

Hanns Hubach

Tales from the Tapestry Collection of Elector Palatine Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart, the Winter King and Queen

Following the destruction of Heidelberg Castle and the pillaging of its furnishings by troops of King Louis XIV of France in 1689 and 1693, during the Palatine War of Succession, the fact that the Counts Palatine and Electors of the Rhine had assembled in their residence one of the most splendid collections of tapestries in Germany fell into oblivion.¹ The counts' self-image, derived from their royal lineage, did not mean that they were exempt from permanent competition for status, rank, and prestige with other princely families, such as the Habsburgs and their rival Wittelsbach cousins, the dukes of Bavaria. Therefore, the Counts Palatine could not neglect the use of the richest and most prestigious pictorial medium of the time and the preferred means of princely propaganda to further promote their family reputation. Unlike

most of their German peers, they had begun to summon master weavers to work in Heidelberg in the 1430s.² This explains the enthusiasm with which the size and the richness of the Palatine tapestry collection were praised by Antoine de Lalaing, count of Hoogstraten and Culemborg, chamberlain to the court of Duke Philip the Handsome, the son of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. De Lalaing was thus very well acquainted with the current standards of Burgundian court culture, against which all other forms of princely display were measured. On the occasion of the duke's visit to the Palatinate to meet with Elector Philip in the fall of 1503, de Lalaing acknowledged in his diary that Heidelberg Castle and its furnishings completely matched the requirements of splendor, even royal splendor, a judgment based primarily on the fact that he found all apartments and halls lavishly hung with expensive tapestries.³ During the first half of the sixteenth century, the Counts Palatine kept buying complete tapestry sets of biblical and mythological stories directly from the Netherlands. The acquisitions of Electors Frederick II and Otto Henry, both great admirers and passionate collectors of every kind of woven splendor, added considerably to what their predecessors had brought together since the reign of King Rupert I at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁴

The collection was further augmented when, in the early 1560s, Elector Frederick III succeeded in encouraging refugees from religious persecution in the southern Netherlands to settle in Frankenthal, a small town halfway between Heidelberg and Worms.⁵ Among them came numbers of artists and craftsmen: famous painters such as Gillis van Coninxloo and Pieter Schoubroeck, goldsmiths, jewelers, and tapestry weavers, most of the last coming

directly from Oudenaarde or having close ties to that city. Those weavers quickly installed new workshops in Frankenthal, which for about half a century made the town the most important center of tapestry production in Germany.⁶ Under the guidance of master weaver Paulus Rubentz, these local workshops were soon, and at an increasing rate, able to supply the Heidelberg court with new, high-quality tapestries.⁷ In an inventory of 1584, there are listed almost 450 figurative wall hangings, 263 of which are explicitly described as *tapetzerey* (tapestries) and 183 called *Rücktücher* (dossals).⁸ It is a fair guess that thirty years later, in 1613, when Frederick V took his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, to Heidelberg,⁹ the tapestry stock of the Counts Palatine well exceeded 500 pieces.

To satisfy his indulged wife's expectations, to enable her to continue the royal lifestyle to which she was accustomed,¹⁰

the young Pfalzgrave accommodated his beloved "Englisch cleinod und Perlein" (English jewel and pearl) in a newly erected palace, the "Englische Bau," which included a spectacular theater and ballroom on top of the "Dicker Turm" (giant tower), and he assigned Salomon de Caus to add an expansive terrace garden, the famous Hortus Palatinus (fig. 1).¹¹ When she arrived, Elizabeth found that the interior of Heidelberg Castle "was superb beyond description: the ceiling was painted al fresco, the walls were hung with tapestry; and a suite of ten rooms, including the knight's hall, the royal saloon, the silver chamber, and ante rooms, formed a complete Gothic palace."¹² Her own apartment was lavishly furnished; it is said that "two Rubens glowed upon her walls. Turkey carpets were strewn upon the floors of rooms hung with red and brown gilded leather. She was surrounded by

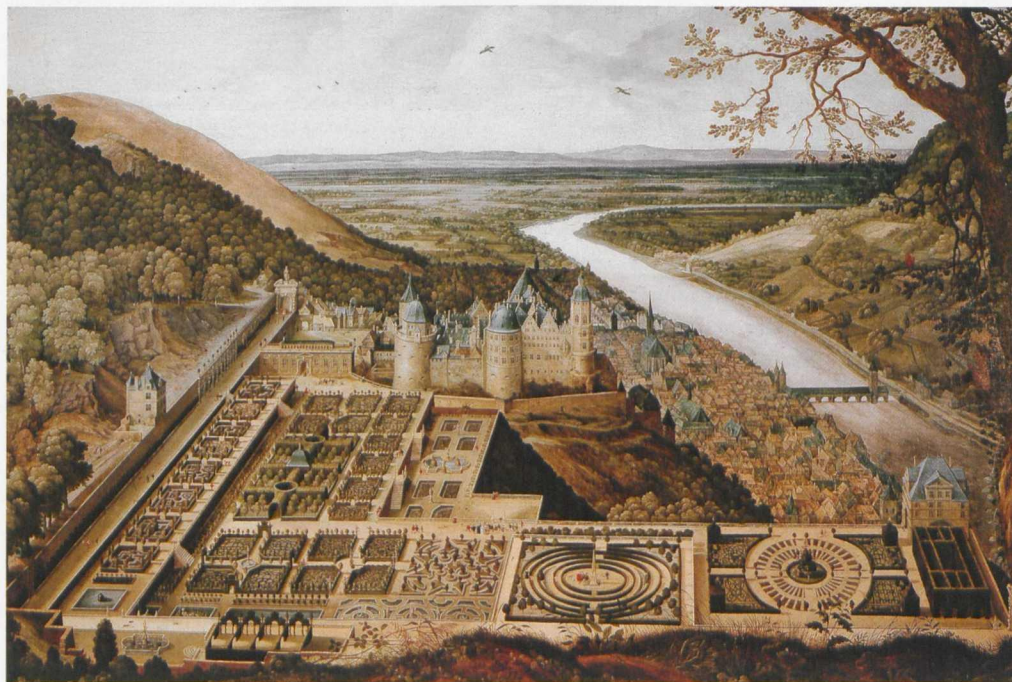


Fig. 1. Jacques Fouquières, *View of the Hortus Palatinus and Heidelberg Castle*, ca. 1620. Oil on canvas, 178.5 × 263 cm. Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg (G 1822)

wrought-iron work from Nürnberg, heavily carved furniture covered with velvets and silks or elaborately inlaid and many exquisite *bibelots* of ivory and goldsmith's work. Her table was adorned with massive silver plate and Munich and Bohemian glass. . . . The figures in the tapestries and on the plate and furniture were not like those displayed in her father's palaces."¹³ Those were the happy, lighthearted days of a dawning new golden age, when art, literature, music, and science flourished in Heidelberg,¹⁴ which unfortunately did not last even for a decade. Frederick's finally agreeing to accept the crown of Bohemia in 1618 led straight into the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. It was during this short period of lavish extravagance that the Heidelberg tapestry collection reached its peak. At this time, too, our story begins but with a prologue, staged in London on Saint Valentine's Day, Sunday, February 14, 1613: the wedding day of Frederick and Elizabeth.

THE PALATINE WEDDING OF 1613

The marriage of the handsome Frederick V, future elector of the Rhine and presumed leader of the Protestant Union, and Elizabeth Stuart, the beautiful daughter of King James I of England and Ireland (James VI of Scotland), in London in 1613, was a spectacular event,¹⁵ and it was treated as such by the press. Publishing houses immediately covered the story in great detail, spreading it across all Europe in several languages, just the way the international networks would do today.¹⁶ To scholars of cultural history, these texts together with their illustrations offer an almost inexhaustible body of information about early seventeenth-century princely life and court ceremonies. To art historians interested primarily in paintings and sculpture, however, the reports are a bit of a disappointment because even the famous examples that once decorated the palaces and chapels went unmentioned on in these accounts. If, on the other hand, we shift our attention to the alternative pictorial medium that at the time actually mat-

tered most—tapestry—the texts become more satisfactory.

In public opinion today, tapestry qualifies as a minor or an applied art, inferior in status to the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, an attitude that is out of step with the opinions prevailing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To better understand the phenomenon, it is necessary to look at sociohistorical, artistic, and cultural developments of the period. In the first place, tapestries were not hung for art's sake, not even if they were designed by famous artists and woven in top-quality workshops. Instead, they were symbols of power and wealth, of the most virtuous princely *magnificenza*, as well as a means of education and, as will be argued here, as sophisticated statecraft and shrewd diplomacy.¹⁷ For centuries, tapestries were considered to be the most cherished possessions of the nobility. They represented the richest and most prestigious pictorial medium of the time, and consequently they developed into the artifacts most fit to exemplify the prevailing princely self-images. Therefore, the display of carefully chosen narrative sets was a serious and well-planned visual statement by their owners, a strong and widely recognized act of selective propaganda that had to be taken seriously by the audiences. In fact, it is precisely because of their generally acknowledged public character that the chroniclers of the Palatine wedding told their readers about the tapestry decorations.

It goes without saying that such a noteworthy royal ceremony required the use of a vast number of tapestries to embellish both the private lodgings and the official sites related to the event.¹⁸ Right from the start, when Frederick paid an informal call on Elizabeth the day after his arrival and reception in London, the princess and her parents received him at Whitehall Palace, where Elizabeth's "apartments had been remodeled in honour of his coming, and hung with fresh tapestries of the history of Abel" especially for the occasion.¹⁹ On February 7, 1613, the day of Frederick's investi-



Fig. 2. Gerrit van Honthorst, *Frederick V as King of Bohemia*, 1634. Oil on canvas, 212 × 143 cm. Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg (L 156)



Fig. 3. Gerrit van Honthorst, *Elizabeth Stuart as Queen of Bohemia*, 1634. Oil on canvas, 212 × 143 cm. Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg (L 157)

ture in the Order of the Garter, Elizabeth took up residence at Saint James's Palace in the apartments last occupied by her brother the late Prince Henry Frederick, which were also fitted with tapestries especially for her.²⁰ For the wedding, Whitehall Chapel was decorated with at least two, possibly three, pieces from the famous *Acts of the Apostle* tapestries,²¹ a series originally designed by Raphael in 1515 for Pope Leo X for the Sistine Chapel. The full-size cartoons were initially woven in Brussels, the renowned center of tapestry production,

in the workshop of the master weaver and entrepreneur Pieter van Aelst. Later the cartoons were sold, most likely to the workshop run by the Dermoyen family, although one of them was bought by a private collector from Venice and was subsequently lost.²² During the course of the sixteenth century, several more sets were woven from the Raphael cartoons—or from meticulous copies of them—in different Brussels workshops, including the set purchased by King Henry VIII of England in 1542;²³ part of this set was hung in Whitehall Chapel on

Fig. 4. *The Healing of the Lame Man* from Henry VIII's set of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Tapestry design by Raphael, woven in an unidentified Brussels workshop, ca. 1540–42. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 386 × 566 cm (after removal of outer borders). Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; present whereabouts unknown. Photograph: © J. Paul Getty Trust

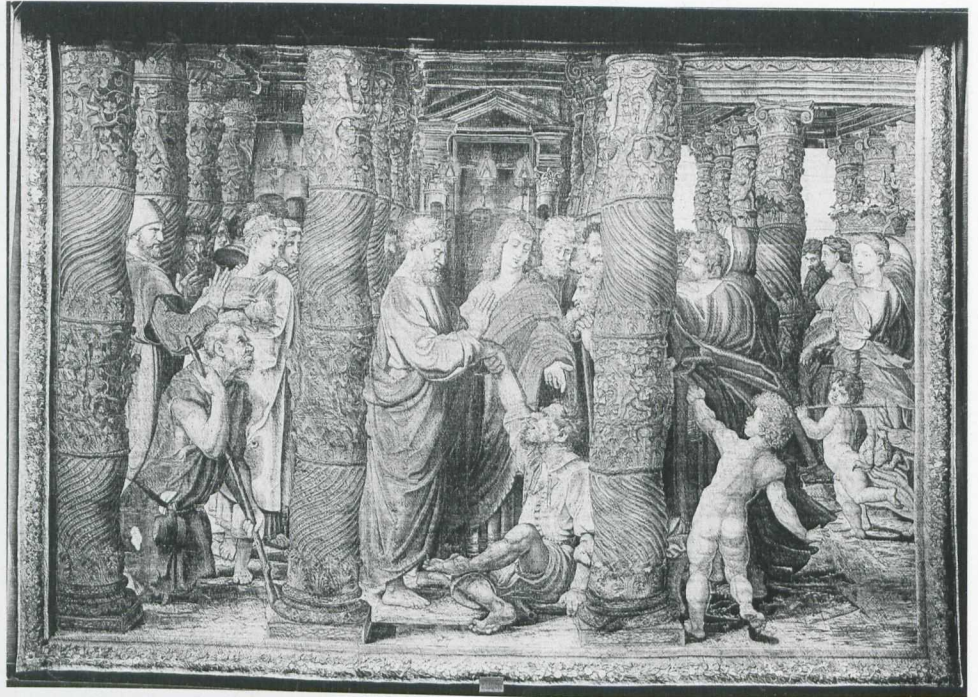


Fig. 5. *Christ's Charge to Peter* from Henry VIII's set of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Tapestry design by Raphael, woven in an unidentified Brussels workshop, ca. 1540–42. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 386 × 566 cm (after removal of outer borders). Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; present whereabouts unknown. Photograph: © J. Paul Getty Trust



