

COLLECTIONS IN EARLY MODERN ERA

Eliška Zlatohlávková (ed.)

with the assistance of Marika Keblusek,
Ingrid Halászová and Marcus Becker

Palacký University in Olomouc

2024

Reviewers: Renate Leggatt-Hofer
Lubomír Slavíček
Pier Ludovico Puddu

This publication was made possible thanks to targeted funding provided by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports for specific research, granted in 2024 to Palacký University Olomouc (IGA_FF_2024_013).

Unauthorised use of this work is an infringement of copyright and may give rise to civil, administrative or criminal liability.

1st edition

© text Eliška Zlatohlávková (ed.) with Stefan Albl, Sarah Bakkali, Andrea M. Gáldy, Ingrid Halászová, Magdalena Herman, Ludwig Kallweit, Renata Komić Marn, Marika Keblusek, Anne-Sophie Laruelle, Elisa Ludwig, Patrick Michel, Brantly H. Moore, Aistè Paliušytė, Sergio Ramiro Ramírez and Lilian Ruhe, 2024

© Palacký University in Olomouc, 2024

DOI: 10.5507/ff.24.24465234

ISBN 978-80-244-6523-4 (print)

ISBN 978-80-244-6524-1 (online: iPDF)

Contents

Introduction	7
Reconstruction of Collections	12
<i>Studiolo vs. Kunstkammer:</i> The Scrittoio of Cosimo de' Medici ANDREA M. GÁLDY (Ludwig Maximilian University Munich)	12
Setting up a <i>Wunderkammer</i> : The Encyclopedic Collection of Bernardus Paludanus (1550–1633) MARIKA KEBLUSEK (Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society)	27
The Ludovisi Collection in Rome: A Source of Inspiration for Artistic Creation STEFAN ALBL (Universalmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie)	35
Thinking about the Space of the Collection in Eighteenth-Century France: From Theory to Practice PATRICK MICHEL (Université de Lille, Centre de Recherche IRHIS)	76
Facing the Family. The Identification of Aristocrats in an Atypical Ancestral Portrait Gallery or <i>Ahnengalerie</i> in Bückeburg Castle LILIAN RUHE	93
Objects	132
A Polish Bibliophile in Moravia: Bindings of Books and Print Albums from Jan Ponętowski's Collection MAGDALENA HERMAN (University of Warsaw)	132
The Collections of the Prince-Bishops of Liège in the Early Modern Era: The Case of the Tapestry ANNE-SOPHIE LARUELLE (University of Liege)	153
A Collector's Guide to Playing with the Art: Embodiment as Methodology BRANTLY H. MOORE (University of Basel)	175
Between Everyday Item and Collection Object – Observations on the Augsburg Art Cabinets of the 17th Century LUDWIG KALLWEIT (Bavarian National Museum)	202

Art Agents / Collectors	221
Can Secretaries Be Protagonists?	
A Further History of Collecting at the Court of Philip II of Spain	
SERGIO RAMIRO RAMÍREZ (Instituto de Historia, Consejo Superior de Investigación Científicas)	221
Talking about Objects:	
The Correspondence between Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and Ferdinand Orban SJ (1655–1732)	
ELISA LUDWIG (Ludwig Maximilian University Munich)	240
The Collection of Paintings of Adolf Vratislav of Sternberg	
ELIŠKA ZLATOHLÁVKOVÁ (Palacký University Olomouc)	264
Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł and His <i>Grünes Gewölbe</i> : A Princely Collection in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania	
AISTĖ PALIUŠYTĖ (Lithuanian Culture Research Institute)	290
Selling Old Master Paintings across the Channel: Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun and Britain	
SARAH BAKKALI (Réunion des Musées Nationaux – Grand Palais)	316
Afterlife	332
The Transfer of Paintings from Palais Attems in Graz to Yugoslavia in the Light of Provenance Research	
RENATA KOMIĆ MARN (France Stele Institute of Art History)	332
The Pálffy Portrait Collection in Slovakia between the Past and the Present: A Model Example of the Research Tasks and Challenges in Post-Socialist Countries	
INGRID HALÁSZOVÁ (University of Trnava)	366
Name Index	399
List of Bibliography	410
Photo Credits	460

The Collections of the Prince-Bishops of Liège in the Early Modern Era: The Case of the Tapestry

Anne-Sophie Laruelle

From the 16th century to the 18th century, the Prince-Bishopric of Liège was successively ruled by sixteen prince-bishops, who exercised both temporal and spiritual power.¹ The Prince-Bishopric of Liège was a small and peculiar state. From the 10th century onwards, the Princedom functioned as a semi-independent state within the Empire, allowing the Liégeois to ignore Imperial fiscal, diplomatic, and military policies. Liège adopted a long-standing policy of unarmed neutrality, even though the state bordered on France, the Dutch Republic, and the Spanish Netherlands.

Surprisingly, the artistic patronage of the prince-bishops of Liège has been overlooked.² Nevertheless, they were lavish patrons of the arts and letters. They commissioned numerous works of arts for their residences and churches placed under their protection. Unfortunately, some internal conflicts and wars devastated the city of Liège and its surroundings, especially those during the Liège

¹ On the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, see DEMOULIN – KUPPER 2002 (with bibliography).

² Except for Cardinal Érard de la Marck (see note 16). For a status quaestionis, see LARUELLE 2021, pp. 131–154. This paper is part of our postdoctoral research focused on the collections of the prince-bishops of Liège (15th-18th c.) funded by the Belgian F.R.S-FNRS at the University of Liège.

Revolution in the 18th century.³ In Liège, the symbols of the power of the prince-bishops were demolished, such as the Cathedral of Our Lady and St Lambert. Benign neglect and active vandalism have ensured that only a fraction of the great tapestry collections of the Early Modern era have survived.

The discovery of complementary documents and some tapestries belonged to the prince-bishops, from Érard de la Marck (r. 1505–1538) to François-Charles de Velbrück (r. 1771–1784), has provided us with the opportunity to analyse them. This paper provides a synthesis of the evidence and a thematic consideration of such topics as the circumstances in which the collection was formed, how it was used, the criteria by which it was appreciated, and a short catalogue of possible identifications.

