

# The Comte de Toulouse's *Months of Lucas* Gobelins Tapestries: Sixteenth-Century Designs with Eighteenth-Century Additions

## Part I

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**A**MONG THE MOST spectacular tapestries owned by the Metropolitan Museum are a set of ten pieces, out of an original twelve, known as the *Months of Lucas*. The manufactory is unmistakable, as seven have the name Audran woven into the fabric; Michel Audran was head of an *haute-lisse* (vertical loom) workshop at the Gobelins from 1732 to 1771. The original owner of the set is equally clearly identified by the coat of arms in the upper border of each tapestry (Figure 1). The French royal arms, with the smallest possible indication of illegitimacy (a tiny “bâton péri en barre de gueules”), are surmounted by a count's coronet and encircled by the collars of the orders of the Golden Fleece, Saint Michael, and the Holy Spirit. There is an anchor below and the letter A appears in the four border corners of each tapestry. The man who commissioned the set is thus identified as Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse (1678–1737), a legitimized son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan, who was appointed admiral of France at the age of five. Each tapestry represents a typical occupation of a month, bearing the appropriate sign of the zodiac in the lower border. The two missing months are in the Mobilier National, Paris.<sup>1</sup>

As the set in the Metropolitan Museum was made for a private patron, it is not included in the Gobelins records. It was presumably woven before the death of the comte de Toulouse in 1737 but not begun before Audran took over one of the *haute-lisse* workshops in 1732. Audran started a set of the *Months of Lucas* for Louis XV the following year; five pieces were begun in 1733, two in 1734, and one in 1735, but the remaining four not until 1741 and 1743. Some are recorded

as having been on the loom for an unusually long time.<sup>2</sup> Jean Le Febvre, the head of another *haute-lisse* workshop, was also making a set of the *Months of Lucas* between 1732 and 1735.<sup>3</sup> This was presumably the “12 Mois de l'année d'après Lucas Leyde” that was shown to the public in 1736, as reported by the *Mercur de France*: “Le Concours a été fort grand cette année aux Gobelins, pour y voir les Tapisseries exécutées dans cette célèbre Manufacture, exposées à l'occasion de la Fête-Dieu [Corpus Christi].”<sup>4</sup> With so many *haute-lisse* looms actively working on this series at the same time, though existing cartoons may have been moved from one loom to another, it seems very probable that new cartoons were made for some, if not all, of the comte de Toulouse's commission.

Although the borders of this set, with exuberant scrolls and a wealth of naturalistic flowers, reflect the style of the 1730s, the central compositions are clearly

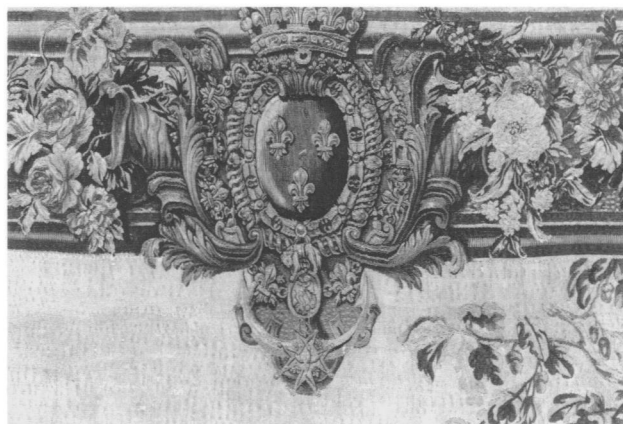


Figure 1. Michel Audran workshop after Pierre-Josse Perrot. Detail of *November* showing the arms of the comte de Toulouse, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.9

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The notes for Part I of this article begin on page 71;  
the notes for Part II begin on page 79.



