

Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry. Part II

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Relying on newly excavated archival sources, this two-part study seeks to map the genesis and development of the plan conceived by Antoniotto di Botta Adorno (1688–1774), Minister Plenipotentiary of the Austrian Netherlands from 1749 to 1753, to support the Brussels tapestry industry by promoting Brussels tapestries as diplomatic gifts. The first part sheds fresh light on the lives and mutual relations between the tapestry producers (tapissiers) who populated the landscape in the 1750s — Peter van den Hecke (1680–1752), Daniel IV Leyniers (1705–1770) and the half-brothers Jan Frans (1697–1774) and Peter II van der Borch (1712–1760) — and analyses the slow maturation of Adorno's plan in the summer of 1749. This second article describes the way in which Botta Adorno made the project a reality and examines the strategies devised by the Minister and the Brussels tapissiers and the context in which they sought to apply them.

INTRODUCTION

Relying on newly excavated archival sources, this two-part study seeks to map the genesis and development of the plan to support the Brussels tapestry industry by promoting their tapestries as diplomatic gifts which was conceived by Antoniotto di Botta Adorno (1688–1774), the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Austrian Netherlands from 1749 to 1753. Part I shed fresh light on the lives and mutual relations between the tapestry producers (*tapissiers*) who populated the landscape in the 1750s — Peter van den Hecke (1680–1752), Daniel IV Leyniers (1705–1770) and the half-brothers Jan Frans van der Borch (1697–1774) and Peter II van der Borch (1712–1760) — and analysed the slow maturation of the plan in the summer of 1749.¹ Botta Adorno's correspondence with Emanuel Teles da Silva Conde Tarouca (1696–1771), President of the Conseil Suprême des Pays-Bas, in which capacity he mediated between the Minister Plenipotentiary and Maria Theresa (1717–1780), Archduchess of Austria and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, shows that Botta Adorno defended his project with considerable gusto but that the response from Vienna was extremely hesitant. Maria Theresa started by ordering borders for unspecified tapestries, one *Teniers* tapestry, borders for a *Don Quixote* series and a twelve-part *Achilles* series, all of which were intended for her own use. It was not until 8 October, three months after he had first presented his gift plan, that Botta Adorno received the news that the Empress was willing to 'assent to our proposition of presenting these tapestries as gifts, where appropriate, to foreign ministers and others'.² This second article describes the way in which Botta Adorno made the project a reality

as well as examining the strategies devised by the Minister and the Brussels *tapissiers* and the context in which they sought to develop them. Like the first article, this sequel relies to a large extent on Botta Adorno's correspondence with Tarouca and on the *Memorie Boeck* of Maximiliaan de Hase (1713–1781), a journal in which the Brussels painter kept meticulous records of his production between 1744 and 1780.³

AUTUMN AND WINTER 1749

When Botta finally received Tarouca's letter on 8 October 1749 notifying him of the Empress's agreement, the Minister Plenipotentiary acted quickly. That same day, he promised Tarouca to send new *mémoires* at the earliest opportunity,⁴ two days later he concluded a contract with the Van der Borchts for the twelve-part *Achilles* series⁵ and two days after that he sent new *mémoires* compiled by all four *tapissiers*.⁶ For Botta thought it best, he wrote, to share the orders equitably among the four manufacturers.⁷

The *mémoire* that Peter van der Borcht sent in October was much the same as the list he had drawn up in July.⁸ The six-part *Moses* was still in storage as was the six-part *Triumph of the Gods*. Van der Borcht also had a five-part set of the latter series in stock as well as the four-part and five-part *Continents* and *Don Quixote* sets listed in July which had been expanded by one and two tapestries respectively. The *mémoire* sent by Jan Frans van der Borcht included the seven-part *Teniers* that he had also listed in July, a twelve-part *Achilles* set, a four-part set of *The Elements*, probably after designs by Philippe de Hondt (1683–1741)⁹ and a set of landscape cartoons 'by the most famous painter, to which figures may be added as required'.¹⁰

Daniel Leyniers compiled a remarkably rich and detailed *mémoire* running to ten pages.¹¹ Besides the six-part sets of *Plutarch*, *Don Quixote* and *Les Plaisirs Humaines* that had been listed in his July *mémoire*, he included a six-part *Telemachus* (after designs by Jan van Orley (1665–1735) and Augustin Coppens (1668–1740)),¹² a three-part *Jupiter* (designed by Jan de Reyff and Coppens),¹³ a three-part *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (based on copies by Coppens and Zeger-Jacob van Helmont (1683–1726) of paintings by Charles de La Fosse (1636–1716))¹⁴ and, finally, the impressive number of six *Teniers* sets that were directly available from stock. Leyniers also listed a handful of cartoons: Van Orley's *Triumph of the Gods*,¹⁵ *The Seasons and Elements* (after late seventeenth-century designs by Godfried Maes (1649–1700)),¹⁶ *Ovid's Metamorphoses after Charles de La Fosse*,¹⁷ '*Fables d'Ovide en Grotesque*' (designed by De Hondt and Nicolas Antoine Simons (d.1773))¹⁸ and, finally, *The Acts of the Apostles* 'which were copied by the late Jan van Orlay after the cartoons by Raphael of Urbino, by order of the late Marquis de Prié, and only four of which have ever been made into tapestries; the figures measure 2 aunes [approximately 240 cm] in height, consisting of 7 pieces'.¹⁹

Peter van den Hecke likewise compiled an extremely detailed and informative *mémoire*.²⁰ The five sets that Van den Hecke had mentioned in his first *mémoire*, sent in August, were still in storage and six-part sets of *Psyche* and *Teniers* had been added to these. Van den Hecke added that he would also be able to supply 'screens', 'paintings in tapestry technique' and 'tapestries, in the style of Teniers, for sofas, benches, armchairs and seats, which have been woven only once for the prince of Borghese in

Rome, which cartoons I had the honour of showing to his Highness Charles, Duke of Lorraine'.²¹ Finally, the *tapissier* wrote that new cartoons could be painted if so desired and he gave three concrete examples of four-part sets: *The Faithful Shepherd (Il Pastor Fido)*,²² *The History of Rome*²³ and *The History of Queen Esther*.²⁴ In his letter of 12 October accompanying the four *mémoires*, Botta also emphasised the possibility of ordering new sets of cartoons, since 'a painter who recently arrived here claims to be able to produce new cartoons of any height and width as ordered, depicting subjects from sacred or secular histories or any engravings such as may be prescribed'.²⁵ Botta omitted to mention this painter's name but the reference was undoubtedly to Maximiliaan de Hase.

De Hase was the eighth child of Gabriel (b. 1674) and Catharina van Orley, Jan van Orley's sister.²⁶ He was enrolled for drawing lessons with De Hondt in 1726²⁷ and it was probably his uncle Jan van Orley who taught him to paint.²⁸ This hypothesis is corroborated by Guillaume-Pierre Mensaert in his *Le Peintre Amateur et Curieux*, published in 1763 (that is, in De Hase's lifetime). Mensaert further noted that De Hase was Van Orley's heir and it was this inheritance that enabled De Hase to spend years working in Rome.²⁹ The literature tentatively gives the dates 1744–1747 or 1739–1746 for De Hase's stay in Italy,³⁰ but archival sources reveal that he may well have left Brussels as early as the summer of 1735, shortly after Van Orley's estate had been settled,³¹ and was living in Rome by July 1736 at the latest.³² On 1 January 1744, De Hase was sworn in as a master painter in Brussels,³³ which makes it likely that he returned from Rome in the winter of 1743 and did, indeed, spend about seven years in Italy as Mensaert claimed. It was in 1744 that De Hase started his *Memorie Boeck*. He may also have lived in Rome in the last few months of 1745 and during the spring and summer of 1746.³⁴ In December 1747, De Hase married Catharina Theresia t'Serstevens (1729–1795). A year later his first pupil, Jan Laureys Krafft (1726–1797), was enrolled in the Brussels painters' guild.³⁵

Botta's letter and the four *mémoires* of 12 October lay around disregarded in Vienna for several weeks,³⁶ but on 6 November Tarouca was able to report that the Empress had renewed her support for the project and wanted it to be carried out.³⁷ In line with Botta's suggestion of 25 June, the Empress had decided that the Imperial coat of arms should be blazoned in the border of all tapestries destined to be used as gifts. Tarouca, however, emphasised that the precise sum of money that would be made available for the commissions had not yet been fixed and therefore urged Botta to refrain from taking any further action.

