.
18. Campbell 2003, pp. 60–61; Campbell 2007, pp. 277, 282.
19. Rodriguez Villa 1883, p. 22.
20. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 124; Campbell 2003, pp. 62, 74–78; Campbell 2007, pp. 283, 289–97.
21. See Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 206–13, Patrimonio Nacional, series 29.
22. Calvete de Estrella 1552, fol. 70r.
23. Campbell 2003, p. 83 n. 25.
24. I am very grateful to Paola D'Agostino for this clarification, in conversation, July 26, 2013.
25. Baldass in Vienna 1922, pp. 25–30, nos. 32–41.
26. See Nello Forti Grazzini in Brosens et al. 2008, p. 99; the tapestries in this series are in the Art Institute of Chicago; the Deutsche Bank collection, Frankfurt am Main; and the Milwaukee Public Museum. Baldass illustrated the Af mark in Vienna 1922, p. 44, no. 21.
27. Molinier 1885, pp. 475–76; Lepage 1886, p. 191.
28. An insight into his character and connections is provided by his extensive surviving correspondence; see Cuisiat, ed. 1998.
29. See Viale Ferrero 1973, pp. 106–8.
30. Cortés Hernández 1982, pp. 36–37, 126.
31. See Nello Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, pp. 105–6, no. 5; Campbell 1998, pp. 29–30; and Campbell 2003, p. 81.
32. See Marillier 1962, p. 8; and Campbell 2003, pp. 59, 81.
33. For the Munich set, see Roethlisberger 1971 and Delmarcel 1999a, p. 106. For the set at Hardwick Hall, see Boynton and Thornton 1971, p. 27; and Levey 1998, pp. 24–25.
34. See Cleland and Karafel 2014, no. 46.110.
35. These are in Wawel Castle, Kraków, and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; see Bennett 1992, pp. 114–21, nos. 26–28.

60. *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*

1. See Nash 2008, p. 21.
2. The inscription on the duke of Albuquerque's tapestry (Madrid) reads: ABRAHE A QUATOR RE / GVM CEDE REVERTENTIO OCCVRRIT / MELCHISSEDECH REX SALE[M] SACERDOS / DEI SVMI OFFERENS PANE[M] ET VINV[M]; see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 209. The inscription on the cardinal of Lorraine's tapestry (Vienna) is the same as the one on the duke of

Sessa's tapestry (Toledo), and both are almost identical to Albuquerque's: ABRABRAE A QUATOR RE / GVM CEDE REVERTENTI OCCVRRIT / MELCHISEDECH REX SALE[M] SACERDOS / DEI SVMI OFFERENS PANE[M] ET VINV[M]; see, respectively, Ludwig Baldass in Vienna 1922, p. 27, and Cortés Hernández 1982, p. 51.

3. Campbell 2003, p. 62.

4. See Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 170–82, no. 76; and Madrid 2010, pp. 47–59.

5. For the two reeditions of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, partially surviving in the Metropolitan Museum, the Museo del Prado in Madrid, the Palau de la Generalitat in Barcelona, and various Spanish private collections, see Standen 1985, vol. 1, pp. 87–99, no. 10; and Madrid 2010, pp. 7–45.

6. Campbell 2007, pp. 220–22.

7. For the dispute, see Schneebalg-Perelman 1961.

8. See Campbell 2003, pp. 59–60.

The Story of Julius Caesar

Lorraine Karafel

1. Quoted in Groos, ed. 1981, p. 149; see Campbell 1998, p. 2.

2. There is some question about what subject was originally intended in the Munich design. Inscriptions on seventeenth-century weavings of the *Story of Julius Caesar* identify the scene as the *Departure of Caesar*. However, the subject in the original set may have represented the departure of Pompey; see my discussion of catalogue number 61; see also Campbell 1998, pp. 7–8, 10, 15, 22; and Wyld 2010. For clarity, the subject of the drawing and the tapestry will be referred to here as the *Departure of Caesar*.

3. Campbell 1998, pp. 29–32; Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 383–85.

4. Plutarch 1914–25, vol. 7, pp. 521–23 (translation by Bernadotte Perrin).

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 597–99.

6. On Julius Caesar and his reception in antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see Griffin, ed. 2009.

7. See Delmarcel 1985, pp. 257–61; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 56.

8. Metropolitan Museum (47.101.3); on the tapestry, see Cavallo 1993, pp. 94–124.

9. Bernisches Historisches Museum (6-7, 8-9, 10-11, 12-13); see Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 56–59; Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 2001, pp. 77–113.

10. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 56. The 1468 triumphal entry of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, into Arras included *tableaux vivants* with episodes of Caesar's life, and the ducal library included manuscript versions of Caesar's *Commentaries* on the Gallic and Civil wars along with late medieval accounts of Caesar's life, such as the *Faits des Romains*.

11. Campbell 1998, pp. 5–29.

12. Nello Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, pp. 124–26. On Margaret of Parma's *Story of Julius Caesar* tapestries and those of her son Alessandro Farnese, see *ibid.*, pp. 123–24; Forti Grazzini 1999, pp. 159–65.

13. Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, pp. 123–24.

14. Campbell 1998, pp. 29–30, further notes similarities in the figures, compositional formula of main scene with subsidiary scene, and the detail of a sheepskin with inscription on the border.

15. Friedlander 1917, p. 87; Marlier 1966, p. 300.

16. Campbell 1998, pp. 21–22.

17. For example, *The Sabine Hersilia Imploring Romulus for Mercy*, 1524, pen and wash on paper, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (980). For Van Orley's *Story of Romulus and Remus* designs, see Campbell in New York 2002, p. 295.

18. Coecke's *Story of Joshua* series, for example, quotes from the *Scipio* designs. See Rotraud Bauer in Halbtorn 1981, p. 20; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 382.

19. Campbell 1998, p. 33; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 383.

20. Campbell 1998, p. 33.

21. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 420; Campbell 2007, p. 280.

22. For a complete discussion of the meaning of the *Caesar* tapestries for Henry VIII, see Campbell 2007, pp. 278–81.

23. "Pani grandi senza oro con Istoria di Cesar' Augto: pezzi dieci comparati del tempo di PP Julio iii"; Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale 1, Busta 1557, Reg. 3, fol. 106v.

24. "Datus libellus Cesari conjunctionem continens / Quo non lecto venit in curia ibi in curuli sedentem / Senatus invasit tribus qs et viginti vulneribus / Conodit sic ille qu terrarium orbem civili sanguine / Inplevebat tandem ipse sanguine suo curiam implevit"; transcribed and translated in Campbell 1998, p. 6.

25. "Panni d'arazzo di lana con l'Istoria di Cesare Augusto pezzi dieci/La Guerra di Germania/ La Congiura/Quattro altri simili/Item quattro altri simili"; Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale 1, Busta 1557, Reg. 7, fol. 2. See Campbell 1998, p. 5.

26. "Cinq Balle di tapessarie di Flandes cho sono piezi dieci de la historie di Julio Cesaro. Sei portiere della medesimo historia"; Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, p. 123.

27. Campani's offer was of a "Historia di Cesare in parecchi pezzi di panni di Fiandra, che sono un acosa bella, bellissima"; *ibid.*

28. On the *Departure of Abraham* tapestry and its border, see *ibid.*, p. 105; Forti Grazzini suggests that the border was designed specifically for the *Caesar* tapestries.

29. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 423 notes that the weaver's mark now identified as that of Willem de Kempeneer was formerly identified as that of Willem de Pannemaker.

30. For more on de Kempeneer, see Delmarcel 1999a, p. 366. It is likely that the antique border with portrait medallions was designed for the *Caesar* set, and when de Kempeneer rewove the *Abraham* set, he replaced the borders celebrating Henry VIII with the second, more generic decorative border. See Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, p. 223.

31. On rewavings of the *Story of Julius Caesar* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their variations, see Campbell 1998, pp. 5–29.

32. See *ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

61.

The Departure of Julius Caesar

62.

Head of a Man from the Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia

1. Marlier 1966, p. 300.

2. Campbell 1998, p. 22.

3. An inventory of Erik XIV's tapestries lists the scene as the *Departure of Caesar*. See Campbell 1998, pp. 7–8, 10.

4. "Castra petit magnus maerens Cornelia Lesbum / navigat expectans fata sinistra viri," Campbell 1998, p. 15. The tapestry, dated ca. 1560–70, was sold on October 18, 1993, at Drouot-Richelieu, Paris (lot 131); its present location is not known; see Campbell 1998, p. 15, fig. 9.

Plutarch, in his *Life of Pompey*, and Lucan, in *The Civil War (Pharsalia)*, describe Pompey sending Cornelia to Lesbos for safety. See Plutarch 1914–25, vol. 5, p. 287; Lucan 1928, pp. 293–95.

In addition, Helen Wyld, in her recent discussion of the seventeenth-century *Caesar* tapestries at Powis Castle in Wales (see fig. 185), identifies the subject of the scene as Pompey leaving his wife before the Battle of Pharsalus; see Wyld 2010.

5. Plutarch 1914–25, vol. 5, pp. 309–15.

6. Marlier 1966, p. 300; Friedlander 1917, p. 87.

7. Wegner 1973, vol. 1, p. 31, no. 134, vol. 2, pl. 14; Thea Vigneau-Wilberg in Munich 1995, p. 50.

8. Campbell 1998, p. 30.

9. Stijn Alsteens, in conversation on January 8, 2014.

10. Offered by Sotheby's, London, July 9, 2014, lot 2 as Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, it was previously attributed to Jan Swart van Groningen in a sale at Christie's, Amsterdam, November 10, 1999, lot 301. I am very grateful to Mr. Alsteens for sharing his thoughts on this drawing.

11. Campbell 1998, p. 30.

12. *Ibid.*

The Story of Tobias

Stijn Alsteens

1. In two drawings in Saint Petersburg, designs for stained-glass windows dated 1542 and 1548 (figs. 73 and 206), there seems to have been at least some involvement of a workshop hand.

2. Volckaert 1987.

3. The edition in Gaasbeek Castle, Lennik (255, 256, 257, 1214) was bequeathed to the Belgian state by Marie-Louise Arconati-Visconti (1840–1923), the castle's last private owner; Gaasbeek also holds a second weaving of the *Departure of Tobias and Sara* (291), which reverses the composition as seen in the Arconati-Visconti set. For the Gaasbeek set, see Boon 1978, vol. 1, p. 49, no. 135, vol. 2, ill. p. 54; Volckaert 1987; and Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 115, 130; for that in Tarragona, see Batlle Huguet 1946, pp. 41–49, pls. 16–23. For the edition on the art market, see the French and Company archive, now at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (GCPA 0239183, GCPA 0239184, GCPA 0239180, GCPA 0239186, GCPA 0239181), and Volckaert 1987, pp. 95, 98, 106.

4. For depictions of the story of Tobias, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 318–27; and Pigler 1974, vol. 1, pp. 185–91. For the series attributed to Van Orley, see Baldass 1928, pp. 250–52, fig. 303 (as after designs by Van Orley), and Vienna 1983, pp. 24–25, nos. 11a–11c; for Henry's set, see Campbell 2007, pp. 303–4; for Mary of Hungary's set, see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 241–47.

5. For Barend Dircksz., see Ekkart 2000. The attribution was not entirely unfounded, as two drawings that are not wholly dissimilar have been connected since the early twentieth century with a commission on which Dircksz. worked around 1535; these are at the Amsterdam Museum (A 18166 and A 18167); see Schapelhouman 1979, pp. 15–18, nos. 4–5, ill., as possible copies after Barend Dircksz.

6. Popham 1935, p. 180, no. 1, as attributed to Coecke; Alsteens 2014b, no. A30, ill.

7. For the attribution to Jan Van Rooome, see Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 411. Karel G. Boon (1978, vol. 1, p. 49) notes, probably mistakenly, that Göbel also thought of Van Orley as the possible author of the designs. For Van Rooome, see Milne 1996; and Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 137–38.

8. Volckaert 1987, p. 106, under no. 4.

9. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (20277–20284); see Lugt 1949, vol. 2, pp. 23–24, nos. 1049–56, pl. 40, as by Rubens, with retouching by an anonymous sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist; Volckaert 1987, pp. 101, 106; Belkin 2009, vol. 1, pp. 244–50, nos. 124–31, vol. 2, figs. 346–53, as attributed to Jan Swart van Groningen, retouched by Peter Paul Rubens. A partial series of cabinet paintings very similar, but not identical, to the Tobias tapestries has been attributed to the Antwerp-based Master of the Prodigal Son (Volckaert 1987, pp. 95–100). Following Kristin Lohse Belkin, I am inclined to consider the author of the paintings to "have had access to the designs without having been their inventor" (Belkin 2009, vol. 1, p. 245, under nos. 124–31).

The Story of Vertumnus and Pomona

Elizabeth Cleland

1. For the *Story of Phaeton*, see Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 112–13, 128–29 and Guy Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, pp. 142–47, no. 11; for the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, see Madrid 2010.

2. For this series, see Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 113, 128–29; and Nello Forti Grazzini in Brosens et al. 2008, pp. 94–102, no. 11. For Fontainebleau, see Dominique Cordellier and Catherine Jenkins in Paris 2004–5, pp. 208–12.

3. Attributions include an anonymous Italian (Müntz 1882, p. 208, and Pinchart 1885, p. 120), Léonard Thiry de Belges (Dacos 1996b, and Paredes 1999, pp. 109–10), Étienne Delaune (Baldass 1928, pp. 262–63), and Joos van Novele (Van den Kerkhove 1973, p. 251, and Steppe 1981, p. 128—for the cartoon painting, at least). Crick-Kuntziger (1927a), Steinbart (1931, pp. 110–11), D'Hulst (1960, p. 220), and Cavallo (1967, vol. 1, p. 115) all attributed the series to Vermeyen, to varying degrees under the influence of Coecke. Horn (1989, vol. 1, pp. 43–46) unconvincingly suggested a collaboration among Vermeyen, Cornelis Bos, and Joos van Novele; and Delmarcel (1999a, p. 130) suggested one between Vermeyen and Van Novele. The most persuasive arguments for Coecke have been given by Thomas P. Campbell (in New York 2002, pp. 384–91) and

Schneebalg-Perelman (1982, pp. 212–15), with Marlier (1966, p. 347) hesitating between Coecke and Vermeyen.

4. Marlier 1966, p. 347; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 385; Buchanan 2007, p. 153.

5. See Paredes 1996, for some potential sources.

6. Paredes 1999. Reference to Coecke's citation of Serlio in the *Vertumnus and Pomona* series is made in Marlier 1966, p. 347; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 214; Buchanan 1992, p. 384; and Buchanan 2007, p. 154.

7. Delmarcel 1999b, p. 157.

8. Metropolitan Museum (2002.494.622).

9. Paredes 1999, p. 103 n. 67.

10. Discussed and illustrated by Baldass (1928, pp. 262–63), who raised the possibility of attribution of the tapestry series to Delaune.

11. Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, p. 89.

12. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 105–33.

13. For the mark, see Ludwig Baldass in Vienna 1922, p. 44, no. 23; for the *Spheres*, see Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 126, 136.

14. Steppe 1981, p. 133.

15. The contract is published in full in Horn, H., 1989, vol. 2, pp. 348–51; p. 349, "la tapisserie de la poesys de Vertumnus et Pomona, que la dite Majesté Reginale a acheté de Georges Weseler."

16. Calvete de Estrella 1552, fol. 184r–v.

17. Finot 1892, p. 243: "pour la façon, soyés et sayette de la petite pièce de Pomona contenant XVII aulnes ou environ." For the dimensions of Philip II's set, see Steppe 1981, p. 137.

18. See Steppe 1981, pp. 133–37; and Buchanan 1999, pp. 140–41.

19. Steppe 1981, pp. 138–40.

20. For Philip II's posthumous inventory, see Delmarcel 1999b. The nine-piece *Vertumnus and Pomona* set woven with gold and silver thread is no. 7 (p. 169); the nineteen-piece *Vertumnus and Pomona* set (probably composed of at least two sets mixed together) is no. 36 (p. 170).

21. I am very grateful to Concha Herrero Carretero for this information; written communication, January 2014.

22. That a set was commissioned by John of Austria is categorically stated in Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, p. 89; Calvert 1921, p. 59; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 315; and D'Hulst 1967, p. 220.

23. See Van den Kerkhove 1969–72, p. 159, and Buchanan 2007.

24. The letter is published in Piquard 1950, p. 118: "Mansfelt s'est servy des patrons de la Pomona que Georges Vezeler a par ci devant fait faire et je n'heusse jamais permiz qu'il se fust servy des vostres sans vostre permission puisque l'on y at sy peu d'obligation."

25. Van den Kerkhove (1969–72) discusses the purchase (pp. 157–59), Albert and Isabella's new commission (pp. 156–57), and the other seventeenth-century editions (pp. 160–80).

26. See Steppe 1981, pp. 132–34, and Delmarcel 1999b, pp. 169–70.

27. Paredes 1996, p. 45, repeated in Buchanan 2007, pp. 150–51, and Buchanan 2008, pp. 151, 152–4.

28. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 105.

29. Close examination of the tapestries reveals some of these alterations; the circumstances are recorded in the archives: Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Obras de Palacio, leg. 38, with many thanks to Concha Herrero Carretero for this reference.

30. Baldass in Vienna 1920, p. 33; Calvert 1921, p. 59; Crick-Kuntziger 1927a, p. 159; and D'Hulst 1967, p. 218, all list four separate editions in the Patrimonio Nacional's collection, three of which were woven with metal-wrapped threads and one with just wool and silk. Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, p. 117, and Steppe 1981, p. 132, note this discrepancy.

31. For the tapestry, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, pp. 115–18, no. 32.

32. For the role of de Pannemaker's brother-in-law, see Van den Kerkhove 1973, and Steppe 1981, pp. 128–31; for the *Puttini*, see Brown, Delmarcel, and Lorenzoni 1996, pp. 184–93, no. 5; for the fashion for pergola tapestries, see Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 139–40.

64.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Herdsman

1. Eric J. Sluijter in Washington, D.C., Detroit, and Amsterdam 1980–81, p. 62.

2. Lucca specialized in the weaving of high-quality silks, "drapi auroserici," "baudekins," and "camocas," with designs of Asian origin; see Jenkins, ed. 2003, vol. 1, pp. 333–37.

3. "The sun-like nymph had dressed her virginal and divine little body with the thinnest material, of a green silk weft woven together with a warp of gold, like the lovely colouring of the feathers on a duck's neck." Colonna 1499/2003, p. 143.

4. Doña Beatriz Pacheco was countess of Entremont and Lady of the Bedchamber to Eleanor of Habsburg, Charles V's sister; see Calvete de Estrella 1552/2001, pp. 318–19, and Ferrer Valls 1993, pp. 173–75.