Figure 2. Jean Lefebvre workshop (probably) after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *February*, late 17th century. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 28.6 m square. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of K. T. Keller (photo: The Detroit Institute of Arts)



Figure 3. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *February*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.55 × 4.65 m. Paris, Collection du Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

based on designs from an earlier period. They are, in fact, copied from a sixteenth-century set of tapestries owned by Louis XIV. The description of this set in the 1673 inventory of his furnishings explains the title, *Months of Lucas*, given to the series:

DOUZE MOIS. Une tenture de tapisserie de laine et soye, relevée d'or, fabrique de Bruxelles, dessein de Lucas, représentant les *Douze mois de l'année*, dans une bordure à festons de fleurs et de fruits avec huit camayeux, celui d'en hault représentant le signe du mois, et les sept autres des bustes et figures de grisaille; contenant 37 aunes de cours sur 2 aunes  $\frac{1}{2}$ , en douze pièces doublées à plein de toile.<sup>5</sup>

In the list of sets and individual pieces called "Tapisseries de haulte et basse lisse [horizontal looms] rehaussées d'or," it is number 8. The first ten sets are all described as "fabrique de Bruxelles," designed by Raphael, "Lucas," "Jule Romain," Albert Dure, and "Vieux Brugle." The Raphael and Giulio Romano sets can mostly be identified from the descriptions of tapestries known in other versions after designs by these artists, but neither Dürer nor Pieter Bruegel is now thought to have designed tapestries. "Lucas" is Lucas van Leyden, again not a tapestry designer. An artist called "Paul Lucas" is cited in a 1771 document concerning a set of the *Months*, but no artist of this name is known before the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The compiler of the inventory also gave to "Lucas" a Brussels set of the *Seven Ages of Man*, but the twelve pieces of a *Story of Tobias* are called "dessin de Lucas ou de quelqu'un de ses élèves," and eight *Virtues* were said to be "dessin manière d'Albert et de Lucas," as if the compiler were making attributions rather than copying earlier descriptions.<sup>7</sup> One set of the tapestries with gold has survived, the *Hunts of Maximilian*, number 32 (now in the Louvre); it is ascribed to Dürer in the inventory<sup>8</sup> but is now known to be after designs by Bernard van Orley that were first woven between 1531 and 1533.<sup>9</sup> It thus seems probable that the tapestries attributed to "Lucas" and "Dure" (or "Albert") were in the style of the van Orley workshop and were woven in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The description of number 56 among the tapestries without gold—a set of seven "pièces assorties, représentant quelque chose de l'*Histoire du Roy Priam*"—as "dessein partie gotique partie manière de Lucas et d'Albert,"<sup>10</sup> suggests that a distinction was made between what we should call "medieval" and "renaissance" designs. How "Lucas" and "Albert" were distinguished is impossible to say.<sup>11</sup>

The number of tapestries owned by Louis XIV has been calculated to total 2,600 in 334 sets and some

40-odd individual pieces.<sup>12</sup> But the last royal inventory was taken in 1792 and today the holdings of the Mobilier National cannot compare with those of the royal Garde Meuble. Even in the early inventories some sets were listed as "déchargé," because they had been used as wrapping material for furniture or other tapestries.<sup>13</sup> After the Revolution the sad fate of some of the tapestries is known from documents of 1797. By this date many, "les plus communes," had been sold and the freshest and most modern given to ministers of state. There remained many more, however, described as of no use; they were too old (three or four centuries in some cases), not valuable as works of art because of the bad or even Gothic taste of the designs, had religious or "indecent" subjects, or were duplicates of pieces given to ministers. Buyers, if any were to be found, would be interested only if the value of the metal thread they contained was greater than the purchase price. But if the tapestries were burned at the Paris Mint, the gold and silver so obtained could be used to reduce the governmental deficit or to defray the costs of the Garde Meuble itself, including the wages paid to the staff.<sup>14</sup>

So 18 sets, 190 tapestries, were burned. The documents give every detail: the size of the pieces, the weight and value (both of the gold and silver ingots and of the metal fragments found when the ashes were sifted), the expenses of the operation; the smelters received extra pay for working at night. Number 8 in Louis XIV's inventory, called *Mois originaux*, was burned in the first group, reported on "29 germinal an 5," April 18, 1797; it had probably been classified as in bad taste, since a 1789 inventory had described it as "riche en or, assez bonne mais passée, d'un dessin très médiocre."<sup>15</sup> By this time "Lucas," if remembered at all, was probably no longer recognized as a great master.<sup>16</sup>

Rather belatedly, the artists who made up the council, or governing body, of the Musée Central des Arts (the Louvre) apparently became aware of what was happening at the Garde Meuble. The museum was established to be "la réunion, la plus exquise possible, des productions de l'art dans tous les genres," as well as of objects "qui peuvent concourir à l'histoire chronologique de l'art."<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, at a meeting on June 6, 1797, the council took action:

Il arrête qu'il sera écrit au Ministre de l'intérieur pour lui demander à être autorisé à prendre au gardemeuble plusieurs tapisseries d'après Raphaël, Jules Romain et autres tant de la Manufacture des Gobelins que de celles de Bruxelles et d'Angleterre et pour lui représenter que c'est le seul moyen de sauver d'une ruine totale le superbe établissement des Gobelins en arrachant des mains des

fournisseurs des objets qu'ils acquerrent à vil prix et qu'ils exportent dans l'étranger.<sup>18</sup>

The destruction, rather than the sale, of so many superb tapestries, having been authorized by the very ministry to whom the letter was addressed, could obviously not be mentioned.

The response was favorable and on July 6 Citizen Léon Dufourny (an architect member of the council) submitted a list of the tapestries that he thought were necessary for the museum; on January 4, 1798, it could be recorded that 150 tapestries, "qui allaient être vendues et qui sont précieuses à conserver" had been transported to the Louvre. "Elles servent principalement à garnir le grand Salon d'exposition, dont la nudité était choquante quand l'exposition [of contemporary art] était finie."<sup>19</sup> In 1799 an exhibition was held in the courtyard of the "Palais national des sciences et arts" of "tapisseries d'après les grands maîtres des écoles italienne et française exécutées à l'ancienne manufacture de Bruxelles et à celle des Gobelins."<sup>20</sup> It was certainly fortunate that gold thread was seldom used at the Gobelins.

Among the rescued tapestries was a set called *Mois corrigés par Boulogne*, attributed to "Lucas." This was one of the Gobelins copies of the *Mois originaux*. Louis XIV had several such sets; one is described in an addition to his inventory as:

LES DOUZE MOIS. Une tenture de tapisserie de basse lisse de laine et soye, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, desseïn de Lucas, représentant les *Douze mois de l'année*, dans un bordure à festons de fleurs et fruits, avec huit camayeux, celui d'en hault représentant le signe du mois, et les sept autres des bustes et figures de grisaille; contenant 35 aunes de cours, sur 2 aunes ½ de hault, en douze pièces.<sup>21</sup>

The description of the borders, so close to those of number 8, leaves no doubt that the Gobelins weavers copied the sixteenth-century designs exactly; extant Flemish versions of individual pieces confirm the hypothesis.<sup>22</sup>

Fouquet and Colbert, Louis XIV's ministers, each had French sets of the *Months of Lucas*. Fouquet's was of six pieces only, taken over by the king when the owner fell out of favor, and called "fabrique de Paris" in the 1673 inventory; Colbert's was made at the Gobelins, but is known only from a postmortem inventory.<sup>23</sup> The first set made for the king, and thus listed in the records of the manufactory, was woven in 1688–89. By this time Colbert, who had set up the manufactory under the control of his protégé, Charles

Le Brun (1619–1690), was dead. His position as *sur-intendant* of the royal manufactories was taken by his bitter enemy, the marquis de Louvois, who immediately ordered work to be stopped on Le Brun's cartoons, even the *History of the King*, and copies to be made instead of five sets of Brussels tapestries, designed, as was then believed, by deeply respected old masters, Giulio Romano, Dürer, and "Lucas."<sup>24</sup>

Among these Flemish masterpieces was the *Months of Lucas*; after the first set made for the king, others were woven, all on *basse-lisse* looms, exact copies in reverse (mirror images) of the Flemish originals.<sup>25</sup> A somewhat different border was given to a set made between 1712 and 1714, by which time the earlier design must have looked awkward, even "Gothic." This set was made for the princesse de Conti, Louis XIV's daughter by Louise de La Vallière, and consisted of three pieces, two of them wider than the originals and one narrower. The increased width of *April* was obtained by adding some figures from *June* and that of *May* by placing some new trees on both sides.<sup>26</sup>

Such makeshift arrangements were evidently not to the taste of the comte de Toulouse. He must have asked for a new border and for more wide pieces: *February, March, May, June, August, September, November, and December* are all enlarged at the sides.<sup>27</sup> For *June* the additions are several sheep lying down on the left and a distant landscape on the right. Similarly, two trees and wider landscapes with some small indistinct figures were enough to enlarge *August*, but the other six *Months* have scenes at the sides with new characters, designed with great care to be in harmony with the original centers. The old borders were replaced by completely up-to-date designs, basically the same as those made for a fourth set of the *Sujets de la Fable* begun in 1733, but with more flowers, the count's coat of arms, and the signs of the zodiac in the lower border.<sup>28</sup>

