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Displays of Medici Wealth and Authority: The Acts of the Apostles and Valois Fêtes Tapestry Cycles

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DISPLAYS OF MEDICI WEALTH AND AUTHORITY: THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
AND VALOIS FÊTES TAPESTRY CYCLES

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Art History
in the College of Arts & Humanities
and in the Burnett Honors College
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

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Thesis Chair: Margaret Ann Zaho, Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

The objective of my research is to explore Medici extravagance, power, and wealth through the multifaceted artistic form of tapestries vis-à-vis two particular tapestry cycles; the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Valois Fêtes*. The cycles were commissioned by Pope Leo X (1475-1521), the first Medici pope, and Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589), queen, queen regent, and queen mother of France. The motivation for such a project lies in analyzing what is traditionally considered as two independent tapestry cycles by revealing their social, religious, political, and artistic significance through the powerful dynastic influence of the Medici. As Leo and Catherine were both aware of the contemporary social environment, their commission of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Valois Fêtes* exemplify the Medici streak for ambition, familial dependence, and triumphalism.

As Leo X (r. 1513-1521) governed from Rome, Catherine de' Medici (r. 1547-1559) presided over the French throne for nearly fifty years in some capacity. Both Medici enjoyed access to the wealth associated with the Papal Curia and Valois royal household accounts, respectively, investing an enormous sum on the tapestry cycles, only one of the numerous artistic commissions procured during the sixteenth century. Heedless of their iconography and embellishment, the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* testify to the wealth and power wielded through their patron's accessibility and resourcefulness to procure an estimable and luxurious commission.

DEDICATION

For Nanny.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic Overview

Prominent throughout history, the art of weaving transcends even the most auspicious and desirable of art forms. Manifold in function and design, textiles provide shelter, comfort, warmth, and decoration. Through a compilation of materials and strategic iconography, tapestries, in particular, synthesize wealth, collaboration, and ulterior motivation.¹ Favored by the wealthy, it is not uncommon for a noble or monarchical figure to house a tapestry storage room in their manor or castle, much less to carry a chamber of hangings in their baggage as they traverse amongst their provinces.² However, before a tapestry is hung by a wealthy patron, displayed in a military encampment or paraded in marital ceremonies, it must undergo the process of conception and collaboration.

While it is difficult to identify the provenance of Western tapestries, much less global hangings, several origin stories lend to the evolution of their manufacturing process. Tales suggest that flax was found early in the Garden of Eden while India was the first to harvest

¹ Francis Paul Thomson, *Tapestry: Mirror of History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1980), 11. William Morris (1834- 1896), pre-Raphaelite and founder of the Merton Abbey Tapestry Workshops in south London defines 'tapestry' as something that "may be looked upon as a mosaic of pieces of colour made up of dyed threads, and is capable of producing wall ornament of any degree of elaboration within the proper limits of duly considered decorative work." See also, pg. 11 and 12 for the *Novo Dizionario* and *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historic Principles* definition of 'tapestry.'

² Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 98. Such is the case in April 1435 when Philip the Good traversed from Dijon to Arras and Lille with four carts full of tapestries, not including those of his wife's, Isabella of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy, who possessed two carts containing tapestries. The only carts Phillip traveled with more than tapestries contained jewels, of which there were three carts. Thus, his ventures support the assertion that they acted as a desirable and popularized art form that contributed to both decoration and functionality.

cotton.³ Meanwhile, the Greek hero, Hercules, inadvertently discovered purple dye when his canine bit into purpura (seashell) along the Mediterranean, thus leading to the luxurious and desirable murex or Tyrian purple dye. In China, Empress Si Ling-Chi cultivated mulberry trees, providing an international array of materials that allude to textile manufacturing.⁴ An elaborate history exists as to the origin of dye pigments, of which the many that have existed for centuries derive from Persia, India, and Afghanistan, as well as the Americas.⁵ The confluence of materials from disparate regions and happenings in time attest to the international and collaborative nature of the art, including that of cartoons.

Built upon wool, linen, hemp, cotton, or silk, the most popular choice for warp (vertical fibers) is wool. Meanwhile, weft (horizontal fibers) derives from many of the same materials as warp with the addition of gold and silver. Just as the preferred choice of warp, the most common choice for weft was wool as its structure and support made it a viable option for longevity. However, the striated integration of silk and metallic threads in the wool portend the wealth of the commission.

³ Thomson, *Tapestry*, 21. As origin stories go, tapestries read as art made available by God or the Gods, depending on the origin story one supports. This supposition follows credence that the raw materials provided by deific figures allow mortal beings to utilize such materials sourced by personages of the metaphysical dimension.

⁴ Ibid., 21-22. The myth of Empress Si Ling-Chi (alternatively known as 'Leizu' or 'Xi Lingshi') and the discovery of silk is as follows; Empress Si Ling-Chi adventitiously dropped silkworm cocoons into a bowl of steaming water (or tea) upon which she perceived strands of silk unraveling from the cocoon. As an effect of her discovery, she began intensive cultivation of mulberry trees, thus establishing the sericulture industry. See also, Elena Phipps, *Looking at Textiles: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), 70-71 for a historical and technical overview of silk.

⁵ Ibid., 219-221. Traditional base pigments consist of blue, yellow and red. A familiar blue hue derives from *Isatis tinctoria* (woad), which differs in saturation according to the age of the plant. *Isatis tinctoria* is not to be confused with the *Indigofera* plant which yields indigo. Yellow dye stems from various plants, yet the plant most frequently utilized is the *Reseda luteola* (dyer's weed). Yellow descends from the flower pistils of the *Crocus sativus* plant in which the raw material, saffron, is utilized in dye and paint pigment. Meanwhile, red is sourced from a variety of different plants, including *Rubia tinctorum* (dyer's madder), *Caesalpinia echinata* (brazilwood), *Kermes vermilio* (kermes) and *Dactylopius coccus* (cochineal), of which kermes and cochineal are the most popular, with cochineal attaining celebrity status in the early-mid-16th century through trade and importation. See also, Phipps, *Looking at Textiles*, 20, 30-31, 39, 42, 51-54 for more information regarding dyestuffs.

Previous to Raphael's contribution to the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry cycle (1515-1520), tapestries were executed in clustered and haphazard forms, featuring a conglomeration of figures, flora, and fauna set amidst a rich monochromatic background such as in the *Stole with the Martyrdom of St. Catherine* circa 1200 (Figure 1) and the *Lady with a Unicorn* cycle circa 1490 – 1500 (Figure 2).⁶ Gothic tapestries, characterized as lacking realistic spatial depth, are typically attributed up to the year 1400, whereas, the production of Medieval tapestries range from 1400 to 1510. Thus, the *Acts of the Apostles* hangings identify as the first true Renaissance tapestry cycle with the apotheosis of Renaissance tapestry production closing in the late sixteenth century.

As Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) (1475-1521) governed from Rome, Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589) presided over the French throne for nearly fifty years in some capacity. Both Medici enjoyed access to the wealth associated with the Papal Curia and Valois royal household accounts, respectively, investing an enormous sum on the tapestry cycles, only one of the numerous artistic commissions, each procured during the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding the Papal States' and France's severe debt when they died nearly fifty years apart, Leo and Catherine's tapestries were, and continue, to hang for special occasions. Heedless of their iconography and embellishment, the *Acts of the Apostles* (1515-1520) and *Valois Fêtes* (c.1575) tapestries testify to the wealth and power wielded through their patron's accessibility and resourcefulness to procure an estimable and luxurious commission.

The objective of my research project is to explore Medici extravagance, power, and wealth through the multifaceted artistic form of tapestries vis-à-vis two particular tapestry cycles;

⁶ See Figure 1: *The Stole with the Martyrdom of St. Catherine* and Figure 2: *Sight, Lady with a Unicorn*, both of which exemplify previous tapestry standards for wealthy patrons, as evidenced by the inclusion of silk.

the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Valois Fêtes*, commissioned by Pope Leo X (r. 1513-1521), the first Medici pope (Figure 3), and Catherine de' Medici (r. 1533-1589), queen, queen regent, and queen mother of France (Figure 4). The motivation for such a project lies in analyzing what is traditionally considered as two independent tapestry cycles by revealing their social, religious, political, and artistic significance through the dynastic power and ambition of the Medici. As Leo and Catherine were both aware of the contemporary social environment, their commission of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Valois Fêtes* exemplify the Medici streak for ambition, familial dependence, and triumphalism.

1.2 Goals and Methodology

I have utilized the University of Central Florida's library collection for sources from Pope Leo X and Catherine de' Medici to modes of weaving and courtly festivities. I have employed the use of the library's online databases and interlibrary loan service to obtain texts that are not centrally located. I conducted primary research on the *Valois Fêtes* tapestries, on display in the Cleveland Museum of Art in Cleveland, Ohio. Further, I traveled to New York in Spring 2019 to research a copy of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries manufactured in England. Further, my approach is from a sociopolitical cultural context: understanding of the artistic standards, cultural traditions, and competitive, hierarchical atmosphere, both in regard to artists and their patrons. Throughout this research project, I have researched the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Valois Fêtes* tapestry cycles independently in terms of their provenance, while then approaching their analogous nature through the basis of the sixteenth-century European climate in which they were created, such as courtly festivities, religious conflicts, political alliances, global trade, and disparities within artistic patronage.

CHAPTER 2: SIXTEENTH CENTURY EUROPEAN CLIMATE

2.1 Tapestry Production

Typically sketched roughly on paper, the initial step in a tapestry commission begins with choosing an artist to design the cartoon for the tapestry. A cartoon, from the Italian *cartone*, describes a full-size drawing made on sturdy paper, used as a *modello* for stained glass, paintings, or tapestries. The artist works in conjunction with the patron to develop the cartoon, paying heed to the patron's desired subject and audience. Upon notification of the sponsor's satisfaction with the design, the *cartoni* travel to the patron's choice of legwerker, or weaver, and atelier. As the cartoon artist continues to produce the tapestry sketches, the master legwerker, and his assistants, given instructions to purchase the required fibers and dyes, work assiduously to prepare the loom with the chosen materials. With the loom fully prepared, and the cartoons cut into strips and applied either under or onto the loom, weavers begin working the weft threads into the warp threads.⁷

Historically, tapestry cartoons elucidate relatively sparse decorative detail. The commission for the cartoons, expected to represent preliminary designs led to an individualized contribution on the weaver's part in the way of embellishing the figures' adornments or borders for the sides of the tapestries – even establishing the cycle's color program. Drawings such as Jan Boudolf's *portraits et patrons* for *The Angers Apocalypse* tapestry cycle circa the 1370s (Figure 5) or Antoine Caron's *petit-patrons* for the *Valois Fêtes* tapestries embody the traditional role of the *cartoni*. During the Medieval period, it was typical for outside sources,

⁷ Maurice Painzola, *Tapestry* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co, 1974), 38, 119. Cartoons were only cut into strips and inserted under the warp of a basse-lisse loom, not a haute-lisse loom. For an haute-lisse loom, cartoons were temporarily placed behind the warp to trace, in India ink, the silhouette of the cartoon onto the warp.

such as Italy or France, to offer the cartoon commission directly to the master weaver and their workshop; however, it was entirely possible for legwerker's to create a small rough sketch directly before beginning a tapestry, rather than creating a cartoon as a transitional element integrated with the loom.

It is essential to understand the variety and laborious nature of the art of tapestry weaving. Favored in the Renaissance, two looms took precedence above any other; the haute-lisse loom and the basse-lisse loom.⁸ The haute-lisse loom is a high-warp loom constructed with vertical warps (Figure 6). While favored over the base-lisse loom, one would be fortunate to weave only three yards in one year if employing the haute-lisse loom. Thus, although the high-warp loom encompasses more of the weaver's time, fewer errors typically occur.⁹ Meanwhile, the basse-lisse loom, constructed as a low-warp loom, utilizes both a horizontal warp and foot pedals (Figure 7).¹⁰ Regardless of the type, a Renaissance loom entails a robust wooden framework; a set of two handle, ratchet and pawl mechanisms'; two rollers – one to store warp and the other to wind the warp; long, parallel threads; with the ability to alternate threads easily.

⁸ Eric Broudy, *The Book of Looms: A History of the Hand Loom from Ancient Times to the Present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 60-62. The haute-lisse and basse-lisse loom do not account for the innumerable variations in looms. For further information on looms employed by varying global cultures, refer to Broudy, *The Book of Looms*, chapters 2-7.

⁹ Weavers of Orlando, discussion with Madison Clyburn, Westminster Winter park, September 15, 2018. The haute-lisse loom lacks the treadles that a basse-lisse loom has, thus the haute-lisse loom allows for more control since the atelier can employ both hands; one to manipulate the warp while the other can pass the bobbins back and forth.

¹⁰ Thomson, *Tapestry*, 29. Evidence traces the basse-lisse loom back to Egypt in 6,000 B.C.E when linen was woven to wrap mummified bodies. There were three royal spinning mills during that time in Memphis, Panopolis, and Thebes that were popular for their textile production, especially in linen.

2.2 The Art and Functionality of Tapestries

The existence of tapestries, both as an art form and as a metaphor is substantiated in antiquity. Principally evident in frescoes and pottery from extant Egyptian and Greek art; depictions of women dyeing fibers and weaving at the loom (Figure 8 and 9) reverberate throughout these ancient works.¹¹ The artistic form imitates its mythic and literary counterpart, such as in Homer's *The Odyssey* where Penelope, wife of Odysseus, remains awake to unweave her day's work at the loom, beginning the next morning anew to deter the suitors that assault her daily (Figures 10 and 11).¹² This source specific reference to classical antiquity undoubtedly influences Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, later influencing Romans and Florentines alike.¹³ Allusions to tapestry weaving also appear in numerous ancient texts such as the Bible's Old Testament Book of Exodus and the *Njál Saga* written circa 1280 B.C. in Iceland.¹⁴

¹¹ See Figure 8: *Weavers, Tomb of Khnumhotep* and Figure 9: *Archaic black-figure lekythos*. The Archaic black-figure lekythos depicts several women weaving together. Flanked by women on either side, two women stand in the center; one is weaving, the other is batting down the weft. While it is difficult to discern what the figure on the right is occupied with, the two women on the left are dyeing fibers for the loom. Both extant works, historical in rendering complete what women would look like weaving, support the notion that tapestry has prevailed as a functional and decorative art form for millennia, which provides ample sources of influence for both artists and patrons in the Renaissance.

¹² See Figure 10: *Telemachus and Penelope at the Loom* and Figure 11: *Penelope with the Suitors*. The *Telemachus and Penelope at the Loom* vase, mature in its stylization from earlier Greek examples, depicts Telemachus standing to the left with a stylized toga while holding a distaff (a stick intended to hold fibers that have been cleaned and prepared for spinning), looking down at his mother. Penelope sits to the right on a stool, with a forlorn expression, while her chin rests upon her hand. Behind the two figures is a large unfinished loom. The vase provides an early pictorial example of classical antiquity with weaving at the center of its tale. Meanwhile, Pinturicchio's painting, which overlooks a bustling port, connotes Penelope in the midst of weaving at a large loom as her lady sits next to her, ignoring the hoard of suitors that attempt to crowd into the room. Created in 1509, just a few years before Raphael began the Pope's tapestry cartoons, it is suggestive of the resplendent literary and mythic influences that weaving procured in other artistic forms.

¹³ Luba Freedman, *Classical Myths in Italian Renaissance Painting* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 188. Also employed by figures of myth, Philomela utilizes the art of narrative tapestry in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, after her brother-in-law, Tereus, rapes her and cuts out her tongue in the vain that she does not tell her sister. Even without a tongue, Philomela was determined to make her sister, Procne, aware of what had transpired. Alas, she labored, and she wove until she finished a tapestry that illustrated what had happened to her and sent it to her sister. This tale represents only one of the numerous literary references that exemplifies a tapestry's narrative position in classical antiquity.

¹⁴ Exod. 26:1-6. See also, Anonymous, *Njál's Saga*, Translated by Robert Cook (London; New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 2001), 149. *Njál's Saga* centers around two friends Njál Porgerisson, a lawyer and sage, and Gunnar Hámundarson, a warrior. Describing events related to blood feuds in the Icelandic Commonwealth from 960 to

When the completed tapestries arrived at their destination, it was customary for them to hang in a public space as the hangings would assert the monarchs wealth, superiority, and character as perhaps a soldier, a person of formidable faith, or charitable disposition. Textiles were also extremely functional, particularly in Renaissance culture, as they acted as wall coverings, bed canopy's, door hangings, saddle covers, and clothing, effectively warming a drafty stone room, offering luxury to a newly married couple, or establishing one's wealth in the selection of fabric for a bodice or cloak. Aside from personal use, tapestries were often utilized to enhance societal standing such as when Cosimo de' Medici purchased a twenty-piece cycle of the *Story of Joseph* to adorn the Sala dei Dugento in the Palazzo Vecchio shortly after his international marriage to Eleanora de Toledo.¹⁵ Another example of their functional design is evident in Henry VIII's vast collection of tapestries which he utilized to decorate a number of his residences.¹⁶ Meanwhile, fostering conjugal celebration, Catherine de' Medici exemplified the use of tapestry as gift giving when she commissioned a tapestry canopy for Charles III in honor of his marriage to one of her favorite daughters, Claude de Valois.

1020, the saga, written in Old Norse, includes an early example of weaving outside of the popularly referenced Greek and Egyptian examples. In Chapter 157 titled *Darraðarljóð* (or *The Battle of Clontarf*), twelve Valkyries weave together, to choose those who are destined for death in the Battle of Clontarf. The following is an excerpt: "there he (Dorrud) saw women with a loom set up before them. Men's heads were used in place of weights, and human entrails in place of the warp and woof; a sword served as the treadle and an arrow as the batten. They spoke these verses: Is this web woven/ and wound of entrails,/ and heavy weighted/ with heads of slain;/ are blood-bespattered/ spears the treadles,/ iron-bound the beams,/ the battens, arrows:/ let us weave with our swords/ this web of victory!"

¹⁵ Belozerskaya, *Luxury*, 107-109.

¹⁶ Guy Delmarcel, "Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court Review," *Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (Dec. 2009), 506-507. An avid tapestry collector, Henry VIII also inherited hundreds of pieces when he became king. At the time of his death in 1547, there were approximately 2,770 tapestries recorded in his inventory. Of the tapestries in his collection, some were inherited, some were gifted, some were purchased directly from the market, and some were commissioned in which 1,060 were verdure or hunting scenes; 530 were religious; 410 featured classical history; 230 figured classical mythology; and the last 180 depicted allegories. For a more complete reading on Henry VIII's tapestries, and the Tudor's history of tapestry collecting, refer to Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court Review* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

2.3 Renaissance Costumes

The clothes one chose to adorn oneself in were hardly picked on a whim; instead, they were craftily chosen to reflect the status of the wearer and fashions of the time. Clothes were also crafted explicitly for special occasions and entertainments. In reference to Renaissance costume, the costumes of sixteenth-century France from the unrestrained luxury and grandeur from Francis I and Henry III favored velvets, silks, gold, silver, lace, ruffles, and jewels, while those from quattrocento Italy, aside from luxury fabrics, favored the depiction of classical wear. For the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* tapestry cycles, a short account of the fashions present in the series' proves valuable as they both exemplify common humanist interests that also narrow the production period of the *Valois* tapestries.

The stylized figural forms, more so seen in the *Valois* tapestries, portends the notion that the clothes chosen to dress the participants are a reflection of sixteenth-century contemporary interests in costume studies. As Francis Yates proffers, costumes reflect geographical interests by representing various nations.¹⁷ The interest in costume precedes the twenty-first interest in national and international fashions. For instance, Flemish artist, Abraham de Bruyn published *Costumes of the Various Nations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America* (Figure 12) in 1577 as well as a new and larger edition in 1581 that included plate presentations of costumes for both men and women nationally and internationally.¹⁸ Such a costume guide would have been commonplace in an atelier since they were often referenced

¹⁷ For more information, see Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Routledge & K. Paul: 1975), 3-16.

¹⁸ Aside from de Bruyn, Lucas de Heere crafted a manuscript on nations and their costumes from across the world. See, Lucas de Heere, *Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens divers, tant anciens que modernes, diligemment depeints au naturel par Luc Dheere peintre et sculpteur Gantois*, 16th century, manuscript, Ghent University Library, Belgium. <https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog?q=rug01%3A000794288> for digital access to his costume book.

when a patron desired a particular form of dress or otherness. Moreover, the “specific items of costume retain not only a specific and enduring financial value...but also the vivifying magic which attaches both to a theatrical part and to the figure which the part embodies”; further exemplifying the importance of costume in the age of Renaissance tapestries.¹⁹

The *Acts of the Apostles*, while not reflective of contemporary sixteenth-century cultural dress, express the Italo-Renaissance ardor for classical Roman wear, particularly the toga, for which the costume upheld the state’s “representation...with the emperors themselves, unto the last day’s of Rome’s undivided splendor.”²⁰ Just like its social hierarchy, so to were clothes appropriated by one’s station. While seemingly a simple subject, there are a variety of togas that were worn by Roman citizens: a few of which are the toga pretexta, worn by priests and magistrates; the toga picta, worn by military generals; the toga trabea worn by the elite; and the toga pura, a toga available for wear by any Roman citizen.²¹ Aside from the pictorial depictions of the toga in Leo’s tapestry cycle, the inclusion of sandals and calceus, a short boot or shoe and wreaths, of which there is a variety, relate the classical influences and appropriation of the *all’antica* in Italo-Renaissance culture.²²

¹⁹ Peter Stallybrass, “Worn Worlds: Clothes and Identity on the Renaissance Stage,” in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 294.

²⁰ Thomas Hope, *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), xii.

²¹ *Ibid.*, xli-xlii.

²² *Ibid.*, xiv. While wreaths were frequently worn as trophies and identified people worthy of recognition, there were a variety worn by people from different backgrounds for a number of reasons. The *corona castrensis* (shaped as a palisade – presented to the first person to enter an enemy’s camp), *corona muralis* (shaped as a battlement – presented to the first to scale the walls of a besieged city), civic crown (made of oak leaves – presented to one who saved the life of a fellow citizen), and the naval crown (made of *rostra* – presented to the first person to board an enemy vessel) form a concise account of the different wreaths favored by both Greeks and Romans.

Reminiscent of the fashions of Henry III, there were “two ways of dressing, one in the manner of the king, the other following a trend which was particularly international.”²³ Henry III, who established the court trend for short and long cloaks, *reîtres* that fall to the heels, perfume, cosmetics, and luxury muffs, favored what were typically decorative objects reserved for females.²⁴ Headgear was especially prominent in the daily dress of French aristocratic life. Aside from the widow’s cap, which Catherine de’ Medici made current after the death of her husband, the velvet cap, or *escoffion* (Figure 13), and a cap with an *aigrette*, decorated in the front with “jewels, a beret, or a broad-rimmed hat” in which the hair was held back by a circlet, were made familiar.²⁵

Countries like Spain and Poland influenced Valois court fashions in the form of the Spanish body (Figure 14), also called a quilted bodice; a busked or cone-shaped corset. Spanish influence also came in the way of a *vertugadin* or *farthingale* (Figure 15) which is a large roll of padding worn under the skirt, different from a *vertugade*, or hoop skirt, worn frequently during the reign of Francis I. While women wore these garments when Charles IX was king from 1560-1574, they were also common during the reign of Henry III, and so their presence in the tapestries abets to identify a more refined period of production.

²³ André Blum, *Costume of the Western World: The Last Valois 1515-1590*, translated by D. I. Wilton (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1951), 11.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

2.4 Courtly Festivities

An allegorical microcosm of power and refinement, courtly festivities reigned as a supreme form of entertainment, which mirrored the high standard to which elite courts relied on the strength of song, dance, and spectacle to enthrall a myriad of guests. The growing interest in classical antiquity throughout Europe contributed to the employment of festive imagery from musical mermaids to *all'antica* herms. Utilized for special occasions such as for the celebration of a marriage, the birth of a male heir, a papal mass, or to impress political ambassadors, festivities at court enchanted the beholder through sheer splendor and exaggeration, a trait often exhibited by the wealthiest of Renaissance patrons.

Behind their peripheral brilliance, court festivities transformed into metaphysical representations in which:

the tremendous ambitions of court entertainment during the mature Renaissance focused on the effort to recapture that celestial music and to realize its harmony in the setting of the palace. If magic by definition is the imitation through signs of that which the manipulator wants to bring about, then the recovery of the cosmic harmony was the persistent, supreme end of aristocratic magic... [which] under Ficinian influence, court spectacle would extend [its] enchanting power to the other arts joined with it in performance.²⁶

As Renaissance court etiquette evolved from Macrobian-Ficinian theories of music and Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, court life further solidified under an absolutist rule, especially in France under Henry III who predominately held court in the Loire valley within the Ile-de-France and a scattering of Parisian palaces.²⁷ The transitory nature of royal courts allows

²⁶ Thomas Greene, "Magic and Festivity at the Renaissance Court: The 1987 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture," *Renaissance Quarterly*, no. 4 (1987): pp. 645-646.

²⁷ Tomlinson, Gary, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 137-138. Macrobian-Ficinian theories on music embraced musicality's effect on the individual and its musical and textual synthesis as well as its interconnectedness with the human spirit. Ficinian's notion of music

for their association with mobile theaters in that they are a principal source for executing compound social and political roles, such as with other dignitaries.²⁸ Aside from the fluid performative nature inhibited by court attendants, the same transient archetype is applied to the physicality of the royal court; such is the case for “French nobles [who] lived peripatetic lives, traveling constantly between their holdings, their neighbors’ chateaux, and the royal mobile court.”²⁹ While the French court was comprised of different social stratifications, the discrepancies exhibited between the rich and the poor, the titled and the nameless, allowed for social and political gain for the nameless as well as an opportunity for the exhibition of titled. Thus royal courts allowed for a medley of people from various class stratifications who were united by their bodily participation and responses.

While the aforementioned court tendencies are more frequently applied to secular royal courts, such as that of the Valois household, aspects of such decadent secularization can be found within the papal court that thrived within the bosom of Roman life. As the papacy was directed by ecclesial narrative, the court of Leo X differed from that of Henry III and Catherine de’ Medici. Nonetheless, it was rich with abundant feasts, celestial music, joyous jesters, and exotic animals.³⁰ Pope Leo, known to have utilized his “gardens as settings for banquets and concerts...set aside a circle within the shadow of the woods for a secular court to which ladies were admitted and in which poets recited their compositions.”³¹ Papal coffer and guest accounts

supported the idea that the “effects of sounds, words, and music originate (at least in part) in their motions and airy substance.”

²⁸ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁰ Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Nashville: J.S. Sanders & Co., 1998), 28-29, 83, 89, 120-122.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 89.

relate the exuberant display of festivities held at Leo's court. Such tales of concerts, buffoonery, and theatrical events tell of a vibrant yet spiritually minded court that embraced both the ecclesial and the temporal to alleviate political tensions that beleaguered Leo and his pontifex.

2.5 Religious Conflicts

The sacrosanct subject of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries commissioned during a time rife with religious pressure and challenges, prompts a concise analysis of such contributory events. Challenge arose in the guise of German theologian, Martin Luther, who directly opposed the Catholic church in his *Ninety-Five Theses*, in part because of the special indulgence Leo X crafted to aid in the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica, for which the purchaser was granted impunity from purgatory, and instead, immediate admittance to Heaven.³² With Luther's proclamation declared at Wittenberg Castle church in the year 1515, Leo X's newly appointed ecclesial role came into question.³³ Moreover, Leo aimed to defend not only the Catholic church but himself as the divinely elected pope through visual representations, further buttressing his claim to the Church. Regardless of Leo X's issuance of the *Exsurge Domine* (Arise, O Lord) bull

³² Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 1996), 337.

