

# The Tapestry Weaver and the King: Philippe Behagle and Louis XIV

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PHILIPPE BEHAGLE (1641–1705) was appointed director of the tapestry manufactory at Beauvais in 1684, twenty years after it had been set up by Louis XIV's minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert, with a local man, Louis Hinart, in charge; the stated purpose of the enterprise, like that of many others created by Colbert, was "se passer de recourir aux Etrangers pour les choses nécessaires à l'usage et à la commodité" of the king's subjects. One clause in Hinart's contract had authorized him to place the royal arms on the entrances of all the buildings of the manufactory, along with the words "Manufacture royale de Tapisseries."<sup>1</sup>

Purchases of tapestries from Hinart by the king are recorded in the royal accounts—254 items, mostly low-priced verdure and landscapes with small figures;<sup>2</sup> there are no records of how many were sold elsewhere, although the names of a number of buyers are known.<sup>3</sup> The king was certainly the principal customer until Colbert's death in 1683, when Hinart, who was in financial difficulties, retired. The choice of Behagle to succeed him was made by Colbert's successor, Louvois, who evidently favored this Flemish weaver. Daniel Cronström, writing from Paris to the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin in Stockholm about French tapestries on January 7, 1695, mentions this interest: "Vous serez peut estre estonné de m'entendre préférer Beauvais, dont il ne sortoit autrefois que des ordeures, aux Gobelins, mais vous n'en serez . . . que Mr. de Louvois a tiré des meilleurs ouvriers des Gobelins pour y establir une manufacture avec beaucoup de soin."<sup>4</sup> (The Gobelins were closed at this time to save money for the king's wars.) Louvois was presumably responsible for what must have been the most glorious day in Behagle's life, commemorated by an inscription on a stone plaque on a garden wall at the manufactory: "Le Roy Louis XIV s'est reposé sous cet ombrage en 1686. Le sieur Behagle était alors directeur de la Manufacture."<sup>5</sup>

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The manufactory during Behagle's directorship was prolific, at least in the early years; a figure of about 1,300 pieces or more has been estimated for 1684 to 1690.<sup>6</sup> Three documents are known that name the subject of the sets produced there. Two of them are lists of tapestries given as payment for debts. One document, dated April 4, 1689, includes pieces representing "grotesques à petits personnages," "oiseaux de la Ménagerie" (Louis XIV's zoo), and verdure;<sup>7</sup> the second, of August 19, 1690, names *Metamorphoses*, with large figures and with small ones, *Cephalus and Procris*, *Psyche*, and verdure; the *Metamorphoses* with large figures are said to be from designs by Sève and Houasse.<sup>8</sup> The third document is one drawn up by Behagle, probably in 1700, boasting about the tapestries he had sold very profitably to very important people but complaining bitterly that, for want of sufficient funds to hold his products in storage, he had been forced to sell many at a loss. He lists sets called "Histoire de metamorphauce," "tenture grotesque fines" and "communs," and "Chinoise fait par quatre illustre peintre [*sic*]."<sup>9</sup>

Among the tapestries that Behagle said he had sold profitably, "sur lequel pris, j'ay gagné plus d'un tiers," was the first entry in the memorandum, a set made for the apartments of the duke and duchess of Maine at Marly, "que Sa Majesté a trouvé belle et bien fabriqué." The *Journal du Garde Meuble* records the delivery of these pieces in June 1700; they were sets of "Verdures et paysages à petit personnages . . . dessin de la hire," *Metamorphoses*, and a verdure set "représentant divers sujets, comme voyageurs de compagne, festes de village, et divertissements de compagne."<sup>10</sup> They are very similarly described in the royal inventory entries for 1701.<sup>11</sup>

The *Grotesques* (the distinction between "fine" and "commun" has not been ascertained) seem to have been the most popular of the subjects named in these documents; more than 150 examples are known to exist.<sup>12</sup> Louis XIV owned a set of six, described in the royal inventory as by "Béhagle . . . sur un fonds de laine feuille-morte."<sup>13</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of

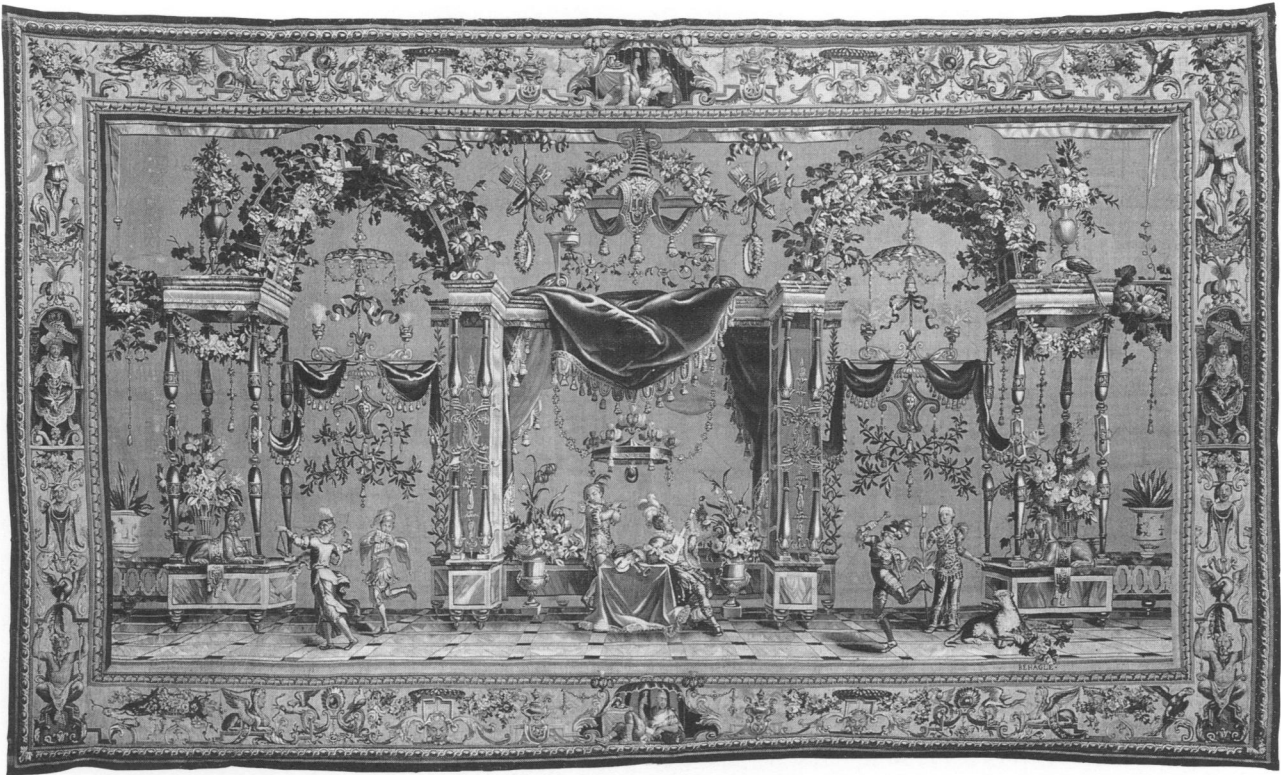


Figure 1. *Musicians and Dancers*. French (Beauvais), late 17th or early 18th century. Wool and silk tapestry, 300 × 508 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John M. Schiff, 1977, 1977.437.2



Figure 2. Mark of Philippe Behagle. Detail of Figure 1



Figure 3. *Boreas and Orithyia*. French (Beauvais), late 17th or early 18th century. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 358 × 452 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Francis L. Kellogg, 1977, 1977.435

Art has a set of five, one of which has Behagle's name in the border (Figures 1, 2), as well as a single piece from another set.<sup>14</sup> Behagle does not name the designer of this series, but he is known from other sources to have been Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer.<sup>15</sup> The innovative character of the design, which anticipates the fancifulness and gaiety of the Rococo, has been frequently commented upon.

The particularly imaginative and elegant chinoiserie border to the Metropolitan Museum set of the *Grotesques* (also found in other examples) may be after Guy Vernansal, a painter at the Gobelins<sup>16</sup> who made the cartoons after Jean Berain for the borders of the *Battles of Charles VI of Sweden*, woven by Behagle in 1695–99.<sup>17</sup> Vernansal's name appears on several panels of the *Story of the Emperor of China*, so that he is presumably one of the "four illustratious painters" to whom Behagle attributed his "Chinoise." The Metropolitan Museum owns an *Audience of the Emperor* from this frequently woven series.<sup>18</sup>

Other Beauvais tapestries in the Metropolitan woven while Behagle was the director are upholstery panels for chairs known to have been made in 1691–96; they are the earliest securely dated surviving examples of the tapestry-woven upholstery *en suite* with wall hangings that was to become a specialty of the manufactory.<sup>19</sup> The *Boreas and Orithyia* from the *Metamorphoses* (Figure 3) was designed, according to Behagle's memorandum, by René Antoine Houasse (ca. 1645–1710)

and either Gilbert de Sève or his brother Pierre before 1690, but the cartoon continued to be woven until 1730.<sup>20</sup> The design, like those of the other pieces in the series, is highly competent and effective, admirably adapted to the technical demands of the medium. A *Stag Hunt*, also in the Metropolitan Museum, has no manufacturer's or city marks, but it is close to other hunting scenes with Behagle's name.<sup>21</sup>

Behagle sold many tapestries to Louis XIV; most were verdures and landscapes, but they included *Grotesques*, *Metamorphoses*, *Ports de Mer*, and "Teniers."<sup>22</sup> One series closely connected with the king is not listed in the inventories or mentioned in Behagle's documents: the *Conquests of Louis XIV*. Four pieces of a set with the arms of the comte de Toulouse are at Versailles; they have no marks, but other examples show Behagle's name.<sup>23</sup> Two pieces of another set with similar borders are included in a mixed group of six tapestries owned by the J. B. Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Kentucky;<sup>24</sup> each of these has the inserted coat of arms (Figure 4) in the upper border of Heinrich, Graf von Brühl (1700–1762), the virtual ruler of Saxony after the death of Augustus the Strong in 1738 until the occupation of the country by Frederick the Great in 1759.<sup>25</sup>

Brühl (Figure 5) is known to art historians primarily as the director of the Meissen porcelain manufactory and the owner, at no cost to himself, of an enormous number of its products. Chief among these