For *February* (Figures 2, 3, 20, 24) the French designer had to dress the people he added to make them suitable company for their companions, in two-hundred-year-old fashions.<sup>29</sup> He replaced a procession of frolicking satyrs in the distant outdoor scene with some woodsmen at work, but he made very few changes in the central picture of house-bound card- and backgammon players. The cloth over the large table has a different pattern, perhaps meant to suggest an oriental rug, with an elegant fold instead of an uncompromising straight vertical line. The floor tiles have more ornament and the cast shadows are more conspicuous.

But to the right and left above the new figures, the designer had to add suitable walls and furnishings. On





Figure 4. Jean de la Croix workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *March*, 1688–89. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3 × 3.61 m. Musée national du château de Pau (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 5. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *March*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 4.67 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944. 44.60.2



Figure 6. Brussels workshop after an unknown Flemish artist. *May*, 16th century. Wool and silk tapestry, 3.15 × 4.11 m. San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (photo: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery)



Figure 7. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *May*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 5.87 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.4



Figure 8. Mathieu Monmerqué and Pierre-François Cozette workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *May*, 1747–51. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 4 × 6.71 m. Rome, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)



Figure 9. French 18th-century artist. *May* (detail). Oil on canvas. Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)





Figure 10. Jean Souet workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *August*, 1714–15. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 308 × 340 cm. Oslo, Kunstindustrimuseet (photo: Teigens fotoatelier A.S.)



Figure 11. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *August*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 4.7 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.6



Figure 12. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *September*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 4.72 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944. 44.60.7

the left, he copied the shelf with silverware and dangling spoons from the same objects seen beside the fireplace in the center of the original tapestry. Below, another shelf and a parrot on its stand do not seem incongruous, but on the right he added a doorway with huge vases, probably Chinese, above it: this undoubtedly looked sufficiently old-fashioned to the artist, as it reflects the style of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, although it is inappropriate for the sixteenth.<sup>30</sup> The large books on the high shelf to the left of the doorway also seem out of place.

All the other enlarged *Months* show outdoor scenes. In *March* (Figures 4, 5, 41) the added tree on the right has more foliage than the sixteenth-century one on the left, but the boxed-in flower beds have been copied from the originals in the center. The new gardener, seen from behind—in a more elegant pose than any of his more antique co-workers—carries a suspiciously modern-looking watering can.<sup>31</sup>

The cartoons for weaving other *haute-lisse* versions of the *Months of Lucas* were all nearly square except for *May*, which was the same height as the others, but twice as wide.<sup>32</sup> The original Flemish design (Figures 6, 39) was, as has been mentioned, enlarged slightly for the *princesse de Conti*, but when the piece in the

first *haute-lisse* set was made in 1732–33, it was twice as wide as any of the others, with changes in the central scene as well as additions on either side. These alterations were then used, not only for the comte de Toulouse's example (Figure 7) but for other weavings, such as the *May* in Palazzo Doria, Rome (Figure 8), woven between 1747 and 1751.<sup>33</sup> The somewhat grotesque elderly jester, crouched and bowling a spoked wheel, has moved from the center to the side, where he sits gracefully by a fountain, holding a tambourine and gesturing to a woman, who now turns toward him. In the cartoon for this month, now at the Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau (Figure 9), he is depicted in a characteristically eighteenth-century style with a somewhat sentimental expression and an affected gesture. A lively dog has been added in the foreground, while (in the Toulouse version) the couple behind the approaching riders, seen only as heads in the Flemish original, are now shown riding on a single horse, with an extensive landscape behind them (Figure 7). The general effect is less cramped, giving an impression of space and airiness, with the actors behaving in a more courtly manner.