The Princely Collections Divided Between the Residences

As mentioned above, the Prince-Bishopric was marked by troubles: during the 18th and 19th centuries, the palace and residences of the prince-bishops were largely stripped of their furnishings and even destroyed. Few works of art and archival documents have come down to us.⁴

The Episcopal Palace in Liège was the prince-bishops' official residence (Fig. 1).⁵ The reconstruction of the old palace was begun in 1526 and was completed in 1534, at Cardinal Érard de la Marck's expense. Although the exterior appearance of the palace as it appeared at the time of de la Marck can be reconstructed, little information is available on its transformations, interior decoration, and furniture. The initiatives of Corneille de Berghes (r. 1538–1544), Georges of Austria (r. 1544–1557), and Robert de Berghes (r. 1557–1564) are poorly documented. There are still some documents for the reigns of Gérard de Groesbeeck (r. 1564–1580) and Ernest of Bavaria (r. 1581–1612).⁶

Ernest of Bavaria's reign announced the permanent presence of the House of Bavaria in Liège. Indeed, the Wittelsbach dynasty occupied the throne of Liège almost continuously from 1581 to 1723. The transformations during the reigns of

³ This issue is not specific to the Prince-Bishopric of Liège. The most valuable tapestries of the kings of France survived until the end of the 18th century, only to be burned by the French Directory in 1797 to extract the metallic thread so that the debts of the royal wardrobe could be settled. See BREJON DE LAVERGNÉE – VITTET 2014. The example of this state-sanctioned vandalism seems to have encouraged equally pernicious destruction in Liège and elsewhere; for instance, some of the finest tapestries in the Vatican collections disappeared during the French subjugation of Rome between 1797 and 1814.

⁴ Only one tapestry series, from the 18th century, is preserved today at the Episcopal Palace. This was a series bought by the États, not the prince-bishops. See CRICK-KUNTZIGER 1927, pp. 172–183.

⁵ See especially GOBERT 1896; PHILIPPE 1949; LEJEUNE 1979; SABATINI 1995; GODINAS 2008; DEMOULIN 2008.

⁶ OGER 2008, pp. 64–65.



Fig. 1 Palace of the Prince-Bishops of Liège, in: Johannes Blaeu, *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicae Regiae*, Amsterdam, 1649, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Ferdinand of Bavaria (r. 1612–1650), Maximilian-Henry of Bavaria (r. 1650–1688), and Jean-Louis d’Eldereren (r. 1688–1694) have been studied.⁷

Upon his election, Joseph-Clement of Bavaria (r. 1694–1723) wished to make new developments in the palace.⁸ Unfortunately, during the reign of Georges-Louis de Berghes (r. 1724–1743) a violent fire destroyed the south wing of the palace. The prince then began the reconstruction of the southern façade, the direction of which was entrusted to the Brussels architect Anneessens

⁷ KAIRIS 2008, pp. 66–85.

⁸ DEMOULIN 2008, p. 43.

(1735–1739).⁹ The disposition during the reigns of Johann Theodor of Bavaria (r. 1744–1763), Charles-Nicolas d’Oultremont (r. 1763–1771), and François-Charles de Velbrück (r. 1772–1784) is well documented. Finally, the palace was looted in August 1789, the prince definitively dismissed in 1794, and the Principality attached to France in 1795.¹⁰

The inherent fragility of the textiles also contributed to the tapestries being damaged, if not destroyed. Historically, the finest tapestries were only hung for special occasions, but with the passage of time and changing fashions of interior decoration, such observances were neglected in numbers of collections from the late 17th century.

Another stronghold of the prince-bishops, the castle of Seraing, was also transformed by Érard de la Marck at the beginning of his reign.¹¹ The castle gained its current appearance after transformations into a pleasure castle by the prince-bishops Georges-Louis de Berghes and Johann Theodor of Bavaria during the 18th century.

In addition to the Episcopal Palace and the castle of Seraing, the prince-bishops owned numerous other residences in the Prince-Bishopric (e.g. Huy, Stockem, Kuringen, Maseyck, Horn, Franchimont, Maastricht, Dinant, and Bouillon).¹² The princes furnished all of them with art collections. Moreover, each bishop of Liège owned private homes, as well as family residences (e.g. the castle of Warfusée for Charles-Nicolas d’Oultremont and the castle of Hex for Velbrück), located on the territory of the Liege diocese or outside the Prince-Bishopric, strategically situated in the centres of politics, culture, and economics in the Netherlands (Brussels, Mechelen, and Antwerp).¹³

The Wittelsbachs, as archbishop-electors of Cologne, usually lived in the Holy Roman Empire. In 1597, Ernest of Bavaria removed the electoral and archiepiscopal residence from Cologne to Bonn. Very little is known about the castle of Bonn at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century.¹⁴ The castle was severely damaged in 1689 by bombardment during the war supported by Frederick III of Brandenburg. The Bavarian family mainly lived in their residences within the Holy Roman Empire, especially in what is now North Rhine-Westphalia (Arnsberg, Köln, Hirschberg...).

⁹ VAN DE CASTEELE 1879, pp. 351–419; YANS 1959, pp. 178–183.

¹⁰ See KAIRIS 2020, pp. 77–106.

¹¹ On Seraing, see PURAYE 1964; RENARDY 2017.

¹² On Franchimont, see DEN DOOVEN 1970; HOFFSUMMER 2016. On Kuringen, see DE BORMAN 1863–1864, pp. 31–44; DANIELS 1923, pp. 19–42.

¹³ As, for instance, for Cardinal Érard de la Marck, see GRIETEN – DE JONGE 2014, pp. 73–100.

¹⁴ For a synthesis, see INDENBIRKEN 2007, pp. 11–18.