5. See the detailed study in Paredes 1999.

6. Chastel 2000, p. 43; Cecilia Paredes in New York 2002, p. 427.

7. See Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 105–33.

8. Archivo General di Simancas, Estado, leg. 527/27; see Buchanan 1999, pp. 140–42.

9. "Relación de las Capitulaciones que se hicieron para el Casamiento de Su Mgd. del Rey de Francia con la Serenissima Infanta de Castilla Doña Ana de Austria hija del Rey Don Phelipe 3º nro. Señor, y de la Reyna Doña Margarita de Austria en el Real Alcaçar de la Villa de Madrid Corte de Su Mgd. en 22 de Agosto de 1612," in "Sucesos del año de 1621," Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 2352, fols. 581r–582v; see Orso 1986, pp. 137, 214.

10. Castillo 1667, p. 221.

65.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Vintner

1. Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 214, fig. 134.

2. Dacos 1996b; for the *Gallery of Francis I*, see Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 466–67.

3. See Paredes 1999, esp. pp. 84–98.

4. "con cenefa de ornamentación griega"; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 107–33.

5. Báez de Sepúlveda 1572, n.p.

6. "Las vistas del Rey de Portugal y el de Castilla en Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Año 1576," in de Uhagón, ed. 1896, pp. 115–16, doc. XIII.

66.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Fruit Picker

1. Paredes 1996, p. 56.

2. For Federigo II Gonzaga's series, see Brown, Delmarcel, and Lorenzoni 1996, pp. 174–83, no. 4; and Nello Forti Grazzini in New York 2002, pp. 506–13, nos. 57, 58. For Ferrante Gonzaga's series, see Brown, Delmarcel, and Lorenzoni 1996, pp. 184–93, no. 5.

3. For a discussion of artists' depictions of silk fabrics in paintings of this period and their sources, see Monnas 2008, esp. pp. 41–65, 121–47.

The Triumph of Mordecai

Stijn Alsteens

1. Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 105, vol. 2, fig. 75, after which it is reproduced here. Frits Lugt's mention of a tapestry in Madrid related to the drawing seems to be based on a mistake (Lugt 1968, p. 62, under no. 208).

2. Monbeig-Goguel and Viatte 1978, sec. 5, no. 52; also quoted in Lugt 1968, p. 62, under no. 208.

3. Lugt 1968, p. 62, under no. 208: "nous ne retrouvons pas, dans cette composition assez sévère, l'esprit de ce maître plus turbulent."

4. Larionov 2010, pp. 214–17, 359, no. 36, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. A39, ill. Alfred von Wurzbach, apparently using an unidentified source, claimed that the donor represented in the drawing is António, prior of Crato (1531–1595, proclaimed king of Portugal for a very brief period as António I), and was probably made at the Monastery of Alcobaca (von Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1, p. 307). It cannot be excluded that the drawing is somehow connected with António, even if he was only seventeen or eighteen when it was made, but the connection with Alcobaca, a masterpiece of Cistercian architecture, is tenuous, as the monastery does not seem to have windows large enough for the design (compare Rodrigues 2007).

5. Marlier 1966, p. 87.

6. Cecilia Paredes compared its style to that of the *Triumph of Mordecai* in New York 2002, p. 428.

7. See Borusowski 2013; Alsteens 2014b, no. A41, ill.

8. For depictions of the story of Esther, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 335–42; Pigler 1974, vol. 1, pp. 198–204; and Weber 1968.

9. For a fragment of a series of four to six tapestries depicting the story of Esther and Ahasuerus, see Adelson 1994, pp. 36–51, ill.; for a dispersed series of eight Netherlandish stained-glass roundels which are dated—perhaps slightly too early—to the 1510s, see Husband 1991, p. 147; for a series consisting of seven engravings by Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, dated 1564, see Veldman 1993–94, pt. 1, pp. 132–38, nos. 151–58, ill.

The Poesia

Cecilia Paredes

1. This stylistic grouping was first assembled in Crick-Kuntziger 1927a, pp. 172–73.

2. Crick-Kuntziger 1927a, repeated in D'Hulst 1960, p. 220, and Buchanan 1999, pp. 137–38. Horn (1989, vol. 1, p. 46) rejected the attribution to Vermeyen.

3. Attribution to Coecke is proposed in Schneebalg Perelman 1982, pp. 219–20; by Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 385–91; by Cecilia Paredes in New York 2002, pp. 424–29; and by Fernando Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9, pp. 215–19. Attribution to Thiry was suggested in Dacos 1996a, 1996b, and 2003, pp. 108–9. Paredes (2005, pp. 123–29) hypothesized collaboration between Coecke and Thiry. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero (1986, p. 134) and Delmarcel (1999a, p. 135) cited potential attribution to either Vermeyen or Coecke. Marlier (1966, pp. 309–52) made no reference to the *Poesia* in his discussion of tapestry series associated with Coecke.

4. Patrimonio Nacional, series 19; see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 135–39. For Philip II's acquisition, see Buchanan 1999, p. 137, and Delmarcel 1999b, p. 155.

5. Delmarcel 1999b, p. 169.

6. "Marsiam excoriat Phoebus"; "Placat Achillem nece virgins."

7. Several classical sources give, separately, versions of some of the stories. It should be noted that the five stories are briefly related in the *Library of Pseudo-Apollodorus* (Apollodorus 1997, pp. 32 [1.4.2, Marsyas], 66–67 [2.4.3, Perseus and Andromeda], 123 [3.12.2, Ganymede], 140–41 [Epit. 1.2, Icarus], and 158 [Epit. 5.23, Polyxena]).

8. For the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* drawing, see Lugt 1968, pp. 61–62, no. 207; and Cecilia Paredes in New York 2002, p. 428. The *Daedalus* drawing is in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels, Grez collection; see Marlier 1966, pp. 300–301.

9. This observation arose from a discussion with Annick Born.

10. For Perino's tapestry series, see Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 351–56, and Cleland 2012; in addition, for the *Furti di Giove*, see Goldner 2012.

11. Davidson 1990; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 350–57.

12. Campbell in New York 2002, p. 356.

13. Coxcie's drawing is in the British Museum, London (1861,0112.1). For a recent discussion of Coxcie's drawing and its relation to Michelangelo's models, see Jonckheere 2013–14, esp. pp. 88–91. For Michelangelo's drawings, see Hirst 1988, pp. 111–17.

14. Dacos 2003, p. 110, fig. 23.

15. This horse had already appeared in the fresco of the *Victory of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*, 1521–22 (Sala di Costantino, Vatican), but Coecke's horse is closest to Giovanni Francesco Penni's *modello for the Battle of Zama*. See Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 341–49, figs. 153, 154.

16. For a description of Titian's paintings and their perception in the collection of Philip II, see Cavalli-Björkman 1998–99. For discussion of Titian's cycle in reference to the *Poesia* tapestries, see Buchanan 1999, pp. 138–39, Paredes in New York 2002, pp. 424, 427; Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9, pp. 219–20.

17. For the pairing of *Diane and Calisto* and *Diane and Acteon*, see Mancini 1998–99, p. 238. Hirst (1988, p. 112) discusses the Michelangelo drawings.

18. For the impact of Titian's paintings, see Meijer 1999–2000, pp. 500–503.

19. For Mary of Hungary as a patron of art, see Van den Boogert 2010.

20. For written accounts, see Calvete de Estrella 1552, fol. 184r–v, and Alvarez 1551/1964, pp. 90–91. According to Alvarez, the Great Hall measured 108 by 50 feet.

21. The most recent contribution to the description and interpretation of the decoration of the Great Hall is Mancini 2011. See also Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9, pp. 185–92.

22. On Coxie and tapestry design, see Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 394–402; on Coxie and Italian art, see Dacos 1992, and the most recent contribution on the topic, Leuven 2013–14.

68.

The Flaying of Marsyas

1. Several Thiry busts are in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris; see Paris, Cambridge, Mass., and New York 1994–99, pp. 108–21. For attribution of the tapestry series to Thiry, see Dacos 1996a and Dacos 1996b.

2. The metal-wrapped threads used profusely in the wefts are of extraordinary quality, made up of two or three gold strips wound in a simple spiral or an intersecting zigzag around the cores of yellow silk, as demonstrated by the metallographic analyses carried out during the Monitoring in Damage to Historic Tapestries (MODHT) project, during 2004–7; see Quye, Hallet, and Herrero Carretero 2009, pp. 16–53, 80–87, figs. 4.12 and 4.15.

3. Apollodoros 1997, p. 32 (1.4.2); Hyginus 1960.

4. Trías 2007, p. 911.

5. I am most grateful to Pilar Bosqued Lacambra for her botanical advice and information. Essential for further study is Bosqued Lacambra 1989.

6. Ovid 1920, pp. 332–33 (6.1981–205b). The moral significance was commented on in Lavocat 2005, pp. 96–97.

7. Boccaccio 2008, pp. 253–54.

8. Chastel 2000, p. 43; Cecilia Paredes in New York 2002, p. 427.

9. Buchanan 1999, pp. 148–49, docs. VII, VIII.

10. For López Gallo, see Hernández Esteve 1996, p. 79.

11. Delmarcel 1999b, p. 169. The gold ducat contained approximately 3.5 grams of gold; see Sáez 1805, p. 239.

12. Inventory of the estate of Charles III, 1788, Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Registros, 259 vol. III, fol. 237v; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 134–39.

13. For the double marriage of Prince Philip of Asturias, the future King Philip IV of Spain, with Princess Elizabeth of Bourbon, and of her brother King Louis XIII of France with Philip's sister Infanta Anne of Austria, see Mantuano 1618, pp. 228–35. For the ceremonies held by the monarchs of Spain and France on Pheasant Island in the Bidasoa River in June 1660, when Infanta Maria Theresa of Austria was betrothed to Louis XIV and the *Poesia* adorned the Spanish room of the meeting pavilion on the island, see del Castillo 1667, pp. 221–26. The tapestries were also displayed in the square outside the Alcázar during the procession of Corpus Christi held in 1626; Archivo General de Palacio, Personal, box 659/13; see Cruz Yábar 1996, p. 450.

The Story of the Creation

Lucia Meoni

1. I dedicate this essay to the memory of my friend Rotraud Bauer.

2. Genesis 2:6, 15–17, 19–20, 22; 3:1–2, 6–12, 21, 23–24.

3. These tapestries are all stored in the Depositi Arazzi of the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, respectively Arazzi 21 (488 × 566 cm), Arazzi 19 (482 × 695 cm), Arazzi 626 (463 × 833 cm), Arazzi 16 (485 × 631 cm), Arazzi 18 (483 × 759 cm), Arazzi 17 (478 × 699 cm), Arazzi 20 (483 × 640 cm).

4. Marlier 1966, pp. 75–86, 345–46; Erik Duverger in Ghent 1987–88, pp. 90–101, nos. 26–28; Meoni 1989, pp. 57, 65 nn. 17–19, with bibliography; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 135.

5. Marlier 1966, pp. 347–50; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, pp. 122–25, 157–58, vol. 2, p. 381, doc. 33.

6. Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 384–91, 404, with bibliography. See also Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 215–22; and Buchanan 1992, p. 383.

7. For the drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, see Lee Hendrix in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, pp. 194–95 n. 78; for the *Poesia*, see Cecilia Paredes in New York 2002, pp. 424–28, no. 49; and for the drawing in the Uffizi, see also Wouter Th. Kloek in Florence 2008, pp. 26–29.

8. Marlier 1966, pp. 13–15, 309–42; Rotraud Bauer and Jan-Karel Steppe in Halbturm 1981, pp. 55–75; Campbell in New York 2002, vol. 2, p. 381, doc. 33.

9. Van Mander 1604, fol. 218r; Marlier 1966, pp. 39, 40; Born 2008, pp. 95, 102, 103 n. 12. For the publications, see also Schéle 1962, pp. 235, 239; Marlier 1966, p. 45; De Jonge 2009, pp. 115–16.

10. Dacos 2008, pp. 15, 139–41 and pls. 99–102, pp. 216–17 and figs. 88–89 (drawings in London and Paris), p. 240.

11. Marlier 1966, pp. 303–4; Born 2008, p. 96.

12. Bert W. Meijer in Brussels and Rome 1995, pp. 83–84 n. 17. For Coecke's relations with Bos, see Cuvelier 1939; Schéle 1962, pp. 236–37.

13. Fiorelli Malesci et al. 1986, pp. 205–23.

14. For southern Netherlandish immigrants in Florence, see Battistini 1931, pp. 5–23.

15. Howard Burns in Mantua 1989, pp. 227–43, fig. p. 234.

16. For Coecke's travels in Italy, see Born 2008.

17. Marlier 1966, pp. 49, 222–26, 274, 346; Jansen 2006b. For the Wavel Castle *Verdures*, see also Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972, pp. 226, 257–60; Hennel-Bernasikowa in New York 2002, pp. 448–51, no. 53.

18. Crick-Kuntziger 1927b, pp. 166–67; Hedicke 1913, vol. 1, pp. 12, 296–97; Piwocka 1972, pp. 301–4.

19. For the maiolica, see Schéle 1965, pp. 52–53, 76, 93, fig. 30; Mariën-Dugardin 1973, pp. 173–78 and figs. 1–3. For *Le triumphe d'Anvers*, see Schéle 1965, pp. 43–57, 74–76; Marlier 1966, pp. 386–90; D'Hainaut-Zvény 2002, pp. 75–76; De Jonge 2004c.

20. For the Vienna edition of Coecke's *Sins*, see Bauer and Steppe in Halbturm 1981, pp. 55–75. For *Rollwerk* and the roles of Coecke, Bos, and Floris, see Schéle 1962; Schéle 1965, pp. 5, 14–20, 40, 73, 98 (fig. 49), 191–94 n. 215, pl. 57, fig. 215; Mariën-Dugardin 1973, pp. 178, 181; Huysmans et al. 1996, pp. 38–39, 121, fig. 71; De Jonge 2004a, pp. 264–65.

21. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), Mediceo del Principato (hereafter MdP) 600, fols. 110r–111r. See Adelson 1983, p. 915; Adelson 1990, pp. 619–21, doc. 193, correctly re-reading the date as 1551, instead of 1552. The latter date was promulgated in Supino 1906, who rediscovered the copy of the contract, and in Battistini 1931, pp. 205–7, doc. 21. On the date, see Meoni 1989, p. 64 n. 2.

22. See Delmarcel (1999a, pp. 121, 135), to whom I am grateful for sharing with me his reasonable doubts.

23. Meoni forthcoming.

24. A memorandum written by Cosimo on May 23, 1545, shows that his secretary, Pier Francesco Riccio, was due to send a response to the ambassador. We do not know the content of this reply nor indeed if it was sent at all; see Adelson 1990, pp. 501–3, docs. 18–20, with bibliography.

25. Kreydzi, ed. 1887, p. LVII, doc. 4169; Gębarowicz and Mańkowski 1938, pp. 10–11 n. 3; Szablowski 1972, pp. 60–61; Schneebalg-Perelman 1972, p. 409; Szablowski et al. 1994,

pp. 54–55. On the tapestry weaver Jan de Roy, see Roobaert 2002 and Hubach 2005. For Catherine of Austria's marriage to Francesco III Gonzaga, see Cappelli 1969, p. 344.

26. Delmarcel 1993; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 379.

27. The date 1542 on the title page refers to March 3, 1542, and follows the *ab incarnatione* style of dating (with the year beginning on March 25) in use in Antwerp during this period. It is dated 1543, following standard dating style, in De Jonge 2004a, pp. 263, 278–79, with bibliography.

28. Writing in 1989, I identified the marks on only three of the seven *Creation* tapestries: see Meoni 1989, pp. 57, 61, tables 11, a–e. The monogram I noted as that of an unknown tapestry maker (table 11, c) has since been identified as that of Frans Ghieteels; see Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 135, 365, fig. 26.

29. Van Tieghem's monogram appears on the *Creation of Adam*, *Adam Names the Animal Kingdom*, the *Creation of Eve*, and the *Expulsion from Eden*. Ghieteels's monogram appears on *God Leads Adam into the Garden of Eden* (along with the mark of Brabant-Brussels), the *Original Sin*, and *God Accuses Adam and Eve*.

30. Meoni 1989, pp. 58–59, 61; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 365, 369; Guy Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, pp. 66–77 and n. 5; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 400–401; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 63–72, 279–89.

31. Szablowski et al. 1972, pp. 457–79; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 397–99.

32. Misiąg-Bochenska 1972, pp. 154–62; Szablowski 1972, p. 28; Szablowski et al. 1972, p. 457 n. 1; Duverger, E. 1973; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 133–34, 366. Van Tieghem's *Story of the First Parents*, owned by the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, is on display at various sites.

33. Buchanan 1999, p. 140; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 278. For the Tapissierspand, see Delmarcel 1999a, p. 20.

34. For the Van der Walle family, see Smolderen 1995, p. 35; Buchanan 1999, pp. 133, 138, 149–50 nn. 10, 28, 151 nn. 75, 76.

35. Buchanan 1999, pp. 137–40, 148, docs. VII, VIII; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 384–85, 424–28 and n. 49.

36. Adelson 1990, pp. 82–83. For other tapestry series offered to Cosimo for purchase, see Meoni 2003, pp. 38–39.

37. ASF, MdP 602, ins. 8, fols. 385r, 386r; Depositeria Generale, Parte Antica 958, ins. 556, fols. 1, 2. On these documents, see Adelson 1990, pp. 696–98 with old references. MdP 635, inserto A, fol. 6 (Medici Archive Project, doc. 7302).

38. Meoni 1989, pp. 57, 64 n. 4.

39. Gori 1926, pp. 139–41; Meoni 1989, pp. 57, 64 nn. 1, 5–8, 10; Meoni 1998, pp. 20–21, 94.

40. ASF, Guardaroba Medicea (hereafter GM) 427, separate quire, fol. 6v.

41. Meoni 2007, pp. 23, 31, 54–63 nn. 3–6, 116–19 nn. 30–33.

42. ASF, GM 711, ins. 2, fol. 170r, ins. 4, fol. 280r.

43. Conti 1875, pp. 37–38; Meoni 2007, pp. 31, 54.

44. ASF, GM 525, fol. 35v; GM 725, fol. 54r; Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelè 2005, vol. II.2, pp. 521, 980.

45. For the two extant paintings (*Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze* [1890 nos. 7776, 3840]), see Contini 1989, p. 89, pl. 57, and Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato in Florence 2008–9, p. 68. I wish to thank the latter for providing this information.

46. Lucia Meoni in Rome 2010, p. 80, fig. 221.

47. Van Veen 2006, pp. 1–4.

48. Meoni in Florence 2012, pp. 49–69, with bibliography.

69.

God Accuses Adam and Eve after the Fall

1. For example, the *Garden Scenes with Mythological Fountains* at Warwick Castle; see Elizabeth Cleland in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 43–48, no. 4.

2. For Italian examples, such as Il Bachiacca's *Grotesque Spalliere* (Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), see Lucia Meoni in New York 2002, pp. 514–17, no. 60; for the *Gods with Arabesques*, attributed to an artist of the School of Fontainebleau (Mobilier National, Paris, and Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons), see Danièle Véron-Denise and Jean Vittet in Paris 2004–5, pp. 412–19, nos. 231–34; for the throne baldachin designed by Vredeman de Vries, with main

figures by Coxie (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), see Thomas P. Campbell and Rotraud Bauer in New York 2002, pp. 452–57, no. 54.

