

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: A Gobelins Tapestry Series

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IN 1964 Mrs. George S. Amory gave the Metropolitan Museum a tapestry representing Diana changing Actaeon into a stag. It is signed I. JANS, and so must have been woven in the workshop of either Jean Jans the Elder or the Younger, heads of a Gobelins haute-lisse workshop from 1662 to 1668 and from 1668 to 1723, respectively. The subject of the tapestry shows it to be from a series of the *Metamorphoses* that is known to have been woven by the younger Jans and others in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The *Metamorphoses* series is an unusual one that has not been thoroughly studied. It was designed by several artists, most of whom have only recently become better known through the publications of Margaret Stufmann, Pierre Rosenberg, Antoine Schnapper, Thierry Lefrançois, Nicole Garnier, and other scholars. Not all the designs of the tapestries can be firmly attributed, and some, including the *Diana and Actaeon*, remain anonymous; but there are a number of documented names and sources, so that the tapestries throw some light on the activities of these artists.

The earliest records of a set of the Gobelins *Metamorphoses* are found in the archives of the earls of Exeter. The fifth earl succeeded to his title and estates in 1678. He traveled on the Continent from 1679 to 1681, and a number of letters in the family archives mention purchases at this time of tapestries for his principal seat, Burghley House in Lincolnshire. Thomas Stretch, deputy steward and upholsterer, wrote from this house in January 1680, giving wall measurements, and adding, "If you buy tapestry hanging I feare it will be a hard matter to have them of that compas." The earl evidently decided to have his tapestries made to order, for in November 1680 several letters in French about work done for him were sent by "Msr Jans" in Paris, to Culpepper

Tanner, the steward, who was with his master in Lyons. The writer was certainly Jean Jans the Younger, the Gobelins *entrepreneur* mentioned above. On February 8, 1681, Jans wrote again to Tanner, then in Venice, listing the pieces he was making for the earl and acknowledging the receipt of 233 *écus* for a completed set of the "*Métamorphoses d'Ovide*"; on October 27 a second payment for the set is recorded in a letter from Jans to Tanner, who was by now in Tours.

An inventory of the contents of Burghley House was made in 1688; this includes the entry: "The Best bed-chamber. 4 peices of Rich french Tapistry hangings made by Monsr. Jans, storyes out of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." The tapestries are still at Burghley House.¹

Another documentary evidence for a seventeenth-century Gobelins set of *Metamorphoses* is in the French royal inventory of 1684, among the "Tapisseries de haulte et basse lisse réchaussées d'or":

92. *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*. Une tenture de tapisserie de laine et soye, avec fort peu d'or, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, représentant des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, dont les figures de devant sont d'environ 1 pied ½, dans de fort beaux paysages, avec sa bordure fonds aurore remplie de rinceaux et de vases de fleurs et de fruits, avec deux tourterelles dans les milieux du hault, et deux petits chiens dans les milieux du bas; contenant 22 aunes ½ de cours sur 2 aunes ¾ de hault, en sept pièces.²

And in a 1789 inventory, this set was described as:

No. 92. *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, à or. Gobelins, 7 pièces, dont 5 à Versailles: A Paris: 1 pièce, 3 aunes cours, 2a.¾ haut; bordure, 12 pouces: *Jupiter*. A Paris: 1 pièce, 4a.⅞: *Diane changeant Actéon en cerf*. Bonne et belle. A Versailles: 1 pièce, 2a.½ cours, 2a.¾ haut. 1 pièce, 1a.¾. 1 pièce, 3a.⅞; à réparer. 1 pièce, 4a.¼; à réparer. 1 pièce, 2 aunes.³

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The set was not listed in a 1691 memoir by Jans;⁴ this was probably because the series began as a private venture. Perhaps the royal set was not originally intended for the king and both it and Lord Exeter's were made in the workshop that Jans is known to have had outside the Gobelins proper; a report of 1694 calls it "l'atelier que M. Jans a hors les Gobelins où se pend pour enseigne le Grand Louis."⁵ The use of looms inside the manufactory to make tapestries for private purchasers is also documented: in 1748, in the course of a dispute about this practice, the official then in charge of the royal manufactories wrote: "Tous les ouvrages sortant de la Manufacture doivent être aussi parfaits, qu'ils soient pour le Roy ou pour un particulier."⁶ The *Metamorphoses*, however, were woven by weavers other than Jans, and they are not known to have had workshops outside the manufactory.

Thanks to the description of the borders of these tapestries, with their doves and little dogs, it has been possible to identify four pieces of the set in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.⁷ A fifth piece with the same border, showing Boreas abducting Orithyia, is known only from a photograph in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. The upright format of these tapestries suggests that they are the pieces that were at Versailles in 1789.

The next mention of the series is an official one, involving money, always a most important consideration. It appears in the *Comtes des Bâtiments du Roi*: painters (not named) were paid in 1704 for work on the "tableaux qui doivent servir de dessins pour la petite tenture des *Métamorphoses d'Ovide*"; in 1705 Jean-Baptiste de Fontenay received payment for "tableaux d'Arnaud, Armide et Diane, aux Gobelins," and "ouvriers peintres" continued to be paid for work on the "tableaux des *Métamorphoses*" in that year and in 1706.⁸ Though the king paid for this work, the weaving on a set for him was not begun until 1714. It contained seven pieces, woven by all the three basse-lisse workshops active at the time; the set is fully documented in the factory records and was completed in 1720. There was clearly no urgency to use the cartoons or to finish the set; perhaps it was started primarily to give employment to as many weavers as possible, or to justify the payments to the artists for their work on the cartoons as much as ten years earlier. Neither the dying Louis XIV nor his infant heir would have been interested in new tapestries in 1714. The royal set was in storage in 1736, but its history is not known after 1761.⁹ The word "petite" in the description of the series ("petite tenture") presumably refers to the size of the

figures or to the low height of the tapestries, only about eight feet.

Finally, an inventory of the cartoons at the Gobelins in 1736 lists thirteen large paintings and two *entrefenêtres* of *Metamorphoses* subjects called "Ruinez" and nine copies, with a number of small pieces, called "Gatté."¹⁰ Many artists are named, including copyists. The extant tapestries with scenes from the *Metamorphoses* that can be identified as Gobelins productions can thus be assumed to have been made from about 1680 to about 1736. It remains to locate them and to identify their designers and the workshops in which they were woven.

Maurice Fenaille, whose monumental work on Gobelins tapestries (published 1903–23) has left so little to say about most of the series made at the manufactory, did not know the pieces at Burghley House and in Amsterdam. He was thus unable to identify any seventeenth-century examples of the *Metamorphoses* and believed that the set recorded in the 1684 inventory reproduced old cartoons used in the Paris workshops before the establishment of the royal Gobelins; he treated the eighteenth-century additional subjects as a separate series.¹¹ With the identification of five different subjects in the Burghley House and early royal sets, it has become apparent that the seventeenth-century compositions were used as components of the later, larger series, because they appear in sets with subjects known to have been designed and woven only after 1700. The cartoons, whenever made, were evidently looked upon as a single series from which individual subjects could be taken to make up sets—at random, according to a customer's wishes, or depending on the availability of a cartoon at a particular moment.

The most clearly documented instance of the long life of an early design is *Acis and Galatea* (Figures 1, 2, 4), which is represented at Burghley House, in Amsterdam, and in a set signed by Cozette that was sold from the Hugh Cholmeley collection at Sotheby's, London, May 19, 1950, no. 100(a); the other three subjects of this set were among those woven for the king in 1714–20.¹² Pierre François Cozette did not become head of an haute-lisse workshop until 1735. As only one *Metamorphoses* set was acquired by the king in the seventeenth century and

1. *Acis and Galatea*, French (Gobelins), about 1680, after Charles de La Fosse (1636–1716). Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)





2. *Acis and Galatea*, French (Gobelins), about 1680, after Charles de La Fosse. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)

one in the eighteenth, almost all the many Gobelins *Metamorphoses* tapestries must have been sold to private customers, and it is seldom possible to give the exact date when they were woven.

The task of identifying a Gobelins *Metamorphoses* design when the tapestry does not have a weaver's name is made more difficult by the existence of two contemporary Beauvais *Metamorphoses* series. One of these, however, after René-Antoine Jouasse, has been well published.¹³ The second Beauvais *Metamorphoses* series has been said to "pose a nearly insolvable problem"; few of its subjects are known and few of the tapestries have been identified.¹⁴ Other *Metamorphoses* tapestries were woven in Brussels; at least one Gobelins design was used there. Nevertheless, nearly all the subjects named in the Gobelins records quoted above can be identified in extant tapestries, and two more can be established as belonging to the series. Sets of six, five, four, and three pieces are known, with many pairs and individual pieces.¹⁵

Acis and Galatea is, as has been mentioned, a subject in the early sets; it exists in two versions, both, strangely enough, in the part of the royal set now in Amsterdam (Figures 1, 2). It is hard to believe that the same subject would have been repeated in a single set while Le Brun ruled the royal manufactories, but his power waned after the death of Colbert, his patron, in 1683; the *Metamorphoses* set listed in the 1684 inventory had perhaps been woven very recently, and no one in authority had checked to see what subjects were included.

The subject appears in the 1736 list of cartoons: "Le tableau d'Acis et Galathée, d'après M. Delafosse de cinq pieds et demy de long sur huit pieds de haut, les figures peintes par M. Mathieu et le paysage par M. Bonnard."¹⁶ A painting by Charles de La Fosse in the Prado (Figure 3)

4. *Acis and Galatea*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1700, after Charles de La Fosse. Wool tapestry. Bayreuth, Schloss (photo: Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser)



3. Charles de La Fosse, *Acis and Galatea*. Oil on canvas. Madrid, Prado (photo: Prado)





5. *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, French (Gobelins), about 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)

has the lovers as they appear in the tapestry that shows Galatea seen from the front (Figure 1); there is a related drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.¹⁷ De La Fosse exhibited paintings in the Salons of 1699 and 1704 with the titles *Polyphème menaçant Acis par un rocher* and *Polyphème jouant de la flûte*, neither of which describes the Prado picture, where the giant holds panpipes. De La Fosse also painted an *Acis and Galatea* as an overmantel in the 1680s;¹⁸ as the Amsterdam tapestries were made before 1684, this painting may well have resembled one of them. The composition with Galatea seen from the front (Figure 1) is that of a tapestry in the Brandegge set, which is marked “Jans des Gobelins.” Tapestries of this type have also appeared in a number of sales.¹⁹

The second *Acis and Galatea* tapestry in Amsterdam (Figure 2) shows Galatea with her back turned, Acis pointing to a distant Polyphemus, and palms instead of oaks rising behind the lovers. A cupid on the left imitates Neptune; he stands on a shell drawn by two dolphins and wields a trident. This version of the composition is that of tapestries in the Burghley House and Cholmeley-Cozette sets. A reversed example was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 5, 1985, no. 6,²⁰ and one with Jans's name was in the Paris 1933 set. Another, in the Bayreuth set (Figure 4), has the background of the second version, but Galatea is seen from the front and only the head of one dolphin remains of the group on the left.