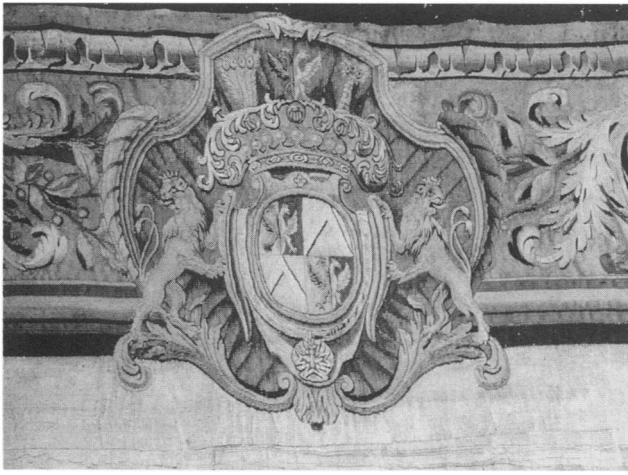


Figure 4. Arms of Heinrich, Graf von Brühl. Detail of Figure 7



Figure 5. *Heinrich, Graf von Brühl*. Print by Zucchi (1704–1779) after Torelli, 48.3 × 35.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951, 51.501.2701

is the huge Swan Service, designed for him and with his arms on every piece (Figure 6). He did, however, make substantial collections of other works of art.<sup>26</sup> Tapestries are recorded as among his possessions, but little is known of them. The most spectacular may have been a set of the Gobelins *Months of Lucas*, the ninth weaving (1737–40). On the advice of the French representative in Dresden, the set was given to Brühl in 1746; in 1768 it was acquired from his estate for the royal palace.<sup>27</sup> A large Aubusson landscape with his unmistakable coat of arms was on the London art market in 1986.<sup>28</sup> Another landscape with the arms, perhaps made in Beauvais, was owned by a descendant in 1928,<sup>29</sup> and four other tapestries related to the Louisville pieces are known. One is in the Mobilier National, Paris (Figure 20); two are in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (Figures 12, 18), and one was sold in Paris in 1912.

The two pieces in Richmond and the six Louisville tapestries were in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney, Didlington Hall, Norfolk, and were sold at Christie's, London, on December 11, 1908, as lot 92. They were said to have come from Moritzburg, Saxony, a castle owned by the Elector Augustus III. All were described as of much the same height, two panels being very wide and one of medium width (all now in Louisville) and five narrow uprights (three in Louisville). One wide panel is said to show the queen of

France seated in a carriage while Louis XIV received the homage of the burghers of Dole. The inscription on the tapestry (Figure 7) refers to the garrison of the captured town and gives the date of the event, June 16, 1674. The tapestry of medium width, which is illustrated in the sale catalogue, also has an inscription stating that it shows the siege of the town of Doesburg to Louis XIV on June 21, 1672 (Figure 8). The six other tapestries represent "Louis XIV surrounded by various allegorical figures."<sup>30</sup> A tapestry with the same coat of arms and borders in the Mobilier National, Paris, is mentioned. All the Amherst tapestries came into the hands of the New York dealers P. W. French & Co., who lent the *Doesburg* panel to an exhibition in San Francisco in 1922.<sup>31</sup> The two tapestries from the sale that are not in Louisville are those in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; they are versions of two pieces in Louisville, but the Brühl arms have been removed.<sup>32</sup>

The *Dole* and *Doesburg* tapestries are from the series known as the *Conquests of Louis XIV*. Their borders, with long inscriptions in elaborate cartouches, are like those of the four pieces of the set at Versailles, and the central scenes are similar, except that the *Dole* made for the comte de Toulouse tactfully does not include the carriage with the queen and she is not mentioned in the inscription (the count was the son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan). The designs of both sub-

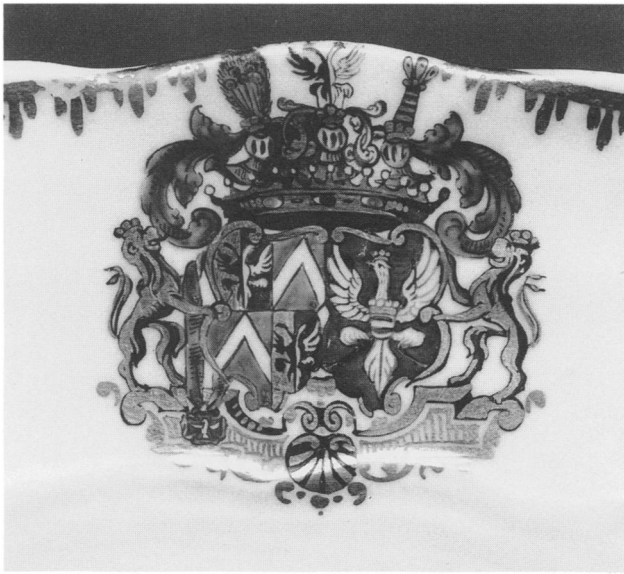


Figure 6. Arms of Brühl impaling Kolowrat-Krakowska (his wife). Detail of dish from the Swan Service. German (Meissen), ca. 1737–41. Hard paste porcelain, Diam. 33.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Rosenberg and Stiebel, Inc., 1948, 48.165

jects have been shown to be derived from prints by Sebastien Le Clerc.<sup>33</sup> *Doesburg* depicts the king and two companions, very awkwardly crammed in behind him, who appear on the far right of the print, with the fortified city in the distance. This part of the print was also used for the *Almanach royale* of 1677 (Figure 9), which, however, commemorated a different hero and a different victory.<sup>34</sup> The Brühl arms, as has been mentioned, are also found on another tapestry of this set, *Messina secourue par le duc de Vivonne*, sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on March 11 and 12, 1912, no. 212. All the victories of the *Conquests* were won in 1672–78, the period of Louis XIV's second invasion of the Low Countries, known as the Dutch War.<sup>35</sup>

The other four tapestries with the Brühl arms at Louisville are from another series celebrating Louis XIV woven by Behagle, but it was not made at Beauvais or in Paris. The borders resemble those of the *Conquests*, but they lack the cartouches with long inscriptions, have fleurs-de-lis instead of monograms in the corners, and include small birds and masks among the scrolling foliage. Three of them have the name "P. Behagle" beside a city mark, the tower of



Figure 7. *The King at Dole*. French, 17th century. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 477 × 595 cm. Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum



Figure 8. *The Siege of Doesburg*. French, 17th century. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 480 × 353 cm. Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum



Figure 9. *L'Almanach royal pour l'année MDCLXXII*. Print, 85 × 90 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Ob<sup>5</sup> 1677

Tournai (Figure 10).<sup>36</sup> The prominent fleurs-de-lis in the lower corners of these four pieces emphasize the French origin of the set and date it to the period when the city was French, 1667 to 1709. Behagle, as has been mentioned, went to Beauvais in 1684, so it is clear that these four Brühl tapestries were made in Tournai between 1667 and 1684.



Figure 10. Marks of Tournai and Philippe Behagle. Detail of Figure 22

Behagle was born in Oudenaarde in 1641 and was presumably trained there as a tapestry weaver.<sup>37</sup> In 1660 he was at what was shortly to become the Gobelins manufactory in Paris; he was married in the local church in 1669. In the next year he was paid 1,000 livres, a substantial sum, by the royal treasury for “un tableau en tapisserie très-fine qu’il a fait, représentant le chasteau de Fontainebleau.”<sup>38</sup> He returned in 1672 to Oudenaarde, then under French rule, which ensured that its products were not banned from entering France and had a workshop there; he and his partner, Jean Baert, made tapestries for two of Louis XIV’s mistresses. In 1677 he was at the head of another workshop in Tournai, with fifty employees. It is not surprising that he would write in 1695: “J’ay passé une partie de ma jeunesse a etablir des manufactures par ordre de sa Majesté.”<sup>39</sup>

In 1678 Behagle signed a six-year contract with the authorities at Tournai, saying that he had established a “manufacture de tapisseries d’hautte lisse des plus fines et esquisses qu’il s’enfabrique dans les Pays Bas”;<sup>40</sup> apparently he was confident that his Gobelins expertise would surpass the skill of the previous holder of

his position, Jan Oedins, who had obtained a similar contract in 1671.<sup>41</sup> He was granted a salary of 200 écus a year, but when, at the end of the six years, he asked for a raise, it was refused and, under orders from Colbert, he went to Beauvais. In the French royal accounts concerning this move, Behagle is called “marchand tapissier de Tournai.”<sup>42</sup> His work before 1684 has been little discussed.<sup>43</sup>

Tournai in 1677 was a flourishing French city. It had been captured in June 1667 by Louis XIV with the army led by his great general Marshall Turenne. As in most of the other Flemish towns, the citizens put up little resistance and the Spanish garrison scarcely more. The siege lasted only a few days and only four lives were lost. As Madame de Sévigné wrote, “le roi s’amusait à prendre la Flandre,”<sup>44</sup> and the medal commemorating the capture of Tournai has the motto,

“Fecit miracula ludens.”<sup>45</sup> The king made a triumphant entry and came back a month later with the queen, for whose hereditary rights, as he claimed, he had taken much of Flanders from its Spanish rulers;<sup>46</sup> he was also accompanied on this visit to the conquered Flemish cities by two mistresses (La Vallière and Montespan), his brother, the dauphin (a child of seven), 3,200 horsemen, 300 carriages, and all the trappings needed for display and splendor.<sup>47</sup> The city had been the capital of the Frankish kings. La Fontaine, speaking in the name of the city, wrote:

J’étais ville des Francs: je le suis des François.  
Un vainqueur, sous qui tout succombe,  
Sut à ce premier joug ranger ma liberté.  
Ce qu’on crut mon malheur fait ma félicité;  
Aux efforts de Louis je dus d’abord me rendre.<sup>48</sup>