Little changed in November or December. On 15 November, Tarouca wrote that the sixth piece in the *Teniers* set had finally arrived in Vienna³⁸ and, on 26 November, Botta was able to report that Van den Hecke had finished the borders for the *Don Quixote* tapestries and that these would be sent to Vienna as soon as possible.³⁹ It was not until the last day of 1749, six months after Botta had first presented his plan, that Tarouca was able to inform the Minister Plenipotentiary that the Empress wished to spend 34,000 guilders on tapestry sets intended to serve as diplomatic gifts which must therefore display the Imperial coat of arms and were not to depict any 'undignified' subjects.⁴⁰ This sum was to be divided among twelve series: two for 5,000 guilders, four for 3,000 guilders and six for 2,000 guilders.

1750

Botta reacted with his customary enthusiasm on 10 January 1750. He asked Tarouca to arrange to have a model of the coat of arms sent to him without delay and noted that he would need to take on 'two good painters' to make the new cartoons.⁴¹ This observation, possibly suggested by Brussels *tapissiers*, implies that François Eisen (c. 1695–1778) and Emanuel de Pery (1708–1779), two little-known Brussels painters who had enjoyed fiscal benefits as tapestry designers since 1743 but who had never proposed or executed convincing projects, were being considered.⁴² Maximiliaan de Hase, whose name Botta Adorno had put forward a few months before as someone who could paint new cartoons, appears to have temporarily vanished from the scene. It is indeed clear from De Hase's *Memorie Boeck* that he had not worked for the *tapissiers* before 1750.

Tarouca promised to send Botta the requested model as soon as possible, but also found it necessary, once more, to temper Botta Adorno's belief in the resilience of the project and relevance of the medium. He quoted from an Imperial report urging realism and pragmatism: 'The art of tapestries is important to this economy, and was formerly very useful to those regions, but we do not have the ambition to make it that important again; nonetheless, we must labour to extract as much benefit from it as possible'.⁴³

But Botta Adorno swept this aside; at the beginning of February he insisted that the sale of sets was the key to helping the *tapissiers* to revitalise the industry.⁴⁴ He added that a new set of cartoons depicting illustrious women was being made. The Minister omitted to mention the names of the designer and the commissioner, but De Hase's *Memorie Boeck* reveals that he painted the set for Peter van den Hecke. De Hase finished the first cartoon, *Penelope and her Maids*, in June 1750.⁴⁵ Around this time, he filed a successful petition for fiscal privileges with the City Council.⁴⁶ In this petition, De Hase stated that he was 'currently painting the new cartoons that they [the *tapissiers*] needed to make the new tapestries for her Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Queen of Hungary'⁴⁷ — a formulation that appears to imply that he was working on a commission granted by the Empress which was not the case. The three remaining cartoons in the series, *The Daughters of Rome cross the Tiber*, *Harpalyce saves her Father* and *Aspasia among the Philosophers*, were all finished by November 1751.⁴⁸

Replying on 14 February, Tarouca again warned that Vienna was not planning to give the tapestry industry any form of structural support.⁴⁹ It was not purchasing tapestries in order to display the talents of designers or *tapissiers*, but to present striking gifts to a select group of diplomats. On 28 February, eight months after Botta had proposed his gift plan and two months after the Empress had approved it, the sum of 4,000 guilders was finally made available to purchase a series.⁵⁰ Botta wrote that he wanted to conclude immediate contracts for four sets,⁵¹ but Tarouca urged caution since the subsequent financing was not yet assured.⁵² On 7 April 1750, Botta Adorno concluded the contract for the first series.⁵³ The choice had fallen on a seven-part *Story of Psyche* after designs by van Orley and Coppens which Van den Hecke had noted down in his *mémoire* of 16 August 1749.⁵⁴ The *tapissier* had three months to furnish the tapestries with the Imperial coats of arms, but he delivered them much earlier, on 23 May.⁵⁵ The price was 4,216 guilders, prompting Botta Adorno to request additional funding immediately.⁵⁶ He repeated his request on 6 June 1750,⁵⁷ but was once again left without any positive assurances.

While Botta achieved an initial success in the first half of 1750, Jan Frans and Peter II van der Borcht produced the twelve-part *Achilles* series for the great antechamber which had been ordered in October 1749. The set was finished on 16 June, within the agreed delivery time.⁵⁸ It consisted of the following tapestries, most of them in narrow formats: *Thetis dips Achilles in the River Styx*, *The Abduction of Helen*, *Achilles discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, *The Wrath of Achilles*, *Chryseis returned to her Father*, *The Battle of Paris and Menelaus*, *The Battle of Diomedes and Aeneas*, *Thetis comforts Achilles*, *Thetis brings Achilles his new Armour*, *Achilles drags Hector's Body away*, *Priam searches for Hector's Body*, and *The Death of Achilles*.⁵⁹ The location of five of these tapestries is known: four are in the Austrian State collection⁶⁰ and a fifth in a private Austrian collection.⁶¹

Benefiting from the momentum generated by the *Psyche* and *Achilles* sets, Botta Adorno immediately proposed a new set that the Van der Borchts could supply, namely one 'consisting of a pure landscape, unique in its kind and sublimely painted by a consummate master [Teniers] whom we are likely to lose in the near future, as he is eighty years of age'.⁶² Jan Frans van der Borcht had mentioned these cartoons before in his *mémoire* of October 1749. The Minister noted that the series had been ordered by the States-General of the Dutch Republic in 1742–1743, but that the war had interfered with its production. He suggested supplementing the landscape cartoons with scenes from rural life, thus creating a unique *Teniers* series. De Hase's *Memorie Boeck* again provides more details. On 20 May 1750 — in other words, several weeks before the Van der Borchts delivered their *Achilles* — De Hase had painted 'peasants, dancing etc.' in 'a large landscape painted by sr. Michau' at the Van der Borchts request.⁶³ The reference is to landscape painter Theobald Michau (1676–1765).⁶⁴ This well-timed initiative to transform a *Landscape* series into a fashionable *Teniers* set shows that the Van der Borchts were starting to believe in Botta Adorno's plan — likewise Van den Hecke, who commissioned the *Illustrious Women* cartoons in the same period.

On 27 June, Tarouca formally approved the order for the Michau/De Hase set, provided it was expanded by at least two more tapestries.⁶⁵ In the same letter, he wrote that the *Psyche* set, which had arrived in Vienna on 23 June, had been greatly admired, although some had commented that the coats of arms were too large.⁶⁶ Botta Adorno immediately replied, rebutting this criticism. On 8 July, he wrote that the coats of arms in the Van der Borcht *Achilles* series, which had been despatched from Brussels two days before,⁶⁷ were smaller than those in the *Psyche* series, but he added emphatically that the *tapissiers* were not satisfied with the result — and neither was he. He also told Tarouca that he would ask Michau to paint a few more landscape cartoons.

