

# Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop

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## 1. THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

In 1930 Max J. Friedländer listed the small Adoration of the Kings in the Altman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1) among the dozen tapestry sets and pieces “die offensichtlich auf Entwürfe van Orleys zurückgehen.” He added: “Zwar kenne ich kein Gemälde dieser Komposition, würde mich aber nicht wundern, zu erfahren, dass van Orley um 1520 ein Gemälde konzipiert hätte, dem . . . der Tapisserie-entwurf entnommen wäre.”<sup>1</sup> But he included in his list of Bernard van Orley's paintings the closely related tiny Adoration of the Kings in the Johnson Collection,

Philadelphia (now in the Philadelphia Museum), as a work of about 1522 (Figure 2).<sup>2</sup> He did not mention a very similar small painting published by Ludwig Baldass in 1944, when it belonged to a Viennese dealer.<sup>3</sup> This work is dated 1533 on the scabbard of the Moorish king's sword, the latest date known on any van Orley painting, but Baldass noted that the Virgin and Child were reminiscent of van Orley's *vorklassischen* style, which lasted until about 1521, when *Romanismus* became dominant.

For the composition of these works, van Orley had turned to another Adoration of the Kings that must have been very well known to him, the tapestry in the

1. Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII (Berlin, 1930) pp. 125–129; the reference on p. 127, note, to the illustration of the Metropolitan Museum tapestry in Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche, I. Teil, Die Niederlande*, II (Leipzig, 1923) should read “Abb. 133.”

2. Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 170, no. 105. The relationship between the painting and the tapestry was noticed by François Monod, “La galerie Altman au Metropolitan Museum de New-York. II. Les sculptures et les objets d'art,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th period 8 (1923) pp. 373, 374. He dated the tap-

estry c. 1525 and said of the painting that it was “dans le goût de Van Orley . . . et d'un style Renaissance un peu moins avancé, première idée ou rappel du carton.”

3. Ludwig Baldass, “Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 13 (1944) p. 187, pl. 160. The picture reappeared in a sale at Sotheby's, London, March 11, 1964, no. 128, and was sold again at the Kunsthhaus Lempertz, Cologne, November 18–27, 1968, no. 34. The differences between this painting and the one in Philadelphia are mainly in the minor figures and the background.



FIGURE 1

The Adoration of the Kings, Flemish (Brussels), about 1525. Tapestry; wool and silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Benjamin Altman, 14.40.706

so-called *Scuola nuova* set, Scenes from the Life of Christ (Figure 3),<sup>4</sup> or the design for it.<sup>5</sup> This is itself an amalgam, for the Virgin, the Child, and one king are adapted from the fresco of the subject in the Vatican Logge, completed in 1519 (Figure 4),<sup>6</sup> and the man in a dark

robe on the right is close to a figure in the Logge Judgment of Solomon.<sup>7</sup> This economical use of material by the heavily burdened Roman workshop, especially after Raphael's death on April 5, 1520, is to be expected, but it is surprising to notice that van Orley was



FIGURE 2

The Adoration of the Kings, by Bernard van Orley. Oil on panel. Courtesy of the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia

4. The resemblance between the *Scuola nuova* tapestry and the Philadelphia painting was pointed out by Wolfgang Krönig, *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1936) pp. 44, 45. The much-debated subject of the three Raphaellesque tapestry sets being made for the papal court in the 1520s—the *Scuola nuova*, the Playing Children, and a set of bed hangings—and the parts played in their design by Giovanni da Udine, Tommaso Vincidor, and Raphael will not be considered here. For a summary of the various contentions, see Philip Pouncey and J. A. Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London, 1962) pp. 80, 81 (nos. 137, 138), 87–90 (no. 155). But support for the theory that the designs for the *Scuola nuova* arrived in Brussels, in whatever form, very early in the decade is provided by the date assigned to the van Orley Adoration of the Kings in Philadelphia. The long-lasting influence of the *Scuola nuova* Adoration of the Kings on Flemish painting has been shown by Fritz Grossman, “Bruegels Verhältnis zu Raffael und zur Raffael-Nachfolge,” *Festschrift Kurt Badt zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage*, ed. Martin Gosebruch (Berlin, 1961) pp. 135–143, and by Georges Marlier, “Lambert Lombard et les tapisseries de Raphael,” *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger* (Ghent, 1968) pp. 247–259.