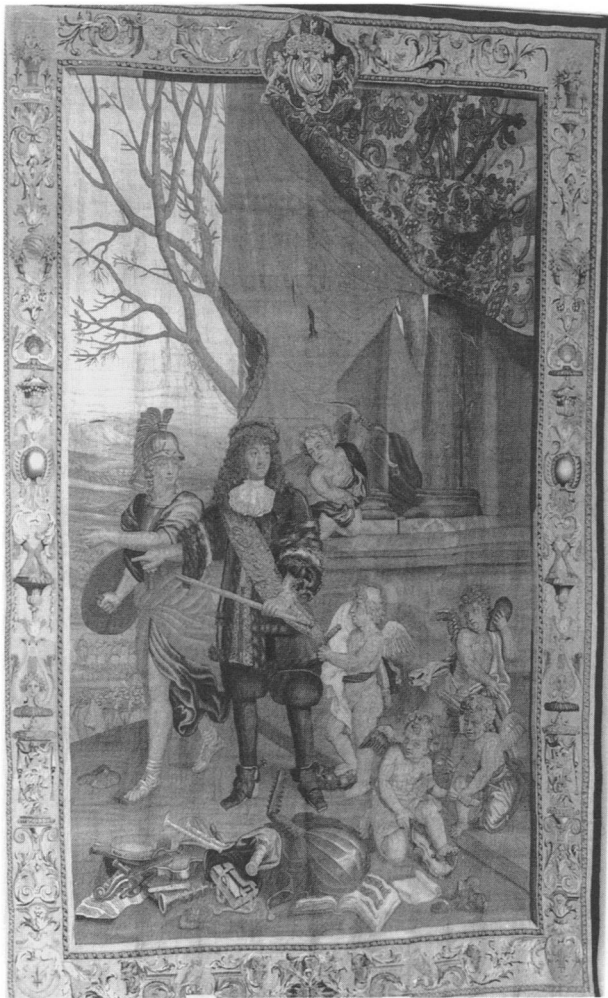


Figure 11. *Louis XIV Leaving for War*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 458 × 267 cm. Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum



Figure 12. *Louis XIV Leaving for War*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 465 × 285 cm. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of Virginia V. G. Millhiser (photo: Ron Jennings, © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 13. Adam Frans van der Meulen (1632–1690). *Leafless Tree*. Drawing, 105 × 75.5 cm. Paris, Mobilier National

With his chief minister, Colbert, Louis XIV conferred great benefits on the city of Tournai. A local historian has written: “La ville devient ainsi un centre politique, militaire, judiciaire et administratif de la plus haute importance. Economiquement, une grande activité y règne, soutenue par Colbert et une Chambre de Commerce s’y crée (1678).”<sup>49</sup> This was the year of Behagle’s contract. It is not surprising that the only known tapestries marked as made by this weaver in this city glorify Louis XIV.

One of the signed Tournai tapestries in Louisville is *Louis XIV Leaving for War* (Figure 11). The version in Richmond has almost exactly the same composition and borders, a mask replacing the Brühl arms, but with no city or weaver’s marks (Figure 12).<sup>49</sup> The king, in contemporary civilian dress, wears an unusual small, brown fur hat, as if prepared for winter weather. He has an elaborate gold-embroidered baldric supporting his sword and holds a baton in one hand while pointing to the right with the other. Beside him, the goddess Minerva, grasping a shield, imitates his gesture. The tree with bare boughs above her can be com-



Figure 14. Charles Le Brun (1619–1690). *Le Roi gouverne par lui-même*. Drawing, 41.1 × 50.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

pared to a large drawing by Adam Frans van der Meulen (1632–1690) in the Mobilier National, Paris (Figure 13).<sup>51</sup> Similar bare boughs are seen in the *Prise de Dole* of the Gobelins *History of the King* series;<sup>52</sup> this city was captured in February 1668. It was considered extraordinary for Louis XIV to go to the battlefield in winter, when, as was written in the *Gazette*, “en cette Saison tous les autres Princes ne s’appliquent qu’aux Plaisirs.”<sup>53</sup> Troops can be seen in the distance. On a ledge behind the king a cupid aims his bow away from the monarch, and below him three small winged children play with a mask; a fourth seizes the king’s sword hilt as if to detain him and holds up a cloth to wipe away a tear. A pile of musical instruments lies at the king’s feet in the foreground.<sup>54</sup>

The symbolism is clear. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and war, leads the king away from peaceful



Figure 15. Le Brun workshop. *Louis XIV partant pour la guerre*. Drawing, 32 × 48 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



delights, such as music and the theater. She plays the same role, adopting the same stance, in a drawing by Charles Le Brun in the Louvre (Figure 14).<sup>55</sup> This is a preliminary study for the central scene on the ceiling of the Grande Galerie (the Galerie des Glaces) at Versailles that shows Louis XIV taking power into his own hands in 1661.<sup>56</sup> In the drawing Minerva's raised hand points in the direction in which she advances and also to the figure of Mars on a cloud. Below, as in other related drawings, are children occupied with the arts and sciences: one holds a globe, one reads, and one draws a portrait.<sup>57</sup> In the final version on the ceiling they have returned to being as frivolous as they are in the tapestry. As a contemporary writer stated, "Tout le bas du Tableau est rempli de jeunes Enfants nus, qui expriment en cent manieres differentes le Jeu, le Bal, la Musique, la Chasse, les Festes, les Carrousels, et tous les autres divertissemens de la Cour. Cela se passe aux pieds du Monarque, qui n'en paroist aucunement touché." He accounted for the presence of the goddess Hymen in the scene by saying that "on estoit encore dans les réjouissances du mariage du Roy."<sup>58</sup> In the Louvre drawing she wears a crown and holds a scepter and presumably represents the queen herself.

But the king, Minerva (carrying a spear instead of a shield), a cupid, playing children, musical instruments, distant troops, and even the drapery, columns, and leafless tree of the tapestry appear on the left side of another Louvre drawing from the Le Brun workshop (Figure 15).<sup>59</sup> This, however, also includes a lightly clad, attractive young woman, perhaps Venus, who places her left hand on the king's arm as if to restrain him and gestures with her right hand toward the children and their playthings at her feet. She has disappeared completely from the tapestry, which also has fewer children.

This drawing, called *Louis XIV partant pour la guerre*, and four others were listed by Gaston Brière as a set under the somewhat romantic title of a *Projet d'une Histoire galante du Roi*, attributed to Van der Meulen.<sup>60</sup> A better title might be the *Devolution War Drawings*, since the woman who appears in all of them is presumably the queen; the Spanish Netherlands "devolved" upon her rather than upon her half-brother, Charles II of Spain, according to a Flemish law of inheritance cited by the lawyers of Louis XIV.<sup>61</sup> She, the king (in Roman armor), and the most prominent child of the drawing, who here might represent the dauphin, with the departing troops in the background, are also found in another drawing (large and squared up for transfer) from the Le Brun workshop in the Louvre (Figure 16).<sup>62</sup>

This disappearance of the young woman from the

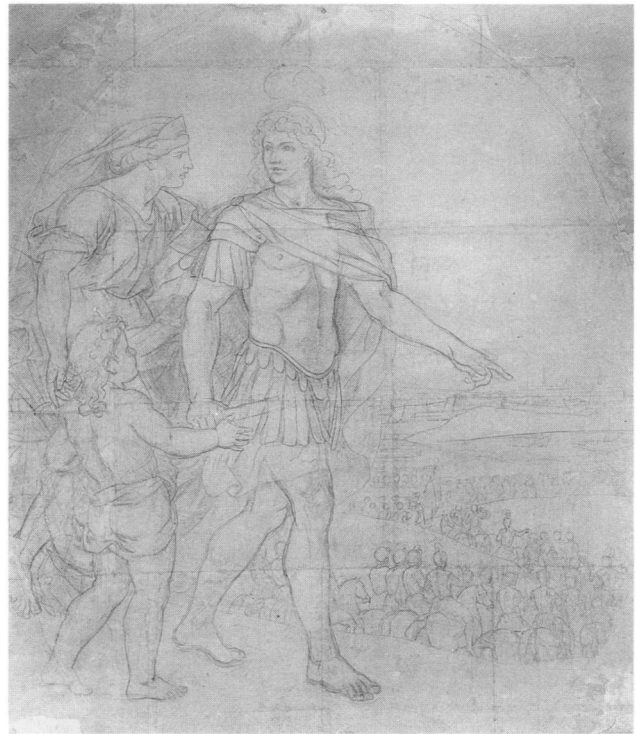


Figure 16. Le Brun workshop. *La Guerre contre l'Espagne pour les droits de la reine*. Drawing, 235 × 200 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

tapestries woven between 1677 and 1684 shows that by the time the tapestry was woven the queen was no longer important. The Dutch War of 1672–78 was not connected with her, and it was about to reach a successful conclusion: an heir to the throne had been born and the king began to recognize his illegitimate children. Jennifer Montagu has pointed out that the signing of the treaty of Nijmegen in 1678 led to the decision to depict the king's victories on the ceiling of the Grande Galerie; she has written that, with a single exception, "one human individual, and one only appears in each scene: the King."<sup>63</sup> Minerva in the related drawings and the paintings represents the king's wisdom and expertise in war; no other human beings are needed. Once this principle had been established, all the drawings showing the queen in an active role would have become politically incorrect.

Another Louisville tapestry with Behagle's name and the Tournai mark, *Louis XIV Crowned by Victory*, shows the end of the story (Figure 17). The king, now in imperial Roman costume, with a huge brown wig, has returned to triumph. He holds a commander's baton and a wreath of flowers and sits in what is apparently a chariot, ready for the procession. His feet rest on a cannon and a plumed helmet. A winged Victory



Figure 17. *Louis XIV Crowned by Victory*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 477 × 279 cm. Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum



Figure 18. *Louis XIV Crowned by Victory*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool and silk tapestry, 488 × 274 cm. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of Virginia V. G. Millhisser (photo: Ron Jennings, © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

beside him raises a laurel wreath over his head and rests one arm on a lion's skin, a palm frond in the crook of her elbow. A winged child behind her puts his hand on one of her wings and two more on the steps below play with flowers and discarded weapons. A banner at their feet shows fleurs-de-lis.