On the same day that Botta Adorno sent this letter, Tarouca wrote himself, notifying the Minister that a second instalment of 4,000 guilders had been made available for a set to be presented as a gift to 'Robinson'.⁶⁸ This was Thomas Robinson, first Baron Grantham (1695–1770), who had been the English ambassador to Vienna from 1730 to December 1748.⁶⁹ Botta Adorno took immediate action and on 25 July he wrote that he had concluded an agreement with the Van der Borcht half-brothers for a set to be delivered within two months; only the coats of arms remained to be woven and sewn on.⁷⁰ The series would cost at least 4,200 guilders, but — as the minister added in defence of his choice — it would probably persuade other '*Angloisasses riches* ['rich English']' to purchase tapestries made in Brussels, an argument that is unlikely to have swayed minds in Vienna.⁷¹

In the meantime, the Empress had chosen a prospective recipient for the seven-part *Psyche* set. This was ‘Bosch’, the Empress’s confidant Feldproviantamts-Oberstleutnant Ferdinand von Bosch, who was returning to Hanover.⁷² In 1815, Bosch’s series was incorporated into the collection of the Kings of Hanover.⁷³ In 1918 at least five of these tapestries appeared on the art market; six years later they were offered for sale at Christie’s in London and were dispersed. Two of them have been in The Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa since 1944: *Psyche enjoying her stay in the Palace* (Fig. 1) and the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*. *Psyche discovers Cupid’s Identity* is at the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. The two remaining pieces, *Psyche worshipped by the People* and *Psyche’s Father consulting the Oracle of Apollo*, are said to have still been in Munich in 1935, but thus far it has proved impossible to trace their whereabouts.⁷⁴ The coat of arms on the *Psyche* pieces is the Imperial arms used by the Chancery in Vienna⁷⁵ which differs from the arms of the House of Habsburg on the *Achilles* tapestries produced for the antechamber — a discrepancy that was obviously related to their different intended destinations.



FIG. 1. Peter van den Hecke (Brussels) after Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, *Psyche enjoying her Stay in the Palace*, wool and silk, c. 1745, 1944.8.13, 365 x 310 cm, Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa. By permission of the Philbrook Museum of Art.

At the beginning of August, Botta ordered a set of *Illustrious Men after Plutarch* from Daniel IV Leyniers.⁷⁶ A few weeks later he concluded a contract with the van der Borcht half-brothers for a seven-part set of the *Landscapes/Teniers* set after Michau and De Hase, which was to bear the Imperial arms.⁷⁷ Shortly after this, as is clear from his *Memorie Boeck*, De Hase started on the figures for the landscapes of Michau's cartoons.⁷⁸

In the meantime, the Van der Borchts had finished the series for Robinson; it was delivered within the set time on 26 September.⁷⁹ The invoice reveals that the Van der Borchts supplied tapestries from *two* series: seven from the *Story of Alexander* and four from the *Triumph of the Gods* for a total sum of 4,945 guilders. The seven *Achilles* tapestries were *The Abduction of Helen*, *The Wrath of Achilles* (Fig. 2), *The Battle of Paris and Menelaus*, *The Battle of Diomedes and Aeneas*, *Thetis comforts Achilles*, *Priam searches for Hector's Body* and *The Death of Achilles*.⁸⁰ The four *Triumph* tapestries depicted *Neptune*, *Diana*, *Vulcan* and *Flora*.⁸¹ The eleven tapestries were shipped from Brussels to London where they arrived no later than the end of November.⁸² They remained in the Robinson/Lucas & Dingwall collection until 1913 when they were sold by Christie's in London. Unsurprisingly, the eleven tapestries became dispersed. *The Triumph of Diana* and *Thetis comforts Achilles* remained in Europe and are now in the collection of the BNP Paribas Fortis bank. The other nine pieces appeared on the art market in New York and, in 1956, entered the collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh; they were deaccessioned and sold by Sotheby's New York in 1992.⁸³ The *Triumph of the Gods* tapestries all bear sewn-on coats of arms (identical to those of the *Psyche* series) which makes it clear that all these pieces came from existing stock. In fact, one of them was at least eight years old for the *Flora* piece is signed by Gaspar van der Borcht, who had died in 1742 (Fig. 3). The other three bear the signature of Jan Frans



FIG. 2. Peter II van der Borcht (Brussels) after Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, *The Wrath of Achilles*, wool and silk, c. 1745, 344 x 479 cm, present whereabouts unknown.

Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



FIG. 3. Gaspard van der Borcht (Brussels) after Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, *The Triumph of Flora*, wool and silk, c. 1740, 335 x 137 cm, private collection, Belgium.
By permission of the owner.

van der Borcht. The *Achilles* tapestries are signed by Peter II van der Borcht. Some of the coats of arms are woven into the tapestries, while others have been sewn on, proving that this *Achilles* set was a mix of pieces from stock and newly woven pieces.

On 2 October 1750 Daniel IV Leyniers also supplied the set that Botta Adorno had ordered from him — the six-part *Illustrious Men after Plutarch* (*The Supper of Lycurgus*, *The Battle of Alcibiades*, *Dido's Sacrifice*, *Dido's Triumph*, *The Sacrifice of Aristides* and *The Sacrifice of Timoleon*) which cost 3,690 guilders.⁸⁴ No *Plutarch* tapestries bearing the Imperial coat of arms are known, and the intended recipient of this set is unclear.

1751

On 20 January 1751, Botta Adorno responded to a request from Karl Joseph von Dier (1684–1756), the Empress's Councillor and Privy Paymaster — and hence the official who supervised the project's funding — by sending an overview of the borders and tapestries that had been paid by Vienna since August 1749 and the sums paid (totalling 19,825 guilders).⁸⁵ This overview duly lists the borders for seven tapestries by the Van der Borchts for the court (August 1749); the borders for Van den Hecke's *Don Quixote* series for the court (November 1749); Van den Hecke's *Psyche* set for Bosch (May 1749); the *Achilles* series by the Van der Borchts for the great antechamber (June 1750) and the

Achilles/Triumph of the Gods pieces they made for Robinson (September 1750); and Leyniers's *Plutarch* set (October 1750). Interestingly, the list also includes fourteen coats of arms produced by Van den Hecke between 14 July and 21 October 1750 to grace 'the tapestries sent to France'; as yet, it is unclear for which tapestries these coats of arms were intended and who was the planned recipient of this series.

The letter Botta Adorno enclosed with the list showed that he was jittery about Dier's checks and worried that the tapestry project might be closed down. Tarouca hastened to calm his fears; after all, he emphasised, it was Dier who held the keys to the project, together with Baron Diego Pereira d'Aguilar (1699–1759), one of the Empress's foremost financiers. However, by January 1750, Botta Adorno did have reason for concern. For, on 16 December 1749, Tarouca had written to report a problem with three of the twelve *Achilles* tapestries that had arrived in Vienna in two consignments, on 29 July and 1 August, and were destined for the antechamber: they were too narrow.⁸⁶ Letters written in February, March and April show Botta Adorno and Jakob Andreas Lenoble (b. 1703), the Empress's Court Furniture Inspector, doing a round of finger-pointing, implicitly blaming Botta Adorno's project and its management.⁸⁷ Lenoble tried to take advantage of the blunder — the Court Furniture Inspector had not been a supporter of Botta Adorno's proposal to order a new series for the antechamber but had been obliged to give way⁸⁸ — and the Minister was worried that the mishap might lead the Empress to conceive an aversion to the tapestry project.⁸⁹ However, it was eventually decided to have the three pieces enlarged by the Van der Borchts who submitted an invoice for 329 guilders for the modifications on 4 August.⁹⁰