The Conquest of Tunis

Iain Buchanan

- Horn, H. 1989 provides a comprehensive discussion of the series with full documentation. See also Steppe 1968; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 73–92; Buchanan 1992; Bonn and Vienna 2000; Lorraine Karafel in New York 2002, pp. 428–34; Buchanan 2014, pp. 181–97.
- Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, p. 123, suggests Pieter Coecke van Aelst the Younger, while Roobaert 2004, pp. 101–3, suggests Peter Fabri van Aelst.
- Património Nacional, series 13; see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 73–92.
- On Vermeyen, see Horn, H. 1989; Bonn and Vienna 2000; Karafel in New York 2002, pp. 385–89, 428–34.
- Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, pp. 19–20.
- For the will, see Van der Stock 1998, pp. 385–86, doc. 44.
- On Vermeyen's etchings, see Popham 1927; Schéle 1965, pp. 17–18, 162–63; Van der Stock 1998, pp. 149–51.
- "et pour s'ayder a iceulx prendre a ses frais scavans et souffissans compaignons paintres des pays de pardeca"; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 344–45, doc. 1; Buchanan 2014, pp. 284–87, cat. doc. 7(1).
- "Et quant à celles de Tunes j'ai trouve bien peu avancé selon mon désir"; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 353, doc. 5.
- Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille (LADN), Chambres des Comptes B 3339, no. 177. See Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 377–78, docs. 29 and 30; Marlier 1966, p. 350; Buchanan 1992, pp. 382–84; Roobaert 2004, pp. 101–3; Buchanan 2014, p. 287, cat. doc. 7(3).
- "Quant à le tapise de Tunes je n'en poray estre acompaignée [pour] ce voiage, car outre toute longueur des ouvriers il a plut à Dieu prendre à soy le peintre mestre Piere." The letter is partly printed in Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 382, doc. 33; see Buchanan 1992, p. 383; Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 387–88.
- See Horn, H. 1984.
- The cartoon and weaving contracts were published by Houdoy 1871, pp. 15–19, 20–23. For these, and Vermeyen's advance, see Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 344–45, doc. 1; pp. 346–47, docs. 2, 3; pp. 348–51, doc. 4; Buchanan 2014, pp. 284–87, cat. doc. 7(1, 2).
- Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 362, doc. 14; p. 370, doc. 22; p. 373, doc. 25.
- On de Pannemaker, see Buchanan 2014, pp. 52–54.
- Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 348–51, doc. 4; Buchanan 2014, pp. 285–87, cat. doc. 7(2).
- Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 367, doc. 19; p. 410, doc. 59; d'Hondt 1989, pp. 80–81, doc. 119; pp. 87–89, doc. 129.
- Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 362, doc. 14; p. 370, doc. 22; p. 373, doc. 25.
- Ibid., p. 385, doc. 37; p. 387, doc. 39.
- "c'est pour le service de Sa Majesté qui désire en toute accélération l'achèvement des dictes ouvraiges"; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 383, doc. 35; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 312.
- "je ne vous porteray envye que avés veu les pieces de la tapisserie de Tunes car je pense aussy les veoir"; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 388, doc. 40.
- Ibid., p. 400, doc. 52; p. 402, doc. 54.
- Ibid., p. 403, doc. 55; p. 405, doc. 56.
- Ibid., pp. 406–8, doc. 57.
- Ibid., p. 409, doc. 58.
- LADN, Chambre des Comptes B3339, no. 231. See Buchanan 1992, pp. 383–84.
- See Houdoy 1873, p. 8.
- LADN, Chambre des Comptes B2504, fol. 333v. See Finot 1885, p. 170; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, pp. 137–38.
- Elder 1555; see Buchanan 1999, p. 133.
- On the 1556 meeting of the Order, see de Reiffenberg 1830, pp. 462–66; and Donnet 1924.
- Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rekenkamers/Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes, Brussels (BARA), Papiers d'État et de l'Audience 1235. See Donnet 1924, pp. 100–101.
- Mary of Hungary's *Conquest of Tunis* is listed in her inventory of 1558; see Beer, ed. 1891, pp. CLVIII–CLXIV, no. 8436. Eleanor's set is mentioned in a document of December 3, 1555, related to the will of Mary of Hungary; see Voltelini, ed. 1890, p. LXVII, no. 6477. On Alba's set, see Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, pp. 129–30.
- On Maria of Portugal's set, see Delmarcel 1999b, p. 161; Bonn and Vienna 2000, p. 58.
- Piquard 1950, pp. 117–18; Calberg 1969.
- BARA, Papiers d'État et de l'Audience 1196. The inventory is printed in de Maeyer 1955.
- On the re-edition of the set by Judocus de Vos, see Halbtorn 1976, pp. 15–28; Bonn and Vienna 2000, pp. 111–25; Brosens 2002.
- See Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, p. 137.

70.

The Quest for Fodder

- Based on the translation in Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 1, p. 41.
 - Trascasas Casares 2003, p. 27.
 - Valencia de Don Juan, ed. 1889, pp. CCCLIV, CCCXCIII, pl. 20.
 - Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Lope de Soria, no. 86; see Fernández Álvarez, ed. 1973, pp. 427–32, doc. CLXXV.
 - Paredes 2005a.
 - See the second and seventh panels of the *Battle of Pavia* series, *Imperial Attack on the French Cavalry Led by the Marquis of Pescara and on the French Artillery by the Lansquenets under Georg von Frundsberg and Sortie of the Besieged Imperial Troops and Rout of the Swiss Guard*; Paris 1999, ill. pp. [54–55], [74–75].
 - Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, pp. 373–74, docs. 25, 26.
 - Horn, H. 1989, vol. 2, p. 360, doc. 12.
 - Fernández Navarrete, Salvá, and Sáinz de Baranda, eds. 1843, p. 521.
 - Delmarcel 1999b, p. 169, no. 10.
 - Orso 1986, pp. 135–43, fig. 67.
 - The Ottoman ambassador's reception by Philip IV was recalled and the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries mentioned in *Noticias verdaderas y visuales de la entrada que hizo en Madrid el embajador del Gran Duque de Moscovia, Ospedaje que se le hizo, forma que se tuvo y acompañamiento que se le hizo para venir a dar su embajada al Rey Nuestro Señor D, Carlos II de este nombre en los Reinos de España, y adorno que se puso en su real palacio para que el dicho embajador entrase en él a besar su real mano y a enteregar en ella la carta de creencia que traía de su príncipe y señor* (Madrid, 1687); see Madrid 1994, pp. 502–3.
 - Inventory of the Estate of Philip V, 1746, Archivo General de Palacio (AGP), Madrid, Registros, 297, fols. 140v–142v; inventory of the estate of Charles III, 1788, AGP, Registros, 259, fol. 111, fol. 219r; and inventory of the estate of Ferdinand VII, 1834, AGP, Registros, 4807, fol. 201r. See Herrero Carretero 2000, pp. 252–53.
- ## Verdures with Animals
- ### Nello Forti Grazzini
- This series was listed in Szablowski et al. 1972, pp. 461–68; the broadest analysis remains Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972. Other important references are: Morelowski 1925; Morelowski 1930; Gębarowicz and Mańkowski 1937; Roethlisberger 1967, pp. 111–15, figs. 24–40; Ghent 1987–88, pp. 26–35, nos. 3–9; Hennel-Bernasikowa 1998, pp. 7–44, 86–103; Cramer Niekrasz 2007, pp. 20–37, 108–98; Magdelena Piwocka in Lecce 2008–9, pp. 43–45 n. 18. For the history of Sigismund II Augustus's tapestries from the sixteenth century to the present day, see Hennel-Bernasikowa 2011.
 - Cramer Niekrasz 2007, pp. 108–98.
 - Ibid., p. 121 n. 213, with reference to Hartleb 1928.

- For the the *Hunt of the Unicorn* tapestries, especially the *Unicorn is Found*, see Cavallo 1993, pp. 297–327, no. 20b; Cavallo 1998, p. 52, fig. 34; and Thomas P. Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 70–79 n. 5. For a wider discussion of unicorns' symbolism and representation, see Pastoureaux and Delahaye 2013. Examples of large-scale animals against millefleurs grounds include the *Landscape with a Stag and a Unicorn* (formerly in the collection of Armand Deroyan, Paris, and Galleria Moshe Tabibnia, Milan) and *Landscape with a Buck* (Galerie Chevalier 2001, no. 1), both now in a private collection in Paris; *Landscape with a Panther and a Dog* (French private collection; see Kjellberg 1985, pp. 60–61); *Landscape with a Wolf, a Stag, and a Lioness* (formerly in the collection of David Halevim, Milan, now at the Galleria Tabibnia; see Moshe Tabibnia 2012, pp. 10–13), in which the unicorn was copied from *Sight* in the famous *Lady and the Unicorn* (Musée de Cluny, Paris; see Taburet-Delahaye 2012); see also a tapestry in the Perpetch Collection, Paris (published in Tournai 1970, n.p., no. 11). For the *Conquests of the Indies*, see Gentil Quina 1998, and Bos 2012–13.
- Hennel-Bernasikowa (1972, p. 249) first pointed out the relationship between the *Verdures with Animals* and zoological treatises published beginning in the early 1560s, and especially with the first and most influential of these, the *Historia animalium* by Conrad Gessner (Zürich, 1551–58, 4 vols., vol. 5, 1587), the illustrations in which were the source of inspiration for some of the animals in the tapestries. See also Cramer Niekrasz (2007, p. 20 ff. and p. 125 ff.), who elaborated on this subject.
- See Popham 1932, p. 25, no. 12, pl. IX, and Marlier 1966, p. 351. The drawing has, however, attracted most attention from tapestry historians: Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972, pp. 254–58; Viale Ferrero 1973, p. 109, fig. 15; Balis 1982, pp. 51–52 n. 15; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 215; Asselberghs, Delmarcel, and García Calvo 1985, pp. 107–8, fig. 9; Clarke 1986, pp. 83–85, 196, no. 55, fig. 55; Hennel-Bernasikowa 1998, pp. 16–17, fig. 3; London 2002–3, pp. 288–89, no. 247; Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa in New York 2002, p. 451; Cramer Niekrasz 2007, pp. 26–27 n. 15; Forti Grazzini 2007, p. 242, fig. 2; Nello Forti Grazzini in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 89, 92, fig. 42; Nello Forti Grazzini in Brosens et al. 2008, p. 100.
- For the Dürer woodcut and the preparatory drawing for it (British Museum, London, Sloane 5218-161), see London 2002–3, pp. 285–86, nos. 242, 243.
- Hennel-Bernasikowa 1998, pp. 16–17.
- Popham 1932, p. 25, no. 12, pl. IX, which left open an attribution of the London drawing to Coecke's workshop. The *Verdures with Animals* tapestries and drawing have been called by Coecke, or his workshop, in Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 215; in Clarke 1986, pp. 83–85; in London 2002–3, pp. 288–89, no. 247; and in Cramer Niekrasz 2007, p. 26.
- Halbtorn 1981; Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 379–91.
- Marlier 1966, pp. 351, 47–48; repeated in Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972, pp. 258–63, although not in Hennel-Bernasikowa 1998, pp. 16–17, nor in Hennel-Bernasikowa in New York 2002, p. 451.
- Duverger, E. 1973, esp. pp. 55–63.
- Orzechowski 1553.
- See also Campbell in New York 2002, pp. 385–91, and Horn, H. 1989.
- Meoni 1989; Campbell in New York 2002, p. 385.
- Attribution to Tons was suggested in Morelowski 1925; Gębarowicz and Mańkowski 1937; Roethlisberger 1967, pp. 114–15; Asselberghs, Delmarcel, and García Calvo 1985, p. 108; and Balis 1993, p. 72. For more on the Tons family and their association with the *Hunts of Maximilian*, see Balis 1993, pp. 57, 72–73; Félibien 1685, p. 552; Sauval 1724, vol. 3, p. 10; Duverger, J. 1968; Duverger, J. 1977.
- Van Mander 1604, fol. 230; Schrickx 1974; Balis 1993, pp. 72–73.
- Forti Grazzini in Brosens et al. 2008, pp. 94–102, no. 11, esp. p. 100.
- This observation was made in Gębarowicz and Mańkowski 1937, and in Roethlisberger 1967, p. 111.
- These works are reproduced in Misiąg-Bochenska 1972, pls. and pp. 148–49, and Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972, pls. and pp. 206–8, 261.
- Asselberghs, Delmarcel, and García Calvo 1985, p. 108.
- Its companion piece is a *Landscape with a Lion and a Leopard*; the Château de Puyguilhem is located near Villars in the Dordogne. Both tapestries are published by Cramer

Niekrasz (2007, p. 284, fig. 155), who raised the issue of their close relationship with the tapestries in Kraków and at Isola Bella (see below and note 24) but not their similarity to the drawing at the British Museum. The most recent guides to the Château de Puyguilhem say little or nothing about these two tapestries; see Audrerie 1999, p. 10 (which publishes the *Landscape with a Lion and a Leopard*), and Thibault 2012.

23. Dumont-Fillon 1984; Guy Delmarcel in Ghent 1987–88, pp. 116–19, no. 33.

24. Roethlisberger 1967; Viale Ferrero 1973; Balis 1993, pp. 72–73; Michel 1999, p. 457; Natale 2000, pp. 61–70; Cramer Niekrasz 2007, pp. 20–37, 199–290; Forti Grazzini 2007, pp. 242–43.

25. Bertrand 2005, pp. 34–35, 76, 86, 88, 89, 104–5; Forti Grazzini 2007; Forti Grazzini in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 87–94, no. 9. One piece, *Dragon Eating Its Eggs*, from the Montalto set has been identified in the recently formed collection of tapestries in the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Vilnius; see Jedzinskaite-Kuiziniene 2012, pp. 140–43.

26. Asselberghs, Delmarcel, and García Calvo 1985, pp. 107–9, fig. 8.

71.

Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak

1. See Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972.

2. See Misiąg-Bochenska 1972, p. 175.

3. For the *Story of the First Parents*, the *Story of Noah*, and the *Tower of Babel* in the three-part *Scenes from Genesis* series, see Misiąg-Bochenska 1972; Hennel-Bernasikowa 1998; and Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa in New York 2002, pp. 441–47, no. 52.

Epilogue: Virtue Triumphs over Death

Elizabeth Cleland

1. Translation by author of the transcription, with thanks to Christopher Lightfoot, of the epitaph on Coecke's tombstone (since destroyed) as it was recorded by Sweertius in 1613 before its destruction (Sweertius 1613, p. 293). The almost identical text, marginally abridged, appears in the register of epitaphs in the church of Saint Gaugericus/Sint Gorik/Saint Géry, city archives of Brussels, published by Baert (1847–48, p. 540) and Wauters (1878, p. 140); and discussed by Roobaert (2004, pp. 40–42). As noted in the "Timeline" (1550, December 6), Coecke's stated age at his death does not correspond with the date of his birth. Marlier (1966, p. 30) following Paquot (1768, pp. 413–14), suggested the actual date of Coecke's death was December 16th, however this cannot be since his funeral was held on December 10th (see "Timeline"). It is, perhaps, more likely that Sweertius wrongly transcribed Coecke's birthday as August 14, with the actual date August 4, 1502.

CHECKLIST

1.

Adoration of the Magi

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1520–25

Oil on panel

Triptych: central panel 41 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (105 × 70 cm); wings each 41 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (105 × 30 cm)

Collection of Hester Diamond, New York

PROVENANCE: Real Monasterio de Santa María de Guadalupe, Guadalupe, Cáceres, Spain (?); 1913, purchased by Charles Sedelmeyer (1837–1925) in Seville; 1913–26, Galerie Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris; 1926, purchased by Robert Koerber, Hamburg; collection of the C. J. Vogel family, Berlin; 1951–52, purchased by the Weber family, Berlin; by descent to the Weber family, Munich; Senger Bamberg Kunsthandel, Munich; 2012, purchased by Hester Diamond, New York

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1915, pp. 84, 86, no. 71; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 11 (1933), p. 124, no. 90, pls. XLI–XLII; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 11 (1974), p. 76, no. 90, pl. 84; van den Brink 2012

2.

Christ Carrying the Cross

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1520–25

Oil on panel

42 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (107.3 × 80 cm)

Kunstmuseum Basel (1250)

PROVENANCE: Until 1900, Ulrike von Levetzow, Berlin; sold, Lepke, Berlin, October 20–22, 1900, lot 40; until 1921, Prof. J. J. Bachofen-Burckhardt-Stiftung; 1921, bequested to the Kustmuseum Basel

REFERENCES: Düsseldorf 1904, p. 79, no. 173; Scheibler 1904; Friedländer 1906, p. 581; Ganz 1913, pp. 52–53, 69, no. 162; Held 1933, p. 279; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), pp. 66, 182, no. 152; Basel 1936, n.p.; Hoogewerff 1936–47, vol. 3 (1939), p. 32 n. 1; Basel 1946, p. 49; Schmidt et al. 1957, ill. p. 120 (no text); Georges Marlier in Brussels 1963, p. 84, no. 74, fig. 88; Marlier 1965, p. 119; Marlier 1966, pp. 196–97, fig. 136; Schmidt et al. 1966, ill. p. 117; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 105, no. 152, pl. 80; Bott 2004, p. 29, ill.; Bodo Brinkmann in Basel 2010, pp. 51, 136, ill. p. 136

3.

Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People

Bernard van Orley, 1524

Pen and brown ink, watercolor, heightened with white gouache

13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (34.5 × 54.5 cm)

Watermark: unidentified monogram (reproduced in Munich 1989–90, p. 118, no. 52)

At upper center, dated and monogrammed 1524 BAO in pen and brown ink; at upper left, inscribed *sabinen*, and at lower right, *viiij . . .*, and *vii . . .*, in pen and brown ink by the artist

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (981 Z)

PROVENANCE: Charles Theodore, elector Palatine (1724–1799), Mannheim and Munich; by descent to Maximilian I, king of Bavaria (1756–1825), Munich

REFERENCES: Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 1, p. 13; Friedländer 1909, p. 159, fig. 41; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 416; Hoogewerff 1935, p. 148, pl. 29; Wolfgang Wegner in Halm, Degenhart, and Wegner 1958, p. 45, no. 42, pl. 42; Marlier 1966, p. 352; Wegner 1973, vol. 1, pp. 24–25, no. 89, vol. 2, pl. 13; Farmer 1981, p. 346, no. D20; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 73, 76, 77, 104, 118, 119, 158, 159, fig. 52; Konrad Renger in Munich 1983–84, pp. 59–60, no. 66, color pl. 5; Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, pp. 63, 131, no. 52; Nicole Dacos in Brussels and Rome 1995, p. 271, no. 148, ill.

4.

Saul Rewarding David with His Daughter Michal; verso, Sketch of a Face (?)

Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1525–30 (?)

