APPENDIX

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TAPESTRY WEAVING IN FRANCE AND THE SAINT-MARCEL SHOP

In the creation of *La manufacture royale des meubles de la Couronne* by Louis XIV and his minister Colbert in 1662, artistic authority was consolidated under the crown just as governmental authority had been consolidated. This measure greatly facilitated the growth of the decorative arts in France, which culminated in the rich development of the eighteenth century. The tapestry shop at the Gobelins was the acknowledged leader in its field as were the other shops which formed part of the larger structure. There was nothing basically new, however, in the organization of either the entire complex or of the individual shops of which it was composed: its roots go back to the sixteenth century. The Saint-Marcel shop stands at mid-point in the evolution from the medieval conceptions of tapestry production, with the Kress-Barberini Constantine tapestries the most distinguished production of the atelier. Because the Saint-Marcel shop is an important step in the evolution of tapestry weaving in France, the developments before its formation as well as those following it must be considered in order to evaluate clearly the importance of the shop.

France was the first great center of tapestry production in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Flanders became the leader in the art, with highly organized commercial establishments. The Renaissance style had standardized the taste. Flanders was able to satisfy this taste and shipped tapestries all over Europe. This semi-industrialized manufacture of art objects had begun in the fifteenth century, but attained its greatest volume in the sixteenth century. Until the middle of the sixteenth century in France there was little change in the manner in which tapestries were produced. The client, if he was dealing with an established shop, selected his tapestry from a stock at the weaver's atelier or designs were made by the order of the head of the tapestry shop for the noble or churchman placing the order. However, many of the tapestries were not made in shops, but woven by itinerant bands of workmen who set up shop at the castle or church building for the duration of the undertaking.

The tapestries produced in Paris in the sixteenth century, except for those produced in official shops, were not of great importance.[1] With a few exceptions they were small pieces: those of a religious character such as antependiums and choir stall hangings and secular pieces such as horse trappings and bed hangings.

Typical of the larger and more stable shops was that of Girard Laurens and Guillaume Torcheux.[2] Among their early work was an armorial series ordered in 1536, the design of which consisted of an F and salamanders (the initial and emblem of Francis I) and crowns, on a field of yellow fleurs-de-lis with a blue ground. Apparently the two weavers only worked in partnership when the work was extensive because Torcheux alone undertook the execution of a rich gold and silver-worked series in 1546. However, when it became necessary to expedite the fabrication of eighteen horse covers in 1546, they worked with another weaver. Again, a year later, Laurens executed nine of these *couvertures* and in 1551 eight more were woven by the two workers. The shop did not wholly confine itself to these various animal covers; in 1542 and 1556 two larger series were woven.

Apparently this atelier as well as the other Paris shops did not look further for designs for these various covers – the same sort of thing seems to have been repeated many times. Even in a large *tenture* executed late in the century (1585) for the duchy of Brittany, the design followed the tradition, including many designs of the heraldic repertory relating to the rulers of France and Brittany: devices, initials and coats of arms.[3]

1. These general comments about the early Paris shops are from Göbel, Heinrich, *Wandteppiche*, part II, vol. I, pp. 26 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 32–33, for description.

Small religious pieces continued to be manufactured throughout the sixteenth century, sometimes in the medieval tradition of workers establishing their shop in the house or religious building of their patron. Thus, in the first decade of the century the weaver Allardin de Souyn established his atelier in the Paris house of the Archbishop of Sens where he produced two altar hangings. Later in the century, Girard Laurens, of the Laurens-Torcheux enterprise, executed two church hangings, one an antependium, in 1542 and 1556.[4]

Although these decorative and smaller religious pieces seem to have made up a large part of the work executed by the Paris weavers during the sixteenth century, a few larger series were executed. In 1541–1542 a series of six panels was woven for the Sainte Chapelle, Dijon.[5] One of the most important sets woven in Paris was that designed by Jean Cousin in 1543 for the Cardinal de Givry. The series of eight panels illustrates in the Renaissance style the life of Saint Mammès. In the same decade Cousin designed a set illustrating episodes in the life of Sainte Genevieve.[6] The Saint Mammès series is important not only because of the introduction of the new style and the high quality of the work, but also because the design of the tapestries was entrusted to an artist of some repute. The execution of the series, however, followed the pattern of loose organization of the Paris weavers, being entrusted to two workers, Pierre Blacé and Jacques Langois, who formed an alliance for this commission. After completing this series, Blacé and Langois engaged individually in the production of various small decorative pieces.

A few other panels of figural work and a few series were executed: in 1578 one panel was woven illustrating Augustus and the Tiburtinian Sibyl and a few years later two pieces with episodes from the life of St. Christopher were woven.[7] Many Paris panels borrowed subject matter from the Brussels shops as in this Augustus panel and a contemporary series of the Planets.

Outside of Paris many tapestries were woven during the sixteenth century. There was even less stable organization in the other areas with a great many panels being woven by itinerant workers.

One of the centers was that of the Marche factories of Felletin and Aubusson.[8] The chief production of the former was verdures – many sixteenth-century inventories describe panels as: '*tapisserie de Felletin à feuillage.*' Only rarely were figural sets produced. There was a close connection between Felletin and Aubusson. Weavers entered into temporary partnerships with each other and some entrepreneurs owned shops in both towns. The production of the Aubusson looms was also predominantly that of verdures, with figural series rarely woven. The subjects of the latter were all of a religious nature, episodes from lives of the Saints for the most part – the new Renaissance subject matter seems not to have been adopted.

The other center for tapestry production outside of Paris was that of Tours and the Touraine region. While the Marche ateliers concerned themselves principally with smaller decorative pieces, the Touraine region, closely associated with the Court, produced larger figural tapestries. The Cardinal Georges d'Amboise whose château, Gaillon, is often cited as the first monument in the new Renaissance style in France, had seven large figural sets of Touraine tapestries at his château, other sets from the same shops at his Rouen residence and decorative room hangings from Paris.[9]

In the 1520's, Philibert Babou, minister of finance under Francis I, established an atelier at Tours which not only included tapestry weavers, but also painters, sculptors, engravers and goldworkers.[10] Although little is

4. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
8. These general comments about the Marche factories have been taken from Göbel, *op. cit.*, Felletin, pp. 235–243, Aubusson, pp. 244–257.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 263–264 and: Grandmaison, Charles de, 'La Tapisserie à Tours en 1520', in: *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts*, 1888, pp. 235–237.

known of the atelier, this assemblage of the arts in one atelier must be regarded as being the first of several steps in France toward the organization of the Gobelins by Louis XIV, 140 years later, where all of the arts were grouped together under a single director.

Two of the weavers in this atelier, Pasquier and Nicolas de Mortaigne, executed for the *sacre* of Francis I a panel in which figured '*une Léda, avec certaines nymphes et satyrs*'.[11] This same shop, later operated by a son-in-law, produced two series of the life of St. Peter, decorative verdures and a table cover. Another shop later in the century executed an armorial series[12] of the type described so often in connection with the Paris looms. In general, the Tours shops executed work of much higher quality than that of the Marche shops.