Tapestries were used to furnish all these residences. The collections were consigned to the charge of designated wardrobe officers (called ‘châtelain’ or ‘tapissier’), who were also responsible for the upkeep and arrangement of all the hangings in the household. To study the collections of the prince-bishops, it is therefore important to consider that each collection was divided among various residences and, for each reign, the preferences of the prince-bishop, which led him to embellish one palace or castle rather than another.

The Tapestries of Cardinal Érard de la Marck as a Basis for Investigation

The first and the most eager patron in the field of tapestries was Cardinal Érard de la Marck (r. 1505–1538).¹⁵ The Cardinal boasted a very impressive and wide-ranging tapestry collection. It was indeed one of the most significant collections in the Netherlands during the Renaissance.

Érard de la Marck (Fig. 2) is rightfully considered one of the most outstanding figures of the history of the prince-bishopric.¹⁶ His reign brought an era of renewal, peace, and prosperity. Besides commissioning the Episcopal Palace, Érard did far more. He ordered the repair of the military infrastructure of his country and took initiatives that reinstated the governance, the local economy, and the religious and social life of the community. He also built up a brilliant decorum, with splendid residences and rich collections of works of art and tableware in gold and silver. On the international level, the dignity of the Prince-Bishop of Liège acquired an importance of the first order. Perceptive, intelligent, and very rich but avaricious, Érard de la Marck epitomised a prince of the Church and an ideal politician.

His reign is commonly divided into two periods. The first period, from 1505 until 1517, corresponds to the political and religious neutrality of Liège in the conflict between the Habsburgs and the Most Christian King, Louis XII, and the time of great friendship with the King and Cardinal Georges d’Amboise. At that time, his collection of tapestries was similar in content and appearance to the French royal collection.¹⁷

In 1515, Érard saw his relations with the King deteriorate. He gradually abandoned his alliance with Francis I of France and turned towards the future Charles V. Érard was richly rewarded for this alliance by benefices and dignities.

¹⁵ See STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974, pp. 35–54; DELMARCEL 1981, pp. 225–237; DELMARCEL 2001, pp. 207–212.

¹⁶ On Érard’s patronage, the bibliography is very extensive. Among recent publications, see GRIETEN – DE JONGE 2021, pp. 163–190. An exhaustive bibliography will be published in ALLART (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Unless otherwise mentioned, the source is STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974.



Fig. 2 Jan Vermeyen, *Portrait of Erard de la Marck*, c. 1530, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 3 Philips Galle, *Huy and its Castle*, 1612, Grimbergen, Abdij van de Premonstratenzers

In 1520 he obtained the archbishopric of Valencia in Spain and, the following year, he received a cardinal's hat. Érard remained loyal to Charles V and to the two successive governors of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary. He was their adviser in all matters and often stayed at the courts of Brussels and Mechelen. Érard de la Marck bought private residences in these two cities as well as in Antwerp.¹⁸ The new political orientation of the prince-bishop is reflected in his collection of tapestries.

Indeed, all his residences were embellished with sumptuous textiles. His collection is estimated at over 230 tapestries in two inventories drawn up in 1522 and 1532.¹⁹ These inventories list the textiles preserved in the castles of Huy,

¹⁸ GRIETEN – DE JONGE 2014.

¹⁹ These important inventories were published in STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974. The collection was similar in size to those of other European rulers of that time. See CAMPBELL 2002, p. 269. The tapestries from the Episcopal Palace in Liège are not yet listed in these inventories, because the cardinal settled in Liège only from 1533.

Stockem, and Kuringen. Although Érard de la Marck rebuilt the castles in the prince-bishopric, Huy (Fig. 3) was his principal place of residence (it was destroyed in 1715–1717).

The archival documents shed light on the process of the acquisition of the tapestries: on the one hand, some tapestries were inherited,²⁰ and on the other hand, acquisitions were made on the art market and through prestigious commissions in France and the Netherlands, especially at the Brussels workshops after 1515.²¹

Unfortunately, most of the tapestries have disappeared: only ten tapestries out of the two hundred and fifty that were once in his collection have survived. On the basis of these inventories and the few tapestries preserved, it has been possible to draw up a hypothetical reconstruction of his collection.

Firstly, it is noteworthy from the inventories that he owned a considerable number of pieces of verdure with or without figures, animals, and coats of arms. According to the Cardinal's will, most of the verdure tapestries which he owned had been woven in Enghien and Tournai. These verdure made up more than half of Érard de la Marck's collection.

After the landscapes and verdure, the numerical importance of the hunting scenes (i.e. five series) should be noted. Among the classical history and mythological series, the inventories mentioned only one subject, that of *Hercules*. At that time, the figure of Hercules was especially favoured, his combination of bravery, heroic action, and erudition making him the perfect model of *virtus heroica*.²² The religious subjects were *Samuel*, *Solomon*, and a *Veronica with gold* (Fig. 4).²³ However, the subjects are so few for a Prince of the Church that one can reasonably wonder if those tapestries were not included in a separate inventory supplies account.

²⁰ For instance, he inherited from Philippe de Cleves, the lord of Ravenstein and Enghien. Philippe de Cleves was descended from the house of de la Marck; cf. STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974.

²¹ He bought tapestries from Marc Crétic (or Crétif), a merchant-entrepreneur specialising in the trade in luxury objects and one of the principal providers of tapestries to the Habsburgs and members of other princely courts of Europe. See, for instance, BUCHANAN 2015.

²² His attainment of immortality through relentless effort led to his identification with the Christian virtue of Fortitude, while his labours were susceptible to interpretation as a metaphor of Christ's suffering for mankind. This was a courteous and chivalrous Hercules. See LARUELLE 2020, pp. 97–118.

²³ Interestingly, a piece called Veronica was mentioned in an account dated 21 November 1622: '*Ordre de son Altesse, de réclamer au doyen de Saint Paul, par toutes voies, les hardes, meubles et tapisseries de feu son Altesse en la chambre et Palais de son Altesse / Depuis le procureur general a rapporté au Conseil privé ung petit tapis de soy avec la figure de la Véronique, lequel est demeuré en mains de Mons. le chancelier*' (Archives de l'Etat à Liège [after AEL], Chambre des comptes, 9, fol. 106v).

