

Raphael's 'Acts of the Apostles': Italians in the service of the Habsburg monarchy and the Leyniers tapestry workshop, 1725–55

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IN THE VILLA HÜGEL, Essen, is a seven-part edition of Raphael's tapestry series of *The acts of the Apostles* consisting of *The miraculous draught of fishes*, *Christ's charge to Peter*, *The healing of the lame man*, *The death of Ananias*, *The conversion of the proconsul*, *The sacrifice at Lystra* and *Paul preaching at Athens* (Figs. 33–39). The tapestries bear the city mark of Brussels, the signature 'D.LEYNIERS.' (Daniel IV Leyniers; 1705–70), and the coat of arms of Maria Theresa (1717–80), Empress of the Holy Roman Empire and ruler of the Southern Netherlands. The set is one of some fifty editions that were woven over the centuries in Flemish, English and French workshops after the example of the *editio princeps* produced between 1516 and 1521 in Brussels for Pope Leo X's Sistine Chapel. The seven original cartoons, which were preserved and since 1623 have belonged to the British Royal Collections (on permanent loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), as well as the *editio princeps* (Vatican Museums), have been studied at length,¹ along with several subsequent editions produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² However, the later Brussels editions, including the one in Essen, have attracted very little attention, in spite of the recent surge in interest in eighteenth-century Brussels tapestries.³ The edition made for the Empress is known to have been in production as early as January 1753, but the handful of studies in this area have either ignored it or dealt only summarily with its context.⁴ Nor does this research dwell on what the Essen *Acts of the Apostles* can tell us about how eighteenth-century artists and viewers entered into a dialogue with Raphael's legacy. By analysing the tapestries and both published and unpublished archival documents, this essay aims to fill these gaps.

Although the set in Essen has been described as 'a faithful copy' of Raphael's original compositions,⁵ there are in fact several significant discrepancies. For instance, three of its scenes, *The conversion of the proconsul*, *The sacrifice at Lystra* and *Paul preaching at Athens*, are in reverse image compared to the *editio princeps* and later editions (Figs. 39 and 40). What is more, the composition of *The sacrifice at Lystra* was expanded by adding a man standing on a stage and a small group of bystanders who thus present a visual counterpoint to St Paul. As woven by Leyniers, *Christ's charge to Peter* was likewise expanded, since the composition includes a complete small boat with a fisherman (Fig. 35). In addition, all Leyniers's tapestries have a palette and landscape settings that diverge from the original cartoons and other later editions.

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¹ M. Evans and C. Browne, eds.: exh. cat. *Raphael. Cartoons and tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London (Victoria and Albert Museum) 2010, contains an excellent recent survey of the genesis, history and dissemination of the series (in diverse media), as well as a detailed bibliography. Crucial older publications are T.P. Campbell, ed.: exh. cat. *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2002, pp.187–203; J. White: *The Raphael Cartoons*, London 1972;



33. *The miraculous draught of fishes*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 348 by 440 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).