Although French tapestry weaving was concentrated in Paris, the Marche shops and Touraine, tapestries were produced in other areas such as Troyes, Limoges, Orléans, Bourges, Toulouse and Nancy; most of the work from these areas, however, did not stem from organized shops.

The close association of the crown with the manufacture of tapestries in sixteenth-century France began in the reign of Francis I in the factory in his château of Fontainebleau.[13] The atelier at the château originated in 1535 with the appointment of Philibert Babou, who had earlier organized the Tours shop, as superintendent of the new undertaking. The workers were recruited from Flanders and Paris. A few of the workers can be traced by other documents, such as Pierre Blacé, who was the son of one of the weavers who executed the Saint Mammès set. For the most part, however, the origin of the workers is not known, although the high technical quality of the work would presuppose a number of Flemish workers. From the 1540's we have the series of six panels now in Vienna which reproduce the decorations of Rosso in the Gallery of Francis I at the château. The tapestries reproduce not only the paintings in the center, but also the surrounding three-dimensional decorations – and forcing the medium yet further, the surrounding wood moldings and, in perspective, the ceiling beams.

Among the other tapestries which are often attributed with probability to the Fontainebleau looms is a set made for Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II. A few other panels are sometimes attributed to the Fontainebleau shop or perhaps one of the small Paris shops. These are mostly decorative tapestries of a central medallion surrounded with grotesque decoration. Whether from the looms of Paris or Fontainebleau, their importance lies in their anticipation of the style of Bérain in the late seventeenth century and Boucher in the following century.

The production of the Fontainebleau shop was a private enterprise with the products destined for the use of the King. It was in accord with – but an extension of – the medieval practice of establishing a shop in a church or château in order to carry out a specific commission, only on a larger scale. Although the atelier remained active through the reign of Henry II (1547–1559), Francis' successor had his own plans for tapestry manufacture.

Henry established an atelier for the weaving of tapestries in the Hospital of the Trinité in Paris in 1551.[14] Tapestry weaving and other crafts were introduced as at Tours in order to train the orphans housed there. To ensure its success, the King granted the weavers extensive privileges which so antagonized the Paris craftsmen that the King had to take the master weavers into protective custody in 1556. One of the weavers, Maurice Dubout, who had perhaps been an apprentice at the hospital and was still living there, was commissioned in 1584 to weave a large set of The *Life of Our Lord* for the Church of St. Merri. There are several sets of sixteenth

11. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 264 and Fenaille, Maurice, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'a nos jours*, vol. I, p. 89, note 1.

12. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

13. For the Fontainebleau factory cf. *ibid.*, pp. 37–46 and Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–102.

14. For the Trinité shop cf.: Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–51, Guiffrey, Jules, 'Les manufactures parisiennes au XVII[e] siècle', in: *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, 1892, pp. 45–52, and Guiffrey, Jules, 'Notes et documents sur les origines de la manufacture des Gobelins . . . ', in: Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 14–15, to be referred to hereafter as: Guiffrey, in Fenaille. Cf. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff. for the various series.

century tapestries of unknown manufacture which might have been woven at the Trinité shop. Of the place of manufacture of one of the most popular sets, Artemisia, which extolled Catherine de' Medici and her widowhood, and of the story of Gombaut and Macée, nothing definite is known, but they may well have been woven at the Trinité atelier in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The shop was in existence in the early part of the seventeenth century. Around 1635 it executed the set with episodes from the lives of Saint Crispin and Saint Crispinian, but subsequent to this set, we know nothing of its activities. Like the other shops, the Trinité probably wove tapestries from old cartoons or pieces based on designs woven in other shops.

Henry IV was responsible for four separate enterprises of tapestry manufacture. The earliest of these ventures was the attempt in 1583, six years before he ascended the throne, to found an atelier in his territory in Béarne using Flemish workers,[15] but owing to the unfavorable conditions of the times, this project was not carried through. It was nearly two decades later that Henry was able to carry a like project through successfully in the Saint-Marcel shop.

As King, Henry's first venture was the establishment in 1597 of an atelier in an old house of retreat of the Jesuits where Maurice Dubout and Gerard Laurent worked until 1608.[16] Either in this shop or in the Trinité shop a *tenture* of eight pieces of The *Life of Saint Vincent* was woven.

In 1608 Dubout and Laurent headed the new shop formed by Henry IV in the Galleries of the Louvre[17] near the atelier of Pierre DuPont, who introduced '*tapis à la façon du Levant*' and founded the Savonnerie factory. Although the workers were granted many important privileges by the crown, free lodging, exemptions from taxes, pensions, maintenance of apprentices, the shop did not work only for the King, but also sold work as a private atelier.

The problem of assigning tapestries to specific shops in the seventeenth century is more complex than in the previous century because the production increased and because tapestries of the same design were often woven in several shops. Magnifying the problem was the practice of weaving tapestries from sixteenth-century designs, sometimes with old border designs and sometimes with newly designed borders.

Very little is known of the early activity of the Louvre shop; probably it produced a great many tapestries on old cartoons, such as the story of Gombaut and Macée and the Artemisia series, the latter now referring to Marie de' Medici, and the Diana series of Toussaint Dubreuil. These designs were also woven by other shops; the 1627 inventory of the Saint-Marcel shop[18] lists a number of these sets. It is not until 1627 when Simon Vouet was called from Italy by Louis XIII that the tapestries from this shop seem to have attained great importance. The date of 1627 is in itself not without importance because it was the year after the death of François de La Planche, who had been co-director of the Saint-Marcel shop. During these few years the pre-eminent position of the Saint-Marcel shop passed to the Louvre. Certainly, the Saint-Marcel shop after the death of La Planche was not entrusted with the weaving of tapestries of the importance of those entrusted to the Louvre shop. Several sets of tapestries were executed after designs by Vouet in the Louvre shop, but with the exception of the Old Testament series, the tapestries reproduced wall decorations designed by Vouet – a practice reminiscent of the Fontainebleau tapestries. Another set from the Louvre shop in the later period – the contract was executed in 1645 – was that of Saint Gervais and Saint Protais from cartoons by Philippe de Champaigne, Eustache le Sueur, Sébastien Bourdon and Thomas Goussé. A short time later an exact copy of a Brussels series was executed. In 1657 the shop was attached to the *Académie de peinture* and in 1662 the workers were assimilated into the new Gobelins factory.

In the first years of the seventeenth century two Flemings, Marc de Comans and François de La Planche,

15. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 147, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', p. 52, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 1.
16. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', p. 53, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 1.
17. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–57, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 114–169, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 17–18.
18. Published in Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 37–56.

were brought to Paris by Henry IV in order to establish the manufacture of tapestries in France on a more stable basis and on a larger scale than private patronage would permit. The weavers were settled in an atelier in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel.[19] Of the four projects initiated by the King that of the Comans-La Planche shop appears to have been the most successful. It is not possible, however, to offer conclusive evidence in this respect because we know a great deal more about the Saint-Marcel shop than the other shops, owing to an inventory drawn up in 1627 on the death of François de La Planche and to the practice of signing the tapestries with the weaver's monogram. The documentation of the other shops is fragmentary and confusing and the tapestries are only rarely signed with the weaver's monogram.