³³ Henry Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934), 419- 422, 432, 437, 445, 451. Specific occurrences powerful enough to splinter the workings of Western Europe's Christian church are difficult to allay. However, six functional categories have been established to sufficiently organize the numerous and complicated events that led to the Reformation. They are as follows; (1) the surge of an absolutist political policy and the emergence of a secular state of mind; (2) the clash between the medieval church structure and the European absolutist states; (3) the much needed reform of several popular religious practices and ecclesiastical tendencies; (4) the Renaissance intellectual contribution to the Reformation; (5) the impossible position of the church to adjust its structure and practice to the needs of a new age; (6) and finally, an intense and dangerous state of mind oriented around patriotism. Also, deemed heretical through his attack on the Catholic church, Martin Luther's foremost concern related to the nature of salvation and his desire for reform within both church and state. Thus, the crux of Luther's protestation on the church is evident through his argument that faith alone – not good works – is enough to save a Christian soul. The most heretical of his theses, Luther's sixth thesis openly declares that the pope lacks the power to expunge guilt except by declaring that only God remits it. Thus, Luther directly defies church doctrine in that God gave Peter the power of the keys unto which he, and his descendants, could bind and loose.

of 1520 and later the bull of excommunication in 1521, Lutheranism spread quickly and successfully through the combination of "nationalist sentiment, dissatisfaction with religious practices, and antagonism toward Rome."³⁴ The religious reformation that ensued riled most of Europe, enabling conflicts later in the sixteenth century such as the Wars of Religion, a series of wars that would facilitate Leo's great-niece, Catherine de' Medici's vicarious return to Florence.³⁵

As such, the Wars of Religion were a series of eight wars between 1560 and 1598 that followed an increase in tensions between French Protestants — led by the House of Bourbon, and staunch Catholics – led by the House of Guise.³⁶ The ensuing hostilities between the Valois

³⁴ Ibid., 451.

³⁵ It is critical to understand that while I write only of religious dissent in the time of Rome under Leo X and France under Catherine de' Medici, religious animosity was rampant and much more intricate and widespread than what can be captured within the bounds of this paper. For instance, tensions between Spain and the Netherlands and Spain and England are not accounted for, which, of course, portend to disputes between Spain and France.

³⁶ Lucas, *The Renaissance*, 678-690. See also, Musée Protestant, "The Eight Wars of Religion (1562-1598)," *Musée Virtuel du Protestantisme*. Accessed 15 March, 2019. <https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-eight-wars-of-religion-1562-1598/>. The first war (1562-1563) commenced at the massacre of Vassy when Duke Francis of Guise murdered a mass of Protestants who had come together for a service held in a barn. Both Anthony of Bourdon and Francis of Guise died before the second war began. The Peace of Amboise (March 1563) which followed, decreed that Calvinism would continue wherever it had already been established, aside from in Paris. The second war (1567-1568) is marked by the Surprise of Meaux, a conspiracy in which Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, planned to capture King Charles IX. Warfare occurred on both sides and ended with the battle at St. Denis when the Catholics were defeated and their leader Montmorency was killed. The Edict of Longjumeau (March 1568) was signed in March and certified peace between Catholics and Huguenots. Influenced by Spanish oppression in the Netherlands, the third war (1568-1570) saw that Catholics were financed by Philip II of Spain while Protestants were funded by Elizabeth I of England. Two distinct battles mark the third war; the battle of Jarnac (March 1569) and the battle at Moncontour (October 1569) where Henri III was victorious over both the Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Coligny, respectively. The Edict of Saint-Germain (August 1570) provided Huguenots with freedom of worship within certain cities of refuge and equal opportunities within governmental posts. St. Bartholomew's Day massacre marked the fourth war (1572-1573). After the assassination of Coligny and other Protestant leaders, 4,000 civilians were massacred with the result being that Henri of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were forced to convert to Catholicism. The fourth war came to an end with the Edict of Boulogne (July 1573), which restricted Protestant services to only three towns; La Rochelle, Nîmes and Montauban. The following wars, while not as widespread or gruesome, are still worthy to mention. The fifth war (1574-1576) was wrought with tension as Henry III's brother, the Duke of Alençon, formed a league with Protestants and moderate Catholics, called the Malcontents. The war ended when Henry III succumbed to pressure put forth by the Malcontents with the Edict of Beaulieu (May 1576). The edict granted Protestants further rights, including religious freedom. As Catholics were unhappy with the situation, the sixth war (1576-1577) arose from difficulties that surrounded the Edict of Beaulieu. The Estates General met and abolished the previous edict. Due to conflict and a lack of funding, compromise was struck in the Edict of Bergerac/Poitiers (September/October 1577), which restricted Protestant worship to one town within one

monarchy, Huguenots, and the Catholic league resulted in the ruination of the Valois dynasty. Perhaps, the best way to perceive the atrocities of war is from the Politique perspective, a growing party in sixteenth-century France; that is, an aristocratic and Humanistic derived notion that one must be willing to bend in order to achieve peace and prosperity for the state rather than religious unity at the cost of the state.³⁷ It was only with the Edict of Nantes and the Treaty of Vervins in 1598 that Henry IV successfully brought an end to the hostilities led by the Spanish Philip II.³⁸

2.6 The Tradition of Political Accords

Leo's reign as pope procured a golden age in the arts and sciences; nevertheless, his papacy was plagued by political provocations. Elected in the hope that peace would ensue during his office, a much-needed respite after the corrupt Borgia popes and the warrior-like Pope Julius II, conflict, nonetheless, soon arose. With the recently reinstated power of the Medici in Florence in 1512, Pope Leo X strove to cocoon all of Italy in his political domination bolstered by God and the supposed security of Nepotistic acts. Due to the scarcity of living

judicial district on the basis that the districts were restored to the Crown after six years. The seventh war (1579-1580) developed after Henry, Prince of Condé overtook the local La Fère while Henry of Navarre took possession of Cahors in southern France. The war ceded with the Treaty of Fleix (November 1580) which essentially confirmed the Edict of Poitiers. The eighth and final war (1585-1598) saw Henry of Navarre in control of France's southern provinces while the Catholic League controlled the northern provinces. The Treaty of Nemours (July 1585) allowed Protestants six months to leave France or adhere to Catholicism. As an effect, Protestantism declined and Henri III and his family were expelled to Blois on May 12, 1588. After a period of exile, Henri III joined forces with Henry of Navarre to take back Paris. As Henry was assassinated, the years from 1590-1598 provided Henry of Navarre the time needed to recapture Paris, convert to Catholicism, become king, receive absolution from the Pope, end the war with Spain, and instill religious coexistence.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 678.

³⁸ The Edict of Nantes and the Treaty of Vervins fortified freedom of religious worship within established French provinces, allocating one town in each district for those of the reformed faith to practice freely and safely. Catherine's Edict of St. Germain (1562) is similar in that she also allowed Protestant's limited space, but space nonetheless, to worship without persecution.

Medici family members and the significant chance of premature death, Leo's goal of a central political power failed before it could even commence.³⁹

Political alliances, of course, could also come in the form of marriage contracts. Leo, who wished to secure the Medici's survival and Francis, who coveted political authority throughout Italy, arranged the marriage between Leo's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, and Francis' cousin, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne. While their lives were short and their marriage even shorter, they produced one daughter, Caterina Maria Romula de Medici (1519-1589), before their death in 1519. Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), poet, and friend to Catherine's father, wrote the following ode in which he acknowledged the hope that Lorenzo and Madeleine's marriage failed to attain. It is as follows:

A single branch, buds and lo,
I am distraught with hope and fear,
Whether winter will let it blow,
Or blight it on the growing bier.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, about a decade after Leo X's death, another martial agreement was struck between King Francis I and Pope Clement VII. As such, just as Madeleine traveled from

³⁹ Vaughan Herbert Millingchamp, *The Medici Popes (Leo X and Clement VII)* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1971), 134, 138, 265-266. Upon his election as pontiff, Pope Leo X relied on nepotism to strengthen Medicean power and influence throughout Italy. Turning to the few remaining family members he possessed, Leo deemed his brother, Giuliano de' Medici, Gonfaloniere of the Church and his nephew, Lorenzo, governor of Florence. Giuliano married Princess Filiberta of Savoy in 1515 but died just one year later. Meanwhile, Lorenzo was married to Madeleine de la Tour in 1518, yet they both died due to illness in 1519. Just before their deaths, Madeleine produced one daughter, Catherine de' Medici, the future queen of France. Both Giuliano and Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici, Leo's cousin, later Pope Clement VII, produced illegitimate children; Ippolito de' Medici and Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, respectively. Thus, with Giulio di Giuliano possessing a Cardinal's hat and no other legitimate male heir, Leo was left with only the sickly Catherine de' Medici upon which all his hope for the future of the Medicean dynasty rested.

⁴⁰ Leonie Frieda, *Catherine de Medici: Renaissance Queen of France* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 14. Friend to both Pope Leo X and Lorenzo II de Medici, Ariosto's lament signifies the gravity of the situation within the cultural context of sixteenth-century Franco-Italian relations.

France to Italy to marry Lorenzo, so too did her daughter, Catherine, traverse from Italy to France to marry Henry II in 1533 with the hope of solidifying Franco-Italian relations, namely between the king and the pope. The use of marital pacts to forge political alliances was a common procedure in European politics long before the sixteenth-century and often benefited both parties, for it was hardly a marriage of man and woman, but a union between two countries and their respective set of resources.

The choice of a spouse often relegated the individual character of the person to a vacuum; instead, the decision was sustained by the political, economic, and religious station of the young man or woman. As such, upon becoming a parent, Catherine de' Medici illustrated perfectly the role of an authoritative figure who sought nuptial arrangements for her children in which the unions would proffer security against civil unrest and harmonious interactions between two contradictory states. Since religious turmoil was rampant in France during Catherine's reign, she struck a series of Catholic unions between her daughter, Elizabeth, and Phillip II of Spain while her son, Charles IX, married Elizabeth of Austria, the daughter of Emperor Maximilian II, a supporter of religious toleration. She allied her daughter, Marguerite, to Henry of Navarre, both a Protestant and the future king of France; however, the marriage was tumultuous from the beginning, and they later divorced in 1599. She tried on several accounts to marry one of her sons to the Protestant Queen of England, Elizabeth I, but without success. Such martial alliances were fashioned in the vain that they secure the well-being of France and provide fortification, finances, and political prospects through the continuation of a new line of robust male heirs.

The Treaty of Mechlin (1513) was an accord amongst Pope Leo X, Henry VIII, Maximilian I, and Ferdinand II of Aragon against France. While Louis was defeated at Novara, it was just two years later, in 1515, that Francis I became monarch of France, leading an invasion into Italy. Unlike his predecessor, Francis I won at the Battle of Marignano, resulting in the Concordat of Bologna, a papal bull issued on August 18, 1516, that forged a peaceful relationship between the two countries. Just two years before Leo's death, Maximilian I died, which permitted Charles I of Spain to ascend to the German throne. Leo united with Frederick III and Charles I was elected and named Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; thus saving Italy from France and Spain's ambition for political domination.

The intricacies of early modern European politics are widespread, yet in respect to the Valois monarchy's administrative involvement, particularly under the rule of Henry II through Henry III, relations were tense, principally as to one's right to govern and religious disputes. For instance, in sixteenth-century France, Salic Law forbade women from ascending to a direct position of power as well as a foreign husband or son from obtaining the throne to enforce the standard of patrimony.⁴¹ Such restrictions made it impossible for Catherine de' Medici to inherit the crown from her husband after his death; instead, she resorted to the role of queen regent until her sons turned of age.

Conscripted on July 7, 1585, the Treaty of Nemours reflects the settlement that Catherine came to with the Holy League on behalf of her son. Henry, who had fallen victim to

⁴¹ Craig David Taylor, "The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French Crown," *French History* 15, no. 4 (2001): 358-359, 371. Composed of "Frankish customs and Roman law," Salic Law was codified by Clovis, the first Frankish king and founder of the Merovingian dynasty circa AD 500. For a direct reading of the Salic Law, see Genger, and Ernest F. Henderson, "The Avalon Project: The Salic Law" Yale Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library. <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/salic.asp>.

pressure exerted by the Catholic League, and agreed to renounce Protestantism in France and all rights available to its followers. Subsequently, Protestants were given six months to convert or leave the country. In doing so, Henry riled the ire of Henry of Navarre and his supporters who refused to abandon their faith. This event led to the War of the Three Henry's in which Henry III, Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise all fought for French succession.

Toward the end of a tenuous reign, Henry II adhered to the Edict of Union drafted on July 1, 1588, when he agreed to snuff heresy and name the Duke of Guise as a lieutenant general. Other stipulations required amnesty for opposing Catholic leaguers and for Henry to consult with the estates general to plan war against heretical Huguenots. Henry was king only in name while the Guises possessed sole power with the elderly Cardinal of Bourbon made Henry's heir on the basis that he would soon die so that Henry of Navarre would then inherit the crown.

2.7 Reliance on Global Trade

It is imperative to discuss the dependence of international trade in its significance within Renaissance culture and its effect on the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* preparatory drawings and tapestries. In the classical past, both Romans and Greeks favored tapestries. While Greeks were prone to manufacturing and keeping Greek textiles, Romans preferred to rely on importation.⁴² The praxis of European importation continued, effectively increasing the demand

⁴² Thomson, *Tapestry*, 23, 31-32. This attests to the Roman tradition of both copying and importing Greek art. Regardless of Greek and Roman stylistic variations, the importation of tapestries from Babylon, Egypt, Persia, and India, influenced most classical Roman tapestries made in-house. Thus, both Greek and Roman tapestries facilitate

for made-to-measure hangings. With the induction of trade routes in the twelfth century along the Byzantine and Islamic coasts of the Mediterranean, Eastern ideas, materials, and processes infiltrated Western Europe. The exposure to a variety of new goods like thread, insects, and minerals contributed to the founding of Western tapestry industries.

Later, in the early sixteenth century when Brussels tapestry industries were thriving, trade with England and Spain for wool and cities like Venice and Genoa for silk were essential. The reliance on commerce to create tapestries was thus a crucial component in securing the success of the commission. While Spain was responsible for the exportation of Spanish Merino wool, England exported undyed and undressed wool from London to Antwerp where it was distributed and exchanged for a variety of other goods by the Merchant Adventurers Company which was directed by the Crown.⁴³ A valuable export, wool comprised seventy-eight percent of England's exports in 1565 while approximately eighty-five tons of wool was transported from Spain's north coast to Flanders in the mid-sixteenth-century with eight million pounds exported annually in the 1570s.⁴⁴

By the mid- to late-sixteenth-century, increasing levels of strife in the international arena revealed exactly how dependent seemingly independent economies were upon each other; further, this revelation harmed the trade economy between countries involved in religious and commercial disputes as in the midst of "open warfare, the crown often prohibited trade with the

an artistic influence within the production of Renaissance tapestry cartoons and hangings. For further information regarding ornamental similarities between Greek and Roman weaving see Hooper, Luther, "The Technique of Greek and Roman Weaving." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 18, no. 95 (February 1911): 276-281.

⁴³ Susan Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 103.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 103. See also, Carla Rahn Philips, and William D. Philips Jr., *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 223-224.

enemy...[since] losses caused by wartime restrictions on trade were serious and widespread.”⁴⁵

With the Spanish persecution in the 1550s and the Dutch revolt in the 1560s, Spanish merchants in Flanders suffered a mercantile loss; instead, they established trade with Italy to avoid astronomical tax rates and the increased risk of damage to the wool.⁴⁶

While Bologna and Lucca were also adept in silk production, it was the two maritime cities, Venice and Genoa, that produced luxury silk woven with gold and silver.⁴⁷ By the sixteenth-century, silk spinning had spread to smaller towns within the Italian states and continued to grow but with particular restrictions and regulations. For instance, certain cities were only allowed to produce a specific kind of fabric.⁴⁸ Moreover, in 1519, Charles V allowed southern Italian production sites to establish a consulate of the silk craft to regulate and check the stages of manufacture to ensure smooth production.⁴⁹ This measure along with his 1524 and 1544 decrees, which established laws to regulate tapestry industries, were part of a broader attempt to authenticate and regulate a specific set of criteria concerning tapestry production and material consumption.⁵⁰

2.8 Disparities Between Male and Female Patronage

⁴⁵ Philips and Philips Jr., *Spain's Golden Fleece*, 226.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 243-244.

⁴⁷ Luca Molà, *Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 3. Silk production in Bologna focused more on lighter and cheaper textiles whereas Lucca produced a variety of cloths from luxury silks for the rich to base fabric for the poor.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁰ Pierre Verlet, *The Book of Tapestry: History and Technique* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 64. The 1524 and 1544 decrees established that all tapestries were required to be crafted with the town and master weaver's (or manufacturer's) symbol woven in one of the lower corners. It also required that tapestries be woven in line with the regulations set forth by the weaver corporations in the Netherlands and that the quality of materials had to be recorded when materials went over budget.

It is often that great, and prominent men were responsible for the commission of a myriad of art and architectural projects in the Renaissance, an arrangement that left women relegated to prayers and craft. However, while it is inappropriate to claim women were not bold patrons during the Renaissance, it is fair to posit that their patronage typically reflected their relationship with one or more of the male members within their family. Scholars have suggested that female sponsorship was associated more with their social rank than gender as many extant examples of female patronage descend from queens, princesses, and ladies of noble stature.⁵¹ As such, it is important to note that commissions derived from female patrons were often executed after they had borne children or were widowed. In Catherine's case, she only rose to significance and commissioned large-scale works after her husband died.

While a male's patronage frequently expressed his political, judicial, and militaristic qualities and often did not need justification; women were prone to commissions that expressed their piety and familial advancement, with the occasional representation of self-identification. Moreover, female patronage does not reflect a gendered style as is the conventional assumption in that female's only commissioned "feminine" works; rather, their patronage echoes the current period and its regional style.⁵² As both a woman and queen, a female was regarded as not only lacking the mental characteristics of a king, but also the physical qualities of one as well. Since the model behavior for a woman did not align with those for an illustrious man, the queen could not physically embody the mystical power that emanated from the king. As such, she could not employ the hereditary iconography adopted by kings that exhibited male

⁵¹ Cynthia Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 17.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 19.

proWess; instead, she presumed philosophical strength and power by conceptualizing various projects, including court motifs, as was especially accepted in France.

Of course, in analyzing Renaissance female patrons, it is only possible to critique their commissions from a sixteenth-century male view of a woman's role, including that of her contribution to the arts, as it was defined by what aristocratic Christian men thought appropriate.⁵³ Furthermore, a woman's identity was dependent on her position in her family as a mother, daughter, wife, widow, queen, or princess. Even Catherine de' Medici, a formidable queen regent, and mother, relied on her deceased husband and children to structure her identity. Just as Leo X decided to rebuild St. Peter's Basilica to bring glory to God and the Church, Catherine elucidated a public display of martial devotion when she commissioned a grand tomb for her deceased husband, Henry II, in which she had herself placed directly next to him when she died. Like other great female contributors such as; Margaret Beaufort, Margaret of Navarre, Anne of Brittany, and Elizabeth I, Catherine de' Medici also commissioned several personal and secularized works such as the Hôtel de la Reine, the Tuileries Palace, and even enlarged Chenonceaux after she evicted Diane de' Poitiers, Henry's long-time mistress.⁵⁴ While men and

⁵³ C. Warolin, "Nicolas Hoetul and Michel Dusseau, Apothecaries of the XVIth century in Paris," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 48 (2000): 319-336. In the 1560s, Nicolas Hoetul founded a charity at Saint-Marcel called *The House of the Christian Charity*. On the premise of his charitable institution, a chapel, an orphanage, a hospital, an apothecary's shop, and a medicinal plants garden were found. An artist, poet, and pharmacist, Hoetul wrote three pharmaceutical books aside from the biographies he presented to Catherine de' Medici that detailed the lives of Queen Artemisia of Caria and the queen mother herself. See also, Lawrence, *Women and Art*, 99-110. The *History of the Devotion, Piety, and Charity of the Illustrious Queens of France, together with the Churches, Monasteries, Hospitals, and Colleges that they have founded and built in diverse parts of the kingdom: By means of which foundations God has given them fruitful and happy issue* included text on Catherine de' Medici as per Hoetul's idealized notion of 'queenly patronage.' The text, while complimentary, was meant to appeal to Catherine's pathos as, among other things, Hoetul wished for the queen mother to fund his charity.

⁵⁴ For a categorical reading on the various roles women filled and played in the Renaissance, see Margaret L. King, "The Woman of the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Characters*, ed. Eugenio Garin. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 207-247.

women often commissioned the same types of works; tombs; palaces, music, and tapestries, there were, of course, discrepancies that resulted from the patron's aesthetic taste and independent availability as a result of the social and gendered order.

CHAPTER 3: POPE LEO X AND THE *ACTS OF THE APOSTLES* TAPESTRY CYCLE

3.1 Provenance

Leo X's reputable love for the arts extends not only to music, painting, and architecture but also to the Medicean and papal tradition of tapestry commissions as a visual testament to his wealth and power.⁵⁵ Pope Leo X's choice in tapestries elucidates both a keen desire for luxury art and the requisite drive to compete with the apostolic chapel's iconographical plan as per the Sistine Chapel's previously completed frescoes by Botticelli, Rosselli, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, and Michelangelo. In 1515 Pope Leo X commissions Raphael to paint a series of ten tapestry *cartoni* for a cycle woven with the most expensive and lustrous fibers money could purchase, for which Vasari posits that:

This project was so miraculously executed that it makes anyone who sees it marvel to think that it was possible to have woven the hair and beards and to have given such softness to the flesh with a thread; this was certainly more the result of a miracle than of human artifice, for in these tapestries there are bodies of water, animals, and buildings that are so well made they seem to be painted with the brush rather than woven.⁵⁶

These tapestries illustrate *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Figures 16 and 17); *Christ's Charge to Peter* (Figures 18 and 19); *The Healing of the Lame Man* (Figures 20 and 21); *The Death of Ananias* (Figures 22 and 23); *The Conversion of the Proconsul* (Figures 24 and 25); *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (Figures 26 and 27); and *Paul Preaching at Athens* (Figures 28

⁵⁵ Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts*, 114. On October 11, 1521, Pope Leo X bestowed upon the English King Henry VIII, the title *Fidei Defensor*, or Defender of the Faith. The title, granted after Henry VIII wrote, possibly with the aid of Thomas More, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, The Defense of the Seven Sacraments*, recalls a treatise written in the vein of anti-Protestantism in 1521. As both a sign of his gratitude and reward, Leo X commissioned a second set of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries based off of Raphael's cartoons, as a gift for Henry VIII. Thus, the tapestries act as both a gift in the material sense as well as in that Pope Leo X possesses the power to gift Henry VIII with an honorific title bearing religious significance as supplemented through the iconographical plan of the tapestries through the saintly defenders of the Church.

⁵⁶ Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, translated by Julia Conaway and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 329.

and 29). In looking to the extant tapestries, one is as near to imagining what the three lost cartoons depicting *The Conversion of Saul* (Figure 30); *The Stoning of Stephen* (Figure 31); and *Paul Escaping Prison* (Figure 32) might have looked like when painted.

However, according to Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona's assistant, Antonio de Beatis, who traveled with the Cardinal to Flanders, Pope Leo had made "XVI pieces of tapestry... for the Chapel of Sixtus which is in the Apostolic Palace in Rome."⁵⁷ The ratio between cartoons and tapestries results in an unsolvable mystery. Without record or proof of additional *cartoni*, the other six hangings could quite as surely be a part of another tapestry commission given to van Aelst by Leo X as it could be a part of the *Acts of the Apostles* cycle. As it is, the unidentified six, if similar in size and shape to *Paul Escaping Prison*, could have been meant to hang in the narrow space between the ten extant tapestries. They could have been left unfinished, or perhaps destroyed. Regardless, two records of payment towards Raphael exist for the work he did on the cartoons; a sum of 300 ducats recorded on June 15th, 1515 with a further 134 ducats registered on December 20, 1516.

The tapestry commission, granted to Pieter van Aelst, a Flemish atelier situated in the technically and aesthetically superior manufacturing city of Brussels, is completed in its entirety by the time Leo X dies as all ten cartoons are sold to alleviate the pope's debts. As each cartoon is finished, it is rolled and sent to van Aelst who began weaving directly. In consideration of the cycle's detail and precision, similar to that found in that of miniature

⁵⁷ Mark Evans, and Clare Brown, *Raphael: Cartoons and Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 26. The entirety of Antonio de Beatis' account of Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona's travels and viewing of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries is recorded on July 30, 1517 and is as follows; "Here (Brussels) Pope Leo X is having made XVI pieces of tapestry, it is said for the chapel of Sixtus which is in the Apostolic Palace in Rome, for the most part of silk and gold; the price is two thousand gold ducats a piece. We were on the spot to see them in progress, and one piece of the story of the Donation of the Keys, which is very fine, we saw complete; and from it, the cardinal estimated that they would be among the richest in Christendom."

illuminations, Raphael's technique paired with van Aelst's employ of the basse-lisse loom enables the cycle's swift completion.

3.2 A Short History of the Medici

While the history of the Medici is much too thorough a subject to approach here and now, I will follow with a concise rendering of their genealogy, including their rise and fall from merchant bankers to kings of Florence, in all but name, culminating in their ambitious return through Giovanni de' Medici. Born in the year 1360, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici became the pope's banker in 1418, marking the genesis of the Medici's accession to power. Born in 1389, his son, Cosimo de' Medici, later known as Cosimo 'Pater Patrae,' was the first Medici to establish himself as de facto ruler of Florence. Rebuffing a title, Cosimo shrewdly asserted power through his claim as an ordinary citizen of Florence, laying the foundation to which all future Medici will claim their power.⁵⁸

Just like his father, Cosimo de' Medici's son, Piero de' Medici, was a great contributor to the arts, particularly that which was Flemish. In 1449 Lorenzo de' Medici was born to Piero de' Medici and Lucrezia Tornabuoni. Revered as the most illustrious of Medici patrons, Lorenzo 'the Magnificent' was a poet and philosopher, and a committed patron of the arts who ruled indirectly, again rejecting the application of a title. His son, Giovanni de' Medici, was born on December 11, 1475. Resembling his father in his love of the arts, he rose to

⁵⁸ J.R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc.), 29-34. Cosimo de' Medici revived classical thought, creating the Platonic Academy of Florence, and was a great patron to both Brunelleschi, Donatello and Michelozzo, establishing a method of patronage that would only become more elaborate as the Medici dynasty expanded, culminating in Pope Leo X's harmonious compilation of artistic patronage in painting, tapestry, architecture, music, instruments, and festivities.

Cardinalate in 1489. He will later become Pope Leo X in 1513 following the death of Pope Julius II. Previous to that.⁵⁹

3.3 Leo X's Contribution as Patron

Announcing his pontifical title in 1513, Giovanni de' Medici; son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, educated humanist, gifted musician, connoisseur of the arts, became Leo X, the first Medici pope who under political pressure, religious confrontation, and social reform, personified the papacy in its Golden Age. At his ascension to the papacy, on March 9, 1513, Alessandro Farnese announced:

I bring you great tidings of joy! We have a Pope, the most Reverend Lord, Giovanni de' Medici, Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria in Domenica, who is called Leo X!⁶⁰

While Leo X most certainly drained the papal coffers by the time death claimed him, no one can say he did not appoint every spare ducat to reinvigorate the masked culture that existed in Rome since the day of Aeneas' arrival from the burning city of Troy.⁶¹ While several members of the papacy resented Leo X for it, others, like Francesco Guiccardini, asserted that "as in his parent's case, a lover of literature and all the fine arts... [hope] waxed all the stronger."⁶² Tutored by Humanists like Angelo Poliziano, Bernardo Bibbiena, and Marsilio

⁵⁹ Vaughan, *The Medici Popes*, 34-44. Due to increasing social unrest, a declining economy, and his role in conceding the Tuscan fortresses of Sarzana and Sarzanella to the French as a means of preventing Charles VIII's invasion of Italy. In 1494, the remaining Medici fled Florence, in thanks to Giovanni de' Medici's brother, Piero the Unfortunate, who later drowned in 1503. It was only in 1512 that Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, with the help of the Spanish, was able to reinstate the Medici within Florence and Rome.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 108. "Gaudium magnum nuntio vobis! Papam habemus, Reverendissimum Dominum Johannem de Medicis, Diaconum Cardinalem Sancte Mariae in Domenica, qui vocatur Leo Decimus!" Translation provided by the author.

⁶¹ Aeneas' arrival from the destruction of Troy references his establishment of the ancient city of Rome after his escape and journey from Troy after the Trojan war c. 12th- and 13th- centuries B.C.