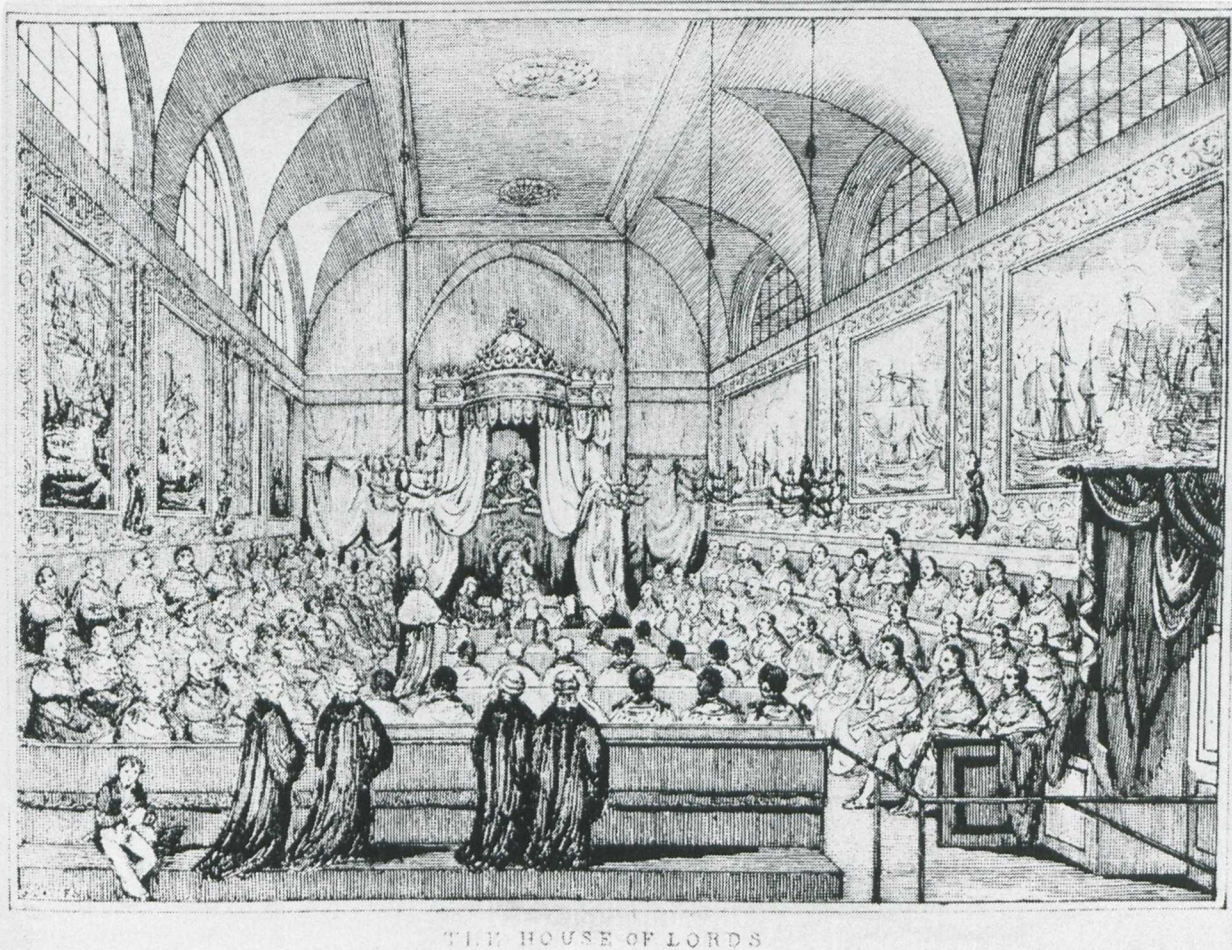


Fig. 6. G. Davis, *The House of Lords*, ca. 1830. Engraving. Photograph: after Margarita Russell, *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C. Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting* (Leiden, 1983), p. 135, fig. 120b

the day of the Palatine wedding. From the rather ambiguous description of the furnishings by an anonymous chronicler from the Palatinate, two scenes can be identified: the *Healing of the Lame Man* (fig. 4), with Saints Peter and John prominently in the center, was behind the altar; to the right was *Christ's Charge to Peter* (fig. 5), which, probably because of the flock of sheep behind Christ, was misinterpreted as the "Good Shepherd." The tapestry to the left, called the "Wedding at Cana," cannot be linked beyond doubt to any of the remaining pieces in the *Acts of the Apostles* series.²⁴

Frederick and Elizabeth probably learned even more about the clever use of figurative tapestries as means of sophisticated statecraft from the decoration of the new banqueting hall, an ephemeral structure built to host the state dinners that were part of the celebration of the betrothal as well as the wedding itself. There the throne canopy was lavishly adorned with golden tapestries, and the benches were covered with precious carpets. In addition, the master of ceremonies, Sir Lewis Lewkenor, ordered the display of a magnificent set of ten tapestries of the *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, which represented one of England's greatest victories at sea.²⁵



Fig. 7. Augustine Ryther, *Sir Francis Drake Takes de Valdez's Galleon, and the Bear and Mary Rose Pursue the Enemy*. Engraving after a chart drawing by Robert Adams, 1588, published in *A Discourse Concerning the Spanish Fleete invadinge Englande in the year 1588* (London, 1590). National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London

These highly praised tapestries did not belong to the English monarch. They were made for Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral and commander of the English naval forces against the Armada.²⁶ Queen Elizabeth I dearly admired the set, and, attending a feast at Lord Howard's residence, wished to have it, but he was unwilling to share.²⁷ The court officials who organized the wedding festivities now borrowed the *Armada* tapestries and had them taken to Whitehall Palace for the occasion. Three years later, in 1616, Lord Howard, who had fallen into adverse financial circumstances, sold the set to King James, who transferred it to the Royal

Wardrobe in the Tower of London. On behalf of Oliver Cromwell, the set was hung permanently in the House of Lords, and it was lost in the Westminster Palace fire of 1834.²⁸ The impression of the 1613 interior decoration of the improvised banqueting hall with its lavishly carpeted floor and benches, throne canopy, and the *Armada* tapestries hung closely around the walls must not have differed much from what is known of the furnishing of the House of Lords shortly before its destruction (fig. 6).

The *Armada* set illustrated with great care and accuracy the successive engagements and tactical maneuvers of the two fleets in



Fig. 8. *Sir Francis Drake Takes de Valdez's Galleon, and the Bear and Mary Rose Pursue the Enemy*. Engraving after a Delft tapestry from a set of the *Story of the Spanish Armada*, in John Pine's *The Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords . . .* (London, 1739). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1963 (63.608.1). Photograph: The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

the English Channel, from the first appearance of the Spanish ships thirty miles south-east of The Lizard in Cornwall to their defeat off the coast of Gravelines near Calais and their disastrous retreat around Scotland and Ireland and back to Spain. The tapestries were designed by the Dutch draftsman Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, who also painted the cartoons, and they were woven over a period of four years, 1592–95, in the studio of the master weaver François Spiering of Delft. They cost the enormous sum of 1,582 pounds.²⁹ The focus of Vroom's compositions was the sailing formation of the ships, which were depicted from the open sea in a panoramic view and at a scale

large enough for the inclusion of detailed events. As a guideline for his designs, Vroom received chart drawings by Robert Adams, Supervisor of the Queen's Buildings and renowned painter-cartographer, who had sailed with the English fleet and witnessed its epic victory. His records are probably the best contemporary evidence of the two fleets' sailing orders. Two years later, Adams's charts were published by Augustine Ryther to illustrate the English translation of Petruccio Ubaldini's treatise *Expeditio Hispaniorum in Angliam Vera Descriptio Anno Domini MDLXXXVIII* (fig. 7).³⁰

Thanks to John Pine's engravings in his 1739 monograph *The Tapestry Hangings of the*

House of Lords, we know the appearance of each individual tapestry in the set. Pine showed almost prophetic insight into the fate of the set in the preface to this ambitious publication when he wrote, "because Time, or Accident, or Moth may deface these valuable Shadows, we have endeavoured to preserve their likeness."³¹

Juxtaposing Pine's engraving of the tapestry *Sir Francis Drake Takes de Valdez's Galleon, and the Bear and Mary Rose Pursue the Enemy* (fig. 8) with Ryther's engraving of Adams's chart of the same episode (fig. 7), one admires the skill and ingenuity of Vroom's translation of his models into large-scale tapestry cartoons. Although faithful to Adams's minute cartographic records of the military strategies of attack and retreat, Vroom's designs succeeded magnificently in converting Adams's bird's-eye layouts into vividly descriptive panoramic scenes. Most of the charts depicted two consecutive actions on one map, and Vroom followed that pattern. Occasionally, however, he emulated coastal scenes in his cartoons, pictured the ships as observed from open shore, and added picturesque topographical details of the distant coastline along the horizon. In addition, each tapestry was surrounded by a wide decorative border containing lifesize portraits of the commanders of the English fleet, each set in a medallion inscribed with the officer's name and that of his ship; on each piece, the English coat of arms and the device DIEU ET MON DROIT hover above the battle scenes.³²

The idea of commemorating a military victory in the tapestry medium was not new, but one might wonder why the display of the *Armada* tapestries during a wedding ceremony was so important that the king would agree to borrow tapestries from the Lord High Admiral. Everybody knew that they were not the property of the crown. Further, we must remember that at the death of King Henry VIII in 1547 the stock of pictorial tapestry administered by the Royal Wardrobe contained more than 2,700

pieces, some of which had been designed explicitly to suit the size and needs of the old Banqueting Hall.³³ Although the collection may have been depleted over the past decades,³⁴ it definitely was not for a lack of choice that led to the king's borrowing of the *Armada* set. So why would the master of ceremonies, Sir Lewis Lewkenor, and his officer of assistance, Sir John Finet, have proposed to James I to pick such a martial theme to frame a happy party gathered to enjoy the king's only daughter's wedding banquet? The answer is brief: The decision to display the *Armada* tapestries resulted from the highly stylized customs of diplomacy and its common code of conduct; it was meant and understood as a means of sophisticated statecraft.

When word started to spread that Frederick and Elizabeth, both representing powerful Protestant countries, were about to marry, Spain and the Habsburgs, and behind them the pope, became allies in trying to prevent the wedding. They ordered their respective ambassadors at the English court—Don Alonso de Velasco (May 1610–August 1613) and ambassador extraordinary Don Pedro de Zúñiga (July 1612–July 1613) from Spain, and Ferdinand de Boisshot (January 1610–December 1615) from the Spanish Netherlands³⁵—to sabotage the negotiations. Surprisingly, they were supported not only by the king's favorite and privy councillor Robert Carr, but also by Queen Anne, who would rather have had Elizabeth convert to Catholicism and marry a Spanish prince than see her daughter become *Goddewife Palsgrave*, forced to live at a shabby court "without enough tapestry to cover the bare walls."³⁶

After these machinations failed, the ambassadors were not very well liked by the Protestant party supporting the match of Frederick and Elizabeth, and their participation in the wedding ceremonies probably lessened.³⁷ On the other hand, as accredited diplomatic representatives of important European states, they could not simply not be invited, so they were asked, along with

other ambassadors in London at the time—Samuel Spifame, Seigneur de Bisseaux et Passy from France;³⁸ Antonio Foscarini from Venice (July 1611–December 1615);³⁹ and Noel Caron from the States-General⁴⁰—to join the party at Whitehall on two consecutive days. In the new banqueting hall, the ambassadors had to sit together in a special loge closest to the royal couple and therefore right underneath the *Armada* tapestries. There is no doubt that everybody who experienced the feasting in this environment laden with meaning, Protestants and Catholics alike, clearly understood the underlying message of the Palatine wedding: the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth was not only an affair of personal affection, it also confirmed the alliance of two powerful Protestant states as part of a political strategy meant to secure the supremacy of the Protestant cause in central and northern Europe, of which at the time the defeat of the Spanish Armada had become the most proudly cherished turning point in history.

Since neither Don Velasco nor de Boïschot was keen to confess to his sovereign that he had participated in an official royal event at which the most shameful and disgraceful defeat of his home country and its ruling family was celebrated in such a prominent way, both stayed home voluntarily. The Spanish ambassador excused himself because of sudden illness, a tactic that had worked for him before. But word spread early that “the Spanish was, or would be sick,” and that the ambassador of Archduke Albert of Austria, who governed the southern Netherlands,⁴¹ had also made a “sullen excuse.”⁴² To Sir John Finet, the apparently furious de Boïschot produced a rather strange and embarrassing excuse: that he, being ambassador of a sovereign monarch—which, by the way, was not true—would not accept that the representative of Venice, “a meane Republique, governed by a sort of Burghers, who had but an handfull of Territory,” had also been asked to the festivities.⁴³ This was not a very compelling argument, but rather an obvious pretext not

fit to fool anybody. Everybody at court immediately recognized this shallow excuse to be sheer rhetoric. Indeed the ambassadors of the doge of Venice were always very well received and respected at every princely court in Europe and beyond, and that included Habsburg territories such as Spain, Austria, and the southern Netherlands.⁴⁴ One could even say that the demeanor of the Venetian ambassadors belonged among the most splendid performances at any stately court ceremony. Evidently, the subliminal message of the *Armada* tapestries lent for the Palatine wedding was well understood by its first and foremost addressees, Don Alonso de Velasco and Ferdinand de Boïschot, and acted on properly by their absence. As a result, appearances were formally kept up and both sides saved face, avoiding all serious misunderstandings that might easily have ended in a diplomatic disaster.