The initial step toward the founding of the Saint-Marcel shop was taken in the last year of the sixteenth century. Henry IV in two documents, one of January 4, 1599, and amplified in another of January 12, 1601, directs the superintendent, Fourcy, to bring professional tapestry workers from Flanders.[20] In the earlier directive the King states his wish to re-establish in his kingdom the manufacture of tapestries and recalls that he had brought *tapissiers* to work in the retreat house of the Jesuits in Paris. In the new undertaking, Fourcy is instructed to direct and make payments for all that which is necessary for the manufacture of tapestries, such as the selection of capable people and making payment for the threads. Henry goes on to explain that, because of his experience, the '*Sieur de Fourcy*' is charged with all that concerns this work; importantly, this document states that all expenses are to be paid by the *tresoriers des Batimens*. The second document, two years later, when the two workers are in Paris, also directed to Fourcy, is a restatement and amplification of the earlier *brevet*. Although not mentioned by name, Comans and La Planche can be counted as among the workers because just seventeen days later, January 29, a contract of association between the two weavers and Hierosme de Comans was executed.[21] Another *tapissier*, François Verrier, was brought to France about the same time to help recruit workers for the new project, but did not remain.[22] After these initial steps of organization, practical measures for establishment of the atelier were swiftly executed during the years of 1601–1607.

The weavers were first installed in temporary quarters on the Rue des Tournelles, but on June 24, 1601, Fourcy signed a lease for the buildings in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel in which the atelier was to be established[23] – the site of the factory established by Louis XIV in 1662 and today the Gobelins Museum.

Since the fifteenth century dyers had been established in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, along the east bank of the Bièvre River, which is now enclosed and called the Ruelle des Gobelins. Jean Gobelins established a dyers' shop in the middle of the fifteenth century and through acquiring adjoining properties owned in the sixteenth century all but one parcel on the south side of the Rue de Bièvre, now the Rue des Gobelins. Along the river the properties on either side of the Gobelins also belonged to dyers, on the north extending into what is now the Boulevard Arago, to the Canaye family and to the south, to the Le Peultre family, separated from the Gobelins property by an alley on the north, now closed. The property was bounded on the west by the river, on the east by Rue Mouffetard, now the Avenue des Gobelins, and on the south by the Rue Croulebarbe.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Le Peultre property was acquired by the Canaye, but being Huguenots, they were drawn into the misfortunes of the religious wars and forced to sell their establishment in 1571 to Jean Gobelins the younger. The latter only held possession of the *Maison des Canaye* for two years, selling the establishment to Michel Charpentier, a cloth merchant. It was this property which Fourcy acquired from the Charpentier heirs in 1601. Although in the possession of the Gobelins family for only a short time, the name had

19. For the Saint-Marcel shop cf.: Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–84, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 114–169, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 2–14, Guiffrey, Jules, *Histoire de la tapisserie depuis le moyen age jusqu'a nos jours*, pp. 294–298.

20. The documents are published in Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 31–32.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

22. Cimber and Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, ser. I, vol. XV, 1837, pp. 195–196.

23. The following comments on the buildings are from: Guiffrey, Jules, 'Notices sur l'emplacement des anciennes teintureries du bourg Saint-Marcel . . . ', in Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–88. The document of June 24, 1601 is published by Guiffrey, pp. 80–82.

been used popularly to designate the Le Peultre-Canaye property and has been perpetuated by the official designation given to the Louis XIV undertaking – *Manufacture des Gobelins.*

In the period from 1601–1627 buildings were acquired adjacent to the original group. In 1608 additions were constructed for workrooms and lodging for workers, '*tant Francoys que Flamens*'.[24] Two other buildings were acquired in 1609, one in 1616 and another in 1619.[25] In 1625, two shops were opened by Comans and La Planche in Paris to sell tapestries, one on the Rue Saint-Martin, the other on the Rue Quincampoix.

The shop, although in production soon after the acquisition of the Le Peultre-Canaye property, was not formally created by the crown until an *édit de création* of January 1607.[26] In the intervening years, however, measures were being taken in order to ensure the success of the new venture. On September 11, 1601, a decree was issued forbidding the importation of tapestries from other countries.[27] This act had cause to be enforced by the Paris customs four years later when the Comtesse de Sault brought forty-six tapestries from Flanders. The concessions granted to the weavers in the 1607 decree were unprecedented and completely ignore the guild organization. The directors are raised to the rank of nobility, thereby obtaining all of the exemptions granted to persons of this status. The concessions and subsidies were made to the shop in order to enable it to become established as a sound business venture. Comans and La Planche are to have a monopoly on the fabrication and sale of tapestries in Paris and in other cities where they had established shops. The repetition of the 1601 import restrictions reinforces this monopoly. The directors are to live rent free, pay no income taxes nor taxes on wool and silk. The shop is to receive an initial grant of 100,000 livres with a yearly stipend of 1,500 livres. The workers are to be made French citizens and receive diplomatic protection in foreign countries. Recognizing the importance of training apprentices the document includes generous concessions to this end, including lodging provided by the state. The number of apprentices is regulated at twenty-five the first year and twenty for each of the two following years. In return, Comans and La Planche are obliged only to maintain eighty looms in operation, sixty in Paris and twenty in Amiens or another filial shop, and to sell their tapestries for no more than those formerly imported from Flanders.

A storm of protests was quickly raised against the granting of these privileges[28] in which it was stated that the product of the high-warp loom which was formerly used in Paris is *beaucoup plus précieuse et meilleure* than the low-warp loom introduced by the strangers.[29] Of all the adversaries in the *Parlement* and the *Bureau de la Ville de Paris* and the protests addressed to the King, the only result was the ruling that a fleur-de-lis preceded by the letter P be woven into tapestries fabricated in Paris. The difficulties were increased during the first years of the shop owing to the irregular discharge of the agreed payments to the atelier. This was due to a great extent to the lack of sympathy with which the Minister Sully viewed the King's interest in expanding industry. Comans and La Planche submitted numerous petitions to the King and in turn Henry IV wrote to Sully in behalf of the directors.

François de La Planche (Franz van den Planken) was born in the Flemish tapestry center of Audenarde, March 10, 1573.[30] Very little is known of his background – no records have come to light to indicate whether he came from a weaving family. He did have some pretensions to the nobility, calling himself *seigneur* of several small fiefs near Audenarde in several documents.

Marc de Comans (Marco Commans) was born in Antwerp in 1563, and like La Planche does not seem to have come from a leading family of tapestry workers.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
25. Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 35–36.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
28. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 58, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 5, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 74 f.
29. Although Göbel and Guiffrey quote the French text of the document in the above, neither cites the source.
30. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 59, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 2.