An unusual variant with the arms of Maria Ana de Newborgo, wife of Charles II of Spain, is in a private collection in Paris; it was presumably made before the king's death in 1700. The lovers and the trees behind them are like their counterparts in the other tapestries with Galatea seen from the front, although they are reversed; but Polyphemus on the mountain has disappeared and in his place is a large fountain supported by dolphins and surmounted by a winged boy riding a water-spouting swan. A peacock sits on the rim of the fountain; both fountain and bird are found on other tapestries of the series that will be discussed below. It is signed “Jans des Gobelins.”²¹

Another subject in both the Burghley House and Amsterdam sets is *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* (Figure 5). The cartoon was not included in the 1736 list, so there is no record of the designer. Ariadne, however, can be compared to her counterpart in Charles de La Fosse's paint-



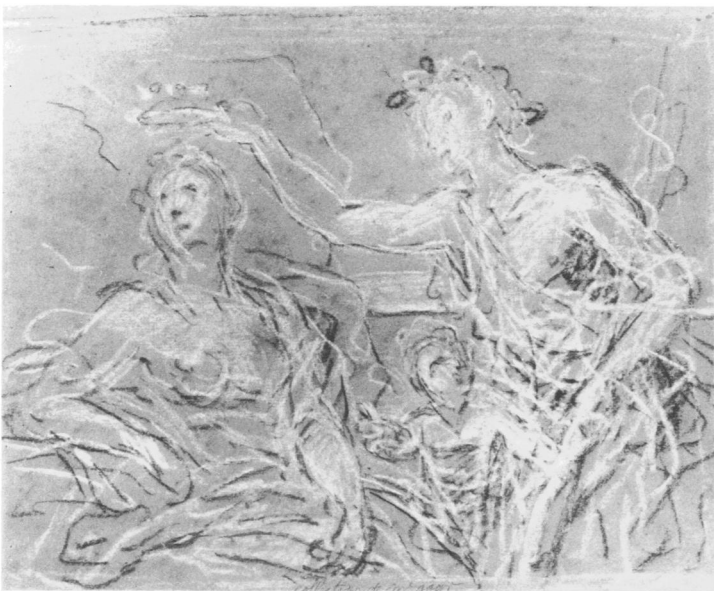
6. Charles de La Fosse, *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Oil on canvas. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon)

ing *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (Figure 6), which was made in 1699 for Marly;²² the head of Bacchus is close to a drawing of the god by the same artist in the Musée d'Alençon (Figure 7).²³ On the other hand, an anonymous drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Figure 8), shows Bacchus with his two panthers much as he appears on the tapestry.²⁴ There are also several paintings and drawings connected with Louis de Boulogne the Younger (the designer of other tapestries of the series) that show the two figures in much the same positions as on the tapestries, but with a cupid between them (Figure 9).²⁵ A related painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, is attributed to Guy Louis Vernansal (Figure 10),²⁶ who is known to have worked for Beauvais. The original idea would seem to have come from Eustache Le Sueur (1615–55). His painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 11) shows a more ardent Bacchus in a pose very like that of his counterpart in the tapestry and some of the drawings.²⁷ Several other examples of the tapestry have been identified.²⁸



7. Charles de La Fosse, *Bacchus*. Black chalk drawing. Alençon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle (photo: Musée d'Alençon)

8. Unknown artist, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Black chalk and gray wash drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statenskonstmuseer)



9. Louis de Boulogne the Younger (1654–1733), *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Black and white chalk drawing. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen)



10. Guy Louis Vernansal, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans (photo: Musées d'Orléans)



11. Eustache Le Sueur (1617–55), *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*. Oil on canvas. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Ernest W. Longfellow and Grant Walker Funds (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

Boreas and Orithyia is at Burghley House and, as has been mentioned, was probably also included in the first set made for the king. There is another example at Bayreuth (Figure 12). The designer's name is not known, but the two figures are very like those in a Beauvais version of the same subject, which was designed by Houasse (Figure 13).²⁹ This artist has not previously been connected with the Gobelins *Metamorphoses*, but he did some work for the manufactory at about that time.³⁰ An example of the Gobelins *Boreas and Orithyia* is in the Paris 1933 set.³¹

The *Diana and Actaeon* in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 14)³² has a reversed counterpart at Burghley House, which means that the design must be an early one,³³ although no related paintings or drawings have been located. It shows one of the two subjects mentioned in the 1789 inventory listing of the king's early set.

Pan and Syrinx is at Amsterdam (Figure 15) and Bayreuth.³⁴ No designer is known, but there is a general resemblance of the figures in the clump of rushes to those in the Beauvais tapestry of the same subject in the series designed by Houasse.³⁵

The 1789 inventory lists a *Jupiter* as a component of the early *Metamorphoses* set owned by the king, but no tapestry illustrating one of this god's amorous transformations has been found with the distinctive border of this set. Jupiter appears, disguised, in two scenes in the *Metamorphoses* sets: in *Europa and the Bull* and *Jupiter and Callisto*. The former, as will be shown later, is after an artist not born until 1676, so the early *Jupiter* was more probably *Jupiter and Callisto*, which will also be discussed later.

The five *Metamorphoses* subjects already considered—*Acis and Galatea*, *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne*, *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Diana and Actaeon*, and *Pan and Syrinx*—are the only ones known to have been woven by 1684. Twenty years later, from 1704 to 1706, as has been mentioned, the king's accounts list payments to artists for work on *Metamorphoses* cartoons. That the king was charged for the paintings shows that the series, previously a private venture, presumably initiated by Jans, had now been transformed into an official undertaking like other Gobelins series. Only one entry in the accounts mentions subjects and an artist: "Année 1705. Paris, Maisons Royales. *Peinture*, 12 juillet: à luy, Jean Baptiste de Fontenay, pour les ouvrages qu'il a faits aux tableaux d'*Arnaud*, *Armide et Diane*, aux Gobelins pendant 1704. 178 l. [livres]."

The words "*Arnaud*, *Armide*" must mean *Rinaldo and Armida*; tapestries with these figures are included, most incongruously, in several Gobelins *Metamorphoses* sets (Figure 16). The scene shows the hero lying in the lap of the enchantress as cupids play with his discarded armor; two of his companions on the crusade have come to recall him to his duty and they appear in the far distance under a huge arch. Although it was Belin de Fontenay who received a small payment for work on the cartoon in 1705, more complete information about its creator is given in the inventory of 1736: "Le tableau d'*Arnaud et Armide*, d'après M. Boulogne le Jeune, de 18 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, les figures peintes par Yvert le Fils, le paysage par le Sr Chastelin et les fleurs par le Sieur Fontenay." And there was another, narrower copy, "de 15 pieds 3 pouces de long, sur huit pieds de haut, le paysage peint par M. de Chavanne et les figures par Yvert le Fils" as well as "une bande pour la pièce



d'Arnaud et Armide pour la grandeur, peint par le même Chastelain."³⁶

A closely related painting by Louis de Boullogne, signed and dated 1704 (the year in which it was shown at the Salon), was owned by the New York dealers Stair Sainty Matthiesen in 1986 (Figure 17).³⁷ The intruding knights are seen near at hand among the trees, as they appear in a drawing in a private collection in Paris (Figure 18).³⁸ The two peacocks on the far right of the tapestry illustrated (Figure 16) are not in the painting or the drawing; perhaps they are from the "bande . . . pour la grandeur" by Chastelain. They are found on other tapestries of the series (see Figure 24). The elaborate fountain on the left in the tapestry also appears with other subjects (see Figure 33) and on a panel without human figures sold at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, February 8, 1969, no. 143; it and the surrounding forest are enlivened by two cupids though not those of Figure 16. In the Salon, the painting was described as "Reynaud et Armide dans les plaisirs";³⁹ no payment for it appears in the king's accounts, so it, or a drawing, may have been acquired by Jans or another Gobelins *entrepreneur* to be used as the basis for a cartoon.

The *Rinaldo and Armida* in the king's second *Metamorphoses* set was woven from 1717 to April 1720 in the basse-lisse workshop of Jean Souët; it was somewhat over two *aunes* high, like all the pieces of the set, and about five wide. No tapestry of the subject with the name of this weaver is known, but there was an example signed by Jans in the Bourdariat set and one with the name of Jean Lefebvre (either father or son, heads of a basse-lisse workshop from 1662 to 1736) was in the vicomte de Curel sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 2, 1918, no. 60. The subject was in the Menier set (see note 15), which also included an *Acis and Galatea*, a 1680s design. It was very frequently woven, with the composition often reversed; wide examples have the peacocks on one side and the dolphin-supported fountain on the other,⁴⁰ but almost square weavings, showing the main group of figures only, are also known.⁴¹

"Diane" is the other subject mentioned in the notice of a payment to Belin de Fontenay in 1705; it is probably the design called the *Retour de chasse de Diane* that "Sr. Matthieux, peintre" was paid for copying in 1715, rather than one of the other two *Diana* subjects in the series.