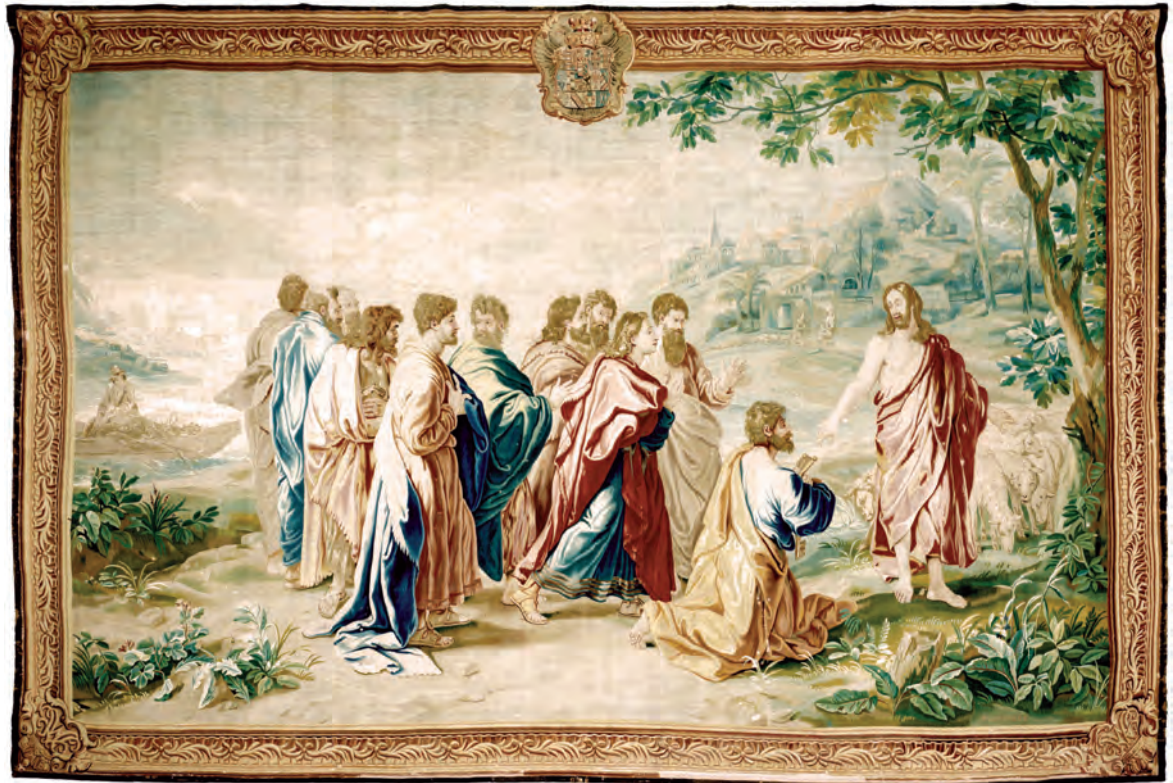
34. *The healing of the lame man*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 336 by 436 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).

and J. Shearman: *Raphael's cartoons in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London 1972.

² See, for example, W. Hefford: 'The Mortlake Manufactory, 1619–49', in Campbell, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.175–79; and G. Delmarcel and C.M. Brown, eds.: exh. cat. *Gli arazzi dei Gonzaga nel Rinascimento*, Mantua (Palazzo Te) 2010, pp.66–77.

³ For the most recent article and an extensive bibliography, see K. Brosens: 'The

35. *Christ's charge to Peter*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 348 by 512 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).



36. *The death of Ananias*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 348 by 560 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).



Even in the eighteenth century, these differences between the Leyniers cartoons and the original compositions would have been evident to anyone who was familiar with Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, for the original cartoons had been exhibited since

1699 in a gallery specially designed for them at Hampton Court Palace, and in the first half of the eighteenth century they were known outside England through the publication of two new sets of engravings, one by Simon Gribelin of 1707 and another by

final convulsions of Brussels tapestry: "The legend of the miraculous Host", 1769–85', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 155 (2013), p.82.

⁴ E. Kumsch: *Wandteppiche im Hause Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach auf dem Hügel A.D. Ruhr*, Dresden 1913; E. Kumsch: *Die Apostel-Geschichte. Eine Folge von Wandteppichen nach Entwürfen von Raffael Santi*, Dresden 1914, pp.37–39; I. De Meüter: 'De wandtapijndustrie te Brussel ten tijde van het Oostenrijks bewind', in

W. Scheelen, ed.: *De Oostenrijkse Nederlanden, het Prinsbisdom Luik en het Graafschap Loon in de 18de eeuw. Bijdragen over cultuur, politiek en economie*, Hasselt 1989, pp.85–87; P. Vogt, ed.: *Die Wandteppiche in der Villa Hügel*, Essen 1994, pp.46–60; and K. Brosens: *A contextual study of Brussels tapestry, 1670–1770: the dye works and tapestry workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747)*, Brussels 2004, pp.171–72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.171.

