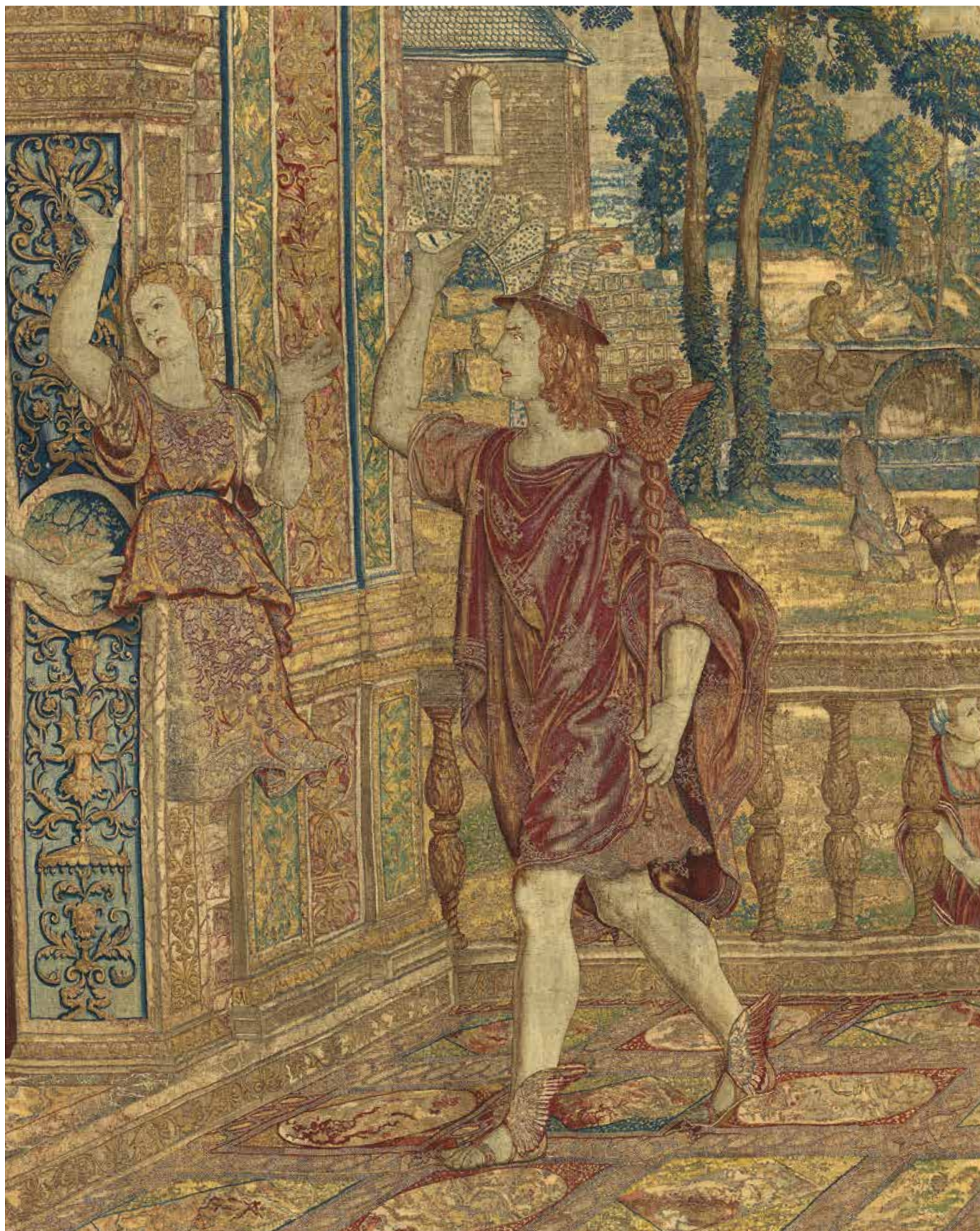


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Charles Antoine Coypel (French, 1694–1752). *François de Jullienne and His Wife*, 1743. Pastel, 39 3/4 x 31 1/2 in. (100 x 80 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Annette de la Renta, 2011 (2011.84)

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Back cover illustration: Detail of El Greco, *A View of Toledo*, ca. 1599–1600. See fig. 1, p. 12.

Illustration on p. 2: Detail of *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* from the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design, Italian, ca. 1540. Tapestry, Netherlandish, ca. 1570. See fig. 1, p. 148.