5. Van Orley was suggested as the painter of the cartoon for the *Scuola nuova* Adoration of the Kings by D. R. de Campos, “La tapisserie vaticane de l’Epiphanie, une oeuvre inconnue de Bernard van Orley,” *L’Illustrazione Vaticana* 3 (1932) pp. 32–34. The au-

thor’s sketch purporting to show the letters *BO* on the collar of the kneeling king on the right is not convincing. It may be doubted whether van Orley, who had been named court painter to the regent of the Netherlands in 1518, would have undertaken some years later to make a full-scale cartoon from another man’s drawing, even if that man was believed to be Raphael himself. The attribution is, however, considered possible by Krönig, *Italianische Einfluss*, p. 19. The much-repeated story that van Orley supervised the production of the papal tapestries, though possibly true, is not supported by contemporary documentation. It rests on the statements by André Felibien that van Orley “a fait exécuter tous les Tapisseries que les Papes, les Empereurs, et les Rois faisoient faire en Flandres d’après les desseins d’Italie” (*Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellents Peintres*, II [London, 1705; 1st ed., 1666] p. 254) and by Roger de Piles that he “a eu le principal soin de faire exécuter celles du Pape, et des Souverains de ce tems-là, sur les Desseins de Raphael” (*Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres* [Paris, 1699] p. 355). Both authors may have been influenced by what they knew to be the situation at the Gobelins manufactory, where the weavers were subordinated to an artistic director; this was a new arrangement, never known in Brussels.

6. This relationship was noted by Francesco Filippini, “Tommaso Vincidor, scolaro di Raffaello e amico del Dürer,” *Bollettino d’Arte* 8 (1928–1929) pp. 309–324, figs. 4, 8, who attributes the fresco tentatively to Vincidor.

7. Krönig, *Italianische Einfluss*, p. 19, note 7.



FIGURE 3

The Adoration of the Kings, Flemish (Brussels), 1520–1530. Tapestry; wool, silk, and metal thread. Vatican, Rome (photo: Alinari)

also able to use the Logge design; the figure on the far left in his paintings and tapestry is not in the *Scuola nuova* tapestry, but is derived from the standing St. Joseph in the Logge fresco.

How did van Orley know this fresco, which apparently was not engraved at an early date?<sup>8</sup> It is of course possible that he had seen it on his trip to Italy, if he ever made one, but far more likely that he worked from

a drawing, such as the one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Figure 5).<sup>9</sup> Perhaps a substantial number of Raphaelesque drawings were in Brussels in the 1520s. Though full-scale cartoons for the Acts of the Apostles (the so-called *Scuola vecchia*) had been prepared in Rome and had made the journey to Flanders some years earlier, by 1520 the Raphael workshop may well have learned (doubtless to its great relief—and to that of the

8. Marcantonio Raimondi's Logge prints (B. XIV, 4 ff.) do not include it. The many engravings of the Logge frescoes ("Raphael's Bible") given in Herman Dollmayr, "Raphaels Werkstatt," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 16 (1895) p. 292, all date from the seventeenth century or later.

9. Catalogued as probably a copy of the Logge painting. K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Mu-*

*seum*, II, *Italian Schools* (Oxford, 1956) no. 656. The figure on the left is called a king, but it is clear in the Logge painting that two kings, carrying their gifts, and the third, kissing the Child's foot, are all on the right, so that the man standing on the left, opening the foremost king's vase, must be St. Joseph. He is shown in a similar position, holding a vase, in the Giottesque Epiphany in the Metropolitan Museum.