FREDERICK V AND ELIZABETH STUART AS COLLECTORS OF TAPESTRIES

With Frederick and Elizabeth, the prospects of increasing the tapestry collection of the Counts Palatine were most favorable. Designated among the entourage to accompany the princess to her new home in Heidelberg were two “Bett- und Tapetzerey verwalter” (bed and tapestry curators) as well as “zwey diener so Tapetzerey uffhengen” (two valets specializing in the hanging of tapestries).⁴⁵ There was no shortage of work for these specialists, given that on the occasion of Elizabeth’s wedding, the Dutch States-General had lavishly bestowed her with tapestries from the workshop of François Spiering of Delft: a ten-piece set of the *Deeds of Scipio* (see Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis, “Mannerist, Baroque, and Classicist,” fig. 2)⁴⁶ and a six-piece set of the *Story of Diana* (fig. 9). The designs for the *Deeds of Scipio* are attributed to Karel van Mander II. The *Diana* set is most likely to be identified with the editio princeps of Spiering’s so-called small *Diana* series, which might have been designed by David Vinckboons.⁴⁷

These tapestries were soon augmented by a set of ten panels of the *Story of Samson* that Frederick purchased from Dutch dealers who had come to the Palatinate: Daniel Steurbout, who had relatives in Frankenthal,⁴⁸ and Bartolommeo Balbani,⁴⁹ both from Antwerp. It turned out that they had deceived the elector by overstating the quality and inflating the price.⁵⁰ The *Story of Samson* set was one of several reeditions (see Nello Forti Grazzini, "On the Tapestries in Seventeenth-Century Milan," fig. 1) of a series first woven in 1610 by the master weaver Jan Raes II in Brussels for Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V. The cartoons had been commissioned a half century earlier by Henry II of France but were left unfinished when the king died in 1559. They remained in Brussels until the early seventeenth century, when they came to the attention of the papal nuncio Guido Bentivoglio, who was acting as Cardinal Borghese's agent in Flanders and brokered the deal.⁵¹ Steurbout and Balbani had bought their set from Frans Sweerts in Antwerp, a frequent business partner of the Raes family workshop, and they later resold it to Frederick V. This set matched in height and quality the *Story of Samson* tapestries now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (figs. 10, 11).⁵²

To maintain their growing inventory, in 1616 Frederick and Elizabeth named the master weaver Justus Fankans (Josse van Kaens), from nearby Frankenthal, to be *tapissier de cour* at Heidelberg,⁵³ and three years later one Pierre Bonjour assumed the same position, similarly holding the post of court tailor, which also put him in charge of the administration and preservation of the tapestry stock in the Tapezerey-Gewölb.⁵⁴

The prince and princess shared a great personal interest in tapestries and their use as meaningful room decorations.⁵⁵ We can infer this from letters that Frederick wrote to his wife when he traveled without her, to keep her informed about his trips and related occurrences. For example, in 1620,

when he was visiting the Grand Marshal of Bohemia, Baronet Bertold Bohobud of Leipa (Česká Lípa), he reported how richly his host's palace was decorated with tapestries: "I visited the house of the Baron of Leipa, which is certainly very beautiful with a good number of tapestries, and none more beautiful. I can truly say that except for Heidelberg and Munich I know of few houses that have so many."⁵⁶ From Wolfenbüttel, Frederick wrote dully to his wife, that Duke Friedrich Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel possessed fine paintings but no tapestries at all,⁵⁷ an odd observation since his host's ancestors had long ago established at their court a professional workshop run by Flemish master weavers that was still operating under the direction of Boldewin of Brussels during the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸

A particular highlight in the history of the electoral tapestry collection is indicated by two letters sent to Heidelberg by Frans Sweerts in the summer of 1618. In them Sweerts requested that his personal friend Jan Gruter, the learned librarian of the Bibliotheca Palatina, assist him in his efforts to broker tapestries for the elector.⁵⁹ Sweerts was in possession of tempting pieces, among them reweavings of a new series designed by Peter Paul Rubens, the *Story of Decius Mus*, as well as yet another reedition of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*.⁶⁰ While we do not know whether Frederick and Elizabeth were interested in Sweerts's offer, it is certain that no such transaction was ever carried out. The troubles rising from the gathering storm of the Thirty Years' War were to alter substantially and permanently the young elector's pre-occupations.

When Frederick was proclaimed king by the Protestant estates of Bohemia in 1619, the court relocated from Heidelberg to Prague. The new royal status was memorialized by a rectangular armorial tapestry and two table carpets, on both of which the Palatine and Bohemian coats of arms were combined with the Order of the Garter,⁶¹



Fig. 9. *The Story of Diana and Callisto* from the so-called small set of the *Story of Diana*. Tapestry design attributed to David Vinckboons, woven in the workshop of François Spiering, Delft, ca. 1613–20. Wool and silk, 260 × 390 cm. Present whereabouts unknown. Photograph: after sale cat., Sotheby's, Amsterdam, December 3, 2002, no. 12

which King James I had bestowed personally on his son-in-law. When Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown, he led his country straight into the Thirty Years' War. After his troops lost the decisive Battle at White Mountain in 1620, the unfortunate Winter King and his family had to leave Prague and flee to exile in the Netherlands, where his uncle Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, was the stadtholder.⁶² At first, the couple, now royal but nearly broke, lived in a town house in The Hague called the Wasenaer Hof, and later they moved during the summers to a small, newly built castle at Rhenen on the river Rhine.⁶³ To decorate these lodgings with at least some degree of

dignity, they had sent from Heidelberg the most valuable tapestry sets of the Palatine collection—valuable in the sense both of monetary worth and of historical and emotional significance because of their subjects, which were taken from the history of the ruling Wittelsbach family.⁶⁴ The tapestries that remained in Heidelberg were completely lost in the ensuing three decades of wartime chaos. The latest biographical account of a Heidelberg tapestry weaver from this period deals with the *tapissier de cour*: soon after the capital of the Palatinate was conquered by Imperial and Bavarian troops in 1622, Justus Fankans returned to Frankenthal.⁶⁵

Fig. 10. *Samson Offers Honey to His Parents* from a set of the *Story of Samson*. Tapestry design by Gillisz Mechelaon, woven in the workshop of Jan Raes, Brussels, ca. 1625. Wool and silk, 396.2 × 467 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art (1945-82-1)

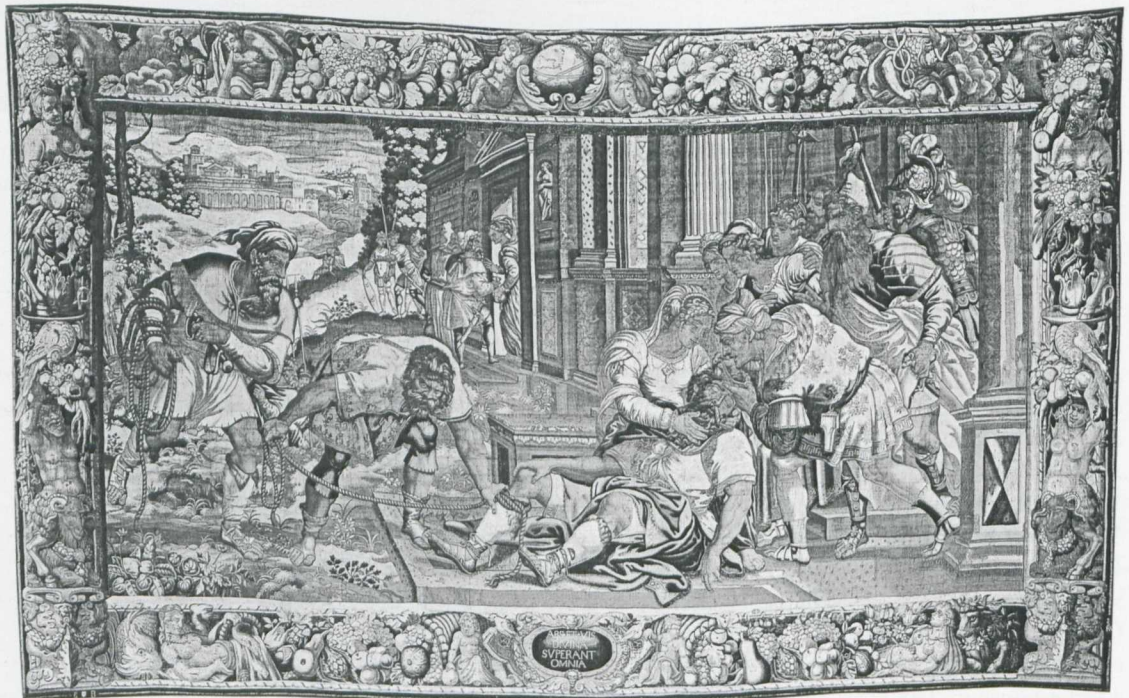


Fig. 11. *Delilah Cutting Samson's Hair* from a set of the *Story of Samson*. Tapestry design by Gillisz Mechelaon, woven in the workshop of Jan Raes, Brussels, ca. 1625. Wool and silk, 396.2 × 670.6 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Clifford Lewis Jr. (1946-81-1). Photograph: Rich Echelmeyer

Yet neither financial hardship nor the tribulations that inevitably arose from exile could prevent the Winter King and Queen from the purchase of new tapestries on a large scale. The painter and master weaver Karel van Mander II, who, together with his knighted partner Nicolaas Snouckaert von Schraplau, had run a tapestry workshop in the former Saint Anna monastery in Delft since 1615, died in February 1623. Probably soon thereafter, Frederick V bought a set of cartoons of the *Story of Alexander the Great* from Van Mander's estate for the sum of 2,000 guilders. The set consisted of nine pieces adding up to a total of more than 190 square ells for the main narrative scenes and another 67½ square ells for two different designs for the borders; it had already been used four times as a weaving model.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the *Alexander* series turned out to be a classic shelf warmer, and when, in 1624, the firm was finally taken over by the Spiering family, they found three complete sets still unsold.⁶⁷ Today Van Mander's *Alexander* tapestries are best known from a complete set of nine signed pieces woven between 1617 and 1619 that once hung in the Villa San Donato, near Florence, as part of the collection of Prince Anatole Demidoff until it was auctioned in 1880 and subsequently spread among various museums and institutions in Europe and the United States.⁶⁸ We do not know why Frederick preferred acquiring the cartoons rather than the already finished and easily available tapestries from the Van Mander workshop, especially since he evidently never presented them to any other weaver for execution.

In addition, there was a very rich canopy draped over a bedstead, which Frederick presented as a gift to his uncle the stadtholder.⁶⁹ On special occasions, the alliance between the two princes, both leaders of major Protestant states, was further displayed by the use of two table carpets that showed the coats of arms of both families.⁷⁰ An anonymous dealer from Leiden delivered a six-piece set of the *Story of Joseph* for the substantial sum of 8,000 talers, which

embellished the rooms of Rhenen Castle in 1633.⁷¹ And even after Frederick's premature death in 1632, when the family's already precarious financial situation deteriorated further, Elizabeth continued to buy tapestries. At least three expensive sets, which in 1661 qualified as "newe tapezerey," most likely were recent acquisitions and should therefore be associated with the patronage of the Winter Queen: nine hangings portrayed landscapes with hunting scenes,⁷² a set of eight represented the *Story of Tobias*,⁷³ and an eight-piece set of the *Story of Cleopatra* hung in Elizabeth's private dining room (fig. 12).⁷⁴ The last was bought in The Hague, likely from Pieter de Cracht, a tapestry dealer from Amsterdam, who ran workshops in Gouda and nearby Schoonhoven. In 1646 De Cracht had taken over the tapestry workshop that belonged to his father-in-law, Jacques Nauwincx, who long had owned the cartoons of the *Cleopatra* series. But it was again Karel van Mander II, who had initiated the design of the set to be woven in his own studio in Delft; yet the project failed because of Karel's death in 1623. His cartoons passed into the ownership of the Spiering workshop, where they were adapted by an unknown painter, who extended the series to a total of eight pieces. In 1631 the whole set of cartoons was owned by the Nauwincx studio, whence, shortly after 1645, Pieter de Cracht started to produce the *Cleopatra* series not only for the Winter Queen but also for many other customers.⁷⁵

RAPHAEL'S ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND RUBENS'S STORY OF DECIUS MUS: AN OFFER ONE COULD NOT REFUSE?

To date, more than fifty individual tapestries can be identified in the Palatine inventories and linked beyond doubt to acquisitions made by Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart. However, even though the purchase of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* and Rubens's *Story of Decius Mus* never materialized, the 1618 offer by Frans Sweerts to deliver to Heidelberg complete sets of those

tapestries marks the zenith of the history of the Palatine tapestry collection. Praise for Raphael's series was boundless at the time, particularly at the English court. For the poet Henry Peacham, who had had a great affection for painting and the arts since he was a young boy,⁷⁶ the *Acts of the Apostles* set that was purchased by Henry VIII and hung in Whitehall Palace was the work most likely to ensure the fame of that artist for eternity: "The fame of *Raphael Urbine* at this time [1518] was so great, that he was sought for and employed by the greatest Princes of *Europe*, as namely, the Popes, *Adrian* and *Leo*: *Francis* the first, King of *France*: *Henry* the eight, King of *England*; the Dukes of *Florence*, *Urbine*, *Mantua*, and divers others. Those stately hangings of Arras, containing the *Histoire* of *Saint Paul* out of the *Acts* (than which, eye never beheld more absolute Art, and which long since you might have seen in the banquetting house at White-hall) were wholly of his invention, bought (if I be not deceived) by King *Henry* the eight of the State of *Venice*, where *Raphaell Urbine* died; I have no certainty: but sure I am, his memory and immortall Fame are like to live in the world for ever."⁷⁷

Sweerts's letters to Jan Gruter concerning the *Acts* and *Decius Mus* sets are also of interest as sources of factual material concerning tapestry production. First, Sweerts, in uncovering the swindlers Steurbout and Balbani, who had sold the *Samson* tapestries to the elector, revealed the pricing system of the Antwerp tapestry merchants:⁷⁸ one square ell, roughly 70 by 70 centimeters, could be woven for 18, 20, or 24 guilders, depending on the quality of the weaving and the materials used. At the end of Sweerts's second letter, there is an extraordinary detail. He wrote of a set of some "gouwden tapissereyen" (golden tapestries) that Archduke Albert of Austria had recently bestowed on Archbishop Johann Schweikhard von Kronberg, the elector of Mainz, neighboring the Palatinate. If Fred-

erick wished to draw level, and Sweerts of course hoped he would, the dealer would be happy to deliver exactly the same high quality for the breathtaking price of 66 guilders per square ell.⁷⁹