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MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

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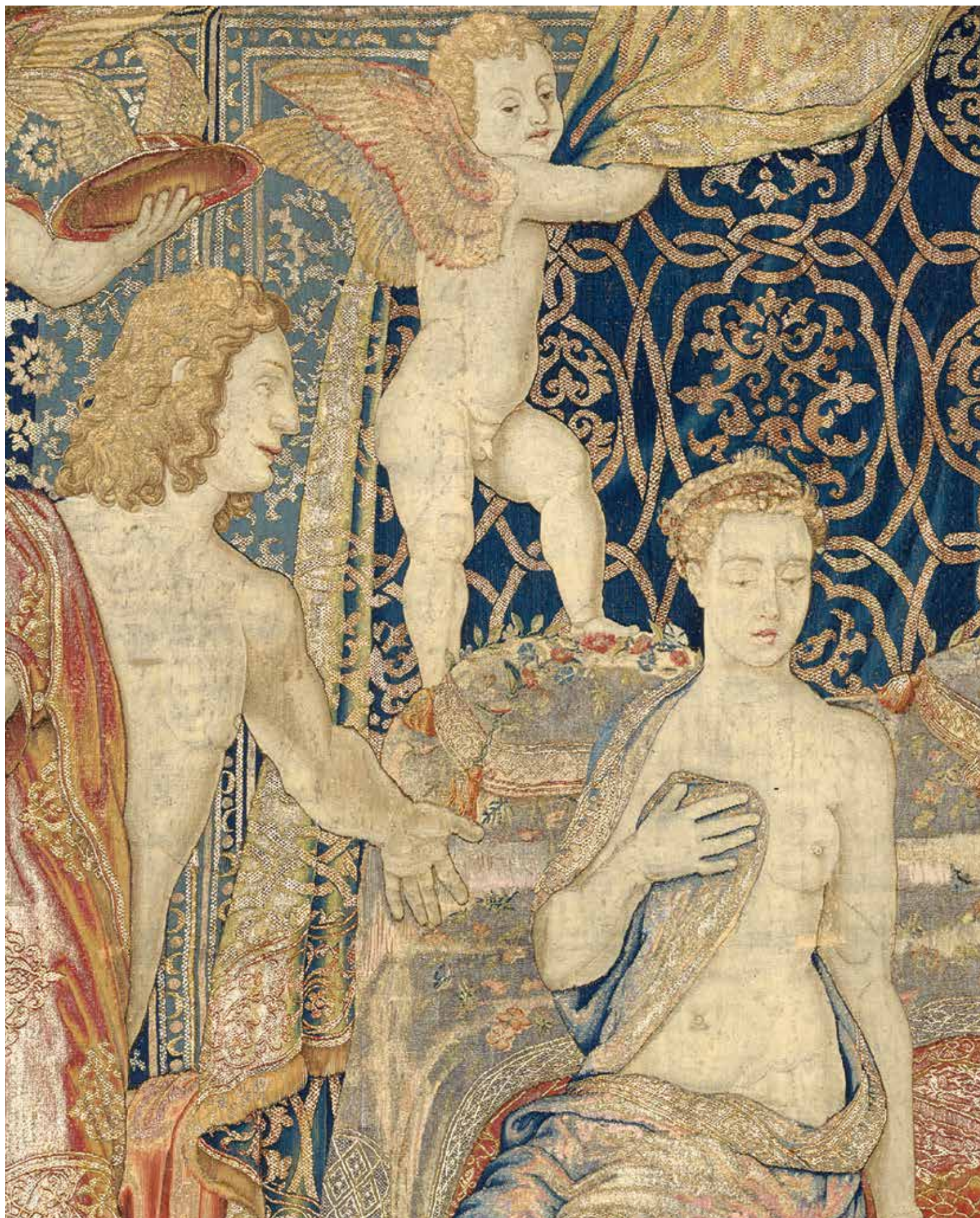
ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

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IAIN BUCHANAN

Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona and the *Story of Mercury and Herse* Tapestry Series

Among the exceptional Renaissance tapestries in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Mercury Entering the Bridal Chamber of Herse* (fig. 1) and *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone*¹ stand out as two of the most historically significant. They compose part of an eight-piece set of the *Story of Mercury and Herse* woven about 1570 in the workshop of the Brussels tapestry maker Willem de Pannemaker. Scholars now attribute the design of the series to the Italian artist Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona, who is documented in the Low Countries from the 1540s to about 1566. This article synthesizes documentary sources that reconstruct Lodi's activities in Flanders, and it uses newly discovered archival evidence to glean further insight into his relationship with the Affaitadi firm of bankers and merchants. Moreover, the traditional sequence of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, as given by Edith Standen in 1985 and recently upheld by



fig. 1 Here titled *Mercury Entering the Bridal Chamber of Herse* from the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design attributed to Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona (Italian, active 1540–ca. 1566), ca. 1540. Tapestry woven under the direction of Willem de Pannemaker (Netherlandish, active 1535–78, d. 1581), Brussels, ca. 1570. Wool, silk, silver, and silver-gilt-wrapped threads, 14 ft. 5 in. × 17 ft. 8 in. (439 × 538 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.135)