12. *Boreas and Orithyia*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1700. Wool tapestry. Bayreuth, Schloss (photo: Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser)



13. *Boreas and Orithyia*, French (Beauvais), 1690–1730, after René-Antoine Houasse (1644/5–1710). Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Francis L. Kellogg, 1977, 1977.435

The 1736 inventory of cartoons lists: “Le tableau du *Retour des chasses de Diane*, d’après Mr. Delafosse de 11 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, les figures peintes par le Sr. Chevreuille et le paysage par le Sr. Bonnard.”⁴² There was also a copy of the same dimensions painted by Mathieu. The subject was called *Diane* when it was woven

in the basse-lisse workshop of Jean de La Fraye between 1717 and 1719 for the king’s set. The tapestries of the subject (Figure 19) closely follow a painting by Charles de La Fosse in the Hermitage, except for the omission of a standing nymph between the girl stooping to untie Diana’s sandal and the one holding hounds on a leash. Canvases with the central group only are also known,⁴³ and the entire composition was engraved by Pierre-Etienne Moitte from a painting owned by Count Brühl in 1754 (Figure 20). A drawing owned by Mrs. Betty



14. *Diana and Actaeon*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1700. Wool and silk tapestry. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. George S. Amory, in memory of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Amory Sibley Carhart, 1964, 64.208

Reitman includes a study for the figure of Diana (Figure 21)⁴⁴ and one related to the woman with two dogs is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyons (Figure 22).

More tapestries of this design and more names of the weavers are known than of any other subject in the series. The example in the Brandegee set is marked “Jans des Gobelins” and one of the Jean Lefebvres put the initials “L. F.” on a tapestry that was owned by the Berlin dealers

A. and L. Bodenheimer in 1975.⁴⁵ The weaver who took over Jans’s workshop in 1732, Michel Audran, put his name on the *Diana’s Return from the Hunt* that was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, December 10, 1982, no. 128.⁴⁶ The name “Le Blond” appears on an example sold at the Hôtel Drouot, March 29, 1985, no. 109, which shows that the basse-lisse weavers found it profitable to copy the cartoon in reverse; Etienne Le Blond was a basse-lisse *entrepreneur* from 1701 to 1727. Another basse-lisse

15. *Pan and Syrinx*, French (Gobelins), about 1680. Wool, silk, and metal thread tapestry. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Foto-Commissie Rijksmuseum)





16. *Rinaldo and Armida*, French (Gobelins), 1705–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Chevalier (photo: Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd.)

example was in the Cholmeley-Cozette set. Two tapestries of the subject are in public collections, the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 19) and the Huntington Galleries, West Virginia.⁴⁷

The two subjects just discussed—*Rinaldo and Armida* and *Diana's Return from the Hunt*—are, as has been said, named in records of 1705; another five (*Apollo and the Python*, *Apollo and Hyacinth*, *Mercury and Argus*, *Narcissus and Echo*, and *Flora and Zephyr*) are first mentioned as part of the set of seven pieces made for the king between 1714 and 1720. The list of this set begins with the “Serpent Python,” put on the loom in 1714 and finished in April of the following year; it was $3\frac{1}{16}$ aunes wide (i.e., a hori-

zontal panel), woven in the basse-lisse workshop of Jean de La Fraye, an *entrepreneur* from 1699 to 1730. The cartoon is listed in the 1736 inventory: “Le tableau d’*Apollon et le serpent Python* de 11 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, les figures par M. Bertin et le paysage par M. Bonnard.” This was evidently an original painting and no copy of it is listed. No such work by Nicolas Bertin and Robert-François Bonnard is known.⁴⁸ The tapestries can be identified from the example in the Cleve-

FACING PAGE, ABOVE:

17. Louis de Boulogne, *Rinaldo and Armida*. Oil on canvas. New York, Stair Sainty Fine Art, Inc. (photo: Stair Sainty Fine Art)

FACING PAGE, BELOW:

18. Louis de Boulogne, *Rinaldo and Armida*. Black chalk drawing. Paris, private collection



19. *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Charles de La Fosse. Wool and silk tapestry. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Matthias Plum (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

FACING PAGE, ABOVE:

20. Pierre-Etienne Moitte after Charles de La Fosse. *Préparatifs pour la chasse*. Engraving, The British Museum, London (photo: British Museum)





21. Charles de La Fosse, *Study Sheet with Four Figures*. Red and black chalk heightened with white drawing. Montreal, collection of Mrs. Betty Reitman



22. Charles de La Fosse, *Standing Girl*. Black chalk drawing. Lyons, Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs)





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23. *Apollo and the Python*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Nicolas Bertin (1668–1736). Wool and silk tapestry. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Matthias Plum (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)
24. *Apollo and Hyacinth*, French (Gobelins), 1706–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown (photo: from Sotheby's, London, catalogue)

land set (Figure 23) and instances where they are found with others of the series.⁴⁹

In 1717, three years after the first tapestry of the king's set was begun, six other subjects were put on the looms of three basse-lisse workshops. One of them, *Apollo and Hyacinth*, was finished the same year by Jean Souët; it was narrow, less than two *aunes* wide. An example of the tapestry was sold at Sotheby's, London, October 14, 1960, no. 86 (Figure 24); it has been made wider by the addition of the two peacocks found on some versions of *Rinaldo and Armida* (see Figure 16). The cartoon is recorded as copied by Yvart in 1715, probably to reverse the design, as Jans, the haute-lisse weaver,

25. Louis de Boulogne, *Apollo and Hyacinth*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Trianon (photo: Musée de Versailles)



also used it (tapestries in the Brandeggee and Bourdariat sets). Yvart was accustomed to this kind of work, as he made copies of the *History of Alexander* cartoons, “peints à gauche pour servir aux basse-lissiers.”⁵⁰ Two cartoons of *Apollo and Hyacinth* are listed in the 1736 inventory: “Le tableau d’Apollon et Jacinthe, en deux bandes de 4 pieds ½ de long sur 8 pieds de haut . . . une autre copie d’Apollon et Jacinthe de 4 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, peint.” The mention of two *bandes* in the first entry shows that this was the copy used on the basse-lisse looms, for which cartoons had to be cut into strips. No artist is named, but the two figures occur in the painting by Louis de Boulogne made in 1706 for the Trianon, now at Versailles (Figure 25).⁵¹ Most of the known tapestries are narrow, showing only the two figures and, in the background, the temple and waterfall of Tivoli.⁵²

The second tapestry begun in 1717 was *Rinaldo and Armida*, already discussed. The third was called “Argus,” woven in Jean de La Fraye’s workshop. It was three *aunes* wide and was finished in 1718. “Sr. Dequoix, peintre,” made a copy of the cartoon in 1715; it appears in the 1736 inventory as “Une autre copie de *Mercurie et Argus*, de 10 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut peint par M. Dequoix.”⁵³ The original cartoon, of the same dimensions, is described as “les figures peintes par M. Bertin et le paysage par M. Bonnard.” An example of the tapestry was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, November 29, 1980, no. 450 (Figure 26).⁵⁴ A closely related painting by Nicolas Bertin was formerly in the National Museum, Warsaw (Figure 27), and a fragment of the cartoon, showing the two main figures with Cupid riding on the heifer, Io, behind them, is at Versailles.⁵⁵ In the painting, Argus and Io are much as they appear in the tapestries, but a slightly later moment in the story is depicted: Mercury has discarded his soothing pipe and his caduceus and prepares to cut off Argus’s head. The discarded implements, illogically, lie beside Argus in the tapestry as they do on the painting. The sleeping dog of the tapestry is missing in the painting and may well have been added from the design for another subject, *Diana and Endymion* (see Figure 51). Other examples of the tapestry are in the Louvre and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais.

A “Diane,” the fourth piece, begun in 1717 in de La Fraye’s workshop, was finished in 1719; it was 4½ *aunes* wide and could have been either *Diana’s Return from the Hunt* or *Diana and Actaeon*. The fifth tapestry was called “Narcisse”; it was woven by Etienne Le Blond and finished in 1718. It was almost square, just over two *aunes*



26. *Mercury and Argus*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Nicolas Bertin. Wool and silk tapestry. Sold Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1980 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

wide. No original designer is named in the 1736 list of cartoons, which described only “Le tableau de *Narcisse et la nymphe Echo*, en deux bandes de 5 pieds $\frac{1}{2}$ de long sur 8 pieds de haut” and “Deux bandes pour la pièce de *Narcisse*, pour la grandir, peint par le même [M. Chastelain].” A drawing by Antoine Dieu in the Swedish Nationalmuseum,⁵⁶ however, is so close to the tapestries, especially to the version represented by an example formerly owned by John Hartford, that it must be considered the source of the design or a study for it (Figures 28, 29). This relationship suggests that Jans obtained such drawings from his designers and entrusted them to Gobelins

artists to be enlarged into full-scale cartoons. Dieu’s distinctive style has been entirely lost in the process. Tapestries of *Narcissus and Echo* in the Bourdariat and Brandedee sets were certainly woven in Jans’s workshop.⁵⁷

The final subject in the king’s set, “Zéphire et Flore,” was begun like five others in 1717, but was not finished until January 1720. It was woven in the workshop of Le Blond and was three *aunes* wide. The cartoons were listed in 1736 as “Le tableau de *Flore et Zéphir*, en deux bandes de 9 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut” and “Une autre copie de *Flore et Zéphir*, de 9 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut, peint par le même [M. Duquoy].”



27. Nicolas Bertin, *Mercury and Argus*. Oil on canvas. Formerly National Museum, Warsaw (photo: National Museum)



28. *Narcissus and Echo*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Antoine Dieu (1662–1727). Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown (photo: from sale catalogue)

The tapestries of *Flora and Zephyr* are of two types: the figures differ, but the landscape is usually the same. One type can be called *Zephyr Crowning Flora* because the god holds a wreath over Flora's head and a cupid beside her raises a basket of flowers. An example is in the Cleveland Museum set (Figure 30). The three figures are found in a painting made for the king by Louis de Boullogne at Fontainebleau in 1701.⁵⁸ A replica was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, March 8, 1985, no. 3; it is signed and dated "Boullogne Jeune. 1702" (Figure 31). A second cupid in the paintings has been omitted in the tapestries.⁵⁹ The same subject, painted by Antoine Coypel for Mme de Maintenon's apartment at the Trianon, was paid for in 1701 and 1702 (Figure 32).⁶⁰ This has points of resemblance to Boullogne's design, especially the draped figure of Flora.