Nicolas Dorigny of 1711–19.⁶ Interestingly, however, it is clear from previously published and new archival material illuminating the history and use of the Leyniers cartoons that the differences were never thought to be important, let alone seen as at all problematic – certainly not by Daniel IV Leyniers. For the *Mémoire de Gois* reveals that both Daniel and his father, Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747), before him believed that their cartoons were based directly on Raphael's originals – or if they knew better, they certainly advertised their cartoons as such. The *Mémoire de Gois* is an extract from an unpublished and probably lost manuscript on the history of Brussels tapestry compiled by the Portuguese diplomat Francisco Mendes de Gois (1670–1753) between 1734 and 1742. It records the output of the Leyniers workshop between 1712 and 1734, and it is so detailed that we can assume that De Gois wrote it with the assistance of either Urbanus or Daniel IV Leyniers.⁷

De Gois tells us that Hercule-Louis Turinetti, marquis de Prié (1658–1726), the unpopular Italian deputy governor-general of the Austrian Netherlands between 1716 and 1724, gave Urbanus Leyniers permission to have copies made of 'the originals of the Acts of the Apostles in 7 pieces by Raphael, painted in water on canvas, which he had brought from Rome' by Jan van Orley (1665–1735) and Augustin Coppens (1668–1740), the most prolific tapestry designers in Brussels in the first third of the eighteenth century.⁸ It is unfortunately impossible to determine the provenance or nature of Prié's so-called 'original' cartoons, which have not been preserved. The observation that they were 'painted in water on canvas' sows more confusion than it dispels, since tapestry cartoons were actually painted either in watercolour on paper or, from the later seventeenth century onwards, in oil on canvas.

De Gois further notes that Prié commissioned two editions after the cartoons by Van Orley and Coppens, but that the project was aborted following Prié's death in Vienna on 12th January 1726: '[the tapestries] were never made since [he] had died in 1725 [sic] while they [the cartoons] were being copied; the originals were sent back to Vienna'.⁹ This may explain why *The conversion of the proconsul*, *The sacrifice at Lystra* and *Paul preaching at Athens* are all in reverse image (Figs. 37–39). For it is possible that Van Orley and Coppens had not yet copied these three compositions when Prié died and his cartoons were sent back to Vienna, which would mean that to complete the set, the Brussels painters would have had to rely on engravings (which were readily available by 1725), resulting, through the *basse-lisse* weaving process, in tapestries showing a reversed image. This would also mean that Jan van Orley was responsible for the figures

added to *The sacrifice at Lystra* – and these figures' poses and the folds of their cloaks certainly make an attribution to Van Orley credible (Fig. 39). The landscape settings of the Essen tapestries display the unmistakable hand of Augustin Coppens, and the colour discrepancies and other changes vis-à-vis the original cartoons, such as the transformation of the twisted columns in *The healing of the lame man* into straight ones (Fig. 34), can probably also be attributed to Van Orley and Coppens, who evidently saw nothing wrong in making creative copies of the cartoons.

For Urbanus Leyniers, Prié's death was obviously a major financial setback. Besides losing a good customer (between 1716 and 1722, Leyniers had supplied Prié with three Teniers sets, as well as editions of *The story of Don Quixote* and *The triumph of the gods* from his own workshop, and an Antwerp series of *Grotesques* and 'several other tapestries from Oudenarde'),¹⁰ he was also left with an aborted project. However, the *Mémoire de Gois* reveals that it was not long before Leyniers was able to use the new cartoons by Van Orley and Coppens: in 1727, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1683–1732), purchased 'the first set made from these designs [after Raphael's originals]', consisting of four pieces with the client's coat of arms in the borders: *The miraculous draught of fishes*, *Christ's charge to Peter*, *The death of Ananias* and *The sacrifice at Lystra*.¹¹ These tapestries' whereabouts have not been noted before, but they are in Arundel Castle, the seat of the Dukes of Norfolk.¹² The colours and compositions of these tapestries – which do indeed display the client's coat of arms – are identical to those of the Essen *Acts of the Apostles*.

