

Princely beasts

Material culture and pictorial tradition behind the animals on the Wawel Castle First Parents
and Noah tapestries



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Summary

The Wawel tapestry sets showing the stories of the First Parents and Noah's Ark (c. 1548-1553) of the Wawel castle in Cracow are teeming many highly-detailed animals, some of which were barely known in Europe in this period. Bought by Polish King Sigismund II before 1553, the tapestries were made in Brussels by Flemish artists more closely connected to the Netherlandish Habsburg court, its culture and its art, than to the Polish court in Cracow. Therefore, this thesis explores to what extent the animals on these specific Wawel tapestry sets relate to the material and visual culture from the circle of the Brussels Habsburg court. On one hand, this thesis aims to analyse the choice of species from the context of the symbolical and material meaning. Particularly the meanings of knowledge, economical power, ruling power and expansionist power that would have arisen from material culture at the Habsburg court in respect to the collecting of dead and alive animals, the keeping of live animals both as collection object and as functional object, and the role of animals in courtly activities such as hunting and feasting. The second aim of this thesis is to place the Wawel tapestries within the pictorial tradition of the Low Countries, Germany and Italy of depicting the first nine chapters of Genesis with a (varying) multitude of animals. This comparison reveals the degree of innovation on part of the Wawel tapestry artists and their adherence to visual trends that evolved near European courts of the sixteenth century, including the Habsburg court. This study concludes that the Habsburg frame is useful for understanding the Wawel animals. Many animals be directly linked to animals present at the Brussels Habsburg court and the visual analysis shows a congruent trend at other European courts that may even suggest the importance of animal collecting to the emergence of picturing many animals in one scene.

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I apologise to any friends and family who are by now thoroughly done with hearing about animals and tapestries. I'd especially like to thank Evelien van der Schaar for helping me identify several animals, and Kathleen Pollaert and Maia Kenney for stepping in as sounding board when needed. Caroline Daams, thank you for your feedback and uplifting lunches, they were both much-needed. I thank my parents for the continuous support and many cups of tea. Lastly, I want to mention my flatmate Émile van Bergeijk, who quipped the most accurate description of this study in one sentence: "Het meest stoffige onderwerp wat je kon kiezen".¹

¹ "The dustiest subject you could have possibly chosen".

Introduction

In the middle of the sixteenth century, a group of Brussels artists designed and wove a set of tapestries (figs. 1-15) that still manages to astonish viewers with the sumptuousness and lifelikeness of their animal population. These Flemish tapestries were commissioned for the Wawel Castle in Cracow by King Sigismund Augustus II (1520-1572), who ordered an additional set with animal verdure later in the 1550s.² However, the first fifteen tapestries of the set, the First Parents and Noah's Ark series, already contain more than fifty species of animal set among lush vegetation. The selection of species includes several South American, African and Asian animals that would have been rare or unknown in Europe not fifty years earlier, such as macaws, turkeys and elephants. Domestic species, like cows, cormorants and geese are not excluded either. What drove the Brussels artists to picture these animals and how should they be interpreted meaningfully within the context of their patron's European court culture?

The Renaissance has long been recognised as a crucial transition point from medieval to pre-modern attitudes to animals. In artworks, an increasing number of animals was pictured in an increasingly naturalistic style. In the fifteenth century, early instances of this naturalistic style are found, among others, in the works of the Flemish Primitives, Italian artist Pisanello (c. 1395-c.1455) and in manuscript illuminations.³ The turning point is often identified around 1500 with Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), who both displayed a keen interest in the actual appearance of nature.⁴ In the Netherlands, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of a veritable animal genre. This picturing of animals for animals' sake has been characterised by MARRIGJE RIKKEN as an Antwerpian development of the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵ After dissemination by printmakers like Marcus Gheeraerts (1518-c.1590) and Adriaen Collaert (c. 1560-1618), the genre found

² For a tapestry set, the Wawel tapestries have been relatively well-studied. The first studies date after the restitution of the arras from Russia to Poland in 1920: Morelowski, *Arasy Wawelskie Zygmunta Augusta*; Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arasy Zygmunta Augusta*.

Publications from Western Europe introduced the tapestries to a wider audience, notably: Crick-Kuntzinger, "Les 156 tapisseries bruzellois du Château royal de Cracovie et leur importance dans l'art flamand du XVIe siècle,"; Crick-Kuntzinger, "Tapisseries de la Genèse d'après Michiel Coxcie,"; Digby, "Tapestries from the Polish State Collection."