Concha Herrero Carretero in 2010, is here challenged and a new reading of the iconography proposed. Finally, a revised chronology of the woven editions of the series is presented.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA LODI DA CREMONA IN BRUSSELS AND LIER

Of the Italian artists resident in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century who were engaged in the local tapestry industry, Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona remains one of the most mysterious. Lodi has been linked to several important tapestry series either as the possible designer or as responsible for carrying out the tapestry cartoons.² They comprise: (1) *Fructus Belli*, an eight-piece set made by the Brussels weaver

Jehan Baudouyn for Ferrante Gonzaga about 1545–47, of which six tapestries survive (Musée National de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen; Edward James Foundation, West Dean College, Chichester, England; Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels); (2) *Life of Moses* (Châteaudun Castle, Monuments Historiques, France), a twelve-piece set woven by Willem Dermoyen (and possibly Peter van Oppenem) for Ferrante Gonzaga between 1545 and 1550; (3) *Puttini* (Giannino Marzotto collection, Trissino), a six-piece set woven by Willem de Pannemaker for Ferrante Gonzaga between 1552 and 1557;³ and (4) *Story of Mercury and Herse*, an eight-piece series of which one complete and two partial sets are extant.⁴ The earliest of the existing editions of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, once in the collection of Prince

Thomas of Savoy Carignan-Soisson, survives in three pieces in the Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, and was woven about 1545–50 by Willem Dermoyen (fig. 2).⁵ The edition that included the Metropolitan Museum's *Mercury Entering the Bridal Chamber of Herse* and *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* was woven, as noted above, by the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker about 1570 and formerly belonged to the dukes of Medinaceli (see fig. 1).⁶ A third set, now consisting of six tapestries and two fragments in the Diputació Provincial, Barcelona, was made for Don Fernando of Toledo by Willem de Pannemaker about 1571.⁷

A document confirms that Lodi had been active as an artist in Brussels from at least 1540, when he judged four chimneypieces painted by Frans Borremans, showing the imperial coat of arms and crown with putti and antique figures, after cartoons by Pieter Fabri van Aelst, in the New Gallery of the Brussels Coudenberg Palace.⁸ Further, in a letter from Jehan Baudouyn, the weaver of the *Fructus belli*, to Ferrante Gonzaga, written from Brussels on June 15, 1547, Baudouyn requested additional funding for the tapestries and mentioned that Lodi and Giovanni Balbani, an Antwerp-based merchant from Lucca, would evaluate the completed set.⁹ He also stated that Balbani had advanced him 250 *carolusgulden* and refused further credit. Subsequently, on August 31, 1547, Baudouyn wrote again to Gonzaga,

noting that he would be pleased for “Gian Battista” and unspecified merchants to inspect the finished tapestry.¹⁰ In 1552, Lodi again acted as an adviser to Ferrante Gonzaga concerning a set of unnamed tapestries that Gonzaga wished to commission in Brussels. In a letter to Gonzaga, written from Lier on February 5, 1552, Lodi recommended a Brussels weaver who was then making the tapestry set of the *Conquest of Tunis* for Charles V.¹¹ Although Lodi did not mention his name, this weaver must have been Willem de Pannemaker, whose mark appears on the *Conquest of Tunis*. The unnamed tapestry series Gonzaga desired to commission was probably the *Puttini*, which would indeed be woven by Pannemaker between 1552 and 1557, after a design usually attributed to Lodi.¹²

The greatest sources of information on Lodi are two documents related to the painter Conrad Schot.¹³ In a disposition made in Brussels for the *procureur général* of Brabant in December 1553, the twenty-six-year-old Schot stated that he had been the apprentice to an Italian artist named “Johan Baptista,” living in the Hoochstrate, for a period of about four or five years. Schot must have been with Lodi from about 1544 to 1549, afterward working under Anthonis Mor for a year and a half, and with Jan Maes for three years after that. As both Mor and his pupil Maes specialized in painting portraits, it is possible that Schot also trained with

fig. 2 *The Metamorphosis of Aglauros and Mercury's Departure from the Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design attributed to Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona, ca. 1540. Tapestry woven in the workshop of Willem Dermoyen (active 1520–ca. 1548 in Brussels), ca. 1545–50. Wool and silk thread, 13 × 21 ft. (400 × 640 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O. D. P., no. 22)