The same composition is seen in the unsigned tapestry in Richmond (Figure 18).<sup>64</sup> Though an almost exact replica of the lower half of the scene, it is markedly different above, where lush foliage replaces the bare, broken tree trunks and scanty leaves of the Louisville tapestry, as if summer had arrived with victory. No drawing has been found that can be closely associated with the tapestries, although there are some points of resemblance between them and one in the *Histoire galante* group (Figure 19).<sup>65</sup> The king, in



Figure 19. Le Brun workshop. *Le Roi sur un char*. Drawing, 26 × 35 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 20. *Le Depart de Turenne pour la guerre (The King's Cavalry)*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 450 × 300 cm. Paris, Mobilier National



Figure 21. *Louis XIV Accepting the Surrender of a City*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 465 × 649 cm. Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum

Roman costume and a wig, is seated in a somewhat similar pose on a chariot, and some of the winged children can be compared to their counterparts in the tapestries. The plumed helmet under the king's feet in the latter is being held over his head in the drawing, and the scene is surrounded by drapery and trees in all the versions.

But another drawing in the Louvre is clearly the source for three Brühl tapestries, one in the Mobilier National and two in Louisville (Figures 20–22). One of the latter pair has Behagle's name and the Tournai mark. The composition of the drawing (Figure 23)<sup>66</sup> has been divided to make three panels of tapestry. The horseman in the foreground on the left appears in both the drawing and the tapestry in Paris (Figure 20),<sup>67</sup> but the figures farther to the left, very slightly sketched in the drawing, are replaced in the tapestry by two repetitions of the first rider, with differently colored horses and costumes. This rider is also close to



Figure 22. *The Welcome Given to the King*. French (Tournai), ca. 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry, 485 × 312 cm. Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum



Figure 23. Le Brun workshop. *Louis XIV au siège d'une ville*. Drawing, 28 × 40 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

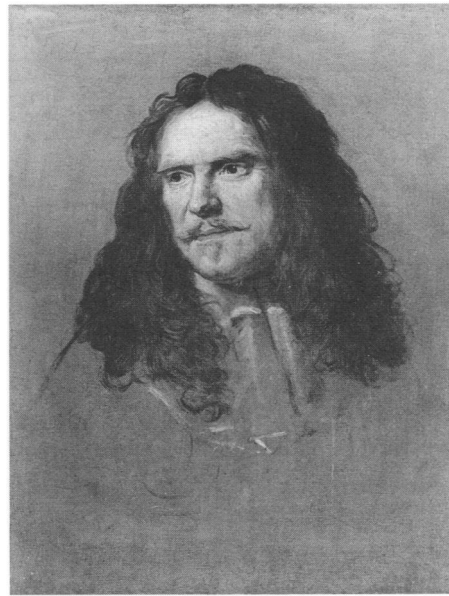


Figure 25. Le Brun. *Marshall Turenne*. Oil on canvas, 67 × 52 cm. Versailles, Musée National (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 24. Adam Frans van der Meulen. *Louis XIV Before Douai*. Drawing, 29.5 × 40.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908, 08.227.8

the one furthest to the right in a Van der Meulen drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, *Louis XIV Before Douai* (Figure 24);<sup>68</sup> Douai was taken by the king in July 1667. In the tapestry the rider seen full-face with white plumes in his hat has the features of Turenne, as shown in the well-known portrait by Le Brun at Versailles (Figure 25);<sup>69</sup> the tapestry has therefore been called *The Marshall* or *The Departure of Turenne for the War*; another title might be *The King's Cavalry*. The significance of the likeness is somewhat diminished by the fact that the same features are given to all the other visible faces of the group.

The central section of the drawing has been used for the larger of the two Louisville tapestries, for which a suitable name could be *Louis XIV Accepting the Surrender of a City* (Figure 21).<sup>70</sup> A prominent figure in

the drawing, however, has been removed and replaced in the tapestry by a very awkward blank space, possibly a reweaving: the young woman or goddess who floats on a cloud behind the mounted king. She places her right hand on the sword-bearing hand of a figure in the air behind her, while her left holds a leafy twig, perhaps an olive branch. Her function is obvious: she is restraining the spirit of war and urging clemency and peaceful benevolence. She might represent the queen, like the young women in the so-called *Histoire galante* drawings.

The allegorical beings above this figure have been preserved in the tapestry and some can be compared to other drawings from the Le Brun workshop. The winged woman raising a wreath is like the chief figure in a sketch of Dawn (Figure 26), made for a ceiling painting in a pavilion at Colbert's château of Sceaux, completed by 1677;<sup>71</sup> and the woman seen from behind appears in drawing called *Louis XIV à la tête de son armée* (Figure 27).<sup>72</sup> She is also reminiscent of a soldier in a Le Brun drawing for the Grande Galerie<sup>73</sup> and a background figure on the right in Antoine Coysevox's relief after Le Brun, the *Triumph of Louis XIV*, at Versailles (Figure 28). The subsidiary figures in this work were described in the *Mercure galant* of December 1682 as "la Victoire, la Valeur et la Renommée";<sup>74</sup> these names may well be given to the three main flying figures in the tapestry. The boy in the air behind them is like the torchbearer in the Dawn drawing.



Figure 26. Le Brun. *L'Aurore* (Dawn). Drawing, 30 × 40 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

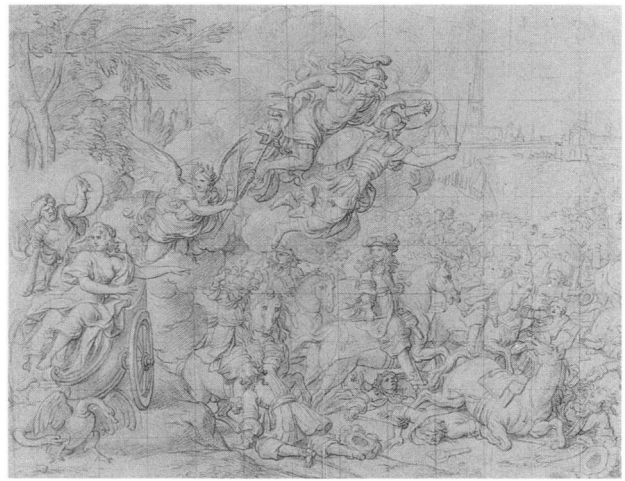


Figure 27. Le Brun workshop. *Louis XIV à la tête de son armée*. Drawing, 42 × 54 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

There is one curious difference in this part of the design between the drawing of the complete subject (Figure 23) and the tapestry (Figure 21). The feeble lion in the air of the drawing has been replaced by a much more realistic and ferocious beast. This animal is very close to one in a Le Brun drawing, *La Force* (Figure 29), used for a statue executed by Jean Raon about 1681.<sup>75</sup> The lion of the complete drawing and the tapestry is presumably the companion of the warlike woman with a drawn sword. The small boy kneeling on the ground on the left in the tapestry beside a pile of banners, armor, and weapons does not appear in the drawing; his function is not clear and a source for him has not been located.

Louis XIV on horseback in the center, however, has been closely copied from the figure in the drawing (Figure 23). The horse has been given more harness and decorated trappings, and there is a crouching, disconsolate lion under its raised front legs, presumably a symbol of defeated Spain.<sup>76</sup> Both king and horse can be found in the often repeated portrait by Le Brun's pupil René Antoine Houasse at Versailles (Figure 30).<sup>77</sup>

The figures at the right in the Louvre drawing (Figure 23) are apparently some citizens of the conquered city come to greet the king. The foremost figure, identified as an important person by his conspicuous sash, seems to introduce the humble suppliants, one of whom wears an old-fashioned ruff and a roll of fab-



Figure 28. Antoine Coysevox (1640–1720). *Triumph of Louis XIV*, ca. 1681–83. Stucco relief, H. 392 cm. Versailles, Musée National (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 29. Le Brun. *La Force*. Drawing, 292 × 134 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

ric at his shoulder, suggesting a Spanish costume.<sup>78</sup> Behind the raised forelegs of the king's horse is a small, cowering boy holding a rabbit or hare; he is presumably a personification of Fear.<sup>79</sup> At the right are three ugly allegorical beings crouching on low-lying clouds, apparently trying to hold the citizens back. A troop of approaching horsemen appears in the distance and a city is seen on the horizon.

A much more elaborate version of this scene is shown on the two tapestries in Louisville (Figures 21, 22). The second, smaller piece could be called *The Welcome Given to the King*; it has Behagle's name and the Tournai mark. One real person appears in the group on the right in the larger tapestry (Figure 21), a bearded old man in old-fashioned costume, holding out his hat to the king. Two more are shown in the *Welcome* (Figure 22). The important man wearing a conspicuous sash with a gold fringe is like his counterpart in the drawing but is more richly dressed, with a purple coat and red heels. The man behind him also wears an old-fashioned costume. The long line of distant horsemen in the tapestry is very lightly indicated in the drawing, and the figures in the sky are unlike their



Figure 30. René Antoine Houasse (ca. 1645–1710). *Louis XIV on Horseback*. Oil on canvas, 255 × 200 cm. Versailles, Musée National (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

counterparts; part of the tapestry here seems to have been rewoven. A distant city is visible on the horizon in both versions of the scene.

But the evil personifications are more clearly defined in the tapestries than are their counterparts in the drawing. There are three on the far right of the drawing who appear in *The Welcome Given to the King*, looming out of a pale brown cloud, but they now have attributes that identify them. The foremost figure wears a gold turban and holds a golden moneybag; she has a wolf behind her and is Avarice, as described by Cesare Ripa.<sup>80</sup> Beyond her is a being who, in the drawing, reaches out to clutch one of the men greeting the king, and in the tapestry holds a bunch of twigs and grasps a cock; she is Jealousy.<sup>81</sup> These two figures are very similar in both drawing and tapestry, except for the attributes, which are largely missing in the drawing. The third, most distant figure, however, is hardly visible in the drawing but is large and clear in the tapestry. She holds a hammer in both, but in the tapestry she also raises a bunch of nails; she is Necessity, in the sense of "needs must," something that cannot be avoided, not of want or poverty.<sup>82</sup> The evil being in the

lower right corner of the tapestry has snakes for hair and is taking more snakes from a bag; he must represent something malevolent.<sup>83</sup> A Le Brun drawing shows a very similar head with snakes (Figure 31).<sup>84</sup>