⁶² Vaughan, *The Medici Popes*, 109. Roman citizens were aware of the political and cultural implications of Pope Leo X being a Medici in regard to his future contribution to peace, Humanism, and the arts. Such an awareness

Ficino, Leo X utilizes his education to present himself as the Church's rightful and harmonious incarnation. Utilizing Ficino's Neo-Platonic philosophy in which the soul "must obtain knowledge and enjoyment [from] God," Leo X defends the papal magistrate as an essential element to contemporary culture; including, but not limited to, the arts, salvation, and God.⁶³ Regardless of the challenges purported during his papacy in the manner of foreign invasions, namely from the Spanish king Charles V and the French king Francis I, he indeed was an altruistic patron of the arts.⁶⁴ Aside from the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries, Leo X was well known for his tendency to commission lavish and expensive works.⁶⁵ Remembered for his elaborate dinner parties, ardor for the arts, and congenial essence, Leo X died in Rome on December 1, 1521, later buried in the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.⁶⁶

manifests through Italian historian and statesman, Francesco Guicciardini (1483- 1540) who exclaims that "almost all Christendom had with the greatest joy of the election of Leo the Tenth, and on all sides men were firmly persuaded that at last they had obtained a Pontiff distinguished above all others by the gifts of the mind he had inherited from a noble father, and by the reports of his generosity and clemency that resounded from all quarters. He was esteemed chaste; his morals were excellent; and men trusted to find in him, as in his parents case, a lover of literature and all the fine arts."

⁶³ Ficino believed in a definite hierarchy based on there being a *primum*, or highest member, of every genus in which that *primum*, who is "pure and complete," sets the example for all others to refer back to as the model; in this case, the model for good Christianly behavior. Whether Pope Leo X thought this of himself or not, cannot be declared, yet his being both Medici and pope, Christ's earthly representative, can be interpreted as him being the *primum* for all of Christianity. Refer to 9i , for a concise rendering of Ficino's Platonic philosophy.

⁶⁴ See chapter 3 for more details regarding the dispute between Leo X, Francis I, and Charles V.

⁶⁵ Vaughan, *The Medici Popes*, 223-226, 231- 236. Aside from the cartoons and tapestries, Leo X commissioned the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica, frescoes for the Vatican's loggia, Stanza della Segnatura, Stanza di Eliodoro, Stanza dell' Incendio del Borgo, manuscripts – both musical and literary, and instruments – both as gifts and for personal use. For a general account into the decadent and extravagant nature of Leo X's commissions, see Bedini, Silvio A., *The Pope's Elephant*, for further information on Leo X's literary interests.

⁶⁶ Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts*, 224-225. Leo X is cited to have given numerous dinner parties with a variety of festivities included throughout the meal; including musical and theatrical performances, namely comedy. As he was proficient in playing the lute and harpsichord, his love for music extended beyond study and composition. Thus, he was extremely generous in his payments to musicians. Stemming from his private accounts, Leo X is reported to have proffered "twenty-five ducats to German organists, forty ducats to a priest who makes viols; twenty ducats to a Ferrarese boy who played the monochord; [and] ten ducats to a girl signer from Pistoia."

3.4 Raphael Revolutionizes the Cartoon

Lauded as one of the three great masters of the Renaissance, Raphael Sanzio (Figure 33) was born in Urbino, a small Italian province treasured as a cultural center bustling with art and courtly festivities under the ducal rule of Montefeltro, on Good Friday in the year 1483. Born into a distinct family whereupon Magia Ciarla nursed her son directly from her breast and artistry was kindred to teaching, Raphael's father, Giovanni Sanzio, was celebrated as Urbino's court artist and poet in residence. When Raphael was still young, Giovanni Sanzio died, and with his mother already dead, he flourishes in the workshop of the famed Pietro Perugino. During his time in Perugino's workshop, Raphael studied his master's work closely, to the point that his early work is nearly indistinguishable from Perugino.

His departure from Perugino, and thus, the style he was long accustomed to, results in a new array of distinguished artistic sources upon his arrival in Florence in 1505. Evident from this point on, interchangeable stylistic choices characterize his exposure to both Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo who are working together in the Palazzo Signoria, while in Florence. For instance, still limned with tender skin and rosy cheeks, his Virgin's and Madonna's lack the lithe and sinuous form of the figures from his time in Urbino (Figure 34). Instead, they are supple and monumental in their solidification (Figure 35).⁶⁷ As Raphael travels amongst Perugia, Florence, and Rome between the years of 1505 and 1508, he produces various depictions of the Madonna and Child, much to the applaud of his friends, patrons, and admirers.

⁶⁷ See Figure 34: *The Marriage of the Virgin* and Figure 35: *Madonna della Sedia*. While it is difficult to apply a specific stylistic approach to Raphael's works, there is a distinct versatility as seen between *The Marriage of the Virgin* and the *Madonna della Sedia*. An example of his early Urbino and middle Florentine work, the lithe Virgin and supple Madonna support the changing and adaptive nature reflected within Raphael's work vis-à-vis geographical stationing, a learned atmosphere, and the patron's subject and stylistic preferences.

In Rome, he gained the favor of the popes and worked alongside illustrious artists employed in the Vatican. Raphael's years spent in Rome result in exceptional productivity: Leo X's preference for Raphael exceeds his fondness for any other artist, as such, he commissions him to complete several projects for the Vatican as well as plans for the remaking of Rome.⁶⁸ Raphael employs several assistants, chief amongst those were his *garzoni*, the young artists that Raphael trained personally, like Giulio Romano, Gianfrancesco Penni, and his associates, Lorenzetto Marcantonio, and Giovanni da Udine. In Rome, as Raphael's commissions continue to grow, he establishes a workshop, influencing artists up through the nineteenth century with the French Academy exalting Raphael and the Pre-Raphaelites denouncing his works as the ideal model.⁶⁹ Just as he was born, he died in April on Good Friday in the year 1520 at the age of thirty-seven in Rome. As per his request, he was buried in the Pantheon, ultimately lying within the classically antiquated past.⁷⁰

When viewing Raphael's prior work, that is pre-Florentine or -Roman, his interest in mythological subjects, geometry, and lithe figures with graceful limbs is demonstrated. The modification in his style when he reaches Rome surpasses his portrayal of his painted female figures; further, exhibiting itself in the way in which he applies hue, arranges the figural

⁶⁸ Jones and Penny, *Raphael*, 215. Raphael was commissioned by Pope Leo X to create a façade for the Medici church of San Lorenzo in Florence as well as encouraged to submit designs for the church of the Florentine community in Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini; however, the latter project never came to fruition. See also, Ponente, *Who was Raphael?*, 115. Pope Leo X's vision and hope of Raphael's execution in the remaking of Rome began with the Pope's commission to create an archaeological map of Rome that was meant to preserve the ancient city's heritage through the reinvigoration of Roman patriotism through the arts.

⁶⁹ See Chapter 5 for more detail as to the lasting and international effect of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons.

⁷⁰ Initially, a Roman temple dedicated to the planetary gods, the Pantheon was built by Marcus Agrippa in 25 B.C.E. The best-preserved building from classical antiquity, Emperor Hadrian, himself a Hellenophile, had the temple rebuilt and dedicated in 125 AD. It was later converted into a church in 609 A.D. and acts a source of classical architecture in its conglomeration of Greek porch, Roman cylinder, coffered dome, and use of concrete. As the pantheon provided a visual play with geometry, Raphael studied the ancient temple often, requesting to lie in it upon his death.

composition, sets the landscape, and, perhaps most importantly, approaches the workspace with unhindered assurance.⁷¹ The versatility he exhibits throughout his career as an artist attests to the numerous influences he was privy to throughout his travels. As a young man cultured in the bosom of court life, the innovative compositions of Leonardo da Vinci, the bright, wholesome colors utilized in Fra Bartolomeo's religious paintings, and bold execution of musculature depicted in Michelangelo's figures, were oft to influence the eager Raphael. That is not to say he did not uphold personal integrity, but that, the art of the Renaissance is "intimately [and] indivisibly, bound up with the varied and ever-changing structures" of Italian society that shifted from medieval mysticism to the turbulence characterizing the Counter-Reformation.⁷² Therefore, Raphael emulates both the artists' and society in which he conceives his art.

Revolutionizing the concept of the *cartone*, Raphael, and his assistants created ten tapestry cartoons on the subject of the Acts of the Apostles for the decadent Medici Pope Leo X (r. 1513-1521). Thus, I argue that Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry cartoons represent more than just the actions of Christian saints but also the triumphant return of the Medici heralded through Pope Leo X's pontifical reign in the golden age of the Italian Renaissance. In subsequent chapters, I analyze the composition of Raphael's cartoons, his strategic placement of figures, intimate use of color and gesture, and compelling portrayal of action and emotion. His stylistic choices contribute to what afterward became the new vogue of tapestry design. As evinced in his art, Raphael's keen interest in the art of ancient Italy and Greece, illuminated his fervor for the *all'antica*; therefore, his cartoons enable the tapestries

⁷¹ Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, 318. Vasari claims that upon viewing Michelangelo's painting, his style of work improved immensely, magnifying it to embody "more noble proportions."

⁷² Ponente, *Who was Raphael?*, 36.

to impinge on the "world of study of the social scientist, textile technologist, naturalist, botanist, anthropologist, designer, and artist."⁷³ As such, his cartoons achieve international acclaim soon after their completion, spurring the production of engravings, prints, paintings, and tapestries for both academia and pleasure.

3.5 Constructing the Cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles*

Just as the cartoons' iconography is important, their construction is equally relevant. It is assumed through the sheer size of the cartoons and application of paint that Raphael and his assistants worked on no more than two cartoons at a time. Each cartoon, composed of 170 and 200 sheets of medium-heavy paper, measures roughly 42 cm by 28.5 cm.⁷⁴ As a whole, the cartoons measure between 10' 4'' x 13' and 11' 3'' x 17' 4''. Raphael applied animal glue and bound the sheets together before he laid down paint, leaving a 1 cm to 4 cm overlap on each joint, in turn creating a stronger internal support system for the cartoon its transport to Brussels.⁷⁵

Raphael restricted his color palette to subdued earth tones, feasible from mixing lead white with a variety of colors such as azurite, malachite, vermilion, red-lead, red-lake, lead-tin yellow type 1, carbon black, and yellow, red, and brown pigments.⁷⁶ Nearly all of the pigments he employed were organic minerals, aside from red-lake pigment, which derived from either

⁷³ Thomson, *Tapestry*, 72.

⁷⁴ Sharon and Raphael Fermor, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons: Narrative, Decoration, Design* (London: Scala Books in association with The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), 49.

⁷⁵ Marcia Hall and John Shearman, *The Princeton Raphael Symposium: Science in the Service of Art History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 112. Since the paint rests over the ridges that the joints create, Raphael bound individual sheets of paper onto an old composite sheet of paper before painting commenced.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 114. While it may appear that Raphael and his assistants utilized a wide range of colors, on the contrary, the range of pigments within all seven cartoons is relatively limited. It is the addition or subtraction of lead-white that Raphael mixes into the other pigments that create a multitude of shades and tones throughout the landscape, animals, clothing and divine references in the inclusion of halos, keys and radiating light.

the plant species madder or brazilwood or the insects' kermes or cochineal.⁷⁷ Rather than merely apply pigment onto the paper, Raphael mixed the pigment with the same animal glue used to bind the paper together. This mixture enabled him to apply one thick layer of paint to the surface and move on to the next portion. This method of pigment application is called *guazzo*, or *gouache* in French, which translates to glue distemper. Moreover, this allowed him and his assistants to facilitate the cartoons promptly without devoting too much time on the details.

While Raphael omitted priming, through a variety of tests, evidence identifies several preparatory drawings as well as under and over drawings for the cartoons (Figure 36) that he created as well as previously unidentified pigment.⁷⁸ The speed in which Raphael and his workshop were able to apply *guazzo*, he made up for by outlining and hatching on top of the painted paper using a brush with black and brown pigment to conjure shadows, furtive expressions, and a variety of gestural actions.

3.6 Identifying the Iconography

Luminous with gesture and affetti, the *Acts of the Apostles* derive from the Bible's New Testament scenes, specifically from the lives of Saints Peter and Paul, including one scene with

⁷⁷ Phipps, *Looking at Textiles*, 20, 42. Kermesic acid is collected from the kermes (female insect) to produce a deep crimson "cardinal" red, whereas Carminic acid is extracted from cochineal (female insects) to produce a deep pinkish-red hue. All insects used were boiled and dried, after which liquid was extracted to create the dye.

⁷⁸ Joyce Plesters, "Raphael's Cartoons for the Vatican Tapestries: A Brief Report on the Materials, Technique, and Condition," in *The Princeton Raphael Symposium: Science in the Service of Art History*, ed. John Shearman and Marcia B. Hall (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 121-122. Through different forms of x-ray technology (thin-layer chromatography, high-pressure liquid chromatography (HPLC) and microspectrophotometric method), the previously unknown red-lake pigment, natural madder (*Rubia tinctorum* L.), was identified in Ananias' tunic. It was discovered that the pigment employed in the making of Ananias' tunic was undiluted by lead-white pigment; thus, the hue is still preserved near to the shade it was when initially applied in c. 1515.

Saint Stephen from the Book of Acts.⁷⁹ While the cartoons illicit an illustrative element to the textual narratives of Saints Peter, Paul, and Stephen, the tapestries depict the Medici Pope's defense as Christ's corporeal representative. The significance of a singular depiction of Saint Stephen, the first Christian martyr, rests with Leo X's triumphal ambitions utilized through ecclesial narratives. Stephen's sacrificial significance in the way of resignation, absolute resolve, and forgiveness, reflect the admiral qualities of one willing to put Christ and Christians above any base occurrences. The scene in the Book of Acts, while exemplifying Stephen's grace and fortitude, signifies the first time that Saul is formally named. For it is at Stephen's stoning, that Saul's presence is announced; a persecutor of Christians, standing guard over the executioner's material garb, who is to become one of Christ's most arduous defenders.

The tapestry of *The Stoning of Stephen* (Figure 31) facilitates a graceful transition into the Pauline tapestries. Paul, himself an exemplary figure of transformation and amnesty, embodies Christ's love after his conversion. Wonderfully chosen, the mouth of the trumpet and moderate, Saint Paul is compared to Saint Peter as inferior in dignity, greater in preaching, and equal in holiness.⁸⁰ Paul, a self-appointed apostle, experiences a marvelous journey throughout his lifetime. From seeking out and torturing Christians, later converting to the very faith he sought to break for years, he is a figure who largely influences the course of Christianity.

⁷⁹ For this paper, I will utilize Michael D. Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version: With the Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1919-1920. Directly following the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles is the fifth book in the New Testament. Acting as a supplement to the gospels before it in that it foretells the activities and deeds of the apostles from Jesus' ascension to Paul's arrival in Rome, most scholars posit that Luke authored the Book of Acts between 85-95 C.E.

⁸⁰ Ryan, William and Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 350. Saint Paul or Paulus derives from *pausa* which in Hebrew means 'quiet' or 'repose' and 'a moderate man' in Latin. The significance of his name identifies the six privileges that Paul possessed more so than others. The privileges are as follows; fruitful speech, his visceral love for others, his miraculous conversion, the hands of a working man, blissful contemplation and virtue of humility.

Moreover, he bolsters Leo's defense in the face of the challenges put forth by Martin Luther through the notion that faith and grace trump good acts.

Whereas Paul is considered *doctor Gentium* (teacher), *pastor ovium* (shepherd) distinguishes Saint Peter.⁸¹ Morose and obedient, Simon is promised, given, and confirmed the name 'Peter of Cephos' which derives from the Aramaic word, *kepa*. Further, the Greek translation offers the word, *Petros*, so that both Peter and rock are analogous.⁸² The encounter between Christ and Peter in the Book of Acts illustrates the fount to which all claims support the papacy.⁸³ With the power to both heal and punish, Peter best solidifies Leo X's claim to the papacy, who, chosen by God, wields strength and benevolence within, and without, Rome's Christian microcosm in the guise of humility.

Individualized, emotive, gestural, and reflective of age, class, and beliefs, the iconographical plan reflects Roman influences with both landscape and architectural settings that exonerate the apostles' authority. In truth, Raphael "seems to show us, not the final resolution of an event, the ultimate consequence of the Apostle's authority and power, but that authority and power in action."⁸⁴

Humility and amazement abound in *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Figures 16, 17) as the scene within the Gospel of Luke is acted out with integrated fibers. Set in the Sea of

⁸¹ Konrad Oberhuber, *Raphael: The Paintings* (New York: Prestel, 1999), 159. As the teacher of the Gentiles, Paul's mission was to reach out beyond the inner circle of the church to inform and convert laymen to Christianity. Peter's mission, on the other hand, central to the inner workings of the church, was completed after he established his authority through the role of shepherd of the church. Thus, together, they represent both sides of a unified church through Jews and Gentiles, Synagogue and Ecclesia, grace and judgment, with the overarching theme of healing through miraculous actions.

⁸² Ryan and de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 254.

⁸³ Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 1920-1921. Intended to give Christians an "unshakable confidence in their future through an instructive survey of their past," The Acts of the Apostles is the perfect facilitation for visual storytelling that supports both Giovanni de' Medici and Pope Leo X, the two sides of the man who inhibited both the golden courts of secularization and religiosity.

⁸⁴ Fermor and Raphael, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons*, 81.

Galilee, Christ sits apart from everyone else, occupying the boat on the far left with both Simon and Andrew, two poor fishermen. The second boat bears the weight of James, John, and the classically inspired oarsman, Zebedee.⁸⁵ Set amidst a hazy landscape with both land and sea, this *cartone*, thought to possess the most significant contribution by Raphael, displays imaginative Roman-inspired construction as no identifiable topographical landmarks are present. The foreground exhibits a keen attention to detail in the rocks, shellfish, weeds, and fish. Meanwhile, the background appears hazy and silhouetted in comparison. While James and John are focused on lifting the net heavy with fish from the sea, Zebedee gazes intently off to the side with his oar lifted in mid-air. As Andrew directs our gaze towards the celestial and temporal merger with open arms that both exclaim and enclose, the focus of the cartoon highlights the dialogue between Christ and Peter, who, under Christ's charge, henceforth "shalt catch men."

Meanwhile, *Christ's Charge to Peter* (Figures 18, 19) conflates two events from the bible; the moment when Christ both gives Peter the "keys to the kingdom of Heaven" and charges him to feed His sheep.⁸⁶ Deriving from the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of John, Raphael, again employs the use of gesture to partition the *cartone* off center. Christ, dressed in a white robe, stands stoically as his left arm points directly towards Peter and the key to Heaven while His right arm extends, again with a pointed finger, towards the mass of sheep calmly

⁸⁵ River god (Arno), c. 117-138 A.D., marble, Musei Vaticani, Rome Italy. http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/coll_ezioni/musei/museo-pio-clementino/Cortile-Ottagono/divinita-fluviale--arno-.html. This marble sculpture dates from some point during the reign of the Roman Emperor Hadrian. Inspired by a Greek original, the sculpture exhibits traditional representations of classical semi-nude men who recline partially and are defined by musculature, a mane of curly hair, and a thick, fully-grown beard with actively engaged hands. This statue, restored during Pope Leo X's papacy, with the addition of a lion's head carved onto the side of the vase suggests an homage to Pope Leo X. Thus, the River-god (Arno) would have been a work that Raphael most likely would have seen.

⁸⁶ Matt. 16:15-20.

clustered together. The far-reaching landscape expresses the effects of *sfumato* in the bountiful mountains and forests that populate the length of the background. The foreground, however, is luminous in its clarity as seen in the sharpness of the clearing in which Christ and the disciples stand in as well as through various patches of grass. Again, Peter, kneels with humility, balancing between his right leg and left toes, while cradling the keys between crossed arms, underscoring his relationship with Christ as the rock unto which the Christian church will be built. Further, this solidifies Peter's obligation to nourish Christians with the word of God, who through metaphor are the mass of sheep that stand behind Christ.

Replete with symbolism, *The Healing of the Lame Man* (Figures 20, 21) depicts a crowd gathered at the 'Beautiful Gate' in Jerusalem with Peter, John, and the lame man centered between registers of columns, similar to that of Early Christian sarcophagi.⁸⁷ The twisted columns, executed in grisaille, are reminiscent of the twelve antiquated spiral columns on the sanctuary of the old St. Peter's Basilica, which originally derived from Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem.⁸⁸ Off to the left and right side, women, all adorned with riches, and some bearing gifts, attend the temple to purify themselves after the birth of their sons. This act was Peter's first miracle in the Book of Acts. Thus the first attributes he gained through public works were those of restoration through faith, precisely the qualities Leo aimed to inspire. Just as gesticulation is pivotal to the cartoons execution, so too is the direction of the gaze. While

⁸⁷ Acts. 3:1-10. See also, Marilyn Stokstad, *Medieval Art* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), 21. Similar to the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, an example of Early Christian sarcophagi made of marble in 359 C.E., the columns and capitals in *The Healing of the Lame Man* are reminiscent of the registers that separate the ten biblical scenes. Most important are the two columns that border the center scene of Christ supported by Apollo as the columns in Raphael's Cartoon, albeit with more detail, still exhibit the same tendrils of vines adorned with frolicking putti.

⁸⁸ Suzanne Boorsch, "The Building of the Vatican: The Papacy and Architecture" *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 40, no. 3 (Winter, 1982–1983), 33, 36. While the columns are no longer extant, the columns that support Bernini's Baldacchino in the interior of St. Peter's Basilica, are a reminder of the twelve undulating columns from Solomon's temple in Jerusalem that once adorned the front of Old St. Peter's Basilica.

not pyramidal, the tri-figural centerpiece draws the gaze of nearly every visible figure; from the far left figure of a woman with a basket of fruit on her head to the man on the far right, partially hidden behind a twisted column. While the work exhibits sculptural influences from Michelangelo in the children's bodies and architectural forms, several features transpire as linear. For instance, the craftsmanship of the hands; the previously referenced male figure on the right displays an open palm in the direction of the apostles. Further, Peter's open palm, raised, which is, quite literally, about to channel spiritual healing processes, leads the eye diagonally to Saint John's long, linear pointer finger as he directs our attention to the subject of Christ's benevolence.

Drawing from the Book of Acts, *The Death of Ananias* (Figures 22, 23), in opposition to Peter's ability to heal, illuminates Peter's power to punish.⁸⁹ The apostles persuaded wealthy men to sell their land and property, with the effect that they would distribute the earnings amongst the poor. Ananias, reluctant to be rid of all his wealth, protracted to keep some of the proceeds for himself. Punished for disobedience and simony, Peter strikes Ananias dead. Just hours later, his wife, Sapphira, dressed in a green gown to the right, still counting coins, would be struck dead as well. A luminous outside light source shines directly on the foreground which leaves the middle- and background left in shadows. Eleven apostles, centered on a raised platform, perform a variety of tasks, such as extending alms to the poor, praying, blessing, and teaching. Ananias lies distraught on the ground, contorted and in pain, reflective of classical statuary.⁹⁰ Just about to collapse, he looks up to the figure who attempts to direct his attention

⁸⁹ Acts. 5:1-5.

⁹⁰ Musei Capitolini, "Statue of Capitoline Gaul," sovrintendenza capitolina ai beni culturali. http://www.museicapitolini.org/en/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/sala_del_gladiatore/statua_del_galat_a_capitolino. Similar in the posture to that of the Dying Gaul, Ananias' posture, while more active, is similar in its intent. A Roman marble copy of a Greek original dating c. 200 B.C.E, the Capitoline (Dying) Gaul, excavated in the

to Peter, who gestures with an upturned finger toward the heavens. Opposite the dying man, the two figures who mimic each other in shock and fear, extend their arms as if in attempt to avoid a fate as horrifying as Ananias'. Their forceful postures and dramatic expressions lead the eye to the apostles on the far left who bless those that are poor and needy, but honest and faithful.

Similar to *The Healing of the Lame Man* in that the scene encompasses a closed off space with little landscape, *The Conversion of the Proconsul* (Figures 24, 25), conveys the blinding of Elymas and the conversion of the Roman proconsul, Sergius Paulus.⁹¹ Elymas, struck blind by the hand of the lord through Paul, adjusts to the notion of darkness with beseeching arms. He was blinded after attempting to halt Paul and Barnabas from peaching, who stand to the far left adorned with halos. Wearing a soft cap, and a pair of loose robes and leggings, Elymas extends his right foot awkwardly while hesitantly stretching out his arms as he orients himself to darkness.

Meanwhile, the proconsul, bedecked in classical Roman attire, from his laurel wreath and toga to string drawn sandals (Figures 37 and 38), possesses a dark countenance and a down-turned lip. He reaches out to Elymas while he simultaneously recoils from the miracle that Peter has performed. Upon witnessing the act, Sergius Paulus converts to Christianity, thus the fasces that the pair of lictors to the right hold are rendered useless as he no longer possesses the authority or basis to exert corporal punishment; if it was ever unclear, the text beneath the proconsul's feet clearly states his conversion.⁹² The consul, held in a marbled apse or tribune, is

1620s from the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi, long after Raphael painted the Cartoons, could not have influenced Raphael directly. However, the similarities are curious and lead one to further question the relics of the ancient past that were available to Raphael as Master of Antiquities in 1515.

⁹¹ Acts. 13:5-12.

⁹² The latin text roughly translates to "I Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Asia: with the Christian faith embraced Saul's prediction." The translation is provided by the author, Madison Clyburn.

reminiscent of a magistrate's position in a Roman basilica, thus providing explicit references to classical architectural forms so favored by both Leo X and Raphael. The *all'antica* style presents itself in the grisaille details embedded in the tri-step staircase on either side of the proconsul, reflecting weaponry, a gladiator helmet, a shield adorned with the face of Medusa, and a classically sculpted nude male torso.

The Sacrifice at Lystra (Figures 26, 27) portrays not the miracle that Paul and Barnabas accomplish in healing a lame man in the Book of Acts, but the event directly after in which the citizens mistake the apostles for the gods Hermes and Zeus, who then attempt to sacrifice two oxen as an offering for their divine intervention. A message against the worship of false idols and partaking in vanities, the serene figure with blonde tresses and a bright red-orange robe with a blue mantle reaches out to stop the executioner. The tapestry displays a partition through an imposing golden statue of Hermes; a triangular altar; and two children, one playing an instrument, the other holding a golden box with fantastical motifs.⁹³

On the left, Paul and Barnabas stand apart from the crowd on a raised platform; Paul rips at his clothes, so distraught with their actions, while Barnabas, standing even higher than Paul, crosses his hands, crestfallen. Simultaneously, just as the classically inspired executioner (Figure 39) raises his ax to complete the sacrifice, the lame man who now walks without crutches, leans forward with his hands pressed together as if furtively beseeching the

⁹³ The Roman god Mars, who is both messenger to the gods and the bringer of souls, is pictured within the cartoon, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*. One of the three supreme gods from the Archaic Triad, also consisting of Jupiter and Quirinus, Mars is a pagan god yet acts as a foil to Pope Leo X's supremacy of the Church. Leo X is linked, directly to Christ as His chosen representative on earth via his spiritual ancestor, Peter. Therefore, just as Mars' role as messenger to the gods aligns with Leo X's role as intermediary between mere mortals and heavenly accords, so too does Leo mirror the Roman god in the role of 'bringer of souls.' Just as Peter and Paul traveled, suffered and taught the word of God, so too does Leo suffer the pains of mortality in order to convert and collect souls to Christianity through peace, congeniality, Humanism, gift giving and indulgences, all with the promise of redemption and entry to Heaven.

executioner to drop the ax. Just as the other *cartoni*, *The sacrifice at Lystra* includes a generalized portrayal of classical architecture in the rotunda, as well as engaged architectural figures and an awareness of *all'antica* costume books as is evidenced by the similarities in togas, the executioner's costuming, and decorative elements to that found in books (Figure 40).

Thought to hang outside the *cancellata*, directly facing the public during mass or for special occasions, *Paul Preaching at Athens* (Figures 28, 29) derives from the Book of Acts and depicts Paul; sturdy, bearded, and barefoot, with his arms outstretched, preaching to the Aeropagus on the Immortality of the Soul.⁹⁴ Set amidst classical architecture and pagan statuary, little landscape is shown, however, like the other cartoons, the topography reflects a generalization of classical architecture; the coffered vaults, pendentives, recessed statuary, geometric stairs, and a monumental statue of what is identified as Mars, god of war, reflect generalized references. Converted during Paul's sermon on the Immortality of the Soul, Dionysius, and Damaris, two converts, kneel in the lower right-hand corner of the cartoon and reflect humility and wonder as they listen attentively to Paul.

The rest of the tapestry depicts men who express various emotions. Some, such as those in the center of the middle-ground, are occupied in conversation, while some express skepticism, and others thoughtful consideration. Perhaps, most importantly though, Pope Leo X's portrait is included in the cartoon. No riches adorn him. Instead, he appears like everyone else, a simple citizen who wears a soft red cap and ponders over a plain staff with his right hand. He stands in the shadows and listens intently to Gods word through Paul, his self-appointed agent. If this tapestry were meant to hang outside the *cancellata*, it would have made

⁹⁴ Acts. 17:16-34.

for a fantastic and unavoidable reminder of Pope Leo's legitimacy and service towards the church as Christ's most humble agent.