**FIGURE 4**  
The Adoration of the Kings, by a Raphael follower. Fresco. Logge, Vatican, Rome (photo: Anderson)

**FIGURE 5**  
The Adoration of the Kings, probably copy of Logge fresco. Ink over black chalk, heightened with body color, on paper. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum





papal treasury) that this labor and the expense of shipping such large and fragile objects were unnecessary. Frederick Hartt has convincingly argued that Giulio Romano and other assistants, working under Raphael "as a kind of stage director," did all the preliminary work for the Acts, down to the actual outlining of the cartoons, but that the color was entirely put on by Raphael himself.<sup>10</sup> This was not the customary Flemish procedure; here the designer made what was apparently a fairly finished small drawing, which was then reproduced either by the designer himself or by another artist as a full-scale cartoon on paper, ready to be cut up by the weaver.<sup>11</sup> The coloring could be very summarily indicated.<sup>12</sup> The many extant fragments of the cartoons for the *Scuola nuova* tapestries (including six in the Metropolitan Museum) are catalogued as School of Raphael or School of Giulio Romano, but it is quite

possible that they were all painted in Brussels after drawings brought from Rome.<sup>13</sup>

Van Orley treated his sources fairly freely. The portions of his design that appear in the *Scuola nuova* tapestry but not in the Logge fresco, especially the extended pose of the king who kisses the child's foot, with his spiky crown on the ground beside him, and the king striding forward on the right, have been skillfully abstracted from the mass of figures in the huge Vatican tapestry and balanced against the single figure on the left from the Logge design. In a few details, the van Orley tapestry is closer to the Vatican tapestry than are his two paintings. The most noticeable of these are the left hand and leg of the king who kisses the Child's foot; the king's almost bare foot, with the great toe separated from the others as he braces himself to sustain his position, is, however, not from the same figure

10. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I (New Haven, 1958) pp. 19, 20.

11. The *locus classicus* for the procedure was in the accounts for 1513 of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament at Louvain, a record of payments for a Legend of Herkenbald tapestry now in the Cinquantenaire Museum, Brussels. The document no longer exists. It was first published in Edward van Even, *Louvain Monumental* (Louvain, 1860) p. 181, notes 2-4, and lists payments for the preliminary drawing and for the cartoon: "*Item*, betaelt meester Jan van Brussel, te Brussel, van den ontwerpe daer ons patroen na gemaekt es: 2½ Rhynsgulden. . . *Item*, betaelt Philips, den schilder, van dat patroen te maken: 13½ Rhynsgulden." Philip was also paid half a guilder for bringing the *patroen* to Louvain and hanging it in the church, presumably so that the purchasers could see what the finished tapestry would look like in place. Thousands of words have been written about this document and the artists named in it, but, for determining the preliminary steps in sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry making, the important point would seem to be that the *ontwerp* (often translated *petit patron*) was comparatively cheap and that there was not necessarily an intermediary stage between it and the *patroen*, such as the small colored renderings that are documented for later periods. The weaver of the Herkenbald tapestry (called both Lyon and Leon in the account) received little more than the cartoonist; his itemized bill amounted to 18 guilders, exclusive of the gold thread, from which a small tip was to be given to the men who actually sat at the looms, "den cnaepen die 't werk wirken." That the *ontwerp* was a small black-and-white drawing can be presumed from the fact that many such drawings for tapestries by van Orley, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, and other designers have survived, but no small colored sketches from the sixteenth century comparable to those made for tapestries by Rubens or Boucher. It should perhaps be noted that G. T. van Ysselsteyn does not believe the Louvain document refers to the Herkenbald tapestry (*Tapestry, the Most Expensive Industry of the XVth and XVIth Centuries* [The Hague, 1969] p. 107).