Pen and brown ink, gray wash
9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (23.1 × 42.4 cm)

At lower right, on an old fill, inscribed 9 in pen and brown ink (Lugt 3612). Verso (not illustrated): at center, inscribed 53 in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); at lower right, a small crescent in pen and brown ink; below, inscribed (upside down) *E.I* in pen and brown ink (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting)

British Museum, London (1853-10-8-17)

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (1661–1740), Paris; April 10–May 13, 1741, Crozat sale, Paris, part of lot 797, purchased by “Lomuy”; Gilbert Paignon Dijonval (1708–1792), Paris; bequeathed to his grandson, Charles-Gilbert Morel de Vindé (1759–1842), Paris; 1819, probably acquired with other works from the Paignon Dijonval collection by Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London; William Benjamin Tiffin (1759–1877), London; 1853, purchased from Tiffin by the British Museum

REFERENCES: Pierre-Jean Mariette in Paris 1741, p. 89, part of lot 797; Bénard 1810, p. 61, no. 1206/5; Waagen 1857, pp. 39–40; von Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1 (1906), p. 307; Friedländer 1909, p. 169 n. 5; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 418; Baldass 1928, p. 254; Popham 1932, p. 23, no. 7, p. 36, under no. 7, pl. VII; Steinbart 1933, pp. 35–36; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 58, no. 6; Krönig 1936, p. 127; Wittman 1938, p. 44; Corbet 1950, p. 20; Marlier 1966, pp. 35, 342, 344, 367 n. 48, no. 5, fig. 286; Farmer 1981, p. 299; Timothy B. Husband in New York 1995, p. 158, fig. 1; Hessel Miedema in van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 3, p. 75; New York 2002, p. 301; Campbell 2007, pp. 197, 219–20, fig. 11.12

5.

Last Supper

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1527

Oil on panel

54 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 66 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (138.5 × 168.1 cm)

Inscribed, upper left roundel—END[E] SLINGERDE AEN SII[N] VOO RHOEFF DAT HI AERDEN VIEL DAVID NAM HEM SII[N] SVAERT EN SLOEGH . . . DO . . . I SA XVII; upper right roundel—OPDE . . . TEGHEN ABEL . . . OECH HEM DO . . . ; far upper right partial roundel—VBI EST ABEL FRATER TVVS; lower left roundel—QVI MANDVCAT M[EAM CARNEM]; lower right roundel—ET BIBI MEVM SANGVIN . . . ; far lower right partial roundel—EM IN ME [MANET]

The Duke and Duchess of Rutland Collection, Belvoir Castle, Grantham, England

PROVENANCE: Collection of Henry Proctor, Windsor; from May 7, 1821, Barnett Senior; John Brydone; from July 14, 1821, John Henry Manners (1778–1857), fifth Duke of Rutland; by descent to David Manners, eleventh Duke of Rutland

REFERENCES: Eller 1841, p. 326; Manners 1903, p. 70, ill.; Friedländer 1906, p. 581; von Frimmel 1906, p. 191; London 1906, pp. 64–65, no. 73; Brussels 1935a, p. 56, no. 120; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 61; Krönig 1957, pp. 166 n. 8, 174; Marlier 1966, pp. 97, 100; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), pp. 36–37; Séraphin and Lauprêtre 2013, pp. 199–261

6.

Lovers Surprised by a Fool and Death

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1525–30

Oil on panel

14 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (37.8 × 53.7 cm)

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Contessa Maria Ferrari Ardicini, Gozzano; sold, Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., London, March 24, 1976, lot 105; private collection, Spain; sold, Christie’s, London, April 22, 1994, lot 18; 1994, purchased at that sale by Jack Kilgore, New York; 1994, purchased by current owner

REFERENCES: Sotheby’s, London 1976, pp. 100–101, lot 105; Christie’s, London 1994, p. 34, lot 18

7.

A Seated Mother and Child and Other Figures in a Landscape, with a View of the Village of Elsene and the Abbey of Ter Kameren, near Brussels, from the North

Circle of Bernard van Orley, ca. 1535–40 (?)

Pen and brush with brown ink and white gouache over black chalk on brown paper (laid down)
12 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (31.1 × 46.1 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. At lower center, inscribed *Meester Bernart orleij van Brußel fecit* in pen and brown ink (seventeenth-century handwriting); at lower right, the collector’s mark of Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 2097). On the mount made by Mariette, at lower center, inscribed in the cartouche *BERN. VAN ORLEY / BRUXELLENSIS* in pen and brown ink, by Mariette

Musée du Louvre, Paris (20148)

PROVENANCE: Unidentified seventeenth-century collector; Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; Pierre Crozat (1661–1740), Paris; April 10–May 14, 1741, Crozat sale, Paris, part of lot 799; Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774), Paris; November 15, 1775–January, 30, 1776, Mariette sale, Paris, part of lot 968, purchased by Jean-Denis Lempereur for the French crown

REFERENCES: Paris 1741, part of lot 799; Paris 1775–76, part of lot 968; Paris 1802, p. 87, no. 350; Paris 1811, p. 96, no. 475; Paris 1814, p. 75, no. 397; Paris 1817, p. 95, no. 392; Paris 1820, p. 192, no. 481; Paris 1838, p. 195, no. 841; Benesch 1925, pp. 116–17; Baldass 1926, pp. 132, 134, fig. 5; Baldass 1928, p. 257; Benesch 1928, p. 8; Kauffmann 1928, p. 144; Wescher 1928, p. 30; Brussels 1935b, p. 18, no. 420; Baldass 1944, pp. 187–91, figs. 161–63; Hoogewerff 1954, p. 50; Paris 1965, no. 68, pl. 18; Marlier 1966, pp. 268–69, 272, fig. 212; Lise Duclaux in Paris 1967, p. 120, under no. 187; Arlette Calvet in Bacou and Calvet 1968, n.p., no. 38, ill.; Lugt 1968, p. 52, no. 175, pl. 82; Franz 1969, vol. 1, p. 67, vol. 2, fig. 44; Spickernagel 1970, pp. 60–61, 64, fig. 14; Mielke 1971, p. 307; Rome 1972–73, pp. 46, 48, no. 30; Grossmann 1973, p. 150, fig. 5; Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 152–53, no. 208, fig. 36; Bacou 1978, p. 145, fig. 3; Demus, Klauner, and Schutz 1981, pp. 160–62; Farmer 1981, pp. 296–97, 346, no. D23; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 89, 113–14, fig. 104; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 180, 192, fig. 110; Emmanuel Starcky in Paris 1990, p. 48, under no. 42; Balis 1993, pp. 76, 78, fig. 75; Sotheby’s, London 1995, under lot 85; Py 2001, pp. 94–95, no. 270; Olivia Savatier Sjöholm in Paris 2013, p. 100, under no. 18

8.

A Peasant and Three Women at a Game of Backgammon in a Brothel

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1529 (?)

Pen and brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache, on brown prepared paper (laid down)
8 × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (20.2 × 16.1 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist; at center left, signed *Petrus van / Aelst . inu. / & F. Verso* of the secondary support; at lower left, inscribed *Petrus Koeke van Aalst f 1529 / geb. 1496 te Aalst. / Discipel [?] van Bern van Orley - / geb te Brussel 1484 / Discipel van Rafael Urbino / h 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ / b. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$* in pen and brown ink, by Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (Lugt 3002, 3004); below, inscribed *f r* in graphite (nineteenth-century handwriting?); at lower center, inscribed . . . *oek van . . . 1540* in graphite (twentieth-century handwriting)

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (MB 330)

PROVENANCE: Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726–1798), Amsterdam; March 3, 1800, and following days, Ploos van Amstel sale, Amsterdam, possibly album x, part of lot 53, sold for 8 guilders to Christian Josi; Diederik van Leyden (1744–1810), Leiden; May 13, 1811, and following days, Van Leyden sale, Amsterdam, album M, no. 11; Dirk Vis Blokhuyzen (1799–1869), Rotterdam; October 23–28, 1871, Blokhuyzen sale, Rotterdam, no. 1, to Dirk A. Lamme for Museum Boijmans (now Boijmans)

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1811, album M, lot 11; Rotterdam 1871, drawings, lot 1; Rooses 1902–4, 1, pt. 2 (1902), p. 171; *Handzeichnungen* 1896–1906, vol. 6, pl. 21;

Friedländer 1917, p. 85; Benesch 1928, p. 9, under no. 50; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, pp. 205, 206; van Gelder 1929, pp. 135–36, fig. 2; Friedländer 1924–1937, vol. 12 (1935), p. 58, no. 1; Glück 1936, p. 197; Delen 1944, pp. 63–64, fig. 25; Corbet 1950, p. 19, no. 1; Georges Marlier in Brussels 1963, p. 191, no. 283, fig. 276; Marlier 1966, pp. 39, 88–90, 284, 295, 314, fig. 27; Faggin 1968, pp. 45, 114, fig. 105; Judson 1970, p. 56, fig. 120; Schubert 1970, p. 95, fig. 31; Cuttler 1971, p. 410; Schubert 1973, p. 217, fig. 1; Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 115–16, no. 144, fig. 39; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), pp. 34–35, no. 1, pl. 85, and in Notes by Henri Pauwels and G. Lemmens, p. 413, n. 14; Gibson 1978, p. 679, fig. 10; Wayment 1979, p. 44, fig. 12 (detail); Raupp 1986, p. 209, fig. 190; J. Richard Judson in Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, pp. 113–14, no. 35; Müller-Hofstede 1988, p. 22, fig. 18; Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, p. 25, under no. 18; Ger Luijten in New York, Fort Worth, and Cleveland 1990–91, pp. 57–59, no. 16; Nancy Bialler in Amsterdam and Cleveland 1992–93, p. 25, fig. 6; Timothy B. Husband in New York 1995, p. 158, fig. 1; Ger Luijten in Amsterdam 1997, p. 172, under no. 31; Haarlem and Paris 2001, pp. 105–6, no. 52; New York 2002, p. 414, under no. 47; Neumeister 2003, pp. 79–80, fig. 43; Van Mourik 2006, n.p., ill.; Peter van der Coelen in Rotterdam 2008–9, pp. 226, 280, no. 109, ill.; Neumeister et al. 2010, p. 33, fig. 23; Nicolaas Teeuwisse 2011, pp. 22, 24, under no. 6, ill. p. 25, facing p. 3 (detail); Albert J. Elen, Judith Niessen, and Peter van der Coelen in Bleyerveld et al., 2012, “Over de verzameling,” under entry on drawings by Coecke (MB 1958/T 9–T 10), and entry on the drawing; Annemarie Stefes in Vienna 2013, p. 60, under no. 27; Alsteens 2014b, no. A1, ill.; Albert J. Elen, Judith Niessen and Peter van der Coelen in Paris and Rotterdam 2014–15, pp. 18, 70, under no. 16, 72–73, no. 17

9.

Resurrection

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530

Oil on panel

Triptych: central panel 28½ × 22 in. (72.5 × 56 cm); wings each 28 × 9¼ in. (71 × 23.5 cm)

Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (153)

PROVENANCE: Collection of Margrave Hermann von Baden-Baden (d. 1691), inventory of 1691; Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden (d. 1707), Schloss Rastatt; his widow, Margravine Sibylla Augusta von Baden-Baden (d. 1773); her sons, Margrave Ludwig Georg von Baden-Baden (d. 1761) and Margrave August Georg von Baden-Baden (d. 1771), inventory of 1772; Margrave (later Grand Duke) Karl Friedrich von Baden-Durlach (d. 1811); his son Grand Duke Leopold (d. 1852); 1852, entered the Kunsthalle by his death

REFERENCES: Frommel 1833, p. 17, no. 58; Frommel 1852, p. 97, no. 181; Koelitz 1881, p. 96, no. 153; Lübke 1887, p. 375; Graefe 1909, p. 59; Wescher 1928, p. 28, fig. 4; Baldass 1929–30, p. 218; Schrade 1932, p. 335, fig. 180; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), pp. 63, 181, no. 144; Krönig 1936, pp. 51–52; Renner 1941, pp. 49, 174, fig. 13; Corbet 1950, p. 55; Kircher 1955, p. 244; van Puyvelde 1962, p. 330; Georges Marlier in Brussels 1963, no. 79, fig. 93; Brochhagen 1964, p. 4; Lauts et al. 1966, vol. 1, pp. 83–84, no. 153; vol. 2, p. 239; Marlier 1966, pp. 274–77; Schubert 1970, pp. 196–97; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), pp. 37, 104, no. 144; Karlsruhe 1992, pp. 198–203; Löcher et al. 1997, p. 570; Lewy 2007, p. 72, figs. 18, 19, and p. 73; Eichberger 2011, pp. 116–19

10.

Holy Family

Pieter Coecke van Aelst and workshop, ca. 1530–35

Oil on panel

39¾ × 28¾ in. (101 × 72 cm)

M—Museum Leuven (S/26/C)

PROVENANCE: Ca. 1600, Sint-Pieterskerk, Leuven; later, with wings, as epitaph triptych for Lambrecht Simoers (d. 1612) and Catharina Stevens (d. 1634); between 1825 and 1847, to the Stedelijk Museum, Leuven

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 234–36; Aalst 1973, p. 152, no. A197; Hollanders-Favart et al. 1974; Verougstraete-Marcq, Smeyers, and Van Schoute 1981, pp. 308–13; Jordens 1987, pp. 131–35; Katrien Smeyers in Brussels 1991b, pp. 558–60, no. 357; Bob van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, p. 321, no. 219; Arnout Balis in Ghent 1999–2000, p. 229, no. 99; Göttler 2006, p. 184; Carpreau 2008; Patala 2010, p. 54, ill. p. 59; Annick Born in Cassel 2013, pp. 138–39, no. 27

11.

Christ as the Fount of Mercy

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1533–35

Pen and brush and brown ink, brush and white gouache (partly oxidized), over black chalk, on light brown paper 12½ × 11½ in. (31.7 × 28.1 cm)

Watermark: none

Framing line in pen and brown ink and white gouache, by the artist

Uffizi, Florence (2421 F)

PROVENANCE: probably Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (1617–1675), Florence; by descent, Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence; Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence

REFERENCES: Baldinucci 1673, n.p.; Baldinucci 1673/1972, n.p.; Baldinucci 1673/1975, n.p.; Ferri 1890, p. 343; Kloek 1975, p. 199, no. 102; Wouter Th. Kloek in Florence 2008, pp. 126–29, no. 13, ill.; Kloek in Paris 2008, pp. 21–24, no. 11, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. A14, ill.

12.

The Crossing of the Red Sea

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1533–35

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache (laid down) 9¾ × 7¾ in. (25.1 × 20 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
At lower left, inscribed . . . ck van Aelst f in pen and brown ink (eighteenth-century handwriting?)

Albertina, Vienna (25127)

PROVENANCE: 1927, acquired by the Albertina on the Vienna art market

REFERENCES: Benesch 1928, p. 9, no. 51, pl. 16; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 58, no. 4; Corbet 1950, p. 20; Marlier 1966, p. 281, fig. 222; Lugt 1968, p. 63, under no. 210; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35, no. 4, pl. 85, and in Notes by Henri Pauwels and G. Lemmens, p. 413, n. 17; Boon 1992, vol. 2, p. 95, under no. 55; Wouter Th. Kloek in Florence 2008, p. 27, under no. 13, ill.; Kloek in Paris 2008, p. 21, under no. 11, ill.; Stijn Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, p. 312, under no. 66; Alsteens 2014b, no. A15, ill.

13.

The Consecration of Saint Nicholas as Bishop of Myra

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1537 or before

Pen and brush and brown ink over black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk, construction lines in red chalk 16¾ × 21¾ in. (41.6 × 54.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. At lower center, inscribed D*V 1525 in pen and brown ink (sixteenth-century handwriting?)

Albertina, Vienna (15122)

PROVENANCE: Collection of Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726–1798), Amsterdam; March 3, 1800, Ploos sale, Amsterdam, possibly album OO, no. 4 (as by Dirck Vellert), likely purchased by Philippus van der Schley; collection of Philippus van der Schley (1724–1817), Amsterdam; December 22, 1817, possibly sale of Van der Schley, Amsterdam, album S, T, or Z; collection of Albert, duke of Saxe-Teschen (1738–1822), Vienna; 1822, bequeathed to the Albertina, Vienna

REFERENCES: Glück 1901, pp. 24–25, pl. VI; Friedländer 1917, p. 91, fig. 8 (detail); Benesch 1928, p. 9, no. 52, pl. 15; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, p. 209; Brussels 1935b, p. 19, no. 425; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 60; Delen 1944, pp. 60–61, fig. 22; Corbet 1950, p. 28; Marlier 1966, pp. 44, 353–54, fig. 294; Cuttler 1971, p. 411; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 36, and in Notes by Henri Pauwels and G. Lemmens, p. 413, n. 29; Jan Van Damme in Anwerp 1996, p. 16, fig. 6; Grieten and Bungeeners 1996, p. 181, pl. IX; Hessel Miedema in van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 3, p. 75; Natasja Peeters in Antwerp 2009, p. 127, fig. 7a; Ariane van Suchtelen in Bleyerveld et al. 2012, under entry on a drawing attributed to Vellert (MB 1975/T 31); Alsteens 2014b, no. A28, ill.

14.

Receipt, dated March 26, 1537

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1537

Pen and brown ink

4 × 8½ in. (10 × 21.5 cm)

Written by Coecke in pen and brown ink: Anno .15 37. den .26. martij. / Also ic peeter coucke alias van aelst aengnome[n] heb te leuereen een forme oft glazen venster (inhoudende va[n] / van .Sinte Nicolaus.) vanden dekens vander meersens[iers] de welcke hemlieden geleuert hebbende thandwerpe[n] / in onser lieuer vrouwen kercke en[de] hemlieden voldaan. kinne mij vanden voerβ[eiden] dekens vernoecht en[de] te / vollen betaelt te wetene. vander somme van achtentertich ponden .vleus.tot.vj.karolus gulden tpo[n] t / also dat ic hemlieden vande voergenoemde comenscap niet meer eischende en bin in kinneβen mij[n] / mij[n] s hantscripts aldus geteekent / Peeter .Couecke.; below: the stamp of the Royal Library of Belgium (BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE in a circle, with the A, stamped in black). Verso: at right, inscribed in pen and brown ink (sixteenth- or seventeenth-century handwriting) meester peter / va[n] aelst / 38. lb vl[aa]m[s] // van tgelas in / o[n]Be[r] vrouw[en] kerck / bou[en] βt nyclais / co[m]pt in toe gelt [?] / 57 lb (master Peter of Aalst, 38 Flemish pounds, of the window in the church of Our Lady, above Saint Nicholas, added to 57 pounds)

Rijksarchief, Antwerp (family papers, varia, s.v. Coucke [1537])

PROVENANCE: Albert I Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels; transferred around 1980 to the Rijksarchief, Antwerp

REFERENCES: de Reiffenberg 1845, pp. 50–51; Van den Gheyn 1908, p. 88, no. 5385/3; Marlier 1966, pp. 43–44, 353–54, fig. 7; Cuttler 1971, p. 410; Ger Luijten in New York, Fort Worth, and Cleveland 1990–91, p. 59 n. 2, under no. 16; Hessel Miedema in van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 3, p. 75; Alsteens 2014b, ill.

15.

Design for a Nautilus Cup with Neptune Riding a Hippocampus

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40

Pen and brush and two shades of brown ink, blue and red watercolor over black chalk 11¾ × 8¼ in. (29.5 × 21 cm)

Watermark: none (?)