3.7 The Transition to Tapestries

As mentioned before, cartoons were not art so much as they were guides. Although Raphael provided an immense level of detail, the master atelier in Brussels was quick to alter his designs to reflect the stylistic traditions favored by those of the Low Countries. Therefore, between Raphael's cartoons and Pieter van Aelst's tapestries there is a subtle but grand transition between painting and textile. While similar in several regards, such as in compositional design, they differ in several extremes. For instance, the luminosity and effect of color saturation, the slightly incapacitated portrayal of emotion as well as the inclusion of borders in the tapestries and the additional panels for which no cartoons exist, separate the tapestries from the cartoons. The translation of the *cartone* to tapestries was no easy feat as the atelier's labored over how to cut the cartoon strips appropriately to delegate the work according to the assistant's specializations. While not uninspiring, the tapestries, infused with action, musculature, and references to classical antiquity, fall short of encapsulating the breadth of *affetti* which heralds the attraction of Raphael's cartoons.

As aforementioned, the cartoons for *The Stoning of Stephen*, *The Conversion of Saul*, and *Paul in Prison* disappeared early on, and so one can only imagine what they might have looked like in comparison to their tapestries.

Meanwhile, the reverse image results from employing a basse-lisse loom, which means that the legwerker wove it from the back side, left to right. Either way, the legwerker would not have been able to view the entire tapestry until the very end as it was worked on in

pieces, to be sewn together at the close.⁹⁵ The warp count, ranging from 6.8 to 7.6 per cm attests to the excellent quality of the work.⁹⁶ While the exact dimensions of the workshops and subsequent looms are unknown, an estimate is that some of the looms would have been nearly 5 meters wide as several of the tapestries measure just under 5 meters tall (Figure 41).⁹⁷

Striking in the deviation of hue from that of Raphael's painted cartoons, the tapestries are, simply put, luminous. Gilt-metal wrapped around a fiber core of silk alludes to the shimmering nature of the foliage, the richly embroidered details inscribed in Christ's robes, and the tonal depth created within the illusionistic folds of drapery that clothe the figures. While Raphael embodies the warm earth tones favored in Rome, Pieter van Aelst radically alters the color pattern, employing silver and gold throughout. Van Aelst remains loyal to Raphael's color palate in the delineation of blue reflective waters and the striated hues that conjure the sky. The tapestries embody rich jewel tones and a mélange of fibers to create an effervescent effect that contrast the solidity of the Cartoons.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ The finishing off of a tapestry would most likely have been carried out by women, allowing lissiers, that is male technicians, to continue working on another tapestry. Even though women have been weaving for centuries before weavers guilds developed for commercial production during the Renaissance, they would not have been able to weave at the loom. Therefore, they may have helped in preparing dyes, gathering materials, with their sole job to sew fragments of tapestries together at the end. See Barber, Elizabeth, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 280-285 for more detail as to the shift from a female-driven textile output in ancient Greece to a radically restrictive environment with the onset of commercial production, new technologies and burgeoning motherhood.

⁹⁶ Thomson, *Tapestry*, 19. A high warp count designates a higher quality tapestry weaving; thus, the opposite remains true for a low warp count. For instance, a tapestry with a higher warp count might have more colors, or at the very least, a more significant variation in hue. A tapestry with a low warp count could very well still exemplify adequate work, yet the range of colors would be limited to a smaller number than that of a high warp count weave as well as that the details, texture, and tension of the tapestry might not be as great as a richer one.

⁹⁷ See Figure 41: *Tapestry looms in the Gobelins workshop* for an example of large looms. Even though Diderot produced the print nearly 250 years after ateliers wove Raphael's Cartoons into tapestries, the Gobelins Workshop print provides a comparable visual as to the imposing size of the looms required for large-scale tapestries, including the vast workshop space required to house them, the weavers, assistants, and supplies.

⁹⁸ Without having completed a study on the dye pigments in the tapestries, I cannot reliably assert the reason for the difference in color between the cartoons and tapestries. However, the difference in eye, hair color and skin tone possibly reflect the availability of particular dyes or the variance in the ratio between dye pigments and animal glue versus dye pigments and fiber. However, it is entirely feasible that the differences reflect a Flemish familiarity with

As such, in contrast to Raphael's cartoons reminiscent of Rome's hazy atmosphere, van Aelst's tapestries reflect a clear tonality in hue, a tone that is occasionally difficult to read. The overt inclusion of gold in *The Healing of the Lame Man*, *The Death of Ananias*, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, and *Paul Preaching at Athens*, especially, exemplifies how color choice shadows some of the details woven in the tapestries. Whereas the skin tone, hair, and clothes of the figures in *The Death of Ananias* are brighter than their paper counterpart, consistency reigns in the gestural actions of the characters. Moreover, *The Stoning of Stephen* reflects a stark difference in color saturation on the front and back of the tapestry. As the cartoon is unidentifiable, there is nothing to compare the tapestry to; regardless, the diluted beige robes worn by Christ and the soldier on the far left depict the dilapidated purple fibers that once contributed to their luxury.

Differences continue to partition the cartoons from the tapestries as epitomized in *The Conversion of the Proconsul*, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, and *Paul Preaching at Athens*. *The Conversion of the Proconsul*, which disappeared in 1527 after the sack of Rome, features an architectural extension on the right side depicting a niche with a statue of a bare-breasted female. Enlarged by a quarter, the tapestry is severely damaged and appears unfinished from a lack of visible or extant detail. Meanwhile, disparities are evident in *The Sacrifice of Lystra*. Not only does the foot of the man who grasps the goat extend beyond the guilloche frame, but there is little to no green while the blue from the cartoon is both limited and different in hue from that of the tapestry. And again, in *Paul Preaching at Athens*, little to no green exists in the threads; instead, the allotment of gold lends to a sense of spatial displacement.

dyes of a fairer hue versus those popular in Rome. The difference may also allude to light exposure, such as that the cartoons and tapestries may have matched at one time, but now exhibit different tonal qualities.

In *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, Christ's robe is no longer a simple blue shift with a white mantle, but a shimmering gold with one of blood-red. In contrast, while minute in its depiction, an extreme difference lies in a physical variation between the two versions of *Christ's Charge to Peter* exemplified through Christ's physique. In the cartoon, Christ, adorned in a white toga, is implicated by a portion of the Stigmata as seen on His left hand and foot. However, in the tapestry, Christ is unquestionably depicted with the complete stigmata; both hands, both feet, with an incision in his right side. The Flemish workshop exaggerated Christ's wounds further with thin streaks of blood that course over his face, which result from the broken skin where the crown of thorns was both applied and removed. Further, Raphael's application of *sfumato* reflects the artistic characteristics favored in Rome at the time compared to van Aelst's obvious portrayal of Christ's pain. Moreover, in extant preparatory drawings for *Christ's Charge to Peter*, the stigmata is not evident on Christ's figure.⁹⁹

Without the borders, these cartoons can apply to any patron with religious fervor, yet it is the bands on the bottoms and sides, which depict scenes from the life of Giovanni de' Medici, later Pope Leo X, and the Apostles that firmly exploit the pope as the mortal embodiment of Christ and the Catholic church.¹⁰⁰ A continuous red and gold guilloche design with striations of silver and gold for added texture alternate with rosette and lions that reinforce the corners

⁹⁹ In response to Raphael's extant drawings for the tapestry cycle, rather than bare-chested, Christ is clothed in a robe with a voluminous tunic underneath.

¹⁰⁰ Kathryn A. Smith, "MARGIN" *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 29-44. The scenes from the life of Giovanni de' Medici (since he was not yet elected pope), can be read as additional text to support the dominant message; in this case, events from Giovanni de' Medici's life support the Petrine and Pauline tapestry cycles. "Although peripheral in position, the medieval margin was regarded as a zone of structural, semantic, or esthetic significance, and as integral to the entity of which it formed a part." Thus, the fictive bronze bas-relief bands woven into the bottom of the tapestries, support the church's foundational role of Peter as *pator ovium* and Paul's role as *doctor gentium*. Reminiscent of marginalia found in the illuminated manuscripts Pope Leo X loved to collect, the subject of the bands in alignment with the biblical scenes exhort both religious and social expressions that are both prominent in Italian Renaissance society and essential in elevating the triumphant return of the Medici.

which compose the illusionistic framework around the biblical scenes. Fostering the illusionistic frame, a green and gold meandering pattern lines the bottom of each tapestry. Aside from the fictive bronze horizontal panels, the woven side panels emboldened with the Medici and papal insignia are vital in identifying these tapestries as belonging to the Medici pope.

It is unknown if there was an original side border for *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*; however, there is speculation that an *Elements* border adorned its side. Regardless, the arrival of Giovanni de' Medici and his entourage in Rome after receiving the insignia of the cardinal in March of 1492 and his admittance into the College of Cardinals connotes the first fictive bronze band (Figure 42).

Meanwhile, a side border is attached to *Christ's Charge to Peter* in which the Medici and papal insignia are woven at the top with two putti and a candelabra-like structure that hold the three Fates, who are supported by two Satyr caryatids (Figure 43).¹⁰¹ The horizontal grisaille band portrays the expulsion of the Medici in November of 1494 (Figure 44).¹⁰²

Perhaps a reflection of damage and later reconstruction, *The Healing of the Lame Man*, depicts the capture and release of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici at the Battle of Ravenna against the victorious French on April 11, 1512, and his liberation by an army of peasants (Figure 45).¹⁰³ The fictive relief is sewn together in three parts and reflects discrepancies in

¹⁰¹ Evans and Browne, *Raphael*, 81. Also, the Fates, or Parcae in Latin, are three goddesses who spin the threads of human destiny; Clotho (Nona) – the Spinner, Lachesis (Decuma) – the Alloter, and Atropos (Morta) – the Unturning.

¹⁰² Even though he was formally given the insignia in 1492, Giovanni de' Medici was inducted as cardinal-deacon in 1489 in Santa Maria in Dominica under Pope Pius VIII. See also, Pham, John-Peter, *Heirs of the Fisherman: Behind the Scenes of Papal Death and Succession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 338. Latin for "from the side," *legate a latere* is an appointment given out by the pope to a cardinal in which the cardinal is bestowed with the power to act as pope in their state or ecclesiastical province. More specifically, the elected *legate a latere* acts as an intermediary for the pope on special missions, be it political or ecclesiastical, to further unify the Catholic church.

¹⁰³ Evans and Browne, *Raphael*, 186-187.

time as the earlier event is on the right with the latter happening on the left, while the central panel is decorated with a pair of lions, palm branches, and a pedestal inscribed with Leo X's name.

Meanwhile, the side border associated with *The Death of Ananias*, again inscribed with the Medici and papal insignia, compounds a set of balanced scales and the three theological virtues; Faith, Hope, and Charity (Figure 46). The fourth horizontal panel illustrates the triumphant yet solemn return of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici after he defeated the Florentine army and the occupation of the Palazzo Vecchio after the Medici's return (Figure 47). It also incorporates Leo's motif, the yoke, as well as a pair of lions, laurel trees, and herms. Instead of the corner rosettes in the running guilloche border, lion heads take their place.

No side panel accompanies *The Stoning of Stephen*, but its fictive relief indicates Giovanni de' Medici's appointment as *legato a latere* of Florence and ceremonial entrance into the same Italian state in 1492 (Figure 48). Only a portion of the meandering pattern is original as discoloration identifies reconstruction.

Like the previous tapestry, no side panel complements *The Conversion of Saul*. However, lion heads again replace the rosettes in the guilloche design. The horizontal border depicts the chaos that ensued after Stephen's martyrdom in which foot soldiers and horsemen attack men, women, and children (Figure 49).

The Conversion of the Proconsul was looted in the sack of Rome. As a result, it was cut in half whereupon it disappeared until 1544. While some accounts claim that there was a side panel of "Idol and Hercules supporting the sky" there is no visual evidence extant.¹⁰⁴ With half

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 109.

of the tapestry missing, it garnered attention, which resulted in the lower half to be painted on canvas and placed underneath the surviving portion in 1931.

The horizontal band attendant to the *The Sacrifice at Lystra* illustrates the confirmation by the Church in Jerusalem of the mission to as well as the disputation over the circumcision of Gentiles (Figure 50).¹⁰⁵ No side border complements the tapestry.

The fictive bronze relief panel attached to *Paul in Prison* predicts Paul's vision in which he and Silas find themselves imprisoned after being summoned to Philippi in Macedonia (Figure 51). Meanwhile, the panel in *Paul Preaching at Athens* reflect three scenes from the life of Paul after he departed Athens; his welcome into the house of a Corinth tentmaker, the Conversion of the Corinthians, and the disdain directed to him by the Jews at the court of Governor Gallio (Figure 52).¹⁰⁶ Like some of the other clothes in the cycle, it was stolen and damaged in 1527 and returned in 1554 as a gift from Anne de Montmorency. As her coat of arms is woven into the bottom of the side border, restoration had to have occurred between 1527 and 1554. The top half of the side border with its Medici and papal insignia and winged characterization of Fame atop an astronomic globe is original (Figure 53). The addition of Hercules, Atlas, and a telluric globe mirrors later restorative work.

Aside from the attached border elements, two separate cloths contribute to the cycle; the *Four Seasons* (Figure 54) and the *Hours* (Figure 55). The *Four Seasons*, attributed to one of the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 115. See also, Acts. 9:3-9; Acts. 15:4-22; and Gal. 2:9. These chapters tell the story of the confirmation by the Church in Jerusalem of the mission to the Gentiles and the disputation at Jerusalem over the circumcision of Gentiles. This biblical event relates the belief held by the community of Christians in Jerusalem that Gentiles must undergo circumcision before they can convert to Christianity. Peter spoke in non-favor of circumcision through the assertion that God chose Peter specifically so that he would be the one to preach to the gentiles while relying on God's power to cleanse their hearts by faith. At the same time, Paul and Barnabas related miracles that God had done through them, thus persuading the assembly that circumcision was unnecessary.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 117, 123. See also, Acts. 16:25- 26.

main tapestries as it has been cut along both sides, is inscribed with the Medici and papal insignia. Spring in the form of two lovers embracing over a bountiful basket of flowers stands at the top of the tapestry. Two putti who frolic under Ceres' feet on a fruit platter, illuminate the bounty to be enjoyed in Summer.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, Autumn employs seven putti that haphazardly harvest grapes on a fountain of wine. And finally, the isolated red-cloaked figure represents Winter as she sits amongst barren tree under a figure of Juno.¹⁰⁸

Hours, the second detached border in the series, was most likely sewn onto the left side of a central cloth as it still possesses its original edging on its left side.¹⁰⁹ Elaborative of the thematic nature of time as both a constructive element and physical entity, the hanging is decorated with the Medici, and papal insignia at the top followed Apollo (Day) and Artemis (Night) who buttress an hourglass, a universal representation of Time.¹¹⁰ Woven at their feet is a serpent who eats his tail, a motif that implicates Eternity. If the Divine representation of Day and Night were subject to confusion before, two mortals, who sit atop a twenty-four-hour clock, now reflect the binary status of the solar and nocturnal hours in the form of light, dark, flower, and bat. The clock is supported both by a nude male and female cartouche and a caryatid herm.

¹⁰⁷ Manfred Lurker, *The Routledge Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses, Devils and Demons*. Translated by G.L. Campbell (London Routledge, 2004), 41, 49. Ceres, known as Demeter in Greek mythology, was the daughter of Saturn and Ops and goddess of agriculture. As she is connected with the earth, she is also associated with fertility and marriage.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 78, 96. Juno is the Roman goddess of marriage and birth, easing a newborn child's transition into the world. Both sister and wife to Jupiter, Juno is the counterpart to the Greek goddess, Hera.

¹⁰⁹ Evans, and Browne, *Raphael*, 126.

¹¹⁰ Lurker, *Gods and Goddesses*, 16, 19-20, 50. The children, of Zeus and Leto, Apollo and Artemis are divine siblings. Often depicted with a lyre, Apollo identifies as the god of the muses, as well as the god of healing and oracles. He also acts as protector of cattle and agriculture. His twin sister, Artemis, is goddess of the hunt and often accompanied by deer, as well as lions and birds. Also identified as the goddess of birth and later attendant with the moon-goddess, Artemis' Greek counterpart is Diana.

Thought to be woven separately and sewn tight to one of the cycle's principal hangings, the two surviving detached borders call upon the Medici motto – *le temps revient* (the time returns) – to conjure the triumphal imagery resplendent of the first Medici pope.¹¹¹ Neither border logically fits onto the ten extant tapestries. As such, Antonio de' Beatis may have been correct in his account of sixteen tapestries made for Pope Leo X. If he were correct, there would be four hangings unaccounted for in which the *Four Seasons* and *Hours* could complement the sides of two other central pieces, just as the two other unidentified tapestries could be detached borders meant to pendant *The Stoning of Stephen* and *The Conversion of the Proconsul*.

¹¹¹ Evans, and Browne, *Raphael*, 124.

CHAPTER 4: CATHERINE DE' MEDICI AND THE *VALOIS FÊTES* TAPESTRY CYCLE

4.1 A Short History of the Valois Bloodline

Philip VI (r. 1328-1350) ascended to the throne in 1328 from which the Valois branch of the Capetian dynasty reigned throughout France until the assassination of Henry III in 1589. They occupied French territories, participated in European politics, and produced a continuous line of succession through three disparate yet interrelated branches – the Valois, the Valois-Orléans, and the Valois-Angoulême.¹¹² Regardless of the challenges put forth by Edward III of England in 1328 over who possessed the greater prerogative to the throne, Philip VI, nonetheless, successfully procured the crown. However, the argument led to both France and England's involvement in the Hundred Years' War, a span of intermittent warfare that lasted from 1337 to 1453 when Charles VII successfully expelled English forces from France.

Just as the Medici saga is too intricate a topic to discuss in depth here and now, so too is the history of the Valois family, and so I follow with a concise account of its participants and their highs and lows. Upon Philip VI's death, his son, Jean II (r. 1350-1364), became the second king from the House of Valois. His son, Charles V (r. 1364-1380), inherited the crown next and is recognized not only for his contribution to the arts but also for his success in regaining French territory lost to the English. Charles VII, son of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, became king of France in 1429. His reign, typically considered fruitful as he executed financial and military reforms, emancipated Orléans with the aid of Joan of Arc and revived a

¹¹² Julien Chapuis, "Patronage at the Later Valois Courts (1462-1589)," *MET Museum: Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. October 2002, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/valo_2/hd_valo_2.htm.

nationalistic attitude within France as he worked to capture English controlled French provinces between 1441 and 1453.¹¹³

With a two-hundred and sixty year span from its rise to demise, the house can be divided between the early and the late, the pre- and post-Hundred Years war after which monarchs attempted to unify France from within and exert diplomatic and militaristic control over Italy without. Both Charles VIII (r. 1483-1498) and Louis XII (r. 1498-1515) spearheaded armies into Italy, with attempts to claim Naples and Lombardy, both of which allowed for direct access to Italian influences. In 1515, Louis' eighteen-year-old son-in-law, Francis I, took the crown to become the next piece in the game of Renaissance politics and patronage.

An ascribed Italophile, Francis' interest in Italy went beyond a desire for control of its various city-states to include a Franco-Italian alliance. In 1518 Francis suggested the marriage between the orphan heiress, Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne and Pope Leo X's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino. Their union considered a failure as both wife and husband died shortly after, failed to produce a male heir. Nevertheless, all was not lost in the hope of reaching an effective alliance between French royal blood and Medici monies; Madeleine and Lorenzo's daughter, Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589) was later married to Francis' second son, Henry II in 1533.

¹¹³ Julien Chapuis, "Patronage at the Early Valois Courts (1328-1461)," *MET Museum: Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. October 2002, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/valo_1/hd_valo_1.htm.

Tellingly, this union maintained the Valois-Medici bloodline as it united both the Valois and Medici households through the distribution of diplomatic relationships, monies, and male heirs with the potential for more. Catherine bore ten children, at which point each child was married to a thoughtfully chosen figure within the Valois' political field of interest. Existing in a vicious religious atmosphere and faced with non-existent funds and no male heir, Henry III embodied the last but dwindling hope for the succession of the Valois-Medici dynasty. Upon his murder in 1589, his cousin, Henry of Navarre, became king of France, the first from the House of Bourbon.¹¹⁴ His coronation marks the end of the Valois' reign in France, but certainly not the end of the Medici's direct influence within Franco politics.¹¹⁵

4.2 Introducing the French Renaissance

As notable patrons of art, the Valois dynasty relied on visual transcription to assert their status, wealth, and power, as like several other royal families such as the Medici in Florence, the Tudors in England, and the Austrian Hapsburgs. The onset of the French Renaissance did not occur remotely, but through a succession of events and rulers, reaching its apogee in the late sixteenth century with the magnificences of Catherine de' Medici. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the state of France's cultural affairs barely resembled a Renaissance; instead,

¹¹⁴ E. Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vi (Paris, 1904). After Henry III assassinated Charles, Duke of Guise, and his brother, Louis, Cardinal of Lorraine, in December of 1588, he allied himself with Henry of Navarre to besiege Paris. However, before he could successfully reinstate the Valois name in Paris, he was stabbed by Jacques Clément, a fanatical Dominican friar, on August 1, 1589. Clément was killed immediately and later quartered and burned for good measure.

¹¹⁵ After Henry IV and Marguerite de Valois' divorce in 1599, Henry married Marie de' Medici in 1600. Marie de' Medici would act as regent for their son, Louis XIII, before facing exile twice. A great contributor to the arts, Marie utilized her position as queen, wife, and mother to construct her identity. Marred with difficulties and a lack of experience, her political influence was tenuous and ineffective in comparison to other female monarchs and regents.

it was marked by severe disorganization and the depletion of resources after the Hundred Years War as well as disparate languages, currencies, and social practices.¹¹⁶

Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) and King Louis XI (r. 1461-1483) desired to consolidate power and revitalize French culture. In turn, Jean Fouquet, a French artist, and illuminator who worked under both kings introduced Italian motifs and techniques after his return from Italy in the 1450s.¹¹⁷ Louis' successor, Charles VIII (r. 1483-1498) invaded Italy in 1494 and is purported to have initiated the French Renaissance. Moreover, his actions "sufficiently empowered...the new cultural movement to act in the political and cultural arena" comparable to that of the Italian Renaissance as is evidenced by France's importation of Italianate goods and styles on account of combat.¹¹⁸ Aside from France's militaristic encounter with Naples, antique Greek and Roman texts collectively with a lull in warfare, generated a new space for the French to craft court etiquette, choreograph new modes of song and dance, and identify the standard of French artistic fashions. However, according to France's current political and financial state, the three kings encountered difficulties in fostering the provocation of a cultural resurgence to the extent of what later French monarchs achieved.

The interest in Italian art and culture extended to Francis I (r. 1515-1547) as is exhibited in his attempts to coerce Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci to France to further Italianesque artistry. He was unsuccessful with Michelangelo; however, Leonardo da Vinci

¹¹⁶ Kathleen Anne Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 9-10.

¹¹⁷ Chapuis, "Early Valois Courts."

¹¹⁸ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 8.

arrived in France in 1516 with three unfinished works, where he remained until his death in 1519 at the age of sixty-two. Francis continued to enforce the role of a benevolent patron of the arts who encouraged humanistic erudition and commissioned tapestries, metal works, jewels, and architectural projects such as the Château de Fontainebleau, all the while collecting works by celebrity artists such as Raphael, Michelangelo, and Titian.¹¹⁹

His rapport with Italy resulted in the union as mentioned earlier between the Valois prince and the Medici orphan. Moreover, it nurtured steady roots between France and Italy, roots which were currently tenuous. With their marriage, Catherine brought with her to France a large entourage of Italian artists, chefs, dressmakers, and a collection of material objects as part of her dowry as well as the promise of landholdings. As she matured from youth to adult, her contributions to French culture did as well. Aside from her artistic projects that bolstered the reputation of the Renaissance in France, Catherine proved to be an avid collector: which enriched the vogue for aristocratic luxury collections. Her collector's cabinets housed objects such as fabric, furniture, Venetian glass, medals, maps, and other rarities, including, but not limited to, a coconut, coral, and crocodile skin.¹²⁰ Her collecting interests extended to books as well; her library consisted of 4,500 items written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as well as French and Italian.¹²¹ While other contemporary central European monarchs collected widely,

¹¹⁹ Other artistic projects included the construction of the Châteaux of Blois, Chambord, and Madrid and reconstruction of the Château of St-Germain-en-Laye, and remodeling of the Louvre. He employed prominent artists such as Benvenuto Cellini, Giulio Romano, and Primaticcio as well as the architect Sebastiano Serlio. Francis also worked to expand the royal library, purchasing both new publications and rare manuscripts. He acquired several works through hired agents, a few of which were Guillaume de Bellay, Battista della Palla, and Pietro Aretino. For further information in regard to Francis I's reign and patronage, see Knecht, R.J., *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹²⁰ Kerrie-rue Michahelles, "Catherine de Medici's 1589 Inventory at the Hôtel de la Reine in Paris," *Furniture History* 38 (2002), 5-6.

¹²¹ Bernard C. Weber, "Catherine de' Medici: A Royal Bibliophile," *The Historian* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1949): 88-95, 90-91.

it is the queen mother's interest in history, philosophy, theology, medicine, law, and poetics, that allow one to read her collection as a representation of her "eclecticism rather than her erudition...dictated more by Renaissance fashions than by scholarly appreciation."¹²² It is not to suggest that Catherine did not possess an avid interest in history and politics but that her strategic choice of collection embodied both the state of French and Italian humanistic refinement.¹²³

4.3 Provenance

The *Valois Fêtes* tapestries are subject to curiosity as ambiguity resonates throughout its history in terms of patronage, audience, and manufacture. Crafted of wool, silk, silver, and gilt-metal-wrapped threads, there are eight tapestries in the cycle. Each cloth displays a different fête resplendent of music, dance, jousts, and ostentatious travel; they are, *Fontainebleau* (Figure 56), *Tournament* (Figure 57), *Whale* (Figure 58), *Polish Ambassadors* (Figure 59), *Journey* (Figure 60), *Quintain* (Figure 61), *Barriers* (Figure 62), and *Elephant* (Figure 63). While there is a range of dates in which scholars have purported the tapestries to have been commissioned and woven, most relegate their conception to 1575, which would place them in France possibly between 1576 and 1577.

¹²² Ibid., 88-95. 93-94.

¹²³ Lawrence, *Women and Art*. See also, Sheila Ffolliott, "Biography from Below: Nicolas Hoel's Histoire d'Arthémise" *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 13 (1986): 90-98. Artemisia of Caria was Queen of Halicarnassus in the fourth century. The wife and sister of Mausolus, Artemisia erected a mausoleum for him upon his death in c. 350 B.C. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, was an expression of conjugal devotion and dynastic promotion, something that Catherine de' Medici associated well with as per Hoel's biography, *Histoire de la royne Artémise*, and the queen mother's tapestry cycle, the *Story of Artemisia*.

Some arguments have been made as to the tapestries origins, yet Francis Yates provides one of the earliest in her assertion that the tapestries were commissioned by William of Orange in Flanders to celebrate Francois I, Duke of Anjou and employ the Valois for support in his mission for religious toleration. That is, in accord with Orange's attempts to generate national unity between Netherlandish Catholics and Protestants. Other suppositions allege that the tapestries were commissioned by Catherine de' Medici as a means to bring honor to her late husband's family legacy or even as a gift for Christine de' Lorraine's marriage.¹²⁴ Due to the tapestries iconographical plan, the timeline in which they were woven, and their sudden departure from France after the queen mother's death, I believe that Catherine commissioned the tapestries and gifted them to Christine through an *inter-vivos* donation, with the forethought that it would benefit Christine's marriage and future in Florence.