There is a large example of the tapestry in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyons (Figure 33), which includes the dolphin-supported fountain found on some versions of *Rinaldo and Armida* (Figure 16); even Rinaldo's flower-bedecked shield has crept into the scene beside the little cupid. The incongruity of this juxtaposition might have been permitted on a tapestry made for a private customer, but not allowed on one for the king. No weaver's name has been found on a tapestry of *Zephyr Crowning Flora*.⁶¹ A marble group, now in a French private collection, commissioned from Philippe Bertrand and René Frémin in 1713, echoes the paintings and the tapestry design.⁶²

The second design, *Flora Presenting a Rose*, shows the goddess handing a rose to Zephyr, while a basket of flowers rests precariously on a cloud between them. Sometimes there is a seated cupid in the foreground. There is an example in the Mobilier National (Figure 34); another, signed by Jans, was in the Mme C. Lelong sale, Galerie Georges Petit, April 27–May 1, 1903, no. 490,⁶³ and a basse-lisse weaving was in the Cholmeley-Cozette set.⁶⁴

Other *Metamorphoses* subjects are documented only by entries in the 1736 list of cartoons. "Le tableau de *Psyché et l'Amour*, de 4 pieds ½ de long sur 8 pieds de haut," i.e., a narrow upright, was among the "Ruinez" designs. Tapestries of this subject and of similar proportions have appeared in sales in conjunction with pieces known to belong to the series, but unfortunately without illustrations. One was in the Paris 1926 set, when it was described as: "*L'Amour abandonne Psyché*. Psyché est étendue, au premier plan, au pied d'un arbre; un amour



29. Antoine Dieu, *Narcissus and Echo*. Pen and gray ink, gray wash over sketch in red chalk drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statenskonstmuseer)



30. *Zephyr Crowning Flora*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Matthias Plum (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

voltige audessus d'elle. Fond de verdure. Bordure simulant un cadre. Haut., 3m.07; larg., 2.30."

What is apparently another example was in the collection of Mrs. E. M. Glen Coats, sold at Christie's, December 11, 1952, no. 241, with the *Flora Crowning Zephyr* (see note 61). The description reads, in part: "... with Cupid and Psyche depicted in a rocky river landscape with Pan and a Nymph in the middle distance, flowering plants, trees and building in the distance, enclosed in frame-pattern borders . . . 10 ft. 6 in. high, 6 ft. 1 in. wide."

A representation of Cupid leaving Psyche that is consistent with these two descriptions is found at one side of the version of *Diana's Return from the Hunt* that was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, July 2, 1956, no. 123 (Figure 35); pos-

sibly the narrow design of *Cupid and Psyche* has been added to enlarge the tapestry.

If this hypothesis is accepted, a designer can be suggested, as Cupid is close to his counterpart in a painting by Nicolas Bertin, which is in a private collection in Bremen (Figure 36);⁶⁵ Psyche's head and legs are similarly posed in the tapestry and in the painting. On the other hand, the revolutionary jury of 1794 listed two cartoons: "Psiché abandonnée par l'Amour, de Coypel. Sujet Agréable. Tableau rejeté sous le rapport de l'art" and a copy by Belle père (Clément Belle) after Coypel, which was similarly assessed.⁶⁶ The cupid of the scene added to *Diana's Return from the Hunt* (Figure 35) can also be compared to the same god in Louis de Boulogne's painting of *Cephalus and Procris* in the Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, St.-Etienne (Figure 42).

Another entry in the 1736 list of "ruined" cartoons is "Le tableau de *Venus et Adonis*, en quatre bandes de 9 pieds 2 pouces de long sur 8 pieds de haut." The design of this subject is known from examples of the tapestry in *Metamorphoses* sets, including one most recently sold at Sothe-

31. Louis de Boulogne, *Zephyr Crowning Flora*. Oil on canvas. Sold Nouveau Drouot, Paris, March 8, 1985 (photo: courtesy M. Paul Renaud)



32. Antoine Coypel (1661–1712). *Zephyr Crowning Flora*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Palace (photo: Musée de Versailles)





33. *Zephyr Crowning Flora*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Lyons, Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Studio Basset, Lyons)



34. *Flora and Zephyr*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boullogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)



35. *Diana's Return from the Hunt and Cupid Leaving Psyche*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Location unknown (photo: from Hôtel Drouot sale catalogue)

36. Nicolas Bertin, *Cupid Leaving Psyche*. Oil on canvas. Bremen, private collection (photo: from Thierry Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, fig. 46)





37. *Venus and Adonis*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boullogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Sold Sotheby's, New York, June 25, 1982 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

38. Louis de Boulogne, *Venus and Adonis*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Trianon (photo: Musée de Versailles)

by's, London, June 25, 1982, no. 15 (Figure 37).⁶⁷ A painting of the same scene by Louis de Boulogne in the Trianon (Figure 38)⁶⁸ shows the main figures in different poses, but a kneeling cupid seen from the back is so much alike in both works of art that an attribution of the tapestry design to the same artist seems plausible. A related drawing is in the Print Room of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Figure 39); the cupid with his back turned is missing, but the one trying to stop Adonis is close to his counterpart in the Trianon painting. None of the known tapestries bears a weaver's name.

A wider cartoon was that described in the "Ruinez" section of the 1736 inventory as "Le tableau de *Pomone et Vertumne*, en trois bandes de 10 pieds 11 pouces de long sur 8 pieds de haut"; it was presumably the one described by the revolutionary jury as "Vertumne et Pomone par Louis de Boulogne, 3 bandes. Détérioré."⁶⁹ A tapestry of the subject was exhibited by the dealer Lefortier at the 13th Biennale Internationale des Antiquaires at Paris in 1986 (Figure 40);⁷⁰ it has the border with the trophies of love at the sides that is found on several other *Metamorphoses* tapestries (Figures 28, 34, 41, 43).⁷¹ No related paintings or drawings have been located.⁷² The Beauvais tapestry of the same subject also shows Vertumnus as an old woman kneeling before a seated Pomona, but he is seen from the front instead of from the back.⁷³

A companion piece to the *Vertumnus and Pomona* owned by Lefortier in 1986 is a *Cephalus and Procris*, which was also a subject in the 1736 inventory of "ruined" cartoons: "Le tableau de *Céphale et Procris*, en 2 bandes de 7 pieds 4 pouces de long sur huit pieds de haut." An example of the tapestry is in the Mobilier National set (Figure 41). The design has strong points of resemblance, particularly the figure of Cephalus, with the painting by Louis de Boulogne (Figure 42).⁷⁴ Other examples of the tapestry are known, but without makers' names.⁷⁵ The Beauvais tapestry of the same title shows a later event in the story—Cephalus about to throw the infallible spear at Procris.⁷⁶

Another "ruined" cartoon in the 1736 inventory was "Le tableau de *Bacchus et Ariane*, en cinq bandes de 12 pieds de long sur 8 pieds de haut." This was the second-widest cartoon in the series, surpassed only by *Rinaldo*



39. Louis de Boulogne, *Venus and Adonis*. Black and white chalk drawing. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (photo: courtesy Corpus Photographicum, Perroy, Switzerland)





40. *Vertumnus and Pomona*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Lefortier (photo: courtesy C. Potignon-Lafortier)

and *Armida*, eighteen *pieds* wide. It is therefore extremely unlikely that it represented the design of *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* (Figure 5), of which only narrow tapestries have been found. A scene, however, that may be called *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne* appears on tapestries in several *Metamorphoses* sets, including that in the Mobilier National (Figure 43). It is after a painting by Antoine Coypel, made for the duc d'Orléans, Louis XIV's brother, in 1693, or, more probably, from an engraving of the work by Coypel and Gérard Audran (Figure 44).⁷⁷ The original painting has not been located lately (it was in Basel in 1953), but there are many copies, as well as adapta-

tions of the composition in ceramics and enamel.⁷⁸ The tapestry designer changed the garlands and frolicking cupids in the upper part of the painting to a large and improbable piece of drapery and omitted several figures, doubtless to make the tapestry less expensive for private customers; the *officiers des têtes*, the weavers of flesh tones, were more highly paid. No weavers' names have been found on tapestries of this subject.⁷⁹

As previously mentioned, the 1789 memorandum that lists the contents of the king's set of the early *Metamorphoses* (no. 92) includes a tapestry described as: "A Paris: 1 pièce, 3 aunes cours, 2a, $\frac{3}{4}$ haut; bordure, 12



41. *Cephalus and Procris*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Visages de France)

42. Louis de Boulogne, *Cephalus and Procris*. Oil on canvas. St.-Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie (photo: Musée de l'Art et d'Industrie)





43. *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30, after Antoine Coypel. Wool and silk tapestry. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

44. Antoine Coypel and Gérard Audran (1640–1703), *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne*. Engraving. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)





45. *Europa and the Bull*, French (Gobelins), 1714–30, after Sébastien II Le Clerc (1676–1763). Wool and silk tapestry. Calais, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)



46. Edmé Jeauret after Sébastien Le Clerc II, *Europa and the Bull*. Engraving. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962, 62.662.915

pouces: *Jupiter*.” Could this be the *Jupiter and Callisto* of which an example was in the Menier set? Unfortunately, it was not illustrated in the sale catalogue. The description reads:

Gobelins, du début du XVIII^e siècle, présentant une scène tirée de la Mythologie: *Jupiter sous les traits de Diane surprend le sommeil de Callisto*. Dans un paysage boisé, la fille de Lycaon, légèrement drapée, est allongée sur un tertre, le haut du corps reposant près d’un arbre. A gauche, Jupiter sous la forme de Diane, accompagné de trois chiens, contemple Callisto endormie. Au premier plan, des réseaux et des plantes fleuries. Haut. 2 m. 98 cent.; larg., 1 m. 55 cent.