The *Mémoire de Gois* reveals that Urbanus Leyniers sold no other edition of the *Acts of the Apostles* between 1727 and 1734. The set of cartoons by Van Orley and Coppens, 'consisting of 7 pieces', remained in the possession of Urbanus Leyniers until his death in 1747, as is clear from his probate inventory.¹³ A few years later they were re-used by Urbanus's son and successor Daniel IV Leyniers for the seven-part (and hence complete) edition that has been in Essen since 1912.¹⁴ The set was previously in the collection of Gaetano Melzi, Milan, before which it was in the possession of Carl Joseph Gotthard, Count of Firmian (1716–82),¹⁵ who was probably the first owner of the set. He had a long career in the service of the Empress: he became Reichshofrath in 1746, then ambassador at the Court of Naples in 1753, and in 1756 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary of Lombardy with his seat in Milan, where he remained until his death.¹⁶

The unpublished correspondence of the Italian marquis Antoniotto di Botta Adorno (1688–1774), minister plenipoten-

⁶ M. Evans: 'The "afterlife" of the Cartoons, 1600–1865', in Evans and Browne, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 57–62. For a detailed history of the cartoons, see Shearman, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 138–64.

⁷ For the *Mémoire*, which is in a Belgian private collection, see Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 19–20. For De Gois, see A. Silva da Carvalho: 'Um agente de Portugal em França. Francisco Mendes de Gois', *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História* 2 (1949), pp. 213–40.

⁸ Urbanus Leyniers was given permission to make copies of 'les originaux des actes des apôtres en 7 pièces par Raphaël peint à l'eau sur toile qu'il avait apporté de Rome'; Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 253. For the role that Prié played in the Southern Netherlands, see G. De Boom: *Les ministres plénipotentiaires dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens principalement Cobenzl*, Brussels 1932.

⁹ '[the tapestries] ne furent point faites étant venu à mourir en 1725 [sic] pendant qu'on les [the cartoons] peignait; les originaux furent renvoyés à Vienne'; Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 253.

¹⁰ 'plusieurs autres tentures d'Oudenarde'; *ibid.*, pp. 252–54.

¹¹ Thomas Howard purchased 'la première tenture qui fut faite sur ces dessins [d'après les originaux de Raphaël]'; *ibid.*, p. 256.

¹² The authors wish to thank Wendy Hefford and Helen Wyld for their invaluable

support in locating the tapestries.

¹³ Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 278.

¹⁴ Staff at Krupp Historical Archives informed us that the set had been acquired in 1912 from the Munich art dealer Bernheimer.

¹⁵ In the Italian translation of Quatremère de Quincy's *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Raphaël*, Paris 1824, the tapestries are described as follows: 'sette bellissimi, con intesa in alto l'arma della casa Imp.d'Austria sono posseduti dal conte Gaetano Melzi, appassionato raccoglitore di ottimi libri. Questi furono regalati dall'imperatrice Maria Teresa al conte di Firmian, alla morte del quale essendo vendute le cose sue, capitarono essi nelle mane di un rigattiere, il quale li vendette al sullodato signor Conte'; *Istoria della vita e delle opere di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino del signor Quatremère de Quincy, voltata in Italiano, corretta, illustrata ed ampliata per cura di Francesco Longhena*, Milan 1829, p. 383.

¹⁶ A.V. Felgel: 'Firmian, Karl Gotthard', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Berlin 1878, VII, pp. 27–29.