Framing line in red chalk, possibly by the artist. At upper right, inscribed 457 in black chalk (eighteenth-century handwriting?). Verso: at lower left, inscribed Gr. Kl. fol. 57 in graphite (modern handwriting)

Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg, Wolfegg Castle

PROVENANCE: Maximilian Willibald von Waldburg-Wolfegg (1604–1667), Amberg and Wolfegg; his heirs

REFERENCES: Thöne 1944, p. 45, fig. 4; Mette 1995, p. 150; Tilman Falk and Bernd M. Mayer in Ravensburg 2003, p. 15, no. 36, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. A35, ill.; Alsteens forthcoming

16.

Gaius Fabricius Luscinus Refusing the Gifts from King Pyrrhus (?)

verso: Sketches of Figures

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–40

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash, squared in black chalk, over black chalk; verso: black chalk 5¾ × 8¾ in. (14.8 × 22.4 cm)

Watermark: none

At upper right, monogrammed v.a. in pen and brown ink; at left, top and bottom, a framing line in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist. Verso (not illustrated): at lower left, the collector's mark of Francis Springell (Lugt 1049^s); at center right, the collector's mark of Joshua Reynolds (Lugt 2364)

Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (5928)

PROVENANCE: Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), London; Francis Springell (1898–1974), Prague and Portinscale; Heinrich Eisemann (1890–1972), London; 1947, acquired by Frits Lugt (1884–1970), The Hague and Paris

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 295, fig. 237; Karel G. Boon in Florence and Paris 1980–81, p. 79, no. 54, pl. 28; Isler-De Jongh 1989, p. 32 n. 12, under no. 1; Boon 1992, vol. 1, pp. 95–97, no. 56, vol. 3, pl. 38; Thomas Williams Fine Art 2008, p. 12, under no. 3; Borusowski 2013, pp. 319–22, 333–34, fig. 11; Alsteens 2014b, no. A32, ill.

17. The Architectural Treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, Books I–V

(a) Book IV

Reigles generales de l'Architecture, sur les cinq manieres d'edifices, a scavoit, Thuscane, Doricq[ue], Ionicq[ue], Corinthe, & Co[m]posite, avec les exemples d'antiquitez, selon la doctrine de Vitruve

Sebastiano Serlio

Translated by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (French)

Published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1545

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

14½ × 9¾ × 7/8 in. (36 × 25 × 2.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney, 1941 (41.100.138)

PROVENANCE: Pierre German (1703–1783); William Gedney Beatty (1869–1941)

(b) Books I–V

Den eersten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Geometrye / Den tweeden boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Perspectyven dat is het insien duer tvercorten / Des antiquites, Le troisieme livre / Reigles generales d'architecture, sur les cinq manieres d'edifices, ascavoit, Thuscane, Dorique, Ionique, Corinthe, & Composite, avec les exemples des antiquites, lesquelz la plupart concordant a la doctrine de Vitruve / Den vijftsten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij inden welcken van diversche formen der tempelen getracteert wordt nae de maniere vanden Antijken ende oock dienende voer de kerstenen

Sebastiano Serlio

Translated by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Dutch and French)

Books III–IV published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst,

Antwerp, 1550; Books I, II, and V published by Mayken Verhulst, Antwerp, 1553

Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

13¼ × 9¼ × 3½ in. (33.7 × 23.5 × 8.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.100.143)

PROVENANCE: H. Mackworth; William Gedney Beatty (1869–1941)

(c) Books I–V

Den eersten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Geometrye / Den tweeden boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij tracterende van Perspectyven dat is het insien duer tvercorten / Die alder vermaertste Antieque edificien van[de] temple[n], theatre[n], amphitheatre[n], paleisen, therme[n], obelisce[n], brugge[n], arche[n] triu[m]phal. Etc bescreve[n] en[de] mate[n] oock de plaetsen daerse staen, en[de] Wiese dede make[n] / Reglen van Metselrijen op vijf manieren van Edificien te wetene Thuscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, en[de] Composita: ende daer by gesedt die exemplen vanden Antijquen die in dmeeste deel met de leeringe van Vitruvio overkommen. Met noch toegesedte figuren die int eerste niet en waren ende sommige texten vanden Aucteur gebetert hier oock by gesedt / Den vijften boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij inden welcken van diversche formen der tempelen getracteert wordt nae de maniere vanden Antijken ende oock dienende voer de kerstenen

Sebastiano Serlio

Translated by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Dutch)

Book III published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1546;

Book IV published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1549;

Books I–II and V published by Mayken Verhulst,

Antwerp, 1553

Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

13½ × 10 × 1¾ in. (34.3 × 25.4 × 4.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.100.145)

PROVENANCE: William Gedney Beatty (1869–1941)

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 379–85; Fontaine Verwey 1975; Fontaine Verwey 1976; De Jonge 2004a; Vène 2007, pp. 33–34, pp. 52–53, no. 2, pp. 58–59, no. 5, pp. 60–61, no. 6, pp. 68–70, nos. 10–11, pp. 73–77, nos. 13–15, pp. 88–92, nos. 22–24, pp. 93–95, nos. 26–28

18.

Design for a Triptych with Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535

Pen and brown ink, brown wash; squared for transfer in black chalk; verso: pen and brown ink, brown wash, red chalk; on three separate pieces of paper
Central panel 8¼ × 6¼ in. (20.7 × 16 cm); wings each 3½ × 8¼ in. (7.9 × 21.1 cm)

Watermark: none (?)

Framing line in black ink, probably by a later hand, over framing lines in pen and brown ink, by the artist. At lower left on the inside of both wings, the collector's mark of Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445)

Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (1854-6-28-38)

PROVENANCE: Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Lawrence's heirs; 1835, probably acquired with other drawings from the Lawrence collection by Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London; June 16, 1854, acquired by the British Museum at Woodburn's sale, Christie's, London, lot 1168

REFERENCES: Christie's, London 1854, p. 51, lot 1168; Waagen 1857, p. 39; von Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1 (1906), p. 307; Baldass 1915, p. 228 n. 4; Wescher 1928, p. 31, fig. 2; Popham 1932, p. 22, no. 2, pls. v, vi; Marlier 1966, pp. 290–92, figs. 231, 232; Karel G. Boon in Florence and Paris 1980–81, p. 79, under no. 54; John Oliver Hand in Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, pp. 116–17, no. 37; Boon 1992, vol. 1, p. 96, under no. 56; van den Brink 2004–5, p. 168 n. 23; Larionov 2010, pp. 208, 210, fig. 34a; Borusowski 2013, pp. 321–22, 334, figs. 12–13; Alsteens 2014b, no. A29, ill.

19.

The Revolt of the Giants

Cornelis Bos, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–44

Engraving

12½ × 16¾ in. (31.9 × 41.6 cm)

Watermark: small coat of arms, with letters underneath
At lower right, signed with the monogram C–B; outside the image, in two cartouches, inscribed *Afectasse ferunt-regnum-coeleste-Gigantes, / Altaq[ue] congestos struxisse ad sydera montes // Tum Pater o[mn]nipotens misso perfragit olympum / Fulmine, et excussit subiectu[m] Pelio[n] osse*

Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

(RP-P-1891-A-16209)

PROVENANCE: June 1891, acquired by the

Rijksprentenkabinet at Frederik Muller & Cie sale,

Amsterdam

REFERENCES: Le Blanc 1854–[90], vol. 1 (1854), p. 467, no. 19; Nagler 1858–79, vol. 1, p. 969, no. 21; von Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1, p. 145, no. 24; Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 3 (1950), p. 124, no. 56; Schéle 1965, pp. 138–39, 229, no. 60, pl. 23; Pigler 1974, vol. 2, p. 95; Verheyen 1977, p. 128; Boon 1978, vol. 1, p. 203, under no. 538; van Gelder 1978, p. 843; Konrad Oberhuber in Mantua 1989, pp. 172, 175, ill. p. 174; Forti Grazzini 1990, p. 20 n. 13; Massari et al. 1993, pp. 54–55, no. 46; Belluzzi et al. 1998, [vol. 1], p. 448, fig. 341; Vetter, A. 2002, p. 56 n. 112; Wood 2010a, vol. 1, p. 358, under no. 77; Alsteens 2014a, ill.

20.

The Fall of the Giants

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–44

Pen and two different shades of brown and gray ink, brush and brown ink, and white gouache, over black chalk
10¾ × 16¾ in. (27.5 × 40.9 cm)

Watermark: crowned arms of Troyes, *IP* below

Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

(RP-T-1951-253)

PROVENANCE: Jacob Herman Jan Mellaart (1896–1972),

The Hague and London; 1951, acquired from him by the

Rijksprentenkabinet

REFERENCES: Schéle 1965, p. 206, under no. 237, pl. 62, fig. 237a; Boon 1978, vol. 1, p. 203, no. 538, vol. 2, ill. p. 208; van Gelder 1978, p. 843, fig. 67; Massari et al. 1993, pp. 54–55, under nos. 45–46; Jeremy Wood in Edinburgh and Nottingham 2002, p. 60, under no. 35; Vetter, A. 2002, p. 56 n. 112; Vera Forcione in Atlanta 2006–7, p. 40, under no. 12; Wood 2010a, vol. 1, pp. 358–59, under no. 77, vol. 2, fig. 198; Alsteens 2014a, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. A36, ill.

21.

The Fall of the Giants

Cornelis Bos or workshop, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst,

ca. 1540–44

Engraving (second state)

12½ × 16½ in. (31.8 × 41.8 cm)

Albertina, Vienna (album HB 11 Suppl., fol. 46)

PROVENANCE: Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), Vienna; 1738, acquired for the Hofbibliothek, Vienna; 1919, nationalized and transferred to the Albertina, Vienna

REFERENCES: Gombrich 1935, p. 135, fig. 103; Lugt 1949, vol. 2, p. 26, under no. 1070; Schéle 1965, p. 111, no. 237, pl. 62, fig. 237; Alpers 1971, p. 213, under no. 25a; Boon 1978, vol. 1, p. 203, under no. 538; van Gelder 1978, p. 843, fig. 68; Held 1980, vol. 1, pp. 276–77, under no. 190; Konrad Oberhuber in Mantua 1989, pp. 172, 175, ill. p. 174; Florian Härb in Vienna 1989–90, p. 208, ill., no. iv/52; Forti Grazzini 1990, p. 20 n. 13; Massari et al. 1993, pp. 54–55, no. 45; Belluzzi et al. 1998, [vol. 1], pp. 448–50, fig. 342; Jeremy Wood in Edinburgh and Nottingham 2002, p. 60, under no. 35; Vetter, A. 2002, p. 56 n. 112; Vera Forcione in Atlanta 2006–7, p. 40, under no. 12; Wood 2010a, vol. 1, pp. 358–59, under no. 77, vol. 2, fig. 197; Alsteens 2014a, ill.

22.

Descent from the Cross

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–45

Oil on panel

Triptych: central panel 8 ft. 7¼ in. × 5 ft. 7¼ in. (262 × 172 cm); left and right wings each 8 ft. 11¾ in. × 2 ft.

9½ in. (274 × 84 cm)

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (112)

PROVENANCE: Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, Lisbon; 1834, transferred to the Depósito de São Francisco, Lisbon; by 1836, Academia Real de Belas-Artes, Lisbon; 1884, Museu Nacional de Belas-Artes, Lisbon (1911, name changed to Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

REFERENCES: Fierens-Gevaert 1912, pp. 264–65; "Acta no. 39" 1938; van Puyvelde 1949, p. 9; Reis-Santos 1953, pp. 115–16; Marlier 1962; van Puyvelde 1962, pp. 329–30; Marlier 1966, pp. 75–86; Wescher 1968; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 132, Add. 418, pl. 215

23.

The Triumph of Antwerp

Le triumphe d'Anvers fait en la susception du Prince Philips,

Prince d'Espagne

Cornelius Grapheus

Published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Antwerp, 1550

Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest

Woodcut illustrations and letterpress text

10¾ × 8 × ¾ in. (26.5 × 20.5 × 2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund,

1920 (20.43)

PROVENANCE: Philippe Desportes (1546–1606)

REFERENCES: von Roeder-Baumbach 1943, pp. 12–14, 46–57; Corbet 1960; Schéle 1965, pp. 42–43, 54–59, 74–76; Marlier 1966, pp. 386–89; Kuyper 1994, vol. 1, pp. 7–78;

Meadow 1998; De Jonge 2004c

24.

A Horseman Abducting a Woman in a Landscape with a Battle

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530

Pen and brown ink, brown wash; squared for transfer in

black chalk (laid down)

10¾ × 18¾ in. (26.5 × 47.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
At lower right, inscribed *J Con . . . et in pen and brown-gray ink* (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting)

Hamburger Kunsthalle (23989)

PROVENANCE: Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863),

Hamburg; bequeathed by him to the Städtische Galerie,

Hamburg, from 1869 the Hamburger Kunsthalle

REFERENCES: Stefes 2011, vol. 1, pp. 167–68, no. 211, vol. 3, p. 79; Alsteens 2014b, no. A13, ill.

25.

The Stoning of Saint Stephen

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30, retouched by Peter Paul Rubens, ca. 1609–10

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash, retouched with white and light brown gouache and brush and brown-gray ink
5¾ × 10¾ in. (14.6 × 26.4 cm)

Watermark: none

Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. At lower right, the collector's mark of the marquis de Lagoy (Lugt 1710); to the right, inscribed 39 in pen and brown ink (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting).

Verso: at upper right, inscribed vertically *Altorf* in graphite (nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *vgl. Bild von Giulio Romano* in graphite (twentieth-century handwriting)

Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (AE 376)

PROVENANCE: Jean-Baptiste-Florentin-Gabriel de Meryan, marquis de Lagoy (1764–1829), Aix-en-Provence; Emmerich Joseph, duke of Dalberg (1773–1833), Mainz and Paris; 1812, acquired from him by Grand Duke Louis I of Hesse (1753–1830), Darmstadt

REFERENCES: Freund 1928–30, pl. 138, and Beiblatt, no. 2, p. 13; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Jaffé 1965, p. 26 n. 21, pl. 19a; F. G. Grossmann in Manchester 1965, p. 90, under no. 296; Marlier 1966, p. 316, fig. 251; Faggin 1968, pp. 45, 114, fig. 103; Wegner 1973, vol. 1, p. 15, under no. 35; Bergsträsser 1979, pp. 56–57, no. 43, ill.; Halbturm 1981, pp. 37–39, 41, under no. 1, fig. 11; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; William W. Robinson and Martha Wolff in Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, pp. 34, 36, fig. 9; Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Dacos 1994, pp. 14–15, fig. 6; Nicole Dacos in Brussels and Rome 1995, p. 155, under no. 67; Konowitz 2005, p. 107, fig. 2; Belkin 2009, vol. 1, pp. 213–14, no. 104, vol. 2, fig. 297; Arnstadt 2010, pp. 191–93, no. 8; Thera Folmer-von Oven in Mettingen 2012–13, p. 92; Alsteens 2014b, no. A2, ill.; Christopher C. White in White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384, under no. 463

26.

The Stoning of Saint Stephen

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen in two shades of brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened and corrected with white gouache, over black chalk (laid down)
10¼ × 19½ in. (26 × 49.7 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
Verso of the secondary support, twice the collector's mark of Thomas Parry Jones-Parry as T.P. Jones-Parry and Llwyn ONN in an oval, stamped in purple (not in Lugt)

Draiflessen Collection (Liberia), Mettingen (D 70)

PROVENANCE: Thomas Parry Jones-Parry (1762–1835), Llwyn Onn; acquired before 1975 for a private collection; by descent to the present owners

REFERENCES: Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989, pp. 16–17, no. 8; Thera Folmer-von Oven in Mettingen 2010–11, no. 133; Thera Folmer-von Oven in Mettingen 2012–13, p. 92, fig. 3; Alsteens 2014b, no. A3, ill.

27.

The Conversion of Saul

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache; below, framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist
10¾ × 20¾ in. (26.3 × 51.9 cm)

Watermark: none visible

Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Dyce 190)

PROVENANCE: Before 1869, Alexander Dyce collection; 1869, bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum

REFERENCES: Muchall-Viebrook 1928, p. 203; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966, pp. 316–17; Berlin 1975, p. 116, fig. 254; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Bergsträsser 1979, p. 56; Halbturm 1981, pp. 42–43; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127; New York 2002, pp. 406–10, no. 45; Delmarcel 2004, p. 23; Campbell 2007, p. 239; Florence 2008, pp. 26–27; Paris 2008, p. 21; Arnstadt

2010, pp. 190, 196; Borusowski 2013, p. 330; White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384

28.

Horse's Head from The Conversion of Saul

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1530

Brush drawing in brown ink with distemper, over black chalk pricked for transfer

14¾ × 12¾ in. (37 × 32.5 cm)

British Museum, London (1887-6-13-64)

PROVENANCE: 1887, acquired by the British Museum from London dealer W. Walker (perhaps William Walker)

REFERENCES: Popham 1932, pp. 24–25; Marlier 1966, pp. 45, 317, 320, fig. 8; Halbturm 1981, p. 43; New York 2002, pp. 380, 409; Arnstadt 2010, p. 190; Turner, White, and Evans 2014, p. 383

29.

The Conversion of Saul

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Frans van den Bossche, Brussels, before 1563

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
13 ft. 10½ in. × 24 ft. 6½ in. (423 × 748 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark probably of Frans van den Bossche on right selvaie at bottom; inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, PAVLVS ACCEPITIS A PRI[N]CIPE SACER / DOTV[M] LITERIS, PERCIT DAMASCV[M] // SAVLVS SVBITO COLESTIS LVICIS FVLGORE I[N] TERRA[M] COLLAPVS / AVDIT HESV[M] DICE[N]T E[IS] SIBI, SAVLE, SAVLE, QVID ME PERSEQVERIS // PAVLVS NOCTV PER MVRV[M] SPORTA / DEMISSVS, I[N]SIDIAS TVTVS EVADIT

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (T 3844.1)

PROVENANCE: October 1563, in the possession of Hans Fugger, Antwerp; after 1565, acquired by Duke Albert V of Bavaria; 1638, listed in an inventory of the collection of the duke of Bavaria; 1858, transferred from the royal collection to the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1917, p. 87; Schmitz 1921, p. 228; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 418; Baldass 1924a, p. 5; Baldass 1924b, pp. 46, 48, 49; Baldass 1928, pp. 259–60; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, p. 203; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; Held 1935, p. 108; Hamburg 1953, p. 51; Heinz 1963, p. 203; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966, pp. 310, 323; Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, pp. 100, 102; d'Hulst 1967, p. 211; Schneeberg-Perelman 1971, p. 260; Berlin 1975, p. 116, under no. 146; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981, p. 42; Cortés Hernández 1982, p. 82; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, pp. 206, 226; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 230; Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, pp. 115–16; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Buchanan 1992, p. 382; New York 2002, p. 409; Borkopp-Restle and Brutillot 2003, p. 190; Horn, F. 2003, pp. 443–44; Delmarcel 2004, pp. 21, 22–23, 26–27; Arnstadt 2010, pp. 189, 196

30.

Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brush and brown ink, pen and darker brown ink, brush and white gouache, over black chalk
11½ × 18¼ in. (29.5 × 46.4 cm)

Watermark: none

At lower center, inscribed *Lijstrensens uolunt sacrificare Paulo ac barnabæ; Paulo quidem / ut mercurio, barnabæ uero ut Joui, &c. Paulus ab eisdem / lapidatur atq[ue] uelut mortuus extra ciuitate protrahitur* in pen and brown ink, by the artist; at lower right, inscribed 7 [?] in black chalk (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century handwriting?). Verso: at upper left, inscribed *fl. 8* in pen and brown ink (eighteenth-century handwriting); below, inscribed *5 p. à rem . . .* in graphite (modern handwriting)

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (99.GA.7)

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Nantes; January 27, 1999, sold at Sotheby's, New York, lot 16, to the J. Paul Getty Museum

REFERENCES: Sotheby's, New York 1999, pp. 16–19, lot 16; Christie's, New York 2001, p. 184, under lot 152; Sotheby's,

London 2007, p. 10, under lot 1; Alsteens 2014b, no. A5, ill.; Christopher C. White in White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384, under no. 463

31.

Head of an Old Bearded Man, Pointing to the Left from Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, ca. 1530

Brush and watercolor and gouache, brush and pen and brown ink, over black chalk; pricked for transfer
18¾ × 14½ in. (47.7 × 36.9 cm)

Watermark: none

At lower right (on the sleeve), inscribed *jau* in pen and brown ink, in sixteenth-century handwriting

British Museum, London (1887-6-13-65)

PROVENANCE: acquired from the London dealer (William?) Walker (active in the 1880s) by the British Museum

REFERENCES: Popham 1932, pp. 24–25, no. 9, pl. VIII; F. G. Grossmann in Manchester 1965, p. 90, under no. 296; Marlier 1966, pp. 318, 320, fig. 256 (detail); Halbturm 1981, p. 44, under no. 3; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 206 (possibly our piece); Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Alsteens 2014b, no. B3, ill.; Christopher C. White in White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 383, under no. 463, ill.

32.

A Man Looking up from behind the Altar from Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, ca. 1530

Watercolor, gouache, brush and brown ink (?); pricked for transfer
10¾ × 12¾ in. (27.2 × 31.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

Collection of Philip Taaffe, New York

PROVENANCE: Edmond Van Hove (1851–1913), Bruges; Charles Mousset (1858–1931), Brussels; 1891, acquired by Willem van den Bruel (1871–1942), Brussels; July 4, 2007, sold at Sotheby's, London, part of lot 1; January 29, 2009, sold at Christie's, New York, part of lot 34, to the present owner

REFERENCES: Sotheby's, London 2007, pp. 10–12, part of lot 1; Christie's, New York 2009, part of lot 34, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. B4, ill.

33.

Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi

Petit patron for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white

10 × 19 in. (25.3 × 48.4 cm)

Watermark: none

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (1927:79 z)

PROVENANCE: Art market, Munich; 1927, acquired by the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

REFERENCES: Muchall-Viebrook 1928, pp. 203, 205, 207; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; Krönig 1936, pp. 87–88; Hamburg 1953, p. 52; Halm, Degenhart, and Wegner 1958, p. 45, no. 43; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966, pp. 313–14; Wegner 1973, p. 15, no. 35; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981, p. 46; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, pp. 115–16, no. 36; Munich 1989–90, pp. 23–25, no. 18; Vevey 1997–98, p. 104; Gerzi 2006, pp. 84–85; Born 2008, p. 96; Arnstadt 2010, pp. 190, 198; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 166; White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384

34.

Saint Paul Preaching to the Women of Philippi

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Paulus van Oppenem, Brussels, ca. 1535

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
13 ft. 9¾ in. × 12 ft. 9½ in. (421 × 390 cm)

Inscribed in a cartouche in the upper border, PAVL[US] DIE SABBATHORV[M] EGRESS[US] CIVITATE[M] PHI[LIPPI]S AD FLVMEN, / MVLIERIB[US] QVÆ ILLIC CONVENERANT PRÆDICAT CHRISTVM

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T III/1)

PROVENANCE: 1765, listed in the postmortem inventory of Holy Roman Emperor Francis I (Francis Stephen III, duke of Lorraine); inherited by Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor; imperial collection, Vienna; 1891, transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum at its foundation

REFERENCES: von Ritter von Birk, ed. 1883, p. 217; Friedländer 1917, pp. 87, 88; Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 76–77; Schmitz 1921, p. 228; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 418; Baldass 1924a, p. 5; Baldass 1924b, pp. 46, 48, 49; Baldass 1928, p. 259; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, p. 207; Brussels 1935b, p. 77, no. 638; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; Held 1935, p. 108; Heinz 1963, p. 203; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966, p. 310; Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, pp. 99, 100, 102; Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, p. 260; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981, pp. 45–46; Cortés Hernández 1982, p. 82; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Vevey 1997–98, p. 104; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127; New York 2002, p. 408; Delmarcel 2004, pp. 21, 22, 26; Born 2008, p. 104; Arnstadt 2010, pp. 189, 198

35.

Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books
Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30 or 1535

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache

10¼ × 17¾ in. (25.9 × 45 cm)

Watermark: none visible

Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent (TEK 3504)

PROVENANCE: Georges Hulín de Loo (1862–1945), Ghent; 1946, bequeathed by him to Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent

REFERENCES: Lucie Zabeau-Van der Verren in Ghent 1992–93, p. 57, no. 46; Balis 1993, p. 72; Alsteens 2014b, no. A8, ill.

36.

Man's Head from Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst or workshop, ca. 1530 or 1536

Brush drawing in brown ink with distemper, over black chalk pricked for transfer

13⅞ × 9⅝ in. (33.3 × 24.5 cm)

Collection of Philip Taaffe, New York

PROVENANCE: Edmond Van Hove (1851–1913), Bruges; Charles Mousset (1858–1931), Brussels; 1891, acquired by Willem van den Bruel (1871–1942), Brussels; July 4, 2007, sold at Sotheby's, London, part of lot 1; January 29, 2009, sold at Christie's, New York, part of lot 34, to the present owner

37.

Saint Paul Directing the Burning of the Heathen Books

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529 or 1535

Probably woven under the direction of Jan van der Vyst, Brussels, probably before 1546

Wool and silk

13 ft. 3½ in. × 22 ft. 6¼ in. (405 × 686 cm)

Inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, XII VIRI EPHEII PAVLO IMPONENTE / MANVS, ACCIPIVNT SPIRITVM SANCTV[M] // PLERIQVE EPHEII PER PAVLI SERMONEM CONVERSI MAGICOS / LIBROS PRECIO ÆRIS L M EXVRVNT // PAVLO PROLIXIVS[QUE] DISSERE[N]TE ADOLESCE[N]S EVTIIICI[QUE] / SONO OPPRESS[QUE] DECIDIT MORTV[QUE] PAVL[QUE] EV[M] SVSCITAT

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (65.596)

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Austria; by 1920, Bachstiz Gallery, The Hague; 1924, sold by Bachstiz to the Detroit Institute of Arts; 1947, sold by the Detroit Institute of Arts to French and Co., New York (stock no. 45152); May 12, 1965, sold by French and Co. to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

REFERENCES: Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 418; Baldass 1924a, p. 2, 4–5; Baldass 1924b, pp. 45, 48, 49; Walther 1924, p. 5; Baldass 1928, p. 259; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; Held 1935, p. 108; Heinz 1963, p. 203; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966, p. 322; Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, pp. 98–103, no. 26; Asselberghs 1974, p. 24; Halbturm 1981, pp. 38, 43, 47; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 230; New York 2002, p. 408; Delmarcel 2004, pp. 21, 26; Arnstadt 2010, p. 189

38.

Saint Paul Seized at the Temple of Jerusalem

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Jan van der Vyst, Brussels, probably before 1546

Wool and silk

13 ft. 10⅞ in. × 26 ft. 6⅞ in. (422 × 808 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan van der Vyst on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouches in the upper border, PAVLVS A MILITIB[US] CC LANCEARIIS CC / EQVITIB[US] LXX CÆSAREAM ABDVCITVR // PAVLVS A IVDÆIS PROTRACTVS E TEMPLO, PERCVTITVR, AT PER / TRIBVNVM ET MILITES EREPTVS, IN CASTRA INDVCITVR // PAVLVS STANS PRO GRADIBVS, SV / AM APVD POPVLVM CAVSAM AGIT; inscribed in the borders of the robes of the two full-length figures at far left, VNVM CREDE DEVM NEC VANA IVRES PER IPSVM

KBC NEC Collection, Leuven

PROVENANCE: September 23, 1998, sold, Sotheby's New York, lot 207; purchased at that sale on behalf of the KBC Bank

REFERENCES: Delmarcel 2004, pp. 21, 22; Arnstadt 2010, p. 189

39.

Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink; framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist

10⅝ in. × 20 in. (27 × 50.9 cm)

Watermark: none visible

St. Annen-Museum, Kulturstiftung Hansestadt Lübeck (AB 380)

PROVENANCE: Possibly Samuel van Huls (1655–1734), The Hague; May 14, 1736, and following days, sold at his sale, Amsterdam, part of lot 74, to Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863), Hamburg; bequeathed by him to the Städtische Galerie, Hamburg; transferred to the St. Annen-Museum, Kulturstiftung Hansestadt Lübeck

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, p. 312; Halbturm 1981, p. 51; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; New York 2002, p. 408; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 166; White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384; Paris and Rotterdam 2014–15, p. 70

40.

Saint Paul Defending Himself before Agrippa

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown and brown-gray ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache

10⅞ × 19⅝ in. (25.6 × 49.3 cm)

Watermark: none visible

On base of column at lower center, *Peter van Aelst* in pen and brown ink; at lower right, inscribed [D*V?] 1526 in pen and brown ink (16th-century handwriting)

Albertina, Vienna (7581)

PROVENANCE: Possibly Samuel van Huls (1655–1734), The Hague; May 14, 1736, and following days, his sale, Amsterdam, part of lot 74; Albert von Sachsen-Teschen (1738–1822), Brussels and Vienna; his heirs; 1919, nationalized and transferred to the Albertina, Vienna

REFERENCES: Woltmann and Woermann 1888, p. 69; Rooses 1902–4, 1, pt. 2, p. 171; von Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1 (1906), p. 307; Friedländer 1917, pp. 83–84, 87; Schmitz 1921, p. 228; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 418; Baldass 1924a, pp. 2, 5–6; Baldass 1924b, p. 47; Baldass 1928, p. 259; Benesch 1928, p. 9, no. 53; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, pp. 203, 205–7; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Brussels 1935b, p. 77, under no. 639; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), pp. 58–59; Held 1935, p. 108; Krönig

1936, p. 88; Wittman 1938, p. 44; Crick-Kuntziger 1944, p. 28; Hamburg 1953, p. 52; Heinz 1963, p. 203; Marlier 1966, pp. 292, 299, 310, 311–12, fig. 249; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981, p. 51; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 233; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; New York 2002, pp. 406–10, no. 46; Delmarcel 2004, p. 21; Gerszi 2006, pp. 84–85; Arnstadt 2010, p. 190; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 166; White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384

41.

Saint Paul Landing on Malta

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and two shades of brown ink, brown wash

6⅞ × 13¾ in. (15.7 × 34.9 cm)

Watermark: small coat of arms

Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist. Verso: inscribed with letter C

Draiflessen Collection (Liberna), Mettingen (D 162)

PROVENANCE: acquired before 1965 for a private collection; by descent to the present owner

REFERENCES: F. G. Grossmann in Manchester 1965, no. 296; Marlier 1966, p. 312, fig. 250; Wegner 1973, vol. 1, p. 15, under no. 35; Halbturm 1981, pp. 37–39, 51, under no. 8; Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989, pp. 18–19, no. 9, pl. 17; Holm Bevers in Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Thera Folmer-von Oven in Mettingen 2010–11, no. 133, ill.; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 166, under no. 210; Thera Folmer-von Oven in Mettingen 2012–13, p. 92; Christopher C. White in White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384, under no. 463

42.

The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray brown ink, heightened with white gouache, on light brown prepared paper

10⅞ × 17½ in. (25.8 × 44.3 cm)

Watermark: none

Hamburger Kunsthalle (21544)

PROVENANCE: Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863), Hamburg; 1863, bequeathed by him to the Städtische Galerie, Hamburg; 1868, transferred to the city of Hamburg for the Hamburger Kuntshalle, which opened in 1869

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 318, 320; Wegner 1973, vol. 1, p. 15; Berlin 1975, p. 117, no. 147, fig. 42; Bergsträsser 1979, p. 56; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, pp. 166–67, no. 210, vol. 3, p. 78; White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384

43.

The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

Cartoon for the tapestry in the *Life of Saint Paul*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst and workshop, ca. 1535

Brush in brown ink with distemper, over black chalk

11 ft. 2⅝ in. × 12 ft. 7⅞ in. (342 × 384 cm)

Numerous inscriptions, probably color indications, in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist

Museum of the City of Brussels

Not in exhibition

PROVENANCE: Albert Auwerccx (active from at least 1657, died 1709), Brussels; until at least 1718, his heirs; Guillaume Verbelen, Brussels, and his sale, Brussels, October 8, 1833, paintings lot 368; possibly sold to Stevens; possibly Felix le Roy; acquired before 1865 by Charles-Hippolyte Vilain XIII (1796–1873), Brussels; his widow, Léontine de Wal (1822–1901); acquired from her by Charles-Léon Cardon (1850–1920), Brussels; given by him in 1898 to the city of Brussels

REFERENCES: Joseph Destrée in Brussels 1905b, p. 88, no. 24; Baldass 1924b, p. 49; Crick-Kuntziger 1944, pp. 28–30; Heinz 1963, p. 203; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966, p. 318, 320, fig. 255; Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, p. 98; Berlin 1975, p. 117, under no. 147; Halbturm 1981, pp. 38, 53; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 230, 235; Munich 1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; Buchanan 1992, p. 383; New York 2002, pp. 380, 409–10; Delmarcel 2004, p. 26; Arnstadt 2010, pp. 189–90; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 166; White, Turner, and Evans 2014, p. 384

44.

The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

Tapestry in a set of the *Life of Saint Paul*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30

Probably woven under the direction of Paulus van

Oppenem, Brussels, before 1558

Wool and silk

13 ft. 10¹/₂ in. × 16 ft. 1 in. (422 × 490 cm)

Weaver's mark, probably of Paulus van Oppenem on right

selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouches in the upper

border, ALII ALIIS SVPLIICIS DIRE AFFECTI / PIAS

ANIMAS CHRISTO REDDVNT // ROME PAVL[US] CAPETE

[?] DANAT[US] [?] FLEXIS GENVB[US] / ET ERECTIS

OCVLIS SA[N]GVINE CV[M] LACTE CHR[IST]O REDIT

// COMPLVRES CRVCIBVS AFFIXI CRV-/ DELI INTERITV

CHRISTVM SEQVTVR

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 32/5, 10004024)

PROVENANCE: 1558, listed in the posthumous inventory

of Mary of Hungary (1505–1558); inherited by Joanna of

Austria, princess of Portugal (1535–1573); 1571, Philip II,

king of Spain; imperial collection, Spain; 1701–3, listed in

the inventory of Charles II; 1788, listed in the inventory of

Charles III; 1834, listed in the inventory of Ferdinand VII;

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1917, p. 88; Tormo y Monzó
and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 75–77; Göbel 1923, vol. 1,
p. 419; Baldass 1928, p. 259; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, pp. 205,
207; Held 1935, p. 108; Versailles 1964, p. 25; Marlier 1966,
p. 310; Cavallo 1967, vol. 1, pp. 99, 100, 103; Junquera de Vega
1968, p. 61; Ruiz Alcón 1968, p. 333; Friedländer 1967–76,
vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981, pp. 38, 47, 49, 53; Cortés
Hernández 1982, pp. 82–83; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982,
p. 206; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 230;
Washington, D.C., and New York 1986–87, p. 116; Munich
1989–90, p. 24, under no. 18; New York 2002, pp. 408–9;
Delmarcel 2004, pp. 21, 22, 26, 27; Born 2008, p. 104; Ghent
2008–9, pp. 203, 260; Arnstadt 2010, p. 189

45.

Customs and Fashions of the Turks

Moeurs et fachons de fair de Turc

After Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1553

Published by Mayken Verhulst

Woodcut, frieze printed from ten blocks

1 ft. 2 in. × 14 ft. 11³/₈ in. (35.5 × 455.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.85.1–7a,b)

PROVENANCE: 1928, purchased from Georges Rاپilly,

Paris

REFERENCES: Van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 1,
pp. 130–33, fol. 218r–v; Stirling Maxwell 1873; Marlier 1966,
pp. 55–74; Necipoğlu 1989; Born forthcoming

46.

The Seven Deadly Sins

Manuscript of the iconographic program for the tapestry

series

Anonymous author, composed before 1533, this version

transcribed between ca. 1546 and 1553

Pen and ink on paper, 9 folios

8⁷/₈ × 6¹/₄ × 3¹/₈ in. (22.5 × 16 × 1 cm)

Watermark: three cotises with a six-pointed star in the
dexter canton

Inscribed on fol. 1, otherwise blank, in a different hand
from the rest of the text, *pannakere / Dabitur memento
domine david*; on fol. 2, as a heading preceding the rest of
the text, *Signifiance de sept tappis / des sept pechez mortelz
pour / guillaume pannakere desquelz / a fait les patrons et
ordonnances / maistre pierre van aelst paintre / d'anvers*

Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (6015)

PROVENANCE: Before 1896, entered the collection of the
Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 51, 331–32; Steppe 1969;
Halbturm 1981, pp. 56–57, 60–74, 90–99; Schneebalg-
Perelman 1982, pp. 210–11; David P. Becker in Brunswick and
other cities 1985–86, p. 7; Smolak 1994, p. 377; Veenstra and
Pignon 1998, pp. 357–69; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 111, 127–28;
New York 2002, pp. 410, 411, 414; Campbell 2007, p. 223;
Concha Herrero Carretero in Mexico City 2011–12, p. 269

47.