47. *Apollo and Daphne*, French (Gobelins), 1680–1730, after Louis de Boulogne. Wool and silk tapestry. Bayreuth, Schloss (photo: Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser)

No other examples of the tapestry have been located. The Beauvais version of the subject shows both figures standing.⁸⁰

Jupiter in another disguise, as the bull abducting Europa, is also represented in the Gobelins *Metamorphoses* series. The tapestries of this design were certainly made at the Gobelins, as an example in the château of Lunéville is signed by Jans and there is one in the Brandegee set. Another is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais (Figure 45) and there is a wider version in the Scott of Kew Green set, with another nymph on the left and two more girls on the right.⁸¹ Though Jans wove the design, it cannot be the “Jupiter” of the seventeenth-century set, as the figures are from an engraving by Edmé Jaurat, dated 1714 (Figure 46), after a painting by Sébastien Le Clerc II in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk;⁸² a





48. Louis de Boullogne, *Apollo and Daphne*. Oil on canvas. Sold, Sotheby's, New York, January 15, 1987 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

lush landscape in the tapestry replaces the desolate sea-shore of the painting and print. Le Clerc was not born until 1676 and so could not have provided the design for the "Jupiter" of the early set. The Beauvais version of the subject shows a very similar group of figures around the bull, which does not, however, throw its head back, and Mercury in the sky is replaced by a wreath-bearing cupid.⁸⁵

Jans's name also appears on a tapestry with another *Metamorphoses* story, *Apollo and Daphne*,⁸⁴ as previously mentioned, this subject was listed by Fenaille as appearing in the king's 1684 inventory and the style of the known tapestries is consistent with this early date. There is an example in the Bayreuth set (Figure 47), of which the other five pieces represent subjects from the early sets. The composition shows points of resemblance, particularly the figure of the river-god, with a painting attributed to Louis de Boullogne that was sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 15, 1987, no. 104 (Figure 48). A drawing signed L. B. in the Louvre, which does not contain the river-god, has been associated with the painting.⁸⁵ Other drawings that can be compared to both the painting and the tapestries are in the Musée de Grenoble (Figure 49),⁸⁶ the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (attributed to the circle of Antoine Coypel) (Figure 50),⁸⁷ and a private collection in Paris (attributed to Bon de Boullogne).⁸⁸ It seems most probable that Louis



49. Louis de Boullogne, *Apollo and Daphne*. Black chalk heightened with white drawing. Grenoble, Musée (photo: Ifot, Grenoble)

50. Circle of Antoine Coypel, *Apollo and Daphne*. Black and red chalk drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: Statenskonstmuseer)



de Boulogne was responsible for the design of the tapestries, of which other examples are known.⁸⁹

A final subject, not mentioned in any document, that can nevertheless be identified as one of the Gobelins *Metamorphoses* is *Diana and Endymion*, as an example with Jans's name was in the M.X. . . . sale at the Hôtel Drouot, December 16, 1932, no. J, and there is another in the Brandegee set. A wider piece, with a nude child on one side, was most recently sold at Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1980, no. 491 (Figure 51).⁹⁰ A painting, described as "Ecole de Coypel," sold at the Hôtel des Ventes, Fontainebleau, April 26, 1987 (Fig-

ure 52), shows the figures almost exactly as they appear on the tapestries, except that the nude boy is in a different position. Other paintings can be associated with the design. One by Gabriel Blanchard (Figure 53) was made for the Grand Appartement of Versailles before 1701 and is still in the palace;⁹¹ it includes the reclining figure in the foreground and the winged old man, Somnus, who supports the sleeping shepherd, though the latter is in a different position and Diana has her hinds and several companions. A painting by René-Antoine Houasse, made for the Trianon in 1688 and now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Narbonne (Figure 54),⁹²

51. *Diana and Endymion*, French (Gobelins), 1700–30. Wool and silk tapestry. Sold, Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1980 (photo: courtesy Sotheby's, New York)





52. French, about 1700, *Diana and Endymion*. Oil on canvas. Sold Hôtel des Ventes, Fontainebleau, April 26, 1987 (photo: courtesy Jean-Pierre Osenay, Fontainebleau)

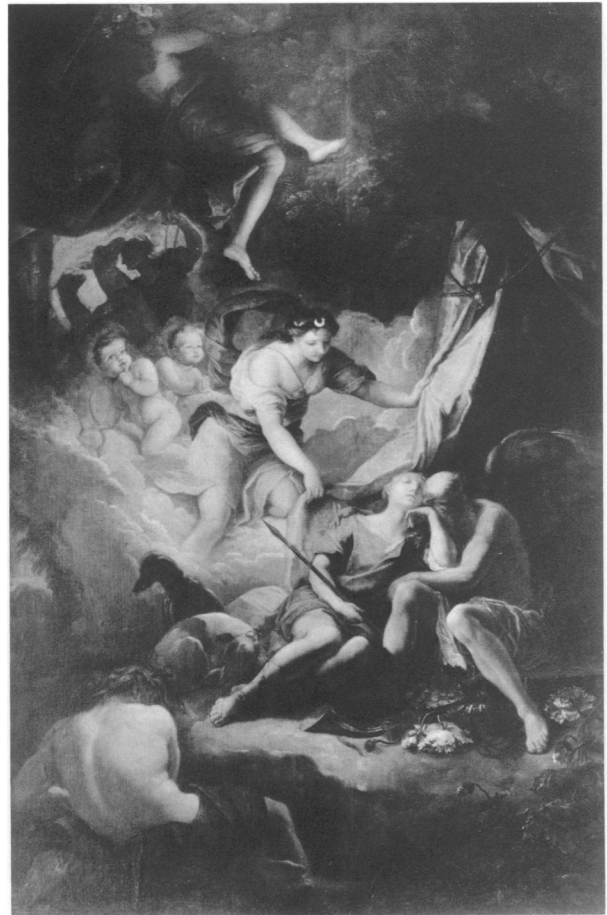
omits Somnus and the foreground figure, but Diana and Endymion are very similar to their counterparts in the tapestries. The curled up, sleeping dog is much the same on all the versions of the subject.⁹³

The idea of showing Endymion supported by Somnus may have been derived from Le Brun. Claude Nivelon wrote in his life of this artist:

De ce même génie [genre?] d'ouvrage pour des tapisseries de ce même temps [about 1658] se voit un tableau d'un sujet d'Endymion, reposant et endormi sur le sommeil dans le moment que Diane ou la lune sur son char tiré de ses biches descend du Ciel. . . . Ce sujet est plus petit que le naturel et est très agréable et riche comme le paysage qui paraît une forêt fort sombre et fraîche étant une nuit pareillement [?] exécutée de M. Belin.⁹⁴

The Beauvais version of the subject, after Pierre Sève, is a totally different composition.⁹⁵

Among the cartoons called "Ruinez" in 1736 were "Une petite pièce pour servir d'Entrefenestre pour la même tenture que Paysage, de 3 pieds de large sur 8 pieds de haut" and "Une autre petite pièce aussy de Paysage sans figures, de trois pieds de long sur huit pieds de haut." Fenaille states: "il existe, au magasin du Musée du Louvre, un fragment de paysage portant la désignation Entrefenêtre des *Metamorphoses*, où se trouve une



53. Gabriel Blanchard, *Diana and Endymion*. Oil on canvas. Versailles, Palace (photo: Musée de Versailles)

54. René-Antoine Houasse, *Diana and Endymion*. Oil on canvas. Narbonne, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (photo: J. Lepage)



fontaine rustique” and that the piece “qui se trouve au magasin du Louvre, représente un paysage avec une fontaine d’architecture.”⁹⁶ This painting can no longer be found in the Louvre.

Several types of borders were used on the *Metamorphoses* tapestries, the most elaborate and attractive being that of the early royal set (Figures 1, 2, 5, 15), with its doves, hens, ducks, dogs, and monkeys on a nearly white ground—“fonds aurore” in the 1684 inventory. This must have been expensive and it does not seem to have been used again. Another lively type has heavy garlands of fruit, interspersed with squirrels, monkeys, birds, and butterflies; this appears on the Metropolitan Museum *Diana and Actaeon* (Figure 14) and the Paris 1933 set. The border with trophies of love in the center of each side (Figures 28, 34, 40, 41, 43) has already been mentioned. The Bayreuth set (Figures 4, 12, 47) has thin sprays of leaves encircled by wide ribbons. The most usual types imitate carved wooden frames but at least a dozen varieties exist. Two or more weavings of the same subject with identical borders are not infrequent, which means that it is impossible to estimate the total number of sets by counting the types of borders.

The *Metamorphoses* is a most unusual series for the Gobelins manufactory. Its size is surpassed only by the twenty-eight subjects of *Don Quixote*, woven steadily from 1717 until the end of the monarchy; this also started as a set made by Jans and Lefebvre for a private customer, but it was later taken over by the king more completely than was the *Metamorphoses*.⁹⁷ It is indeed extraordinary that, compared to over a hundred known pieces of the *Metamorphoses*, only fourteen were made for the king, five of which have been identified. The prime mover in the enterprise would seem to have been Jans; his name is found on tapestries of thirteen different subjects and his letters to Lord Exeter’s servant are the earliest documents connected with the series. Jans was clearly a shrewd man and found ways to profit even in adversity; when the manufactory was shut down in 1694, his colleague Lefebvre wrote to the king that he had been paid fifty *livres* less per *aune* than Jans, although he gave his workers the same wages.⁹⁸

It seems probable that Jans commissioned designs, perhaps only drawings, from several artists in the 1680s, so that he could have a new and interesting series to offer customers like Lord Exeter. Some twenty years later, painters’ work on the *Metamorphoses* cartoons was paid for by the king, perhaps at the instigation of the heads of the basse-lisse workshops, envious of Jans’s

ownership of profitable designs; somewhat belatedly, in 1714, they began a set for the king from the cartoons. There is no evidence establishing the exact dates when individual designs were added to those of the early sets. Most of the tapestries exist in two versions, mirror-images of each other, showing they were woven on both haute- and basse-lisse looms.⁹⁹

As described above, several artists are mentioned in the records as responsible for the designs of the *Metamorphoses* tapestries. Charles de La Fosse is listed for *Acis and Galatea* and *Diana’s Return from the Hunt*; *Bacchus Crowning Ariadne* may also be his design. Louis de Boullogne the Younger is credited with *Rinaldo and Armida* and paintings of his are certainly related to *Apollo and Hyacinth*, *Flora and Zephyr*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Cephalus and Procris*; more tentatively *Cupid and Psyche*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, and *Apollo and Daphne* may be derived from his designs. Nicolas Bertin has *Apollo and the Python* and *Mercury and Argus* to his credit, and *Cupid and Psyche* might be his rather than Louis de Boullogne’s. Other artists are not named in the records, but Antoine Dieu is probably responsible for *Narcissus and Echo* and René-Antoine Houasse may be for *Boreas and Orithyia*, *Pan and Syrinx*, and *Diana and Endymion*. *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne* is from a print after Antoine Coypel and *Europa and the Bull* from one after Sébastien Le Clerc II; these two compositions have many figures. *Rinaldo and Armida*, *Diana’s Return from the Hunt*, and the unattributed *Diana and Actaeon*, all of which also contain a number of figures, may also have been based on prints, but none has been identified.¹⁰⁰ Two subjects in the 1736 inventory of cartoons, *Apollo and the Python* and *Mercury and Argus*, are described as having figures painted by Nicolas Bertin; all the others in this list are either without an artist’s name or merely “d’après” a certain painter. As suggested above, Jans may have acquired fairly simple drawings with at most three or four figures and no landscapes; full-scale working cartoons would then be made from these by artists attached to the manufactory.