¹⁷ There is very little literature on Botta: see J. Laenen: *Le Ministère de Botta-Adorno dans les Pays-Bas Autrichiens pendant le Règne de Marie-Thérèse (1749–1753)*, Antwerp 1901.

¹⁸ For Tarouca, see T. von Karajan: *Maria Theresia und Graf Silva-Tarouca*, Vienna 1859; E. Silva-Tarouca: *Der Mentor der Kaiserin*, Zürich 1960; and C. Benedik and J.



37. *The conversion of the proconsul*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 350 by 360 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).



38. *Paul preaching at Athens*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 350 by 376 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).

tiary of the Austrian Netherlands in Brussels from 1749 to 1753 (and as such one of Prié's successors),¹⁷ and Emanuel Teles da Silva, Conde Silva-Tarouca (1691–1771), president of the Conseil Suprême des Pays-Bas in Vienna,¹⁸ and that of Botta's successor Count Karl Johann Philipp von Cobenzl (1712–70)¹⁹ and Tarouca, allow us to build up a more detailed picture of the genesis of the Firmian/Essen edition.²⁰ Ever since the summer of 1749, Botta had been trying to persuade Maria Theresa and Habsburg officials, Tarouca among others, to support the Brussels tapestry industry by commissioning sets that could be used either to decorate imperial residences or as diplomatic gifts.²¹ His efforts had been crowned with a modest degree of success: the Empress had indeed purchased a number of Brussels sets – each one displaying her coat of arms – and used them as gifts.²² But it can be inferred from a letter that Tarouca wrote to Botta on 3rd June 1752 that for some time not much had been happening.²³ However, in this same letter, Tarouca expressed his confidence that new orders could be expected in the near future, for the Empress had made it known that she wished

to commission at least one, and possibly two, sets as gifts to be presented to certain unnamed officials.

Botta responded with enthusiasm on 14th June 1752, suggesting an edition of *The story of Don Quixote* and one of *The acts of the Apostles*.²⁴ Already in 1749, Daniel IV Leyniers had highlighted *The acts of the Apostles* in a *mémoire* sent to Botta, stressing the fact that only one incomplete set had been woven.²⁵ The Empress approved the proposal and emphasised that the editions must – as always – display her coat of arms.²⁶ Botta lost no time in trying to set the new commissions on track. On 8th July he wrote that he had consulted Leyniers, and he lavished praise on *The acts of the Apostles*: 'This tapestry, which is extremely rich in figures and contains a great quantity of *chamure* [*sic*; Botta may have meant *carnation* (incarnadine)], is extremely expensive, and no more than four pieces can be supplied for the aforementioned sum [3,800 guilders]; on the other hand, I flatter myself that such are its beauty, its subject and its composition that any connoisseur would regard it as a regal present'.²⁷ Tarouca replied on 19th July, after consulting the Empress, and proposed spreading the

Garms: 'Zwischen Architektur und Verwaltung. Die Direktion Graf Silva Taroucas und die Karrieren von Ignazio Valmagini, Nikolaus Pacassi und August Gottlieb Lederer im Hofbauamt', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 47 (2005), pp.335–67. For the *Conseil Suprême des Pays-Bas*, which was abolished in 1757, see M. Baelde: 'De samenstelling van de Hoge Raad der Nederlanden te Wenen (1717–1757)', in *Album aangeboden aan Charles Verlinden*, Ghent 1975, I, pp.1–15; and *idem*: 'De afschaffing van de Hoge Raad der Nederlanden te Wenen (1757)', in *Recht en Instellingen in de Oude Nederlanden tijdens de Middeleeuwen en de Nieuwe Tijd. Liber Amicorum Jan Buntinx*, Leuven 1981, pp.567–75.

¹⁹ For Cobenzl, see G. De Boom: *Les ministres plénipotentiaires dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens, principalement Cobenzl*, Brussels 1932.