12. The cartoon for Pieter Coecke's Martyrdom of St. Peter in the Hôtel de Ville, Brussels, is in grisaille with touches of green and red; other color names, such as gold or blue, are written in. Georges Marlier, *Pierre Coeck d'Alost* (Brussels, 1966) p. 318.

13. These could have been taken to Brussels in 1520 by Tommaso Vincidor (Ernst Diez, "Ein Karton der 'Giocchi di Putti' für Leo X. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Raffaelwerkstätte," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 31 [1910] p. 33). Vincidor, writing to Leo X on July 20, 1521, said that he had made twenty cartoons ("Io o fato vinti chartoni") for the Playing Children, but added: "Vere che non porne [possono] eser tute lavorate de mia mani. Io disegno [sic] lo tuto lo ordinatia lavoro la piu parte sulicito per l'onore de V.S." (Eugene Müntz, "Un collaborateur peu connu de Raphaël, Tommaso Vincidor de Bologne," *La Revue de l'Art* 6 [1899] pp. 336-338). The designs for the Playing Children, however, have been connected with Giovanni da Udine; if this is correct, Vincidor's "disegno" could have been the outlining of the cartoons, taken from small drawings he had brought with him, while he left the coloring to local artists under his supervision.

The minute dimensions of the *Scuola nuova* cartoon fragments are puzzling. The strips into which cartoons were divided by the weavers were much larger; each of the huge cartoons of the Acts, for example, was divided into only four or five pieces (John Pope-Hennessy, *The Raphael Cartoons* [London, 1950] p. 7). Perhaps they were intended to be souvenirs. At least one fragment, the Head of a Mother from the Massacre of the Innocents in the British Museum, shows the arbitrary straight cuts that might have been made in the tapestry workshop, but these have been rejoined so as to make a complete head (Pouncey and Gere, *Italian Drawings*, no. 138). But others are unattractive morsels, meaningless in themselves. The fact that a number of the fragments have the collector's mark of Richardson Sr., who died in 1745, shows that they were in their present form by this date (information kindly provided by Jacob Bean).

in the Vatican tapestry, but from the left foot of the striding king.

More interesting, in fact, than van Orley's borrowings is what he has done with them, especially in his tapestry. In the paintings, he has added a figure, the somewhat ridiculous king sprawled across the steps, but in the tapestry the strong diagonal leading into the third dimension has been far more satisfactorily provided by changes in the height and posture of the man on the outer left. The gentle Joseph of the Logge and the stolid attendant of the van Orley paintings have been transformed into an impressive, red-armored giant, looming up on one side like the warrior in the wing of van Orley's triptych of 1521 in Brussels that shows Job's flocks being stolen. The composition of the tapestry, as compared with the paintings, has been not only simplified but intensified, made more compact and telling, more concentrated on its exact center, the Child. Like other van Orley designs known in both painted and woven versions, the tapestry is far the more effective.<sup>14</sup> Van Orley, a second- or third-rate painter, was a first-class tapestry designer. Tapestries, in fact, perhaps should not be designed by supreme artists, just as the best ballets are danced to music by Scarlatti or Chopin, not Bach or Beethoven. Charles Le Brun, not Poussin, Boucher, not Fragonard, Bernard van Orley, not Raphael, were the painters who

provided the groundwork for the greatest masterpieces of their fellow craftsmen, the weavers of tapestries.

## 2. THE STORY OF MERCURY AND HERSE

A set of eight tapestries called *The Loves of Mercury* was owned by the rulers of Savoy in the eighteenth century, when it was attributed to Raphael.<sup>15</sup> A single piece, representing Mercury changing Aglauros into stone and leaving Athens by air, survives in the Quirinale, Rome;<sup>16</sup> this shows that the set was a version of the *Story of Mercury and Herse*, of which two pieces from another weaving were bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum by George Blumenthal in 1941 (Figures 6, 8).<sup>17</sup>

This famous series well deserves an extended study, but all that will be attempted here is to show that the attribution to Raphael was not quite as farfetched as it appears, even if only the two pieces in the Metropolitan Museum are considered. The *Bridal Chamber of Herse* (Figure 6) is based on the print by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio after Raphael of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* (Figure 7);<sup>18</sup> especially close are Herse herself, the stool at her feet, and the cupid removing her sandal. *Mercury Changing Aglauros to Stone* is less clearly Raphaellesque, but the event takes place in a

14. As was pointed out by Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 141, instancing the central panel of the Haneton triptych in the Brussels Museum and the Lamentation tapestry in the National Gallery, Washington.