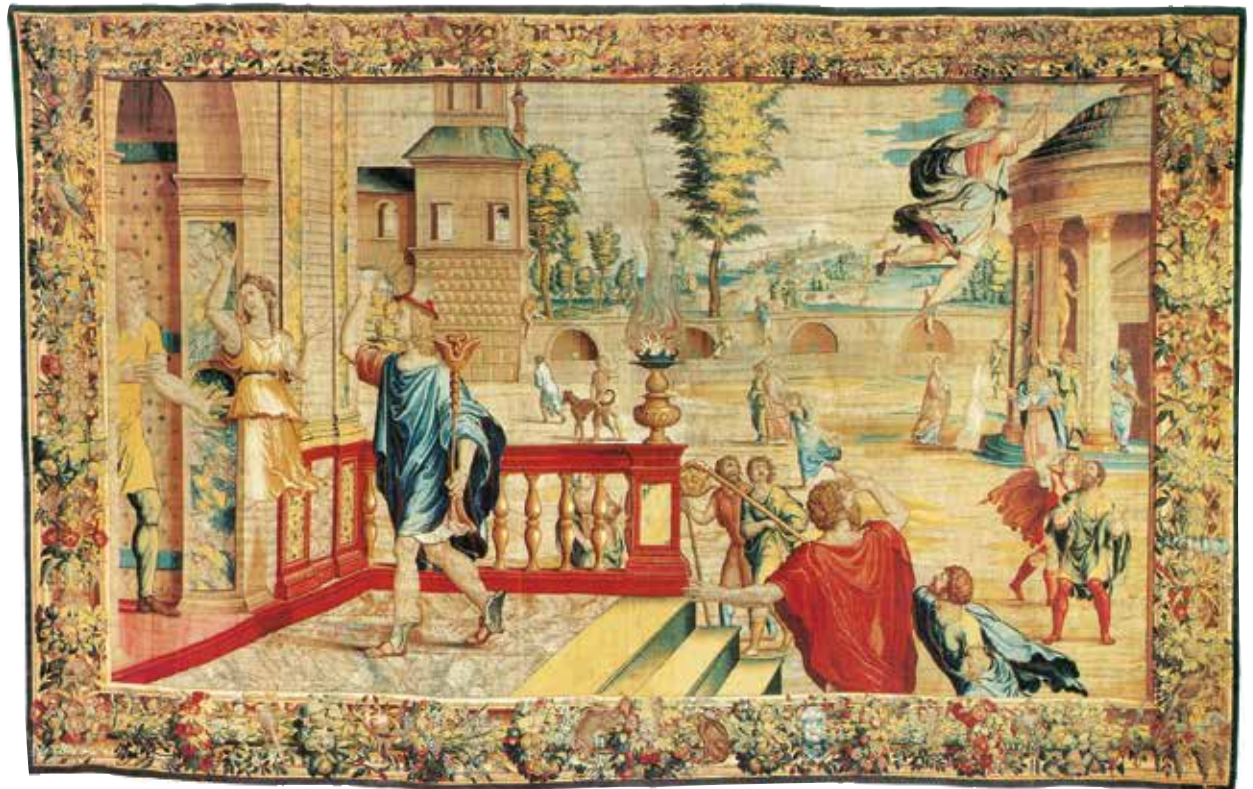




fig. 3 Paolo Veronese (Italian, 1528–1588). *Hermes, Herse and Aglauros*, 1576–84. Oil on canvas, 91½ × 68¾ in. (232.4 × 173.4 cm). Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England (143)