*August* (Figures 10, 11),<sup>34</sup> as has been mentioned, has no important added figures, but there is one omis-





Figure 13. Jean de la Croix workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *November*, 1688–89. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.4 m square. Musée national du château de Pau (photo: Pérony)



Figure 14. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century French additions. *November*, 1732–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.61 × 5.79 m. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.9



Figure 15. Brussels workshop after an unknown Flemish artist. *December*, 16th century. Wool and silk tapestry, 3.68 × 3.06 m. The Denver Art Museum (photo: The Denver Art Museum)



Figure 16. Michel Audran workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist with 18th-century additions. *December*, 1733–37. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 3.55 × 4.8 m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1944, 44.60.10



Figure 17. Flemish 16th-century artist. *December*. Point of the brush and brown wash over black chalk, heightened with gold, on brown ground, 32.2 × 47.2 cm. Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (photo: Courtesy of Chatsworth Settlement)



Figure 18. French 18th-century artist. *December* (detail). Oil on canvas. Musée National du Château du Fontainebleau (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 19. Mathieu Monmerqué and Pierre-François Cozette workshop after a 16th-century Flemish artist. *December*, 1748–50. Wool and silk tapestry (Gobelins), 4 × 3.60 m. Rome, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)

sion in the Toulouse version: the woman holding a large basket looks to one side because in the original she is repulsing a man trying to embrace her. In *September* (Figure 12) the three men on the far left and, on the right, the dog and more trees, with dimly seen figures among them, have been added. However, *November* (Figures 13, 14, 31) has substantial additions on both sides, especially on the left, where the area from the border to the sprawling child in the foreground and the sower in the distance is an eighteenth-century invention. At the far left the richly dressed couple with a small boy are conspicuously new, though the bag of grain at their feet is copied from the one in the center of the composition. *December* (Figures 15, 16, 35, 37) has also acquired additions: a prominent character, the young man kneeling to fasten his skate and the very substantial trees behind him. On the other side, the man seen from the back, half-hidden by a tree stump, has been adapted from the gardener with a watering can in *March* (Figure 5). One central figure has been significantly altered. The man who bends over the seated woman with a child is older; his sword is correctly on his left side, but is only partly visible as the composition is reversed;<sup>35</sup> his cape falls in a more graceful curve, showing its lining, and his hand, instead of caressing the woman's breast, now proffers a fruit to the child. The original indecorous gesture is clearly seen in a related drawing at Chatsworth (Figure 17)<sup>36</sup> and is described in the 1789 inventory as "une petite gaité";<sup>37</sup> the cartoon at Fontainebleau (Figure 18), though clearly a close copy of the original, changes the man's gesture. Later weavings of this tapestry, while they did not include the new figures at the sides of the Toulouse version, preserved these alterations (Figure 19). The eighteenth-century designer was also perhaps conforming to this fashion when he showed the young man on the right fastening his own skate (Figure 35) rather than that of a young lady as in other earlier works of art.<sup>38</sup>

Gracefulness and propriety seem to have been important concerns to the artists of the cartoons, even when the original dimensions of the pieces were preserved. In *January* the dangling scarves worn by some of the women are less rigid; in the Flemish *July* one unattractive dog is sniffing another, but in the Gobelins version two respectable dogs trot on either side of their masters.<sup>39</sup> The changes of this kind made in *May*, *August*, and *December* have been mentioned and perhaps the distant satyrs in *February* were also thought to be undesirable characters.

Who was the artist of the eighteenth-century additions to the comte de Toulouse's *Months of Lucas*? A wide copy of *August* is recorded as made in 1721 by

Charles Chastelain (1672–1755) and Joseph Yvart (1649–1728),<sup>40</sup> but, as has been mentioned, this month in the Toulouse set differs from the Flemish original chiefly by showing more landscape (a specialty of Chastelain) and the omission of an unseemly figure. The inventory of cartoons made in 1736 gives no artists' names, and the descriptions do not include any of the additional Toulouse figures.<sup>41</sup> But in 1753, when Louis XV acquired a set woven in 1732 and 1734 that had belonged to his father-in-law, it was described as "dessein de Lucas, corrigé par Boullogne" and Audran's 1733–35 weaving was listed in the king's inventory in the same words ("Boullogne" spelled "Boullenger").<sup>42</sup> As has been mentioned, the words "corrected by Boulogne" were still associated with a set of the *Months* in 1799. It is highly unusual for an artist who merely made corrections to basic designs to be named in this way. Could it be because this particular artist was so well known? Louis de Boullogne the Younger (1654–1733) had indeed worked for the Gobelins as a young man but by 1730 he was old (he had been ennobled in 1724 and appointed first painter to the king in 1725). His last commissioned works were painted in 1715, though he designed medallions celebrating Louis XV in 1722.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps for the son of Louis XIV and grand uncle of Louis XV he was willing to perform this somewhat trivial task. A comparison of two details of the Fontainebleau cartoons (Figures 9, 18) shows a marked difference in style and competence between the eighteenth-century additions and the parts copied closely from the originals. In any case, we can be grateful for an unusual and agreeable example of a harmonious conjunction of two very different centuries.