15. Mentioned by Eugène Müntz, *Les Tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican et dans les princéaux Musées et Collections de l'Europe* (Paris, 1897) p. 57, as presumably in the palace at Turin, "mais nous savons que jamais Raphaël n'a traité un sujet analogue."

16. Mercedes Ferrero-Viale, "Essai de reconstitution idéale des collections de tapisserie ayant appartenu à la Maison de Savoie au XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *La Tapisserie flamande au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels, 1960) p. 290, fig. 1.

17. The literature on the published sets of the series is fairly extensive, but somewhat superficial. One set is complete, though scattered. It was owned by the Spanish de la Cerda family, dukes of Medinaceli; all the pieces are illustrated in José Ramon Mélida, "Les tapisseries flamandes en Espagne. Les Fables de Mercure," *Les Arts anciens de Flandre* 1 (1905-1906) pp. 169-171, and the same author's "Una tapicería inédita," *Forma* 2 (1907) pp. 242, 244-251. The duchess of Dénia, who is frequently named as the owner, was a dowager duchess of Medinaceli, given another title in 1882. Two pieces of this set are in the Metropolitan Museum, two are in the

Prado (Antonio Blanco Freijeiro, "La tapicería de la fábula de Aglauro," *Arte Español* 25 [1963] pp. 11-17), and one each in the collections of the duchess of Híjar, the duke of Lerma, the duchess of Cardona, and the duke of Medinaceli. Six pieces of another set are in Barcelona (F. Duran Canyameras, "Els tapissos de l'Audència al nostre museu," *Butlletí Museus d'Art de Barcelona* 7 [1937] pp. 367-384). The Quirinale piece and one in the Château d'Espéran, Saint-Gilles, Gard, represent another set, and a fourth is known only from the photograph of a single piece, the *Bridal Chamber of Herse* that was at one time in the possession of Karl Haberstock, art dealer to Hitler (information kindly provided by Georg Himmelheber). The last-named tapestry corresponds in its main features to the other examples, but almost all the ornamentation on walls, draperies, costumes, and accessories has been replaced by plain surfaces. Even the vase of flowers on the cornice in front of a cupboard has been omitted. No borders are shown.

18. B. XV, p. 95, no. 62. The print was also used by Hendrick Goltzius for his illustration of the story in a set of 52 plates by R. W. de Baudous for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (early editions, 1589-1615). F. W. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, VIII* (Amsterdam, n.d.) p. 130, nos. 10-61.