The reasons for the choice of these men to head the new shop remain obscure. They, of course, may have had experience in the manufacture of tapestries, but from the indications of their diverse business activities, it appears that they might have been chosen for their experience in areas other than tapestry manufacturing. A year after their arrival in France, each of the directors established a brewery – Comans on the Canaye property and La Planche in the temporary buildings on the Rue des Tournelles,[31] both of which operated at least until 1617.[32] The directors also ventured into the soapmaking industry.[33] In 1607 an association was formed with a *maître savonnier* for the formation of factories in Paris, Rouen, Nantes and other cities. The one in Paris was operated in buildings at Chaillot. Two years later the association was terminated, the buildings and equipment sold. These buildings, today the site of the *Palais de Chaillot*, became several years later the *Manufacture royale de tapis, façon de turquie, de la Savonnerie.*

The business activities of Comans and La Planche were not only concerned with manufacturing. From 1607 to 1626 there are numerous documents relating to the drainage of swamps at Tonnay-Charente[34] and one strange document of August 30, 1608, dealing with a project for draining the swamp in the 'sea of Holland'.[35] Yet another project of the partners is concerned with the importation of wheat from Malta.[36] The operation, initiated in 1607 and remaining active at least until 1622, was perhaps related to the breweries which continued in operation.[37]

The theory has been advanced that these other enterprises were undertaken in order to subsidize the tapestry factory.[38] The factory seems to have been successful, however, with the consequent need for expansion. Many neighboring properties were acquired in the Saint-Marcel area during the 1606–1627 period.[39] Also, the breweries were started in 1601, the other ventures all in 1607, the year of the formal foundation of the shop, certainly too early for any indication of the success of the tapestry factory. The more plausible theory would seem to be that Comans and La Planche, although engaged by Henry IV to manage the tapestry shop, were chosen because of their general business ability rather than their experience with tapestry weaving – the lack of any information about their tapestry background reinforces this view. The other activities then are simply the logical result of their interests as entrepreneurs.

The Le Peultre-Canaye building complex other than the brewery, the living quarters of the directors and the dyeing shop, was given over to smaller ateliers where the tapestries were woven. There were ten of these *boutiques*, each presided over by a master weaver, the two largest with several rooms. Of these, the most important was the *boutique d' or* of Hans Taye (where the Constantine tapestries were woven) which had thirteen looms in operation, eight in a ground floor room beside the chamber of the master. On the floor above were two rooms, one with four looms, the other with one.[40] In the next *boutique*, as itemized in the 1627 inventory, that of Lucas Wandandalle, there were more looms – fifteen – but they are evaluated at a much lower figure than those of the *boutique d'or*. The largest of the remaining eight shops contained ten looms; the smallest, one. The latter was the only high-warp loom in the factory.

The production of the shop can be fairly well calculated by means of the 1627 inventory. The tapestries which

31. Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 32.
32. In the inventory of the Saint-Marcel shop there is an account of this shop ending in 1617 (*ibid.*, p. 51).
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 51.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 49–50.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 50.
37. In the 1627 inventory, an account of the *Société de Malte* is listed, ending in 1622 (*ibid.*, p. 50). Another account in the inventory is that of the breweries, ending in 1617 (*ibid.*, p. 50).
38. By Guiffrey in *ibid.*, p. 6.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 47. The *boutiques* are itemized in the 1627 inventory with the number of looms in each room.

were in the storerooms and on the looms are itemized as are the number of looms in each *boutique*. The production can be further evaluated by means of the practice of signing tapestries with the monogram of the *maître tapissier* of the *boutique*. This practice also distinguishes the work of the Saint-Marcel shop from that of other shops.

The tapestries are inventoried in three groups: those in two storerooms and those in the *boutiques*.[41] Of the two storerooms, the series in the storeroom of the '*hostel des Canayes*' are valued the highest: one nine-panel set, one twelve-panel set and a single panel of the *History of Constantine*; one twenty-one panel set of the Artemisia series, all woven with gold and silver, two Pastor Fido eight-panel sets, one with *un peu d'or*, an eight-panel set of the *Hunts of Francis I* and one six-panel set of the Toussaint Dubreuil Diana series.

In the larger storeroom, the *magasin des tapisseryes*, the less costly panels are stored – those of all wool or wool and silk.[42] Of a total of 172 panels, sixty are in nine sets of figural designs of four to nine panels, including three sets of the Artemisia series and three of The *Kings of France*. Sixty-eight of the panels are common verdures and decorative panels with fleurs-de-lis. Also in this room are inventoried six, seven and eight-panel *tentures* of Raphael de La Planche, son of François, and five sets of Flemish tapestry.

The third group, in the *boutiques*, is composed of incomplete sets. In the important *boutique d'or* a gold and silver Artemisia set of eleven panels is on the looms. In the other ateliers a total of forty-eight silk and wool tapestries are detailed. These include twenty-three panels of the Pastor Fido series, three of *The Kings of France* series, seven of the Artemisia series, fourteen verdures and one untitled high-warp panel.

The popularity of the various sets is clearly indicated in the total number of 290 tapestries described in the inventory. Fifty-three are of the Artemisia series which was designed by Antoine Caron and Henri Lerambert. Almost as great a quantity of the Pastor Fido series designed by the successors to Lerambert, Guillaume Dumée and Laurent Guyot, are on hand – forty-three. The other sets in the inventory, excepting the Toussaint Dubreuil Diana and the Constantine sets, The *Kings of France*, The *Hunts of Francis I* and the Gombaut and Macée series were all designed by Guyot. Other series not listed in the inventory were produced, such as the *History of Coriolanus* designed by Lerambert after Caron and Guyot in 1600.[43]

The verdures and other decorative pieces produced in the shop are a special problem. Although they constituted over one-quarter of the total number of pieces in the inventory, their evaluations are very low. They cannot be identified because they are not signed and probably were coarse pieces.

The total number of tapestries produced in the shop during the twenty-six years of operation must have been over one thousand.[44] This figure is based on the assumption of the average of one-half of the looms being in activity for the period and the estimated time for weaving a complicated low-warp tapestry of one-half to three-quarters of a year with four to eight people working at one loom. The figure is probably higher considering the great range of quality produced in the shop and the probability that more than half of the looms were on the average in operation.

After the death of François de La Planche, his eldest son, Raphael, took over his position in the shop. Dissension soon developed between Comans and the younger La Planche which culminated in a complete break in 1633. At that time Raphael moved out of the Saint-Marcel shop and took most of the workers with him. The new atelier was established in the Faubourg Saint-Germain in buildings bordered by the Rue de la Chaise, the Rue du Bac and on the north a street renamed for the new enterprise, the Rue de la Planche.[45] The

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–44.
43. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 f., Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68. Other sets woven by the factory are listed by Göbel.
44. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 82, gives the figure of 700, but says it is probably much higher. Using Göbel's figures for the length of time to produce one tapestry the total number is nearer 1,000.
45. For the Saint-Germain shop and the later development of the Saint-Marcel shop, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–106, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 15–16, 18–23.

rivalry between the two shops led to the practice of appropriating each other's workers. The result was a *convention* dated May 4, 1634,[46] in which each factory is forbidden to accept workers from the other – if new workers are needed they should be procured from Flanders. Large fines are to be imposed for any infringement of the regulations. Finally, regulations are established for the weaving and sale of tapestries from each shop. The directorship of the Saint-Marcel shop had been given over to the son of Marc de Comans, Charles, who died a year later, and was succeeded by his brother Alexandre and on the latter's death in 1651, by another brother, Hippolyte.