## NOTES

1. Maurice Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1600–1900*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1903–23) II, pp. 365–367. Called the twelfth set, with no date of weaving given. The author knew only one of the tapestries in the MMA, *October*, then in the Vaile Collection, and the two pieces in Paris, *February* (pl. facing p. 364) and *June* (pl. facing p. 365); Edith Appleton Standen, *European Sculpture and Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols. (New York, 1985) I, pp. 331–368; to the account of other Gobelins versions of the series (p. 333) should be added the fact that *April*, *August*, *October*, *November*, and an *entrefenêtre* of the set with the arms of the comte de Toulouse and his wife are at Vaux-le-Vicomte, owned by comte Fabrice de Voguë (John Cornforth, "Vaux-le-Vicomte, Ile-de-France," *Country Life* 179 [Jan. 9, 1986] p. 68, fig. 5). The *March* of the seventh set, with Polish arms, is in the Louvre, on loan from the Mobilier National.

2. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 355–358, the eighth set. *May*, is recorded as removed from the loom to be sold to a private purchaser, but this piece could not have been part of the comte de Toulouse's set, as the king's arms were taken out and the border resewn, making it "facile à reconnaître avec la bordure recousue." Several other examples of *May* not made for the king are known (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, p. 344).

3. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 351–354, the seventh set. He states (p. 339) that the first cartoons were made for this set, earlier (*basse-lisse*) weavings having been copied directly from the Flemish tapestries.

4. *Mercur de France* (June 1736) pp. 1427, 1428. But the "douze mois de l'année, d'après les desseins de Lucas de Leyde, ancien Peintre Hollandois, contemporain de Raphaël" that were hung for the Fête-Dieu [Corpus Christi] week of 1721 were presumably the Flemish originals, as the tapestries displayed in that year were described as "Tapisseries du Roy," not as made at the Gobelins (ibid., June–July 1721, pp. 127, 128). The Corpus Christi displays were annual exhibitions; some printed catalogues are known (J. J. Marquet de Vasselot and Roger-Armand Weigert, *Bibliographie de la tapisserie, des tapis et de la broderie en France* [Paris, 1935] p. 212).

5. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV (1661–1715)* 2 vols. (Paris, 1885) I, p. 294. The set had belonged to Francis I (Sophie Schneelbolg-Perelman, "Richesses du garde-meuble parisien de François I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6th period, 78 [1971] pp. 263, 289. It is described as "Brucelles," but no designer is named).

6. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 362. Other artists named Lucas have been suggested as the author of the designs for the Flemish tapestries, but none has been generally accepted (Edith A. Standen, "Drawings for the 'Months of Lucas' Tapestry Series," *Master Drawings* 9 [Sept., 1971] p. 4; Jerzy Wojeiechowski, "'May' and 'August': Two Drawings by the Master of the Months of Lucas," *Master Drawings* 33 [1995] pp. 410–413). He is confused with Lucas Auger (1685–1765) in Yvaline Cantarel-Bresson, *Musée du Louvre (Janvier 1797–juin 1798)—Notes et Documents des Musées de France* 24 (Paris, 1992) pp. 394, 420. "Lucas de Leide" is included in the list of 57 "Peintres les plus connus" drawn up by Roger de Piles in his *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, 1708), where points are given to each artist for composition, design, color, and expression. Lucas's total of 24 is only one point higher than the lowest ranking, Giovanni Francesco Penni, 23. Raphael and Rubens have the highest scores, 65; "Jules Romain" has 49 and "Albert Dure," 36, but Bruegel is not included. The list, called the "Balance des Peintres," is reproduced in Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre—Art, Politics, and the Origin of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1994) p. 33. Lucas van Leyden's fame (like Dürer's) in the centuries succeeding his own has been attributed to the wide dissemination of his prints (Elise Lawton Smith, *The Paintings of Lucas van Leyden* [Columbia, 1992] p. ix). Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle. Collection et Collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe Siècle. II. Oeuvres d'art* [Paris, 1994] pp. 22, 23.)

7. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, pp. 335, 341.

8. Ibid., p. 299.

9. Arnout Balis et al., *Les Chasses de Maximilien* (Paris, 1993) pp. 10, 54. The attribution to Van Orley was made by Carel van Mander in his *Schilder-Boek* of 1601 (ibid., p. 38) and by Félibien in his *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres* of 1666 (ibid., pp. 38, 54, 57).

10. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p. 342.

11. Some descriptions in the inventory are in sufficient detail to show that a certain tapestry belonged to a known medieval type, e.g., "une petite pièce de tapisserie, fort vieille, sans bordure, qui représente des bergers et bergères avec quelques moutons, sur un fonds parsemé de petites fleurs," i.e., a *millefleurs* (Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p. 373).

12. Ibid., pp. xi, xiv.

13. Ibid., pp. 368, 373. Many were sold to private purchasers after 1758 (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 65).

14. J. J. Guiffrey, "Destruction des plus belles tentures du mobilier de la Couronne," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 14 (1888) pp. 265–298.

15. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 338.

16. When some of the cartoons for the Gobelins copies of the *Months of Lucas* were inspected in 1794 by the revolutionary Jury des Arts, set up to purify the royal manufactories, they were described as "Tableaux à rejeter sous le rapport de l'art" (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le Jury des Arts en septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* 3rd series, 13 (1897) pp. 366, 369, 371).

17. Cantarel-Bresson, *Musée du Louvre*, p. 358, from a document of May 18, 1797.

18. Ibid., p. 89.

19. Ibid., pp. 103, 104, 201.

20. Maquet de Vasselot and Weigert, *Bibliographie*, p. 213.

21. Guiffrey, *Inventaire*, p. 360, no. 160 of the tapestries added before 1685. This, however, could not have been the set listed by Defourny, as the words, "Mois corrigés par Boulogne" commonly apply to one of the later, *haute-lisse* sets; there were several of these in the royal collection by 1789 (Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 369, 370).

22. Examples of Flemish copies are five pieces formerly in the Barberini and Ffoulke collections, acquired by E. H. Harriman before 1903 (Charles M. Ffoulke, *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries* [New York, 1903] pp. 51–55). Three have the Brussels city mark; *April* has that of a workshop head, possibly Andries Mattens, and *September* that of Willem de Kempeneer (fl. 1534–44). (Information from Dr. Guy Delmarcel.) They are now in museums in Omaha, Kansas City, Portland (Oregon), Denver (Figure 15), and San Marino (California) (Figure 6). The borders correspond exactly to the descriptions in Louis XIV's inventory.

23. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 344–347, the first and second sets. The author states (pp. 339, 347) that the first Gobelins sets were made on *basse-lisse* looms directly from the Flemish tapestries, "ce mode de travail convenant beaucoup mieux que la haute lisse à la copie d'une tapisserie." This method of execution resulted in very exact copies in reverse. It was easier to weave from the original tapestries than from Le Brun's cartoons (ibid., p. 295).

24. A list of the twenty series from 1666 to 1683 (the date of Colbert's death) shows that Le Brun designed all or part of seventeen, with two and part of a third after Raphael and part of one after Poussin (ibid., p. xi). For an account of the situation at the Gobelins after Colbert's death, see Edith A. Standen, "The Sujets de la Fable Gobelins Tapestries," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1964) pp. 143–146. Le Brun's cartoons were woven again after 1700, when Louvois was long dead (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 118).



25. Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 344–349, the second to fifth sets. Several were used as royal presents to ambassadors (*ibid.*, pp. 86, 348, 361).

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 349–351, pls. facing p. 350 (*April*), p. 352 (*May*), the sixth set. “Une femme et une enfant . . . la femme a une draperie bleue” for *May* were redrawn by François Bonnemer before 1691 (*ibid.*, p. 339).

27. The set with the arms of his wife added to his own is exactly copied from the Flemish originals, except for the borders, which are close to those of the princesse de Conti’s set. It may have been made at the time of his marriage in 1723 and so perhaps looked old-fashioned ten years later (Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, p. 333).