²⁰ The archives of Botta Adorno are preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (cited hereafter as MBA). This vast resource was described at the end of the nineteenth century in A. Cauchie: 'Le Maréchal Antoniotto de Botta-Adorno et ses papiers d'état', in *Compte Rendu du Troisième Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques Tenu à Bruxelles du 3 au 8 Septembre 1894*, Brussels 1895, pp.397–423. Its structure remained unchanged throughout the twentieth century, but the old numbering was revised. For this study, the documents used were primarily the 'Cartelle Grandi' (cited hereafter as CG), since they include the correspondence with

Tarouca. The Cobenzl–Tarouca correspondence is preserved at the *Archives générales du Royaume*, Brussels (cited hereafter as AGRB), 'Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre' (cited hereafter as SEG). X. Duquenne: *Inventaire analytique de la correspondance générale du Comte de Cobenzl (1718–1770)*, Brussels 2004, is an invaluable tool to mine this archival collection. In this article, Botta's and Cobenzl's letters to Tarouca are designated 'B/T' and 'C/T' respectively – with 'T/B' and 'T/C' naturally indicating the converse.

²¹ K. Brosens: 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry. Part I', *Textile History*, forthcoming.

²² These sets will be studied in *idem*: 'Botta Adorno, Empress Maria Theresa and Brussels Tapestry. Part II', *Textile History*, forthcoming.

²³ MBA, CG, x152inf, T/B.

²⁴ MBA, CG, x152inf, B/T.

²⁵ MBA, CG, x164inf (8th October 1749).

²⁶ MBA, CG, x152inf, T/B (28th June 1752).

²⁷ 'Cette tapisserie extrêmement riche en figures, où il y a beaucoup de *chamure* [*sic*]; ira à un prix considérablement haut, et ne permettra pas d'en tirer plus de 4 pièces pour la susdite somme [fl.3,800], mais aussi et en revanche puis-je me flatter que sa beauté, son dessin et son arrangement la feront estimer de chaque connoisseur un présent royal'; MBA, CG, x152inf, B/T.



39. *The sacrifice at Lystra*, by the Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley (after Raphael). 1752–54. Wool, silk and metal-wrapped thread, 352 by 620 cm. (Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung/Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen).

production of *The acts of the Apostles* over several years, eventually arriving at a complete edition of seven tapestries.²⁸

Botta agreed to the proposal and tried to conclude the contract as soon as possible. On 29th July he wrote that the project had been delayed by the manufacturer's illness and the painter's 'slow pace of work' – from which we can deduce that the cartoons, which had not been used for a quarter of a century, needed to be freshened up.²⁹ The identity of the 'slow painter' is not immediately clear, although the list of possible candidates is quite short: one document lists just three Brussels painters who were involved in the Brussels tapestry industry between June 1752 and June 1753: Maximiliaan de Hase, François Eisen and Emanuel de Pery.³⁰ De Hase (1713–81), the best-known of the trio, can be ruled out, since his *Memorie Boeck*, a journal in which he kept meticulous records of his output between 1744 and 1780, shows that he had no hand in preparing the cartoons.³¹ This makes it extremely likely that either François Eisen (c.1695–1778) or Emanuel de Pery (1708–79), both of whom had had privileges since 1743, executed the retouches.³² Whatever the case may be, since there are no discrepancies between the Norfolk and Essen tapestries, these modifications were not significant.

Botta and Leyniers concluded the contract on 3rd August 1752.³³ Four tapestries, *Christ's charge to Peter*, *The miraculous draught of fishes*, *The conversion of the proconsul* and *Paul preaching at Athens*, were ordered for the total sum of 4,050 guilders, or 30 guilders per square yard. Since Brussels tapestries were generally sold at around