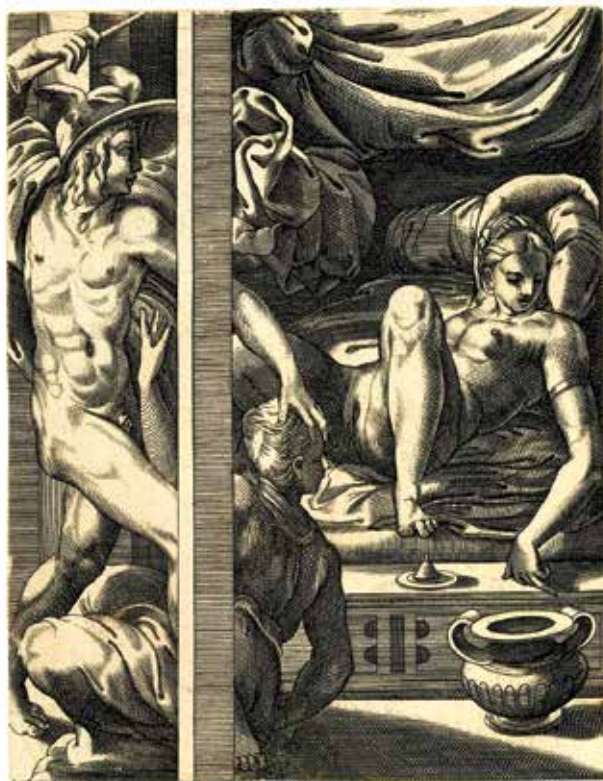
Lodi in painting. This same “Jan Baptista” was described in a second, longer document as “an Italian and a rich man” who subsequently abandoned painting “for he had enough to live on and was old in years” and traveled to Lier to live with Signor Jan Carlo. This “Jan Carlo” was Gian Carlo Affaitadi, a merchant and banker who was the head of the Affaitadi firm in Antwerp.¹⁴

Gian Carlo Affaitadi was born in Cremona in 1500, active as a merchant in Antwerp from 1514, and died in Lier on December 24, 1555.¹⁵ A wealthy man with a number of valuable properties, he lived in a large house in Antwerp’s Groenplatz until 1535.¹⁶ His summer residence, the château of Selzaten at Wommelghem near Antwerp, was purchased that year for 8,300 florins from the children of Thomas and Barbe Werneer.¹⁷ From 1549, Gian Carlo Affaitadi lived in Lier, apparently under the same roof as Lodi. He owned three houses in the town: a princely residence called De Lier in the Kerkhofstraat; the Chanoine Brabant; and another house opposite the residence of the Antwerp financier and merchant Conrad Schetz, son of Erasmus Schetz, the noted banker and merchant.¹⁸

In 1550 and 1551, Affaitadi donated two large stained-glass windows, executed by Goyvaert van der Vliet, to the Church of Saint Gummarus in Lier.¹⁹ They were placed on the east side of the south transept of the church and depicted the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor and the Last Judgment, the former with an inscription stating that it was a gift from Gian Carlo Affaitadi and providing the date 1550. Next to Affaitadi’s windows, in the nave, was another large window showing the Adoration of the Kings, donated by Erasmus Schetz. In 1910 all three windows were removed for conservation and then mysteriously disappeared during World War I along with the only photographs that had been taken of them. Erasmus Schetz’s other son, Balthazar, married Gian Carlo’s widow, Lucretia, after Gian Carlo’s death in 1555. At this time, his brother Gian Battista Affaitadi took over as head of the firm until his own death in 1576, when it ceased activity.

The Affaitadi served as bankers and merchants in much the same way as did other foreign firms in Antwerp such as the Fuggers and the Weslers of Augsburg. The Affaitadi were involved in the Portuguese spice trade and dealt in pastel and alum (both important for the textile industry), tapestries, silks for weavers, canvas, cotton, cloth, wool, cereals, precious stones, and jewels.²⁰ In 1551 they purchased the Suikerhuis, a local sugar refinery, in partnership with the Lucchese merchant Giovanni Balbani.²¹ This was the same Balbani who had advanced funds to

fig. 4 Pierre Milan (French, active 1545–57) after Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio (Italian, ca. 1500/1505–1565), 1520–39. *Mercury Visiting Herse* from Caraglio's *Loves of the Gods*. Engraving, 6¾ × 5¼ in. (17.5 × 13.3 cm). British Museum, London (1866,0623.10)



Baudouyn, the weaver of Ferrante Gonzaga's *Fructus Belli*, and who had been charged to evaluate the finished set, together with Lodi. As bankers, the Affaitadi granted loans to the city of Antwerp (for fortifications), the government of the Low Countries, Charles V, his son Philip II, and his sister Mary of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries.²²

The Affaitadi were involved in the sale of silks to tapestry weavers and in selling the finished tapestries they produced. They supplied a number of important weavers with silk thread, among them, Roderigo Dermoyen, Cornelis de Ronde, Gios van Grimbergen, François Schavart, Gios Rampart, Willem de Pannemaker of Brussels, and Adrien Blumard and Dietrich Mas of Oudenaarde.²³ In 1550, Count Gian Battista Affaitadi of Cremona, who may have been a relation, bought three tapestry verdure from the firm.²⁴ The most significant recorded sale of tapestries by the firm was to the duke of Alba in 1556 for a now-lost set of *reposterios* (armorial tapestries) woven by Willem de Pannemaker and costing 4,400 florins.²⁵ Payment was made through Philip II's treasurer, Domingo d'Orbea, and the tapestries were dispatched to the duke of Alba in Naples, where he had just been appointed viceroy. The firm also had dealings with the Brussels weaver Jan Dermoyen and in 1557 paid Dermoyen 387 livres for five unnamed tapestries.²⁶