Second, and more important, Sweerts claimed that he owned the cartoons of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* series: "Ick heb tot Brussel eenen patroon de Actis Apostolorum geschildert van Raphaël Urbin." It is hard to decide whether he was referring to the original cartoons or to copies that had been used in the production of various later editions of the set. The phrasing, "geschildert" (painted) by Raphael of Urbino, should probably not be taken literally. In 1573, the original cartoons were described in a letter written to Cardinal Granvelle, archbishop of Mechelen and adviser to the Spanish Crown, as still in Brussels but as far too damaged to be used any longer for weaving. Leaving Sweerts's letter aside, the next documentary evidence reveals that in 1623 the cartoons were in Genoa, probably in the possession of the nobleman Andrea Imperiale,⁸⁰ and were sold to Prince Charles, the younger brother of Elizabeth Stuart, to be further used in the newly founded Royal Tapestry Manufactory at Mortlake.⁸¹ Interestingly, in the very same letter of July 18, 1618, Sweerts reported back to Gruter about his intention to sell the first two editions of Rubens's *Decius Mus* tapestries to customers in Genoa.⁸²

The agreement for the weaving of the *Decius Mus* series was drawn up in Antwerp in November 1616 by Frans Sweerts and Jan Raes II on the one hand, and Franco Cattaneo, a merchant from Genoa, on the other. The contract covered the making of two sets of tapestries representing the "History of the Roman Consul Decius Mus," who voluntarily lay down his life for the sake of his troops and his home country.⁸³ The theme, borrowed from the Roman historian Livy and interpreted by Rubens as an exemplary act of patriotism,⁸⁴ was not a common one in art. But when Sweerts first

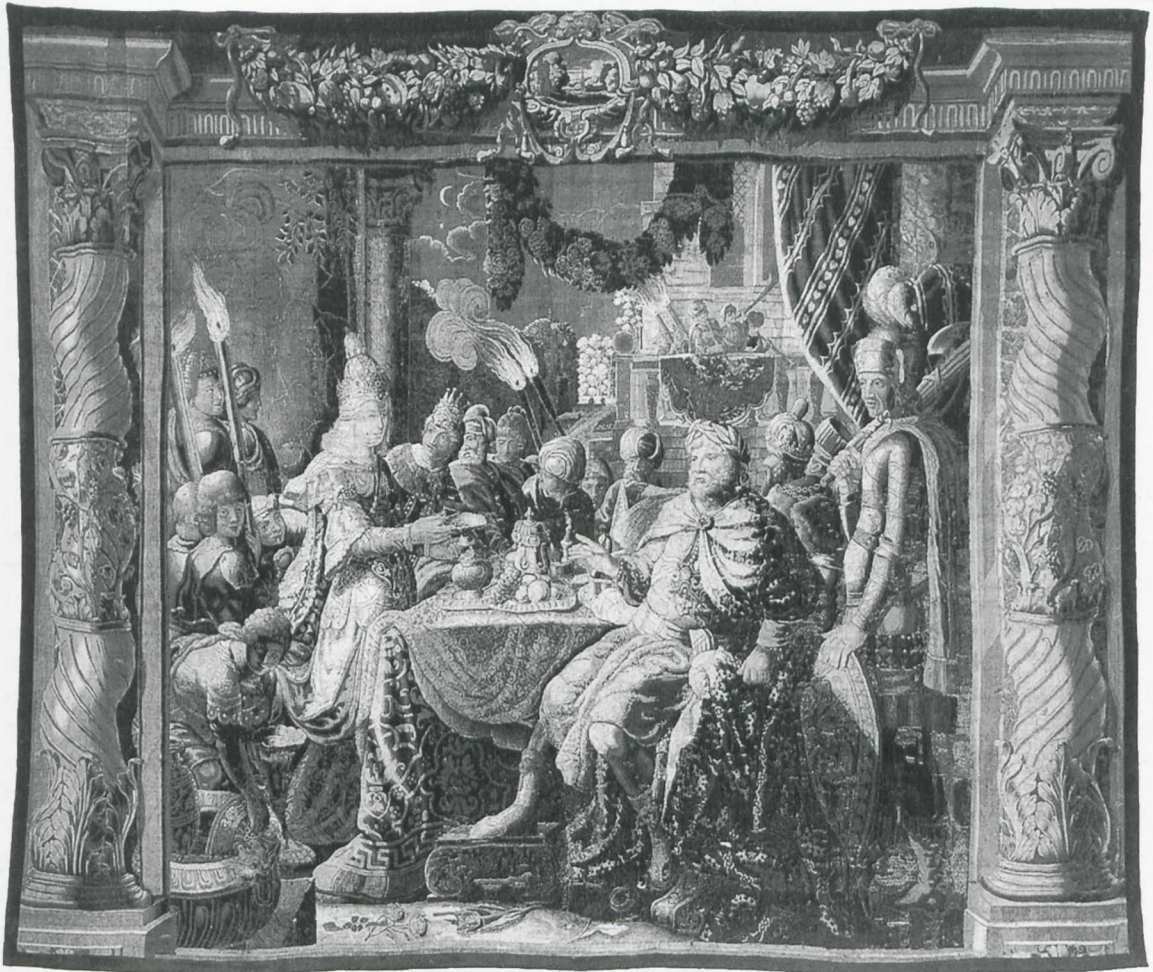


Fig. 12. *The Banquet of Cleopatra* from a set of the *Story of Cleopatra*. Tapestry cartoon by an unidentified 17th-century Flemish artist after a design by Karel van Mander II, woven in the workshop of Jacques Nauwincx or Pieter de Cracht, Gouda or Schoonhoven, ca. 1625–50. Wool and silk, 351 × 434 cm. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

took the initiative for having it designed, he might well have been inspired by his friend Gruter, who recently had published a critical edition of Livy.⁸⁵ The *Decius Mus* cycle marks Rubens's successful debut into tapestry design. The preparatory work lasted for almost two years but finally resulted in eight monumental cartoons, all painted exquisitely in oil on fine canvas by the artist and his workshop: six models for big hangings with

scenic episodes of the narrative action and two *entrefenêtres*. The cartoons would later become one of the greatest glories of the Princely Collections of Liechtenstein.⁸⁶

One might ask whether it is so unlikely an assumption that Sweerts could have sold the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons along with sets of Rubens's *Decius Mus* to his Genoese customers as part of the same deal. If he had done so, it would have meant that his

statement given to Gruter was correct and that he did indeed own the originals of the *Acts* cartoons in 1618. This is an issue not of mere academic interest but of major significance, especially for its consequences concerning the oeuvre of Rubens. Jeremy Wood has recently sketched the benefits to our understanding of Rubens's stylistic development as a draftsman if he had had the opportunity to study Raphael's original cartoons in Brussels before 1600 and before his own travels in Italy.⁸⁷

Whatever the eventual results of this unexplored area might be, in retrospect the fact that neither Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* nor Rubens's *Decius Mus* tapestries became part of the Palatine collection is sadly felt as a great opportunity lost.

TROUBLED FINALE

After the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, which ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648,

Charles Louis, the eldest surviving son of the Winter King and Queen and heir of the electorate of the Rhine, finally returned to Heidelberg from The Hague. He took with him the major portion of what was left of his ancestors' exiled tapestry collection, along with many paintings, the library, the renowned collection of antique coins and medals, and part of the Kunst- und Wunderkammer. The first shipment was sent to Frankfurt in September 1649.⁸⁸ A perfectly preserved shipping note reveals the meticulous accuracy with which the transport was planned (fig. 13). Eleven huge chests were packed with textile furnishings (see appendix): eight with tapestry, two with throne and bed canopies, and one with "türckische täppich" (Turkish tapestries), a term that in the inventories of the Palatine collection refers to technique rather than to provenance. It was usually applied not to Oriental rugs but to all sorts of knotted

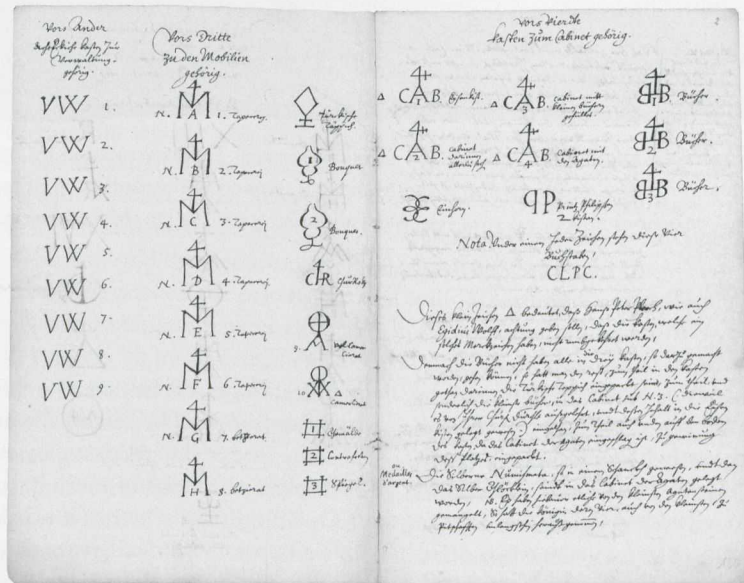


Fig. 13. Shipping note concerning the first transport of tapestries and other household stuff of the Elector Palatine Charles Louis from The Hague to Frankfurt in September 1649. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Abt. III, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Schatzakten, S 601, fols. 135v–136r

hangings, carpets, and tablecloths. Yet, as a result of the Palatine War of Succession in 1693, most of these pieces would be destroyed, pillaged, or simply sold at an improvised auction by the trustees of the French king Louis XIV before the turn of the century.⁸⁹ The loss of the collection is almost complete. Today only about twenty pieces exist that can be traced back to the once great Palatine collection, that is, less than 4 percent of the hangings listed in the preserved inventories.

For her part, Elizabeth, even though she had to fight hard with her son Charles Louis over this issue, held back more than 140 individual tapestries in the Wassenaer Hof in The Hague and in Rhenen Castle to meet her representational needs as a queen.⁹⁰ In the letters to her son, who urged her to send these tapestries to Heidelberg as well, the Winter Queen stated very clearly that she would not back off.⁹¹ When Elizabeth gave a ten-piece set of the *Story of Abraham* as a wedding present to one of her younger sons, Prince Edward, who converted to Catholicism and married Anna Gonzaga, Charles Louis sullenly complained about his mother's depriving him of his rightful heritage.⁹² Indeed, his anger seemed justified by the fact that the *Abraham* set, a reweaving of the famous series originally designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst and woven in the workshop of Willem de Kempeneer on behalf of King Henry VIII,⁹³ had been purchased shortly after 1556 by Elector Otto Henry to decorate his new palace at Heidelberg Castle. In his will, Otto Henry specified explicitly that all tapestries acquired during his reign were to be part of the inalienable assets of the electorate in perpetuity.⁹⁴ Therefore, Elizabeth had no right to give away the *Abraham* set. The queen's response was to accuse the new elector of stinginess, arguing that he would make a fool of himself if anybody realized how poorly he treated his mother.⁹⁵ A second attempt by Charles Louis to recover tapestries was more successful: in 1655 Elizabeth agreed to send five "suits of hangings" and

some paintings to Heidelberg.⁹⁶ In the end, however, the Winter Queen's headstrong persistence prevailed. She had "her" tapestries sent to London to furnish Exeter House, where she was to reside after her return to England in 1661.⁹⁷ Among them were all the sets that she had acquired personally during exile and also the *Story of Scipio* set, the prestigious wedding present that she and her husband had received from the States-General in 1613.⁹⁸ To her son she explained haughtily, "If I had as much meanes to buy hangings as my Lo[rd] Crauen has, I shoulde not haue bene so rigorous as to take what is my right."⁹⁹ Obviously, even toward the end of her life, the ever status-conscious Queen of Bohemia was still keen on buying expensive tapestries of the highest quality, even though she could no longer afford them. William Craven was long a friend of Frederick and Elizabeth, and he remained a staunch supporter of the Palatine cause throughout his life. When King Charles II failed to provide an adequate residence for the queen of Bohemia after her arrival in London, Elizabeth lived in Craven's house in Drury Lane.¹⁰⁰

The following year, Elizabeth died in the arms of her son Prince Rupert the Cavalier, who inherited the precious tapestries as part of his mother's bequeathed "Meubles."¹⁰¹ After Rupert's death in 1682, they were owned by his mistress Margaret Hughes,¹⁰² a renowned stage beauty, who vies with Anne Marshall over the privilege of being the first woman to perform publicly on stage in the role of Desdemona in William Shakespeare's play *Othello*.¹⁰³ Prince Rupert and the actress had an illegitimate daughter, Ruperta, born in 1671, who later married Lieutenant General Emanuel Scrope Howe. In the end, it was from their household that what was left of Ruperta's royal grandmother's inheritance irretrievably vanished.¹⁰⁴

To date, not a single tapestry of the Winter King and Queen's collection has surfaced again.

Many friends and colleagues have provided insight and thoughtful comment throughout the genesis of this article. I must begin by thanking Wolfgang Metzger and Karin Zimmermann (Heidelberg), who alerted me to the letters of Frans Sweerts in the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, while Krista De Jonge (Leuven), Harald Drös (Heidelberg), and Daniel Lievois (Ghent) shared in the difficulty of their accurate transcription and interpretation. Maureen M. Meikle (Sunderland) kindly provided the information about the tapestries from the Royal Scottish Wardrobe at Dunfermline and Linlithgow. Further I am grateful to Guy Delmarcel and Koenraad Brosens (Leuven), Tom Campbell and Elizabeth Cleland (New York), Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis (Amsterdam), Wendy Hefford (London), Jean Vittet (Paris), and Dean Walker (Philadelphia) for their generosity in sharing their knowledge and experience in tapestry research and conservation.