Early in the morning on January 5, 1589, Catherine de' Medici died from a sudden onset of septic embolism. Christine de Lorraine, who refused to leave France without her inheritance was forced to select only a portion of what was left to her. There was only a short time in which Christine could return from Blois to the Hôtel de la Reine to collect her belongings, yet present socio-political circumstances in France left her powerless to return to the home of her adolescence. Instead, the Duke of Mayenne and his family, who took up residence in the empty Hôtel de la Reine, confiscated the late queen mother's palace and goods for personal use and gain. Christine, angered by the prospect that someone would obtain her inheritance illegally, sent her governess, Mme Marigny, to obtain a selection of the

¹²⁴ In 1589, Christine de Lorraine was married to Ferdinand I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (r. 1587-1609).

goods left to her in her inheritance.¹²⁵ However, she was unsuccessful as documentation accounts for Christine 's refusal to leave France without the goods. On March 2, 1589, her attendant, Francis Bardin, oversaw the removal of approximately 465 items in comparison to the circa 5,000 objects that remained in an inventory within the home.¹²⁶

Lucas da Heere, a Flemish weaver who worked in the court of Orange as well as France and England, is presumed to have made the tapestry cartoons, yet without further documentation, it is impossible to discern so with certainty. Born in Ghent in 1534, his specialty lay in portraiture and costume design. De Heere, which means *schade leer u*, or *misfortune teaches you*, adopted a singing siren (Figure 64) as his device, a motif present throughout several of the Valois tapestries (Figure 65).¹²⁷ After he fled the Low Countries in response to religious persecution led by the Spanish Duke of Alba, he arrived in a Dutch church in Austin Friars, London in 1567. Aside from his time spent in England from 1567-1577, he visited France between 1559 and 1560 and created tapestry cartoons for Catherine de' Medici.¹²⁸ While it is certainly a possibility that they were meant for the *Valois Fêtes* cycle, it is nonetheless speculation. Aside from its early date in the sixteenth century, that is, in consideration of the date it was transferred from Paris, there is no stylistic evidence as to

¹²⁵ Kerrie -rue Michahelles, "A bequest to Christine of Lorraine from Catherine de' Medici: A Commentary on the inventory of moveable property 'acquired' by testamentary donation, 1589," *Journal of the History of Collecting* 30, no. 3 (November 2018): 5.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹²⁷ Yates, *The Valois Tapestries*, 27-28. Striking in its similarity to de Heere's device of the siren with a male clinging to her tale, which is not to be confused with a siren playing a lyre, the image is woven in the barge's hull in *Whale*. Since uncertainty still prevents Lucas de Heere from being named the master weaver, it does suggest that he played some part in the cycle. Perhaps the master weaver included the device as an ode to the artist who crafted the tapestry cartoons.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 19. While the tapestry cartoons he is cited as crafting could be the *Valois* tapestries, it is more likely that they belonged to another one of the tapestry cycles commissioned by the Queen Mother.

what the completed cartoons would have looked like; that is, aside from Caron's *Merry-go-Round Elephant* painting, which will be analyzed further in the chapter.

Lucas de Heere died in Paris in 1584, five years before his once patron, Catherine de' Medici. As aforementioned, the dates for the *Valois Fêtes* cycle tentatively identify an initial production period of 1575; however, de Heere was still in England at the time. The *Ballet Comique* of 1581, which celebrated the union of Marguerite de Lorraine and Anne de Joyeuse, is quite possibly pictured in *Tournament* or *Polish Ambassadors*; therefore, the tapestries could possibly have been commissioned and produced between the years of 1581 and May of 1588, just before Catherine and her family were expelled from Paris. If de Heere is the master weaver, then the production date of 1575 is impossible and supports the notion that they were commissioned closer to the end of Catherine's life; however, if he was simply the cartoon artist, then they could still have been manufactured circa 1575 but under a different master weaver. They would have had to been produced post-1575 as her daughter, Claude de Valois, died that year, since both the portraits and costuming are reminiscent of the 1570s.¹²⁹

Based on the rapidity at which the cycle was produced, it is presumed that they were fashioned in two separate workshops under the supervision of more than one designer. Since there would have been several weavers working the looms, a general projection is that four weavers worked with one tapestry on one loom for a total of four looms and sixteen weavers across two communicative workshops.¹³⁰ In accordance with the hypothesized projection, the

¹²⁹ Pascal-François Bertrand, "A New Method of Interpreting the Valois Tapestries, through a History of Catherine de Médicis," translated by Pamela J. Warner. *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 14 (2006): 29.

¹³⁰ Cleland and Wieseman. *Renaissance Splendor*, 50-51.

weaver's would manufacture one square meter every six to eight weeks. A variety of techniques were utilized to create the assembly of textures and viewpoints present: two popular ones analyzed amid conservation include *crapautage* (Figure 66), the woven technique where metal-wrapped weft overlaps with more than one warp, and *arrondissement* (Figure 67), another woven technique that employs metal-wrapped threads to generate thicker outlines favored for their aptitude to enhance important or desirable features.¹³¹

4.4 Catherine and Christine: Their Unbreakable Bond

Born April 13, 1519, Catherine de' Medici lived an eventful life in the height of the French Renaissance. Shortly after her birth, Catherine was placed under the guardianship of her great-uncle, Leo X. However, upon his death in 1521, the responsibility of guardianship transferred to Clement VII after which she was raised by her aunt, Clarice de' Medici. Civil tumult in the papal states led to the sack of Rome in 1527, which weakened Catherine's position in Italian society. Kidnapped and placed in a convent, Catherine was able to return to the papal court after Clement VII signed a peace treaty with Emperor Charles V.¹³² Her marriage to Henry II on October 28, 1533 combined Medici funds with French royal blood and furthered the long-standing Franco-papal alliance that had sustained for generations. Her dowry

¹³¹ Ibid., 64-65.

¹³² Kenneth Meyer Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society), 327. In 1529, the Treaty of Barcelona was struck. After decades of war, the pact forced Pope Clement VII to make peace with Charles V, effectively placing Italy under Spanish control. In turn, the Papal States were restored and Charles V was crowned emperor and king of Italy in 1530 by Pope Clement VII.

consisted of 100,000 écus and the guarantee of property in Parma, Modena, Pisa, Livorno, Reggio, and Piacenza.¹³³

Aside from a woman and wife's ideal relegation to piety, charity, and devotion to her husband, Salic law prevented women from succeeding to the throne after the death of a monarch, and so it was essential that they produced healthy male children to inherit the throne. Catherine's tentative placement in the French royal court as a "foreign" bride only weakened her position as the years continued to pass.¹³⁴ After years of fertility barriers, the consultation of various physicians in which she was advised to drink mule urine on one occasion, and allegations that she conferred with the dark arts to procure a child, Catherine delivered ten children in twelve years in which seven surpassed their adolescence, but only two outlived the mother.

Shunned for her coarse Italian roots, her husband acknowledged her as co-regent in 1548 and 1552 while he was away on military campaigns. After his accidental death in 1559, Catherine influenced her son, Francis' reign. However, he was king for only a short time before he died after which the ten-year-old Charles IX became king. Catherine declared herself *governor of France* during which time she wielded almost complete power as queen regent. After Charles' death, she continued to influence Henry and exert political control up until shortly before she died. Aside from political machinations, she kept busy with various artistic

¹³³ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 228.

¹³⁴ For a review of Catherine's position within French court as per the decree of Salic Law, see Sheila Ffolliott, "Casting a Rival into the Shade: Catherine de' Medici and Diane de Poitiers," *Art Journal* no. 2 (1989): 138-143.

commissions, which included several architectural projects and established a new tradition in which she left her material possessions specifically to female members of the family.

While she favored some of her children over others, she maintained a devout interest in their lives and overall well-being. The same can be said for her grandchildren. The daughter of Claude of France and Charles III, Duke de Guise, Christine de Lorraine (1565-1637) (Figure 68) was born on August 16, 1565. After her mother died in 1575, Catherine asserted guardianship over Christine and raised her close. Moreover, privy to private political meetings and interviews, Christine learned the mechanisms of court politics directly from Catherine which she later applied within Florentine society. The two women, one fresh and novice, the other aged and experienced, were extremely close and embodied the reciprocal and unequivocal love and affection between a grandmother and a granddaughter.

Catherine's desire to send her family back to Florence was achieved when Christine married Ferdinando I, Grand Duke of Tuscany by proxy in February 1589 officiating the union when she arrived in Florence later that year in April. Political in nature, Catherine hoped that love would manifest and that the match would proffer both accord and the continuation of the Valois-Medici lineage, this time in recognition to both male and female contributions. The second son of Cosimo I, Ferdinando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, forsake his cardinalate after the death of his brother, Francesco. Generally well-liked, he bolstered Florence's economy and artistic production and welcomed Christine with great enthusiasm. However, after his death, Christine acted as regent twice; once for her son, Cosimo II, and again as co-regent for Ferdinando II. While her administration began on good terms, binary behavior soon depleted the public's enthusiasm for the French princess. Both excessive

spending on court spectacle and her integration of rigid religious orthodoxy weathered her appeal until she died at the Villa of Castello in 1636.

All in all, Catherine attempted to consolidate concord, yet her status as a female in a culture ripe with misogyny prevented her from effectively attaining religious peace as well as recognition in her endeavors of such a hefty task. Instead, Henry IV, quickly achieved what Catherine spent her entire adult life attempting to support; the harmonization of ecclesial differences through the Edict of Union in 1588 and the Edict of Nantes in 1589.¹³⁵ Years after her death, Henry allegedly proclaimed;

But I ask you, what could the poor woman do, left with five children to provide for after the death of her husband, and with two families, ourselves and the Guises, who thought about usurping the crown. Wasn't it necessary that she play many roles to fool both while protecting her children, who reigned one after the other, thanks to the guidance of so shrewd a woman? I am surprised that she never did worse!

While his words are not understood as fact, they do allow for one to consider her position as a Catholic, widow, mother, queen, queen regent, and queen mother, regardless of the male perspective. Catherine, who had to pursue her goals and ambition with care and diligence, could have been stripped of her power at any point based on the regional argument that deemed an authoritative female figure weak, volatile, and politically ignorant. Expelled to Blois in 1588 and extremely ill with a lung infection, Catherine died

¹³⁵ Musée Protestant, "The Colloquium of Poissy (1561)," *Musée Virtuel du Protestantisme*. Accessed 15 March, 2019. <https://www.museeprotessant.org/en/notice/the-colloquium-of-poissy-1561/>. Henry IV receives credit for his successful consolidation of religious differences through his successful facilitation of the Edict of Nantes (1589), yet several components of the edict were included in the religious reforms that, through political intervention, Catherine sought to implement as queen regent and mother, such as when she attempted to reconcile peace between Catholics and Huguenots before war broke out through the Colloquium of Poissy (1561), and the Edict of Saint-Germain (1562) where she allowed Protestants limited rights.

on January 5, 1589, with the insecure Henry and newly married Christine by her side, in which she left behind a lifetime of work with little hope of future reconciliation.

4.5 Establishing Familial Connections

In the fashion of the Renaissance, there is an assortment of themes and impressions in which the *Valois* tapestries can be read; if unable to recognize the familial connections present in the series, it is difficult to understand them as anything besides a set of hangings that depict fantastical parties illustrative of Renaissance lore. As such, the family members in the cycle are all composed of portraits found in Catherine's collection and are identified as alive at the time they were commissioned. They can be dated to sometime between February 1575 and December 1578 as Charles de Guise and Henry I are included in the tapestries but fell out of the Queen Mother's favor in the summer of 1576. Stylistically oriented during the reign of King Henry III, the figures are less naturalistic than they are stylized representations of royal court fashion with portrait heads woven to the top of the corresponding bodies.

Nonetheless, they bear a life-like resemblance to the complicated and tumultuous Valois-Vaudémont-Lorraine bloodline.¹³⁶ Catherine de' Medici, Queen Mother at the time of their commission, is woven into a number of the tapestries, depicted in widows weeds in honor of her deceased husband, Henry II. Other members to appear in the tapestries include Catherine's children; Henry III (Figure 69), Hercule-François (Figure 70), and Marguerite de Valois (Figure 71), her last surviving daughter. Aside from her children, the tapestries include

¹³⁶ Cleland and Wieseman, *Renaissance Splendor*, 16. Refer to for concise family tree.

their respectable connections by marriage with the inclusion of Henry II's wife, Queen Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont (Figure 72); Henry II's sister- and brother-in-law through marriage, Marguerite de Lorraine (Figure 73) and the Duke of Joyeuse (Figure 74); Marguerite's husband, Henry of Navarre (Figure 75); as well as Charles III, Duke of Lorraine (Figure 76), Catherine de' Medici's son-in-law through the marriage of her deceased daughter, Claude of France.

The seemingly harmonious interactions of the Valois kin eternally situated in the tapestries leads one to assume peace and congruous temperance reverberate throughout the family. In contrast, the state of the Valois family was rife with discord and rebellion yet Catherine strove to appeal to all sides; son, daughter, Catholic, Protestant, through the depiction of solidarity and strategized figure placement. For instance, Hercule-François, who had been under Protestant influence and later imprisoned along with Henry of Navarre by Catherine for heretical actions, was in actuality heir to the throne after Charles IX. However, before his death, Charles decreed Henry III as his successor, in which he effectively denied his brother, access to the crown. Meanwhile, Catherine maintained a tremendous level of authority and influence over Henry III as queen mother, yet he altered between religious fanatic and one "charged with frivolity, the pursuit of luxury, and inappropriate behavior" who mistreated his mother's advice and ruled through favors and his favorite mignons.¹³⁷

In June 1584 François died childless leaving Louise de Lorraine and her estranged husband, the excessively paranoid Henry III, the sole hope for Valois succession. Further, her

¹³⁷ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, 260. Also, mignons were the young men that Henry III favored with gifts, titles, and attention. He surrounded himself with them at court which brought about rumors of untoward and licentious behavior.

last living daughter, Marguerite; erudite, tempestuous, and defiant, was married to Henry of Navarre in 1572, with the prospect that their union would facilitate peace between the raging Catholic and Protestant war. Their union, though, was disrupted by St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in which thousands of French citizens, the majority Protestant, were murdered within a week. Aside from her strained relationships with her brothers, Marguerite later divorced Henry in 1599, bringing to a close a turbulent marriage that her mother sought to uphold.

Interestingly though, Christine de Lorraine is not pictured within the tapestries at all. As Catherine's favorite granddaughter and prodigy, her portrait should be included in the tapestry cycle, if they were intended for familial comfort within the Hôtel de la Reine or political persuasion as Yates argues. To commission a set of tapestries as grand as the *Valois Fêtes* for the Queen Mother of France without a portrait of her granddaughter would have, at the least, insulted Catherine. However, if Catherine commissioned the tapestries, then it would be perfectly acceptable for her to exclude Christine from the set as it would not only be unseemly for the recipient to be pictured in her gift, it would be unnecessary as Christine would facilitate the corporeal validation of her heritage by association with the tapestries.

4.6 A Backdrop of Splendor

The Valois tapestries, set amidst a milieu of splendidous fêtes, exhibit a range of festivities from tournaments, dances, musicals, hunts, and naumachia highlighting mechanized whales. Both the inclusion of family members from the Valois-Lorraine bloodline and the representation of festivities elude to the celebratory nature of their commission. The queen

mother, associated with her dearly departed husband through her solemn widow's weeds, woven with her children and their respective connections through marriage, fortifies my argument that they were commissioned as a gift for Christine at the behest of her prudent grandmother.

Discrepancies between the foreground figures and the festivities shown in the background have been the basis of curiosity and postulation. Rather than reading them together, as events that happen in conjunction with the placement of the figures, the figures are perceived as situated in the present, while the fêtes behind occur in a transient time zone that illuminates the grandeur and pleasures experienced through past Valois magnificences. Moreover, the fêtes, reflections of prior occurrences, facilitate illusionistic demonstrations and conjure a picturesque example of the wealth that Christine inherited at the bequest of her grandmother.

The commission of such a large scale tapestry series echoes her wish to capture the essence of the Valois court in the cusp of its apogee. As such, the background figures and events depict gatherings that occurred in the past under the reign of Charles IX. However, since Charles died while the tapestries were in production, the full-length foreground figures depict Henry II and members of his court to classify the living further. As they were a gift to Christine, it can be argued that they embody the past through events that happened amidst the reign of Charles IX, the present through the lively foreground figures, and future that Christine and her descendants will procure for the Valois-Medici bloodline.

While the exact fête is unknown, *Fontainebleau* (Figure 56) is presumed to derive from the 1564 fête held at the island of Fontainebleau to mark the start of Catherine and Charles IX's

royal tour. At 12' 9'' x 11', the tapestry is one of two that are more vertical than they are horizontal. Enclosed in an ornate frame, Henry III and his wife, Louise de Lorraine welcome the viewer with an outstretched hand and a precarious tilt of Louise's fan. Both figures, situated in the present time are decorated with pearls and feathers and radiate an overall sense of finery. There is a gradual procession of distance as the two figures directly behind Henry and Louise look to the far left. Their gaze extends the viewer's eye to the scene beyond in which six ships surround a makeshift island. Moreover, the triad of soldiers dressed in silver, blue and brown pleated uniforms, that rest just beyond the waning slope further articulate the scene behind them as the figure on the left inclines his arm and hand to point to the nearest ship. The barge, while woven, is figuratively made of wood as it was created specifically for the fête in question. The faux island, woven just off center, is populated with trees and warring people. Darker skinned than the opposing faction, the men on the island, armed with spears, shields, and rocks, cluster together in disarray as they contest their rival.

The view, enclosed by a chateau and dense woods, eludes to the private and sumptuous nature of the event and the wealth associated with their presentation. Although stylized, the tapestry is demonstrative of the French Renaissance as its far-reaching landscape, and architectural forms attest to the artisanal quality. Moreover, while still schematic, *Fontainebleau* illustrates keen attention to detail as the waves, representative of their natural form, woven with white striations, give way to frothy foam tips while the rich aquamarine deepens to a dark blue as it nears the body of the ship. While the grass does not crumple under the weight of the onlooker's feet, the tapestry embodies an array of shades that, paired with the

natural organic weeds, sprigs, and blooms, enunciate the naturalistic characteristics within the work.

As such, the variations in the ships further validate the fine craftsmanship of the tapestry cycle. For instance, the ships, while gold or gold and red, illustrate various aspects of Renaissance theatrics in the guise of embossed shields, weaponry, trumpeters, and mythic sea motifs. While the ships appear small as if they were situated far in the distance, they are, in fact, like-size. As the tapestries depict past happenings, their presence conjures the memory of not only the sumptuous event but also the political function of a fête just before embarkation on a royal tour of one's provinces.

Meanwhile, at 12' 6'' x 19' 8'' cm, *Tournament* (Figure 57) most clearly defines the dual timeline within the tapestries. On the left, Catherine stands with her daughter, Marguerite, and son-in-law, Henry of Navarre, and a young man. On the right, Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont faces the viewer and clasps her left hand to that of an unidentifiable woman.¹³⁸ The particular scene is thought to allude to a fête either from June 1559 when Henry II was injured in a political joust or 1565 at Bayonne when Catherine and Charles IX met with her daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Spain. Void of emotional expression, the tapestry portrays stylized bodies and individualized faces. Meanwhile, the stoic foreground figures contrast with the active background figures who charge with dynamism to highlight the fête in the back as an active memory. Another indicator of the discontinuous timeline is that the queen mother, regal in her

¹³⁸ The unidentifiable woman might be her sister, Marguerite de Lorraine-Vaudémont.

widow's weeds in the foreground, is also portrayed in the center of a temporary canopy as a young woman dressed in a gown of gold with coiffured blonde hair amongst a sea of ladies.

Aside from the tournament in the center, figural placement and gesture are particularly arranged to draw attention to the interior scene. Very few participants look out to the viewer; in fact, the only two figures who directly address the viewer is the soldier who sits at the foot of Catherine's skirts and Queen Louise de Lorraine. Moreover, just like in the *Acts of the Apostles* series, gesture draws attention as Catherine rests her hand upon the child, effectively bonding the two, who both lead the eye to the tournament and then back to the present where Louise and another woman touch hands. Louise also gestures to the tourney with her right arm as the undersleeve of her gown is higher than that of her lowered arm and her hand is partially visible beyond the collar of her companion's garment.

Nestled amongst steep hills, far-reaching footpaths, and grand architectural forms, the tapestry, like its counterparts, conflates the fantastical with the mundane. Just as the faux marble steps separate the life-size figures from the memory of the past, two four-centered arches embrace the far left and right sides of the tapestry as trumpeters further enclose the scene on both sides. The view is relatively symmetrical in form and decoration; two marble ledges; two life-size figural groups; a center mass of decorated horses and soldiers; a center canopy and banquet table; a pair of flanking golden chariots drawn by four white horses and surrounded by classical characters; with two slightly barren patches of land in the left- and right background. However, the grenades in mid-air only enhance the tumultuous energy of the tapestry as the furls and curls of red, yellow, and white fibers only arouse chaos.

One of two water scenes in the cycle, *Whale* (Figure 58), which measures 13' x 13', most likely recounts the water festival held at Bayonne on June 24, 1565. In the foreground, on the left, Charles II of Lorraine stands between Marguerite, who possesses a pair of luxurious fur-trimmed gloves in hand, and her brightly clad husband, Henry of Navarre. Just as Henry gestures with his left hand to the fête in front of him, so too does the gentleman on the right, engaged in conversation, extend his arm to the event next to him. While slightly skewed in its use of perspective, each tapestry employs a variety of viewpoints, as if the viewer is meant to see, feel, and hear the queen mother's fêtes from all angles.

Within the tapestry's composition, there are various figural groups littered across a bountiful landscape decorated with dense and shady forests trimmed in light and dark green highlights. Like the others in the cycle, the tapestry expresses a keen awareness of its topographical surroundings; that is, that the landscape is clearly articulated in correspondence to the chateau and bridge in Bayonne. The double arched bridge in the background suggests the continuation of space, beyond that which the tapestry can encapsulate; however, it also barricades the fête and its guests in an exclusive cosmos, free from the hindrances of the religious and political despair that currently affected French society.

Meanwhile, Catherine sits with her back to the viewer, again dressed in widow's weeds, as she wafts through the water in a marine festooned barge. Equally resplendent are the dressed figures of the French court as shields encrusted with an oyster, conch shell, turtle, serpent, lobster, and a salamander decorate the side. Just beyond her view, lies the main event; a deviation of a naumachia, that is, a mock naval battle. The mechanized whale, which sits roughly in the center of the composition, spouts two furtive streams of water as he rests in the

water, under the attack of human sport. One of the few figures who evokes an emotive response in the tapestry series, the mock whale emanates shock and fear as he anticipates imminent death. The whale is flanked on the left by sirens who sit atop a sea turtle who trumpet as they welcome a trident-like figure in a chariot pulled by a trio of sea horses. On the right, a trio of sirens each peer into a looking glass; and in the far back, two men each ride a dolphin with a trident clasped in hand. Further, the marvelous sea and musical motifs support the construction of the Renaissance microcosm as manifested in the joyous and fantastical themes that allude to the wealth and magnificence of the patron and her family.

Aside from the barge that conveys the queen mother, four other barge's surround the whale, each decorated in gold and adorned with floral and celestial embossed shields as they push against forceful currents caused by the whale's tremors. Off to the sides, on the left and right, the figural groups frolic in merriment as they participate in song and dance as they consume food and drink.

Commemorative of the happenings that occurred at Tuileries palace in September 1573, *Polish ambassadors* (Figure 59) measures 12' 5'' x 13' cm, and pictures Henry I, Duke of Guise with two polish ambassadors in the far left picture plan who stand on a faux marble ledge that drops into the thematic event. The fête, the first of its kind since the infamous St. Bartholomew's day massacre, signifies the welcome celebration of the Polish ambassadors who arrived to escort Henry III back to Poland to fulfill his duties as king. Moreover, the subject of foreign dependence and the fulfillment of one's aristocratic obligations strengthens the message that France, more specifically, that the Valois monarchy is powerful and resourceful, and serves as a pictorial reminder of how to govern and please.

Aside from the excitement brought about by the Polish ambassador's visitation, the faux waterfall feature to the right of the tapestry features six females who play four different instruments. Rivulets of water trickle down in a silver mesh of fibers as the women fabricate music for which the dancers step in harmony.

Like the other tapestries, a far-reaching landscape and architectural background are prominent as the viewer pushes past three dancing couples, a concentrated crowd, and around a geometrically planned garden, to reach the chateau that is bordered by two other residences. All existing space outside of the regimented garden path contrasts with swooping trees, grassy hilltops, and curvilinear footpaths. Unlike the other tapestries, a distinct middle-ground is visible as a straight line of people from the Valois court designate the front and back halves as they observe the dance. A gold balustrade and a unit of silver-white stairs facilitate passageway from the linear space with meandering figures, manicured hedges, hermai, and a pair of full-length nude female statues to the main spectacle viewed by the queen mother.

Replete with gesture in the low foreground, Polish ambassadors, cloaked in red and blue tasseled silk with soft feathered caps, communicate vis-à-vis the tilt of their heads and splay of hands. In tune with the other tapestries in the cycle, the costumes worn by the ambassadors and French natives are effervescent in their magnificence as silk core, and metallic-wrapped threads illuminate the gilt and glittering bodices, pantaloons, sword tips, and textured caps and cloaks. While not bedecked in brilliant hues, Catherine, nonetheless, sits in a lion-footed curule seat while clothed in dignified mourning attire. Next to her, is the empty throne chair belonging to King Henry III, who participates in the fête conceptualized by Catherine.

Just like the joyous entertainments that the other tapestries invoke, *Journey* (Figure 60), which measures 12' 7" x 17' 5", is reminiscent of the 1573 journey that the Valois family undertook to Poland in which they stopped in Nancy for Christine de' Lorraine's christening.¹³⁹ It also celebrates Catherine's triumphant procession as she takes back Chenoceaux, the palace that Henry II gifted to his favorite mistress, Diane de' Poitiers, after Henry's premature death in which she obtained power. If the specificity of the chateau was ever called to question, the top of the entry gate is decorated with a statue of a deer, the symbol Henry III attributed to Diane.¹⁴⁰ Underneath, the clock reads one o'clock as the procession, made up of a mélange of men, animals, and litters, follow the path beyond the tapestry plane.

An ambiguous trio of life-size figures in the right foreground calls attention to the frontal character, possibly Charles of Guise, leader of the Catholic league, who breaks the barrier with his left foot. In contrast, headed by the same foot soldiers from *Fontainebleau* and three richly dressed men on horseback, the organic foliage and curvilinear path extends the landscape to the far-reaching corners as a bear is led by its keeper, dogs bound playfully and horses, clothed in luxury bits with manicured tresses and plaited tails, trot along the trail. One carriage and two litters filter through the procession; the one litter transports Catherine

¹³⁹ Christine de Lorraine was eight years old when her grandmother visited her for her "christening." As she would have been baptized shortly after her birth, as was custom, Catherine's visitation possibly marks an extended celebration of her christening.

¹⁴⁰ Henry's infatuation with Diane contributed to the application of divine symbolism upon her namesake. As such, she came to be associated with the Greek huntress and moon goddess, Diana, in which the deer is one of her attributes.

de' Medici, the other has drawn the drapes, while the carriage conveys a dignitary of some kind.

The bridge, which facilitates the journey's crossing, tolerates the weight of two horses who bear fleur-de-lis saddle clothes as they cross the river Cher. The male figures directly behind the horses appear to be packing up camp as they fill saddle bags and wooden carts of belongings that have been wrapped and tied with fabric and string. The camp opposite it on the right illustrates the same process except with the addition of women that aid men in the deconstruction of tents. The last to leave in the royal sequence, *Journey* depicts the splendor and pomp of aristocratic travel and the extent of its entourage as they traveled from province to province.

Nearly square in composition, *Quintain* (Figure 61) measures 12' 7" x 13' and depicts Henry III readying to mount his horse. Several figures ready to participate in the event, but Henry III is the only one to look directly outside the tapestry. It is unknown if it is meant to be indicative of a particular fête; however, it anticipates one of the several different forms an aristocratic festival could resemble – that is a masquerade running with knights who await their turn to tilt the quintain. While the quintain, or post heavy with a sandbag, does not occupy a central position in the tapestry, it does make up the central theme. One of the hangings that have yet to be restored by contemporary conservators, *Quintain* is composed like *Journey* in that it exhibits a curvilinear arrangement, yet it differs in that the concentration of figures cling around the interior of the tapestry to leave space for the joust participants in the center.

The tapestry, bound in a festive space, fronts comprehensive hills and dense trees as the scene extends in the far back to reveal a château. The château places the tapestry in geographical reality, yet the stone wall and archway isolate the temporal world from that of the fête as seen vis-à-vis a temporarily erected wooden balustrade for guests to stand behind and a provisional seating arrangement for Catherine and her entourage to watch the spectacle. Woven with musicians, knights, soldiers, and animals all finely clothed, the contestants take turns at the quintain, decorated at the top with a golden dragon, as they employ their lances to tilt the weighted post.