While living with Gian Carlo Affaitadi, Lodi also held an account with the firm. From 1548 to 1566 regular

payments are recorded in two surviving *grandes livres* of 1578 and 1580 and in the firm's inventory of 1566.²⁷ Between 1548 and 1566 Lodi was paid ("per il beneficio de sua dinari") the sums of 244 livres, 1 stuiver, and 6 deniers; 335 livres; and 389 livres, 1 stuiver, and 6 deniers, probably as the accrued interest on money that he had invested with the Affaitadi.²⁸ When Gian Carlo died in 1555, Lodi was a beneficiary named in his will.²⁹ Evidently, Lodi was still alive in 1566, but there is no subsequent record of him in the Affaitadi papers. The documentary evidence shows, then, that while in Brussels and Lier, Lodi lived with and maintained a close working relationship with the powerful Affaitadi family, affording him an essential connection to supplies and patronage that fostered his successful career.

THE STORY OF MERCURY AND HERSE: A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SERIES

The *Story of Mercury and Herse* series is based on Ovid's account of the metamorphosis of Aglauros from *Metamorphoses* (2.708–835). However, four extra subjects have been added to those described by Ovid, probably to give more emphasis to the story of Mercury and Herse than to Aglauros. Ovid recounts how Mercury, while flying over Athens, noticed and fell in love with the daughter of King Cecrops, Herse, who was among a group of maidens making their way to the Temple of Minerva. When Mercury approached the royal palace, Herse's sister Aglauros stopped him on the steps and demanded payment for her assistance in Mercury's pursuit. Aglauros's action so enraged Minerva that she sought out Envy in order to infect Aglauros with jealousy of Herse. When Mercury returned to the palace and again found his way barred by Aglauros, he changed her to stone and then flew away. Ovid does not describe any sexual encounter between Mercury and Herse, but according to Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.14.3), Mercury and Herse had a son named Cephalus, who was later carried off by Eos.

Although the scene is not mentioned by Ovid, there is a visual tradition of showing Mercury in the bed-chamber of Herse after Aglauros has been turned to stone. The episode is depicted in Paolo Veronese's painting *Hermes, Herse, and Aglauros* (fig. 3). It also appears in various engravings: Jacopo Caraglio's *Mercury Visiting Herse* (fig. 4), the fourth engraving of the series *Loves of the Gods*; Antonio Tempesta's *Mercury Turning Aglauros to Stone* (fig. 5); and Hendrick Goltzius's *Mercury Entering Herse's Room after Changing Aglauros to Stone* (fig. 6), from his Ovid series. Thus it appears likely that, contrary to the traditional reading,



fig. 5 Antonio Tempesta (Italian, 1555–1630). *Mercury Turning Aglauros to Stone*, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, pl. 20. Published by Willem Jansz (Dutch, active 1605?–20 in Amsterdam), after 1606. Etching, sheet 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.5 × 20 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of S. Paul Jones, 1935 (35.6(21))

which positions the bridal chamber scene as a jealous vision of Aglauros and penultimate to her transformation into stone, *Mercury Entering the Bridal Chamber of Herse* is the final tapestry in the series. The composition and some of the details of this tapestry are based on Lucian's description of the wedding of Alexander and Roxana, which was taken from a print by Caraglio of the subject. Ovid's basic story of four scenes is expanded into eight in the tapestries of the series, which can be reconstructed as follows:

1. *The Flying Mercury Sees Herse among the Athenian Maidens Going to the Temple of Minerva* (Colección Duques de Alba)
2. *Mercury Walking with Herse toward Athens* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid)
3. *Aglauros Bars Mercury from Entering the Palace; Minerva Flies Off to Visit Envy* (Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli)
4. *King Cecrops Greets Mercury* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid)
5. *Mercury Banqueting with Cecrops and His Three Daughters; Envy Infecting Aglauros* (Colección Duques de Cardona)
6. *Dancing and Music in Cecrops's Palace* (Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli)
7. *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)
8. *Mercury Entering the Bridal Chamber of Herse* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