The personifications on the right side of the tapestry *Louis XIV Accepting the Surrender of a City* (Figure 21) are not in the drawing of the complete scene (Figure 23). They are very crowded and conspicuously less well designed than those of *The Welcome Given to the King* (Figure 22), perhaps because the painter of the tapestry cartoon had no drawing to guide him. They are led by a man who cringes in terror away from the hooves of the king's horse. His open mouth and staring eyes are reminiscent of a Le Brun drawing in the Louvre (Figure 32), which is inscribed "Leffroy."<sup>85</sup> He has a peacock-feather crown and a large peacock stands beside him, symbols identifying him as Pride;<sup>86</sup> perhaps his attitude and expression illustrate the downfall of proud enemies when confronted by the king of France. Above him is a dark blue cloak covered with pink masks worn by a scarcely visible figure holding up a bundle of burning straw; she is Falsehood.<sup>87</sup> Beside this figure are two heads—one old, one young—a hand holding a mask, and another with two hearts; this is a single entity, Fraud.<sup>88</sup> The seated

man in the lower right corner has a bird on his head, smoke pours from his mouth, and he grasps with both hands a child in swaddling clothes. The bird is a nightingale, and the man is about to drown the baby; he is Cruelty.<sup>89</sup>

This highly allegorical depiction of the surrender of a conquered city is strikingly different from the realistic, conventional representation of the surrender of Tournai to Louis XIV shown in a print after Van der Meulen (Figure 33).<sup>90</sup> The cathedral, with its distinctive five steeples above the central tower, is seen in the background, and the city fathers, in dignified robes, kneel before the king, the foremost presenting the keys to the city on a platter. Their subservient postures and simple dress would certainly not have suited the grand personage in *The Welcome Given to the King* (Figure 22). There are no supernatural or symbolic beings on the ground or in the sky. The lavish use of personifications in the tapestries can be compared to the similar wealth of symbolic figures in the set of drawings called by Brière a *Mythological History of the King*; some of these are identified by inscriptions as *Diligence, Sagesse, Secret, Prévoyance, Soin, Mansuétude, Châtiment, Fraude, Orgeuil, Crainte, and Soumission*;<sup>91</sup> some are suitable qualities for the conqueror, others for the conquered.



Figure 31. Le Brun. *Head with Snakes*. Drawing. Location unknown (photo: courtesy Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London)



Figure 32. Le Brun. *La Frayeur*. Drawing, 20 × 16 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 33. Jan de Huchtenburgh, after Van der Meulen. *Surrender of Tournai*. Print, 9 × 13 cm. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung

The four tapestries in Louisville and the one in Paris show the only subjects known of the Tournai series, which can be called the *Glorification of Louis XIV*. This is an unusual number for a set. The two near-replicas of Louisville designs in Richmond would normally suggest a second weaving, but the facts that they all came much later into the possession of the Graf von Brühl and that three tapestries of the *Conquests of Louis XIV*, perhaps made in Beauvais, were added to them make up a large set, suggest that the *Glorification* tapestries remained Behagle's property for some time; his 1684 contract included payment for the cost of transportation from Tournai to Beauvais of "les tapisseries, laines, soies et métiers."<sup>92</sup> But why had Behagle undertaken such an ambitious project and why did he repeat two of the designs? Nothing is known of his agreement with the city except the amount of his salary; perhaps he had hoped for a commission, or even two, for a suitable expression of loyalty to the French crown. A similar idea occurred to the city fathers of Lille in 1684: they approved the cartoon of a tapestry to be hung in their meeting place, the king's arms in the center and those of the city in the corners, but they were unable to pay for weaving.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps having so many costly objects left on his hands was an additional inducement for Behagle's move to Beauvais; by this date, however, such a series would have been hard to sell in France. The most glorious years of Louis XIV were over.<sup>94</sup>

The *Glorification* tapestries, as has been shown, can be dated to 1677–84; perhaps they were begun in the first enthusiasm when Behagle received his contract in 1678. How the cartoons were provided can only be guessed at. As has been indicated, the designer must



Figure 34. Adam Frans van der Meulen. *Louis XIV Before Tournai*. Drawing, 30.3 × 41.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908, 08.227.9

have had access to many drawings in the Le Brun and Van der Meulen studios at the Gobelins. Behagle presumably had friends at the manufactory from his twelve years there, 1660 to 1672. This was a period of great achievement at the Gobelins. In 1660 it was still a private enterprise run by two Flemings, but after the fall of the overambitious minister Fouquet in 1661 it was set up by Colbert as a royal establishment and its period of splendor began. The king's first visit was in 1662, and the famous Gobelins tapestry of this event shows how much had already been achieved. Behagle's presence on this great occasion can surely be taken for granted.

Behagle must have known well the many tapestry series after Le Brun and probably wove parts of them. They all celebrate the grandeur of the king: the *Elements* (first weaving finished 1666–69),<sup>95</sup> the *Maisons royales* (1668–81),<sup>96</sup> the *History of Alexander* (1666–80),<sup>97</sup> and, especially pertinent for the idea of the *Glorification*, the *History of the King*. Le Brun was working on the designs of this last series in 1662, and the first pieces were put on the loom in 1665.<sup>98</sup> Behagle could well have asked a friend at the manufactory to send him designs for an appropriate series of similar inspiration to be woven in Tournai, and this friend might have remembered some ten-year-old preliminary sketches that had never been used.

Both Le Brun and Van der Meulen had studios at the Gobelins. When the contents of Le Brun's studio were taken over by the king after the artist's death in 1690, they included nearly 3,000 drawings, many by assistants,<sup>99</sup> all of them now in the Louvre. The 223 drawings from Van der Meulen's workshop, including



some by other hands, went to the Gobelins, where he had died eight months after Le Brun.<sup>100</sup> Both artists had visited Tournai when it was captured, and both may be supposed to have been sympathetic when asked for ideas for a tapestry series glorifying Louis XIV; neither, of course, could have been expected to provide specific drawings himself. The spirit of camaraderie at the manufactory was described in an article in the *Mercure galant* of 1673: “Ils prennent tous ensemble d’honnêtes divertissements, et se traitent les uns les autres, ce que les empêche d’aller faire la débauche autre part: c’est une des raisons pour lesquelles on les a tous logez ensemble.”<sup>101</sup>

The full-sized cartoons would probably not have been sent to Tournai from Paris; one may imagine drawings, *petits patrons* or larger versions, cribbed from many different sources. There are, however, elements in the tapestries that have not been related to any known drawings. One very conspicuous addition is the wealth of allegorical beings that have been added in their entirety to *Louis XIV Accepting the Surrender of a City* and in part to *The Welcome Given to the King* (Figures 21, 22). Though present only as vague malignancies in the related drawing (Figure 23), the figures are for the most part well integrated into the designs of the tapestries and can be supposed to have been included in the *petits patrons*. As previously shown, they can be identified as Avarice, Jealousy, Necessity (what is unavoidable), Pride, Falsehood, Fraud, and Cruelty. Could these figures have been placed on the tapestries as a comment on the political situation in Tournai ten years after its capture by Louis XIV? The Flemish cities were well treated by their new rulers, but France was much closer than Spain, and its regulations were more

stringent and more effectively enforced. “Le Roi ne veut pas que ces gens-là s’accoutument à raisonner sur les ordres qu’il reçoivent,” wrote the French minister Louvois in 1671.<sup>102</sup> Some markets for industrial products had been cut off and some citizens had lived more comfortably under the slack Spanish regime. Spanish secret agents after the conquest found some willing hearers.<sup>103</sup> Could Behagle have wanted to demonstrate his loyalty by representing very graphically the vices of an anti-French minority in Tournai? The actual conquest of the city a decade earlier, as commemorated in a drawing by Van der Meulen in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Figure 34),<sup>104</sup> was not important to the newcomer Behagle. The prominent position, dignified bearing, and rich costume of the foremost man in *The Welcome Given to the King* suggest that he represents an important, pro-French citizen of Tournai at the time when the tapestries were made. His lack of a sword shows that he is not a nobleman or army officer. The disappearance of the boy with the rabbit of the drawing could indicate that the good citizens of a French Tournai had no reason to fear the king of France.

Another marked difference between tapestries and drawings is found in *Louis XIV Leaving for War* (Figures 11, 15) and *Louis XIV Accepting the Surrender of a City* (Figures 21, 23). This is the disappearance of the nymph or goddess who represents the queen. In *Louis XIV Leaving for War* this has been skillfully effected, but her absence from *Louis XIV Accepting the Surrender of a City* has an awkward appearance. If the space that she would have filled is a reweaving, perhaps she was removed at the manufactory because she now detracted from the glory of the king, who needed no outside



Figure 35. François Bonnemer (1637–1689) and François Verdier (1651–1730), after Van der Meulen. *Passage du Rhin*. Painted silk, 413 × 645 cm. Paris, Mobilier National

encouragement to incline him to benignity. As has been suggested, all the drawings containing the figure representing the queen must refer to the Devolution War of 1667–68. Ten years later such a figure had become meaningless—the king must stand alone, uninfluenced by any other being.

There are too many artists who were working at the Gobelins, both when Behagle was there and ten years later, for any attribution of the *petits patrons* of the Tournai *Glorification* tapestries to be more than hesitantly suggested. Some, including Vernansal and the Sève brothers, have been mentioned as providing designs for his work at Beauvais. Another possibility is François Bonnemer (1637–1689), who specialized in paintings on silk; he was at the Gobelins in 1673<sup>105</sup> and was very active there in 1675–88. But it is the borders of one of Bonnemer's paintings on silk, the *Marche de la cavalerie commandée par Condé* from the set of the *Passage du Rhin*, made at the Gobelins in 1682–84 (Figure 35), that suggest another artist. Bonnemer's central scenes are after Van der Meulen, but the borders are described in an inventory of cartoons taken after Le Brun's death where they are said to be: "huit enfans dessinez pour les tapisseries sur moire [the painted silks], par le s. Verdier d'après led. deffunt s. Le Brun . . . et autres sujets, qui ont servi à peindre lesd. tapisseries sur moire, par led. s. Verdier, qui ont été retouchez dud. deffunt s. Le Brun."<sup>106</sup> The two winged boys standing in the vertical borders of the *Marche de la cavalerie* are very similar to the child next to the king in *Louis XIV Leaving for War* (Figure 11). The one on the left of the silk panel is in profile like the boy in the tapestry; the one on the right has his legs in the same position, and both have the belt round the waist as their only clothing. François Verdier (1651–1720) was very close to Le Brun, who bequeathed to him and Houasse "tous ses desseins et bosses"; the king appropriated most of these.<sup>107</sup> Verdier was paid for ornamental designs at the Gobelins in 1671<sup>108</sup> and was very active there in the 1680s.<sup>109</sup> The flying allegorical figures in Van der Meulen's cartoon of the *Crossing of the Rhine* in Versailles are believed to be by Verdier; they can be compared to those in the drawing *Louis XIV au siège d'une ville* (Figure 23).<sup>110</sup>

Behagle did not list the *Glorification* tapestries in the records of his payments for debts, nor did he include them in the memorandum of his successful sales. It is possible that, once he had moved to Beauvais, he was not proud of them. As a Gobelins worker, he well knew that good design is as essential to a tapestry as good materials and workmanship; he was clearly justifiably proud of the artists he would call on at Beauvais. The

Tournai tapestries, with designs inexpertly adapted from unrelated drawings, are not as good as the best Beauvais work (cf. Figures 1, 3), a fact of which Behagle must have been aware.