Thought to have occurred in 1564 at Fontainebleau, *Barriers* (Figure 62) measures 12' 6" x 10' 7". The tapestry presents Charles III of Lorraine, who receives his helmet from a page on the left and Hercule-François who clasps a wooden pole on the right. More vertical than it is horizontal, the tapestry, the second one that still awaits restoration, attests to international chivalry and the entertainment of courtly diversions in which knights fight over a wooden tilt barrier. The figures stand in lush greenery with sprays of plants interspersed as they ready to participate in the contest that occurs in alignment with the box that seats the queen mother and her train in the center of the tapestry.

The balustrade and double hermai, canopied arch toward the back of the tapestry differentiate the fête from the outside world.¹⁴¹ Again, like other tapestries in the cycle, a

¹⁴¹ *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (*Poliphilo's Strife of Love in a Dream*) was first published in 1499 in Venice. Facets of the tapestries are reminiscent of the woodcuts that were reproduced in Paris in 1546 by Jean Cousin the younger or Jean Goujon. See also, Warburg Institute, "Warburg Institute Iconographic Database, Accessed 26 April, 2019." http://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/results_basic_search.php?p=1&var_1=Hypnerotomachia&var_2=Poliphili&var_3=&var_4=&var_5= for a digital catalogue of the 1546 woodcut prints made from Francesco Colonna's 1499 original woodcuts.

border isolates the two spaces as an open archway allows for one's entrance and exit. Within the event, two knights spar on opposite sides of the barrier while two other knights wait on either end. There are two statues on either side of the barrier that impress upon military motifs of strength and valor. Further, the attention to armor and general costumes are spectacular as the metallic luster, heavily embroidered brocade, and gold encrusted breastplates are nearly tangible through the weaver's pattern. As with the broad array of decorative motifs in the cycle, musicians and mythic images populate the tapestry, most evident in the line of musicians in the rear and the siren embossed shield held at an angle on the shoulder of Hercule-François page.

Meanwhile, at 12' 5" x 15' 3", *Elephant* (Figure 63) alludes to Hannibal crossing the Alps on elephant back after which his army was defeated by the Roman general, Scipio.¹⁴² With Marguerite, Hercule-François, and perhaps their young nephew, Henry, at the front right of the tapestry, the viewer is free to peruse their way through the fête depicted in the background. The living, elevated slightly on a darkened patch of land, is elaborately dressed in rich, heavy brocade each with a different ruff. As with the other tapestries in the cycle, trumpets, some with the head of a snake or dog, in red, silver, and gold, cheer on the mock battle that is in full effect behind the Valois family's metaphorical presence.

Still stylized in practice, their forms mimic the sway of the battle as the men, whose drapery billows, lunge and contort their bodies and the horses, who rear on their hind legs,

¹⁴² George Leland Hunter, "Scipio Tapestries Now in America," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 29, no. 158 (May 1916), 59-60. While not an uncommon motif, Francis I commissioned a tapestry cycle that depicted the *History of Scipio Africanus* in July 1532. Crafted in Brussels, and woven in gold and silk, the commission was influenced by Giulio Romano, Raphael's pupil, and represents scenes from the second Punic War (the Hannibalic War) – a war fought between Carthaginian's and Roman's over control of the western Mediterranean.

twist violently. Gilded in bridles of red, silver, and gold, the horses, while not as richly decorated as those in *Tournament*, are nonetheless fashioned in finery. Their anonymous riders wield shields, spears, and fiery orbs while those on foot wield muskets as well as flames blaze through holes in the theatrical hilltop. Just as one figure from the male quartet who stands below the base of Marguerite's gown gestures to the middle ground, another figure gestures toward an isolated pair of dogs who lock forearms in a melee. The dogs, which align with the dominant horse and elephant are reminiscent of an anagogical axis; however, in the case of *Elephant*, it reads as a courtly progression of entertainment and theatrics.

The white elephant for which the tapestry is named after stands atop an artificial hilltop, static in comparison to the chaos that encircles him. The animal, garbed in a decadent headpiece with feathers extending from the top, wears a matching collar that extends the length of its back embossed with a musical sea creature, and a double-decker saddle that allows for two groups of court participants to play the role of soldiers and project flaming orbs from the top. The figures, which encompass all facets of the tapestry, are classified by the different costumes they wear and their weapons, or lack thereof; further, they separate the participants from the spectators who border the peripheral background.

Aside from the main entertainment, the topographical attention given to the tapestry exposes two entrances from the outside world; one on the left, through a clearing of trees, and one on the right, through an archway that leads to town as seen in the distance from a cluster of rooftops. However, inside the space of the fête, Catherine de' Medici sits on a balcony under a canopy surrounded by members of the court. The triple arched structure is decorated with fictive bronze reliefs in the form of *mascarons* and a pair of semi-reclining nude figures.

On the far right of the tapestry sits a dilapidated rotunda connected by an arched passageway and a tri-story townhouse of the same architectural facing. Each of the levels teems with people and even more continue to enter through the archway, and proves suggestive of the expanse of the queen mother's entertainments.

Since the tapestries are most likely to have been woven in two separate workshops, it is curious that the borders' decorative designs are simultaneous throughout. The cycle's uniform construction eludes to either the patron's vision or the master weaver's designation. Replete with lush, organic foliage and bountiful fruits, each tapestry is enclosed by a continuous tri-part fictive frame comprised of an intermediary border (Figure 77), a band of decorative motifs (Figure 78), with a final frame repetitive of the internal border (Figure 79). The transitional band measures roughly 1-inch wide and is woven primarily in gold with patches of red intermixed. Aside from minor discrepancies in the background color, the border displays a thin gold band with a continuous vine of green and gold that wraps the length of the strip. Associated with the plants are green and gold leaves embellished with a cluster of fruit at the stem.

Comprised of on all four sides, the principal border (Figures 80 and 81), details nude and semi-nude figures who frolic in an exterior space surrounded with musical instruments and classical pedestals that support urns. The two canopies on the left and right side differ from one another. The top canopy resembles a tent and covers a pair of nude figures who sit atop two mythological animals; whereas, the chandelier-like canopy pictures swags of drapery that support a set of male figures atop their fabled animals. Aside from the variety of animals in the manner of birds, lions, dogs, hippogriffs, boars, monkeys, deer, bulls, and dragons, as

well as mermen and maids, there is a frequent number of vases which teem with fruits and blooms. The central part of the top and bottom panel is ornamented with a coursing fountain in a recessed pool, wild landscape, and two muscular, partially clad male figures. The men, who are joined to two dogs by a leash in a partially enclosed low parapet, resemble a paradise resplendent of the riches and opulence within the Valois court with only slight discrepancies in color.

Just like the initial intermediary border, the final trim is comprised of a roughly 1-inch wide strip. Each of the four sides, while separate in construction, is connected in the corners by a theater masque. Meanwhile, the majority is woven in gold with strips of red woven throughout the sides. Just as there are minor inconsistencies in the background color of the transitional border, the final frame displays a thin gold band with a continuous vine of alternating green and gold that wraps the length of the strip. Again, just as its counterpart, the vines provide support for green and gold leaves with a cluster of fruit that protrude from the stem.

4.7 Drawings for the Valois Tapestries

Antoine Caron, a French court artist, who was favored by Catherine de' Medici, fashioned the drawings that influenced the tapestries. Unlike Raphael's cartoons, Caron's drawings more accurately reflect the traditional standard of a tapestry cartoon. However, Caron's illustrations do not qualify as cartoons; upon looking at the seven drawings, it is clear

that they were created as commemorative sketches for previous fêtes Catherine had designed and manufactured rather than one's directly meant for the tapestry cycle.

The lithe and whimsical sketch-like quality of the drawings suggests that the designs were French in origin and further enhances the disparate styles and techniques applied by the master weaver in Brussels. While Caron's drawings are precise enough to identify the sort of, and on occasion, exact, fête depicted, they do not mirror the compositional nature of the cartoons. Moreover, the weaver's took great liberty with the designs, re-inventing the set to weave personal touches, like French royal portraits, and to highlight motifs that they excelled in individually.

The principal difference between the drawings and the tapestry cycle is that the sketches are vague, making figural identification nearly impossible or irrelevant. However, the figures made up of pencil are charming and emotive as their lithe forms gesticulate their affection and excitement. Perhaps the arrangement of martial and familial relationships was specified at the time of the commission and is no longer documented, or possibly it never was documented. It seems strange that the master weaver would suppose the placement of particular figures without corroboration from the queen mother, or at the least, an intermediary aristocrat.

Water Festival at Fontainebleau (Figure 82) was appropriated for the manufacture of *Fontainebleau*; the same number of ships are integrated into the drawings as in the tapestry, yet they are different in size and direction. Two foreground figures with their backs to the tapestry are reminiscent of Henry III and Louise de Lorraine, but more affectionate than their

textile counterparts. The drawing's foreground ship, while more clearly defined still elucidates mythic marine motifs but disregards any ornamentation of the soldier's shields. The inclusion of a man that grasps an umbrella and another who plays the drums is specific to the tapestry just as the swimming figures and extended tree root with seated figures are unique to the drawing.

Caron's extant painting, *Merry-go-round with Elephant* (Figure 83), now housed in a private collection, invokes the scene of *Elephant* from the tapestry cycle and is characteristic of the cartoon painted and adapted by an anonymous source; either a general cartoon artist or Lucas de Heere. This painting, which varies from its hanging, verifies that there was an intermediary step between the drawings and the completed tapestries and that the drawings were not just used by the weavers as inspiration. Instead of a light exterior setting, the painting depicts a night scene within the perimeter of a courtyard with an entry arch bolstered by a set of stairs on either side in the far right. Meanwhile, unlike the textile which is festooned with people all about, the painting isolates the figures in clear groups, effectively highlighting the theatrics of the event.

The drawing of *A Procession Leaving the Castle of Anet* (Figure 84), influenced *Journey* as the two are unmistakably connected through their curvilinear composition, the depiction of river Cher, and almost exact imitation of Chenoceaux. However, the drawing differs from the tapestry in that two boats are crafted with figures as a mélange of carnival animals, and performers lead the procession, unlike the monumental soldiers and horses in the tapestry.

The drawing for *Whale*, titled *The Water Festival at Bayonne, June 24, 1565* (Figure 85), places the barge that conveys spectators horizontally in the frontal plane as trumpeters take the space of the life-size figural group in the textile while land encroaches upon the water to create a meandering effect throughout the drawing. Only three barges encircle the whale who postulates a vacant expression unlike in the tapestry. Further, the architecture diverges radically from its hanging in that instead of a far-reaching chateau in the back connected to a double arched bridge, a pedimented building with engaged columns occupies the space.

Meanwhile, *Tournament* relied on, *An Equestrian Game with Riders Jousting among Balls of Fire* (Figure 86), in which movement is isolated to the center and refrains from extending beyond that center point. No figure looks outside the drawing as is done in the tapestry while Catherine is absent from the rotunda decorated with a laurel wreath instead of a rectangular wooden roofed structure. Devoid of mountains and continuous landscape as in the tapestry, the drawing is set in an urban environment as the chariots await the newly blessed couple rather than seat them as in the textile.

Catherine de' Medici Entertaining the Polish Ambassadors in the Tuileries Gardens, 1573 (Figure 87), was employed for *Polish Ambassadors* and differs drastically from its tapestry counterpart in that the garden is more clearly defined with trees interspersed throughout the space. Next, to the two nude female statues are two different family crests. Furthermore, unlike the tapestry in which there are two chairs, there is only one royal chair which an imposing and aged woman occupies. There are still six musicians that dress the rock as a tree with adventurous climbers, curves low over the merriment had below.

Meanwhile, *A Quintain* (Figure 88), inspired the tapestry, *Quintain*, in which a quintain decorated with a dragon is depicted on the right as participants charge toward it from the left. However, rather than a secluded and fantastical exterior setting, the drawing places the fête amid a courtyard embraced by the outer walls of a palace. Also, instead of the spectators resigned to the back of the tapestry, they surround the drawing's quintain as they litter the front and fill the two adjacent loggias and arched corridor.

Aside from Caron's sketches, artist Germain le Mannier and François Clouet are indispensable as their portraits of the Valois family which include Henry III, François, Duke of Anjou, Marguerite de Valois, Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont, Henry of Navarre, and Charles III, Duke of Lorraine, and Charles and Henry I of Guise, provide the pictorial examples employed by the master weaver in Brussels to fashion the textiles.¹⁴³ Unlike the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Valois Fêtes* tapestries were not reproduced for commercial distribution as the conflation of family portraits and family events were specific to the Valois and no one else. As “[Germain le Mannier] was required to regularly provide [Catherine de’ Medici] with likenesses of [her children] so that – better than any letter – she might be assured of their health and well-being,” the tapestries not only imitate her maternal interests but also genuine imageries of her family and associates at various stages of life.¹⁴⁴

As Catherine treasured portraits of her family, she utilized their faces to facilitate harmony within a set compositional plane as she was unable to instill familial accord in

¹⁴³ Cleland and Wieseman, *Renaissance Splendor*, 42. Possibly included in the portrait figures are Catherine's grandsons, Henry and Charles, who were both sons to Claude de Valois, Catherine's daughter and Christine de Lorraine's mother.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

reality. Her interest and avid collection of familial portraits are associated with the Renaissance production of “tapestry portrait series of royal deeds and dynasties” in which inscriptions or armorials were woven within the composition as in Leo’s *Acts of the Apostles* with the presence of text and dynastic emblems.¹⁴⁵

4.8 A Grand Move for a Declining Legacy

Greeted with magnificent festivals and lavish gifts, Christine arrived in Florence on April 30, 1589, with the tapestries close behind her. After the death of her grandmother, Christine had little time to collect on her inheritance as the political atmosphere made it unsafe for her to remain in France. Catherine’s shrewd delegation of belongings through an *inter-vivos* donation, a donation between living persons, identifies her perceptive and skillful evasion of the law in which women were unable to inherit without cause after a monarch had died.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, anything listed through an *inter-vivos* donation would belong to Christine and Christine alone, even after she was married, as it would armament her with the security of goods and wealth – the tools necessary to survive in a land both foreign and familiar.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 44. As the *Valois* tapestries do not have either inscriptions or armorials, they attest to the nature of the gift as they were for Christine upon her marriage. When they were commissioned, Christine’s marriage contract was not yet under negotiation as Catherine only began marriage negotiations with Ferdinando in 1587.

¹⁴⁶ Kerrie-rue Michahelles, “Contextualising the 1589 Inventory of Catherine de Médicis’ *Inter-Vivos* donation to Christine de Lorraine,” *French History* 32 (2018), 1, 3-4. The French *inter-vivos* donation derives from an old Roman law referred to as a *donatio inter vivos*. The donation of gifts between living persons in the Renaissance became a popular mode of distributing an inheritance or dowry. There were two modes of property for which inventories were drafted accordingly; *meubles* (moveable property) and *immeubles* (non-moveable property). The distinction between moveable and non-moveable is telling as it not only identifies the value and specificity of what was given but alludes to the sentimental value and intimacy of the gift.

The ostentatious nature of the wedding is critical as it verifies not only the wealth and luxury of the Valois tapestry commission but also the purpose of the tapestries as a gift for Christine, the favorite granddaughter who was bound to be married and travel far from home at the time of their conception. Armed with an *inter-vivos* donation made of tapestries, bed-hangings, furniture, silver plate, linens, shoes, garments, a carriage, and a litter, as well as a dowry that consisted of jewelry, property, and 600,000 scudi, Christine's arrival in Florence mirrored the triumphal entry of a king come back from war.¹⁴⁷ After boarding the Capitana on April 11, 1589, in Marseille, Florence welcomed her as she traversed through seven entry arches beginning from the Porta al Prato to the Palazzo Vecchio.

The wedding festivities, which lasted roughly one month, took one year to prepare. An expensive and elaborate event, the nuptials saw 2,700 "foreign mouths" visit their court in which 9,000 barrels of wine and approximately 4,800 bushels of grain were utilized.¹⁴⁸ Further, the cost of room and board for the staff was just shy of 86,000 scudi. Detailed accounts were recorded throughout the festivities in the form of souvenir pamphlets for guests as well as account and log books with the last recorded entry on June 10, 1589.¹⁴⁹

Just like the tapestries, the wedding frequented chariot parades, jousts, and naumachia, as well as triumphal arches, plays, and intermedii. The intermedii (Figure 89), a "hybrid art form that fused instrumental music, song, dance, and splendid costumes and stage designs to

¹⁴⁷ James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven: Yale University, 1996), 18.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 177. Such financial accounts were logged in both the stage master, Girolamo Seriacopi's log book and in composer and Medici administrator of the fine arts, Emilio de' Cavalieri's, the *Libro di conti* – a ledger accounting for materials and contractors.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 177. The last recorded entry is found in Seriacopi's log book, two days after the last recorded intermedii.

glorify the ruling couple” was a metaphorical allusion to the couples political and economic union.¹⁵⁰ The compilation of festivities reflects the resplendent *Theatrum Mundi* motif that derived from the Neo-Platonic philosophy of a concentrically ordered universe in which a triumphal, martial-political alliance was achieved. Therefore, the tapestries and the wedding, more specifically the intermedii, mark the return of an earlier Golden Age in which music, dance, and festivities are essential components to the harmonization of both the mortal and divine.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 1.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 31-33. A popular part of the wedding festivities, there were six intermedii performed throughout the month; (1) The Harmony of the Spheres; (2) The Contest of Muses and Pierides; (3) Apollo and Python; (4) Prophecy of the Golden Age; (5) Arion and the Dolphin; and (6) The Gods Send Rhythm and Harmony to Work. The first, fourth, and fifth intermedio can be classified as *musica mundana*, or belonging to the celestial music of the spheres whereas the second, third, and sixth intermedio can be classified as *musica humana*, or belonging to the tangible affairs of gods and mortals.

CHAPTER 5: LEO AND CATHERINE'S LIKE-MINDED DESIGNS

5.1 The Acts of the Apostles and the Valois Fêtes: The Religious and the Secular

While the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* tapestries elucidate different iconographical designs, they nonetheless both translate religious and secular tones within the series'. While Leo's *Acts of the Apostles* are discernibly religious, Catherine's tapestries imply religious harmony by coupling together people of dissonance, a strategic move in which she captures both an idealized and philosophic assembly of people as a result of the Catholic and Huguenot's warring indifferences. The same can be said in regard to the secular nature of both cycles. Catherine's *Valois* tapestries are most definitely secular in their display of pageants, festivals, and brilliant entertainments. Meanwhile, Leo's hangings attest to his temporal desire to assert his presence within the Church and throughout Italy as both a Medici ruled by worldly vices and a pious pope, through the fusion of a religious narrative set amongst a backdrop of classical antiquity.

Reminiscent of Neo-platonic thought, both in Italy and France, the tapestry cycles reflect the sumptuous and dramatic culture in which they were fashioned. They garner the viewer's attention with their narrative and design, but of course, as a twenty-first-century viewer, the effect is entirely different. Today, we view Renaissance tapestries in museums under a manipulated light source, but to a sixteenth-century beholder, the tapestries, which dressed the halls of the Sistine Chapel and both the interiors of the Hôtel de la Reine and Grand Ducal Palace in Florence, would have sparkled under natural light, and in the evening, under the warm glow of waning candles.

The ecclesial and temporal iconography present in the *Acts of the Apostles* would mesmerize its lay audience for its sparkle and shine as well as explicit biblical portrayal and enthrall its more learned viewers with the cycle's judiciously chosen scenes from three of the Church's early founders. Unlike Leo's tapestries, which were meant to be appreciated primarily by those affiliated with the Vatican, Catherine de' Medici's *Valois* tapestries were intended for personal decoration and were acknowledged by those in the French, and later Italian, patrician courts. Whether or not the hanging's successfully buttressed their audience's opinion of the papacy and Valois monarchy is dependent upon the individual viewer and their subjective beliefs. However, with the displacement and destruction of Leo's tapestries after the sack of Rome and eventual decline of the Valois monarchy and Christine's favor in Florence, it would seem that their ambitious narrative surpassed their intended audience; instead they have exceeded beyond their sixteenth-century material fabrication and impinge on constructs of wealth, triumphalism, and successional security.

5.2 The *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Valois Fêtes*: Exploitation of Wealth and Power

Tapestries, typically associated with the craft market, have proven themselves to belong to the world of luxury arts.¹⁵² Favored by the aristocratic classes of Europe, tapestries are, for any patron regardless of their economic stratification, an expensive commission. Some, of

¹⁵² Tate, "Art Term: Craft," *Tate*. Accessed March 15, 2019. <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/c/craft>. As per the Tate's definition, craft "is a form of making which generally produces an object that has a function: such as something you can wear, or eat or drink from." As tapestries are prone to craft association, and are technically an example of craft, it is important to associate them as belonging to the arts, and only the arts, as their Renaissance benefactors saw them as propagandistic works of art to be utilized and admired. While other cultures and regional periods employed them for purposes pertaining to the definition of craft, it is impossible and unjust to do so within the contextual framework of tapestries produced in sixteenth-century Europe.

course, are more expensive than others as the material specificity, the number of artists involved, and international working relationship provided a wide array of costs in accordance to the patron's budget if he or she had set one. Often, the commission was set by guidelines such as to create the most magnificent order of tapestries ever created or to ensure a large quantity of silver and gold was utilized. While tapestries are often well-received for their vibrant and effervescent nature in both design and detail, what the viewer typically neglects is an acknowledgment of the patron's locus in their contemporary society which caused them to commission such an expensive project, often only one of many they were responsible for ordering. Hence, it is essential to view tapestries, not as isolated works in which they were simply commissioned on a whim, but as a reflection of interrelated global wealth and intercourse.

Hangings reflect their proprietor's wealth as they visually and materially contribute to their supposedly impregnable financial position. While Leo sat on the papal throne of Rome's eternal city, Catherine both sat on the throne and surveyed it as queen regent and mother during her lifetime. Both Medici had access to the papal and Valois household accounts in which they invested a great deal on their tapestries. These tapestries, heedless of their subject and embellishment, testify to their wealth and control through their accessibility to directly distribute the funds as it was the only method to procure such a luxurious commission without a word of caution by their respective advisors. There is little in the way of financial evidence in regard to the *Valois* tapestries, and so one can only postulate their cost. Meanwhile, Leo's *Acts of the Apostles* are slightly better accounted for in the way of the finances spent of their

creation. While sources vary, it is estimated that he spent 70,000 scudi on the cycle, not including the cartoons and transport fees.¹⁵³

Leo's tapestries were meant to wow and inform the Roman populace. In contrast, Catherine's were intended to facilitate comfort and encouragement to her granddaughter by concentrating less on emotive expression and more on the metaphorical wealth of the Valois-Medici bloodline. Such intentions were proffered in the way of gifts and blessings from the muses which support a concentrically grounded microcosm of wealth, beauty, and power. Regardless that Leo bankrupted the papacy and Catherine nearly so, their economic prominence was meant to foretell and confirm the wealth of their houses to reinforce the power of their family names.

5.3 The Acts of the Apostles and the Valois Fêtes: Expression of Triumphal Return

Fraught with exile and estrangement, Leo and Catherine underwent a series of tumultuous events throughout their lifetimes. Leo, under his brother's ineffective leadership, was expelled from Florence while Catherine experienced estrangement with her Florentine kin when married to Henry II at the young age of twelve, and still, throughout the duration of her marriage as a foreign and, long presumed, barren queen in France.

Upon Leo X's return to Florence, he gained admittance to the church as cardinal and, as is known, became pope. In doing so, he was in a position to reintroduce the Medici within

¹⁵³ Vasari, *The Lives*, 329. The estimate cost of 70,000 scudi derives from Vasari's account of the tapestries. In contrast, Michelangelo was paid 3,000 scudi for his work on the Sistine Chapel's ceiling in 1508-1512.

Florentine society and beyond in other Italian states. Moreover, he wished to secure his temporal dynasty, advantageous marriages, and most importantly, the continuation of the male line. The *Acts of the Apostles*, overt in religiosity, speaks to the formative function of Stephen as well as the importance of Peter and Paul as both leader and teacher within the Church; further the specific iconographical plan enforces his triumphant return to the cultural and political world of Catholic Rome as a contributory component within Europe's international Renaissance.

Heedless of the generations that separate the two Renaissance tapestry cycle's, they both qualify as works representative of triumphalist art. Catherine intended for the tapestries to supersede her, and even Christine, as their survival would secure not only her legacy in Florence, the home of her parents and grandparents but also her heraldic homecoming. Dressed in widow's weeds, Catherine looks the epitome of a devoted wife, dutiful mother, and affectionate grandmother. Thus, the *Valois* tapestries construct her visage through the position she embodied in an unfamiliar land; the roles that neither her uncle, Clement VII, or great-uncle, Leo X, could embrace as queen (cultural enforcer), queen mother (political influencer), and wife (dynastic bearer).

In gifting the tapestries to Christine de' Lorraine while she was still very much alive, I posit that these clothes denote an intimate exchange between a doting grandmother and her soon-to-be-married granddaughter as well as her tenacious desire to return to her homeland. Considered a foreigner by many in France, she was never fully accepted as a French queen, yet neither was she ever entirely a Florentine. And so, it is the compilation of iconography, intent, and destination, that establishes Catherine de' Medici as both Florentine and French,

but most importantly, a defender of her family, in a deeply rooted nationalistic culture. Within the same culturally prevalent ideal, she finally completed the journey home vis-à-vis her luxury tapestries; a permanent resident of the fibers woven to remind Christine of her family's distinction as well as solidify her claim to her title, wealth, and bloodline.

5.4 The Acts of the Apostles and the Valois Fêtes: Dynastic Solidification

Leo X's strategic selection of characters for the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry cycle both complements the Sistine Chapel's previously existing decorative pattern and his desire to solidify his lineage. Amongst his papal duties to attend special mass, patronize the arts, and oversee the Catholic church, he also wished to procure the Medici bloodline through the execution of nepotism, that is favoring a number of family members with the appointment of several offices, such as Giuliano de' Medici, Guilio di Giuliano de' Medici, and Ippolito de' Medici. As mentioned earlier, Leo X secured a successful alliance with the French king, Francis I through the marriage of Catherine de' Medici's parent's. This marriage, of course, resulted in Catherine's birth. Leo desired yet another Franco-Italian match yet he died before he was able to succeed and so the task fell to the next Medici pope, Pope Clement VII. As the Medici line dwindled, Leo X's choice of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, Paul, the teacher who forged Christians out of Pagans, and Peter, the foundation of the Church, attests to Leo's enforcement of dynastic solidification through his ecclesial affiliation since he was powerless to procure the Medic's future otherwise.

Roughly fifty years later in France, Catherine had led a long life that teemed with artistic commissions, political maneuvers, and familial highs and lows. Similarly to the Medici in Florence, by the time that the *Valois* tapestries were commissioned, the pedigree was in rapid decline; a jousting accident claimed the life of Catherine's husband, sickness demanded several of her sons and daughters return to God, while murderous affairs cut short the life of her son, King Henry III.

Meanwhile, the Wars of Religion devastated the lives of thousands, leaving her with little left but a destructive nation, a son disapproved of by his people, and a most beloved granddaughter. As such, the tapestries epitomize the noble stature of the Valois dynasty, the hope for a lasting legacy, and her desire to revitalize their claim to power. Unlike her great-uncle's usage of religious iconography, Catherine was "instead concerned with presenting the next generation...celebrating the past and portraying the future of her husband and children's dynasty as continuing rulers."¹⁵⁴ Further, Catherine commissioned the set with the intent to present them to Christine as a wedding gift; and so, her exclusion from the tapestries is not so mystical. In omitting Christine's portrait from the tapestries, it would be perfectly acceptable to display the clothes in Florence for special events without appearing self-obsessed. Instead, she appears as the cherished granddaughter of Catherine de' Medici, a member of the grand Valois-Medici bloodline, a rich and educated woman capable of continuing Franco-Italian relations who will always be supported and comforted by the wealth and affection of her grandmother.