THE STORY OF MERCURY AND HERSE: THE THREE VERSIONS AND THEIR BORDERS

As has long been remarked, the three surviving sets of the *Story of Mercury and Herse* were, rather surprisingly, woven by two different Brussels weavers. The earliest extant edition bears the weaver's mark of Willem Dermoyen. This set may have been acquired originally by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy (1528–1580), when he was governor of the Low Countries between 1557 and 1559. Its three remaining pieces are now in the Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (see fig. 2), formerly in the collection of Madame S. Horst, Lausanne, and in the collection of the Château d'Espeyran, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, France.³⁰ Its border design of flowers, fruit, and small animals is common to Dermoyen's tapestries of the 1530s and 1540s, such as the *Hunts of Maximilian* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and the *Story of Joshua* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). These comparisons suggest that this edition of the *Story of Mercury and Herse* was made by Willem Dermoyen about 1545 to 1550.

The weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker appears on the other two known sets of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, which were probably woven in the 1570s, the last important decade of Willem de Pannemaker's production. One was made by Pannemaker about 1570, according to the date woven on the first tapestry of the set.³¹ First documented in 1603 in the collection of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 5th marquis of Denia and 1st duke of Lerma (1553–1625), the set subsequently entered the Medinaceli collection in 1673 as a gift from Feliche Enríquez de Cabrera, widow of the 2nd duke of Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas Manrique de Padilla (1598–1635).³² After the death

fig. 6 Hendrick Goltzius (Netherlandish, 1558–1617). *Mercury Entering Herse's Room after Changing Aglauros to Stone*, ca. 1590, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Engraving, sheet 6⅞ × 9⅞ in. (16.8 × 25 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.97.677)

of the duchess of Denia and Tarifa, widow of the 15th duke of Medinaceli, in 1903, the set was broken up when certain of the tapestries were sold by her heirs in 1908, by which means two of the pieces eventually entered the Metropolitan Museum as a bequest of George Blumenthal (see fig. 1).³³ This set displays a border design different from that of Dermoyen's edition, with the lateral borders representing the Seven Virtues, the Four Elements, the Three Fates, the Four Seasons, the Seven Liberal Arts, and the Muses, reusing designs first developed for the tapestries of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* in the Vatican Collection, woven by Pieter van Aelst in Brussels for Pope Leo X and delivered to Rome between 1519 and 1521.³⁴ The lower borders, including scenes of Prometheus, Justice or Good Government, Opportunity, Fortune, the Virtues, and Hercules, were employed first for the three reeditions of the *Acts of the Apostles* woven by the Brussels weavers Jan van Tieghem and Frans Ghieteels. They are: one made in the 1540s for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (Palazzo Ducale, Mantua); another first recorded in the 1598 inventory of Philip II (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, series 12); and one originally made for Henry VIII and first listed in a 1542 inventory of Whitehall Palace. The latter work was later in Berlin and is now lost.³⁵

The other partially surviving *Story of Mercury and Herse* set made by Willem de Pannemaker was originally owned by Don Fernando of Toledo, prior of Castile and captain general of Catalonia, and was acquired from him in 1578 by the Diputació Provincial, Barcelona, where it remains.³⁶ One of the tapestries in the set originally had the date of 1571 woven (or embroidered) onto the border. Unlike the other two tapestries, this set was woven by Pannemaker without metal thread. With a different border again, this set reuses the designs of landscapes populated by animals and mythical figures that first appeared on the *History of Noah*, also woven by Pannemaker, for Philip II between 1562 and 1565.³⁷ Don Fernando of Toledo also owned a ten-piece set of the same *History of Noah* with the same type of border design, acquired in 1583 and probably intended to match his earlier set of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Three of Don Fernando's *Noah* tapestries remain in the collection of the Palace of the Diputació General of Catalonia, Barcelona: *God Orders Noah to Construct the Ark*, *God Establishes His Covenant with Noah*, and the *Drunkenness of Noah*.³⁸

Famously, in 1560–61, Willem de Pannemaker reweave six of the eight tapestries of the *Apocalypse* (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, series 11), originally woven by Willem Dermoyen for Philip II, after the

original set of the *Apocalypse* was lost in a storm at Laredo in 1559.³⁹ The two pieces that survived the shipwreck bear Willem Dermoyen's mark, and the six replacement tapestries have the mark of Willem de Pannemaker. Thus either Pannemaker was involved with Dermoyen in the weaving of the original set or he was able to obtain Dermoyen's original cartoons. In the case of the three editions of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, the production dates point to the likelihood that Pannemaker obtained the original cartoons from the descendants of Willem Dermoyen. Not only did Pannemaker revive these cartoons through his later versions, but he also apparently obtained existing cartoons for the borders from Jan van Tieghem's workshop. As such, the *Story of Mercury and Herse* provides a compelling case of the reuse, revival, and continued appreciation of existing compositions in tapestry production, causing Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona's designs to be woven over more than two decades.