One can only hazard a guess as to how such a conglomeration of ten disparate tapestries, not of the finest quality, the seven Tournai pieces of the *Glorification* (two being repetitions) and three *Conquests of Louis XIV*, came, fifty or sixty years after they had been woven, into the possession of Graf von Brühl. The strange mixture of subjects, the different borders, and the remoteness in time of the scenes depicted, do not speak well of the taste and discrimination of the purchaser—perhaps he thought he was buying a recent weaving of the Gobelins *History of the King*.<sup>111</sup> One can only suppose that all the tapestries were in storage at Beauvais when an order was received at the manufactory for a large set wanted immediately by a distant customer. Here was a splendid opportunity to dispose profitably of some outdated merchandise. Brühl's arms were hastily added and the shipment thankfully dispatched. But the addition of the arms has enabled a rare set to be identified, and Behagle's persistent loyalty to Louis XIV has been strikingly confirmed.

## NOTES

1. Roger-Armand Weigert, "Les Commencements de la Manufacture royale de Beauvais, 1664–1705," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., vol. 64 (Dec. 1964) pp. 332, 334.

2. Jean Coural and Chantal Gastinel-Coural, *Beauvais, Manufacture nationale de Tapisserie* (Paris, 1992) pp. 11, 13.

3. Some were used as diplomatic gifts to perhaps less sophisticated recipients, such as the Russian and Algerian ambassadors and an unknown monarch listed as the "roi Darde (Guinea)" (Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 13).

4. *Les relations artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718. Nicodème Tessin le jeune et Daniel Cronström correspondance* (Stockholm, 1964) p. 67.

5. Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisseries de Beauvais depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1909) p. 9. At Colbert's express request, the king had visited the manufactory on his way to the wars in Flanders in 1670, when he bought several tapestries, and in 1680. Hinart later recorded his wish to represent the "actions héroïques" of the king (Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 11, nn. 19, 21) but never did so.

6. Bertrand Jestaz, "The Beauvais Manufactory in 1690," *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1979) p. 188.

7. Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, II: *Die romanischen Länder* (Leipzig, 1928) I, pp. 213, 214.

8. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 187. The author believes that tapestries made by Hinart might have been included in these lists, but Coural (*Beauvais*, p. 19 n. 18) considers it more probable that

tapestries made by Behagle before he went to Beauvais were listed.

9. Badin, *Manufacture de Tapisseries*, pp. 12, 13.
10. I am indebted to Dr. Betsy Rosasco for the transcription of these entries in the *Journal du Garde Meuble*, Arch. nat., o<sup>3</sup>307, fol. 189, nos. 178, 179.
11. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général des Meubles de la Couronne* (Paris, 1899) I, pp. 363, 364.
12. Roger-Amand Weigert, "Les Grotesques de Beauvais," *Hyphé* 1 (1946) p. 69.
13. Guiffrey, *Inventaire général*, p. 361.
14. Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985) II, no. 64a-f, pp. 441-458.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 442.
16. He made a copy of Le Brun's *History of Alexander* for basse lisse looms, woven ca. 1670-80, and was paid for other work in 1701 (Maurice Fenaille, *État général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture du Gobelins* III, pt. 1 [Paris, 1904] pp. 100, 167).
17. *Ibid.* VI, (1923) pp. 6, 7.
18. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, no. 66, pp. 461-468. The designs continued to be woven after Behagle's death in 1705. A set of six pieces made for the comte de Toulouse is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; one has Vernansal's name and two have Behagle's (Charissa Bremer-David, *French Tapestries in the J. Paul Getty Museum* [Los Angeles, 1997] cat. no. 9, pp. 80-97).
19. Edith A. Standen, "Some Beauvais Tapestries Related to Berain," *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1979) pp. 212-216.
20. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, no. 67, pp. 469-477. To the list of subjects given here can probably be added a *Hippomenes and Atalanta* in a private collection (*Tapisseries françaises des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, exh. cat., Galerie du Théâtre Municipal [Brive, 1989] no. 11). The Sève brothers worked at the Gobelins making cartoons after Le Brun, Poussin, and Raphael (Fenaille, *État général*, II [1903] pp. 69, 74, 100, 186, 268).
21. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, no. 68, pp. 473, 474.
22. Guiffrey, *Inventaire général*, pp. 358, 359, 361-364. All are recorded as in the royal collection by 1701; none is listed among the pieces added by 1714.
23. Roger-Amand Weigert, "Remarques sur les Conquêtes de Louis XIV tissées par Behagle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1932) pp. 280-289; Daniel Meyer, "Les Conquêtes de Louis XIV," *Revue du Louvre* (1970) pp. 155-164; the Versailles set is dated after 1703 and is thought to have been made in Behagle's Paris workshop. It was exhibited at the "Splendor of Versailles," Jackson, Miss., 1998; see exh. cat., pp. 136-145, entry by Xavier Salmon.
24. *Handbook of the Preston Satterthwaite Collection, The J. B. Speed Memorial Museum, Louisville*, n.d., n.p.; the tapestries, called Beauvais, are listed as *The King and Mars*, *The King at Dole* (illus.), *The Siege of Doesburg*, *Louis XIV Vanquishes Evil*, *The Triumph of Louis XIV*, and *Louis XIV Crowned by the Goddess of Victory* (illus.); *Glorious Horsemanship: Equestrian Art in Europe*, exh. cat., Springfield Museum of Fine Arts and Louisville, J. B. Speed Memorial Museum (Springfield, 1981-82) cat. no. 83 (*Siege of Doesburg*), cat. no. 84 (*Triumph of Louis XIV*); called Beauvais, woven by Philippe Behagle after Jean Baptiste Marin, 1690-1720.
25. The arms have been described by Dr. Helmut Nickel in a private letter: "The first and fourth quarterings refer to Brühl's title; they are halved of gold and red, overlaid by a crowned double-eagle, half black and half white (party per pale of Or and gules, a crowned double-eagle overall, party of sable and argent). This is a combination of the arms of the Empire: in Gold a black crowned double-eagle, and the royal arms of Poland (as sponsor): in Red a crowned silver eagle. The second and third quarterings: in Blue a silver chevron (*azure, a chevron argent*) are the family arms of Brühl." The three crests are: 1, tail of peacock; 2, an eagle of the shield; 3, a chapeau pyramidal from the Saxony arms or surmounted by three peacock feathers. The supporters are two crowned lions (J.B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* [Baltimore, 1978] p. 316).
26. Aladár Boroviczény, *Graf von Brühl. Der Medici, Richelieu und Rothschild seiner Zeit* (Zürich, 1928) pp. 360-363, 383-394 (Brühl is said to have owned "herrlichen französischen Gobelins"); Rainer Rückert, *Biographische Daten des Meissener Manufacturisten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1990) pp. 267, 268; Gerald Heres, *Dresdener Kunstsammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1991) pp. 99-130. Brühl had an agent in Paris called Huet who purchased a writing table for him in 1749 for 2400 livres (Hans Huth, "Two French writing-tables," *Burlington Magazine* 72 [1938] p. 81).
27. Fenaille, *État général*, II, pp. 358, 359, pls. facing pp. 356, 358, 360. The set is listed in the inventory of 1765, taken after Brühl's death, as "No. 8, 1000 Ther. Zwölf stuck Haut de Lice zu Tapeten, die Jahren-Zeiten vorstellend." (I am indebted to Iris Kretschmann for this reference.) All the *Months* except *April* were in the Royal Palace (the Residenz Museum) in 1900. *April* is in the Louvre (Château de Coppet, *Les Gobelins*, exh. cat. [1962] no. 47). *November* is in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (N. Biroukova, *Les Tapisseries françaises de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les collections de l'Hermitage* [Leningrad, 1974] no. 27).
28. Simon Franses, *European Tapestries, 1450-1750. A catalogue of recent acquisitions* (London, 1986) pp. 35-38, no. 8. Another piece of the set is said to be in Haneberg Castle, Södermanland, Sweden.
29. Boroviczény, *Graf von Brühl*, pl. facing p. 397.
30. Christie, Manson & Woods, London, Dec. 11, 1908, lot 92, p. 21.
31. Phyllis Ackerman, *Catalogue of the Retrospective Loan Exhibition of European Tapestries in the San Francisco Museum of Art* (San Francisco, 1922) cat. no. 52, called Beauvais, 1685-1711.
32. I am indebted to Dr. Alice Zrebiec for an account of the Amherst tapestries when they were owned by French & Co. The Richmond tapestries are recorded as repaired in 1926 and the coat of arms on *Louis XIV Crowned by Victory* as removed in 1928. Lengthening and reweaving may also have taken place at this time (information kindly provided by Thomas Campbell).
33. Meyer, "Conquêtes," pp. 157, 158, figs. 3, 4.
34. *Creating French Culture—Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exh. cat. (New Haven/London, 1995) cat. no. 120. The victory is the raising of the siege of Maastricht, and the chief character is presumably the army commander named in the inscription, the duc de Schomberg.
35. The *Messina* of the Toulouse set is owned by Edmond de Rothschild. For the victories of the Dutch War, see François Bluche, *Louis XIV*, Marc Greengrass, trans. (New York, 1990) pp. 248-261.
36. A single tower appears on the arms of the city (Françoise Thomas and Jacques Nazet, eds., *Tournai, une ville, un fleuve*

[Tournai, 1995] pp. 47, 147); Weigert, "Remarques," pp. 283–288 (the author describes, but does not illustrate, the tapestries with Brühl arms, then owned by P. W. French & Co., and concludes: "Behagle a établi deux séries de *Conquêtes de Louis XIV*, l'une à Tournai, à tendances allégoriques, et l'autre strictement historique, exécutée à la Manufacture de Beauvais"). The Christie's sale catalogue does not mention the marks, but one was recorded by W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times until the Present Day* (London, 1930) p. 407. Few tapestries with the Tournai mark have been published, but two 16th-century examples were shown in an exhibition at Roubaix in 1911 (Eugène J. Soil de Moriamé, *Les anciennes industries d'art tournaisiennes à l'exposition de 1911* [Tournai, 1912] p. 193).