Fig. 4 *Veronica with Gold*, c. 1500, unknown location



Among the so-called contemporary subjects, there is a series called the *Caravans*. This is a subject that reflects the fascination with the New World that developed as tidings of discoveries in Asia and the Americas reached Western Europe. One may also be surprised to find the popular medieval tale of Griselda in the Cardinal's collection. Indeed, the story of Griselda served as an example of a woman's never-ending patience and obedience. However, from inventories of the 16th century, it appears that throughout Europe further series of tapestries



Fig. 5 *The Honours (Gloria Immortalis)*, woven in Brussels, after Bernard van Orley, c. 1520, c. 1525–1532, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

depicting this story existed.²⁴ Lastly, there was a series of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* which depicted the successive triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Religion. This theme provided a framework within which contemporary humanists and designers could display an eclectic mix of religious, historical, and mythological figures.

The moralising and allegorical subject matter deserves attention and, especially, the seven-piece set of *Gloria Immortalis*, which was probably the most valuable series in the cardinal's collection (Fig. 5). This was an abridged re-edition

²⁴ Pope Julius II chose the same theme, not for of its marital aspects, but because he was attracted by the moral of unquestioning obedience to authority. On this subject, see DELMARCEL 2010, pp. 117–125.



Fig. 6 February from *The Medallion Months*, woven in Brussels, after Bernard van Orley, c. 1530, before 1528, Chicago, The Art Institute



Fig. 7 *The Poet with His Epilogue* from *The Hunt of the Frail Stag*, South Netherlands, c. 1500, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

of the famous *Honours*.²⁵ If the first edition was owned by Charles V, the second edition was made around 1530 for his loyal envoy and financial backer, Cardinal de la Marck. Indeed, he was an important supporter of Charles V in his campaign to be elected Holy Roman Emperor, and therefore it is not surprising that he was able to have another set made. Five panels have survived, mainly in poor condition and heavily restored.²⁶

The wealth and splendour of the Cardinal of Liège's collection are demonstrated by some descriptions of his residences. For instance, the Emperor Charles V was welcomed by the prince-bishop in his finest residence, the castle of Huy. In February 1531, a Venetian ambassador reported that de la Marck had a very fine palace there. According to this eyewitness, three series of tapestries were displayed at the castle of Huy for the visit of the emperor.²⁷

The tapestries were displayed in the apartments occupied by Charles V over two rooms: in the large antechamber there was a set of the *Ages* in gold and silver. This might be the five-piece set of the *Ages of Man* mentioned in the inventories. The set has disappeared, but five *patrons* from the *Ages of Life* may give an idea of the compositions.²⁸ The dining room was decorated with a set of the *Twelve Months*. It is the *editio princeps* of the well-known *Medallion Months*, depicting seasonal scenes and allegorical figures within medallions decorated with symbols of the zodiac (Fig. 6).²⁹ The description of the third series is also quite interesting. The seven-piece set depicted a stag guided by a lady. The pieces began or ended with a stag, and the last ended with the figure of a corpse. This series was probably a special commission. Guy Delmarcel has noted the similarity to a series called *The Hunt of the Frail Stag* preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 7).³⁰

Érard de la Marck made expensive donations and gifts. In the Cathedral of St Lambert in Liège he invested in many monumental works of art, including a series illustrating the life of the patron saints, the Virgin, and St Lambert (lost

²⁵ The original edition was produced around 1520 for Charles V by Pieter van Aelst in Brussels. See DELMARCEL 2000. The message that is conveyed can be summarised as follows: if a sovereign practises the virtues, he can overcome the vicissitudes of Fortune, escape Infamy, and hope to receive three great moral principles (Glory, Nobility, and Honour).

²⁶ For a recent analysis, see CLELAND – KARAFEL 2017, no. 101.

²⁷ DELMARCEL 2001.

²⁸ BREJON DE LAVERGNÉE – VITTET 2014, no. 106.

²⁹ See also BROSENS 2008, cat. no. 9.

³⁰ On these fragments, the stag is followed by the Ladies Nature, Ignorance and Vanity, and Old Age and Sickness, while the fifth fragment shows an epilogue which is close to the motto of the Cardinal of Liège. For the set, see CAVALLO 1993, cat. no. 24.

today).³¹ These series, called choir tapestries, were woven in an oblong format and intended to be hung above or against the backs of the stalls. The sources are unanimous on the Parisian origin of the tapestries. These sumptuous sets were reserved for use on religious feast days.

Some other tapestries were found by Guy Delmarcel, including two pieces dedicated to the Virgin.³² The first, preserved in the Loreto, depicts the Virgin and Elizabeth seated at the foot of a palm tree. The second piece, currently in Boston, depicts the *Assumption of the Virgin*. These two pieces, woven with a profusion of gold and silver threads, belonged to the same set. Both the subject and the oblong vertical format recall the *Coronation of the Virgin*, a gift that Pope Paul III received from the Cardinal of Liège.³³

More recently, two panels were discovered in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow.³⁴ The coat of arms which adorns both panels can be identified as that of Cardinal de la Marck. The subjects of these two fragments have yet to be specified.³⁵

The case study of Érard de la Marck is quite interesting because it illustrates the way in which works of art were treated on the death of a prince-bishop. The succession of Érard de la Marck instituted a process that was used for subsequent prince-bishops. Reconstructing the appearance of the collections requires us to follow the movement of works of art, determining their passage through the successions of property from one prince-bishop, or a family member, to another, and so on until its dispersion. From the sources (inventories, wills, accounts, correspondence), it is therefore necessary to provide a more precise analysis of each collection, on its formation, distribution in the residences, and its fate on the death of its owner.