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NOTES

- 1 See fig. 1 in "Collecting Sixteenth-Century Tapestries in Twentieth-Century America: The Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann," by Elizabeth Cleland, in the present volume.
- 2 On Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona, see Delmarcel in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 170–71, 185, 191; Campbell 2002, pp. 393–94; Cleland 2008; and Forti Grazzini 2010.
- 3 For the *Fructus Belli*, the *Life of Moses*, and the *Puttini*, see Delmarcel in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 158–73, 194–205, 184–91.
- 4 For the most recent discussions of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, see Standen 1985, pp. 87–99, no. 10; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 170–82, no. 76.
- 5 See Ferrero Viale 1959; Standen 1985, pp. 88–89; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 174.
- 6 See Standen 1985, pp. 88–89; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 174. The eight-piece set was reunited for the exhibition "Los amores de Mercurio y Herse: Una tapicería rica de Willem de Pannemaker," Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2010; see Herrero Carretero and Forti Grazzini 2010.
- 7 See Puig y Cadafalch and Miret y Sans 1909–10, pp. 456–70; Donnet 1912; Rubio y Cambronero 1972, pp. 51–89; Standen 1985, p. 89; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 174.
- 8 The document is printed in Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 279; see also Roobaert 2004, pp. 96–97, 115–16.
- 9 The letter of June 15, 1547, is now lost, but its contents are discussed in Hymans 1910, pp. 23–24.
- 10 The letter of August 31, 1547, is printed in *ibid.*, pp. 160–61, and in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 96–97.
- 11 *Conquest of Tunis*, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, series 13. The letter of February 5, 1552, from Lodi to Ferrante Gonzaga is printed in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 104 (doc. 32).
- 12 See Delmarcel in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 191.
- 13 The two documents concerning Conrad Schot are printed and discussed in Hymans 1910, pp. 36–43. They were discovered by Alexandre Pinchart (see *Papiers Pinchart*, Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).
- 14 On Gian Carlo Affaitadi, see Denucé 1934.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 70–74.
- 19 On the stained-glass windows, see d'Hulst 1956, pp. 75–77, 86–88, and Helbig 1968.
- 20 Denucé 1934, pp. 54–65.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 58–61.
- 23 Stadsarchief Antwerp, Insolvente Boedelskamers (hereafter SAA, IB) 1579, Affaitadi Grootboek C (1555–1556), fols. 335, 422, 450, 458, 461–62, 477–78, 480, 523.
- 24 Denucé 1934, p. 11.
- 25 SAA, IB 1579, fols. 428, 494; Denucé 1934, pp. 52–53; Archivo de la Casa Alba, Palacio de Leria, Madrid, C169-14 (161).
- 26 SAA, IB 1580, fol. 160. See Roobaert 2004, p. 208.
- 27 SAA, IB 1578, Affaitadi Grootboek A; SAA, IB 1580, Affaitadi Grootboek D. The 1568 Inventory is printed in Denucé 1934.
- 28 SAA, IB 1578 (1548–1551), fol. 142; SAA, IB 1580 (1557–1560), fol. 42; Denucé 1934, p. 205.
- 29 Denucé 1934, pp. 15, 224, 231: "Mr Bapte le peintre 7 livres, 1 stuiver, 10 gros."
- 30 See Ferrero Viale 1959; Standen 1985, pp. 88–89; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 170, 174.
- 31 According to information kindly supplied by Concha Herrero Carretero.
- 32 See Herrero Carretero 2010.
- 33 See "Collecting Sixteenth-Century Tapestries in Twentieth-Century America: The Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann," by Elizabeth Cleland, in the present volume.
- 34 For Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, see Shearman 1972, pp. 84–90, and Campbell 2002, pp. 187–218.
- 35 For the Gonzaga set, see Delmarcel in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 148–57. For the Madrid set, see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 63–72, and Delmarcel 1999, pp. 165, 170. For Henry VIII's set, see Campbell 2007, pp. 261–67.
- 36 See Puig y Cadafalch and Miret y Sans 1909–10, pp. 456, 469, and Donnet 1912, p. 201.
- 37 On the *History of Noah*, see Buchanan 2006.
- 38 See Rubio y Cambronero 1972, pp. 51–52, illus. on pp. 74, 75, 76.
- 39 On the *Apocalypse*, see Steppe 1968, pp. 734–48, and Buchanan 1999, pp. 134–37.

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