¹⁵⁴ Cleland and Wieseman, *Renaissance Splendor*, 45.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Reiteration of Thesis

This project's significance is the synthesis of not only tapestries' importance in the Renaissance art market but also the variety of ways in which they were utilized; such as for propaganda, court decoration, or for reasons as functional as to warm a drafty manor. As the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* hangings are the focus of my research, I advocate the role that these tapestries played in affecting the artistic standard in sixteenth-century Europe. Further, I argue how the patrons, artists, and countries from which these two cycles derive imitate one another, strengthening my claim that these two tapestry cycles are a result of transnational collaboration. While these hangings are recognizable amongst art historians and continue to catch the interest of scholars, I argue for a new insight that can only be fully ascertained when the two cycles are read side-by-side.

This approach supports the assumption that the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* hangings are a kindred pair rather than isolated commissions. Unbeknownst to Pope Leo X, Catherine de' Medici, or the variety of contributory artists, at the time of their conception, the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* tapestry cycles shed their ephemeral nature shortly after their formation. Instead, they asserted themselves through innovation, travel, and continuous academic production, and have become works of art that should be preserved and publicized as a means to protect and encourage their legacy for subsequent generations.

6.2 The Future for Leo and Catherine's Tapestries

Housed today in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons, have been transferred to canvas and live amongst Raphael's other works. Previously kept in the Queen's personal collection after the death of Prince Albert, they were loaned in 1865 to South Kensington Museum – now the Victoria and Albert Museum – and cleaned from 1965 to 1966, at which time tests were procured and samples of pigment and paper were taken.¹⁵⁵ However, before they came to be under the Queen's protection, they spurred a creative drive and desire for copies in the way of engravings, prints, and paintings by later artists and workshops that only enhance Raphael, the academic artist, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁵⁶

The English's special affection for Paul provided the perfect excuse to integrate Saint Paul, Raphael, and the cartoons, into art, sermons, and literature.¹⁵⁷ The only work of Raphael's

¹⁵⁵ Royal Trust Collection, "The Prince Consort's Raphael Collection," Royal Trust Collection. <https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/trails/highlights-from-the-print-collection/highlights-from-the-print-collection/the-prince-consorts-raphael-collection?language=en>. In 1853 Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's husband, began compiling any works completed by, or after, Raphael. Completed in 1876, with the aid of Albert's lead librarian, Carl Ruland, approximately 5,000 prints and photographs comprise the collection. Upon Prince Albert's death in 1861 his personal collection of Raphael's works were meant to be loaned temporarily. However, that loan has been renewed to the present day (2018), thus continuing Prince Albert's initial hope that the collection would act as an illustrative art-historical tool.

¹⁵⁶ Gloria Fiero, *Landmarks in Humanities* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2016), 191, 235. China receives due credit in developing the first printing press in the 9th century C.E. The advent of the Western printing press did not occur until 1450 with the development of German goldsmith, Johann Gutenberg's (ca. 1400-1486) moveable metal type printing press. The use of the printing press to mass produce Raphael's tapestry cartoons enabled a rapid spread of both his and the works' fame. See, Ponente, *Who was Raphael?*, 95. The cartoons' acclaim within the Renaissance through the manufacturing of prints is also in part thanks to Raphael's friend and artist, Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534), who was himself an engraver. Raimondi eventually established a print shop in Rome, in which he focused specifically on producing prints of Raphael's work. See also, Oberhuber, *Raphael*, 153. Through several accounts, knowledge states that the cartoons and tapestries were immensely popular in the contemporary sixteenth century as seen through Dürer's and Raphael's exchange in drawings and prints. In 1515, Raphael sent Dürer a drawing of two heavily muscularized nude men; in return, Dürer sent Raphael an engraving featuring his self-portrait. The two men respected each other's work. Thus they both can be cited to have influenced each other through their keen awareness and play with spatial composition and elaborately gesticulating figures.

¹⁵⁷ Arline Meyer, *Apostles in England: Sir James Thornhill and the Legacy of Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons* (New York: Miriam & Ira Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 1996), 67-69. Appealing to British Protestants during a period of religious renewal, and in part due to their dissociation with the Roman Catholic faith, Raphael's

to be seen outside of Rome, both the artist and the cartoons quickly became a sort of canonical model of classical antiquity that encompassed the English ideal.¹⁵⁸

In the early seventeenth-century, Sir Peter Paul Rubens discovered the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons in Genoa. Rubens applied to the English crown and posited that they purchase the cartoons to manufacture more tapestries. In 1623, Charles Prince of Wales, who in two years would become king of England, purchased "certayne drawings of Raphaell of Urbin, which were desseignes for tapistries made for Pope Leo the Xth" and had them sent to the Mortlake tapestry manufactory.¹⁵⁹ At the Mortlake industry roughly fifty to fifty-five *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry cycles were woven, of which only a handful survive today.¹⁶⁰ In 1699, William III transferred the Cartoons to Hampton Court Palace in London after having the strips glued back together.

What cannot be understated is the popularity of the cartoons regarding the effect they had on the public for "Raphael's painting virtually became as authoritative as the biblical

Acts of the Apostles cartoons, specifically the Pauline Cartoons, reflect England's desire to associate with the "apostolic age – that formative and inspirational period" through historical biblical text and visual representation.¹⁵⁸ Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, 325. It is also important to remember that through prints and commentary, the cartoons were an instant success amongst artists in the Renaissance. While one cannot always take Vasari's word as the unembellished truth, he claims that although "other paintings may be called paintings, those of Raphael are living things: for the flesh in his figures seems palpable, they breathe, their pulses beat, and their lifelike animation is conspicuous; and besides the praise they had already received, they earned for Raphael even greater renown."¹⁵⁹ Evans and Browne, *Raphael*, 54. The vendor who possessed the cartoons in the early 17th century is not known for certain. However, the cartoons, of which there were seven or eight at the time, were possibly under the ownership of Andrea Imperiale of Genoa in 1615. Thought possibly to be in the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II's possession, the cartoons of *The Conversion of Saul* and *The Stoning of Stephen* never arrived in England; therefore, it is impossible to know beyond a doubt if they were ever in his collection.¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 54-55. Established in 1619 on the south bank of the River Thames in London, under the patronage of King James I, owned by Sir Walter Crane and executed by resident designer, Francis Clein, the Mortlake tapestry manufactory was a bustling enterprise until its close in 1703. Known for its exceptional quality tapestries such as *The Months*, *Vulcan and Venus* and *Solomon and Sheba*, financial support from the Exchequer ceased in 1641 and was annexed from royal patronage during the civil war (1642-1651). See also, Royal Trust Collection, "Mortlake," Royal Trust Collection. <https://www.rct.uk/collection/people/mortlake#/type/creator>. for a concise history of the Mortlake Tapestry Industry and their online collection of tapestries manufactured at Mortlake.

text."¹⁶¹ For instance, in 1703 Richard Blackmore, the physician in ordinary to William III, published *A Hymn to the Light of the World. With a short description of the Cartons of Raphael Urbin, in the Gallery at Hampton Court* in which he paid homage to Raphael's cartoons, most especially to *Paul Preaching at Athens*. The following is an excerpt of his lamentation:

Paul shrews such great Concern, such sacred Awe,
As if the Heav'nly Majesty he saw,
By whose supream Commission he was sent,
To treat with Rebel Man, and bring him to repent.
Only that Preacher can th'affections touch,
Who's so in earnest, and whose Zeal is such.¹⁶²

Lauded in his day as a master of antiquities, the irresistible mystique that surrounded the work of the infamous Raphael permeated the artistic spheres of both England and France. To name but a few, artists such as Jonathan Richardson, Charles Jervais, Christopher le Blon, and Nicolas Dorigny, all produced copies of Raphael's tapestry cartoons in England, each one differing from the other in the attempt to learn and stand in comparison to Raphael's work. Scaled down and void of individual style, in 1707 the first complete set of prints were made by Simon Gribelin. Followed after a relatively low period in art patronage and production, the *Acts of the Apostles* provided the perfect opportunity to reinvigorate the English arts. Artists and historians lectured on Raphael and the tapestry cartoons, with the inclusion of a lecture by Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy, from 1817.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, in France, Charles

¹⁶¹ Meyer, *Apostles in England*, 28, 67-68, 72-75. Deriving from Richard Steele's the *Spectator* (1711) in which he stressed how "visual images were far more effective than words in their ability to impress ideas of Virtue and Humanity on the mind," Bishop Hoadly, in his sermon *Epistle to the Romans, XIII* (1704) and *Saint Paul's Behavior towards the Civil Magistrate* (1708) attributed St. Paul as the preacher's surrogate. Also, Bishop of Rochester was likened to St. Paul in a poem as he was depicted in Raphael's cartoon, *Preaching at Athens*. The following is an excerpt of the poem; so Athens once upon her Preacher hung/Transported to the Precepts of his Tongue:/So stood great Paul; so skillful Raphael drew;/And as in Him another Paul we view;/Another Raphael may we find in you.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 72. Published anonymously, Richard Blackmore is a zealous poet whose *A Hymn to the Light of the World* provides the longest homage embellishing both Paul Preaching at Athens and Raphael, of which he would have seen during his stay in an assigned room at Hampton Court.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 79-80. Benjamin West believed that the color arrangement in historical paintings should align with the colors of the rainbow, for instance, "the warm and brilliant colors confined to where the principal light falls and

Errard, newly appointed director of the French Academy of Art in 1664, initiated the production of a set of full-size copies of the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons.¹⁶⁴

The vogue continued throughout the eighteenth century with the French Academy exalting Raphael as the epitome of classical antiquity and the Pre-Raphaelites denouncing his works as the resolute ideal.

In contrast, the *Valois Fêtes* tapestries received little acclaim in comparison to the celebrity of van Aelst's cloths. The original installation site and function of the tapestries are unknown; however, they were briefly noted as housed in the Hôtel de la Rein before 1589. In May of 1589, Christine de Lorraine ordered an inventory of all she brought from France, in which "three sets of tapestries that together [made] up 40 percent of the value of [her] entire trousseau" were recorded as religious, artistic, and dynastic in motifs.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the three sets of tapestries gifted to her each represent a component of her identity and power as she was both a pious woman as well as an extravagant patron that contributed to court spectacle in which the tapestries act as a reminder of her ecclesial and social duties.¹⁶⁶

For the next 270 years, the *Valois* tapestries resided in Florence where they were maintained and well-liked by those who looked upon them. In 1861 Italy became a unified state

the cool colors [fall] to the shade." West chided Raphael for ignoring the principles of true harmonious color arrangements in the Stanza della Segnatura frescoes while crediting Raphael for achieving harmony in the application of pigment within the Cartoons, going so far as to compare him to a perfect prism and Sir Isaac Newton.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 30. A letter from Duc de Chaulnes to Jean-Baptiste Colbert on February 11, 1670 states: "a few days ago I saw the copies that the painters of the Royal Academy have made of the tapestries after Raphael's designs; the work is one which has been carried out to perfection and which offers several advantages; the first, that the King (Louis XIV) may have more beautiful tapestries than those here; the second, that the paintings will be a beautiful ornament wherever they are hung; and the third, that they will serve as a school for painters where they will profit considerably." For French excerpt, see pg. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Michahelles, "Contextualising the 1589 Inventory," 16.

¹⁶⁶ While I cannot approach the subject of Christine's tapestries within the length of this thesis, it is intriguing that she was gifted a trio of tapestries each with a specific and didactic subject. This note in the 1589 inventory certainly provides the opportunity for further research.

upon which the hangings were declared the property of Italy and in 1864 placed in the Palazzo Vecchio. In 1882 the Palazzo della Crocetta, a seventeenth-century palace built by Catherine's great-granddaughter, Maddalena de' Medici, unveiled the Royal Gallery of Tapestries whereupon four of Christine's tapestries hung. Nearly forty years later, in 1920, the hangings were scattered throughout the Palazzo Pitti to heed way for the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. Further, between 1920 and 1925 the tapestries were moved to the Uffizi as per the record from an inventory dated 1912-1925.

Once again, the *Valois* tapestries navigated their way across international borders. In 1967, the once before refurbished, *Elephant* and *Polish Ambassadors* were sent to Amsterdam for restoration after the Florentine flood of 1966 that caused significant damages. They returned to the Uffizi in 1970 where they remained until 1987. Over the next decade, conservationists toiled over the labor-intensive task of restoring the *Valois* tapestries. By the end of the twentieth century, two different conservation companies began the work of restoration; conducting preliminary surveys, taking photographs, and collecting dye samples.

The warps, which are in relatively good condition, illuminated the cycle's response to centuries worth of light exposure as the once vibrant silk had turned to a pale wash against the wool warp. Other evidence of wear and alteration are evident through the application of *potomage*, which is to apply paint over the original fibers; such techniques were utilized so as to bring life to a figure's flesh or vibrancy to otherwise muted details. As several of the dye pigments were not water resistant, they began to bleed when cleaned; thus, it is evident that they had not been cleaned previous to the twentieth century. While *Quintain* and *Barriers* are still in dismal condition and need restorative attention, the other six have been painstakingly

restored to their original splendor with the aid of replacement warp and weft crafted specially in Prato.

Recently loaned to the Cleveland Museum of Art, further distributing their international opulence, the *Valois* tapestries have once again returned to the Uffizi gallery in Florence, where they remain a visual testament to the power of ocular propaganda and familial remembrance. Recent attention has provided significant insight, yet ambiguity still abounds. Until both further documentation is discovered and scholars embrace their peripheral residence in art historical scholarship, the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Valois Fêtes* tapestries will remain slightly enigmatic, a great deal wondrous, and a demonstration of transnational cultural interchange and influence.

FIGURES



Figure 1: *Stole with the Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, circa 1200, textile, 19.7 x 48.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 2: *Sight, Lady with a Unicorn*, circa 1490-1500, wool and silk, 365 x 320 cm, Musée de Cluny, Paris.



Figure 3: Raphael, *Pope Leo X with Cardinal's Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi*, 1517-1518, oil on wood, 154 x 119 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 4: Copy after François Clouet, *Portrait of Catherine de' Medici*, c. 1580, oil on panel, 33.7 x 25.4 cm, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Figure 5: Workshop of Robert Poinçon, *Scene from the Apocalypse of Saint John: the Conqueror on the White Horse*, c. 1370-1380, wool tapestry, 103 x 4.5 m (total length), Musée des Tapisseries de l'Apocalypse, Angers.

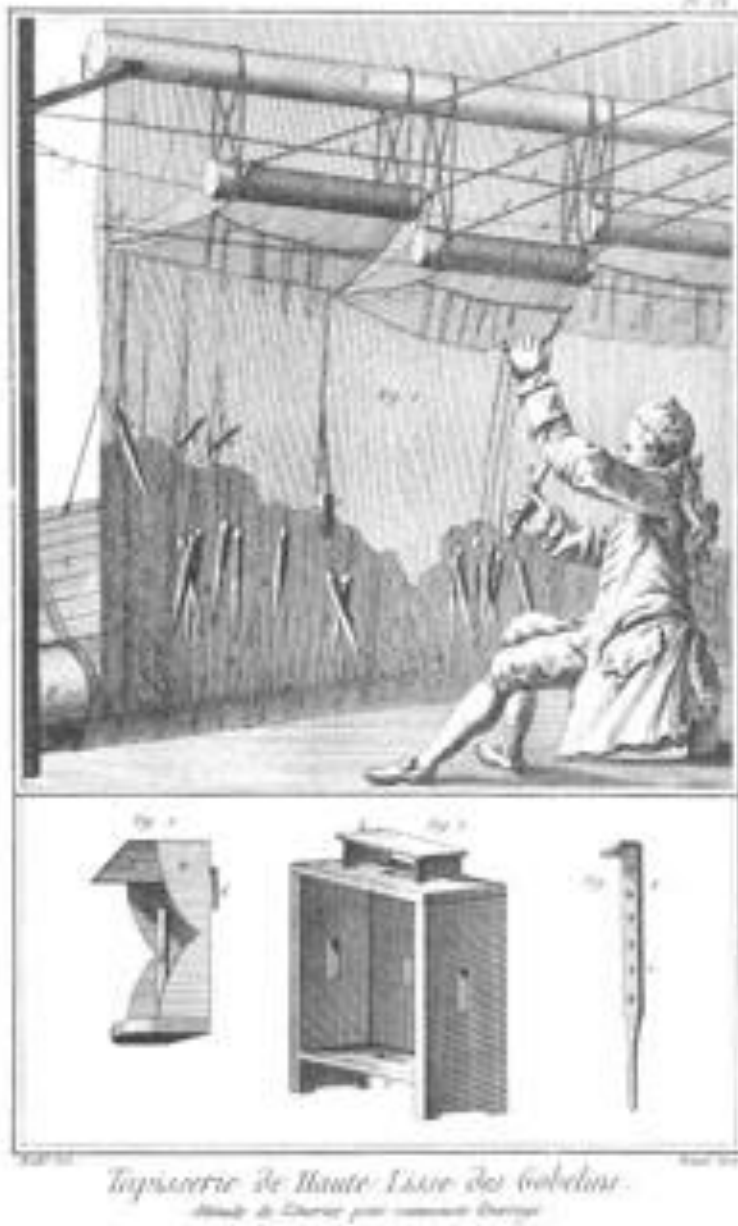


Figure 6: “Plate IX: Gobelin High Warp (Haute-Lisse) Tapestry, Position of the Workman to Start Work”, 1771, manuscript, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Paris.

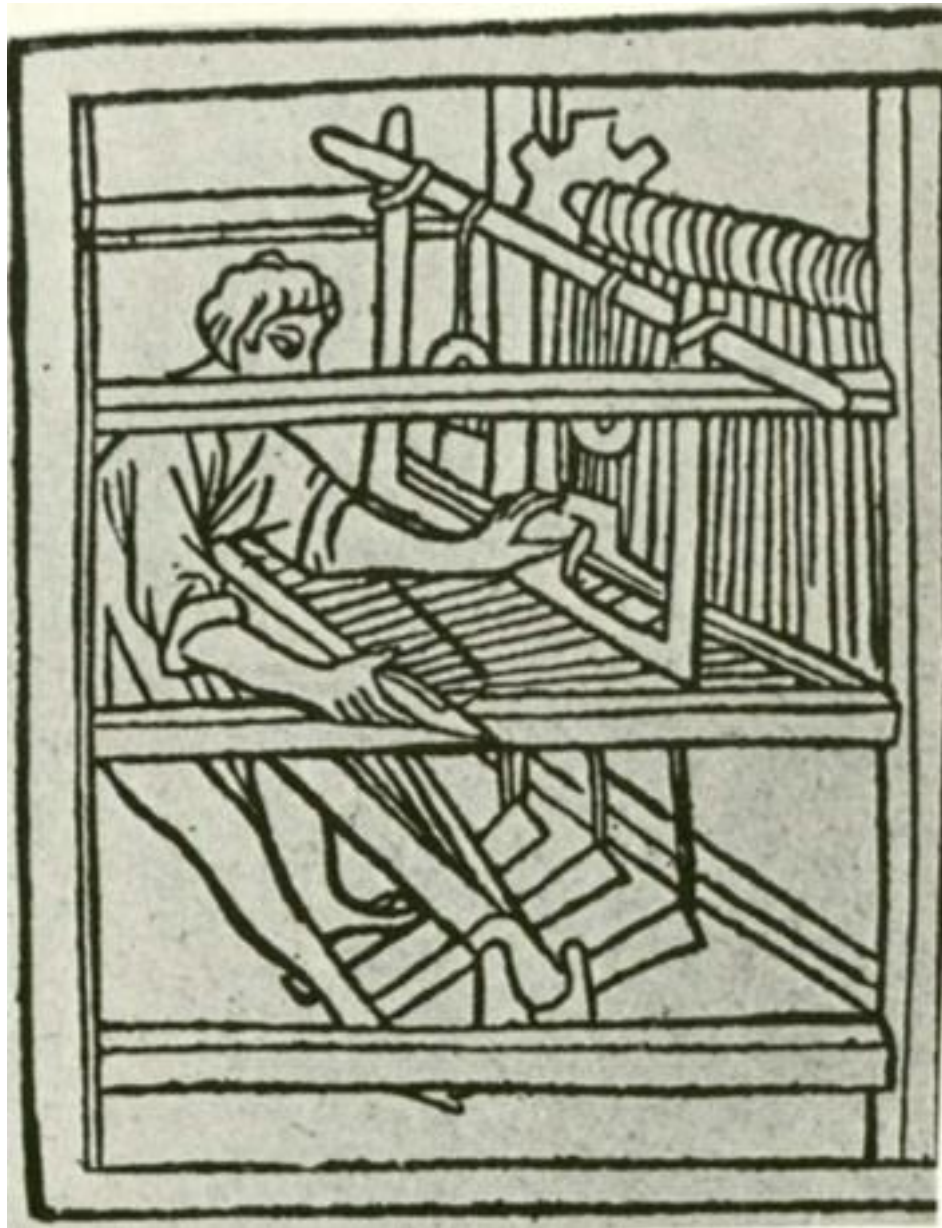


Figure 7: “Treadle loom from Rodericus Zamorensis, *Spiegel des menschlichen Lebens*”, 1479, Augsburg, Germany. From *The Book of Looms: A History of the Handloom from Ancient Times to the Present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1979), 145.

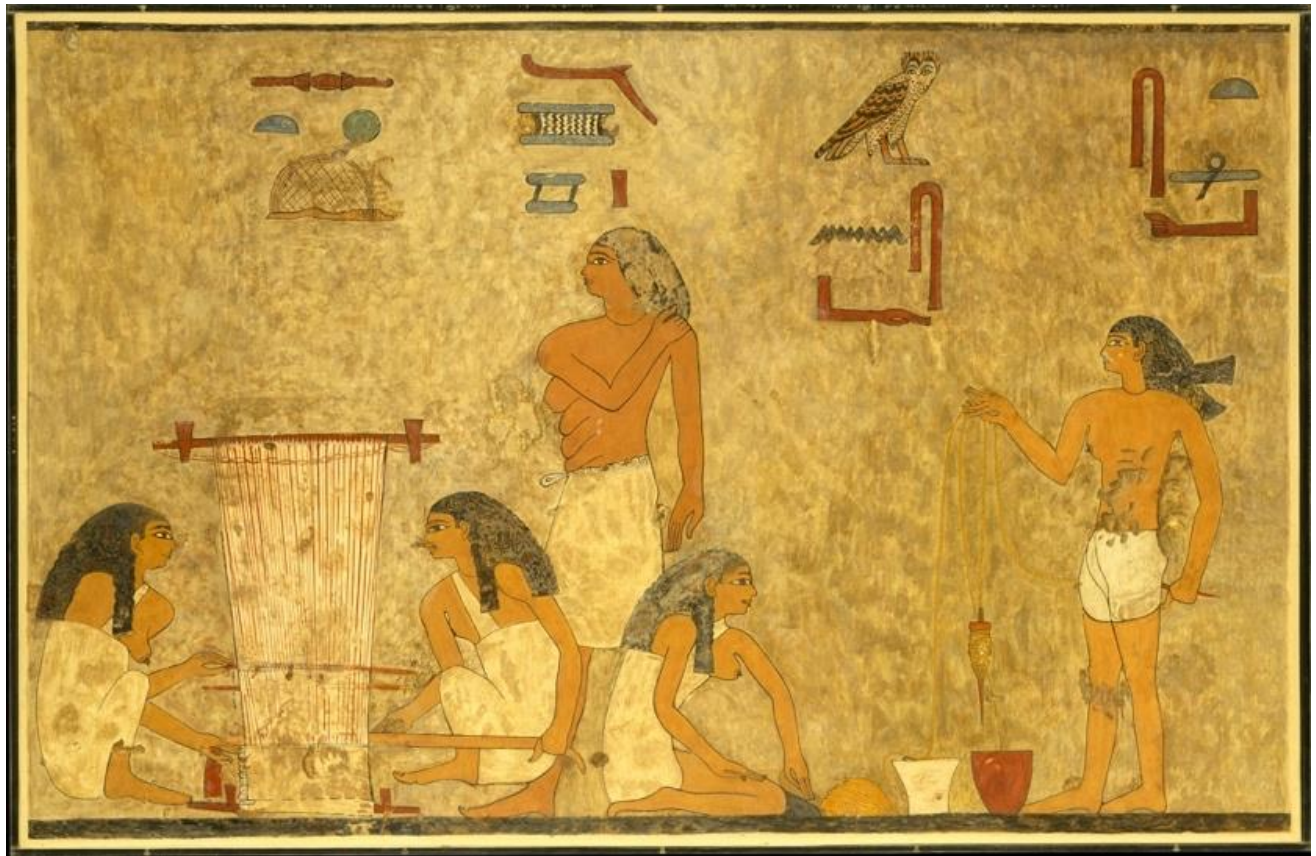


Figure 8: Norman de Garis Davies, *Weavers, Tomb of Khnumhotep*, c. 1897-1878 B.C., paper, tempera, and ink facsimile of original from Egypt, Middle Egypt, Beni Hasan, Tomb of Khnumhotep (Tomb 3), 66.5 x 103.5 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 9: Attributed to the Amasis Painter, *Archaic black-figure lekythos (oil flask)*, c. 550-530 B.C., black-figure terracotta lekythos, H. 17.15 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Figure 10: The Penelope Painter. *Telemachus and Penelope at the loom*, c. 460-450 B.C., red-figure terracotta skyphos, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Chiusi, Chiusi.



Figure 11: Pinturicchio, *Penelope with the Suitors*, c. 1509, fresco transferred on canvas, 125.5 x 152 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 12: Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americae Gentium Habitus* (Costumes of the various nations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America), 1580, engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of New York.



Figure 13: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail of escoffion in Fontainebleau*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 381.5 x 394.5 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 14: Abraham de Bruyn, “Acht vrouwen, gekleed volgens de mode in Frankrijk”, c. 1580, engraving, plate 28 in *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae, Americae gentium habitus*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 15: French School, *Ball at the court of King Henri III of France*, c. 1580, oil on painting, Louvre, Paris.



Figure 16: Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes (cartoon)*, 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 320 x 390 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 17: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 490 x 440 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 18: Raphael, *Christ's Charge to Peter* (cartoon), 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 340 x 530 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 19: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Christ's Charge to Peter*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 484 x 633 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 20: Raphael, *The Healing of the Lame Man (cartoon)*, 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 340 x 540 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 21: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Healing of the Lame Man*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 501 x 633 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 22: Raphael, *The Death of Ananias* (cartoon), 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 340 x 530 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 23: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Death of Ananias*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 486 x 631 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 24: Raphael, *The Conversion of the Proconsul* (cartoon), 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 340 x 450 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 25: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Conversion of the Proconsul*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 501 x 579 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 26: Raphael, *The Sacrifice at Lystra (cartoon)*, 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 350 x 560 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 27: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 482 x 575 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 28: Raphael, *Paul Preaching at Athens* (cartoon), 1515-1516, pigment on paper mounted onto canvas, 340 x 440 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 29: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Paul Preaching at Athens*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, x cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 30: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Conversion of Saul*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 464 x 533 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 31: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Stoning of Stephen*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 450 x 370 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 32: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Paul Escaping Prison*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, 479 x 128 cm, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 33: Raphael, *Self-Portrait*, 1509, oil on panel, 47.3 x 34.8 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 34: Raphael, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, 1504, oil on panel, 170 x 118 cm, Pinocoteca di Brera.



Figure 35: Raphael, *Madonna della Sedia*, 1513-1514, oil on panel, D. 71 cm, Galleria Palatina, Florence.



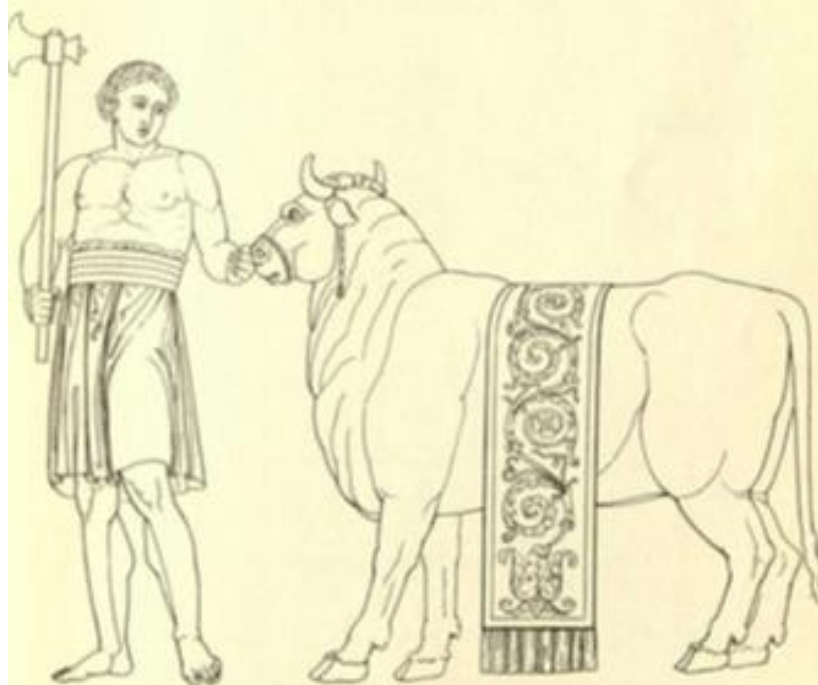
Figure 36: Raphael, *Study for Christ's Charge to Peter*, c. 1514, drawing in red chalk over stylus, 25.7 x 37.5 cm, Royal Library, Windsor Castle, London.