It is difficult to assign the tapestries which were woven in the Comans atelier, but from an inventory made after the death of the first wife of Raphael de La Planche in 1661 we know something of the production of the shop. The document[47] lists not only the tapestries on the loom and in storage, but also the cartoons, evaluated by Philippe de Champaigne. Because the same designs were woven in several shops, the inventory gives an indication of the production not only of the Saint-Germain shop, but also of the other ateliers of this later period. In addition to listing the tapestries and cartoons, household furnishings, silks and wools, Flemish tapestries and various kinds of needlework, called *tapisseries de Rouen* or *de Beauvais*, are included.

The shop had nearly as many looms in operation as the Saint-Marcel shop – fifty-two – although it apparently was not divided into the smaller ateliers – *boutiques* – as the earlier shop. Also, from the inventory we can conclude that the more common practice of the shop was to weave the tapestries to order rather than having a stock from which the patron might choose because the name of the person ordering the tapestry prefaces each item.

Of the 153 tapestries inventoried many are verdures – forty-one. Sets of the Four Seasons and an Abraham series are listed but are difficult to identify. Five sets of the *History of Daphne*, three large sets of the Tancred and Chlorinda series and several pieces of a Psyche series are either on the looms or completed.

The cartoons itemized are a further indication of the repertory of the shop. Those for tapestries not in the shop include: Theagène and Cariclée, Dido and Aeneas, the Months of the Year and the Constantine series. Presumably some of these are copies of designs originating in other shops. In at least one instance, a series of the Months of the Year, it is probably a question of a copy of a Flemish set.[48]

The production of the shops can be further identified to some extent by the weaver's monogram. Some earlier sets continued to be made, such as The *Hunts of Francis I*, examples of which are known with marks from both periods.[49] The paintings of Vouet and his school were an important source of designs for this later period in all of the Paris shops. The earliest series, designed shortly after his return to France in 1627, is that of the *Old Testament* woven both by the Louvre shop and the Saint-Marcel shop.[50] The sources for most of the Vouet tapestries were the decorative paintings in the Hôtel de Bullion and other buildings: The *Loves of the Gods*, The *Odyssey* and *Rinaldo and Armida*. Most of these sets were made in several shops, as for example, the *Rinaldo and Armida*, of which examples are known from the Saint-Germain and the Saint-Marcel shops. Other painters were related in various degrees to tapestry design in the Paris shops in this later period – La Hire, Le Sueur, Vignon,[51] but none to the extent of Vouet.

The Saint-Germain shop continued to be active until the formation of the Gobelins shop by Colbert in 1662, although the decline begins several years before.[52] The eldest son of Raphael, Sébastien-François, assumes

46. Published by Guiffrey, in: 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . .', pp. 106–109.
47. Published by Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 59–71.
48. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
49. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–245.
50. For the Vouet designs, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–97, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 309–346 and Creely, William R., *The Paintings of Simon Vouet*, pp. 102, 266–267.
51. For the tapestries related to these painters, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 105, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–277.
52. Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 120–121, Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

directorship of the shop after 1661, but with the new Gobelins venture and lack of business sense of the new director, the decline is rapid – in 1667 the shop is liquidated with seven sets of tapestries entering the state collections.

Although the three Paris shops – Saint-Marcel, Saint-Germain and the Louvre – were certainly the most important in France in the seventeenth century until the founding of the Gobelins, several provincial ateliers were in operation during this time.

Three of these shops were connected with the Saint-Marcel shop: Amiens, Calais and Tours.[53] The Amiens atelier was established in 1604, three years after the founding of the Saint-Marcel shop. In the 1607 royal edict, formally creating the Paris shop, it is stated that twenty looms shall remain in operation at 'Amyens'. The tapestries woven in the early years were probably after the same designs as those being used at the Paris shop. The only set which could be from this early period is a set of the *Hunts of Francis I.* There are many sets from the later period which are based on Vouet's designs which are either recorded in inventories as from Amiens or bearing the shop mark, an A.

The Calais shop was founded after 1604 and only lasted until about 1620. Like the Amiens shop it used cartoons from the Comans-La Planche shop, and produced small pieces such as chair coverings and sold tapestries.

The Touraine region, one of the important centers of tapestry manufacture earlier, had slowly declined during the sixteenth century. Tapestries continued to be produced, but the work was of no greater importance than in many other provincial areas. Comans and La Planche signed an act of association for a branch atelier in Tours in 1613 although negotiations had been in progress for a number of years. Alexander Motheron III of Tours, a member of a family which had directed a tapestry shop in Tours in the sixteenth century, became the head of the new atelier. In the shop, the Flemish low-warp technique was used, but not for the first time in the city – a Fleming, Francoys Dubois, had introduced the technique some forty years earlier. Little is known of the tapestries from the shop, but in all likelihood they were, as were the products of the other branches, based on cartoons from Paris; several pieces of sets being woven at the Saint-Marcel shop are noted in old inventories as *fabrique de Tours.*[54] The shop did not prosper, however, and its activities were terminated in 1623.

The Marche shops, Aubusson and Felletin, continued in their early manner during the seventeenth century, for the most part producing coarser and cheaper work than that produced in Paris.[55] Many of the tapestries were verdures, *tapis de feuillage à fil simple.* Exceptionally, figural sets were woven, many with religious subjects such as Esther, Susanna or the Prophets. In lesser numbers popular subjects such as Gombaut and Macée, Pastor Fido and panels with mythological episodes were executed. The shops remained active throughout the seventeenth century, and although Colbert in 1665 had taken measures to strengthen the position of the industry there was a gradual decline. It was not until the eighteenth century that the shops again prospered.

Even though the greater part of the tapestries in the first half of the seventeenth century were woven in the larger shops, the earlier practice of establishing an atelier for the weaving of a specific set continued. Most frequently, the workers and the tapestries are little known, being executed by itinerant weavers and known only through isolated documents. Two sets for which there is adequate documentation, however, are The *History of Henry III* and The *Life of the Virgin.* The former was woven at the château of Cadillac near Bordeaux in a shop established by the Duke of Épernon.[56] The enormous set – twenty-seven pieces – was woven from 1622 to 1637 by Claude de La Pierre, one of the less important master weavers from the Comans-La Planche shop, and three other weavers. The *Life of the Virgin*, a *tenture* of fourteen panels, was woven between 1638 and 1657 for the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris.[57] The *maître tapissier*, Pierre Damour, directed an atelier at Reims, but

53. For these factories, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–109, 265 ff., Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 14–15.
54. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 217, 222.
55. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–239, 245–253.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 351–352, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–261.
57. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–328, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–268.

signs this set 'A.PARIS.PAR.DAMOUR', which led Fenaille to conclude that they were woven at the Cathedral.