37. Elsa Vandermeersch-Lantmeeters, "Kunstenarsfamilies in Oudenaarde IV. De familie Behagle I," *Handelingen van de Geschieden Oudeidkundige Kring van Oudenaarde* 30 (1993) pp. 201, 204. (I am indebted to Dr. Ingrid De Meûter for supplying me with this publication.)

38. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1881) I, col. 366.

39. Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 24.

40. Quoted in Eugène Justin Soil de Moriamé, *Les Tapisseries de Tournai et les haute lisseurs de cette ville* (Tournai, 1882) p. 66. The city archives, described as "les plus riches de Belgique," were completely destroyed in May 1940 (Thomas and Nazet, *Tournai*, p. 20).

41. Dora Heinz, *Europäische Tapissierkunst der 17 und 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1995) p. 90.

42. Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtiments*, II, col. 403. Colbert's successor, Louvois, was less generous but in general confirmed Behagle's privileges (Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 17).

43. Weigert's identification of some of the tapestries with Brühl arms (see note 34) is the only unquestionable attribution. A "Teniers" *Cardplayers* with Behagle's name from a set of six pieces is illustrated in Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, I: *Die Niederlande* (Leipzig, 1923) pl. 410, as an Oudenaarde work of about 1670, but the author in his *Wandteppiche*, II: *Die romanischen Länder* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 217, describes the set as made in Beauvais about 1685, illustrating another piece (II, pl. 217). This attribution is supported by H. C. Marillier, *Handbook to the Teniers Tapestries* (London, 1932) p. 97. A supposed portrait of Louis XIV's *intendant* in Flanders, Dugué de Bagnols, was exhibited in Tournai in 1911 with a tentative attribution to Behagle's manufactory in that city (Soil de Moriamé, *Les anciennes industries*, p. 192).

44. Quoted in Victor Champier, *L'Art dans les Flandres françaises aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles après les conquêtes de Louis XIV* (Roubaix, 1926) p. 31.

45. A. P. de Mirimonde, "Une vue inédite de Tournai par David Teniers le Jeune," *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique Bulletin* 10 (1961) p. 109. A project for flooding the approaches to the city was considered, but had to be abandoned because of a drought (Thomas and Nazet, *Tournai*, pp. 189, 192).

46. For the origins of the Devolution, or Queen's, War, see Bluche, *Louis XIV*, pp. 239, 244.

47. Alexandre de Saint-Leger, *Histoire de Lille* (Lille, 1942) p. 267.

48. Quoted in Jean-Pierre Néraudau, *L'Olympe du Roi-Soleil* (Paris, 1986) p. 82. The poem is a translation of a Latin inscription made as a label for a painting. Chilperic II, king of the Franks, was sup-

posed to have given a diploma to Tournai Cathedral in 716 (Thomas and Nazet, *Tournai*, p. 121).

49. Paul Rolland, *Tournai tel qu'il fut* (Brussels, 1947) p. 38; idem, *Louis XIV et Tournai* (Brussels, 1944) p. 5. The author states that the first *Conquests* tapestries were woven by Behagle in Tournai in 1677. The somewhat inept designs of the series and the fact that these were adapted from prints, rather than from works by the illustrious painters that Behagle quoted so proudly for his Beauvais weavings, lend some credibility to this supposition.

50. The Louisville tapestry has been called *The King and Mars*, but the deity is clearly feminine. The Richmond tapestry (acc. no. 65.38.6) is called *Minerva Summoning Louis XIV to Arms* (*Guide to the Virginia Museum*, n.p., n.d., p. 40).

51. Laure C.-Starcky, *Dessins de Van der Meulen et de son atelier*, exh. cat., Mobilier National (Paris, 1988) p. 201, cat. no. 205, illus. The drawing is squared up for transfer. A very similar tree appears in the painting, the *View of Dole* in 1668, at Versailles, but this is only 48 cm high (Wolfgang Schulz, "Adam François van der Meulen und seine Condé-Ansichten," *Musée Royale des Beaux-Arts de Belgique Bulletin* 23–29 [1974–80] p. 260, fig. 11). It is also close to the tree on the right side of the tapestry *Le Mois de décembre, le château de Monceaux* in the *Maisons royales* series, first woven in 1668 (Bremer-David, *French Tapestries*, p. 27, no. 16).

52. Daniel Meyer, *L'Histoire du Roy* (Paris, 1980) p. 119, pl. 15. The event shown has a very cold and windy setting.

53. Quoted in Fabian Stein, *Charles Le Brun. La Tenture de l'Histoire du Roy* (Worms, 1985) p. 106.

54. These have been kindly identified by Dr. Laurence Libin as a tambourine, violin or treble viol, bagpipe (*cornemuse*), lute, oboe, recorder, flute, another violinlike instrument (probably a quinton) and its bow, and a couple of other woodwinds.

55. Jules Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des Dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles* (Paris, 1913) VII, no. 5805, inv. 27691. Called *Le roi gouverne par lui-même*.

56. Robert W. Berger, *Versailles, the Château of Louis XIV* (University Park / London, 1985) p. 54, fig. 93. The drawing is said to be possibly Le Brun's project for the painting shown to the king in 1678. On the finished ceiling Minerva plays a less active part; the gods now no longer influence the king; they merely assist or congratulate him (Alain Mérot in *Triomphe et Mort du Héros*, exh. cat. [Lyon, 1988] cat. no. 5, *Le Roi arme sur terre et sur mer*, sketch for the third compartment of the Grande Galerie, 1678–79, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Auxerre). The name "Galerie des Glaces" seems to have been first used in the second half of the 19th century (Béatrix Saule, *Versailles triomphant, une journée de Louis XIV* [Paris, 1996] p. 186, no. 1).

57. Robert W. Hartley, "The Allegory of Versailles: Then and Now," *Laurels* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1981) pp. 16, 17.

58. [Pierre Rainssant], *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles et des deux salons* (Versailles, 1687) pp. 3, 4. The marriage took place in 1660.

59. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 6300, inv. 27694. Dr. Lydia Beauvais, now engaged in cataloguing the Le Brun drawings at the Louvre, has kindly informed me that the main figures and the landscape are by Van der Meulen and the distant figures in the sky, one of whom is Bellona, can be attributed to Le Brun.

60. Gaston Brière, "Van der Meulen, collaborateur de Le Brun,"

*Bulletin de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1930) p. 153. The drawings listed as forming this series are 1. *Le départ pour la guerre* (Figure 15); 2. *Le retour du vainqueur* (illustrated in Stein, *Charles Le Brun*, pl. 64); 3. *Vénus et les Amours*; 4. *Le roi, en Mars, est sur un char* (Figure 19); 5. *Le roi, à cheval, est visé par deux Amours*. Stein (*Charles Le Brun*, p. 307) shows that nos. 3 and 5 were originally a single piece. In discussing some of the drawings (pp. 304–309), he attributes the landscapes to Van der Meulen and states that the figures are based on sketches by Le Brun.

61. Stein, *Charles Le Brun*, p. 174. The author writes: “Nur zu dieser Zeit spielte Maria Theresia in Propaganda und Panegyrik eine Rolle.” To this group of drawings might be added *Louis XIV au siège d'une ville* (Figure 23), listed by Brière among the drawings for a “suite mythologique de l'Histoire du Roi,” but containing the goddess. Possibly two drawings attributed to Le Brun in the National Gallery of Scotland (D1805, D1806), called the *Triumph of Louis XIV* and *Louis XIV Receiving Ambassadors*, could also be connected, although the woman in them is somewhat older and more fully clothed. She has no crown, but can be compared to the queen in the Grande Galerie drawing (Figure 14).

62. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 5735, inv. 29909. Called “La guerre contre l'Espagne pour les droits de la reine.”

63. Jennifer Montagu, “Le Brun's early designs for the Grande Galerie and some comments on the drawings,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., vol. 120 (Nov. 1992) pp. 195–206. The author states that, to her knowledge, this type of allegorical history had never been used before.

64. Acc. no. 65.38.7. Göbel, *Die romanischen Länder*, pp. 216, 217, fig. 213. Called Beauvais, ca. 1690. The illustration shows the Brühl arms in the upper border that were later removed (see note 31).

65. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 63389, inv. 26469; Brière, “Van der Meulen,” p. 153, *Le Roi, en Mars, est sur un char*.

66. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 6326, inv. 29622 (called *Louis XIV à la tête de son armée*); Brière, “Van der Meulen,” p. 157 (described as “Louis XIV au siège d'une ville, sujet indéterminé”; the drawing is placed among the group called *Projet d'une suite mythologique de l'Histoire du Roi*, the result of a collaboration between Le Brun and Van der Meulen, the allegorical figures perhaps executed by François Verdier, “sous la dictée de Le Brun”); Stein, *Charles Le Brun*, pp. 168, 169, 297, cat. no. xxx, fig. 59 (called *Ludwig XIV. schont ein Stadt*, attributed to Van der Meulen and described as of uncertain utilization, not part of the *Histoire du Roy mit eingefügten Allegorien* (pp. 152–159); Starcky, *Dessins de Van der Meulen*, p. 29 (called *Histoire du roi avec figures allégoriques*, the *Histoire galante* and the *Histoire allégorique* of Brière are considered by this author to be arbitrary groups of untitled drawings). Dr. Lydia Beauvais has kindly sent me her description of this drawing, which she calls *Louis XIV à la tête de son armée retenu par la Paix*, a reference to the negotiations for peace begun at Doesburg in 1672. She attributes the foreground figures to Le Brun, the distant scene to Van der Meulen, and has identified two cartoon fragments (inv. 29847/47 recto and verso, H. 1200 cm, W. 530 cm) showing part of the king and of the woman with a wreath above (Victory). These have been pricked for transfer but cannot have been used for the cartoon at the Tournai manufactory as they do not correspond exactly to the same details in the tapestry.