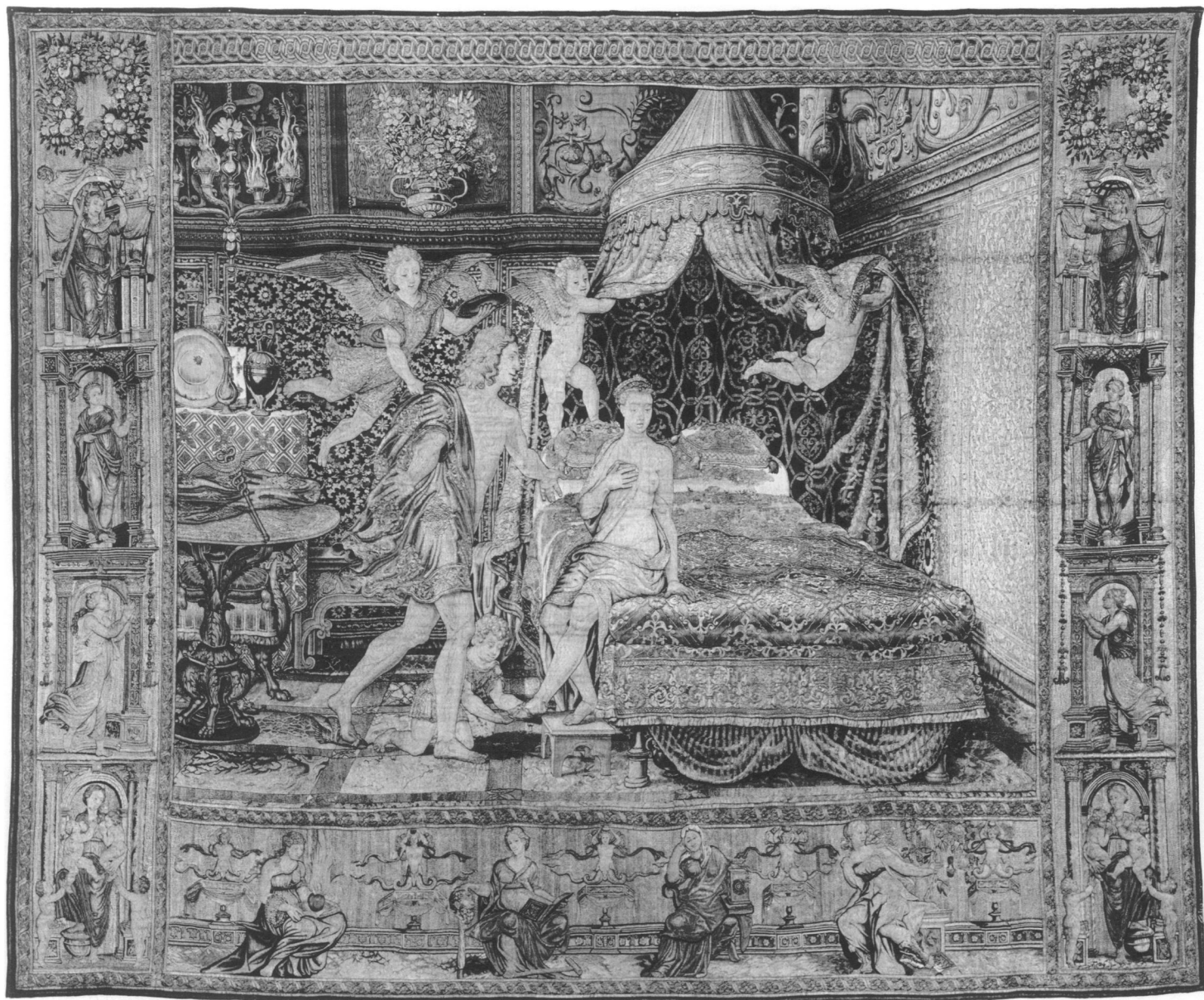


FIGURE 6

The Bridal Chamber of Herse, Flemish (Brussels), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, about 1550. Tapestry; wool, silk, and metal thread. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George Blumenthal, 41.190.135

setting derived from that of St. Paul Preaching at Athens in the tapestry series of the Acts of the Apostles (Figure 9). The steps, the high building behind them, and, especially, the temple on the right, with the pedimented entrance between the columns and the half-concealed statues in niches, are similar in both works

of art. Though the main actors are entirely different, the figures on the right in both tapestries, seen only to the waist, have a certain resemblance, and the head of Herse's father, Cecrops, in the doorway of his palace is like that of the bearded man on the far left of the St. Paul cartoon.