Pride

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker,

Brussels, before 1544

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

15 ft. 3¹/₂ in. × 25 ft. 5¹/₂ in. (458 × 776 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left;

weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at

bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, TVRGIDA

VENTOSOS IMITATA SVPERBIA FOLLES / PASCITVR

AERIO CORPVS INANE NOTO

Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de La Granja de San

Ildefonso (TA 22/1, 10004091)

PROVENANCE: November 1544, delivered to Mary of
Hungary (1505–1558) by Pieter van der Walle; 1558, listed in
a posthumous inventory of her collection; 1598, recorded
in a posthumous inventory of Philip II; by descent in
the Spanish royal tapestry collection and listed in the
inventories of Philip III (1621), Philip IV (1666), Charles II
(1701–3), Philip V (1717), Ferdinand VI (1751), Charles III
(1789), Ferdinand VII (1815); Palacio Real de La Granja de
San Ildefonso as part of the Patrimonio Nacional

REFERENCES: Guiffrey 1911, pp. 141–42, 144; Friedländer
1917, pp. 88–91; Schmitz 1919, p. 228; Tormo y Monzó
and Sánchez Cantón 1919, p. 67; Calvert 1921, pp. 53, 54;
Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 108, 313; Baldass 1928, p. 258; Migeon
1929, pp. 267–68; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Brussels 1935b,
pp. 74–75, no. 634; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935),
p. 59; de Tervarent 1958–59, vol. 1, col. 298; Heinz 1963,
p. 200; Marlier 1966, pp. 332–33, 334; D'Hulst 1967, p. 212;
Ruiz Alcón 1968, pp. 333, 339; Steppe 1969, pp. 326, 327;
Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, p. 261;
Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981,
pp. 58, 83–87; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 211; Standen
1985, vol. 1, p. 113; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero
1986, pp. 143, 150–51; Buchanan 1992, p. 382; Tischer 1994,
pp. 109, 126–36; Veenstra and Pignon 1998, p. 363; Delmarcel
1999a, p. 127; Delmarcel 1999b, pp. 154, 163, 169; New York
2002, pp. 381, 410–11; Campbell 2007, pp. 223–24; Buchanan
2008, pp. 146, 152; Ghent 2008–9, pp. 185–87; Mexico City
2011–12, p. 268

48.

Lust

Ricordo of the design for the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, after ca. 1534

Pen and brown ink, gray wash

8³/₄ × 16¹/₂ in. (21.3 × 41.8 cm)

Watermark: none visible

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (1961.64.7)

Not in exhibition

PROVENANCE: In the collection of John Perceval
(1683–1748), first Earl of Egmont; 1957, anonymous
donation to the Egmont Collection of the Yale University
Library; 1961, transferred from the Yale University Library
to the Yale University Art Gallery

REFERENCES: Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970,
vol. 1, pp. 260–61, no. 491; David P. Becker in Brunswick
and other cities 1985–86, p. 7; New York 2002, p. 414; Ghent
2008–9, p. 185; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 168

49.

Lust

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Woven in an unidentified workshop, Brussels, before 1568,

probably ca. 1545

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

14 ft. 6³/₈ in. × 26 ft. 8⁷/₈ in. (443 × 815 cm)

Inscribed in the upper border, CVRA PLACENS, PRÆDVLC
MALVM, TRISTISQ: VOLVPTAS, / HEV VESANA FVRENS
PECTORA CÆCAT AMOR; inscribed in the lower border,
TORQVENTEM MEA MEMBRA / SITIM SEDA[VI]STIS
AMARAM

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 21/2, 1000h 089)

PROVENANCE: Lamoraal, count of Egmont, prince of
Gavere; 1568, confiscated by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo,
duke of Alba, on behalf of Philip II, king of Spain; by March
1572, in Madrid; listed in the inventories of Philip III (1621);

Philip IV (1666); Charles II (1701–3); Ferdinand VI (1751);

Charles III (1789); Fernando VII (1815); Ferdinand VII

(1834); Palacio Real, Madrid, as part of the Patrimonio

Nacional

REFERENCES: Madrid 1893, supplements, room IV, n.p.,
no. 596; Müntz 1902, pp. 103–4; Guiffrey 1911, pp. 141–42,
144; Friedländer 1917, pp. 88–91; Tormo y Monzó and
Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 65–67; Calvert 1921, pp. 53–54;
Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 108, 313; Baldass 1928, p. 258;
Migeon 1929, p. 212; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Friedländer
1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; de Tervarent 1958–59, vol. 1,
col. 274; Heinz 1963, p. 200; Marlier 1966, pp. 332–33, 338;
D'Hulst 1967, p. 212; Steppe 1969, pp. 326, 327; Haverkamp-
Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, p. 261; Friedländer
1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturm 1981, pp. 55, 57,
83–87; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 211; Standen 1985,
vol. 1, p. 113; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986,
pp. 143, 145, 152; Buchanan 1992, p. 382; Veenstra and Pignon
1998, p. 363; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127; Delmarcel 1999b, pp. 156,
163, 169; New York 2002, pp. 381, 414; Campbell 2007, p. 223;
Ghent 2008–9, p. 187; Mexico City 2011–12, p. 268

50.

Gluttony

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Probably woven in Brussels, between ca. 1550 and 1560

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads

12 ft. 9 in. × 22 ft. 3 in. (388.6 × 678.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs.

Frederic R. Coudert Jr., in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh A.

Murray, 1957 (57.62)

PROVENANCE: Leon de Somzée collection, Brussels;

Somzée sale, Salle des Fêtes du Parc du Cinquantenaire,

Brussels, May 24, 1901, no. 540; bought in; sale, 22 rue

des Palais, Brussels, June 3, 1904, no. 707; acquired by

Duyardin; acquired by Mrs. Frederic R. Coudert Jr.; 1957,

given by Mrs. Coudert to the Metropolitan Museum

REFERENCES: Hunter 1912, p. 29; Marlier 1966, p. 333;
Halbturm 1981, p. 87; Standen, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 110–14, no. 13;
Carò, Chiostri, Cleland, and Shibayama 2014

51.

Sloth

Preliminary drawing for the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532

Pen and brown ink, brown wash

8³/₄ × 15³/₈ in. (22.2 × 38.9 cm)

Watermark: gothic P with trefoil

At center left, inscribed *Somnus* and, at upper right,

Sardanapalus, both by the artist

École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Mas.408)

PROVENANCE: Jean Masson (1856–1933); 1925, donated
by Jean Masson to the École Nationale Supérieure des
Beaux-Arts

REFERENCES: Schmitz 1919, p. 228; Steinbart 1933,
pp. 34–35; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59;
Wittmann 1938, p. 47; Marlier 1966, pp. 310, 333, 338, fig. 277;
D'Hulst 1967, p. 211; Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan
1970, vol. 1, p. 260; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975),
p. 35; Halbturm 1981, pp. 56, 57, 69–70; Vienna 1983, p. 16;
Brunswick and other cities 1985–86, p. 7; Hamburg 1986,
pp. 100–101, no. 48; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero
1986, p. 150; New York 2002, p. 414; Ghent 2008–9, p. 185;
Stefes 2011, vol. 1, p. 168

52.

Sloth

Ricordo of the design for the tapestry in the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, after ca. 1534

Pen and brown ink, gray wash

8³/₄ × 15³/₈ in. (22.2 × 39.8 cm)

Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine

(1932.37)

Not in exhibition

PROVENANCE: William Bates (1824–1884), Birmingham;
probably his sale, London, Sotheby's, January 19–21, 1887,
part of lots 230–247 or 250–270; loaned by Henry Johnson
(1855–1918), Brunswick, and his heirs, to Bowdoin College;
acquired from them by the Bowdoin College Museum of
Art in 1932

REFERENCES: Wittmann 1938, p. 47; Marlier 1966, pp. 333, 338; Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, p. 261; Halbturn 1981, p. 57; David P. Becker in Brunswick and other cities 1985–86, pp. 7–9, no. 3; Hamburg 1986, p. 100; New York 2002, p. 414; Ghent 2008–9, p. 185

53.

Sloth

Tapestry in a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–34

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1548–49

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
14 ft. 9¹/₈ in. × 22 ft. 11⁵/₈ in. (450 × 700 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in the upper border, CORRVMFVNT FORTI CELSAS CVM PECTORE MENTES / OCIA PLVMOSO DESIDIOSA THORO

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XXXV/5)

PROVENANCE: Imperial collection, Vienna; 1891, transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum at its founding

REFERENCES: von Ritter von Birk, ed. 1883, p. 241; Guiffrey 1911, pp. 142, 144, 443; Vienna 1920, p. 16, no. 6; Vienna 1922, p. 33, no. 46; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 108, 313; Baldass 1928, p. 258; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59; Cavallo 1952–53, p. 86; Heinz 1963, p. 200; Versailles 1964, pp. 12–13, no. 13b; Marlier 1966, pp. 332–33, 338; D'Hulst 1967, p. 212; Steppe 1969, p. 326; Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, p. 261; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35; Halbturn 1981, pp. 55, 57–59, 68–70, 83; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, pp. 211, 226; Vienna 1983, p. 16, no. 5b; Standen 1985, vol. 1, p. 113; Hamburg 1986, p. 100; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 143; Smolak 1994, pp. 377–80; Veenstra and Pignon 1998, p. 363; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 128; New York 2002, pp. 381, 414; Campbell 2007, p. 223; Buchanan 2008, p. 146; Ghent 2008–9, p. 187

54.

Jehovah Orders Joshua to Cross the Jordan into the Promised Land

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Joshua*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, before 1538

Woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen and/or Gielis Imbrechts, Brussels, probably before 1544

Wool, silk, and metal-wrapped threads
14 ft. 10³/₈ in. × 19 ft. 7⁷/₈ in. (453 × 599 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan Dermoyen or Gielis Imbrechts on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, CONFORTAT DEVS IOSVE DVCEM CIVIVS / IVSSV IN TERTIV DIEM ISRAEL PARAT / TRASIRE IORDANEM IUVATE RVBEN CV SVIS

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK XIX/1)

PROVENANCE: Imperial collection, Vienna; 1891, transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum at its foundation

REFERENCES: von Ritter von Birk, ed. 1883, p. 231; Hunter 1912, pp. 290, 291; Vienna 1920, pp. 23–24, no. 23; Vienna 1922, p. 35, no. 49; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 369; Baldass 1928, pp. 259, 260, 261; Heinz 1963, pp. 200, 202; Versailles 1964, p. 19, no. 23a; Marlier 1966, pp. 324, 328; D'Hulst 1967, p. 211; Lugt 1968, pp. 62–63; Schneeberg-Perelman 1971, p. 260; Halbturn 1981, pp. 19–21; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 208; Vienna 1983, pp. 7, 10–11, no. 2b; Buchanan 1992, p. 382; Campbell 1994, p. 24; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 108–9, 127, 364; New York 2002, pp. 337, 382; Roobaert 2004, pp. 163–65, 170, 173; Szymdki 2005, pp. 93–95, 99; Campbell 2007, p. 301

55.

The Crossing of the River Jordan and Collecting of the Twelve Stones

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Story of Joshua*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, over black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk
12 × 19 in. (30.5 × 48.4 cm)

Watermark: none

At lower center, inscribed *Præcepto domnj filij / Israel Jordanem Transeuntibus. xij. ex ipsis Viri Singulij, ½ [?] / Singules in rej gestæ memoriã deferunt Lapides.* in pen and dark brown ink, by the artist; to the right of the third line of

this inscription, inscribed .1527. in pen and light brown ink (sixteenth-century handwriting); to the right of the second line of this inscription, inscribed *dragen xij steenen wter jordane // worden ooc xij . . . inde iordane . . .* in pen and light brown ink, possibly by the artist; at lower left, inscribed *Cocke / Van alost* in pen and brown ink (eighteenth- or nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower right a collector's mark attributed to Pascalis (Lugt 2707), with the number 42 in pen and gray ink; to the right, inscribed 11 in pen and brown ink, by or for Pierre Crozat (Lugt 3612)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, 2001 and 2000 Benefit Funds, and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2002 (2002.431)

PROVENANCE: Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; Pierre Crozat (1665–1740), Paris; April 10–May 13, 1741, Crozat sale, Paris, probably part of lot 797, sold probably to Jean-Baptiste Glomy; Pascalis (?) collection, Marseille; December 20, 1869, probably offered at Pascalis sale, Marseille; 1978, sold to a private collector by Didier Aaron & Cie., Paris and New York; 2002, sold by Didier Aaron & Cie., Paris, London, and New York; 2002, Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich; 2002, purchased by The Metropolitan Museum of Art

REFERENCES: Didier Aaron 1978, n.p., no. 10, ill.; Halbturn 1981, pp. 20, 21, 23, 25, under no. 2, fig. 3; David P. Becker in Brunswick and other cities 1985–86, p. 23, under no. 9; Boon 1992, vol. 1, p. 94, under no. 55; Christie's, London 2001, p. 187, under lot 148; Py 2001, p. 93, no. 266; Didier Aaron 2002, n.p., no. 1, ill.; New York 2002, p. 382; Szymdki 2005, p. 99; Borusowski 2013, pp. 327, 309 n. 6; Alsteens 2014a, ill.; Alsteens 2014b, no. A25, ill.

56.

The Fall of Jericho and Sparing of Rahab

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Joshua*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, before 1538

Woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen and/or Gielis Imbrechts, Brussels, probably before 1544

Wool, silk, and metal-wrapped threads
14 ft. 11¹/₂ in. × 21 ft. 11³/₄ in. (456 × 670 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan Dermoyen or Gielis Imbrechts on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, SEPTIMA CIRCUV DVCTIONE ARCE ET / EXERCITVS PERDITVR HIERICO SOLIVS / RAAB FAMILIA IN FIDE SERVATVR

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/3)

PROVENANCE: Imperial collection, Vienna; 1891, transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum at its foundation

REFERENCES: von Ritter von Birk, ed. 1883, p. 231; Hunter 1912, p. 290; Vienna 1922, p. 37, no. 55; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 369; Baldass 1928, pp. 259, 260, 261; Heinz 1963, p. 200; Versailles 1964, p. 19, no. 23b; Marlier 1966, pp. 324, 328–29, 331; D'Hulst 1967, p. 211; Lugt 1968, pp. 62–63; Schneeberg-Perelman 1971, p. 260; Halbturn 1981, pp. 19–20, 25; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, pp. 196, 208; Vienna 1983, pp. 7, 11, no. 2c; Buchanan 1992, p. 382; Campbell 1994, p. 24; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 108–9, 127, 364; New York 2002, pp. 337, 382; Roobaert 2004, pp. 163–65, 170, 173; Szymdki 2005, pp. 93–95, 99–101; Campbell 2007, p. 301

57.

Joshua Praying before the Ark after the Defeat at Ai

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Story of Joshua*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, over black chalk, on light brown-gray paper, squared for transfer in black chalk (laid down)
10⁵/₈ × 15³/₈ in. (27 × 39.1 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support

At upper center, inscribed *vluchten voer haij*, and at lower center, *Josue.7.*, in pen and brown ink, by the artist; along the lower edge, framing line in pen and brown ink, probably by a later hand; at lower left, inscribed *Cock.* (or *Coek.?*) in pen and brown ink (nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 12 in pen and brown ink (Lugt 3612)

Musée du Louvre, Paris (19204)

PROVENANCE: Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; Pierre Crozat (1665–1740), Paris; April 10–May 13, 1741, Crozat sale, Paris, probably part of lot 797, sold probably to Jean-Baptiste Glomy; Jean-Baptiste François Nourri (1697–1784), Paris; February 24–March 14, 1785, Nourri sale, part of lot 753; Charles Paul Jean-Baptiste de Bourgevin

Vialart, comte de Saint-Morys (1743–1795), Paris; seized in 1793 by the French Republic for the Musée National, now the Musée du Louvre

REFERENCES: Paris 1785, part of lot 753; Baldass 1926, p. 132; Muchall-Viebrook 1928, pp. 207, 209; Wescher 1928, p. 29, fig. 7; Steinbart 1933, p. 34; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 12 (1935), p. 59, under no. 2; Brussels 1935b, p. 19, no. 427; Krönig 1936, pp. 89, 90–91; Marlier 1966, pp. 86, 277, 310, 324–27, 328, 329, fig. 263; Wescher 1968, pp. 23–24, fig. 4; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 12 (1975), p. 35, under no. 2, pl. 87, and in Notes by Henri Pauwels and G. Lemmens, p. 413, note 25; Didier Aaron 1978, n.p., under no. 10; Karel G. Boon in Florence and Paris 1980–81, pp. 77–78, under no. 53; Halbturn 1981, pp. 20, 26, under no. 4, fig. 5; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 207, fig. 128; Arquié-Bruley, Labbé, and Bicart-Sée 1987, vol. 1, p. 146, no. 18, ill. p. 173, vol. 2, p. 352; Boon 1992, vol. 1, p. 94, under no. 55; Christie's, London 2001, p. 187, under lot 148; Py 2001, p. 92–93, no. 265; Didier Aaron 2002, n.p., under no. 1, ill.; New York 2002, p. 382; Alsteens 2014b, no. A26, ill.

58.

Joshua's Victory over Ai

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in the *Story of Joshua*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1535–37

Pen and brown and brown-gray ink, brush and brown ink, over black chalk, squared in black chalk (laid down)
10³/₄ × 13³/₈ in. (27.2 × 34 cm)

Watermark: none visible through the secondary support

At upper center, inscribed *haij v[er]brant*, and at lower center (on the Ark of the Covenant), monogrammed AP (in reverse), in pen and brown ink, by the artist; below, inscribed *Josue 8 cap.* and framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist; to the right, inscribed *The taking of the City of Ai* in pen and brown ink (nineteenth-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed 5 in graphite (twentieth-century handwriting). Verso (visible through the secondary support by aid of transmitted light): inscribed 3 *olde velle* (?) in pen and brown ink (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century handwriting?). Verso of the secondary support: at upper center, inscribed (upside down) *Stradanus* in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); at center, inscribed 4/15 in graphite (nineteenth- or twentieth-century handwriting); at lower center and right, inscribed P. Coecke van Aelst, *ontwerp voor een der tapisserieën/uit de Josua-serie/vergelijk Louvre 19.204 en P. Wescher in Belvedere XII p. 29 e.v.* in graphite, by Frits Lugt

Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (4818)

PROVENANCE: Twenty-One Gallery, London; 1932, acquired by Frits Lugt (1884–1970), The Hague and Paris; Frits Lugt Collection, Paris

REFERENCES: Wescher 1938, p. 59, pl. 62; Marlier 1966, pp. 86, 277, 324–28, 344, fig. 264; Lugt 1968, p. 63, under no. 210; Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, p. 183, under no. 332; Didier Aaron 1978, n.p., under no. 10; Karel G. Boon in Florence and Paris 1980–81, pp. 77–78, no. 53, pl. 29; Halbturn 1981, pp. 20, 21, under no. 2, p. 26, under no. 4, fig. 2; Schneeberg-Perelman 1982, p. 207; Boon 1992, vol. 1, pp. 92–95, no. 55, vol. 3, pl. 37; Christie's, London 2001, p. 187, under lot 148; Py 2001, p. 93, under no. 265; Martin Royalton-Kisch in Rotterdam and New York 2001, p. 14, fig. 11; Didier Aaron 2002, n.p., under no. 1; New York 2002, p. 382; Borusowski 2013, pp. 314, 330; Alsteens 2014b, no. A27, ill.

59.