Research picked up again after the Second World War: Ruzszyk, "Au sujet de l'iconographie des tapisseries aux éléments grotesques"; Wdowiszewski, "La tapisserie des Jagellons au blason Korczak"; Markiewicz, "Iconography of the Paradise Tapestry in the Old Polish Royal Collections."

A large monograph was first published in four European languages in 1972 and again in abridged version in 1994. To date, it is the established standard work on the Wawel tapestries, displaying great erudition but unfortunately lacking in precise references; it only includes a general bibliography per chapter. Szablowski, *Les tapisseries flamandes au château du Wawel à Cracovie. Trésors du roi Sigismund II Auguste Jagellon*. The 1994 edition is updated with new insights but omits the chapter about Flemish tapestry by Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman.

Szablowski, Misiąg-Bochenska, and Piwocka, *The Flemish Arrases. Royal Castle in Cracow*.

The tapestries were part of an exhibition in Ghent in 1987: Hennel-Bernasikowa et al., *Vlaamse Wandtapijten Uit de Wawelburcht Te Krakau En Uit Andere Europese Verzamelingen*.

Most recent scholarship includes a small booklet in English and an updated catalogue in Polish from Wawel Castle and a 2007 dissertation by Carmen Niekrasz, who treats the tapestries as a case study among two other sets. Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*; Hennel-Bernasikowa and Piwocka, *Katalog arrasów króla Zygmunta Augusta*; Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 108-190.

³ Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies," 13-20.

⁴ Dürer's animal and plant drawings have been studied in: Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer Und Die Tier- Und Pflanzenstudien Der Renaissance*; Eisler, *Dürer's Animals*; Eichberger, "Naturalia and Artefacta". The primacy of Dürer has long been felt – up to the seventeenth century his watercolours were still emulated: Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 25.

For Leonardo da Vinci, see: Kane, "Science in the Art of the Italian Renaissance II."

⁵ Rikken, "Dieren verbeeld".

its culmination in the animal-packed works of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625, fig. 16) and Roelant Savery (1576-1639).⁶

However, the question why a turn towards naturalism took place and how it happened is largely unanswered. There is no clear break between medieval and Renaissance styles of representation and both highly naturalistic modes and schematic modes of depicting existed together.⁷ In her study of the dissemination of certain animal models among Antwerpian animal painters of the middle of the century, the connection of these models to precedents outside Antwerp fell outside Rikken's research scope.⁸ (Art) Historians of science have often framed the turn towards naturalism within the context of natural history, from debates on symbolic meanings or the origins of naturalism in art to the contributions of artists to pre-modern natural history.⁹ Sixteenth-century natural historical works, such as Conrad Gessner's (1516-1565) first pre-modern animal encyclopaedia published between 1551 and 1558, took interest in the actual appearances and behaviours of animals in addition to the medieval focus on symbolic interpretation and textual authority.¹⁰ Crucial in this development was the European elite of princes and wealthy merchants, who started valuing and collecting pieces of nature and commissioning works of art after their treasures.

In this development to increasingly naturalistic animal images, tapestry as a medium has been generally overlooked.¹¹ This is an unfortunate oversight, as tapestry kept pace with, and occasionally surpassed, depictions of nature in contemporary paintings and drawings.¹² In particular, the Wawel tapestries form a key set between the budding developments earlier in the century, and the veritable explosion of animals felt at the end with Brueghel and Savery.¹³ Although Rikken has defined the development of the Netherlandish animal genre within artworks on paper or panel from Antwerp, thereby limiting it to a start after 1550, examples from tapestry show that this trend was not limited to paintings. The many copies of the Wawel sets, especially the one woven for Philip II with a new animal-filled border, testify to the particular effectiveness of the Wawel tapestries in this regard.¹⁴ Moreover, in 1956, the zoologist Karol Łukaszewicz already pointed out the early date of the tapestries in relation to the encyclopaedias by Gessner and later natural historians.¹⁵ Whereas the Wawel verdure, dating from

⁶ See Rikken, "Dieren verbeeld". On Jan Brueghel the Elder's *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (1613), see Kolb, *Jan Brueghel the Elder*.

⁷ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 92.

⁸ Rikken, "Dieren verbeeld," 25-48.

⁹ For more information on the historiography of these questions in the history of science, see: Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 11.

¹⁰ Ashworth Jr, "Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance."

¹¹ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 11-14.

This lack of scholarship is symptom of the nineteenth century, when tapestry was classified with decorative arts. Other reasons for the lack of scholarship are: tapestries are often much less well-preserved; the medium is unfamiliar to many art historians; over time, tapestry collections were regarded with less reverence and often used as backdrops to painting; under influence of Vasari and his bias towards Italian artists art historical interests have long skewed towards Italy and painting. For a more detailed account of the perception of tapestry, see: Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 6-10.