Firstly, the objects could be bequeathed to the successor to the episcopal throne. Corneille de Berghes (r. 1538–1544) inherited from Érard de la Marck

³¹ Many records in the 16th-century *Chroniques*. For instance, in 1512: *‘Item toutes les belles tapisseries que l’on met dans le coeur alentour, où la vie de Notre Dame et de saint Lambert y sont figurées, avec tous les ornements de violet velours, dons digne d’un tel prince’*. For all the *Chroniques*, see BALEAU – FAIRON 1931. The tapestries were perhaps sold in the 1730s (*‘les vieilles tapisseries qui sont tendues dans les cloîtres’*; cf. AEL, *Cathédrale, 1736–1737*, fol. 184v.), or were the seven-piece set from the cathedral sold by the French in Hamburg in 1803 (see PURAYE 1940), but the dimensions (540 × 700 cm to 720 × 1560 cm) of the latter do not match the standard height used for choir tapestries during the 16th century.

³² DELMARCEL 1981.

³³ Vatican collection. See STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974.

³⁴ CLELAND – KARAFEL 2017, no. 55.

³⁵ A careful examination is under preparation by Prof. D. Allart; see ALLART.

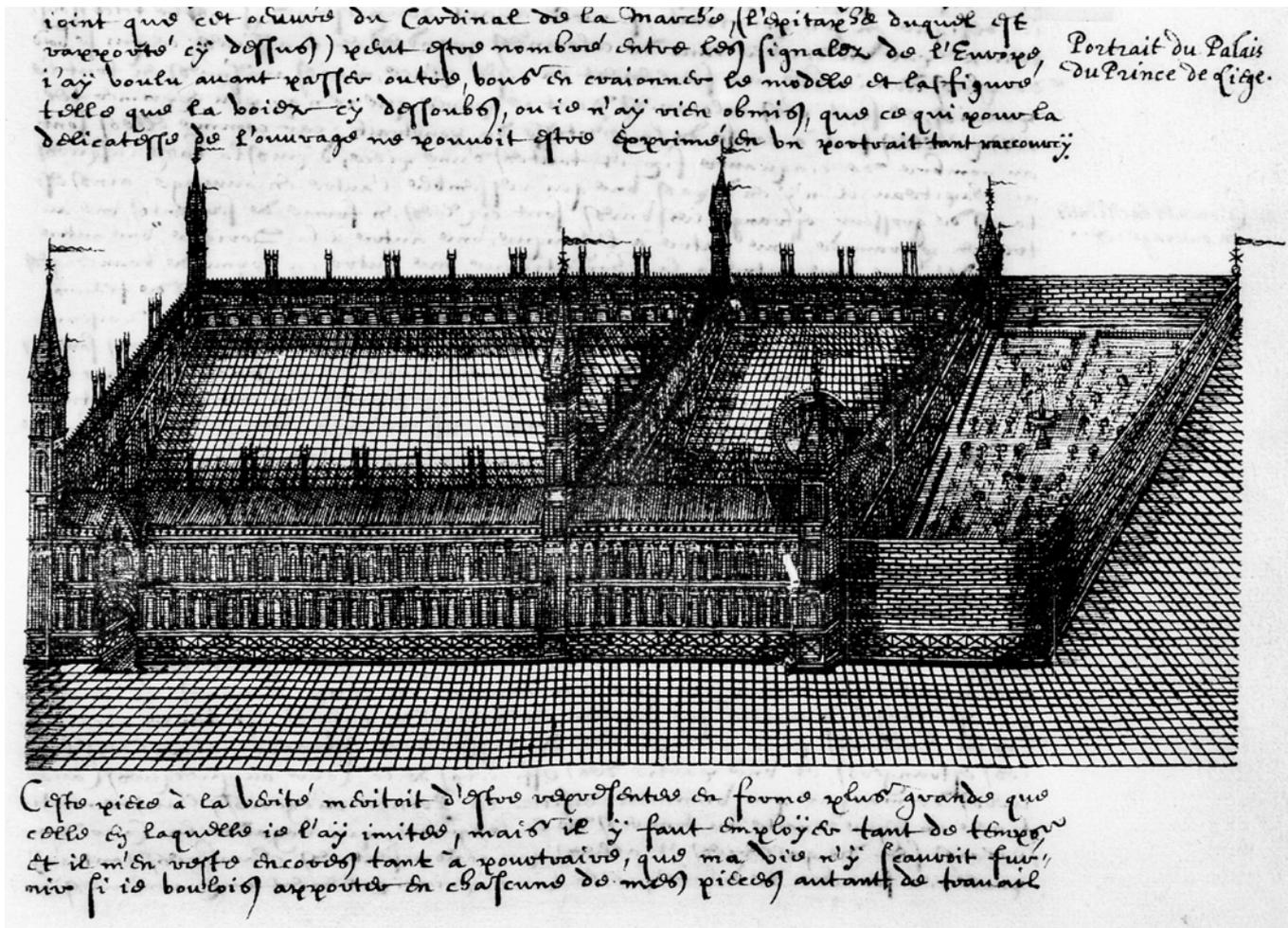


Fig. 8 *The Palace of Prince of Liège*, in: Philippe DE HURGES, *Mémoires. Voyage de Tournay à Cologne en 1615, par Mons, Liège et Maestricht*, 1615, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms fr. 9025

twenty-six tapestries woven in Tournai.³⁶ Some of these tapestries were perhaps hung during his Joyous Entry into Huy in October 1538.³⁷ In November 1538 the prince then transferred all his tapestries to the castle of Stockem, where they remained for the duration of his reign.³⁸

³⁶ In his will, Érard wished that a few tapestries, those woven in Tournai and Enghien, which were in the gallery of the castle of Huy, were to be bequeathed to his successor. See HENNEN 1942.

³⁷ *'Huyensis ad portam S. Germani, tam luminari quam tapetis ac aliis ornamentis [...]*'. A full transcription is published in SCHOOLMEESTERS 1908, p. 68.

³⁸ New evidence emerged from the archives on his succession. At his death in 1560, a part of his collection was sold, and a second part was divided among his heirs (Archives de l'Etat à Forest, Leenhof van Brabant. Processen, 1198).