22 guilders per square yard,³⁴ it is clear that the series was indeed expensive. The higher price may be explained in part by the composition's many large figures, but the use of silver thread, albeit sparse, may have been another contributing factor.³⁵ The four pieces were not mentioned in the correspondence between Botta Adorno and Tarouca, but they have turned up elsewhere: on 25th January 1753, Everard IV Leyniers (1664–1754), a relative and employee of Daniel IV Leyniers, issued a declaration about a genealogical painting that was in the family's possession; as a sort of footnote, Everard IV Leyniers added that he was 'at this time still working on the tapestries that are being produced there [in the Leyniers workshop] in the service of Her Imperial and Royal Majesty Maria Theresa, our gracious sovereign, which tapestries represent the Acts of the Apostles'.³⁶

Botta left Brussels at the end of September 1753 to represent the Emperor's interests in Tuscany,³⁷ but production continued on the four tapestries.³⁸ On 10th November, Tarouca informed Botta's successor Cobenzl that some unnamed officials had tried to convince the Empress to cancel the planned order of the three remaining pieces, and to give the four tapestries that were nearing completion to 'le nonce', that is, Fabrizio Serbelloni (1695–1775), Apostolic nuncio from 1746 to November 1753; Maria Theresa, however, had decided against this suggestion.³⁹ The four tapestries arrived in Vienna in the beginning of January 1754, and weaving on the last three pieces started in the middle of that month.⁴⁰ One year later, on 15th January 1755, Cobenzl wrote that the tapestries were finished and would be sent to

²⁸ MBA, CG, x153inf, T/B.

²⁹ MBA, CG, x153inf, B/T.

³⁰ Brussels, Stadsarchief (cited hereafter as BSA), Registers der Tresorije (cited hereafter as RT), 1310, fol.520.

³¹ The key publications on De Hase are the genealogical study of the De Hase family in F. De Cacamp: 'Oude geslachten tussen Zenne en Zoniën. 1. De Haese', *Brabantica* 5 (1960), pp.219–56, esp. pp.245–50, and an analysis of one of his cycles in W. Scheelen: 'Enkele minder bekende werken van de Brusselse schilder Maximiliaan de Hase (ca. 1718?–1781)', *Arca Lovaniensis: Artes atque Historiae Reserans Documenta. Jaarboek van de Vrienden van de Leuvense Stedelijke Musea* 15–16 (1987), pp.95–125. See also D. Coekelberghs: *Les peintres belges à Rome de 1700 à 1830*, Brussels and Rome 1976, pp.393–94, for De Hase's Roman period; I.C. Echaniz and P.M.M. Estebas:

'Un ciclo pictórico desconocido de Maximilian de Haese en el Santuario de Loyola', *Goya* 241–42 (1994), pp.67–74. See also Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 4); and *idem* and K. Van der Stighelen: 'Paintings, prices and productivity. Lessons learned from Maximiliaan de Hase's *Memorie Boeck* (1744–1780)', *Simiolus* 36 (2012), pp.173–83. K. Brosens is currently working on a monograph on De Hase, which will include an annotated edition of the *Memorie Boeck*.

³² BSA, RT, 1310, fols.15–18.

³³ MBA, CG, x164inf, no.262.

³⁴ See, for example, the prices listed by Judocus de Vos in a *Mémoire* that he recorded in 1727; K. Brosens: 'Revisiting Brussels tapestry, 1700–1740: New data on tapisseries Albert Auwercx and Judocus de Vos', *Textile History* 43 (2012), Appendix 3.

³⁵ Vogt, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.46–60.



40. *The sacrifice at Lystra*, by the Van Tieghem workshop after Raphael. Before 1557. Wool, silk and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 495 by 772 cm. (Vatican Museums).