Another unusual feature of the series is the great freedom with which the designs were treated; the versions of *Acis and Galatea* (Figures 1, 2, 4) and of *Flora and Zephyr* (Figures 30, 33, 34) are only the most extreme examples of this rather high-handed nonchalance. The ease, however, with which compositions could be widened by the addition of a fountain or a peacock undoubtedly helped to sell sets to private customers who needed pieces to fit their walls. The artists who were directors of the manufactory between 1680 and 1730—Charles Le Brun,

Pierre Mignard, and Robert de Cotte—seem to have exercised minimal supervision over this series. Jans knew what would please his paying customers. While his official looms were turning out the great, solemn scenes of the *History of the King*, the stories of Alexander and Moses, or the Raphael masterpieces of the *Chambres du Vatican* for royal use, he took pains to have lighter, cheaper, less demanding, and more purely decorative designs available that could compete with the commer-

cial products of Beauvais.¹⁰¹ His colleagues evidently followed his lead with enthusiasm. The *Metamorphoses* tapestries show that the change of taste associated with the Régence penetrated even the august workshops of the Gobelins. They also prove that the *entrepreneurs* did a great deal of work for private individuals between 1680 and 1730, foreshadowing the enormous success of the *Tentures de Boucher* in the second half of the eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Eric Till for the privilege of consulting and quoting from his transcriptions of the English letters in the archives of Burghley House, owned by Lady Victoria Leatham, and from his notes on the contents of the French letters. Dr. Till has also kindly sent me extracts from the 1688 Burghley House inventory; he is preparing an account of the fifth earl and his purchases.

2. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1885) I, p. 314. "Aurore" was a very pale yellow (Anne Ratzki-Kraatz, "A French Lit de Parade 'A la Duchesse,'" 1690–1715," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 [1986] p. 99). The *aune* is 1.18 meters; the *pied* is about the same as the English foot.

3. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins* (Paris) II (1903) p. 419; III (1904) p. 121. The latter reference says that the set included "tableaux de Jupiter: Actéon changé en cerf, Apollon et Daphné"; no source is quoted for the third subject. The *pouce* is about the same as the English inch.

4. "L'Etat des tapisseries en haute et basse lisse faites aux Gobelins depuis l'établissement de cette manufacture en 1662, jusqu'au 16 juillet 1691" (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, p. 183, gives the source as Archives nationales, o'2040).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 355. Edouard Gerspach (*Répertoire détaillé des Tapisseries des Gobelins* [Paris, 1893] p. 17) says that Jans's private workshop was "en communication avec la Manufacture au moyen d'une porte intérieure" and that Jean de la Fraye, the basse-lisse *entrepreneur*, had tapestries he was making for private individuals on looms in the Gobelins building in 1694.

7. A. M. L. E. Erkelens, "Vier wandtapijten met Ovidius' Metamorphosen, Manufacture des Gobelins, Ateliers Janss en Lefebvre, van vóór 1684," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 7 (1959) pp. 64–69. The weaver Jean Lefebvre is mentioned because Louis XIV paid for seven sets of tapestries by him and Jean Jans in 1695 (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, p. 420); "quelques Fables des *Metamorphoses*" were included. There is no proof, however, that Lefebvre made any pieces of the king's *Metamorphoses* set. The statement in Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985) I, p. 320, n. 7, that the Amsterdam tapestries have the French royal arms is incorrect.

8. Fenaille, *Etat général* III, p. 122.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 129–131.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124. The author does not mention the appearance of the cartoons in any later inventories.

11. Fenaille, *Etat général* II, pp. 419, 420; III, pp. 121–132. No further references will be given to these pages, which include all the information taken from the Gobelins archives. The author lists fourteen subjects of the eighteenth-century *Metamorphoses* series, twelve of which he describes from tapestries known to him. He illustrates five and gives a list of thirty individual pieces with their dimensions, marks, and locations in 1900.

12. The Cholmeley-Cozette set was previously sold at Christie's, London, May 27, 1948, no. 168. The description of *Acis and Galatea*, which is not illustrated, shows that the design corresponds to one of the Amsterdam tapestries of the subject.

13. Bertrand Jestaz, "The Beauvais Manufactory in 1690," *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1970*, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (1979) pp. 195–204. Since this article appeared, the *Rape of Europa*, then owned by Mrs. Sheldon Whitehouse, has been sold at the William Doyle Galleries, New York, May 7, 1982, no. 69, and acquired by Daniel O. Tomlin, Jr., Dallas.

14. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," p. 195.

15. The known *Metamorphoses* sets are:

SIX PIECES.

1. In the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth.

2. Owned by the Brandegee Foundation, Boston, Mass. It was lent anonymously to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1919 (S. G. F. [Sarah G. Flint], "The Metamorphoses. A Set of Gobelins Tapestries," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 17 [1919] p. 5). A seventh piece, a landscape, is mentioned as "woven to replace a missing original; it has the mark of the Lille manufactory." This set will be referred to as the "Brandegee set."

3. Sold at Parke-Bernet, Feb. 12, 1955, nos. 486–491; four pieces were later in the Mrs. Gaby Solomon sale, Christie's, London, Dec. 2, 1971, nos. 151, 152, and were sold again at Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1982, nos. 12–15. This set will be referred to as the "Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set."

FIVE PIECES.

In the Fouret collection, Paris, in 1900 (Fenaille lists three subjects and illustrates two more). Photographs of

all the pieces are in the Département des Objets d'Art at the Louvre.

FOUR PIECES.

1. Owned in 1900 by Don Francisco de Assisi de Bourbon (1822–1902), husband of Isabella II, queen of Spain, at the château of Epinay, Seine (Fenaille lists the set as owned by the king of Spain). This set will be referred to as the “Epinay set.”
2. In the Bourdariat collection in 1900.
3. In the sale of tapestries from the château of Fontbeauzard, Haute-Garonne, Apr. 20, 1863, nos. 56–59.
4. In the collection of Mme Louis Stern, Paris, in 1900.
5. In the Paul Meurice sale, Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 24, 25, 1926, nos. 232–236. This will be referred to as the “Paris 1926 set.”
6. Sold at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161. This will be referred to as the “Sotheby's 1928 set.”
7. In the X sale, 19 avenue d'Iéna, Paris, Dec. 16, 1933, nos. h–k. This set will be referred to as the “Paris 1933 set.”
8. In the Gaston Menier sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, Nov. 24, 1934, nos. 122–125.
9. The Cholmeley-Cozette set sold in 1948 and 1950 (see note 10).

THREE PIECES (public collections):

1. Cleveland Museum of Art (Katharine B. Malloy, “Three Eighteenth-Century Gobelines Tapestries,” *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 44 [1957] pp. 24–27).
2. Mobilier National, Paris (Guillaume Janneau, “Au Mobilier National: nouvelles acquisitions de tapisseries et de meubles anciens,” *Revue des Beaux-Arts de France* [Dec. 1943–Jan. 1944] pp. 79–99). The set came from a collection in Perpignan (information from Chantal Gastinel-Coural).
3. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais (J. P. Samoyault, “Nouvelles acquisitions d'objets d'art,” *Revue du Louvre* [1968] p. 144).

References to sets of three pieces in private collections and sales, as well as to pairs and single pieces wherever located, are given in the accounts of the different subjects. It is not always possible to say if a set known in the nineteenth century is or is not identical with one recorded later.

16. “Sr. Matthieux” (Pierre Mathieu, 1657–1719) was paid for a copy of *Acis and Galatea* in 1715. Robert-François Bonnart (1652–after 1729) was a pupil of Van der Meulen. The second copy listed in 1736 had the same dimensions and was the work of the same artists.

17. Francis H. Dowley, “Three Drawings by Charles de La Fosse,” *Master Drawings* 2 (1964) pp. 51, 52. The author illustrates the other *Acis and Galatea* tapestry in Amsterdam, not the one more closely related to the painting and drawing. The Prado picture was reproduced in a print by Edmé Jeurat dated 1722, which is too late for it to have been used as the basis for the tapestry design.

18. Margaret Stufmann, “Charles de La Fosse et sa position dans la peinture française du XVIII^e siècle,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, 64 (July–Aug. 1964) p. 108.

19. Examples were in the Paris 1926 and Menier sets. Single pieces were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 26, 1927, no. 114, at Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1966, no. 14 (Jack Franses, *Tapestries*

and their Mythology [London, 1973, pl. 25]), and at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 26, 1982, no. 85.

20. Previously in the Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set. An *Acis and Galatea* in the Meurice set was in two parts, but, as it is not illustrated in the sale catalogue, its design cannot be determined.

21. I am indebted to Chantal Gastinel-Coural for knowledge of this tapestry. The relationship between it and the *Acis and Galatea* design was first recognized by Jennifer Montagu in a private letter to Mme Coural.

22. *Catalogue des Peintures françaises*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (1968) no. 64, pl. 27. Dr. Margaret Stufmann, in a private letter, has said that she does not consider the tapestry to be after de La Fosse.

23. *Dessins du Musée d'Alençon du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle (Alençon, 1981) no. 24. It is said to date from the artist's early period.

24. Per Bjurström, *French Drawings, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Stockholm, 1976) no. 780. With an 18th-century inscription “Eustache le Sueur,” but said to be more probably connected with Le Brun.