67. Göbel, *Die romanischen Länder*, pp. 216, 217, fig. 215; Alfred Darcel, *Les Tapisseries décoratives du Garde-Meuble* (Paris, 1881) pl. 33; the tapestry is said to have been acquired “sous le dernier Empire.”

68. Jacob Bean, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986) cat. no. 188, p. 175.

69. Very similar portraits of Turenne are found in the tapestries of the *Meeting of the Kings* and others of the Gobelins *History of the King* series (Daniel Meyer, *L'Histoire du Roy* [Paris, 1980] pp. 26, 46, 82). A drawing in the reverse direction to the Versailles sketch was in the Mme V. . . . sale, at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 25, 1975, no. 68.

70. The tapestry has been called *Louis XIV with Banished Evils* or *Louis XIV Saves the City from Evil*. It does not include the usual offering at a surrender of the keys of the city (see Figure 33).

71. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 5885, inv. 27685; Henry Jouin, *Charles Le Brun et les arts sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1889) p. 304. “Quinze cartons de figures et animaux du pavillon de l'Aurore de Sceaux” were listed as in Le Brun's studio at the Gobelins in the inventory taken after his death (Jules Guiffrey, ed., “Inventaires des tableaux et desseins . . .,” *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 2nd ser., vol. 4 [1883] p. 140).

72. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 6325, inv. 29624. The presence of a goddess in a chariot drawn by swans suggests that this drawing could be part of the so-called *Histoire galante* group.

73. Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's* Conference sur l'expression général et particulière (New Haven / London, 1994) p. 44, fig. 76.

74. Quoted in Guy Kuraszewski, “La cheminée au Salon de la Guerre au Château de Versailles,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1974) p. 63.

75. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 6009, inv. 29786; François Souchal, “Les statues aux façades du Château de Versailles,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., vol. 79 (Feb. 1972) p. 91, fig. 94. The lion of this drawing and of the tapestry also appears on the cartoon fragment inv. 29847/47 verso (see note 65).

76. As in a number of works by Le Brun, e.g., *Le Brun à Versailles*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1985–86) cat. nos. 6, 74.

77. Claude Constans, *Musée National de Versailles. Les Peintures* (Paris, 1995) cat. no. 2677. Other versions are in Arras, Dijon, Perpignan, Troyes, Lisbon, and Vaux-le-Vicomte. An example was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1990, no. 211. The Versailles painting is said to date from about 1769 and to be perhaps after a drawing by Le Brun (Ch. Maumené and Louis d'Harcourt, “Iconographie des rois de France. Seconde partie,” *Archives de l'Art français* 16 [1931] pp. 64, 65, no. 67). The portrait of the king that Colbert gave to the city of Tournai in 1668 is attributed to Le Brun and Van der Meulen; it shows the king in civilian dress on horseback facing right, with troops in the distance but is not close to the tapestry or to the related drawing (Le Bailey de Telleghem, *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai* [Brussels, 1979] pp. 56–57).

78. Both the ruff and the shoulder roll are worn by figures representing Spain in engraved almanachs of 1678 and 1680 (Maxime Préaud, *Les effets du Soleil. Almanachs du régime de Louis XIV*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre [Paris, 1995] cat. nos. 17, 18); Stein, *Charles Le Brun*, p. 168, describes the group in the drawing as: “Gezeigt ist Ludwig XIV. zu Pferde, dem zwei Offiziere von rechts kommand zwei Abgeordnete in spanischen Tracht vorführen.”

79. A rabbit is held by a woman representing Timidity in a Le Brun drawing used for a painting in the Grande Galerie (Montagu, *Expression of the Passions*, p. 45, fig. 76).

80. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Piero Buscaroli, ed. (Milan, 1992) (reprint of a second edition, 1603), p. 32. Avaritia is described as having beside her “un lupo magrissimo” and as holding “una borsa legata e stretta.”

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157. Gelosia holds a cock because “quest animale e gelosissimo, vigilante, e accorto. . . . Il mazzo della spina dimostra i fastidi pugentissimi de geloso.” A Dutch edition of the *Iconologia* of 1644 (reprint 1971) p. 177, identifies a person with these attributes as “Impietà, Godloosbeyt . . . hebbende Eesels ooren, en in haer rechten hand eenen Haen, in de flincker een tack van een stekelige dooren” (quotation kindly provided by Dr. Alice Zrebić). Impietà in the Italian edition (p. 183) holds a hippopotamus and mistreats a pelican. Though Louis XIV was accused of impiety because he tolerated Protestantism (until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), heresy was not a likely problem in Flanders. Tournai has been described as a “bastion de la Contre-Réforme” (Thomas and Nazet, *Tournai*, p. 27).

82. Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 312, 313; Necessità, “che non posse stare altrimenti.” J. Baudoin, *Iconologie* (Paris, 1644) p. 125, quotes the proverb, “*Le clou est enfoncé, dont il n’est plus temps de conseiller d’une affaire, qui se trouve déjà faite.*”

83. Personifications in Ripa (pp. 100, 200) with snakes in their hair include Invidia (Envy) and Discordia, but neither is described as holding snakes. Invidia can have a snake wound round her breasts and her hand on a hydra, but Discordia has no snakes except those in her hair.

84. The drawing is known from a photograph in the Witt Library of the Courtauld Institute, London; it has no indication of the location of the original. The photograph was given to the library by Anthony Blunt, with the attribution to Le Brun.

85. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire*, no. 6497, inv. 27327. It “goes back to an early idea for the Persian fleeing in the foreground of *The Battle of Arbela*” (Montagu, *Expression of the Passions*, pp. 149, 150, fig. 193), which was first woven as a tapestry in 1663. Another version was owned by Colnaghi in 1996 (*An Exhibition of Master Drawings*, Colnaghi [New York / London, 1996] no. 23).

86. Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 434. Superbia holds a peacock in one hand and a looking glass in the other.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46. Bugia. The masks should be interspersed with tongues; the burning straw, quickly extinguished, illustrates how Falsehood “*presto nasce, e presto muore.*”

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151, Fraude.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 83. Crudeltà “in cima del capo habbia un rosignolo, e con ambi le mani affoghi un fanciullo nella fasce.” No explanation is given for the nightingale; the cruel fate of Philomena is perhaps the reason for the appearance of the bird.

90. Helge Seifert, *Zum Ruhme der Helden. Historien- und Genremalerie Beständen der Alten Pinakothek*, exh. cat., Alte Pinakothek (Munich, 1993) p. 310, fig. 27. A drawing by Van der Meulen in the Mobilier National shows the same central figures, but not the city in the background (Starcky, *Dessins de Van der Meulen*, no. 186, illus.). A drawing of a similar event attributed to the circle of Van der Meulen is in the Pierpont Morgan Library; the conqueror is not Louis XIV and the keys are presented by bald-headed men wearing coats with long dangling sleeves (Felice Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library* [New York, 1991] no. 290).

91. Brière, “Van der Meulen,” p. 152.

92. Roger Armand Weigert, “La Manufacture de Beauvais à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Deux documents inédits relatifs à l’installation de Behagle (1684),” *Pro Arte. Revue internationale d’art ancien et contemporain*, 8th year, no. 78 (Geneva, 1949) p. 220. Thirty carts were needed for the transportation (Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 28, n. 7).

93. A. Mabile de Poncheville, *Lille-en-Flandre des origines à nos jours* (Lille, 1951) p. 121.

94. The year 1680 is said to have marked the zenith of Louis XIV’s reign (Bluche, *Louis XIV*, pp. 262, 263).

95. Fenaille, *État général*, II, pp. 66, 68. *The Elements* set in the Royal Palace, Turin, some pieces of which have Behagle’s name, are reversed versions of the Gobelins series after Le Brun (Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” p. 188), indicating that Behagle, when at Beauvais, could obtain Gobelins designs. Another instance is the set of the *Acts of the Apostles*, the cartoons of which were sent from the Gobelins to Beauvais about 1692 (Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 21).

96. Fenaille, *État général*, II, p. 163. The series includes a *Fontainebleau*, which may have provided the model for Behagle’s single piece bought by the king in 1668.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 159. The battles and conquered towns of the Gobelins series date from the Devolution War or earlier. A *Siege of Tournai* is included.

99. Lydia Beauvais and André Le Prat, “Un carton de Le Brun reconstitué. La figure de l’*Afrique* pour l’Escalier des Ambassadeurs à Versailles,” *Revue du Louvre* (1995) p. 67. The number of his assistants at the Gobelins has been estimated at over 60 (Jouin, *Charles Le Brun*, p. 160).

100. Jean Coural in *La Route du Nord. Van der Meulen. Dessins et soies peintes*, exh. cat., Galerie nationale de la Tapisserie (Beauvais, 1991) p. 4.

101. Quoted in Jouin, *Charles Le Brun*, p. 235.

102. Quoted in Albert Croquez, *L’Intendance de le Flandre Wallonne sous Louis XIV (1667–1707)* (Lille, 1912) p. 102.

103. For the reactions of the citizens of the conquered Flemish cities to Louis XIV’s generally conciliatory policy, see Bluche, *Louis XIV*, pp. 330–332.

104. Bean, *15th–18th Century French Drawings*, no. 189.

105. Chantal Gastinel-Coural, “La Tenture du Passage du Rhin,” in *La Route du Nord*. He also painted “deux grands tableaux à l’huile” for *Chancelleries* woven in Beauvais (Coural, *Beauvais*, p. 21), which suggests a connection with Behagle.

106. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 27, no. 9. For Verdier, see also note 65.

107. Guiffrey, “Scellés et inventaires,” p. 144, no. 1.

108. *Nouvelles Archives de l’Art français*, 3rd ser., vol. 12 (1896) p. 422, citing the *Revue de l’Art Français ancien et moderne* VII, p. 155.

109. Fenaille, *État général*, II, pp. 168, 267, 268, 324.

110. Stein, *Charles Le Brun*, pp. 276–282. The author illustrates two related studies by Verdier (figs. 41, 43) that support this attribution.

111. The sixth and seventh sets were on the Gobelins looms from 1729 to 1741 (Fenaille, *État général*, II, pp. 123–125).