Vienna later that week.⁴¹ On 25th January 1755 Daniel IV Leyniers wrote a letter to Botta Adorno thanking him for his support and his efforts in promoting the Brussels industry to the Empress, and reminding him of his 'intention of ordering a number of tapestries for his apartments'.⁴² But Leyniers also noted, not without pride, that the tapestries depicting the *Acts of the Apostles* had been sent recently to Vienna, and that the Empress was delighted with the result – clearly a case of the wish being the father of the thought, for the pieces only arrived in Vienna near the end of February.⁴³ Botta Adorno replied evasively to Leyniers's question about ordering new sets, but expressed his pleasure at the Empress's satisfaction.⁴⁴ We know of no document revealing the date on which Maria Theresa presented the edition to Firmian, but since the Empress habitually presented the sets she purchased as diplomatic gifts soon after receiving them, it is a fair assumption that Firmian received the set in 1756, when he was appointed minister plenipotentiary of Lombardy.⁴⁵

There is no reason to assume that Daniel IV Leyniers used the cartoons for a third edition at some point between 1754 and the closure of the Leyniers workshop in 1768. The cartoons of *The acts of the Apostles* remained in the possession of Daniel IV Leyniers's descendants until 1875, in which year they were sold at public auction; and in all probability they were then lost.⁴⁶

That it should have been Italian officials with a distinct preference for tapestry – Prié commissioned a large number of series from Leyniers, and Botta Adorno did his utmost to support the industry throughout his term as governor-general – who rekindled interest in 'their' Raphael may not have been a coincidence, nor, perhaps, that the first edition should eventually have been purchased by a nobleman in Britain, where the set had acquired celebrated status by the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ But the Leyniers set was not a resounding commercial success, and this too is easy to explain: whatever the exalted status of Raphael and his *Acts of the Apostles*, both the religious iconography and the monumental style of the set were diametrically opposed to the light-hearted and playful imagery and formal language of the *goût moderne* that sustained French and Flemish tapestry in the period from about 1730 to 1760, while the stylistic features of *The acts of the Apostles* made it more expensive to produce an edition from these old cartoons than to weave a set from a contemporary design. Perhaps Botta Adorno secretly hoped – as Daniel IV Leyniers certainly did – that *The acts of the Apostles* would be used as a diplomatic gift on other occasions, but for Maria Theresa and her advisers, price was the main factor when they were deciding what to choose; any subject was deemed acceptable, as long as it was not 'undignified'.⁴⁸

³⁶ He stated that he was 'tegenwoordigh noch werckende aen de stucken tappijten die aldaer [in the Leyniers workshop] gemaect worden ten dienste van haere keijserlijke ende koninklijke Majesteijt Maria Theresia onse genadige souverijne welcke stucken sijn representerende de werken der apostelen'; Belgium, private collection, 'Beschrijvinghe der familie Leyniers', pp.116–17. For this remarkable source, see Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.19.

³⁷ Laenen, *op. cit.* (note 17), p.7.

³⁸ AGRB, SEG, 1260, C/T (5th October 1753).

³⁹ AGRB, SEG, 1259, T/C.

⁴⁰ AGRB, SEG, 1259, T/C (12th January 1754).

⁴¹ AGRB, SEG, 1261, C/T.

⁴² '... intention d'ordonner quelques pièces de tapisserie pour ses appartements'; MBA, CG,

x193inf, XX.115.

⁴³ AGRB, SEG, 1261, T/C (26th February 1755) and C/T (8th March 1755).

⁴⁴ MBA, CG, x193inf, XX.116 (10th February 1755).

⁴⁵ Firmian scholar Elisabeth Garms confirmed to us that the Empress was satisfied with Firmian's work, but she is not aware of any archival documents that shed light on the year in which it was presented to Firmian.

⁴⁶ A. Reydam and J. Wittmann: 'Notice sur l'ancien Hôtel de Gottignies ou de Vaernewyck à Malines', *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique, littéraire et artistique de Malines* 8 (1898), p.99 (with thanks to I. De Meûter for this reference).

⁴⁷ For this success, see A. Meyer, ed.: exh. cat. *Apostles in England. Sir James Thomhill and the Legacy of Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons*, New York (Columbia University) 1996.

⁴⁸ MBA, CG, x147inf, T/B (31st December 1749).