1. Hanns Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der ehemaligen Sammlung der Pfälzer Kurfürsten," in *Tapisserien: Wandteppiche aus den staatlichen Schlössern Baden-Württembergs*, Schätze aus unseren Schlössern 6, ed. Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg / Landesmedienzentrum Baden-Württemberg (Weinheim, 2002), pp. 98–103.
2. Friedrich Schneider, "Bildwirkerei zu Heidelberg im 15. Jahrhundert," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, n.s. 44 (1877), cols. 13–14.; Karl Christ, "Bildwirkerei zu Heidelberg im 15. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 32 (1880), pp. 325–30; Christina Cantzler, *Bildteppiche der Spätgotik am Mittelrhein 1400–1550* (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 162–82; Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700," p. 98.
3. De Lalaing reported that Heidelberg Castle had "quatre corps de maisons, ouvrées de pierres de taille et couvertes d'ardoises. Chacune maison polroit loger ung roy, et est chacune furnie de bonnes tapisseries, de lits de parment, et de tout ce qui duit à servir ung grand prince"; Maximilian Huffschmid, "Zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses," *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz* 3 (1898), pp. 81–82; Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700," p. 99.
4. Annelise Stemper, "Die Wandteppiche," in Georg Poensgen, ed., *Ottheinrich: Gedenkschrift zur vierhundertjährigen Wiederkehr seiner Kurfürstenzeit in der Pfalz 1556–1559* (Heidelberg, 1956), pp. 141–71; Rotraud Bauer, "Flämische Teppichweber im deutschsprachigen Raum," in Guy Delmarcel, ed., *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Mechelen, October 2–3, 2000 (Louvain, 2002), p. 85; Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700," pp. 99–101; Hanns Hubach, ". . . mit golt, silber und seyð kostlichst, erhaben, feyn unnd lustig gmacht": Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und die Bildteppichproduktion in Neuburg 1539–1544/45," in Suzanne Bäumler, Evamaria Brockhoff, and Michael Henker, eds., *Von Kaisers Gnaden: 500 Jahre Pfalz-Neuburg*, Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur 50/2005, exh. cat., Schloss Neuburg (Augsburg, 2005), pp. 174–78.
5. The cultural development of Frankenthal as a whole is best addressed in Edgar J. Hürkey, ed., *Kunst—Kommerz—Glaubenskampf: Frankenthal um 1600*, exh. cat., Erkenbert-Museum Frankenthal (Worms, 1995).
6. Johann Kraus, "Die Wandteppich-Fabrikation in Frankenthal im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Monatschrift des Frankenthaler Altertumsvereins* 16 (1908), pt. 4 pp. 13–14, pt. 5 p. 21, pt. 6 pp. 25–26, pt. 8 pp. 33–34, pt. 9–10 pp. 37–38, pt. 11–12 pp. 45–46; Ernst Merkel, "Maler und Teppichmacher in Frankenthal," *Frankenthal einst und jetzt*, 1977, pp. 47–50; Erik Duverger, "Bildwirkerei in Oudenaarde und Frankenthal," in Hürkey, ed., *Kunst—Kommerz—Glaubenskampf*, pp. 86–96.; Bauer, "Flämische Teppichweber im deutschsprachigen Raum," pp. 83–84.
7. Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700," p. 101.
8. See Hans Rott, "Ott Heinrich und die Kunst," *Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses* 5 (1905), pp. 204–6, no. 9b.
9. For biographies of Frederick and Elizabeth, see, among others, Jessica Gorst-Williams, *Elizabeth the Winter Queen* (London, 1977); Josephine Ross, *The Winter Queen: The Story of Elizabeth Stuart* (New York, 1979); Lili Fehrle-Burger, *Königliche Frauenschicksale zwischen England und Kurpfalz* (Heidelberg, 1997); Carola Oman, *The Winter Queen: Elizabeth of Bohemia* (London, 1938; rev. ed., London, 2000); Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot, Burlington, 2003); Peter Wolf et al., eds., *Der Winterkönig: Friedrich von der Pfalz; Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, exh. cat., Stadtmuseum Amberg; Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Augsburg (Stuttgart, 2003); Peter Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen: Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz—der Winterkönig von Böhmen* (Heidelberg, 2004).
10. For the cultural standards of the English court, see Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–42* (Manchester, 1981); Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor:*

- Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005).
11. Sigrid Gensichen, "Das Heidelberger Schloss: Fürstliche Repräsentation in Architektur und Ausstattung," in Elmar Mittler, ed., *Heidelberg: Geschichte und Gestalt* (Heidelberg, 1996), pp. 148–53; Hans Hubach, "Parnassus Palatinus: Der Heidelberger Schlossberg als neuer Parnass und Musenhort," in Hans Gercke, ed., *Der Berg* (Heidelberg, 2002), pp. 84–101.
 12. Elisabeth Bengler, *Memoirs of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1825), vol. 1, p. 197.
 13. Oman, *The Winter Queen*, p. 120, but without archival or bibliographical references to back her description. Of the two Rubens paintings, we know beyond a doubt that they could not have hung in Heidelberg Castle in 1613. The first one, representing Abraham and Hagar, was bestowed on Elizabeth as a present for her twenty-third birthday in 1619 by Sir Dudley Carleton, then English ambassador to the States-General in The Hague. The second, a depiction of the lovers Venus and Adonis, was first mentioned hanging above the mantlepiece in Elizabeth's small drawing room at Rhenen Castle in 1633. Willem Jan Hoogsteder, "Die Gemäldesammlung von Friedrich V. und Elizabeth im Königshaus in Rhenen/Niederlande," in Wolf et al., eds., *Der Winterkönig*, p. 200.
 14. Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History 1559–1660* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 33–46; Frances A. Yates 1997, *Aufklärung im Zeichen des Rosenkreuzes*, trans. by Eva Zahn of *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 1972 (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 13–50; Richard Patterson, "The 'Hortus Palatinus' at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World," *Journal of Garden History* 1 (1981): pt. 1, "The Iconography," pp. 67–104, pt. 2, "Culture as Science," pp. 179–202; J. R. Mulryne, "Marriage Entertainments in the Palatinate for Princess Elizabeth Stuart and the Elector Palatine," in J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, eds., *Italian Renaissance Festivals and Their European Influence* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1992), pp. 173–206; Peter Billhöfer, "Instrumentalisierung der Antike in der Herrscherrepräsentation am Beispiel des 'Winterkönigs' Friedrich von der Pfalz," *Thetis* 7 (2000), pp. 117–30; Hubach, "Parnassus Palatinus"; Annette Frese, "Zwischen Lustbarkeit und Repräsentation: Die Heidelberger Residenz 1613–1619," in Annette Frese, Frieder Hepp, and Renate Ludwig, eds., *Der Winterkönig: Heidelberg zwischen höfischer Pracht und Dreissigjährigem Krieg*, exh. cat., Kurpfälzisches Museum Heidelberg (Remshalden, 2004), pp. 13–27.
 15. Wolfram Waldschmidt, *Altheidelberg und sein Schloss: Kulturbilder aus dem Leben der Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein* (Jena, 1909), pp. 187–221; Anton Chroust, "Die Hochzeit des Winterkönigs (1613)," in *Aufsätze und Vorträge zur fränkischen, deutschen und allgemeinen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 128–44; Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, pp. 95–107; Billhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, pp. 41–47.
 16. Götz Schmitz, "Die Hochzeit von Themse und Rhein: Gelegenheitsschriften zur Brautfahrt des Kurfürsten Friedrich V. von der Pfalz," *Daphnis* 22 (1993), pp. 265–309; George Gömöri, "'A Memorable Wedding': The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz," *Journal of European Studies* 34 (2004), pp. 215–24; Magnus Råde, "The Marriage of Thames and Rhine: Reflections on the English-Palatine Relations 1608–32 and the Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe," in Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, ed., *Decentering America* (New York, 2007), pp. 315–44.
 17. Wolfgang Brassat, *Tapisseries und Politik: Funktionen, Kontexte und Rezeption eines repräsentativen Mediums* (Berlin, 1992).
 18. About the continuing use of historic tapestries under Kings James I and Charles I, see Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 353–55.
 19. Mary Anne Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1909), p. 39, with reference to the accounts of the Master of Works 1612–13; Oman, *The Winter Queen*, p. 63.
 20. Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia*, p. 49, with reference to Lord Harrington's accounts: "Paid for the sweeping and cleansing of the prince's lodgings, upon her highness's remove thither the 7th February, for bedsteads, locks for doors, rewards given to sundry of his majesty's servants that hanged and furnished the lodgings, and for other services and necessaries, 8l. 4s. 8d."
 21. Oman, *The Winter Queen*, p. 82.
 22. John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, and the Tapestries in the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1972); Sharon Fermor, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons: Narrative—Decoration—Design* (London, 1996); Tristan Weddigen, "Tapissieriekunst unter Leo X.: Raffaels Apostelgeschichte für die Sixtinische Kapelle," in *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan 1503–1534: Kunst und Kultur im Rome der Päpste*, exh. cat., Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn; Vatican Museums and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Ostfildern-Ruit, 1999), pp. 268–84; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, trans. Alastair Weir (London, 1999; New York, 2000), pp. 142–46; Thomas P. Campbell, "The Acts of the Apostles Tapestries and Raphael's Cartoons" and cats. 18–22, 25, Lorraine Karafel, cat. 23, and Campbell and Karafel, cat. 24, in Thomas P. Campbell, with contributions by Maryan W.

- Ainsworth et al., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 2002), pp. 187–224.
23. Thomas P. Campbell, "School of Raphael Tapestries in the Collection of Henry VIII," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (February 1996), pp. 69–78; Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, pp. 261–67.
 24. *Beschreibung der Reiss, Emphangung dess ritterlichen Ordens, Volbringung des Heyraths und glücklicher Heimführung . . .* (Heidelberg, 1613), p. 46: "In der Capellen ist der Altar . . . umbher mit drey Stück Tapezereyen [geziert]: in der mitten 'Petri und Johannis Außgang auß dem Tempel und heilung der Krancken': uff der Rechten 'Ich bin ein guter hirt': und uff der Lincken die 'Historia von der Hochzeit in Cana.' . . ."

Nevertheless, the author of *Beschreibung der Reiss* might well be right in his observation. The hanging of a tapestry depicting the Wedding at Cana would have made perfect sense, because Dr. James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells and dean of the Chapel Royal, had chosen the very topic to preach upon in his sermon as part of the wedding ceremonies; John Nichols, *Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court* (London, 1828), vol. 2, pp. 546–47.

 25. Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia*, p. 53, with reference to the accounts of the Master of Works 1612–13 (Audit Office); *Beschreibung der Reiss*, pp. 29, 45: "und daruf von den Königlichen Officiern der Grosse Audientz Saal in gemeldtem Pallast mit einem Königlichen Thron, drey Staffeln erhaben und mit Türkischen Teppichen belegt: Oben uff ist der himmel mit güldenem gewürckten Stücken umbhengt, der Stuhl aber mit sehr köstlichen und künstlichen, von Seiden, Gold und Silber gewürckten Tapezereien bekleidet worden. In welchen die Victoria Navalis und in dem Meer erhaltene Schlacht und Sieg, welche in Anno 1588 vorgangen, da die Spannischen mit Ihrer starcken Schiff Armada die in Gott ruhende Königin Elisabeth, Christseligsten Andenckens, und gantz Engelland zu überfallen vogehabt, gantz artig und in voller Ordnung ihres gehaltenen Zuges, darauf erfolgtes Treffen und schendliche Flucht kunstreich representirt und abgebildet, auch die Bildnuß der Königin und aller Landsherrn, General Obristen und vornehmen Capitainen an den Leisten gedachter Tapezerey nach dem leben zierlich eingewürckt zu sehen gewesen sind. . . . Und ist erstlichen im Hoff und uff der Mawern, so den Vor- und Mittel-Hoff unterscheiden, ein grosser Saal von holtzwerck, ungefehrlichen 140 schuch lang und 40 schuch breit, ufgebawet, welcher inwendig stattlich mit Tapezereyen und eben denselben, so bey der Verlöbnuß im grossen Saal gewesen, die Victoriam wider die Spannische Schiff Armada repraesentirende, bekleidet gewesen. . . ."
 26. G. T. van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunstnijverheid* (Leiden, 1936), vol. 1, pp. 244–45, vol. 2, pp. 75–91, no. 165; Margarita Russell, *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C. Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting* (Leiden, 1983), pp. 116–40; Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, pp. 175–76; Phillis Rogers, "The Armada Tapestries in the House of Lords," *RSA Journal: The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* 136 (September 1988), pp. 731–35; Thomas P. Campbell, "Disruption and Diaspora: Tapestry Weaving in Northern Europe, 1570–1600," in Thomas P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 2007), pp. 17–27.
 27. John Chamberlain to an anonymous friend, London, December 23, 1602, in John Nichols, *Progress and Public Processions ec. of Elizabeth* (London, 1823), vol. 3, pp. 601–3: "At the Lord Admiral's feasting the Queen had nothing extraordinary, neither were his presents so precious as was expected, being only a whole suit of apparel, whereas it was thought he would have bestowed his rich hangings of all the fights with the Spanish Armada in eighty eight. . . ."
 28. Russell, *Visions of the Sea*, p. 121. Because of its removal in 1831 to make way for the construction of the Strangers' Gallery, one of the Armada tapestries probably survived the fire, but its current depository is unknown; Rogers, "The Armada Tapestries in the House of Lords," p. 735.
 29. Russell, *Visions of the Sea*, pp. 116–21; Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, pp. 175–76.
 30. Ubaldini's manuscript is preserved in the British Museum, London, O.R. 14. AX. For Ryther's engravings, see Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. 1, *The Tudor Period* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 142; Russell, *Visions of the Sea*, pp. 116–21; Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, pp. 175–76.
 31. John Pine, *The Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords: Representing the Several Engagements between the English and Spanish Fleets, in the Ever Memorable Year MDLXXXVIII* (London, 1739). For photographs of the complete set of Pine's engravings, see Russell, *Visions of the Sea*, pp. 122–33.
 32. Russell, *Visions of the Sea*, pp. 116–21; Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, pp. 175–76.
 33. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, p. 317.
 34. *Ibid.*, pp. 347–55.
 35. Roberta Anderson, "Diplomatic Representatives from the Hapsburg Monarchy to the Court of James VI and I," in Alexander Samson, ed., *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid*,