28. Fenaille, *État général*, pl. facing p. 258. The *Sujets de la Fable* borders were designed by Pierre-Josse Perrot, a painter of ornament at the Gobelins.

29. The costumes of the added figures in the tapestries are discussed by Janet Arnold in the second part of this article. Another instance of later French imitations of Flemish 16th-century tapestry designs is found in *The Hunt*, a set woven ca. 1650–60. Some of the costumes are described as copied from van Orley designs and others are said to reflect different 16th-century types (Candace J. Adelson, *European Tapestry in the Minneapolis Museum of Art* [Minneapolis, 1994] p. 290). Another example is the *Chasses de François I*, woven in 1623–30, with 16th-century costumes (Isabelle Denis, catalogue entries nos. 212, 213, in *La chasse au vol au fil des temps*, exh. cat., Musée International de la Chasse [Gien, 1994]).

30. Vases above a doorway are seen in a print of 1685 by Jean de Saint-Jean in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor: The domestic interior, 1620–1920* [London, 1984] fig. 73).

31. This suggestion was made by Janet Arnold. G. Pierre, librarian of the Maison de l’Outil et de la Pensée ouvrière, Troyes, has kindly provided material showing the standard 18th-century type of watering can (as illustrated in Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* and the Toulouse tapestry) as well as a late-16th-century representation of a very different model in which “le décrochage du verseur n’est pas encore opéré, et l’ensemble nécessite un plus grand effort.” A woman sprinkles water from a bowl in the *March* gardening scene in the *Twelve Ages of Man* tapestry set of ca. 1525 in the MMA, with another woman behind her holding a flask (Mac Griswold, *Pleasures of the Garden* [New York, 1987] p. 122, illus.).

32. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 341. The measurements of the original Flemish piece are given in the 1789 inventory; all tapestries in the set were 2½ aunes high, with widths varying from 2½ to 3¾ aunes

(*ibid.*, p. 337). The artists of the *haute-lisse* cartoons made some changes as they copied the designs.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 359–361, the tenth set. *May* and three other pieces of the set were given to the cardinal delle Lanze in 1771. *May* and *December* (Figure 19) in the Doria Collection are presumably from this set.

34. The *basse-lisse* Gobelins example in the Kunindustrimuseet, Oslo (Figure 10) has the initials I. S. of Jean Souet, head of a *basse-lisse* workshop from 1699 to 1724; it was woven in 1714–15, part of the fifth set (Fenaille, *État général*, pp. 348, 349). A strip on the right side of the Toulouse *August*, including the rear of the dog, is a modern replacement.

35. The placing of the sword was always one of the most important changes that had to be made when a cartoon for *haute-lisse* looms was copied for *basse-lisse* weaving and vice versa, especially when the wearer was seen from the side. For the first *haute-lisse* weaving of the *Months of Lucas*, corrections were made for some figures, but not for all (Fenaille, *État général*, p. 351). A record exists of a 1716 payment to the painter Guy Vernansal, who had “changé les attitudes de droite à gauche . . . pour être exécuté en basse-lisse” (*ibid.*, p. 100, n. 2), but for what cartoons is not recorded.

36. Standen, “Drawings,” pl. 7.

37. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 33. The compiler of this inventory was very conscious of impropriety, describing a set of the *Triomphe des Dieux* as “remplie de nudités, bonne pour chez les Princes seulement” (*ibid.*, p. 232); the *Bacchus* of the set was “très indécente” (*ibid.*, pp. 231, 237). The increasing prudery of the second half of the 18th century is illustrated by contemporaneous criticism of too much nudity in Salon paintings (Christian Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l’art des Lumières* [Rome, 1993] p. 332).

38. The connotations of this activity are shown in 17th-century prints of Cupid fastening a lady’s skate and are reflected in a Lancret painting of 1741 (May Taverner Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743* [New York, 1991] p. 18).

39. A drawing in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (inv. no. 6226), though very close to the Flemish version in other respects, shows two very different dogs.

40. Fenaille, *État général*, p. 339. It was listed as “Ruinez” in 1736.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–343.

42. *Ibid.*, the seventh and eighth sets, pp. 351, 352, 356.

43. Colin B. Bailey, “Louis de Boullogne (1654–1733),” in *The Loves of the Gods, Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth, 1991–92) p. 155.