Fortunately, the *Achilles* fiasco soon faded from memory after the Van der Borchts delivered their *Landscapes/Teniers* set on 6 September.⁹¹ This set consisted of nine tapestries *without* the Imperial coat of arms, rather than seven *with* it, as stipulated in the original contract, for the Empress had since decided against using the set as a gift and had adjusted the order accordingly. The subjects were *The Pilgrim, Conversation*, '*Sujet d'Eau*', *Meeting*, two entitled *Meadow*, *Great Kermis*, *Small Kermis* and *The Fortune-teller*.⁹² Tarouca informed Botta Adorno on 10 November that the Empress thought the *Landscapes/Teniers* set '*fort jolie*' [extremely attractive] and she planned to continue her patronage.⁹³ Although *Teniers* tapestries now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, became separated from their original group over the centuries, some may have been lost and the inventory drawn up of the tapestries at the end of the nineteenth century created some incorrect sets, it is nonetheless possible to identify at least six of the pieces in the Vienna collection with the subjects listed in 1751.⁹⁴

Tangible orders ensued a few weeks later when Botta Adorno concluded a contract with Peter II van der Borcht and Daniel IV Leyniers for a thirteen-part *Teniers* set without borders, likewise destined for the Imperial collection (1 December 1751).⁹⁵ The striking alliance between Leyniers and Van der Borcht — their fathers were still daggers drawn over the Brinck affair — suggests that the Van der Borcht half-brothers had already drifted apart in the winter of 1751.

Botta Adorno, who had recorded in a *mémoire* in December that the Austrian support in 1751 had amounted to a meagre 5,188 guilders (paid for the modification of the three *Achilles* tapestries and the nine-part *Landscapes/Teniers*),⁹⁶ tried to consolidate

the new momentum and once again attempted to highlight the suitability of Brussels tapestries as *gifts* in an attempt to boost the demand. He wrote to Tarouca that he would try to get the State Chancellor Count Anton Corfitz Ulfeld (1699–1769) directly involved in the project.⁹⁷ For instance, he would draw Ulfeld's attention to the fact that Frederick the Great, King of Prussia (reigned 1740–1786), always presented '4 tapestries from Berlin's second-rate workshop' to foreign diplomats upon their departure from Berlin, suggesting that it was therefore all the more appropriate for the Empress to present tapestries 'from our superb workshops'.⁹⁸ Tarouca might have construed this passage as conveying an implicit reproach; after all, it was really up to him to kindle Ulfeld's enthusiasm for the project, as he had said himself in a letter of 26 July 1749.⁹⁹

Possibly with Ulfeld's support, Botta Adorno soon scored another victory: in December he was given leave to select tapestries to be presented as a gift to Count Beltramo Cristiani (1702–1758), *de facto* Governor of the Austrian possession of Milan. Botta again chose to combine tapestries from two different series, namely *Teniers* and 'some subject drawn from history'.¹⁰⁰ A *mémoire* recorded by Peter van den Hecke detailing the subjects and dimensions of the *Illustrious Women* cartoons that De Hase had completed for Van den Hecke a few weeks earlier reveals that the Minister was thinking of ordering the *editio princeps* of this series.¹⁰¹

Finally, on 28 December 1751, Botta Adorno purchased from Daniel IV Leyniers, on his own initiative and hence without consulting Tarouca, three series: a seven-part *Triumph of the Gods*, a six-part *Story of Moses* and a five-part *Teniers*.¹⁰² These were three of the five series that Brussels City Council had purchased in 1746 from 'diverse manufacturers' and had been intended as a gift to Maurice de Saxe (1696–1750), commander of the French troops that had occupied Brussels.¹⁰³ However, De Saxe had left the sets in Brussels when the city had reverted to Austria's possession after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Daniel IV Leyniers had purchased the *Triumph of the Gods*, *Moses* and *Teniers* sets from the City Council on 11 May 1748.¹⁰⁴

1752–1753

In January 1752, Botta Adorno decided, on Tarouca's advice, to buy eight *Teniers* tapestries for Cristiani.¹⁰⁵ On 3 February 1752, the Minister concluded the contract with Peter van den Hecke who was given four months to supply the series.¹⁰⁶ However, Van den Hecke died only a few weeks later; he was buried on 19 February. Botta Adorno appears to have neglected to send word of this evidently unexpected misfortune. On 24 May, he simply let Tarouca know that the eight *Teniers* tapestries with the Imperial coat of arms were ready to be despatched to Vienna.¹⁰⁷ One of them, *The Fruit Market*, came from Van den Hecke's workshop,¹⁰⁸ but the archival material does not reveal which *tapissier* or *tapissiers* supplied the other ones. The pieces themselves might have shed more light on the matter, but there are no known *Teniers* tapestries with the Imperial coat of arms.

Also in May 1752, Daniel IV Leyniers and Peter II van der Borch delivered the thirteen *Teniers* tapestries without borders that had been ordered for the court in December 1751: *Village Fête*, *Peasant Family*, *Fish Market*, *Harvest*, *Winter*, *Donkey Driver*, *Returning from the Harvest*, *Shepherds*, *A Smoker*, *The Shepherds' Return*, *Hostess*, *Gardener* and *Skaters*.¹⁰⁹ With the exception of the first three, these tapestries were

extremely narrow (between about 50 cm and 100 cm). None of the *Teniers* tapestries in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum can be linked to these pieces.

Meanwhile, before 13 April 1752, Botta Adorno had despatched to Vienna the seven-part *Triumph of the Gods* set that he had purchased on his own account in December 1751 (the set consisted of *Diana*, *Mars*, *Flora*, *Neptune*, *Apollo* and two tapestries depicting *Vulcan*), along with a three-part *Story of Jupiter* series after designs by De Reyff produced by Daniel IV Leyniers (this set consisted of *The Meal of the Gods*, *The Birth of Jupiter* and *Jupiter 'dans l'air'* ['in the air']).¹¹⁰ These ten tapestries were to be used as diplomatic gifts.

At the beginning of June, Tarouca wrote that one series, and possibly two more, would have to be purchased in the near future for departing diplomats.¹¹¹ Botta Adorno knew, and emphasised in his reply, that his time in Brussels was coming to an end and made one final attempt to get his ambitions and his agenda more firmly entrenched in Vienna's policy.¹¹² He wrote that he had already purchased all the good series that were readily available in Brussels — which was an exaggeration, in view of the number of available sets that the four *tapissiers* had previously listed in their *mémoires* — and said that from then on it would therefore be necessary to have new sets woven each time. He suggested a *Story of Don Quixote* (after designs by Van Orley and Coppens) or *The Acts of the Apostles* (after designs by Van Orley and Coppens that were based on copies after Raphael's cartoons), although the latter series, which Leyniers had praised in the *mémoire* he wrote in October 1749, would cost at least 5,000 guilders because of the large human figures depicted.