However, in many cases, the tapestries were rarely inherited by the successor. By his will, the prince could appoint a sole heir.³⁹ The prince-bishop could mention several successors, especially in his family.⁴⁰ Additionally, the prince made bequests to the Church.⁴¹ On the death of the prince-bishop, the works of art could be directly sold, especially if the prince-bishop had debts.⁴² Finally, some works of art were not considered the private property of the prince-bishop and his family, especially at the Episcopal Palace in Liège.

Therefore, some sets remained in place after the cardinal's death. Some hangings were the subject of an enthusiastic description by a traveller from Tournai, Philippe de Hurgès.⁴³ During his visit to the Episcopal Palace in 1615, the traveller was able to see tapestries, and described some of them in detail (Fig. 8). According to Philippe de Hurgès, the tapestries displayed themes from Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

'Pour les tapis de haute-lisse, tissus de soye pour la pluspart, entre lesquels estoient tenduz ceux qui résument et expriment la pluspart du contenu en l'Énéide de Virgile et ès Métamorphoses d'Ovide, et ce en personnages grands comme géants, et tels qu'aucuns imaginent qu'ils ayent esté en leur temps etc [...] Il y a trente telles pièces, fort larges et longues, justement autant qu'il en faut pour tendre et en parer tout le cartier du prince, comme sa chambre, son anti-chambre, son cabinet, sa garderobbe, sa salle d'audience et sa gallerie, le Cardinal de la Marche les ayant fait jadis faire après le lieu.'

In the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, the prince-bishops were able to preserve this heritage in its entirety.⁴⁴ In the second half of the 18th century, Érard de la Marck's tapestries were apparently damaged.

³⁹ Érard made his great-nephew Robert III de la Marck his main heir. Robert received money, objects made of gold, and tapestries, as well as the cardinal's residences in Antwerp, Mechelen, and Brussels, including the furniture. STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974.

⁴⁰ Érard bequeathed his tapestries with animals, birds, and beasts woven in Enghien to his nephews Philip de la Marck de Sedan and Willem de la Marck de Lummen. See Ibidem.

⁴¹ Érard de la Marck's will contains a clause regarding a donation to Pope Paul III. The facings and ornaments of his private chapel were bequeathed to the Holy See. See Ibid.

⁴² In this case, Mencia de Mendoza purchased a six-piece set at his death. A seven-piece set was acquired by Emperor Charles V. See Ibid.

⁴³ MICHELANT 1872.

⁴⁴ STEPPE – DELMARCEL 1974. See also note 67.

The Rediscovery of the Collections after Érard de la Marck: Reflections and Hypothesis

The scholarly literature neglected the patronage of Érard de la Marck's successors to the episcopal throne.⁴⁵ Thus the collections of tapestries have not yet been studied. This is mainly due to the lack of archival documents and the disappearance of the collections.⁴⁶ The documentation is very incomplete: the inventories of the residences and some prince-bishops' wills have disappeared, from the reign of Corneille de Berghes until the accession of Joseph-Clement of Bavaria in 1694.⁴⁷

New evidence now led us to establish some reflexions and observations. The prince-bishops obviously owned many tapestries, even it is impossible to quantify each collection for the 16th and 17th centuries. The collections of the prince-bishops of the 18th century remain unknown today, but these are instead well documented by the archives.

First of all, tapestry served several different purposes. The decorative function of tapestry is inseparable from its social and political role. Thus, the prince-bishops received some sets as diplomatic gifts. For example, in 1654, Maximilian-Henry of Bavaria received two expensive series. These were purchased by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria in Brussels for 10,887 florins.⁴⁸ The political importance of the prince-bishops can also be assessed from other sources, especially during their meetings with other sovereigns. Each ruler deployed the greatest displays of magnificence which they were capable of, and as a leading medium of portable 'grandeur', tapestry inevitably played a role in these arrangements. One can find the payment to the most famous tapestry-weaver of

⁴⁵ Except for the patronage of the princes of Bavaria. See especially XHAYET – HALLEUX 2011.

⁴⁶ Once a prince died, the cathedral chapter of St Lambert drew up an inventory of his furniture in the Episcopal Palace. According to the cathedral archives, many inventories existed, even during the reign of the prince. Just two examples: *'Inventarium in Palatio'* (Episcopal Palace, 24 January 1544); *'Inventarium Huy'* (Castle of Huy, 20 May 1547); cf. AEL, Cathédrale Saint-Lambert. Secrétariat, 5. At the State Archives in Liège, the documents of the Chambre des comptes, the Conseil Privé, the Etats, and the Cathédrale were particularly rich. Unfortunately, many registers of these institutions were destroyed during the Second World War. See HANSOTTE 1987, pp. 81–98 and 104–136.

⁴⁷ For the 16th-17th centuries, only the testaments of Georges of Austria, Maximilian-Henry of Bavaria, and Jean-Louis d'Elderren are preserved in Liège (AEL, Cathédrale Saint-Lambert. Secrétariat, 269, 277, 278). See a summary in PONCELET 1935. In addition, there are still some copies of Gerard de Groesbeeck's testament (Archives de l'Etat Namur, I33, 308). The testaments of Ferdinand and Maximilian-Henry of Bavaria are also preserved in Germany (Landesarchiv NRW Abt Rheinland, KK_II_00025). For the 18th century, all the testaments are preserved (AEL, Cathédrale. Secrétariat, 281–282; Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland, KK_II_00053 to 00074).