But it was probably the borders of the tapestries that were more instrumental in bringing Raphael to mind.<sup>19</sup> The vertical borders show the three Theological (Figure 6) and the four Cardinal Virtues (Figure 8) that were originally designed in Raphael's workshop for the Sacrifice of Lystra and the Blinding of Elymas in the Acts of the Apostles tapestries.<sup>20</sup> The border with the Theological Virtues was actually woven as one piece with the Death of Ananias, but it has been shown that

this was not Raphael's intention.<sup>21</sup> All the borders to the Acts of the Apostles were as carefully planned iconologically as the central subjects, and their lighting schemes were arranged to suit the place where each tapestry would be hung in the Sistine Chapel. Raphael, in fact, was thinking as a muralist, not as a tapestry designer. Such foresight and precision would have been unimaginable in Flanders, where tapestries, however complicated iconologically, were still considered hangings to

19. Or Giulio Romano. George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1925) p. 133.

20. A fourth woman was added to the Theological Virtues, probably to make these borders resemble more closely those on the other tapestries of the set. She has no attribute on the left side

but holds a sword on the right, and so is presumably Justice, who, of course, is also in her proper place among the Cardinal Virtues.

21. John White and John Shearman, "Raphael's tapestries and their cartoons," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958) pp. 210, 211, 219–221.

#### FIGURE 7

The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana, by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, after Raphael. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Purchase, 17.50.16–8





FIGURE 8

Mercury Changing Aglauros to Stone, Flemish (Brussels), workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, about 1550. Tapestry; wool, silk, and metal thread. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George Blumenthal, 41.190.134

be put up and taken down according to the need for what might be called instant splendor. The cartoons for the borders to the Acts evidently arrived on separate pieces of paper (none is known to survive) and without adequate instructions for assigning them to their correct central subjects. The weaver, Pieter van Aelst, allotted the Cardinal Virtues and some of the other borders correctly, but he misplaced many of them.

The borders to the Acts are said by Vasari to have been designed by Giovanni Francesco Penni. The Theological Virtues at least had already been used by the workshop elsewhere. They appear in the Logge of the Vatican, and Charity is also closely related to the same Virtue in the Sala di Costantino, finished by 1524. This

fresco is attributed to Giulio Romano;<sup>22</sup> a drawing (Figure 10) in the Ashmolean Museum has also been given to him, but is catalogued as a copy after either the fresco or another drawing.<sup>23</sup> The tapestry designer has added a second standing child, a mirror image of the one in the fresco and drawing, to balance the group.

The lower borders of the Metropolitan Museum tapestries are filled with a more enigmatic assembly, but these figures also have a connection, though somewhat remote, with the Raphael workshop. They appear first

22. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, p. 49, note 18, pl. 78.

23. Parker, *Italian Schools*, no. 665.

on the version of the Acts of the Apostles woven for Philip II (now in the Spanish National Collection) to replace the original lower borders showing scenes from the history of the Medici. They were also used on the Acts set made for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, now at Mantua; a Moses set in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; an Adam and Eve set in the Bavarian National Museum; and a Hannibal set, of which four pieces are in the same museum and three in the Bargello, Florence. There is no evidence to show whether they were

designed in Rome or in Brussels, but the latter city seems a far more probable place. They were planned, of course, to harmonize with the Raphaelesque vertical borders.

No coherent scheme has been discerned for these figures, which include, on tapestries not in the Metropolitan Museum, such heterogeneous personifications as Architecture, Abundance, and Fortune, as well as the Labors of Hercules and the story of Prometheus. It is not even possible to identify positively each figure

FIGURE 9

St. Paul Preaching at Athens, by Raphael. Tapestry cartoon, sized colors on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Crown Copyright





FIGURE 10

Charity, copy of fresco by Giulio Romano. Black chalk heightened with white. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum

on the two tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>24</sup> but, on the Bridal Chamber, they are, from left to right, possibly Love or Faith, with a burning heart and garlands; Fortitude or Courage, with the head of Holofernes and the hammer of Jael (Figure 11); Temper-

24. The following identifications have been taken, with some exceptions, from Elisabeth Mahl, "Die 'Mosesfolge' der Tapisseriensammlungen der kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 63 (1967) pp. 7–38. For most of them, other interpretations are possible.