Tarouca wrote back with good news: the Empress had promised not only to make an annual 5,000 guilders available, to be divided among two series that would either be presented as gifts or used in Vienna, but also to continue the project after Botta Adorno's departure.¹¹³ In this letter, Tarouca also wrote that the seven-part *Triumph of the Gods* and the three-part *Story of Jupiter* had arrived in Vienna. The latter set had attracted a good deal of criticism for their stylistic qualities, but the Minister was nonetheless asked to enquire about obtaining a fourth *Jupiter* tapestry and an eighth *Triumph* tapestry, so that the sets could be used as three four-part series. Botta Adorno immediately wrote back that this could easily be arranged, and that he had already consulted Daniel IV Leyniers about the production of the *Acts of the Apostles*.¹¹⁴ It would be expensive, but the series was of exceptional quality and beauty. Tarouca proposed setting up the production as a plan to span several years, ultimately to become a full — that is seven-part — series.¹¹⁵ On 3 August 1752, Botta Adorno concluded a contract with Leyniers for the first four pieces;¹¹⁶ two days later he sent a copy to Tarouca, accompanied by the comment that he had not been able to find any *Triumph of the Gods* or *Jupiter* tapestries in stock.¹¹⁷ As yet, it remains unclear who eventually received these two series. No *Jupiter* pieces displaying the Imperial coat of arms are known. Only a single Leyniers *Triumph of the Gods* tapestry with the arms is known; this is a *Triumph of Mercury*, a tapestry that was not included in the original set of seven that was shipped to Vienna and must therefore have been purchased later.¹¹⁸

While the *Acts of the Apostles* set was still in production,¹¹⁹ Count Karl Johann Philipp von Cobenzl (1712–1770) was appointed as Botta Adorno's successor. The latter informed Cobenzl in a letter of 22 May 1753 that he would be taking his tapestries with

him, but immediately drew his successor's attention to a unique opportunity: after the auction of the sets from the inventory of the late Peter van den Hecke, the heirs wanted to sell the remaining pieces as soon as possible and Cobenzl might be able to obtain a bargain.¹²⁰ In his reply Cobenzl expressed polite interest, but he may not have set about purchasing tapestries straight away.¹²¹ On 31 August, a few days before Botta Adorno's departure from Brussels, Ulfeld wrote a letter to the new minister, urging him to continue the efforts on behalf of the Brussels tapestry industry.¹²²

Botta Adorno did, in fact, take with him the six *Moses* and five *Teniers* tapestries that he had purchased in December 1751 when he left Brussels. Along with a sixth *Teniers* tapestry, two *Alexander* tapestries and four *Triumph of the Gods* (I) pieces that the Minister had probably purchased from the stock of the late Judocus de Vos, these sets remained in the family's possession until 1800.¹²³

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is clear that Botta Adorno tried to set up an extremely ambitious programme. His ultimate objective was to restore, or at least to sustain, the economic robustness of the Brussels tapestry industry. If the Austrian court were to purchase tapestry series to the tune of 40,000 to 50,000 guilders each year and use them as diplomatic gifts, Botta Adorno reasoned, it would rekindle the taste for Brussels tapestries in Europe and give the City's four remaining *tapissiers* a direct and indirect lifeline that would enable them to prop up short-term economic recovery with an artistic renewal. The initial efforts to clear the *tapissiers*' stockrooms needed to be followed, as soon as possible, by the provision of support to new tapestry designers, as is clear from Botta Adorno's request for the appointment of one or even two foreign tapestry designers as well as his efforts to launch Maximiliaan de Hase as a tapestry designer by promoting his *Illustrious Women* series (unsuccessfully) and his *Landscapes/Teniers* series (successfully).

But the road to his goal proved slow and tortuous, and by the time of Botta Adorno's departure from Brussels the project was still no more than an extremely fragile and precarious structure. The most important and most visible reason for Botta Adorno's failure, of course, is the fact that the Empress and Habsburg officials who became involved in the tapestry project, including Tarouca, Botta Adorno's main contact, had little — if any — of Botta Adorno's vision or enthusiasm for the tapestry medium, and that the development of the project was therefore sustained solely by the Minister Plenipotentiary's persistence.

In addition, Botta Adorno's gift plan also suffered from the lack of pace in the maturation of a realistic economic policy. In the early 1750s, the administrative authorities in Vienna had no comprehensive annual budget or budgetary plan,¹²⁴ no central records¹²⁵ and no systematic overview of the industries in different parts of the Empire.¹²⁶ This situation did not start to change until 1752, and then only slowly. Even then, the economic development effort initially focused on the Hereditary Lands, that is the Czech and Austrian lands,¹²⁷ besides which the policy was to a large extent informed by the view that the State should keep interference in, and support for, local industries to a minimum. In short, between 1749 and 1753, Botta Adorno's project was

primarily dependent on chance, *ad hoc* decisions and arrangements. This naturally meant that he had to watch over the project's reputation constantly. Any damage — tapestries that turned out to be the wrong size or whose quality was criticised — might mean sudden death for the plan, as Botta Adorno understood when he wrote to Tarouca that he was afraid that the Empress might conceive an 'aversion' to the project as a result of the long-drawn-out *Achilles* affair.

But it should also be emphasised that Botta Adorno, and indeed the Brussels tapestry-makers themselves, also impeded the project's development to some extent. Van den Hecke, Leyniers and the Van der Borchts were all well aware of the crucial importance of Vienna's support, and wanted to exploit the opportunities that Botta Adorno set up, but their actions, recommendations and decisions were not necessarily or consistently well thought-out as ways of securing the industry's future. For instance, one wonders why the *tapissiers* did not decide simply to donate a number of tapestries from their stock to the Empress, with or without some financial support from the City. This public relations investment would probably have paid dividends quite quickly. In addition, the *tapissiers* and Botta Adorno evidently failed to realise that the sets being sent to Vienna and other European cities were essentially old-fashioned. Adhering to Jan van Orley's encyclopaedic, *grand goût* manner, however successful this may have been in the first third of the eighteenth century, and to Raphael's monumental *Acts of the Apostles* series, the Brussels actors were presenting — around 1750 — a strikingly dated calling card, as is clear from even a superficial comparison with the elegant, playful tapestries being produced in Paris and Beauvais around the mid-eighteenth century. It is striking that, while Maria Theresa displayed a clear preference for *Teniers* tapestries, and the tapestry producers naturally knew that the European élite shared her tastes, Botta Adorno and the *tapissiers* never fully explored this avenue, nor did they try to focus attention on more contemporary or commercially successful series, such as those designed by Philippe de Hont. Perhaps this can be explained in part by Botta Adorno's firm belief in the medium's monumental vigour, but it seems likely that the tapestry producers too scarcely questioned the Minister's strategy, and simply took advantage of the opportunity he provided to sell off old tapestries that had remained unsold for several years. The amalgamated *Achilles/Triumph of the Gods* series that was presented to Robinson in 1750, for instance, can hardly be classified as a supreme example of contemporary Brussels production: not only were the designs several decades old, but it is also likely that there were colour discrepancies within the ensemble between older and more recent tapestries, and the mix of sewn-on and woven coats of arms must have looked a bit haphazard. And this in spite of the hope, in presenting the set as a gift, that it might persuade other '*Angloisasses riches*' to order tapestry sets from Brussels.¹²⁸