The Gibeonite Deception

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Joshua*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, before 1538

Woven under the direction of Jan Dermoyen and/or Gielis Imbrechts, Brussels, probably before 1544
Wool, silk, and metal-wrapped threads
14 ft. 10 in. × 19 ft. 5¹/₂ in. (452 × 593 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels on bottom edge at left; weaver's mark of Jan Dermoyen or Gielis Imbrechts on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, IMMOLATVR DEO GABAONITE TANTQVA / A LONGE VENERINT CONFEDERATVR / IOSVE DEPREHESA FRAVDE DOLET ISRAEL

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK T XIX/5)

PROVENANCE: Imperial collection, Vienna; 1891, transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum at its foundation

REFERENCES: von Ritter von Birk, ed. 1883, p. 231; Hunter 1912, p. 290; Vienna 1920, p. 24, no. 25; Vienna 1922, p. 35, no. 50; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, p. 369; Baldass 1928, pp. 259, 260, 261; Heinz 1963, p. 200; Versailles 1964, pp. 19–20, no. 23d; Marlier 1966, pp. 324, 329–30; D’Hulst 1967, p. 211; Lugt 1968, pp. 62–63; Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, p. 260; Halbturm 1981, pp. 19–20, 27–28; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 208; Buchanan 1992, p. 382; Campbell 1994, p. 24; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 108–9, 127, 364; New York 2002, pp. 337, 382; Roobaert 2004, pp. 163–65, 170, 173; Szymdyki 2005, pp. 93–95, 102; Campbell 2007, p. 301

60.

The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Abraham*

Designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1537–38

Woven under the direction of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1544

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
15 ft. 9 in. × 25 ft. 6¾ in. (480 × 779 cm)

Inscribed in cartouche in upper border, SODOMA
EXPVGNATA LOTH CAPITVR / ABRAHA[M] VT ILLV[M]
RECIPIIT REX MELCHISEDEC / VICTORIA ABRAHÆ
OFFERT PANE[M] ET VINUM; inscribed in side and
lower borders, beginning at upper left, VICTORIA, PAX,
AMOR PROXIMI, VIOLENTIA, DEPRÆDATIO, GRATITUDO,
PUGNA, TYRANNIS, FAMA BONA, HONOR, TYRANNIS

Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (RCIN 1046.10)

PROVENANCE: Between September 9, 1543, and
September 9, 1544, ten tapestries of the *Story of Abraham*
were received and lined by the royal Great Wardrobe on
behalf of Henry VIII, king of England; 1547, Hampton
Court Palace, listed in the postmortem inventory of Henry
VIII; 1649, valued by the commissioners inventorying and
selling Charles I’s possessions; 1654, reserved for use of Lord
Protector Oliver Cromwell; 1685, on display in Westminster
Abbey on the occasion of the coronation of James II;
1699, on display in the State Apartments of William III
at Hampton Court; 1922–27, stored and exhibited at the
Victoria and Albert Museum, London; 1927, returned to
Hampton Court Palace

REFERENCES: Thomson, W. G. 1906, pp. 218, 223, 267;
Friedländer 1909, p. 169; Thomson, W. G. 1914, p. 36; Göbel
1923, vol. 1, p. 416; Hunter 1925, pp. 128, 133; Baldass 1928,
p. 255; Marillier 1962, pp. 7–8, 9; Lunéville 1966, p. 13;
Millar, ed. 1972, p. 158; Thomson, F. P. 1980, pp. 92, 102,
109; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 206;
King 1989, pp. 312–13; Campbell 1994, pp. 24–26; Campbell
1998, p. 2; Starkey, ed. 1998, p. 268; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 106,
124–26; New York 2002, pp. 203, 416–23; Campbell 2003;
Campbell 2007, pp. 222, 277–97, 322, 335, 342, 343–44, 349,
353, 354, 358, 359, 361, 366–68, 377, 378, 380–82

61.

The Departure of Julius Caesar

Ricordo of the design for the tapestry in the *Story of Caesar*

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41

Pen and brown ink, wash
4½ × 12 in. (11.5 × 30.6 cm)

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (1957:119 Z)

PROVENANCE: Adalbert Freiherr von Lanna (1836–1909),
Prague; May 6–11, 1910, Lanna sale at H. G. Gutekunst,
Stuttgart, no. 330; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna
(5764); 1919, Friedrich von Habsburg; acquired by the
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1917, p. 87; Marlier 1966,
pp. 300–301, fig. 245; Wegner 1973, vol. 1, p. 31, no. 134, vol. 2,
pl. 14; Munich 1995, pp. 50–51; Campbell 1998, pp. 21–23, 28;
New York 2002, pp. 383, 423

62.

Head of a Man from the Reunion of Pompey and Cornelia

Fragment of the cartoon for the tapestry in *The Story of*

Julius Caesar

Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–41

Black chalk and body color
17¾ × 13¾ in. (45.3 × 35.2 cm)

Private collection, Brussels

PROVENANCE: Alexandre Pierre François Robert-
Dumesnil (1778–1864), Paris; sale, London, Christie’s,
July 7, 1992, lot 256; acquired at the sale by Jan De Maere,
Brussels; acquired from De Maere in 1992 by the present
owner

REFERENCES: Balis 1993, pp. 70–71; Campbell 1998
pp. 23–24; New York 2002, pp. 383–84; Leuven 2013–14,
p. 190, no. 24

63.

The Marriage of Tobias and Sara

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in the *Story of Tobias*

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1540–45(?)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk
2¾ × 4¾ in. (7.3 × 11 cm)

Watermark: none

Verso: at lower right, inscribed *a* in graphite (nineteenth- or
twentieth-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Dooven*
Barent / Die Hochz des Tobias in graphite (nineteenth- or
twentieth-century handwriting)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1964-44)

PROVENANCE: Max Jakob Friedländer (1867–1958),
Amsterdam; March 17, 1959, sale, Amsterdam, lot 22; 1964,
acquired by the Rijksmuseum

REFERENCES: Paul Brandt 1959, n.p., lot 22; Boon 1978,
vol. 1, p. 49, no. 135, vol. 2, ill. p. 54; Borusowski 2013,
pp. 314, 330–31, fig. 7; Alsteens 2014b, no. A38, ill.

64.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Herdsman

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker,
Brussels, sometime between ca. 1548 and 1575

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
13 ft. 8¾ in. × 17 ft. 7 in. (418 × 536 cm)

Weaver’s mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at
bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, TRANSIT
IN AGRICOLAM

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 17/2, 10004061)

PROVENANCE: Spanish royal collection; listed in the
inventories of the royal collection after the deaths of
Charles II (1701–3), Philip V (1747), Charles III (1788), and
Ferdinand VII (1834); since 1880, Palacio Real, Madrid, as
part of the Patrimonio Nacional

REFERENCES: Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 2, pp. 69–74;
Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 89–92; Calvert
1921, pp. 58–59; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 138–39, 315; Steppe 1981,
p. 140; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 213–15; Junquera de
Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 116, 118; Dacos 1996b,
pp. 30–32, fig. 13; Buchanan 1999, pp. 140–42; Delmarcel
1999b, p. 160, 169–70; Paredes 1999, pp. 108–9; Buchanan
2008, p. 151; Fernando Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9,
pp. 190–92

65.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Vintner

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544

Probably woven under the direction of Willem de
Pannemaker, Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
13 ft. 9¾ in. × 16 ft. 2½ in. (420 × 494 cm)

Inscribed in cartouche in upper border, SVMPTA FIT FALCE
PVTATOR

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 16/3, 10004060)

PROVENANCE: Spanish royal collection; listed in the
inventories of the royal collection after the deaths of
Charles II (1701–3), Philip V (1747), Charles III (1788), and
Ferdinand VII (1834); since 1880, Palacio Real, Madrid, as
part of the Patrimonio Nacional

REFERENCES: Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 2, pp. 69–74;
Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 89–92;
Calvert 1921, pp. 58–59; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 138–39, 315;
Steppe 1981, p. 140; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 213–15;
Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 105–6,
110; Dacos 1996b; Buchanan 1999, pp. 140–42; Delmarcel
1999b, pp. 160, 169–70; Paredes 1999, pp. 108–9; New York
2002, pp. 282, 466–67; Buchanan 2008, p. 151; Fernando
Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9, pp. 190–92

66.

Vertumnus Appears to Pomona in the Guise of a Fruit Picker

Tapestry in a set of the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1544

Woven under the direction of an unidentified master,
Brussels, between ca. 1548 and 1575

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
13 ft. 11¾ in. × 16 ft. 4¾ in. (425 × 500 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels, on bottom edge at left;
unidentified weaver’s mark, on right selvage at bottom;
inscribed in cartouche in upper border, LECTVRV[M] HIC
POMA PVTARES

Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (2329)

PROVENANCE: Imperial Collection, Vienna; 1891,
transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum at
its foundation; February 1938, purchased from the
Kunsthistorisches Museum by Calouste Gulbenkian;
1969, transferred to the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian at its
foundation

REFERENCES: von Ritter von Birk, ed. 1883, p. 232; Hunter
1912, p. 306; Glück 1920, pp. 374–75; Ludwig Baldass in
Vienna 1920, p. 33, no. 48; Ludwig Baldass in Vienna 1922,
p. 39, no. 59; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 139, 175; Brussels 1935b,
p. 80, no. 644; Crick-Kuntziger 1929, p. 76; Migeon
1929, pp. 286–87; Steinbart 1931, pp. 110–11; Brussels 1935b,
p. 80, no. 644; Crick-Kuntziger 1956b, p. 59; D’Hulst 1960,
pp. 215, 218; Heinz 1963, pp. 208–11; Versailles 1964, p. 72,
135; Marlier 1966, p. 347; Van den Kerkhove 1969–72,
pp. 151, 180; Van den Kerkhove 1973, p. 251; Steppe 1981,
p. 127; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 213; Buchanan 1992,
p. 384; Dacos 1996b, p. 30; Paredes 1996, pp. 45, 46–47, 56,
60; Bosqued Lacambra 1998, p. 93; Buchanan 1999, p. 141;
Delmarcel 1999a, p. 135; Paredes 1999, pp. 75, 84, 94–95,
98–99; Buchanan 2007, p. 149; Buchanan 2008, p. 151;
Fernando Checa Cremades in Ghent 2008–9, pp. 190–92;
Guy Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, p. 65

67.

The Triumph of Mordecai

Preparatory drawing for a tapestry

Circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1545–50

Pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash (laid down)
6¾ × 11 in. (16.9 × 27.9 cm)

Watermark: none visible because of the secondary support
Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. Verso:
at upper center, inscribed 52, and below Q^v in red chalk,
by Everhard Jabach (Lugt 2122^v); to the right, Jabach’s
paragraph (Lugt 2959)

Musée du Louvre, Paris (20736)

PROVENANCE: Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; 1671,
acquired from Jabach with his “first collection” for the
French royal collections; later transferred to the Musée du
Louvre

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 86–87, figs. 25, 26; Lugt
1968, p. 62, no. 208, pl. 98; Cuttler 1971, p. 410; Monbeig-
Goguel and Viatte 1978, sec. 5, no. 52; Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1,
p. 84 n. 254; New York 2002, pp. 384, 385, 388–89, 428, under
no. 49, fig. 177; Alsteens 2014b, no. C11, ill.

68.

The Flaying of Marsyas

Tapestry in the set of the *Poesia*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1547–48

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker,
Brussels, before 1556

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
11 ft. 3¾ in. × 15 ft. 3 in. (345 × 465 cm)

Weaver’s mark of Willem de Pannemaker on right selvage at
bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, MARSIAM
EXCORIAT PHOEBUS

Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de La Granja de San
Ildefonso (TA 19/4, 10004158)

PROVENANCE: Pieter van der Walle, Antwerp; 1556,
acquired by Antonio de Guzmán, on behalf of Philip II,
king of Spain; 1559, probably moved to the Alcázar, Madrid;
1659, on display on Pheasant Island in the Bidasoa River
on the occasion of the meeting of Philip IV of Spain and
Louis XIV of France; 1660, displayed on Pheasant Island
during preparations for the wedding of Louis XIV and
Marie Thérèse; 1664, listed in the inventory of the royal
tapestry collection; 1701–3, listed in the inventory of the
royal collection after the death of Charles II; 1734, most
likely transferred to the Buen Retiro, Madrid, principal

court residence; after 1746, tapestry set hung in Buen Retiro during the reigns of Philip V and Ferdinand VI; 1788, listed in the inventory of the royal collection after the death of Charles III; 1834, listed in the inventory of Ferdinand VII; 1957, displayed at the Palacio Real de La Granja, Segovia; Palacio Real, Madrid, as part of the Patrimonio Nacional

REFERENCES: Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, p. 93; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 134, 138; Dacos 1996b, p. 34; Buchanan 1999, pp. 137–39; Delmarcel 1999b, p. 158; New York 2002, p. 424

69.

God Accuses Adam and Eve after the Fall

Tapestry in the set of the *Story of the Creation*

Design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1548

Woven under the direction of Jan de Kempeneer and Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, completed by 1551

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-metal-wrapped threads
15 ft. 8½ in. × 22 ft. 11½ in. (479 × 700 cm)

Weaver's mark of Jan de Kempeneer on right selvage at bottom; weaver's mark of Frans Ghieteels on right selvage at top; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, ADAMVS

ET EVA DEI VOCIS TRANSGRESSIONIS INCREPATI
INDVVNTVR AMICTV PELLICEO

Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Citta di Firenze, Arazzi 1912–25, 17)

PROVENANCE: Jan van der Walle, Antwerp; June 1551, delivered to Cosimo I de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany; Palazzo della Signoria, Florence

REFERENCES: Baldass 1928, pp. 253–54; Marlier 1966, pp. 345, 346; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 215; Meoni 1989; Dacos 1996b, p. 33; Meoni 1998, p. 36; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 135; Buchanan 2002, p. 351; New York 2002, pp. 278, 385, 414; Meoni 2003, p. 39; Guy Delmarcel in Mantua 2010, p. 65

70.

The Quest for Fodder

Tapestry in a set of the *Conquest of Tunis*

Designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen with Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1546–50

Woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1550–52

Wool, silk, and silver- and silver-gilt-wrapped threads
17 ft. 2¼ in. × 30 ft. 8⅞ in. (524 × 937 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels, on bottom edge at far left; weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker, on right selvage at bottom; inscribed in cartouche in upper border, *Después que aviendo necesidad de bitualla para los cavallos: el marques Alarcon fue por ella: y cargaron tantos moros sobrel, que fue necesario ser / socorrido y le socorrio el emperador con alguna gente de a cavallo y de pie. Otro dia va el duque dalva con mayor numero de gente y trae prouision / abundante. Al tiempo que buelve, salen los turcos de la Goleta a medio dia contra los españoles y otros soldados que guardan los reparos, trauase una / gran escaramuça. Son los turcos encerrados con alguna perdida de los suios en la Goleta. Llegan nuestros soldados a subir peleando sobre los reparos / della donde al retirar por ser el trecho largo y descubierto recibē[n] mucho daño de los arcabuzeros y artilleria de los enemigos;* inscribed in cartouche in lower border, HIC QVESITA PRVVS MAGNO DISCRIMINE FRVSTRA / PABVLA: PRAESIDIO MVLTQ MAIORE PETVNTVR / DVCTORE ALBANO VALLVS PRODVCITVR. HOSTIS / ERVMPENS ITERVM TELIS INFESTAT IBERVM // HIC IRA RAPITVR ANIMOS STIMVLANTE FEROCES / TE[N]TAT OPVVS COEPTV[M] PREMIT. VRGET. FERVIDVS I[N]STAT / IMPIGER AGGERIBVS GOLETTE PRAELIA MISCEVS / A TERGO REDIENS HOSTILI A MOLE LABORAT; inscribed in cartouche in right border, VI. Hase de consi / derar q[ue] esta sesta / pieça se mira des / de los aq[ue]ductos q[ue] / van al cabo de car / tago cabe los lu / gares q[ue] esta en el / dexa[n]do a Tunez / a la mano derecha / y el norte a la iz / quierda y mira[n] / do a la Goleta / por derecho, followed by Willem de Pannemaker's mark twice

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (TA 13/6, 10005907)

PROVENANCE: June 15, 1546, commissioned by Mary of Hungary on behalf of Charles V; April 12, 1554, all twelve tapestries completed; Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor; July 1554, London, presented to Prince Philip (future Philip II of Spain) on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Tudor; January 1555, on display in the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp, on loan from Prince Philip; 1555, on display in Coudenberg Palace, Brussels, on loan from Prince Philip; July 1556, transported to Spain; imperial collection; listed in the inventory of Charles II (1701–3); Charles III (1788); and Ferdinand VII (1834); Palacio Real, Madrid, as part of the Patrimonio Nacional

REFERENCES: Houdoy 1873; von Ritter von Engerth 1889, pp. 419–28; Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 1, pp. 29–54; Calvert 1914: Tormo y Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 95–100; Calvert 1921; Göbel 1923, vol. 1, pp. 311–12; Donnet 1924, p. 85; Junquera de Vega 1968, pp. 40–49; Steppe 1968, 719–65; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 208–9; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 73–92;

Horn, H. 1989, vol. 1, pp. 200–203, 316–17; Concha Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, pp. 75–81; Buchanan 1992, pp. 382–84; Buchanan 1999, pp. 132–33; Delmarcel 1999b, p. 169; Bonn and Vienna 2000, pp. 93–99; Herrero Carretero 2000, pp. 252–53; New York 2002, pp. 385–91; Paredes 2005a, pp. 123–50

71.

Crane Holding a Snake in Its Beak

Tapestry in the set of the *Verdures with Animals*

Design attributed to a follower of Bernard van Orley, perhaps Jan Tons the Younger, ca. 1550

Woven under the direction of Frans Ghieteels, Brussels, ca. 1550–60

Wool and silk

14 ft. 5¼ in. × 67 in. (440 × 170 cm)

City mark of Brabant-Brussels, on bottom edge at center; weaver's mark of Frans Ghieteels, on right selvage at bottom

Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków (59)

Not on exhibition

PROVENANCE: Ca. 1550–60, acquired by Sigismund II Augustus for Wawel Royal Castle; 1572, bequeathed to the commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania; 1578, may have been among tapestries sent to Stockholm to Sigismund II Augustus's sister Queen Catherine of Sweden; ca. 1587–91, returned to Poland following Sigismund III Vasa's accession; 1648, defined as property of the commonwealth, though used by John II Casimir Vasa on his accession to the throne; ca. 1668, removed by John Casimir at his abdication and pawned; 1724, returned to Warsaw to the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites; 1764, moved to Warsaw Castle for the coronation of Stanislaw II Augustus Poniatowski; 1768, returned to the monastery; 1758, moved to the Palace of the Commonwealth, Warsaw; 1795, confiscated by Catherine the Great and removed to Russia; 1924, restored to the Polish State and entered the state art collections; 1939, moved to London via France; 1940, moved to Canada; 1961, returned to Poland and installed at Wawel Castle

REFERENCES: Hennel-Bernasikowa 1972, pp. 191, 196–200; Szablowski et al. 1972, p. 467, no. 59; Viale Ferrero 1973, pp. 102–3, 111; Balis 1993, p. 72; Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa in Szablowski et al. 1994, pp. 175, 180–85, 363, no. 60; New York 2002, pp. 448–51; Hennel-Bernasikowa 2003, p. 87; Piwocka 2007, pp. 38–39; Nello Forti Grazzini in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 87–88, 89; Hennel-Bernasikowa 2011, pp. 11, 42, 96, 128–31, 222, 227, 233, 236, 238–39

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