ance, with a clock (an emblem more typical of northern than of southern symbolism); and Diligence (the words "Diligentia est" are written on her book in the Vienna example). The first figure on Mercury Changing Aglauros to Stone is an unidentified woman with a ewer and an eagle; then comes Peace, with an olive branch and a tame lion; possibly Victory, seated on a trophy of arms; Hope, with her anchor; perhaps Fortune, holding a sphere; Luxury or Vanity, with an ape and a mirror; and possibly Obedience, with a bundle of twigs.<sup>25</sup>

The Raphael borders, apart from their beauty, are interesting for the influence they apparently had on Flemish tapestry borders in general. The late medieval Brussels tapestry border before the arrival about 1516 of the Raphael cartoons shows most commonly a design of flowers and fruit, sometimes with birds; when (rarely) there are figures, they hold inscribed scrolls explaining the main subject, or are related at least peripherally to the main subject, like the Tree of Jesse round the Baptism of Christ of about 1500–1510 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Raphael's intention was, as has been mentioned, to make the connection between subject and border much closer, but, paradoxically, his designs had exactly the opposite effect. For the borders to the Acts, with their "grotesque" features, were a type of "modern" art that, unlike the main subjects, could be easily and highly successfully taken into tapestry design. Though the figures were unnamed, the symbols showing them to be Virtues, Elements, Seasons, Hours, and other not too difficult abstractions would have been comprehensible to customers and the more literate of the heads of weavers'

25. These figures were probably the inspiration for another group found on several borders, such as those to the Abraham set at Hampton Court, which have their names inscribed beside them; they are even more wildly mixed, including such conceptions as Tyrannis, Resurrectio, Acceptatio, Consolatio, Trinitas, and Pugna.

FIGURE 11

Fortitude or Courage, detail of Figure 6



shops. But their subtle connection with the subjects of the Acts tapestries was not understood, and they were assigned apparently almost at random to the different pieces.<sup>26</sup> From this time on, it becomes difficult to find a Flemish tapestry border that is related to the subject it surrounds. It can even be fantastically inappropriate,

like the beautiful children beating drums, walking on stilts, riding cockhorse, bowling hoops, and embracing each other round the van Orley Lamentation in the National Gallery, Washington—or the Christian Virtues framing scenes of illicit love and the vengeance of a pagan god in the Story of Mercury and Herse.<sup>27</sup>

26. The Flemish designers would have been accustomed to similar discrepancies in the borders of manuscripts and contemporary printed books. A striking example is the frontispiece to Erasmus's New Testament of 1519, where the text of Leo X's letter to him is surrounded by Venus, Cupid, Apollo pursuing Daphne, and other pagan figures. Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York, 1969) p. 206.

27. Other sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum connected with the Raphael workshop are a panel of grotesque ornament with Minerva and the Doria coat of arms (Eleanor B. Saxe, "A Tapestry in the Kane Bequest," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 [1927] pp. 72–74, ill.). The series to which this piece belonged has been attributed, at least in part, to Amico Aspertini (A. M. Louise E. Erkelens, "Rafaëleske grotesken op enige Brusselse wandtapijtseries," *Bulletin van het Rijks-*

*museum* 10 [1962] pp. 115–138), but the older attribution to Perino del Vaga remains more convincing. Two smaller tapestries with grotesques (Stella Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New-York*, IV [Paris 1927] pl. xv) are certainly designed by a Fleming, perhaps Cornelis Floris, but they illustrate the popularity and the suitability for tapestry of the grotesque style that originated in Rome. Two rather crude pieces, probably from a Life of St. Paul set made at the end of the century (D. F. Friedley, "An Important Bequest of Tapestries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 10 [1915] pp. 247–252, ill.), have figures taken from the Blinding of Elymas and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes in the Acts of the Apostles series. The borders show reminiscences of the grotesque style and include Mars and Venus in chariots.