All this meant that Botta Adorno's departure from Brussels in 1753 might easily have precipitated the end of Austrian support to the tapestry industry. But Botta Adorno's successor, Cobenzl, quite soon developed both a love of the medium as well as a belief in the importance of the industry to the local and regional economy. His initiatives and efforts will feature prominently in my forthcoming book on Maximiliaan de Hase.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- ¹K. Brosens, 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels tapestry in the mid-eighteenth century. Part 1', *Textile History*, XLV, no. 2 (2014), pp. 216–33.
- ²The archives of Botta Adorno are preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (MBA); for this study, the documents used were primarily the 'Cartelle Grandi' (CG), since they include the correspondence with Tarouca. Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 8 October 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.
- ³For De Hase and his *Memorie Boeck*, see K. Brosens, 'The final convulsions of Brussels tapestry: *The Legend of the Miraculous Host*, 1769–1785', *The Burlington Magazine*, CLV (2013), pp. 82–87, and K. Brosens and K. Van der Stighelen, 'Paintings, prices and productivity. Lessons learned from Maximiliaan de Hase's *Memorie Boeck* (1744–1780)', *Simiolus*, XXXVI (2013), pp. 173–83.
- ⁴Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 8 October 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.
- ⁵Contract with the Van der Borchts, 10 October 1749, CG x164inf, #278, MBA. The delivery time was set at a maximum of 8 months.
- ⁶Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 12 October 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.
- ⁷Ibid.
- ⁸Peter van der Borch, *Mémoire*, October 1749, CG x164inf, #280, MBA.
- ⁹K. Brosens, 'Eighteenth-century Brussels tapestry and the *goût moderne*. Philippe de Hondt's sets contextualized', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, XIV (2006–2007), pp. 53–79.
- ¹⁰In the original: 'peint par le plus fameux peintre, auxquelles on peut ajouter de figures requises'; Jan Frans van der Borch, *Mémoire*, October 1749, CG x164inf, #252, MBA.
- ¹¹Daniel Leyniers, *Mémoire*, October 1749, CG x164inf, #3, MBA.
- ¹²K. Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670–1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747)* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2004), pp. 160–70.
- ¹³Ibid., pp. 137–39.
- ¹⁴Ibid., pp. 145–46.
- ¹⁵The set had fifteen scenes: *Venus, Minerva, Mars, Mercury, Vulcan, Aeolus, Jupiter, Bacchus, Diana, Ceres, Flora, Apollo, Hercules, Pluto and Diana's Bath*. Leyniers specified that some of the scenes had only been woven twice.
- ¹⁶In the original: '*Chaque pièce est entourée d'une guirlande de fruits, fleurs, et animaux*' ('Each piece was encircled by a garland of fruits, flowers and animals'). Besides *Summer and Fire, Spring and Air, Autumn and Earth*, and *Winter and Water*, there was also a scene showing *Venus and Pallas*.
- ¹⁷*Diana, Europe, Daphne, Apollo, Arethusa and Polyphemus*.
- ¹⁸*Venus and Adonis, Pan and Syrinx, Flora and Hercules, Bacchus and Ariadne, Hercules and Proserpine, Apollo and Cupid, Jupiter and Calypso and Io, Mercury and Juno, Apollo and Daphne, Mercury and Argus, Daedalus and Icarus, Perseus and Andromeda, Perseus and Medusa, Atlas and Perseus*. For the series, which may never have been woven, see Brosens, *A Contextual Study*, p. 173.
- ¹⁹In the original: '*qui a été copié par le feu Jean van Orlay après les cartons de Raphael Urbain, par ordre de feu le Marquis de Prié, et dont on n'a encoire jamais executé que quatre pièces en tapisserie, les figures étant de 2 aunes d'hauteur et consistant en 7 pièces*'; *ibid.*, pp. 171–72.
- ²⁰Peter van den Hecke, *Mémoire*, October 1749, CG, x164inf, #21, MBA.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²1. *Mirtil deguisans son Sexe se presente à baiser la belle Amarillis*; 2. *Amarallis les Yeux bandés*; 3. *Amarallis trouvez par Nicandre dans la Grote avec Mirtil et amenée prisonnière*; 4. *Les Mariages des Amarallis et Mirtil*; CG x164inf, #21, MBA.

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²³ 1. *L'enlèvement des Sabines*; 2. *Mucius chevola qui brule sa Main*; 3. *Les Filles qu'on avoit donnée pour suretez au Roy Porsema, se sauvent et passent le Tibre*; 4. *Martius Coriolanus qui tient Rome assiégée ou sa Mère sa Femme et toutes sa Famille est envoyez pour le prier de lever le Siège*; CG x164inf, #21, MBA.

²⁴ In the original: '*escreens*', '*tableaux en tapisserie*', and '*beaux dessins, dans le goût de Teniers, consistant en quanapé, bancquettes, fauteuils, sièges, qui n'ont jamais été faits qu'une seule fois pour le prince de Bourgeoise à Rome les quels dessins j'ai eu l'honneur de faire voir à son Altesse le Duc Charles de Lorraine*'; '*on pourra faire peindre des nouveaux dessins*'. The three examples were *Le Berger fidel*, *L'Histoire Romaine* and *L'Histoire de la Reine Hester* comprising 1. *La Reine tombe comme evanouée devant le Roy Assuerus*; 2. *La Reine invite le Roy et Amant à un festin*; 3. *Le Roy etant vetu des ses habits Roiaux monte sur le cheval du Roy Aman marchant devant lui tenant les freines*; CG x164inf, #21, MBA.

²⁵ In the original: '*un peintre récemment arrivée ici se fait fort de dresser de nouveaux desseins à telle hauteur et largeur qu'on les ordonnera suivant les sujets de la fable de l'histoire sacrée ou profane ou de tailles douces qui lui seront prescrits*'; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 12 October 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.

²⁶ Very few studies have been published on De Hase. Two articles devoted to two cycles of paintings and a genealogical study of the De Hase family — which failed to filter through to the art-history literature — provide the nucleus of these studies but these must be supplemented by archival sources if the chronology of De Hase's life is to be reconstructed accurately; see F. De Cacamp, '*Oude geslachten tussen Zenne en Zoniën. 1. De Haese*', *Brabantica*, v (1960), pp. 219–56; W. Scheelen, '*Enkele minder bekende werken van de Brusselse schilder Maximiliaan de Hase (ca. 1718?–1781)*', *Arca Lovaniensis*, xv–xvi (1987), pp. 95–125; I. C. Echaniz and P.M.M. Estebas, '*Un ciclo pictórico desconocido de Maximilian de Haese en el Santuario de Loyola*', *Goya*, CCXLI–CCXLII (1994), pp. 67–74. A large number of De Hase's paintings in Belgian public art collections, many of them signed and dated, are accessible through the online database of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage in Brussels at www.kikirpa.be.

²⁷ Ontfanghen als leerjonghen Maxemiliaen De Haes leerende bij N: De Hondt schilder heeft maer half bock gelt betaelt, *Ambachten en Gilden*, 819, fol. 40, Algemeen Rijksarchief Anderlecht, Brussels (BARA). See also A. Pinchart, '*La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles*', *Messenger des Sciences Historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie de Belgique* (1878), p. 486. This fails to note, however, that only '*half bock gelt*' (only half the standard fee — that is, only for drawing lessons) was paid. The 'N:' in 'N: De Hondt' stands from *nomen nescio*. The only painter with that surname who was alive in 1726 was Philippe de Hondt; see Brosens, *Eighteenth-Century Brussels Tapestry*.

²⁸ The guild registers do not name the person who taught Hase to paint which suggests that it was probably a member of his family; there was no requirement to register these in Brussels; Brosens, *A Contextual Study*, p. 102.

²⁹ In the original: '*M. de Haese, élève et héritier de J. van Orlay son oncle, après la mort duquel, il fit le voyage d'Italie, où il se forma, principalement à Rome, pendant sept années de suite sous les plus fameux maîtres*' ['*M. de Haese, pupil and heir to his uncle, J. van Orlay, after whose death he travelled to Italy where he studied, mainly in Rome for the seven following years under the most famous masters*']; see G. P. Mensaert, *Le Peintre Amateur et Curieux*, 1 (Brussels: P. De Bast, 1763), p. 37.

³⁰ De Cacamp, *Oude Geslachten*, p. 246; D. Coeckelberghs, *Les Peintres Belges à Rome de 1700 à 1830* (Brussels and Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1976), p. 394.

³¹ Brosens, *A Contextual Study*, p. 361.