25. In Pierre Rosenberg and François Bergot, *French Master Drawings from the Rouen Museum: From Caron to Delacroix*, exh. cat., National Gallery (Washington, D.C., 1981–82) no. 7. Of the two paintings mentioned, the one in Orléans, described as possibly an old copy, is presumably the work attributed to Guy Louis Vernansal (fig. 10). The drawing in Rouen (fig. 9) is close to a painting signed by Louis de Boulogne and dated 1707, once in the château of Aulteribe (Michel Borjon, “La galerie du château de Guermantes,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* 1985 [1987] p. 124, fig. 4 [copy by Pierre-Paul Mérelle, 1708]).

26. Mary O'Neill, *Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, Catalogue critique, Les Peintures de l'Ecole française des XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Orléans, 1980) no. 196.

27. Marguerite Sapin, “Précisions sur l'histoire de quelques tableaux d'Eustache Le Sueur,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1984) p. 57, no. 4.

28. The example in the Paris 1933 set was in the M. B. sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 9, 1936, no. 146, when it was said to be signed “J. Jans.” Others are in the Bayreuth and Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 sets.

29. Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” pp. 197, 198; Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* II, no. 67.

30. He was paid for work on the *Indes* cartoons in 1688 and 1692 and made copies of the Alexander set (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, pp. 168, 371, 380).

31. Sold again at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 9, 1936, no. 146, when it was said to be signed “J. Jans,” and resold at the same auction house, Mar. 24, 1955, no. 115.

32. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* I, no. 48.

33. Other examples are in the Bayreuth and Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 sets. Individual pieces were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Rive Gauche, May 16, 1977, no. 67, and the Hôtel des Ventes, Grenoble, Nov. 24, 1986. One without a border was owned by a dealer, Chevalier, in 1987; this piece and those in the Burghley House and Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 sets

show Actaeon on the right; in all the others, the composition is reversed.

34. Other examples are in the Bourdariat and Parke-Bernet 1955 sets. A single piece with the composition reversed was sold at the National Art Galleries, New York, Jan. 28, 1933, no. 262, with an unusual border of widely spaced grotesques, possibly a later addition.

35. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 11.

36. The artists named, other than Louis de Boulogne, all worked for the Gobelins. Joseph Yvart (1649–1728) became "garde des tableaux" there after the death in 1690 of his father, Baudouin (or Baudrin), who had held the same position. Charles Chastelain (1672–1755) was *inspecteur* from 1732. Belin de Fontenay (1652–1715), the well-known flower painter, was active in the manufactory from 1699. Domenchin de Chavannes (1673–1744) also appears in the Gobelins records (Guillaume Janneau, *La Peinture française au XVII^e siècle* [Geneva, 1965] p. 234).

37. *The First Painters of the King, French Royal Taste from Louis XIV to the Revolution*, exh. cat., Stair Sainty Matthiesen (New York, 1985–86) no. 7. A related drawing in Louisville is reproduced, as well as a smaller version of the painting and an example of the tapestry (called "tapestry cartoon").

38. Antoine Schnapper, "Plaidoyer pour un absent: Bon Boullogne (1649–1717)," *Revue de l'Art* 40–41 (1978) p. 137, fig. 36.

39. Antoine Coypel had a painting with the same title in the Salon, which was later engraved. It shows a very similar scene, but with Rinaldo asleep and not holding a mirror.

40. Examples were in the Epinay, Fontbeauzard, and Stern sets. Others were in the collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild before 1904; sold at the Hôtel Drouot, May 7, 1897; at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161a; in the Krupp von Bohlen und Holbach sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Dec. 5, 6, 1911; sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, Mar. 28, 1968, no. 192; in the Elvedon Hall sale, Christie's, May 22, 1984, no. 1772, owned by the dealer Chevalier in 1986 (Figure 16). An example formerly owned by French & Co. is inscribed "A. C. C. Beauvais," but the guard border on which this appears is an addition.

41. One was formerly owned by the Berlin dealers Altkunst-Margraf, with an elaborate coat of arms in the upper border (Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche. II. Teil. Die romanischen Länder* [Leipzig, 1928] 1, p. 170; 2, pl. 158); others were sold at Parke-Bernet, March 5, 6, 1954, no. 366, from the collection of Mrs. Beverley Bogaert, and at the Nouveau Drouot, Apr. 2, 1987, no. 143, from the collection of Mme Camoin.

42. "Chevreuille" is presumably Robert-François Chevreul (fl. 1676–1714).

43. Stiffmann, "Charles de La Fosse," p. 104, nos. 33, 34; François Bergot, "Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, Récent Enrichissements," *Revue du Louvre* 23 (1973) p. 55, fig. 1. Stiffmann reproduces a version in the National Art Gallery, Toronto. A picture, now lost, of the same subject was painted by de La Fosse for the Trianon in 1688 (Antoine Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon de marbre, 1688–1714* [The Hague, 1967] p. 78, I 13; the author believes the Hermitage picture to be earlier). The suggestion that the Trianon painting was reproduced in the tapestry is mistaken (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries I*, p. 319). A somewhat similar painting by Louis de Boulogne the Younger in the Musée

des Beaux-Arts, Tours, was made for Rambouillet and is dated 1707; Diana holds a bow and there is no nymph untying her sandal (Boris Lossky, *Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Peintures du XVIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1967] no. 17).

44. *Selected Drawings*, exh. cat., Charles B. Slatkin Galleries (New York, n.d.) no. 20a, pl. 25.

45. 7. *Kunst und Antiquitäten Messe* (Hanover, 1975) p. 12, illus. It was in the Château de C. . . sale, Hôtel Drouot, Nov. 14, 15, 1955, no. 345 and the Sir Edward Wills sale, Sotheby's, May 5, 1969, no. 11 (Franses, *Tapestries*, pl. 32). The initials L. F. have been considered to be those of the basse-lisse weaver Jean de La Fraye, but the composition is in the same direction as the known haute-lisse examples.

46. The letter C is said to precede the name "Audran," but this is probably the Gobelins "G." The tapestry was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier with the Mme Lucien Surmont collection, Mar. 15, 1935, no. 14, when the signature was given as "Audran."

47. *Three Hundred Years of French and Flemish Tapestry*, exh. cat., Huntington Galleries (Huntington, West Va., 1966) illus., cover. Other examples were in the Epinay, Fontbeauzard, Stern, and Paris 1926 sets. One was in a set of three pieces with the arms of Scott, baronets of Kew Green, sold at Christie's, June 25, 1933, no. 144. Others were in a sale at the Galerie Georges Petit, May 7, 1897, no. 119; in the Lowengard collection in 1900; in the de Cured sale, Galerie Georges Petit, May 3, 1918, no. 61; and sold at Parke-Bernet, Dec. 10, 1942, no. 134 (from the James Speyer collection). The central group of Diana and four nymphs was copied in Brussels tapestries, with different figures and landscapes at the sides. One signed by Franz van der Borgh was sold at Christie's, May 19, 1931, no. 145, and one with the names of Leyniers and Reydam at the Hôtel Drouot, Mar. 19, 1983, no. 99; others are, or have been, in British collections (information from the Marillier photographic archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum). These were presumably copied from the engraving by Moitte.

48. Thierry Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin, 1668–1736* (Paris, 1981) p. 156, no. 157. The author remarks on the resemblance of Apollo in the tapestry to Louis XIV.

49. Examples were in the Epinay and Fontbeauzard sets and in the Veyvialle collection in 1893. Others were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, May 7, 1897; with the V. Klotz collection at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 21, 1935, no. 78; and at the Palais Galliera, Paris, Nov. 30, 1971, no. 112.

50. Fenaille, *Etat général II*, p. 168.

51. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, p. 94, no. I 66, figs. 56, 57. The author mentions two preparatory drawings in the Louvre. "Apollon et Hyacinthe, par Coypel, une bande" was among the cartoons rejected by the jury set up in 1794 by the Committee of Public Safety to purge the Gobelins and the Savonnerie (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le jury des arts en Septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de L'Art français*, 3rd series, 13 [1897] p. 377).

52. An *Apollo and Hyacinth* was in the Stern set. An example marked "L," presumably for Lefebvre or La Fraye, was in the Anne Keller sale, American Art Galleries, New York, Jan. 25–29, 1923, no. 507. Others were sold at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161d, and with the Vicomtesse Vigier collection, Palais Galliera, June 3, 1970, no. 156.

53. Simon Dequoy (ca. 1665–1727) was a “peintre ordinaire du Roi.”

54. Previously sold at Sotheby's, London, May 17, 1968, no. 12, and at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Los Angeles, Oct. 30, 1978, no. 21. Other examples were in the Epinay, Stern, and Cozette sets and were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Dec. 9, 1909, no. 102; by Sir Lionel Phillips at Christie's, London, Apr. 23–May 8, 1913, no. 105 (sold again at the same auction house Mar. 20, 1930, and owned by an Antwerp dealer in 1986); at Sotheby's, London, May 11, 1928, no. 161e, and in the Francis Guérault sale, Paris, Mar. 21, 22, 1935, no. 141.

55. Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, pp. 133, 134, figs. 10 (painting), 11 (cartoon), 12 (tapestry in Louvre). The painting was lost during World War II.

56. Bjurström, *French Drawings*, no. 356. Dieu is known to have worked for the Gobelins; the *Naissance* and *Mariage du duc de Bourgogne*, from the additions to Le Brun's *Histoire du Roi*, were his work (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, p. 101).

57. The composition with a crouching dog seen from the back in the foreground (fig. 28) is also found on a tapestry stolen from a collection in Neuilly-sur-Seine in Feb. 1986 (reproduced in the *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* 44 [Dec. 12, 1986] p. 47). Most examples of the tapestry omit this dog. That in the Maus collection in 1895 was sold at Sotheby's, May 3, 1939, no. 45. Others were in the Fontbeuzard set; the Veyvialle collection in 1893; sold at Christie's, July 7, 1932, no. 117; at the Palais Galliera, June 15, 1962, no. 153a, and again at the same auction house, Mar. 25, 1969, no. 167.

58. Nicolas Bailley, *Inventaire des Tableaux du Roy rédigé en 1708 et 1710* (Paris, 1891) p. 446.

59. Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des Dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles. Ecole française* (Paris, 1908) II, p. 71, no. 1463. It is inscribed: pour Fontainebleau.

60. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, pp. 28, 29, 94, fig. 53. The Metropolitan Museum owns a drawing for this painting (Jacob Bean, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. [New York, 1986] no. 80).