⁴⁸ Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Collection des Manuscrits divers, 684. Mentioned in WAUTERS 1878, p. 335.

the Netherlands, the court tapissier of King Philip II, Willem de Pannemacker, for having moved and hung the sovereign's tapestries for the visit of Gérard de Groesbeeck to Brussels in 1577.⁴⁹ The same process was used for Ernest of Bavaria in 1595.⁵⁰

As for Cardinal de la Marck, the prince-bishops continued to make donations to the Church, and especially to the Cathedral of Our Lady and Saint Lambert in Liège. In his will, Georges of Austria (r. 1544–1556) – Charles V's uncle – wished to bequeath a religious series, called the *Story of Hophni and Phineas*, to the Cathedral.⁵¹ The cathedral chapter also expressed the desire to acquire some pieces after the death of a prince-bishop.⁵² Between the 16th and the 18th centuries, the tapestries were still used for church ceremonies in Liège: for instance, in June 1746, during the reign of Johann Theodor of Bavaria, some tapestries were displayed in the palace chapel.⁵³

As for Erard de la Marck, the tapestries were inherited, ordered by commissions, or acquired in the art market. The dealers are sometimes recorded, such as Louis Michelet, '*marchand tapissier demeurant à Liège*',⁵⁴ or the well-known Jean Valdor, '*marchand, resident de l'electeur de Pologne prince de Liège auprès S.M* [king of France]' in the 17th century, who probably sold many series to the prince-bishop from Paris and the Netherlands.⁵⁵ At the beginning of the 18th century, one can find M. H. Briquet, '*marchand a Liège, tapissier de S.A*

⁴⁹ '23 livres 5 sols à Guillaume de Pannemaecker, tapissier de Sa Majesté, pour le remboursement de semblable somme par luy payée tant en faisant transporter certaines tapisseries de la garderobbe de Sa Majesté estant en la court d'icelle vers la maison du conseiller du privé Conseil de Sa Majesté [...] pour la venue du révérendissime évesque de Liège' (Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Chambre des comptes, B2644, fol. 221v).

⁵⁰ '216 livres à François Swerts, marchand tapisserie à Anvers, pour le louaige de deux chambres de tapissier [...] pour estre tendues en court à la venue illecq du prince de Liège' (Lille, ADN, Chambre des comptes, B2752, fol. 491r.)

⁵¹ AEL, Cathédrale. Secrétariat, 269, 1557, fol. 162. Mentioned in PURAYE 1940, p. 7.

⁵² For instance, after Joseph-Clement's death in 1723: '*touchant les ornements d'église de feu S. Alt. Sér. qui pourraient convenir a la cathedrale*' included '*les tapisseries de haute lisse pouvant servir au chœur*' with two tapestries owned by a merchant-weaver of Brussels. All estimated at 8000–9000 florins (AEL, Cathédrale Saint-Lambert, 1724–1727, fol. 115).

⁵³ '*Le 28 Juin 1746 aiant été fixé pour la Ceremonie de la Barette, le jour précédent on prépara dans la Chapelle du Palais, qui étoit tendüe de superbes tapisseries de haute lisse, tout ce qui appartient à l'ornement de l'Autel* [...]', in: RELATION 1746, p. 3.

⁵⁴ He was involved in business in Paris. Cf. Paris, Archives, Minutes et répertoires du notaire Thomas Cartier. Minutes. 1625, janvier – juin MC/ET/XIII/1/A (see 15 February and 22 March 1625).

⁵⁵ Valdor was indeed involved in the sales of tapestries from the Netherlands to Paris. Some documents are published in DENUcé 1936, pp. 66–85 (see the Candele-Schrynmaekers family). See also BROSENS 2004.

de Colongne a Liège [Joseph Clement of Bavaria].⁵⁶ Briquet purchased for the prince-bishop some series woven in Antwerp, such as a series of *Verdure with birds and animals*.⁵⁷ Joseph-Clement also gave commissions to the prestigious workshops in Brussels, as confirmed by a payment for a series to Hieronymus Le Clerc in 1697.⁵⁸ In the 18th century, some merchants were based in Liège, such as Ernest de Gland, *'maitre tapissier a l'enseigne de la Dauphine, pres de la porte st leonard'*, who sold *'des tapisseries de haute-lice tant en histoire qu'en paysage'* (24 April 1767).⁵⁹

Most of the mentions in the archival documents are payments to *tapissiers* for the conservation or restoration of tapestries and/or the movement of the pieces between the several residences (in the Prince-Bishopric or elsewhere).⁶⁰ These documents give only a glimpse of the magnificence of the princes, because the descriptions of the tapestries are laconic; there are details of the price of the pieces, their transport, the place where they were woven, or even the place where they were purchased.

Many records are linked to the prince-bishops from Bavaria and their residences in what is now North Rhine-Westphalia (especially Bonn and Arnsberg). Ernest and Ferdinand of Bavaria stayed regularly at the castle of Arnsberg.⁶¹ Destroyed during the Seven Years' War in 1762, this residence had benefited greatly from the generosity of the House of Bavaria. Several fragmentary inventories listed their goods.⁶²

Among all the prince-bishops, Joseph-Clement was the one who owned the most tapestries. According to inventories, including those made after his death in 1723 in his residence in Bonn, he owned several hundred pieces (Fig. 9).⁶³ In

⁵⁶ His assignment for the prince-bishop started in 1715: *'a Briquet tapissier pour ouvrages et livremens faits pour la cour a la rentree de S.A.S.E'* (22 February 1715); cf. AEL, Chambre des comptes, Protocoles, 27, fol. 33r.

⁵⁷ In the workshop of Naulaerts. Ibidem, pp. 240–246 and 261.

⁵⁸ *'Le 6 mars 1697 a Hierome le Clerc de Bruxelles a compté une ordonnance de S.A.S.E* [Joseph-Clement] *en dacté du 15 juillet 1696 onse cents quarante quatre florins'* (AEL, Chambre des comptes. Comptes généraux, 215, 1697–1698, fol. 48). On the weaver, see BROSENS 2004.

⁵⁹ Mentioned in VAN DE CASTEELE 1879, p. 403.

⁶⁰ Three examples from the reign of Ferdinand of Bavaria: *'Aux couturiers de Maestricht 72 fol. 13 pat. pour besogner tant au baldekin que tapisseries de son Alt.'* (28 January 1613); *'A Nicolas de Stavelot [tapissier], 45 flor. 3 patars pour renettoyer les tapisseries du Palais'* (8 July 1613); *'Aux deux chartiers ayant amené du bagage et tapisserie de son Altesse'* (12 March 1614); cf. AEL, Chambre des comptes, 8.

⁶¹ Ernest and Ferdinand died in Arnsberg. On the castle, see STROTHMANN 1986; GOSMANN 2000; CONRAD 2013.