³² On 5 August 1735, De Hase drew up his last will and testament in Brussels, possibly in connection with his impending departure. On 17 July 1736 a Brussels document described him as living in Rome ('*woonende tot Roomen*'); *Notariaat Generaal van Brabant*, 5 August 1735, 1088 and 17 July 1736, 1090, BARA.

³³ *Ambachten en Gilden*, 819, fol. 74, BARA. See also Pinchart, 'La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles', p. 460.

³⁴ He became a member of the Accademia del disegno di San Luca on 4 September 1746. Coekelberghs, *Les Peintres Belges*, p. 394. De Hase did not make any entries in his *Memorie Boeck* between April 1745 and October 1746.

³⁵ Pinchart, 'La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles', p. 461.

³⁶ On 25 October, Tarouca observed that he had not yet had an opportunity to use the *mémoires*; Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 25 October 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.

³⁷ Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 6 November 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.

³⁸ Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 15 November 1749, CG x146inf, MBA.

³⁹ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 26 November 1749, CG x146inf, MBA. For a detailed settlement of accounts that also gives the subjects of the six *Don Quixote* tapestries, see CG x164inf, #286, MBA.

⁴⁰ Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 31 December 1749, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁴¹ He said that it would be necessary '*de faire venir deux bons peintres ici pour de nouveaux des-seins à exécuter*' ('to arrange for two good painters to come here to carry out the new designs'); Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 10 January 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁴² *Registers der Tresorije*, 1310, fols 15–18, Stadsarchief, Brussels, (BSA), Eisen and De Pery submitted their applications at the same time, after the death of the tapestry designer Philippe de Hondt (1683–1741). In his application, Eisen remained relatively vague about his contribution while De Pery asserted that he had already painted diverse sets of cartoons. Both the painters still enjoyed these privileges in January 1750 and would continue to enjoy them until the summer of 1756, as can be inferred from *Registers der Tresorije*, 1310, fol. 342 and 772, BSA.

⁴³ In the original: '*L'art des tapisseries est important à cette manufacture, qui fut dans les tems re-culez d'une grande utilité à ces Païs-la, à laquelle nous n'ambitionnons plus de parvenir; cependant nous devons travailler à tirer le meilleur parti que possible*'; Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 21 January 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁴⁴ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 4 February 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁴⁵ *Memorie Boeck De Hase* (MBDH), 27 June 1750.

⁴⁶ *Registers der Tresorije*, 1310, pp. 314–15, BSA. The petitioners' applications were not always copied in detail into the *Registers*. As a result, we do not always know the precise dates on which they were submitted. The clerk who dealt with the De Hase file noted in August 1750 that Brussels City Council had received the painter's petition in '1750'.

⁴⁷ In the original: '*actueelick besigh is van te schilderen de nieuwe pattroonen die sij [the tapisseries] noodigh hebben tot het maecken van de nieuwe tapeijten ten dienste van haere keijserlijcke end conincklijcke Majt. de coninginne van hongarien*', *Registers der Tresorije*, 1310, pp. 314–15, BSA.

⁴⁸ MBDH, pp. 6–9.

⁴⁹ Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 14 February 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁵⁰ Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 28 February 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁵¹ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 11 March 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁵² Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 21 March 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁵³ Botta Adorno, 7 April 1750, CG x164inf, #299, MBA.

⁵⁴ Brosens, 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry', p. 224.

⁵⁵ CG x164inf, #20, MBA.

⁵⁶ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 27 May 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁵⁷ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 6 June 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁵⁸ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 17 June 1750, CG x147inf, MBA. The invoice (dated 19 June 1750) is CG x164inf, #254, MBA.

⁵⁹ The tapestries were 350 cm high; the widths were c. 200 cm, 330 cm, 240 cm, 330 cm, 330 cm, 225 cm, 330 cm, 240 cm, 225 cm, 200 cm, 200 cm and 200 cm respectively.

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⁶⁰Only *Thetis comforts Achilles* was listed by E. von Birk, 'Inventar der im Besitze des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins', 1, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxxiv, no. 1 (1883), p. 240. However, *The Abduction of Helen, The Battle of Paris and Menelaus* and *Achilles drags Hector's Body away* also belong to the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum; with thanks to Dr Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, who supplied this information.

⁶¹*Priam searches for Hector's Body*; see N. de Reyniès, 'Jean van Orley cartonniér. La tenture d'Achille au Musée Jacquemart-André', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, cxxv (1995), p. 161, fig. 12.

⁶²In the original: '*qui consiste dans un pur paysage unique dans son genre et peint à la perfection par un maître accompli qu'on va perdre bientôt vû son age de 80 ans*'; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 17 June 1750, CG x147inf, MBA.

⁶³In the original: '*boeren die dansen etc*' in '*een groot lantschap geschildert van sr. Michau*'; MBDH, p. 7.

⁶⁴Like many of the painters active in this period, Michau has scarcely been studied; for an initial introduction to his work (which has remarkably poetic, atmospheric skies and breathes a refined, detailed realism) and a bibliography, see Y. Morel Deckers, *Schilderijen uit de 18^{de} eeuw. Deelcatalogus Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Ministry of the Flemish Community, 1988), pp. 84–85, and the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie/Netherlands Institute for Art History RKD artists & RKD images database; see <http://english.rkd.nl/Databases/>.

⁶⁵Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 27 June 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁶⁶Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 24 June 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁶⁷Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 8 July 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁶⁸Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 8 July 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁶⁹Philip Woodfine, Robinson, Thomas, first Baron Grantham (1695–1770), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online, 2007). Available from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> [Accessed: 15 July 2013].

⁷⁰Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 25 July 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 29 July 1750, CG x148inf, MBA; A. von Arneth, *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia an ihre Kinder und Freunde*, iv (Vienna: Braumüller, 1881), p. 174.

⁷³R. P. Townsend, *A Handbook to the Collections* (Tulsa: The Philbrook Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 238–39; N. de Reyniès, 'Jean van Orley. Une tenture de l'histoire de Psyché', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, cxxv (1995), p. 219 (note 11).

⁷⁴Townsend, *A Handbook*, p. 239.

⁷⁵I. De Meûter, 'De wandtapijtindustrie te Brussel ten tijde van het Oostenrijks bewind', in *De Oostenrijkse Nederlanden, het Prinsbisdom Luik en het Graafschap Loon in de 18^{de} eeuw* (Hasselt: Provinciebestuur Limburg, 1989), p. 85.

⁷⁶Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 5 August 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁷⁷Botta Adorno, *Contract* [August 1750], CG x164inf, #268, MBA.

⁷⁸MBDH, pp. 7–8.

⁷⁹Jan Frans and Peter van der Borch, *Invoice*, 26 September 1750, CG x164inf, p. 15, MBA; Robinson's letter of thanks, 5 December 1750, CG x144inf, MBA.

⁸⁰These pieces were 330 cm in height; their widths were c. 86 cm, 486 cm, 278 cm, 630 cm, 434 cm, 140 cm and 140 cm respectively.

⁸¹These pieces were 330 cm in height; their widths were c. 486 cm, 470 cm, 260 cm and 140 cm respectively.

⁸²Robinson, letters to Tarouca, 5 and 16 December 1750, CG x149inf, MBA.

⁸³Sotheby's, New York, 26 May 1992, lots 236–44.

⁸⁴ Daniel IV Leyniers, *Invoice*, 2 October 1750, CG x164inf, #260, MBA. The height was 350 cm; the widths were c. 634 cm, 634 cm, 486 cm, 556 cm, 417 cm and 278 cm respectively. The dimensions make it clear that this set is identical to the one recorded in Leyniers's *mémoire* of July 1749; Brosens, 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry', p. 223.