The atelier at Maincy was the last independent shop to be organized before the Gobelins factory was established by Colbert in 1662.[58] Founded by Nicolas Fouquet, superintendent of finances under Louis XIV, at Maincy near Fouquet's château of Vaux-le-Vicomte, the shop was in operation from 1658 to 1663 under the artistic direction of Charles LeBrun, who was *directeur des peintures* of the château. From the twelve looms, operated for the most part by Flemish weavers, the most famous productions are the *portières des Renommées, de Mars, du Char de Triomphe* and *de la Licorne*, which were endlessly reproduced later at the Gobelins. Two series of figural tapestries were also woven: an eight-panel Meleager *tenture* and a five-panel Constantine set. Fouquet was arrested in 1661 and imprisoned shortly after, his possessions being confiscated by the state which was very helpful to Louis XIV and Colbert in setting up the Gobelins shop.

The culmination of the organization of tapestry weaving in France is the Gobelins shop – *La manufacture royale des meubles de la Couronne* – in 1662.[59] This important move resulted from the desire of Louis XIV to consolidate the direction of art production under his authority although the uncertain state of the Paris shops and the dissolution of the Maincy atelier were important factors.

The French shops in the middle of the seventeenth century were at a low point. The Paris shops of the Louvre, Saint-Germain and Saint-Marcel, as well as those of the Marche and the Touraine, were still active but they were certainly not producing tapestries of distinguished quality. Then, in this situation, in 1661 several interrelated events took place which presented the opportunity for the formation of the new shop. In this year took place the death of the Prime Minister, Cardinal Mazarin, and the arrest of the Cardinal's ally, Fouquet. The resources of Fouquet's atelier at Maincy were therefore freed to be incorporated in the new shop. Possibly also having some bearing on the formation of the new shop was the passing of the directorship of the Saint-Germain shop from Raphael de La Planche to his highly incompetent eldest son Sébastien-François. In 1662, the Gobelins shop was founded, using the director of Fouquet's shop, LeBrun, as director. The buildings in which the new enterprise was to operate were those of the Hôtel des Canaye, which had been occupied by the Comans-La Planche shop, with the workers from Paris and Maincy gradually assimilated into the new undertaking.

The Gobelins produced not only tapestries, but also sculpture, gold and silver work, mosaic, bronze, furniture and other decorative art. This assemblage of the various workshops was certainly not a new conception – it had been effected at Tours nearly a century and a half earlier and, to a lesser extent, at the Trinité shop. The need for a shop of greater scope and built on a more sound business basis than the privately sponsored enterprise, which was subject to the caprices of taste and the financial and political uncertainties of the private patron, for tapestry manufacture to prosper again in France, had been recognized by Henry IV. Indeed, that King's efforts are acknowledged in the edict of 1667 – the formal confirmation of the shop. Within the larger complex, the smaller ateliers were organized in the same manner as the *boutiques* of the Saint-Marcel shop with each atelier working on an individual basis, receiving raw materials from the shop and being paid for the finished product, with the privilege of taking orders from outside. The introduction of the Flemish low-warp loom by Comans and La Planche, which caused such a stir earlier in the century was now accepted: one of the four workshops was devoted to low-warp weaving, under the direction of Jean de la Croix from the Saint-Marcel factory. The method continued to be used throughout the eighteenth century. The other three shops employed the high-warp method, two being directed by master weavers from the Louvre shop and one by a Fleming.

The Gobelins shop, then, presented nothing new in the method of tapestry weaving or organization, but succeeded because of the rigid control by Colbert where earlier attempts had failed. With the Beauvais factory it dominated the field of tapestry weaving for the next one hundred and thirty years.

58. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–112, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 1–23, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 27–28.

59. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff., Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vols. I and II, passim, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 169–292.

TAPESTRY WEAVING IN ITALY AND THE BARBERINI SHOP

The evolution of tapestry weaving in Italy is quite different from that in France in many respects. Because Italy was composed of a group of independent units, there was no effort to organize tapestry manufacture on a scale other than that of private patronage. The three important shops of Ferrara, Florence and Rome owed their existence to the Este, Medici and Barberini families with many of the tapestries made for the use of the patrons.[60]

One of the earliest shops was formed on such a basis at Mantua by the Gonzaga. From the 1420's several workers were active in the production of various kinds of needlework and tapestries. It was not until the second half of the century, however, that there was any important activity. The atelier at this time employed at least eight workers, French, Flemish and Italian. It is during this period that Mantegna possibly produced designs for tapestries. In the service of the Gonzaga since 1459, sketches of animals were delivered by the painter which were apparently to be used as tapestry designs. The only tapestry to be closely related to Mantegna, however, is an *Annunciation* into which the Gonzaga arms were woven. The possibility exists, as with many Italian tapestries, that this panel was woven in Flanders.

After several decades of little official activity, when the workers executed private commissions, in the late fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth century the looms were again productive. During this period there are many references to tapestry workers, but only smaller decorative pieces were produced. In 1539 Niccolò Karcher, who with his brother was also active in Ferrara, was established in Mantua. Tapestries from the mid-century, a *Putti* series with the Gonzaga arms and a *Moses* series, although made for the Gonzaga, are thought to have been woven at the Ferrara factory. After the death of Karcher, in the late fifties, the factory remained in operation through the second half of the century but produced little.

In Venice also, tapestry workers are recorded early in the fifteenth century. In 1421 a worker from Arras and one from Bruges were established in the city. Little is known of their productions other than that, like other small shops, they wove small decorative and religious panels. Many documents throughout the fifteenth century relate to this sort of work and to the designs for it, as well as for larger figural series. In 1450 the designs for a *History of Saint Theodore* were commissioned and in 1473 Cosimo Tura was active as tapestry designer. Whether these tapestries were destined to be executed on the looms of Venice or Flanders is not known. The same problem exists relative to a series of the *Life of Christ* after designs by a follower of Vivarini.

In the sixteenth century, although there was a great taste for tapestries in Venice, the production of the native shops was very small, with the demand being supplied by the great Flemish shops and the active shops at Florence and Ferrara. In 1550, a rich set of the *Life of Saint Mark* was executed on the Florentine looms. Although there was a branch of the Medici shop in Venice, it probably produced only smaller pieces. In the second half of the century, a few panels were woven: the *Theological Virtues* after Titian, and in the last years, the *History of Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani* after Tintoretto.

Genoa, like Mantua and Venice, was active in the sixteenth century, but unlike the other shops had no significant activity until the middle of the century. In the fifties two ateliers were established by Flemish weavers. One shop disappeared in a few years, but the other remained active for a short time, selling a large ten-panel set with grotesque decoration, and weaving several smaller sets. In the last quarter of the century several workers were in the city, but their activity is uncertain.

60. The general comments here, concerning the shops in Italy preceding the Barberini atelier have been taken from Göbel, *op. cit.*, pt. II, vol. I: Mantua, pp. 402–407; Venice, pp. 438–444; Genoa, pp. 447–448; Siena, p. 451; Milan, pp. 410–413; Bologna, p. 429; Perugia, p. 450; Todi, p. 428; Correggio, p. 449; Urbino, p. 414; Modena, p. 415; Verona, pp. 445–446; Ferrara, pp. 366–376; Florence, pp. 377–401.