⁶² Landesarchiv NRW Abt Westfalen, no. 920.

⁶³ See especially Landesarchiv NRW Abt Rheinland, KK_II_00051 and 00061.

the audience hall of Bonn, there was a twenty-piece set, woven in the Gobelins workshops, as well as an expensive six-piece set of the *Story of Telemachus* woven in Brussels.⁶⁴ In the light of these documents, two trends can be observed: the display of tapestries illustrating figurative scenes (heroic, ancient themes) in the public rooms, or within the framework of sumptuous ceremonies, and at the same time, an increased demand for more decorative pieces dedicated to more intimate spaces.

As cardinal and prince-bishop of Regensburg, Freising, and Liège, Johann Theodor of Bavaria divided his collections between several episcopal palaces. In Freising, the prince-bishop had a great deal of furniture, paintings, textiles, and tapestries, including a ten-piece set of the *Metamorphoses* woven in Brussels.⁶⁵

The appearance of the residences of the Prince-Bishopric in the 18th century can be synthesised. During the reign of Joseph-Clement, an inventory, dated 1702 and dressed by the cathedral chapter in the Episcopal Palace of Liège, listed 36 tapestries and numerous other textiles, such as embroidery, furniture, and paintings (e.g. portraits of the prince-bishops of Bavaria, hunting scenes, mythological and religious scenes such as the *Virgin*, the *Wedding at Cana*, and a painting of the *Martyrdom of St Lambert*).⁶⁶

The inventory of Georges-Louis de Berghes' goods (1743) listed seven tapestries in Seraing and 40 tapestries in the Episcopal Palace, where six tapestries dated to Érarde de la Marck can still be viewed.⁶⁷ Georges-Louis de Berghes was also the first bishop to want to create a tapestry workshop in the Principality.⁶⁸ The correspondence with a Brussels weaver, Jean-Baptiste Vermillion, is still preserved. Vermillion was previously the partner of Hieronymus Le Clerc in Brussels (cited above).

The inventories of Johann Theodor of Bavaria (1764) and Charles-Nicolas d'Oultremont (1771)'s goods, dressed in the castle of Seraing, have been published.⁶⁹ Those listed only one series in 1764 and six tapestries in 1771. For the

⁶⁴ Landesarchiv NRW Abt Rheinland, KK_II_00061.

⁶⁵ *'Inventaire des meubles qui appartiennent a sa sme eminence monseigneur le cardinal duc de baviere [...]'* (24 May 1748); cf. AEL, Cathédrale Saint-Lambert. Secrétariat, 282 (for the tapestry series, see fol. 60r-v).

⁶⁶ *'Repertoire des meubles retrouvez au Palais Episcopal de Liege fait le 19e et 20e octobre mille sept cent et deux'*; cf. AEL, Notaire G. Schepers, 1702, fol. 66 sq. Mentioned in GOBERT 1896, p. 193.

⁶⁷ *'Dans la chambre de la sinode [...] six pieces de tapisserie aux armes marka'*; cf. VAN DE CASTEELE 1897.

⁶⁸ VAN DE CASTEELE 1879, pp. 403–405; DELMARCEL – HUYGENS 1997. In addition to these documents, there is another letter from the weaver, dated 1737, published in HANSAY 1900, pp. 34–36 (original doc. in AEL, Conseil privé, 2636, fol. 189v-191). On the weaver, see also BROSENS 2005 and BROSENS 2004.

⁶⁹ See PURAYE 1964.

Episcopal Palace, the inventories are still unpublished.⁷⁰ In these inventories, the writer is much more interested in porcelain, rather than tapestries and other media. It is impossible to use them for purposes of quantification. Charles-Nicolas d'Oultremont also probably had tapestries in his especially favoured family castle, Warfusée.

After the death of François-Charles de Velbrück (1784), the inventories mentioned the furniture preserved in the Episcopal Palace, in the castle of Seraing, and in his private castle, Hex.⁷¹ These listed one series in Seraing, as well as ten series in the palace of Liège, including a *Story of Moses*. Finally, a set of the *Seasons* with his coat of arms in the borders, woven in the Gobelins workshop by Cozette, has been re-discovered at the National Gallery, Washington.⁷²

On the basis of these 18th-century inventories, the hypothesis would be that the castle of Seraing – after its transformation into a pleasure castle during the 18th century – could accommodate one – or a maximum of two – series of tapestries. In the Episcopal Palace of Liège, the quantity of tapestries is estimated at 40–50 pieces. Another question needs further research: who really owned the listed tapestries, the clergy or the prince-bishops? Indeed, it is known that the cathedral chapter placed some luxury furniture at the disposal of the prince-bishops.⁷³

In conclusion, the significance of tapestry as a medium of art, magnificence, and propaganda at the courts of the prince-bishops seems unassailable. Much remains to be discovered about the relationships among courtiers, merchants, and artists, and the circumstances in which some of the more important commissions were conceived. The material presented here may form the platform for future, more detailed studies of different aspects of this fascinating and little-known subject.

⁷⁰ 'Inventair des meubles et effets trouvés dans le palais episcopal de liege delaisé a la mort de feu Sa Sme Eminence le cardinal duc de baviere eveque et prince de liege [...]' (AEL, Notaire E. Granville, 7 February 1763). For D'Oultremont, see 'Repertoire des meubles et effets appartenants a son Altesse celsissime Monseigneur Charles Nicolas Alexandre d'outremont' (AEL, Notaire E. Granville, 7 February 1763). In addition, there is a 'Répertoire des ornemens de la chappelle de Son Altesse Charles' (dated 23 April 1763) and a 'Rajoute au répertoire de la Chappelle' (dated 22 January 1771); cf. AEL, Notaire E. Granville.

⁷¹ VAN DE CASTEELE 1905. See also PURAYE 1962.

⁷² Forthcoming publication.

⁷³ See, for instance, the conflict between Georges-Louis de Berghes and the cathedral chapter. Mentioned in PONCELET 1935, p. 26.