⁸⁵ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 20 January 1751, CG x149inf and CG x164inf, #263, MBA. Botta had asked the *tapisseries* to provide an overview; the list drawn up by Van den Hecke was preserved; MBA, CG x64inf, #272.

⁸⁶ Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 16 December 1750, CG x149inf and 29 July and 1 August 1749, CG x148inf, MBA.

⁸⁷ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 27 February 1750; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 10 March 1750; Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 20 March 1750; Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 24 March 1750; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 3 April 1750; Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 14 April 1750; Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 17 April 1750; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 24 April 1750; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 28 April 1750; CG x150inf, MBA.

⁸⁸ Brosens, 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry', pp. 225–27.

⁸⁹ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 3 April 1751, CG x150inf, MBA.

⁹⁰ Jan Frans and Peter van der Borch, *Invoice*, 4 August 1751, CG x164inf, #271, MBA.

⁹¹ Jan Frans and Peter van der Borch, *Invoice*, 6 September 1751, CG x164inf, #19, MBA.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Tarouca letter to Botta Adorno, 10 November 1751, CG x151inf, MBA.

⁹⁴ Von Birk, *Inventar*, pp. 215–16 (tapestry set number CV7*).

⁹⁵ Botta Adorno, *Contract*, 1 December 1751, CG x164inf, #295, MBA.

⁹⁶ Botta Adorno, *Mémoire* [January 1752], CG, x164inf, #266, MBA.

⁹⁷ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 20 October, 27 October and 6 November 1751, CG x151inf, MBA.

⁹⁸ While Frederick the Great had made gifts of '4 pièces de tapisserie de la très médiocre fabrique de Berlin', the Empress could present tapestries 'de nos excellentes manufactures'; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 20 November 1751, CG x151inf, BAM. For the history of the production in Berlin and the practice of presenting tapestries as diplomatic gifts, which had been customary since 1741, see P. Seidel, 'Die Herstellung von Wandteppichen in Berlin', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XII (1891), pp. 137–55 and 193–206, and H. Huth, 'Zur Geschichte der Berliner Wirkteppiche', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVI (1935), pp. 80–99. For a highly readable recent synthesis, see D. Heinz, *Europäische Tapisseriekunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 322–26.

⁹⁹ Brosens, 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry', p. 224.

¹⁰⁰ In the original: 'quelque sujet historié'; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 22 December 1751, CG x151inf, MBA.

¹⁰¹ Peter van den Hecke, *Mémoire*, 15 December 1751, CG x164inf, #13, MBA.

¹⁰² Botta Adorno, *Contracts*, 28 December 1751, CG x164inf, #306, #308, #310, #315, #324 and #326, MBA.

¹⁰³ *Registers der Tresorije*, 1 March 1746, 1310, fols 132–34, BSA. See also A. Wauters, *Les Tapisseries Bruxelloises* (Brussels: Baertsoen, 1878), pp. 364–66.

¹⁰⁴ Daniel IV Leyniers, *Mémoire*, 11 May 1748, CG x164inf, #301, MBA.

¹⁰⁵ Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 12 and 22 January 1752, CG x151inf, BAM. Van den Hecke produced one complete set of the *Illustrious Women*, and had started on a second one when he died in February 1752. The set is at the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (inv. 1994-E-1/4); a tapestry showing *Aspasia among the Philosophers* was sold by Phillips, London, on 11 February 1997, lot 46.

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¹⁰⁶Botta Adorno, *Contract*, 3 February 1752, CG x164inf, #258 and #289, MBA. The dimensions and subjects were *Harvest* (c. 420 cm), *Fruit Market* (c. 280 cm), *The Maypole* (c. 400 cm), *Shepherds* (c. 260 cm), *Wine Harvest* (c. 380 cm), *Winter* (c. 315 cm), *Village Fête* (c. 315 cm) and *Fish Market* (c. 395 cm). The height was c. 355 cm.

¹⁰⁷Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 24 May 1752, CG x152inf, MBA.

¹⁰⁸This is clear from a settlement with Van den Hecke's heirs (22 May); CG x164inf, #303, MBA.

¹⁰⁹Daniel IV Leyniers and Peter van der Borch, *Invoice*, May 1752, CG 164inf, #14, MBA. The height was 410 cm; the widths were c. 373 cm, 260 cm, 215 cm, 100 cm, 100 cm, 90 cm, 90 cm, 74 cm, 74 cm, 56 cm, 56 cm, 56 cm and 52 cm respectively.

¹¹⁰Daniel IV Leyniers, *Mémoire*, 13 April 1752, CG x164inf, #320 and #322, MBA.

¹¹¹Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 3 June 1752, CG x152inf, MBA.

¹¹²Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 14 June 1752, CG x152inf, MBA.

¹¹³Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 28 June 1752, CG, x152inf, MBA.

¹¹⁴Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 8 July 1752, CG x152inf, MBA.

¹¹⁵Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 19 July 1752, CG x153inf, MBA.

¹¹⁶Botta Adorno, *Contract*, 3 August 1752, CG x164inf, #262, MBA.

¹¹⁷Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 5 August 1752, CG, x153inf, MBA.

¹¹⁸At the beginning of the twentieth century, this piece was in the possession of the New York decorator and art dealer Stanford White (1853–1906); see W. Craven, *Stanford White. Decorator in Opulence and Dealer in Antiquities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 201, fig. 61. In 2002 it surfaced on the Paris art market (Drouot, 27 March 2002). The tapestry is now in a private collection in Madrid (with thanks to Guy Delmarcel for supplying this information).

¹¹⁹For this set, see K. Brosens and G. Delmarcel, 'Raphael's Acts of the Apostles, Italian officers of the Habsburg monarchy and the Leyniers tapestry workshop, 1725–1755', *The Burlington Magazine*, 156 (June 2014), pp. 376–81.

¹²⁰Secretarie van State en Oorlog (SSO), 22 May 1753, 1258, Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussels, (BAR).

¹²¹SSO, 2 June 1753, 1258, BAR.

¹²²SSO, 31 August 1753, 1233, BAR.

¹²³In one of his first letters about the tapestry project, Botta Adorno referred to this stock explicitly; see Brosens, 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels tapestry', p. 223. For a description of all the pieces, see *Catalogue de Dix-Huit Magnifiques Tapisseries Louis Quinze Provenant de l'Ancien Palais du Général Botta de Pavie* (Milan: Casimir Sipriot, 1800). Tarouca proved less of a tapestry lover: through Botta Adorno he purchased only a five-part 'cheap' *Teniers* from Van den Hecke on 30 August 1749; CG x64inf, #283, MBA. References can be found in the following letters: Tarouca, letter to Botta Adorno, 6 August 1749, CG x145inf, MBA; Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 10 August 1749, CG x145inf, MBA; and Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 27 August 1749, CG x145inf, MBA.

¹²⁴P. Lenders, 'De Junta der Besturen en Beden (1764–1787) en haar werking in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, xcii (1977), p. 27.

¹²⁵C. Douchamps-Lefèvre, 'L'État et ses archives sous le régime autrichien', *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, lxi (1990), pp. 376–77.

¹²⁶P. Lenders, 'Ontwikkeling van politiek en instellingen in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden. De invloed van de Europese oorlogen', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, lxiiv (1981), p. 71. See also J. Komlos, 'Institutional change under pressure: enlightened government policy in the eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchy', *The Journal of European Economic History*, xv (1986), pp. 430–31.

¹²⁷H. Freudenberger, 'An industrial momentum achieved in the Habsburg monarchy', *The Journal of European Economic History*, xii (1983), p. 340.

¹²⁸Botta Adorno, letter to Tarouca, 8 July 1750, CG x148inf, MBA.

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