In the first half of the fifteenth century several tapestry workers settled in Siena. In 1436 a Brussels master was established and was not only active in Siena, but also traveled to Ferrara and Mantua. The products of this shop were the usual small decorative pieces with floral and armorial decoration. A French worker established in the city a few years later, however, executed work of a greater variety. Besides decorative panels, he wove a six-panel set of the *History of Saint Peter* for Pope Nicholas V in 1451.

It was in the second half of the fifteenth century that many more shops were established. In Milan in 1455 an atelier was established by Francesco Sforza, headed by a Burgundian weaver, where the usual smaller pieces were woven. In the sixteenth century the production continued. A *Life of the Virgin* set was woven in the thirties and possibly several panels of a *Caesar* series.

A shop similar to the Cadillac shop in France was established at the nearby town of Vigevano by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. As at the Cadillac factory, workers were imported to weave one set of tapestries – an impressive twelve-panel series of the Months executed by a weaver from Milan.

In the sixties several minor shops were established at Bologna, Perugia, Todi and Correggio. At Urbino, under Federigo da Montefeltro in 1470, a small colony of Flemish workers executed a rich gold and silver-worked set of The *History of Troy*. Of these shops, only those at Bologna and Correggio continued their activities into the sixteenth century. Late in the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth century a few workers were also active in Modena and Verona.

Of the three major tapestry shops in Italy – Ferrara, Florence and Rome – that in Ferrara under the patronage of the Este was the earliest to be formed. Like Florence, however, its greatest development was reached in the sixteenth century. The earliest weavers to establish themselves in Ferrara, one in 1436 and another five years later, were Flemish. Their work for the most part consisted of repairing tapestries. After the middle of the century the activity of the shop increased, with additional Flemish weavers employed. The production consisted of various decorative pieces: a variety of covers, wall hangings, and portieres with floral and armorial decoration. Much of the activity, as was that of many Italian shops, was in the procurement of Flemish tapestries, the execution of all kinds of needlework, and repair work. During this period Cosimo Tura served as designer for the shop. The activity continued through the early sixteenth century with masters coming to work in the shop from many countries: Flanders, France, Germany, Spain and Italy.

The important period begins in the thirties under Ercole II, with Niccolò and Giovanni Karcher as co-directors under whom worked eight weavers. The productions of the shop were of high quality owing to the Brussels training of the weavers. As designers the brothers Battista Dosso and Dosso Dossi, and possibly Giulio Romano, were active. A number of large sets were produced: a five-panel set with episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a four-panel *Hercules* series, an eight-panel *Saint George and Saint Maurilius* set and an extensive *Putti* series which included many smaller panels. In the middle years of the century the looms were the busiest with private work executed for the Gonzaga at Mantua – a *Putti* and a *Moses* series, but after the death of Ercole II in 1559 the production slackened. A few pieces were produced, namely, the *Life of the Virgin*, but otherwise the activity in Ferrara was sporadic with the shop disappearing toward the end of the century.

The second important factory in Italy was that of the Medici at Florence. In the fifteenth century there are only a few scattered notices of weavers. The first is in 1457 concerning a Flemish worker who had been connected with the Este at Ferrara since 1441. As designer, apparently, worked Neri di Bicci, whose shop executed frescoes and altar paintings in addition to tapestry designs. Strangely, there was practically no tapestry weaving under the great art patron, Lorenzo the Magnificent, in the second half of the century; it was not until the forties of the following century under Cosimo I that a factory of importance was established. In 1546 the shop was officially established with Jan Rost and Niccolò Karcher, who had earlier been associated with the Este at Ferrara. The atelier, containing twenty-four looms, worked both for the Medici and for other patrons. The first work was the completion of an extensive twenty-piece gold-worked room garniture for the Palazzo Vecchio in the years 1545–1552 with designs by Bronzino, assisted by Pontormo and Salviati. Concurrently on the looms were a

gold-worked series with grotesque ornament and a series of the Months. Among the other series woven at this time were a *History of Tarquinius and Lucretia*, several panels with religious subjects after Salviati and *Parnassus* and *Marsyas* panels after Bronzino. During this period Bronzino designed the first of the portieres with coats of arms and allegorical figures which were to serve as examples for such panels later in the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century in both Italy and France.

In the sixties and seventies, the looms were devoted to the production of a set depicting episodes from the history of the Medici family and a series of Hunts from cartoons by the official designer, Jan van der Straten, from Flanders. The shop continued to make religious pieces and execute private work. Van der Straten was replaced by Alessandro Allori in 1576. On his designs sets were woven of Latona, Paris, Pluto, Bacchus and Proserpina, Phaethon and a *Life of the Virgin*. The shop also executed smaller pieces and tapestries for patrons in Italy and Spain. The period from 1585 to 1596 was one of great activity with fifty-two tapestries woven. The activity lasted through the very early years of the seventeenth century but in the reign of Cosimo II (1609–1621) the shop began to decline. An indication of the direction which the shop took in the next century was the 1604 execution of a *Scipio Africanus* set probably using the Giulio Romano cartoons. More and more early cartoons were used throughout the century, and although new designs were woven, they were not made by painters of the stature of the earlier designers. During Cosimo's reign, the factory produced very little, but under his successor, Ferdinand II (1621–1670), although the production was greater, under the French weaver Pierre Lefebvre, the quality was not up to the standard of the earlier work. Old cartoons continued to be used and a standard border was adopted. Tapestry portraits and reproductions of paintings became popular. As before, most of the tapestries were sets with figural designs. Exceptionally a decorative ensemble was woven, such as a bed garniture of 1647, occasionally small religious pieces, and always portieres. Under the succeeding Dukes the factory continued to weave similar tapestries until it closed in 1744.

The Barberini shop was the third important tapestry shop to be founded in Italy. Until the seventeenth century there had been little activity in tapestry manufacture in Rome. Nicholas V had established an atelier in the middle of the fifteenth century, in which a *Creation* series was perhaps woven and in 1558 Paul IV called Jan Rost from Florence to form an atelier, but the project did not materialize. Not until 1627 with the founding of the Barberini shop was there a successful tapestry atelier in Rome.

The activity of the shop has been very little known until recently, but with the recent studies from original documents,[61] it is now possible to have a more accurate account of the organization and activities of the shop.

The Barberini family had knowledge of the Paris tapestry shops early in the seventeenth century. In 1606 Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, and papal representative in Paris, ordered tapestries for a colleague from the Paris shops.[62] Of great significance in relation to the founding of the Barberini shop was the visit of the Cardinal Francesco to Paris in 1625. During these months the Cardinal possibly visited the Paris shops and certainly was aware of tapestries which were to be seen. The diary of this journey notes those tapestries seen at Paris and Fontainebleau.[63] Two years later the Barberini shop in Rome was founded by the Cardinal.