- 1623 (Burlington, 2006), pp. 213, 217–18. For the relationship between England and the Spanish Netherlands, see Pauline Croft, “Brussels and London: The Archdukes, Robert Cecil and James I,” in Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albert & Isabella 1598–1621: Essays* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 79–86.
36. Chroust, “Die Hochzeit des Winterkönigs,” p. 139; Oman, *The Winter Queen*, p. 62; Billhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, pp. 42–47.
 37. The ambassador extraordinary Don Pedro de Zúñiga was not welcome at court right from the beginning and was later even attacked and robbed in his carriage; see the letter from George Calvert to Thomas Edmondson, Charing Cross, August 1, 1612, in Thomas Birch, comp., and Robert Williams, ed., *The Court and Times of James the First* (London, 1849), vol. 1, pp. 190–92.
 38. Spifame is mentioned by name in a letter from Richard Orontes (Smith) to Thomas More, London (?), March 13, 1612; see Michael C. Questier, ed., *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead* (London, 1998), pp. 139–42, no. 23. And on April 15, 1614, he attended a session of parliament; Maija Jansson, ed., *Proceedings in Parliament 1614 (House of Commons)* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 10, n. 617.
 39. Roberto Zago, “Foscarini, Antonio,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 49 (Rome, 1997), pp. 363–64.
 40. Caron is mentioned by name in a letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carlton, London, February 25, 1613; see Birch, comp., and Williams, ed., *The Court and Times of James the First*, vol. 1, pp. 229–31. And on April 15, 1614, he attended a session of Parliament; Jansson, ed., *Proceedings in Parliament 1614*, p. 10, n. 617.
 41. Werner Thomas, “The Reign of Albert & Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598–1621,” in Thomas and Duerloo, eds., *Albert & Isabella 1598–1621*, pp. 1–14.
 42. Letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, London, February 25, 1613; Nichols, *Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities*, vol. 2, pp. 601–5: “The Ambassadors that were at the Wedding and Shews were the French, Venetian, Count Henry, and [Sir Noel] Caron for the States. The Spanish was, or would be, sick; and the Archduke’s Ambassador being invited for the second day, made a sullen excuse. . . .” See also the anonymous letter, London, February 7 (?), 1613; Nichols, *Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities*, vol. 2, pp. 523–26: “The Ambassadors make frequent visits at this time, both to the Queen and Prince, hoping to be invited to the Feast. On Sunday last, the Archduke’s Ambassador’s Lady danced before the Queen at Somerset House, and the day following, the Ambassador himself had audience of her at Whitehall; which officiousness proceedeth from his concurrency with the Venetian, fearing that Foscarini may be invited, and he left out. But as yet it is resolved to invite none, though if the Spanish Ambassador continue sick, as he is at this present, perhaps another resolution may be taken, and the French may be there, when there will be no strife for place. . . .”
 43. Not without irony, John Finet later published an accurate report about this farce of international diplomacy: *Sir John Finet, Knight and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, Touching the Reception, and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England* (London, 1656); for the complete text, all in English, see Nichols, *Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities*, vol. 2, pp. 603–6.
 44. For the continuous presence of Venetian ambassadors at German courts, see Stefan Matthias Zucchi, *Deutschland und die Deutschen im Spiegel venezianischer Berichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 515–17.
 45. *Palladis Posaun vom Triumph Jasonis: Beneben dem dazu gehörigen Cartel und Reimen . . .* (Heidelberg, 1613), p. 62. Green (Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia, p. 416) lists some “Gentilhommes servants à la chambre de licit.”
 46. Nichols, *Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities*, vol. 2, p. 615. For the documents, see Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, vol. 2, pp. 110–15 no. 298, 139–40 nos. 222, 224–27, 229, 233–38; Max Eisler, “Die Delfter Gobelinfabrik,” *Oud Holland* 39 (1921), pp. 188–232; M. I. E. van Zijl, “De Delftse Wandtapijten,” in *Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, vol. 2, *De stad Delft* [vol. 2], exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (Delft, 1981), pp. 202–9; A. M. Louise E. Erkelens, “Een Hollands Scipio-tapijt ‘De overgave van Carthago’ anno 1609,” *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 31 (1981), pp. 36–49; Wouter Kloek, “Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620,” in Ger Luijten, Ariane van Suchtelen, et al., eds., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620* (Zwolle, 1993), pp. 45–46; Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis and Hillie Smit, *European Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum*, Catalogues of the Decorative Arts in the Rijksmuseum 5 (Zwolle, Amsterdam, 2004), pp. 215–18, no. 53; Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis, cat. 7, in Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 76–81, esp. pp. 79–80.
 47. Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis, “Flemish Tapestry Weavers and Designers in the Northern Netherlands: Questions of Identity,” in Delmarcel, ed., *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad*, p. 28; Hartkamp-Jonxis and Smit, *European Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum*, pp. 203–5; Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis, *Weaving Myths: Ovid’s Metamorphoses and*

- the *Diana Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 2009), p. 28.
48. In 1574, one Anthonis Steurbout owned a house there; Stadtarchiv, Frankenthal, I.82, Statutenbuch 1573–1578 (January 1574).
 49. He descended from an Italian family of cloth merchants residing in Antwerp. There is documentation for a Jan Balbani (1538–49) and a Ludovico Balbani (1588), the latter a representative of the trading company of Camillo und Cristoforo Balbani; Jakob Strieder, *Aus Antwerpener Notariatsarchiven: Quellen zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 103–4 no. 123, 170 nos. 250–51, 230–31 no. 410, 241 no. 433, 395 no. 767.
 50. Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Codices Palatini germanici (hereafter Cpg) 8, fol. 210r–v: Frans Sweerts to Jan Gruter, Antwerp, July 18, 1618, “Ick verstaen dat nu onlanx tot Heydelberch geweest syn Daniel Steurbout ende Bartholomeo Balbani; ende souden vermangelt oft vercocht hebben an Conte Electeur Palatin sekere tappisseryen, die sy n[och?] van my hebben gecocht, onder ander een camer van 10 stucken, 6 ellen hoogh, alles 432 ellen, historie van SAMPSON, wtnemende fraey werck, betalende my tselve xv guldens d’elle. Ende verstaen dat Palatin noch gheern gemaect hadde 900 ellen van hoogeren prys. Soo zoude my sonderlinghe vrientschap geschieden, dat Uedele daer naer stillekens hadde vernomen, wat daer aff is, ende sal hem dienen met ongelycke meerder advantage als met desen vogels sal connen doen. . . .” Jakob Wille, *Die deutschen Pfälzer Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Kataloge der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Heidelberg 2 (Heidelberg, 1903), pp. 3–6, no. 210; Karin Zimmermann, ed., *Die Codices Palatini germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg* (Cod. Pal. germ. 1–181), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg 6 (Wiesbaden, 2003), p. 26, no. 105. For Sweerts’s letter with deletions, see Jozef Duverger, “Aantekeningen betreffende de Patronen van P. P. Rubens en de Tapijten met de Geschiedenis van Decius Mus,” *Genete Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 24 (1976–78), p. 39. For confirmation of Sweerts’s judgment of Steurbout’s displeasing character, see Fernand Donnet, “Documents pour servir a l’histoire des ateliers de tapisserie de Bruxelles, Audenarde, Anvers etc., jusqu’à la fin du 17^e siècle, pt. 1,” *Annales de la Société d’Archéologie de Bruxelles* 10 (1896), pp. 302–5.
 51. Guy Delmarcel, “L’arazzeria antica a Bruxelles e la manifattura di Jan Raes,” in Loretta Dolcini, ed., *Arazzi per la cattedrale di Cremona: Storie di Sansone; Storie della Vita di Cristo*, exh. cat., Santa Maria della Pietà, Cremona (Milan, 1987), pp. 44–53; Franco Voltini, “Arazzi per la cattedrale: Elementi di storia e iconographia,” in Dolcini, ed., *Arazzi per la cattedrale di Cremona*, pp. 56–74; Thomas P. Campbell, “New Centers of Production and the Recovery of the Netherlandish Tapestry Industry, 1600–1620,” in Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 70–72.
 52. *Samson Offers Honey to His Parents* (fig. 10), *Delilah Cutting Samson’s Hair* (fig. 11), and two *entrefenêtres* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1947–93–1/2). George Leland Hunter, *Loan Exhibition of Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1915); Jean-Paul Asselberghs, *Les tapisseries flamandes aux Etats-Unis d’Amérique*, Artes Belgicae 4 (Brussels, 1974). The *Samson* tapestries were among the first portion of the tapestry stock that went back to Heidelberg with reinstatement of the elector following the Thirty Years’ War; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Abt. III, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Schatzakten, S 601, fol. 137v: The Hague and Rhene, 1661, “Zehen stückh tapecery, historia des Samsons, mitt seiden undt wüllen eingewürckt.” The set was still at Heidelberg Castle in 1685; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. III, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Korrespondenzakten 1061/II, no folios: Heidelberg, May 29, 1685, “Vorhandene mobilien bey der haußschneiderey im schloß Heydelberg. / An tapisserien . . . Zehen stückh von Samson, schön gewürckht.”
 53. E. Duverger, “Bildwirkerei in Oudenaarde und Frankenthal,” pp. 89–90. For the contract of Justus Fankans, see Karl Hugo Popp, “Ein Frankenthaler Teppichwirker am Heidelberger Hof: Justus Fankans im Dienste Friedrichs V.,” *Frankenthal einst und jetzt*, 1990, pp. 68–75.
 54. Manfred Krebs, “Die kurpfälzischen Dienerbücher 1476–1685,” *Mitteilungen der Oberrheinischen Historischen Kommission* 1 (1942), pp. 27, 47.
 55. Both Elizabeth and her late brother Prince Henry Frederick had become familiar with the use of tapestries at very young ages, when they were still in the care of their wardens. When their father announced his going to Scotland in 1617, the Scottish Privy Council ordered the king’s household stuff to be assembled at Glasgow Castle. Among the nobility reporting on June 18, 1616, to the council about the royal tapestries in their possession were the Lord High Chancellor Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, and Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow. Asked “yf they had onie of his Majesties tapestrie, moveables, or houshold stuff in thair keiping, the said Alexander, Erll of Dumfermling, granted and confesit that thair was in his possessioun in Dumfermling ten pieces of auld and worne tapestrie of the storie of Æneas, the storie of Troy, and of the storie of Mankynd, and denyt the having of any farther of his Majestie’s tapestrie, bedding, or household stuff. The said Alexander, Erll of Lynlithqw, grantit and confes-

- sit that he had one piece of tapēstrie and ane old sheare, and that the tapēstrie was cuttit through be umquhile Andro Cokburne, foole; and declared that the tapēstrie that was in Lynlythqw was brocht oute of Strivling, quhen the laite Prince Henry, of famous memorie, come to Lynlythqw for hinging of his chalmer, and that the same tapēstrie was send fra Lynlythqw to Halyrudhous to the laite Erl of Montrois, Chancellair for the tyme; and declarit that during the haill tyme that the Lady Elizabeth was in Lynlythqw hir chalmer was nevyr hung with the Kingis tapēstrie, bot with the deponaris awne . . ."; David Masson, ed., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. 10, 1613–1616 (Edinburgh, 1891), p. 521.
56. "Jay eté en la maison de Baron de Leip qui est certes fort belle et bonne quantité de tapisseries, et aucunes bien belles. Je puis bien dire qu'après Heydelberg et Munchen, je sçais peux de maisons, qui en ayent tant"; Karl Bruchmann, *Die Huldigungsfahrt König Friedrichs I. von Böhmen (des "Winterkönigs") nach Mähren und Schlesien* (Breslau, 1909), p. 9.
57. Oman, *The Winter Queen*, p. 241.
58. Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, vol. 3, *Die germanischen und slawischen Länder* (Berlin, 1933–34), vol. 1, pp. 94–98.
59. Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cpg 834, fol. 228r–v, Frans Sweerts to Jan Gruter, Antwerp, July 25, 1618: "Heb daer mede oock vermaent dat verstaen hebbe hoe dat eenen Daniel Steurboudt ende Bartholomeo Balbani eenen coop van tappisseryen gedaen hebben metten Compte Palatin, ende datter noch groote partyen soudent te maecken wesen van 7 ellen hooghe oft diepe. My zoude groote vrientschap geschieden, dat Uedele daer naer stillekens vernaeamt, wat daer van is, ende soo den Palatin eenighe begheert gemaect te hebben, sal hem soo redelycken dienen, dat gheene redene en sal hebben om hem daer van te beclaegen, ende salse doen maecken door deselve wercklieden, die de caemer van SAMPSON gemaect hebben. Ende heeft maer te ordonneren hoevele begheert te besteden, tsy 18, 20, 24 oft meer guldens voor elcke elle. Ende gemaect synde worden hier gevisiteert by lieden hun van tappisserye verstaende, oft den gelimiteerden prys oock weert syn. Ende dus doende en can men niet bedroghen worden, maer men betaelt altyt ½ contant ende ⅓ als de tappisseryen al volmaect syn. Maer als vorschreven laet dit in alle stille geschieden, op dat haerlieden nyet ter ooren en come, dat ick Uedele hier op geschreven hebbe. Ende soo dit stuck compt tot effect, non erimus ingrati van yet excellents te maecken voor Uedele huysen, tsy cussens oft een fraey sargie per advys, alles metten eersten. . . ." Wille, *Die deutschen Pfälzer Handschriften*, pp. 131–33, no. 228.
60. Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cpg 8, fol. 210r–v, Frans Sweerts to Jan Gruter, Antwerp, July 18, 1618: "[Ru]benius heeft voor my geschildert eenen patroon [faded to illegible] ende wort gemaect op [7 (?)] ellen diep voor Genua. Bone Deus wat fraey tappisserye is daer naer gemaect! Cost 25 floreynden d'elle. Soo daer van gelycken yemant waer in curia, men soude hem oock een camer naer den selven patroon connen doen maecken per advys, sed omnia in silentio, ne isti resciscant, ende soo van noode waer soude lichtelycken eens overvliegen ad nundinas, want ben vast van opinie datse Electorem Palatinum dapper bedrogen sullen hebben. Ick heb tot Brussel eenen patroon de Actis Apostolorum geschildert van Raphaël Urbin, den welcken men lichtelycken op 7 oft 7½ ellen hooch soude connen doen maecken. Ick hebbe 800 ellen voor Duc de Larma te maecken, 7½ diep oft hooghe. Men can dyen patroon maecken op 15, 16, 18 jae 20 gulden ende oock op 24 gulden d'elle, maer dan souwt wtne-mende fraey werck wesen. . . ."
61. See the 1633 and 1661 inventories of Rhenen Castle in Johann Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen, Provinz Utrecht," *Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses* 4 (1903), pp. 109, 122: "Zwen Tischteppich von Tapizerei werck, iedes 3 Ellen breit und lang, inmitten eines ieden das böhmische und pfälzische Wapen, darauf der ordre 'HONY SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE', mit Jahzahlen 1620 und 1621"; "30. Rth.: Ein türkischer Teppich, 3 Ellen breit und lang, von Tapezerei; in der Mitten das böhmisch und pfälzisch Wapen, darauf der Order 'HONY SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.'"
62. Nicolette Mout, "Der Winterkönig im Exil: Friedrich V. von der Pfalz und die niederländischen Generalstaaten 1621–1632," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 15 (1988), pp. 257–72; Marika Keblusek, "The Bohemian Court at The Hague," in Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, eds., *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrick of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, exh. cat., Haags Historisch Museum (The Hague, Zwolle, 1997), pp. 47–57; Simon Groenveld, "König ohne Staat: Friedrich V. und Elizabeth als Exilierte in Den Haag 1621–1632–1661," in Wolf et al., eds., *Der Winterkönig*, pp. 162–86; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, pp. 114–31.
63. Keblusek, "The Bohemian Court at The Hague"; Groenveld, "König ohne Staat."
64. This can be deduced from the individual sets listed in the 1633 inventory of Rhenen Castle; see Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," pp. 107–9.
65. Kraus, "Die Wandteppich-Fabrikation in Frankenthal," pt. 11–12, p. 46; Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700," p. 103.