61. An example in the Paris 1926 set was again sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Dec. 17, 1983, no. 139, and June 25, 1985, no. 171. Another, from the Mrs. E. M. Glen Coats collection, was sold at Christie's, Dec. 11, 1952, no. 241, and one was sold at Parke-Bernet, Mar. 23, 1973, no. 223.

62. François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries. The Reign of Louis XIV* (Oxford, 1977) I, p. 59.

63. The signature is not mentioned in the sale catalogue, but it is recorded by Fenaille (*Etat général* III, p. 131).

64. Another example was in the Fouret set. Others were sold at Sotheby's, May 11, 1928, no. 161b and again at the same auction house, Mar. 3, 1939, no. 146; in the Scott of Kew Green set; at the Palais Galliera, June 5, 1962, no. 153b (from the Mme Pierre Lebaudy collection), and at Sotheby's, July 1, 1966, no. 15 (from the Pannwitz collection).

65. Lefrançois, *Nicolas Bertin*, no. 57, fig. 46. The author dates the painting ca. 1690–1705. A related painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Carcassonne (no. 42, fig. 77), dated 1715–19, is less close to the tapestry. Bertin painted the subject again as one of four overdoors made for Nymphenburg in about 1720, also with

the event in a landscape; the painting is now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Antoine Schnapper, “A propos d'un tableau de N. Bertin,” *Revue du Louvre* [1972] p. 359, fig. 11).

66. Guiffrey, “Modèles des Gobelins,” pp. 374, 376. The latter may well have resembled Antoine Coypel's painting of the subject made in 1701, now at Fontainebleau (Antoine Schnapper, “Le Grand Dauphin et les Tableaux de Meudon,” *Revue de l'Art*, nos. 1–2 [1968] fig. 15), but “Coypel” seems to have been the jury's usual attribution of an anonymous *modèle* of this period.

67. Previously in the Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set. Other examples were in the Fouret set, with a somewhat different design, and the Lowenggaard collection in 1900.

68. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, no. I 6, fig. 6 (miscaptioned). Painted in 1688.

69. Guiffrey, “Modèles des Gobelins,” p. 378.

70. Another was in the Fouret set with no border and without the parrot behind Vertumnus. One with the same border as the Lefortier example, but slightly narrower, was in the F. L. de Yturbe sale, Hôtel Drouot, Oct. 14, 1982, no. 89.

71. Other pieces with this border are the other tapestries of the Mobilier National set, *Bacchus Greeting Ariadne* in the Darland sale, Galerie Georges Petit, May 21, 1907, the *Flora and Zephyr* sold at the Palais Galliera in 1962 and 1969, and the *Narcissus and Echo* stolen from Neuilly-sur-Seine.

72. Nicolas Bertin's painting of 1702–6 of the subject in the Trianon does not show similar figures (Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, no. I 73, fig. 62).

73. Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” fig. 12. An example with the typical Beauvais chinoiserie border was once owned by the dealers French and Co.

74. Schnapper, “Le Grand Dauphin et les tableaux de Meudon,” pp. 60, 63, fig. 6; a preparatory drawing in the Louvre is less close to the tapestry. A version of the painting, attributed to Louis de Boulogne, was sold at Sotheby's, London, Oct. 24, 1986, no. 70.

75. One was in the Fouret set and another, with the same border as the Mobilier National example, but narrower, was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, May 17, 1926, no. 108, and in the Fournès sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 24, 1935, no. 124. Another tapestry with the same border, but slightly enlarged at the top and on the right, was once owned by the dealers French and Co.; it has an incomplete inscription in the upper right corner, “Besniers et Oudry a,” which must be a later addition.

76. Jestaz, “Beauvais Manufactory,” fig. 14.

77. “L'Oeuvre gravée de Coypel. II,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 64 (1984) p. 148, no. 44. It is inscribed: “Inventé peint et gravé à l'eau forte par A. Coypel C. P. R. et terminé au burin par G. Audran 1693.” The revolutionary jury found a “Bacchus et Ariane, de Coypel, 7 bandes,” described as “Hors d'état de servir.”

78. I am indebted for this information to Nicole Garnier, who kindly gave me an extract from her forthcoming book on Antoine Coypel.

79. Other examples were in the Fouret set (without the drunken group of the sprawling faun and his companions) and in the sales of the duc de Vallombrosa, Paris, 1904; of Mme Darland, Galerie

Georges Petit, May 21, 1907, no. 69 (sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, Apr. 6, 1908, no. 60, and at Galerie Georges Petit, June 23, 1925, no. 153); and in the Bienenfeld sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, May 16, 1934, no. 10.

80. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 15.

81. Franses, *Tapestries*, fig. 41. A small tapestry of the same design in the Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseilles, is signed DEVOS F. 1732 (he was a member of a Brussels family of weavers). (J. A. Gibert and Paul Gonzalès, *Le Musée Grobet-Labadié à Marseilles* [Paris, 1930] p. 58. A painting attributed to J.-F. Leclerc in the Musée des Vosges [Epinal] is mentioned as the source of the design.)

82. Antoine Schnapper, "A la recherche de Sébastien II Le Clerc, 1676–1763," *Revue du Louvre* (1973) pp. 243, 245, fig. 6. The author mentions the smaller version in the museum at Epinal. A copy of the painting was in the Comtesse Valdelomar sale, Gebrüder Heilbron, Berlin, Apr. 17, 1913, no. 55, and the design was used on a gold and enamel snuff box of about 1800 by Georges Rémond, sold at Christie's, Geneva, Nov. 11, 1986, no. 402. The gesture of the bull, throwing its head back to gaze amorously at Europa, is found on a painting by Carlo Cignani of about 1680 in the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma, and in one made by Louis de Boullogne in 1697 for the Trianon (Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, pls. 65, 43). It was used by Boucher in an early sketch in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens (*François Boucher*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art [New York, 1968] no. 25).

83. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 17.

84. On a tapestry in the Amory S. Carhart sale, Parke-Bernet, Nov. 21, 22, 1941, no. 445, sold again in the Gaby Solomon sale, Christie's, London, Dec. 2, 1971, no. 152 (the border differs from that of the four-piece set in the same sale). This tapestry is said to be in the Cabinet royal, Rabat.

85. Guiffrey and Marcel, *Inventaire général*, no. 1466. Noted in the Sotheby's sale catalogue.

86. Antoine Schnapper and Hélène Guicharnaud, *Louis de Boullogne, 1654–1733, Cahiers de Dessin français no. 2* (Paris, n.d.) no. 3.

87. Bjurström, *French Drawings*, no. 351.

88. Schnapper, "Plaidoyer pour un absent," fig. 38.

89. Another was in the Parke-Bernet 1955–Sotheby's 1982 set and a wider version was sold at the Palais Galliera, June 27, 1963, no. 123. The latter has a running rabbit on the far side of the river deities.

90. Paired with a *Mercury and Argus*. Both were previously offered for sale at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, Los Angeles, Oct. 30, 1978, no. 20. Other examples are in the Menier and Calais sets.

91. Claire Constans, "Les tableaux du Grand Appartement du Roi," *Revue du Louvre* 3 (1976) pp. 160, 165, fig. 5.

92. Schnapper, *Tableaux pour le Trianon*, cat. I 9, fig. 9.

93. As mentioned, a very similar dog appears on *Mercury and*

Argus (fig. 26), whose master is also asleep, but the animal is missing on the related painting by Bertin (fig. 27). A drawing of a sleeping dog might have been among the stock of useful motifs kept at the manufactory; a comparable instance would be the birds by Pieter Boel (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, I, p. 394). These were recorded by the revolutionary jury as "Quatre vingt-seize études d'animaux par Boëlle. A conserver sous le rapport de l'Art."

94. I am indebted to Jennifer Montagu for the transcription from Nivelon's manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fond fr. 12987). Le Brun's painting, which would appear to have been the actual cartoon, was seen by Bernini at the Gobelins in 1665 (Henry Jouin, *Charles Le Brun et les Arts sous Louis XIV* [Paris, 1889] p. 555).

95. Jestaz, "Beauvais Manufactory," fig. 18.

96. Fenaille, *Etat général* III, pp. 126, 129. The landscapes that have been added to the Brandegee set were made in Lille.

97. The early-seventeenth-century series, the *Story of Artemisia*, woven in the Comans–La Planche Paris manufactory, consisted of some forty pieces (Fenaille, *Etat général* I, pp. 109–199) but this was entirely a weavers' project and a very successful one. The designs were frequently cut and adapted, sometimes so much so that the meaning of the scenes was lost (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries* I, no. 42).

98. Both, however, received the same pension, 600 livres, during the shut-down. The manufactory cost the king 96,000 livres in 1693, 20,120 in 1694 (Fenaille, *Etat général* II, pp. 85, 86). For an account of the financial organization of a royal manufactory, see Pierre Verlet, *The Savonnerie, its History, the Waddeson Collection* (London, 1982) pp. 60–62.

99. The haute-lisse *entrepreneurs* known to have made *Metamorphoses* tapestries in their workshops, beside Jans, are Jean Lefebvre (either the father or the son), who wove *Rinaldo and Armida* and *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, and Michel Audran, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*. The basse-lisse *entrepreneurs* are Jean de La Fraye, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Apollo and the Python*, and *Mercury and Argus*; Etienne Le Blond, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Narcissus and Echo*, *Flora and Zephyr*; Pierre François Cozette, *Acis and Galatea*, *Diana's Return from the Hunt*, *Mercury and Argus*, and *Flora and Zephyr*, and Jean Souët, *Apollo and Hyacinth* and *Rinaldo and Armida*.

100. No print of Charles de La Fosse's *Diana's Return from the Hunt* is known to have been made before 1754.

101. A hundred years later, the comte d'Angiviller, then in charge of the royal manufactures, wrote: "les monarques seuls peuvent aujourd'hui étaler une grande tenture, en sept pièces, comme celles d'*Esther* et de *Jason*"; "quatre pièces de médiocre grandeur" would be adequate for anyone else ("Correspondance de M. d'Angiviller, directeur-général des Bâtiments du Roi avec le premier peintre du Roi Jean-Baptiste Pierre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 3d series, 22 [1906] p. 78, letter of Oct. 11, 1784).