The specific building in Rome in which the looms were housed is not known. It is logical to assume that it was located in the Barberini Palace, but as the palace was under construction at the time of the shop's first

61. The literature on the Barberini atelier is very limited. However, two important recent studies have superseded all other published material. They are: Barberini, Urbano, 'Pietro da Cortona e l'Arazzeria Barberini', in: *Bollettino d'Arte*, no. I, January–March, 1950, pp. 43–51, and no. II, April–June, 1950, pp. 145–152 and Cavallo, Adolph S., 'Notes on the Barberini Tapestry Manufactory at Rome', in: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Spring 1957, pp. 17–26. These studies have largely superseded the earlier historians in their accounts of the Barberini shop: Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 417–422; Müntz, Eugène, 'L'atelier de tapisseries du cardinal François Barberini à Rome', in: *Chronique des Arts*, 1876, pp. 229 ff.; Guiffrey, Jules, *Histoire de la tapisserie depuis le moyen age jusqu'a nos jours*, pp. 317–318. Barberini and Cavallo cite other early references.

62. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

63. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

work, the atelier could only have been located in some portion finished early in the construction or moved there later.[64]

The shop was a private project, with the largest part of its production intended for the use of the Barberini family and not under the patronage of the Vatican.[65] Tapestries were executed on looms for other clients, however: two orders for the Vatican, several pieces for the Duke of Ferrara and an attributed set with the Colonna arms. There are additional notices of other patrons.[66]

In the early years of the manufactory, Cardinal Francesco had reports sent to him concerning various technical matters from major tapestry centers of Europe.[67] Dating from 1627 or 1628 to 1634, the letters were sent from Florence, Venice, Brussels and Paris. The matters dealt with concern the relative qualities of wool and silk from different areas, the ingredients of the dyes being used, and the prices of the materials both dyed and undyed. From these reports and other documents from these early years, including transactions with the wool and dyeing center at Avignon, it appears that in the early years the factory used wool from Avignon and that some of it was purchased already dyed. However, because some of the correspondence includes detailed accounts of dye formulas and other technical information it seems likely that there was some thought of eventually dyeing fibers at the factory.

In the early period of the shop's activity the artistic direction was regulated by Pietro da Cortona, who executed many of his important works under the patronage of the Barberini. During the early period of the shop, the master weaver was Jacomo della Riviera or Giacomo de la Rivière[68] (Jacob van den Vliete) from the Flemish tapestry center of Audenarde. Although there must have been a number of weavers working under him, almost nothing is known about them. The names of two assistant weavers, one from Flanders and one from France, have come to light.[69] After the death of Jacomo della Riviera in 1639, his place was taken by his son-in-law Gasparo Rocci, who, besides being a weaver, had also transposed the Pietro da Cortona designs for the over-doors of the *Castles* series into cartoons.[70] Another worker, Pietro Lascotti, is known from the letters written to the Cardinal during his exile from 1646 to 1652. In the letters Lascotti says that he is in charge of the factory, which was active during the Cardinal's absence.

The first panels on the looms were a series depicting famous castles of Europe: Aranjuez, Fontainebleau, Pratolino Riviera di Genova, Castel Gandolfo and Castello di Grottaferrata, woven from 1627 to 1631. The first two were designed by Filippo d'Angeli, the others by Francesco Mingucci. Included in this set were also two panels, woven during the same years, with the Barberini arms and views of the Barberini fiefs of Palestrina and Monterotondo.[71] The association of Pietro da Cortona with the shop begins with this series. To this painter was entrusted the design of two over-door panels and two *entre-fenêtres*.[72]

The next series undertaken by the shop was the Kress-Barberini *History of Constantine the Great*, after designs by Pietro da Cortona, which was woven in the years from 1630 to 1641. On the looms at the same time as the Constantine series were two commissions of Urban VIII, designed by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, a Nativity

64. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

66. *Idem.*

67. These documents were partically published by Müntz, Eugène, 'Documents sur la fabrication des tapisseries dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle en France, en Italie et dans les Flandres', in: *Revue des sociétés savantes des départements*, 1874, pp. 504–520. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, has studied them in more detail and from them has been able to present many important facts concerning the atelier which have heretofore been unknown. In his careful study Cavallo has also documented facts which previously have been assumed. The text here is based on these two articles. Barberini, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48, also discusses the documents.

68. Pollak, Oskar, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, vol. I, pp. 386, 397, publishes documents of payment to 'Jacomo della Riviera'.

69. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.

70. *Idem;* Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

71. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Barberini, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

72. Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

panel finished in 1635 and six pendants finished two years later. Three other panels were woven for this series, after the completion of the Constantine series, in 1642, 1643 and 1648.[73]

During this period also was being woven a series of *Putti at Play* after cartoons by Romanelli. Like the *Castles* and *Constantine* series, although not as extensive, the *Putti* series was designed as a room garniture of seven large panels and six smaller frieze panels. Payments for the weaving of this series are dated from 1637 to 1642.[74]

After the completion of the Constantine series, the next major work to be undertaken was the twelve-panel *Life of Christ* series. The design of one panel was based on the Pietro da Cortona fresco of the Crucifixion in the Chapel of the Palazzo Barberini from which Gasparo Rocci executed the cartoon. The other panels were designed by Romanelli and Paolo Spagna. The series was begun in 1643 and completed in 1656.[75] During this time the Cardinal was living in exile in France (from 1646 to 1652), but maintained contact with the shop through correspondence with Pietro Lascotti.

The last datable tapestries to be woven on the Barberini looms was the extensive set of the *Life of Urban VIII*. It consisted of at least ten large panels, eight pilaster panels, and many frieze panels. The weaving of this series was begun after 1663 and finished after 1683.[76]

A number of panels from the shop which are not datable from documents, are known. Among these pieces are five panels with the Apollo story[77] and the attributed group of armorial panels with the Colonna arms.[78] Also falling into this group are the pieces ordered by the Duke of Ferrara: a panel with *Apollo and the Giants*, an additional panel for a *Scipio* set, and a number of decorative pieces.[79] After the death of Cardinal Francesco in 1679 the factory was in operation a few years in order to finish the Urban VIII set.

Tapestry manufacture flourished again in Rome in the eighteenth century at the Hospice of San Michele, under the patronage of the Vatican. Other tapestry shops were also in operation at Turin and Naples, the latter operated by workers from the Medici shop. In Venice there are notices of various small pieces woven.

The Barberini shop was the last great tapestry shop in Italy. Those which followed were but minor ventures: the Gobelins ruled supreme over Europe during the eighteenth century.

73. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
74. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 42, Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
75. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Barberini, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–151.
76. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23. The eight pilaster panels were published by Heinrich Göbel, 'Das Leben Urbans VIII', in: *Der Cicerone*, 1929, pp. 305–311. Gertrude Townsend published four of the panels in the collection of the Boston Museum in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Spring 1957, pp. 10–15: 'Four Panels of Roman Baroque Tapestry'. Marguerite Calberg has published one of the large panels in Brussels, in: 'Hommage au Pope Urban VIII, Tapissèrie de la manufacture Barberini à Rome, XVIIe siècle (après 1663)', in: *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1959, 4e ser., pp. 99–110. A single pilaster panel is at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
77. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.
78. *Idem*, and Viale, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
79. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 23.