66. On February 12, 1632, the notary Johan van Beest of Delft witnessed the depositions of the weavers Jacques Tack and Pieter van Coppenol, who had worked for the Van Mander-Snouckaert tapestry business and witnessed the continuing decline of the firm until the very end in 1624. Among other events they remembered the sale of the *Alexander* cartoons to the king of Bohemia: "ende dat sy [Tack and Coppenol] uyt den meesterknecht [Balthasar van der Zee] van den voors. Snoeckert hebben verstaen, dat hy voor denselfden Snoeckert hadde verveilt aen Zijn Conincklycke Majesteit van Bohemen een der voors. patronen van den groten Alexander, daerna wel viermalen was gewrocht ende dat hy dezelfden patroon hadde gehouden op twee duysent gulden"; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, vol. 2, pp. 217–19, no. 473; Abraham Bredius, "De tapijtfabriek van Karel van Mander de Jonge te Delft, 1616–1623," *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), pp. 7–9. The *Story of Alexander the Great* cartoons were last mentioned in the workshop on January 13, 1623, when the notary Harman van Ceel of Delft witnessed the depositions of Balthasar van der Zee and Maerten van Bouckholt, who on behalf of Snouckaert, had inventoried Van Mander's designs: "Compareerden . . . Balthasar van der Zee, gewesen meester tapytzyr . . . ende Maerten van Bouckholt, ziydeverwer, . . . beyde woonende binen Delft ende hebben ten versoucke van Joncheer Nicolaes Snouckaert, heer van Schrapplau, verclaert . . . dat sy op huyden hebben gemeten ende by 't register gehouden, by den voors. Balthasar overgeslagen, gesamentlijk de patroonen ende borden, by Karel Vermander gemaect geduyrende zyne administraty, als tot den 16en July 1621 ende bevonden deselfde te zijn van de grootte als volcht: namenlijck de kamer van Alexander, houdende negen stucken, aen 't binnenwerck, groot hondert negentich ellen veertyen sestiededeelen ende de oranien ende blauwe boorden tsamen seven ende tsestich ende een half ellen"; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, vol. 2, p. 173, no. 372; Bredius, "De tapijtfabriek van Karel van Mander de Jonge," p. 10. See also Eisler, "Die Delfter Gobelinfabrik," pp. 203–10; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, vol. 1, pp. 82–102, vol. 2, pp. 158–60, 188, 199–203, nos. 349, 406, 433; John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), pp. 287–91.
67. Once again it was the notary Harman van Ceel, who, at the request of Snouckaert, witnessed the depositions of Aert and Pieter Spiering about the content of the tapestry stock from his and the late Van Mander's firm: "Compareerde den xxvii Maart anno xvii vyer ende twintich . . . de eersame Aert en Pieter Spierinck, zoonen van Franchois binnen Delff, dewelcke ter requisitve van Joncheer Snouckaert, heere tot Schraplauw, verclaerde . . . waerachtlich te wesen, dat de tapitzereyen als noch op deese uyer unvercoft zijn, die ten tyde als hy, Aert Spierinck, de winkel overbrachte, dye ten huysse van Maerten Boucholt ende Carel Vermander binnen Delff bevonden werden, als namenlijck drye kameren van Alexander, een met rooden, een met blauwe, een met oranie boorden, met noch een stucktye van Sint Joris, met noch eenige sitcussens ende noch de camer van Cleopatra, daer toen ter tijt noch weynich op gemaect was. Wyders niet"; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, vol. 2, pp. 188–89, no. 407; Bredius, "De tapijtfabriek van Karel van Mander de Jonge," p. 21.
68. Hartkamp-Jonxis, "Flemish Tapestry Weavers and Designers in the Northern Netherlands," pp. 18, 29; Hartkamp-Jonxis and Smit, *European Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum*, pp. 222–26, no. 55, with references to the owners of the pieces.
69. See the inventory of the stadtholder's quarters in The Hague in 1632, in Sophie Wilhelmina Albertine Drossaers and Theodoor Herman Lusingh Scheurleer, eds., *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567–1795*, vol. 1, *Inventarissen Nassau-Oranje 1567–1712* (The Hague, 1974), pp. 181, 228, no. 1081: "Een groot compleet ledicandtbehangel . . . vereert bij den coning van Bohemen."
70. See the inventory of Rhenen Castle in 1661, in Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," p. 123: "Zwey Tischteppiche von Tapezerey, in der Mitten das churpfälzische unndt nassauische Wappen, mit gelbgrün und rot seidenen Fransen, und mit blauem Schechter gefüttert."
71. See the inventories of Rhenen Castle in 1633 and 1661, in Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," pp. 107, 121: "8000 Rth.: Sechs Stück von Joseph, welche von Leiden geholet worden, 5 Ellen hoch, und alle zusammen weit 36¼ Ellen."
72. See the inventory of Rhenen Castle in 1661, in Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," p. 122: "2000 Rth.: Eine Kammer von neun Stücken, neue Tapezerei, seind Jagd und Landschaften, in der Höhe jedes Stück 4¾ Ellen, zusammen weit 45½ Ellen."
73. See the inventory of Rhenen Castle in 1661, in Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," p. 120: "Ein Kammer von acht Stücken, noch new, die Historia von Tobia, jedes Stück hoch 4½ Ellen, zusammen weit [?]." This set was obviously meant to replace the much larger suite of "neun Stücken, von Tobiae, iedes hoch 6 Ellen,

- sindt zusammen weit 56½ Ellen," which was sent back to Heidelberg in 1650.
74. See the inventory of Rhenen Castle in 1661, in Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," p. 121: "Acht Stück neue Tapezerei, so von einem von Schonhoven in dem Haag erkauft worden, in I. Mt. Tafel-Saal gehörig, Historia Pompeji et Cleopatras."
 75. Eisler, "Die Delfter Gobelinfabrik"; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noorderlijke Nederlanden*, vol. 1, pp. 91–92, 100, 253–54, vol. 2, pp. 178–79, 188, nos. 384, 406; Hartkamp-Jonxis, "Flemish Tapestry Weavers and Designers in the Northern Netherlands," pp. 29–34.
 76. *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1634* (London, 1634; facsimile reprint, Oxford, 1906), p. 126: "Painting is a quality I love (I confesse) and admire in others, because ever naturally from a child, I have bene addicted to the practice hereof: yet when I was young I have bene cruelly beaten by ill and ignorant Schoolemasters, when I have bene taking, in white and blacke, the countenance of some one or other (which I could doe at thirteene and foureteene yeeres of age: beside the Mappe of any Towne according to Geometricall proportion, as I did of Cambridge when I was of Trinity Colledge, and a Iunior Sophister,) yet could they never beate it out of me."
 77. *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1634*, pp. 153–54.
 78. See notes 59 and 60 above.
 79. Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cpg 834, fol. 228r–v, Frans Sweerts to Jan Gruter, Antwerp, July 25, 1618: "Soo verre oock eenighe gouwde tappisseryen begheert gemaect te hebben, salse doen maecken ryck van gouwde tot 66 gulden d'elle, oft zoo eenighe begeert te coopen, hier synder differente gemaect. Dat my maer employere, sal maecken ende sorge dragen syn gelt wel zal employeren. Onsen Archidux Albertus heeft over sommighe jaren eene gouwe camer geschoncken Archiepiscopo Moguntino [Johann Schweikhard von Kronberg], deselve quam wt mynnen winckel, aende selve soude Comes Palatinus mogen de deucht ende fynte van d'werck sien."
 80. Piero Boccardo, "Prima qualità 'di seconda mano': Vicende dei *Mesi* di Mortlake e di altri arazzi e cartoni fra l'Inghilterra e Genoa," in Piero Boccardo and Clario Di Fabio, eds., *Genova e l'Europa atlantica: Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti—Inghilterra, Fiandre, Portogallo* (Cinisello Balsamo [Milan], 2006), p. 182.
 81. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. 138–48; Fermor, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons*, pp. 17–21; Wendy Heford, "The Mortlake Manufactory, 1619–49" and cat. 16, in Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 171–89.
 82. See note 60 above.
 83. J. Duverger, "Aantekeningen betreffende de Patronen van P.P. Rubens en de Tapijten met de Geschiedenis van Decius Mus," pp. 15–42; Guy Delmarcel, "De Geschiedenis van Decius Mus / The History of Decius Mus," in Guy Delmarcel et al., *Rubenstextiel / Rubens's Textiles*, exh. cat., Hessenhuis, Antwerp (Antwerp, 1997), pp. 39–57; Campbell, "New Centers of Production," in Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 73–74; Concha Herrero Carretero, *Rubens, 1577–1640: Colección de tapices. Obras maestras de Patrimonio Nacional* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 27–43; Concha Herrero Carretero, cats. 10, 11, in Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 95–105.
 84. Peter Paul Rubens in a letter to Dudley Carleton, Antwerp, May 26, 1618; Ruth Saunders Magurn, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 64–66.
 85. Jan Gruter, ed., *Titus Livius: Libri Omnes Superstites. Post Aliorum Omnium Emendationes nunc praeterea castigati Ad Fidem Vetustiss. Manu exaratorum Codicum Bibliothecae Palatinae; Accessit Index rerum & verborum copiosissimus a Jano Grutero* (Frankfurt, 1609).
 86. Reinhold Baumstark, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Decius Mus Cycle* (New York, 1985).
 87. Jeremy Wood, "Rubens and Raphael: The Designs for the Tapestries in the Sistine Chapel," in Katlijne van der Stighelen, ed., *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and His Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe* (Turnhout, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 259–82.
 88. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Abt. III, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Schatzakten, S 601, fols. 137v–138r; see appendix, no. 1.
 89. Hubach, "Tapisserien im Heidelberger Schloss 1400–1700," p. 103.
 90. Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen," pp. 120–32. Elizabeth's attitude might have been influenced by her mother's example. Denmark House (better known as Somerset House), Queen Anne's foremost London residence, was lavishly embellished with more than a hundred tapestries of different sizes and quality, of which only two sets actually came from the Royal Wardrobe—four pieces of the *Story of David* and seven of the *Story of Hercules*—and one from the stock of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; M. T. W. Payne, "An Inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's 'ornaments, furniture, household stuffe, and other parcells' at Denmark House, 1619," *Journal of the History of Collections* 13 (2001), pp. 23–44.
 91. Elizabeth Stuart to her son Charles Louis, London, July 12/22, 1661; Anna Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart, Königin von Böhmen, an ihren Sohn, den Kurfürsten Carl Ludwig von der Pfalz, 1650–1662* (Tübingen, 1902), pp. 205–6, no. 138:

- “[Michel] Vanderheck has done nothing but what I commanded him, and he hath vnder my hande, neither haue I taken all the stuff, for I haue left my oulde rotten black hangings and two or three suites of oulde hangings that are in my hall anf the courteses chambel[rs] and the trabants chamber but if I haue need of them I will send for them to. I haue taken the best as good reason, I shoulde it, being in my power, and my right as I uritt to you by my last.” See also Melissa Lili Baker, ed., *The Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1953), pp. 346–47.
92. Charles Louis to his mother, Elizabeth, Heidelberg, August 6/16, 1650; Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart*, pp. 5–7, no. 3: “As for the Stuffs and Jewels which you let me haue of my owne, thy are mine as well as the Stuffe and plate which still remains in Yr Mties hands, . . . I can finde noe ground of Justice that you shoulde keepe it vntill you had Yr yointure, . . . or the Stuffee you gave away to my Brother Edward but could not expect that, though in reason you ought to haue what is for Yr daily use which I shall never dispute, yet you cannot pretend to keepe all from mee upon any ground of Law or equity.” See appendix 2, no. 24.
93. Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, p. 124; Thomas P. Campbell, “The Story of Abraham Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace,” in Koenraad Brosens, ed., *Flemish Tapestry in European and American Collections: Studies in Honour of Guy Delmarcel* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 59–85; Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, pp. 281–97.
94. Rott, “Ott Heinrich und die Kunst,” pp. 204–6; Hanns Hubach, “Kurfürst Ottheinrichs neuer hofbaw in Heidelberg: Neue Aspekte eines alten Themas,” in Volker Rödel, ed., *Mittelalter: Schloss Heidelberg und die Pfalzgrafschaft bei Rhein bis zur Reformationszeit*, Begleitpublikation zur Dauerausstellung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg (Regensburg, 2002), pp. 196–97; Hubach, “. . . mit golt, silber und seydt kostlichst, erhaben, feyn unnd lustig gmacht,” p. 177.
95. Elizabeth Stuart to her son Charles Louis, The Hague, August 19/29, 1650; Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart*, pp. 7–10, no. 4: “All this I tell you, not, that I meane to dispute it, but onelie to tell you that I might finde reasons enough to doe it, . . . as for the stuff, that which I haue in my oune chambers, you haue nothing to doe with it, having bought them myself, what is yours is onlie in the dinning roome and your Sisters chambers and yours below, the rest are the states hangings, . . . I must haue more, for Rhene, if I should say for whome the king your father has often saide it was built and furnished, you woulde not beleeeue me; . . . as for the hangings Ned had, I did promiss you to repaye them, which by the grace of God I uill, it is all I haue giuen from the house and if the worlde shoulde know that you take exceptions at an oulde rotten shoot of hangings giuen away you will be laughed at. . . .” See also Baker, ed., *The Letters of Elizabeth*, pp. 177–78.
96. Charles Louis to his mother, Elizabeth, Heidelberg, 1655 (?); Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart*, p. 62, no. 41: “Madame. The want we haue here of hangings and other Chamber furniture made me desire the last yeare Yr Mties approbation for the transport of what is att Rhenen hither because you did not make use of them, but Yr Mty not beeng then well pleased with it, . . . I am confident Yr Mty will not disapprove that I haue sent Walter to Rhenen to gett them packt up and bring them away in the ship I haue oppointed for it here and to satisfie the Castellain for his arreares, upon the receipt of the said furnitures and howshold stuffe, I beleeeve Yr Mty will thinke it fitter that they should be made use of here for the honnour of the familie, where they will be better looked to, then in the hands of that drunken fellow that keeps them now, since Yr Mty hath noe use of them there, but I hope will shortly haue heere. . . .” Elizabeth Stuart to her son Charles Louis, The Hague, November 2/12, 1655; Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart*, pp. 67–68, no. 44: “I haue sent you from hence [The Hague] two suits of hangings as I uritt last and pictures; from Rhene, you uill receaue three suits of hangings and a bed meane, those that were at the end of the dining roome, and that chamber aboue staires, for the pictures, that are there, I keep them all to sett out the emptie roomes, thus I haue trulie sent you all I can spare, I must desire to you to putt out the concierge, for he is theveriest beast in the worlde and knave besides as Walter can tell you and the sooner you doe it, it uill be the better, for he spoiles all the house. The Princesse of Orenge tolde me, she had a minde to crie, to see the house so spoiled, she dined there as she came hither. . . .” See also Baker, ed., *The Letters of Elizabeth*, pp. 251–52.
97. Oman, *The Winter Queen*, pp. 446–53.
98. Kretzschmar, “Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen,” pp. 121.
99. Elizabeth Stuart to her son Charles Louis, London, August 2/12, 1661; Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart*, pp. 208–9, no. 140. See also Baker, ed., *The Letters of Elizabeth*, pp. 348–49.
100. John Gustav Weiss, “Lord Craven und die Familie des Winterkönigs,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberheins*, n.s. 43 (1930), pp. 581–98; R. Malcolm Smuts, “Craven, William, earl of Craven,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 14 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 65–66.

101. Testament of Elizabeth of Bohemia, The Hague, May 8/18, 1661; Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart*, pp. 214–15: “Nous donnons à nostre Fils le Prince Rupert tout ce qui Nous est dû d’argent et ce qui Nous est en main, toutes nos Principales Bagues et Vaiselle, et autres Meubles qui sont à Nous. . . .”
102. Karl Hauck, *Rupprecht der Kavalier, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein (1619–1682)* (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 110–11; Patrick Morrah, *Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London, 1976), pp. 426–27; Margret Lemberg, *Eine Königin ohne Reich: Das Leben der Elisabeth Stuart und ihre Briefe nach Hessen* (Marburg, 1996), pp. 82–84; Robert Rebitsch, *Rupert von der Pfalz (1619–1682): Ein deutscher Fürstensohn im Dienst der Stuarts* (Innsbruck, Vienna, Bozen, 2005), pp. 146–47. Prince Rupert named Lord Craven executor of his will and trustee to Margareth Hughes and their daughter. Craven had the right to sell most of the jewels and other household stuff and invest the money for the benefit of his protégés. For the account of the sale of Prince Rupert’s inheritance, see Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* (London, 1849), vol. 3, pp. 558–60.
103. Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660–1700* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 24; Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin, eds., *Women Players in England, 1500–1660: Beyond the All-Male Stage* (Burlington, Vt., 2005), p. 6.
104. Lemberg, *Eine Königin ohne Reich*, pp. 82–86; Rebitsch, *Rupert von der Pfalz*, p. 151.

Appendix

1. Inventory of the first portion of tapestries shipped to Heidelberg by Charles Louis, The Hague, September 14/4, 1649; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Abt. III, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Schatzakten, S 601, fols. 137v–138r:

Verzeichnus der mobilien, tapecereyen undt anders, so ihrer churfürstlichen durchlaucht seindt nach Franckfurth gesandt worden, den 14/4 Septembris 1649.

[Mark] Neun stückh tapecerey von seiden mit goldt undt silber eingewirckt, auff welcher Augusti undt Pompej historia von Cleopatra.

[Mark] Zehen stückh tapecerey, historia des Samsons, mitt seiden undt wüllen eingewirckt.¹

[Mark] Ein cammer von sechs stücken, reich von seiden, undt die historia von Atlante, hoch 6 ellen, weit zusammen 57 ellen. Nota: Diese stückh seindt ineinander alle gleich an höhe undt breite.

[Mark] Ein cammer von sechß stücken, von Bacho, mit seiden vermischet, jedes stückh hoch 6 ellen, zusammen weit 54½ ellen.

[Mark] Ein cammer von 5 stücken, hoch 2½ ellen, zusammen weit 28 ellen, seindt schön undt reich von seiden, jacht undt gartenwerckh. //

[Mark] Ein cammer von sechß stücken, römische unbekante histori, hoch 4½ ellen, zusammen weit 22½ ellen.

[Mark] Drey schöne große neue türckische teppich, davon hernacher weiter bericht geschicht.

2. Inventory of the tapestries shipped to England by Elizabeth Stuart, The Hague and Rhene, 1661; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Abt. III, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Korrespondenzakten, no. 1022½ (2), pp. 1–4.²

Verzeichnuß derienigen mobilien, welche Michael Ahselier in s’Graffenhag, und Antoni Alberts de Beer im hauß zu Rhene, vermög eines ieden inventory, in verwahrung gehabt, aber nicht nacher Heydelberg gekommen, sondern alda verplieben, undt nachgehends in anno 1661 nach Englandt überbracht worden.

Tapezereyen

1 Zwey stück von der Medora undt Angelica, von seiden gewürckt, welche vor diesem zu Heydelberg in der königin cammer geweßen, davon itzund ein stück in der englischen kirchen. (800)³

2 Sieben stuck tapezerey in dem gemach an der königin anti cammer, da die trabanten stehn, historia Achabs undt Jesabel. (300)

3 Zwey fensterstück, auß der historia Salomonis. (200)

4 Sieben stück rodgülden leder, darunder ein fensterstück.

- 5 Daß gülden leder uff der langen galerie, in der lengen 25 ellen, in der breite 2¾ ellen.
- 6 Einundtzwanzig bletter gülden und silber leders, der grund colombine, wie in ihrer mayestäten taffelstuben, fünff halbe bletter von gleichem leder, undt vier schmale leisten, selbigen leders. (700)
- 7 Sechs stück tapezereyen in einer cammer, von allerhandt jagten und fischereyen, uff iedem stück daß bayerisch wappen, in der hohe iedes 3 ellen, zusammen weit 29½ ellen. E (1000)
- 8 Eine cammer von zehen stücken, Frantz Spirings arbeit, von großem bildwerck, reich von seiden, iedes stück hoch 5¾ ellen, zusammen weit 58¾ ellen. P (6000)⁴
- 9 Ein cammer von acht stücken, noch new, die historia von Tobia, iedes stück hoch 4½ ellen, zusammen weit—. (2000)
- 10 Ein cammer von sieben stücken, groß bildwerck, so etwas alt und schadhafft, hoch 4¾ ellen, zusammen weit 36½ ellen. b.b. (1200) //
- 11 Zwey schöne stück von kayser Augusto, mit seiden vermischt, hoch 5 ellen, zusammen weit 7½ ellen. F.f. (1000)
- 12 Ein stück allein von großem bildwerck, die historie von der königin von Saba, 4½ ellen hoch, 3½ ellen weit. (200)
- 13 Ein stück allein die historia von Joseph, ist mit seiden vermischt, hoch 4½ ellen, lang 6 ellen. (200)
- 14 Ein stücklein, in der mitten Fama, und uff beiden seiten blumenpott, hoch 2 ellen, lang 3 ellen. (100)
- 15 Ein stück, darauff drey blumenpott, hoch 1¾ ellen, lang 2¾ ellen. (50)
- 16 Sechs fensterstück, von zerstörung Troia, 2 ellen hoch undt zusammen lang 28 ellen. (400)
- 17 Ein new fensterstück von laubwerck, darinnen daß pfälzische und sächsische wapen, breit 1½ ellen, lang 5 ellen. (50)
- 18 Ein stück, so auch von Salomon und der königin von Saba, reich von goldt und silber, breitt 3½ ellen, hoch 2½ ellen. (400)
- 19 Ein cammer von vier stücken, so oben jägerey, und unden allerhandt wilde thier, sind alle einer höhe, nemblich 4½ ellen, zusammen weit 24 ellen. (600)
- 20 Acht stück neue tapezerey, so von einem von Schonhoven in dem Ha[a]lg erkaufft worden, in ihrer mayestäten taffelsaal gehörig, historia Pompeij und Cleopatrae.⁵
- 21 Acht stück tapezerey, die historie von Elia, im vorhauß bey ihrer mayestät gemacht, und acht stück tapezerey von grün und gelb gewirffteltem zeug, darunder gerechnet

ein fensterstück und ein stück über dem camin. //

Zu Rhenen seind vermög deß inventarij de anno 1633 geblieben und nicht nach Heydelberg gekommen alß:

- 22 Sechs stück von Joseph, welche von Leiden geholet worden, 5 ellen hoch und alle zusammen weit 36¾ ellen. C. C. (8000)⁶
- 23 Eine cammer von neun stücken brußelische arbeit, so landschafft und geiagt, iedewedes stück hoch 5 ellen undt alle zusammen weit 44 ellen. A (4000)
- 24 Eine cammer von zehen stücken, die historia von Abraham, iedes stück hoch 5 ellen, zusammen weit 55½ ellen, ist etwaß schadhafft. K (Prince Edward 4000)⁷
- 25 Eine cammer von zwelff stücken, vermischt mit seiden, von großem bildwerck, die erschaffung der welt und des menschen fall, hoch 5 ellen undt zusammen weit 53½ ellen. S (8000)
- 26 Zwey stück, uff einem stück die historie von Dido, Enea undt Achate, uff dem anderen ein panquet mit einem harpfenisten; sind an allen beiden stücken leisten mit sonnen, die stück mit goldt und seiden vermischt, iedes hoch 4½ ellen, zusammen breitt 8 ellen. H. h. (1000)
- 27 Vier stück so von tournier, mit gold undt silber vermischt, iedes hoch 4 ellen, weit 15 ellen. (1000)
- 28 Eine cammer tapezerey, die historia von Jacob, 5 ellen hoch, bestehet in 8 stücken. (4000)
- 29 Eine cammer von neun stücken, neue tapezerey, sindt jagt und landschafften, in der höhe iedes stück 4¾ ellen, zusammen weit 45½ ellen. G (2000)⁸
- 30 Blau und gülden leder zu ihrer mayestät cabinet. (400)
- 31 Fünff stück grob iagtwerk. nro.: 5 mit A.a. gezeichnet, hoch 5 ellen. (1000) //

An türckischen teppichen seindt im Hag undt Rhenen zurückgeblieben, alß: . . .

- 11 Ein türckischer teppich, 3 ellen breitt und lang, von tapezerey, in mitten daß böhmisch undt pfälzische wapen, darauf der orden ,HONY SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE'. (30) . . .

An sammeten und anderen teppichen, alß . . .

- 27 Zwey tischteppiche von tapezerey, in der mitten das churpfälzische unndt nassauische wapen, mitt gelb, grün und rodt seidenen franzen und mitt blauem schechter gefütteret. (60).

1. The set Frederick V bought from Steurbout and Balbani.
2. See also Johann Kretzschmar, "Das kurpfälzische Schloss zu Rhenen, Provinz Utrecht," *Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses* 4 (1903), pp. 120–23.
3. The estimated value of the tapestry sets is given in thalers (*Reichsthalern*).
4. The *Deeds of Scipio* from the workshop of François Spiering, given to Frederick and Elizabeth in 1613 as a wedding present from the States-General. The dimensions (approx. 400 × 407 cm) fit with those of known pieces from the series; the entry proves that

the newlyweds received a set of not just eight but, indeed, ten pieces.

5. The *Story of Cleopatra* from the workshop of Pieter de Cracht of Schoonhoven (formerly owned by Jacques Nauwinx). The set was bought by Elizabeth between 1650 and 1660.
6. The set was bought by Elizabeth between 1650 and 1660.
7. The *Abraham* set acquired by Elector Otto Henry that Elizabeth wrongfully gave to her son Prince Edward as a wedding present in 1645.
8. The set was bought by Elizabeth between 1650 and 1660.