Figure 37: *Roman in his Toga*, *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), plate 237.



Figure 38: *Roman Buskins and Sandals*, *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), plate 290.



Bull adorned for sacrifice

Figure 39: *Bull Adorned for Sacrifice*, *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), plate 265.

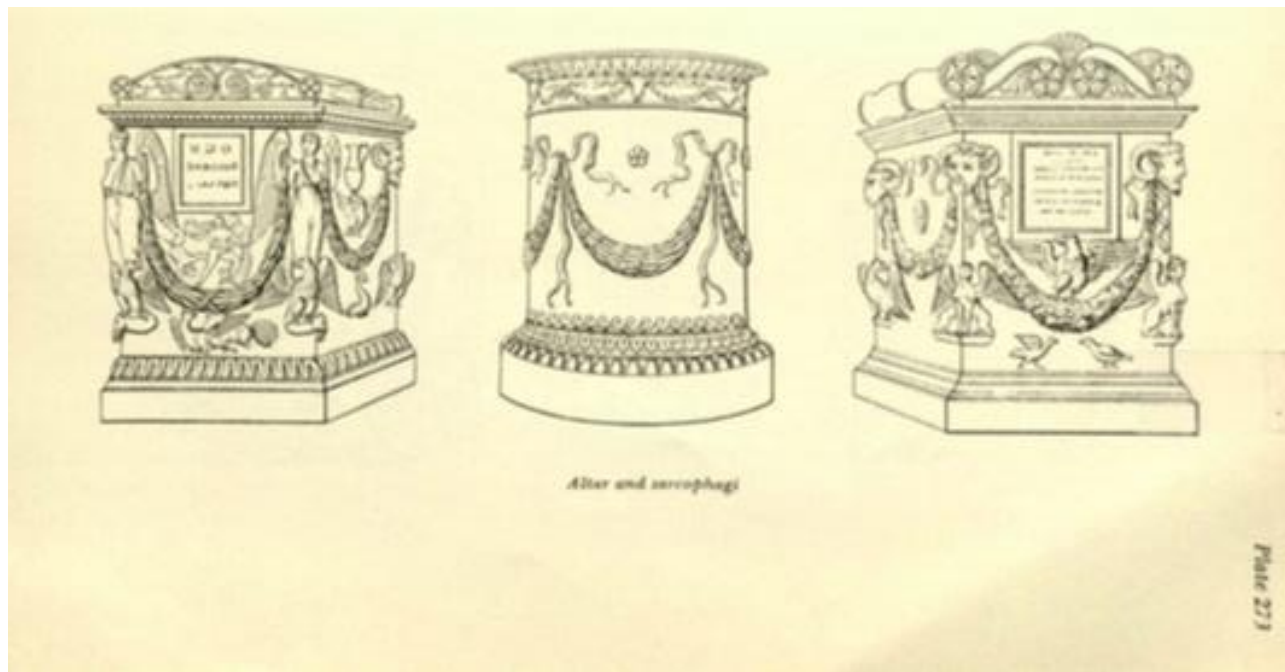


Figure 40: *Altar and Sarcophagi*, *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), plate 273.

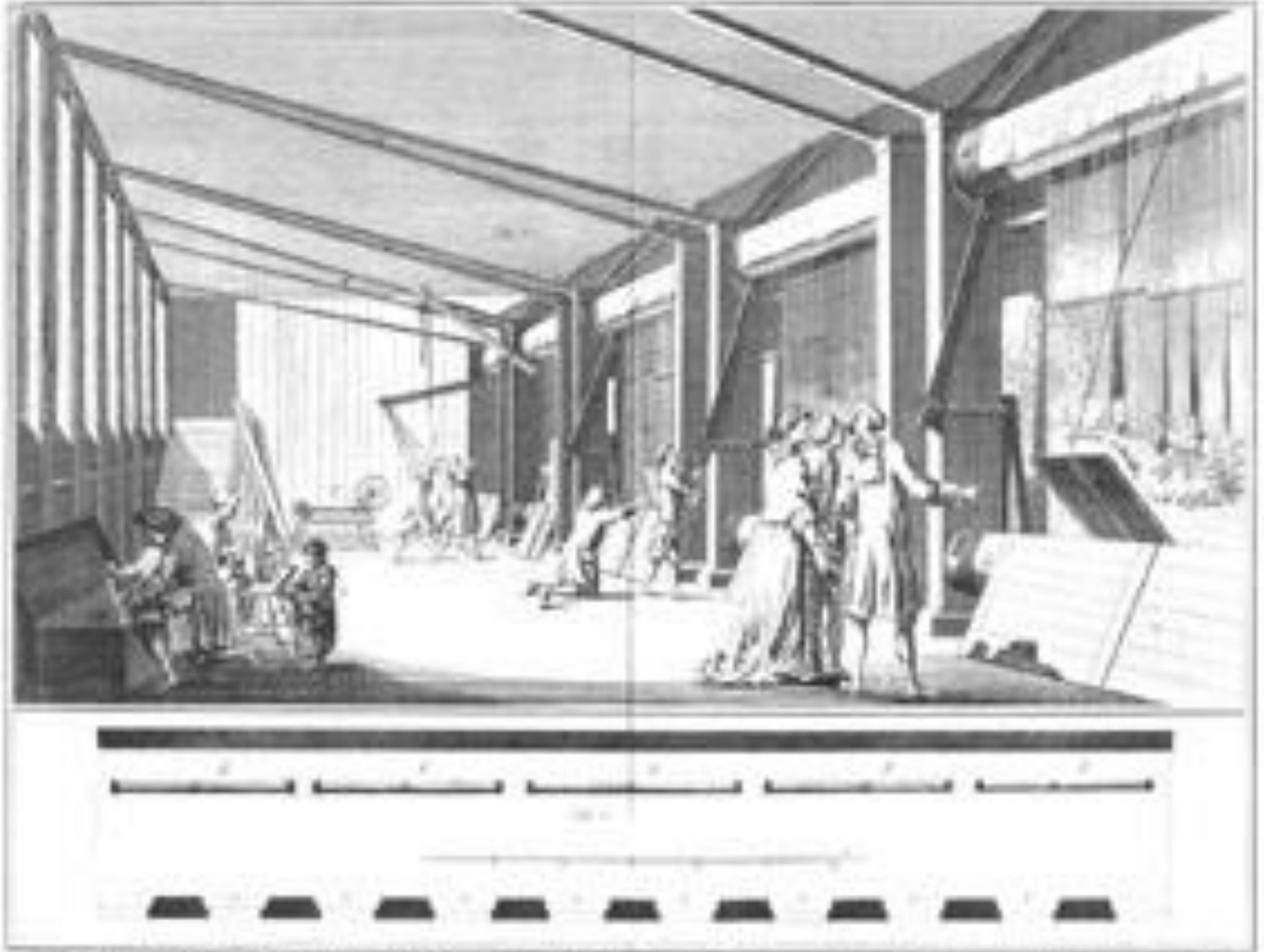


Figure 41: Plate I: Gobelin High Warp Tapestry, Plan and Perspective of the Manufacture, Looms and Various Operations, 1771, manuscript, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, Paris.

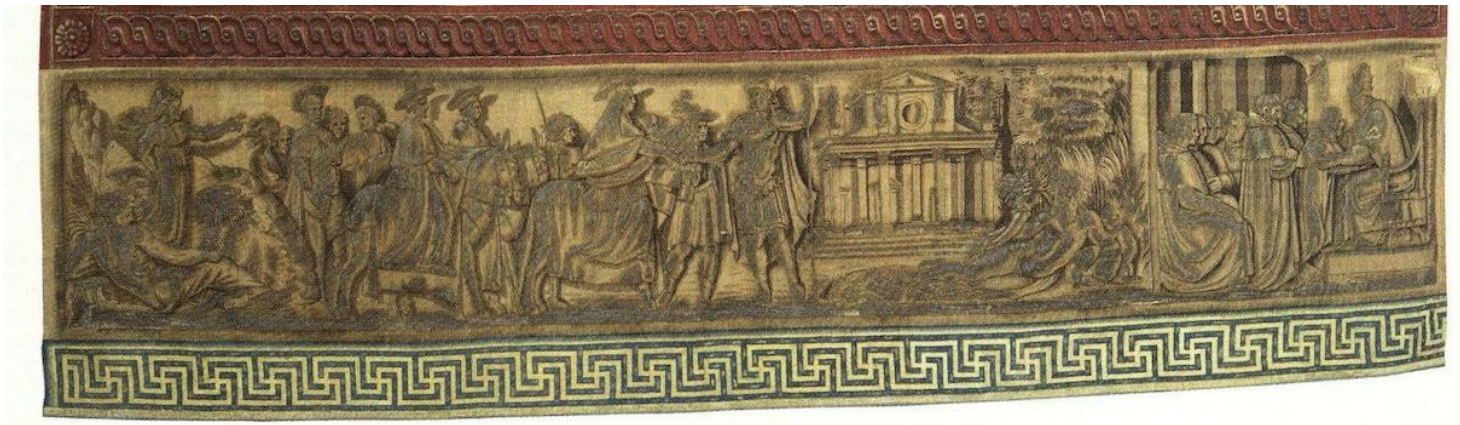


Figure 42: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 43: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Christ's Charge to Peter Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 44: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Christ's Charge to Peter Vertical Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

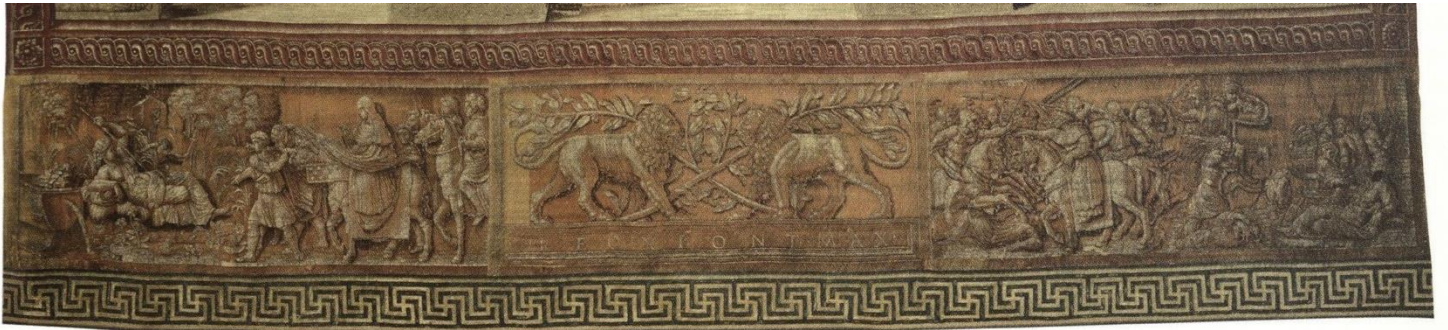


Figure 45: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Healing of Lame Man Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 46: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Death of Ananias Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 47: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Death of Ananias Vertical Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 48: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Stoning of Stephen Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

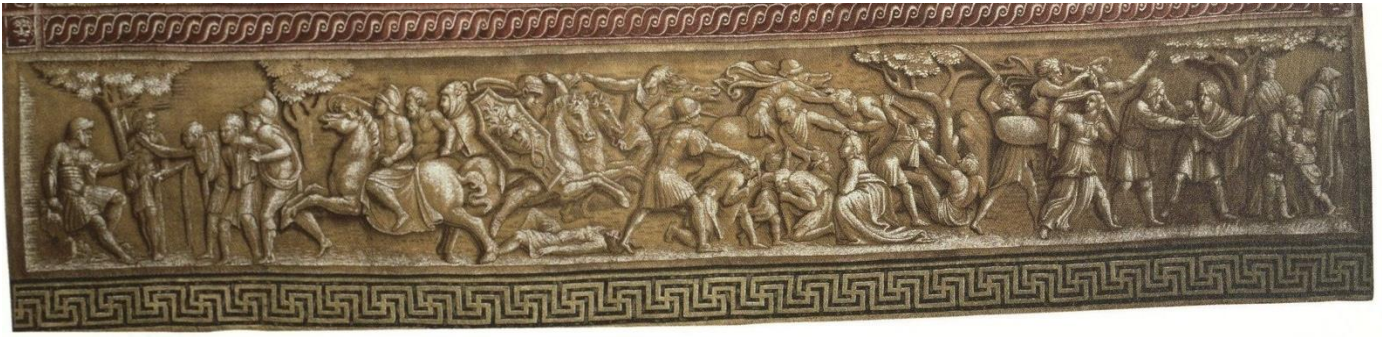


Figure 49: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Conversion of Saul Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

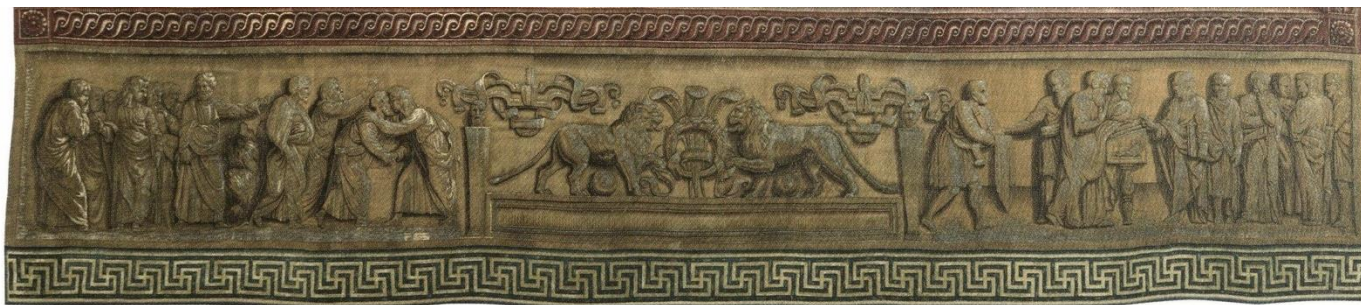


Figure 50: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *The Sacrifice at Lystra Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

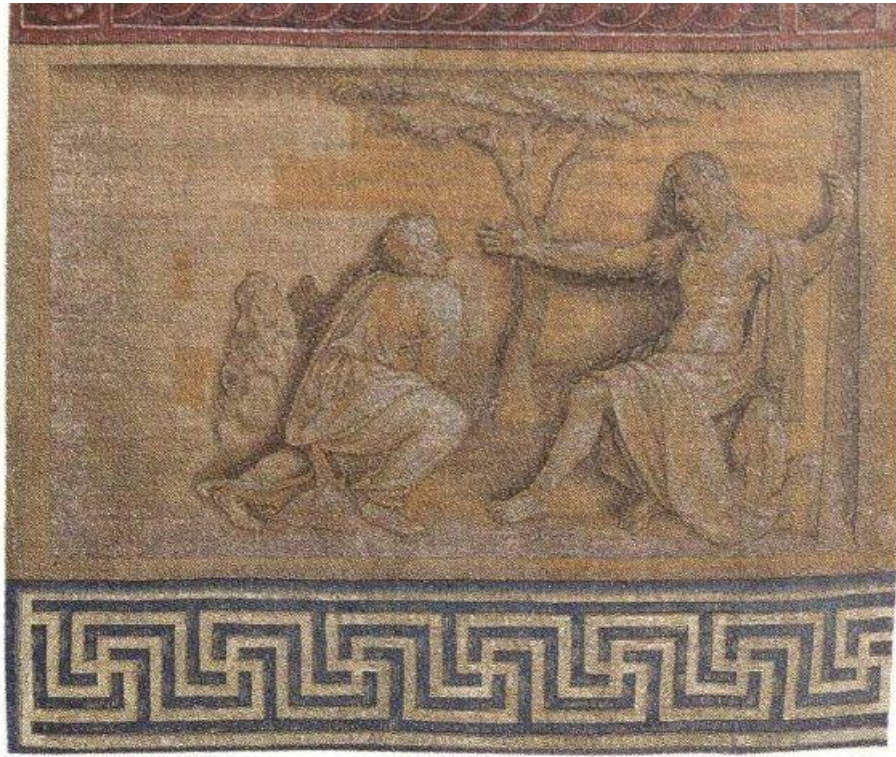


Figure 51: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Paul in Prison Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

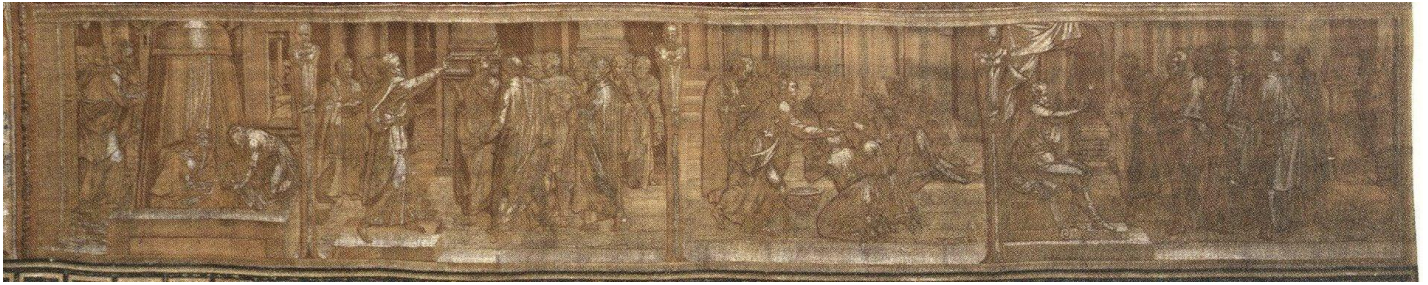


Figure 52: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Paul Preaching at Athens Horizontal Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 53: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Paul Preaching at Athens Vertical Border*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

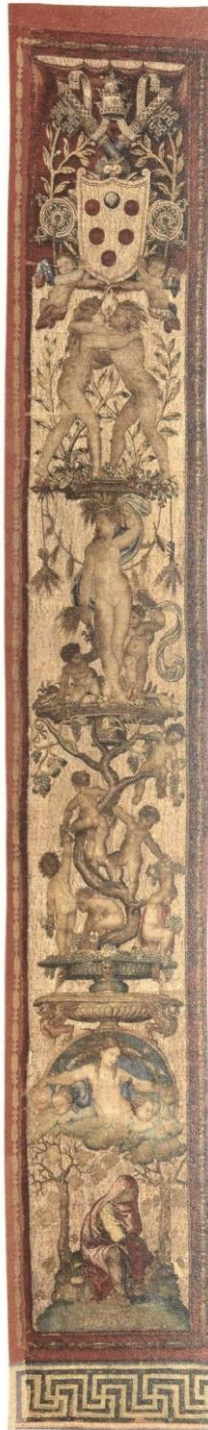


Figure 54: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Four Seasons*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.

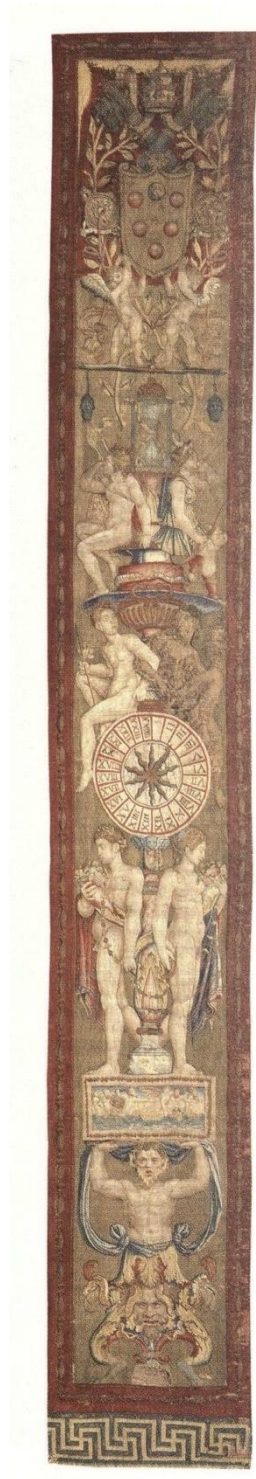


Figure 55: Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Hours*, 1515-1520, wool, silk, and gilded silver, Vatican Museums, Rome.



Figure 56: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Fontainebleau*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 395.5 x 338 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 57: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Tournament*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 385 x 604.5, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 58: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Whale*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 398 x 396 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 59: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Polish Ambassadors*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 381.5 x 394.5 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 60: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Journey*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 389.5 x 533 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 61: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Quintain*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 387 x 400 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 62: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Barriers*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 386 x 328 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 63: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Elephant*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 382.5 x 468 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 64: Lucas de Heere, *Damna Docent*, pen and ink on paper, 32.9 x 44.2 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 65: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail of Singing Siren in Whale*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



a.



b.

Figure 66 a & b: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail from Polish Ambassadors showing crapautage*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 67: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail from Polish Ambassadors showing arrondissement*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 68: French School, *Christine of Lorraine*, 1588, oil on panel, 39.5 x 32.5 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 69: Attributed to Jean Deourt, *Henry III, King of France (1551-1589)*, 16th century, oil on wood, 29 x 22 cm, Versailles.



Figure 70: French, *Prince Hercule-François, Duc d'Alençon*, 1572, oil on canvas, 188.6 x 102.2 cm, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 71: After François Clouet, *Marguerite de Valois, Queen of France*, c. 1571, oil on wood, 29 x 22 cm, Versailles.



Figure 72: In the manner of François Clouet, *Louise de Lorraine*, 16th century, oil on canvas, 145.4 x 113.7 cm, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.



Figure 73: Thomas Hailes Lacy, “Marguerite de Vaudemont in her Wedding Dress,” from a painting of her marriage to Anne, Duke of Joyeuse on September 24, 1581, lithograph, 38.1 x 53 cm. From *Female Costumes, Historical, National, and Dramatic in 200 plates* (London: Theatrical Publishers, 1865).



Figure 74: Thomas de Leu, *Anne, Duc de Joyeuse*, c. 1560-1620, engraving on laid paper, 14.8 x 10 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Figure 75: Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of King Henry IV of France*, c. 1598-1602, engraving, 35.6 x 25.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 76: *Portrait of Charles III, Duke of Lorraine*, oil on wood, Azay-le-Rideau, France.



Figure 77: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Internal Border*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 382.5 x 468 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 78: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Middle Band with Decorative Motifs*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 382.5 x 468 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 79: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail of External Border*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 382.5 x 468 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 80: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail of Middle Band with Decorative Motifs*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 382.5 x 468 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 81: Woven under the direction of Master WF, *Detail of Middle Band with Decorative Motifs*, c. 1576, wool, silk, silver and gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, 382.5 x 468 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Figure 82: Antoine Caron, *Water Festival at Fontainebleau*, c. 1573, black chalk, pen and brown ink, light brown wash, heightened with white, 31.6 x 46.5 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Figure 83: Antoine Caron, *Merry-go-round with Elephant*, c. 1550, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 84: Antoine Caron, *Leaving the Castle of Anet*, c. 1570, ink and ink wash, 32.3 x 48.7 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 85: Antoine Caron, *The Water Festival at Bayonne, June 24, 1565*, before 1576, black chalk, pen and brown ink, grey-brown wash, heightened with white, on paper 33 x 49.2 cm, Morgan Library and Museum, New York.



Figure 86: Antoine Caron, *An Equestrian Game with Riders Jousting among Balls of Fire*, before 1576, black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on paper, 33.3 x 48 cm, The Courtauld Gallery, London.



Figure 87: Antoine Caron, *Catherine de' Medici Entertaining the Polish Ambassadors in the Tuileries Gardens, 1573*, 1573, brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache over black chalk on cream antique laid paper, laid down on blue wove paper, 34.2 x 49 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Figure 88: Antoine Caron, *A Quintain*, before 1576, black chalk, pen and brown ink, grey-brown wash, heightened with white, on paper, 33.3 x 48.2 cm, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

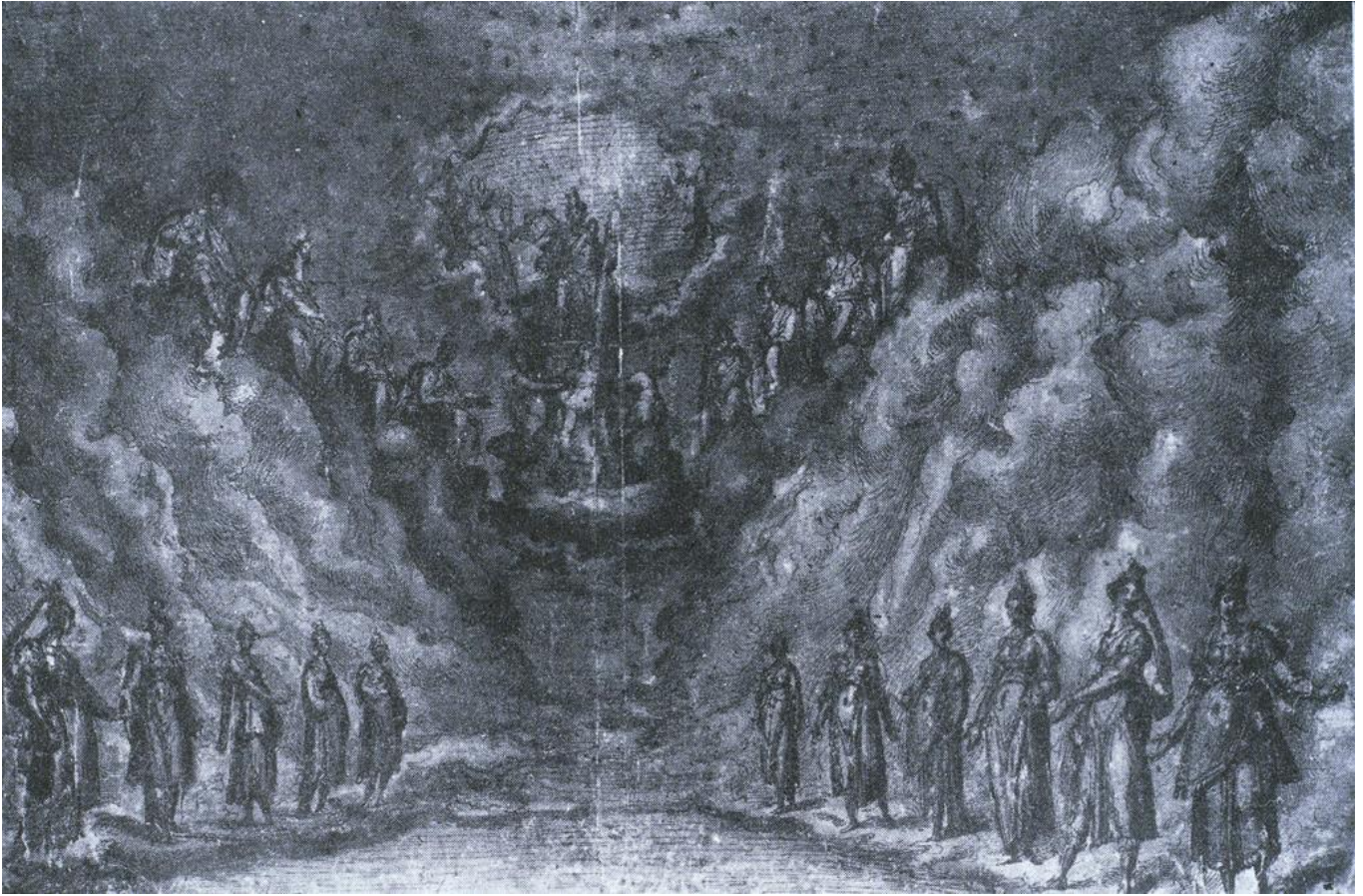


Figure 89: Bernardo Buontalenti, *First Intermezzo for La Pellegrina: The Harmony of the Spheres*, 1589, pen and watercolor, brown ink, red color on paper, 37.9 x 55.7 cm, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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