¹² Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 20.

¹³ The comparison between the Wawel tapestries and the work of Brueghel and Savery has already been drawn before: Misiąg-Bochenska, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 97; Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 150, 181.

¹⁴ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 179-180.

¹⁵ Łukaszewicz, "Świat Zwierząt W Arrasach Wawelskich."

the late 1550s, have been connected to various printed models, the pictorial tradition and visual sources to which the Brussels artists would have related for the first two sets have hardly been studied yet.¹⁶

Moreover, tapestry was one of the ultimate luxury art forms of the sixteenth century to which some of the most famous artists of the time contributed their designs, from Rogier van der Weyden in the fifteenth century, to Raphael in the sixteenth and Rubens in the seventeenth century.¹⁷ The prominent and less prominent courts of Europe invested enormous sums into tapestry cycles with which to decorate their walls.¹⁸ Therefore, it was appreciated and commissioned by the same aristocratic elite that sponsored humanist scholars, overseas expedition and foreign and domestic animal husbandry for food, hunting and pleasure.¹⁹ Arnout Balis already stated this importance of courtly life on the development of animals painting. He compared the development of animal iconography in sixteenth-century Flanders to that of fifteenth-century Lombardy, where artists also worked in a court setting.²⁰

Michael Baxandall theorised in 1972 how artworks are the deposit of the commercial, religious, perceptual and social conventions shared by both artist and patron.²¹ While Baxandall took his concept of “period eye” to the limit by proposing the influence of barrel-gauging on spatial perception, the underlying idea that artist and audience share a view and interpretation of the world, and therefore of what is pictured in art and how it is pictured, is the foundation beneath this thesis.²² Namely, that the artists of the Wavel tapestries would have catered to an upper-class European court culture and that to do that they would have had to have come into contact with other examples of this culture.

As an addition to Carmen Niekrasz’ thorough 2007 exploration of general humanist perceptions of animals as an interpretive framework for the Wavel tapestries, this thesis delves into the tangible court culture of the production site.²³ It asks to what extent the animals on the Wavel tapestries relate to the material and visual culture from the circle of the Brussels Habsburg court? After all, the Wavel tapestry designers stood closer to the Habsburg court than to the Polish court in Cracow. Michiel Coxcie (1499-1592), to whom the main design of the set is attributed, was exceptionally favoured by the Habsburg elite, working in service of Mary of Hungary (1505-1558) and Philip II (1527-1598).²⁴ Despite the previous focus of studies of collecting practices on late sixteenth-century German and Italian collections, Sven Dupré and Florike Egmond have recently pointed out the importance of the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth for the social origins of collecting rare *naturalia*.²⁵ Moreover, it would have been in Brussels, not in Poland, where the artists could have come into contact with the real-life models for their animals. There is also hardly any evidence that

¹⁶ Hannel-Bernasikowa, “Animal and Landscape Arrases,” 235-236. Although Niekrasz does make visual comparisons, she does so with artworks dating after the tapestries. For example, a comparison with engravings of the Creation from the 1580s and 90s: Niekrasz, “Woven Theaters of Nature,” 174.

¹⁷ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 16-17; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 4-23.

¹⁸ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 4.

¹⁹ The importance of courtly life for the development of increasingly naturalistic depictions of animals in art is also stressed by Arnout Balis: “Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst,” 39.

²⁰ Balis, “Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst,” 39.

²¹ Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, especially 1-27.

²² For the barrel-gauging, see Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, 86-93.

²³ Niekrasz, “Woven Theaters of Nature,” 108-190.

²⁴ Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, “The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592”; Van den Boogert, “Michiel Coxcie, hofschilder in dienst van het Habsburgse Huis”.

²⁵ As recently discussed in: Dupré and Egmond, “Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia.”

Recent studies into the Habsburg collecting of foreign wares are: MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,”; Schoonbaert, Vandamme, and Vandenbroek, *America*.

Sigismund II himself was particularly interested in animals, although lions were bred at Wawel castle and quail were kept on the premises.²⁶

The first aim of this thesis is to analyse the choice of species within the traditional iconographical meanings and more importantly, the meanings that would have arisen from material culture at the Habsburg court. Clues to the importance of the various individual animals emerge from the analysis of what animals are pictured, in what manner, and where they are placed in the composition.²⁷ The interpretation of traditional iconography is then given form according to already well-known symbolism ascribed to various traditional animals in the tradition of great iconographer like Erwin Panofsky.²⁸ It deals only briefly with the most obvious examples because there is little to add to the work of previous scholars and more importantly, the plurality of meanings makes it a daunting task to interpret all animals in this way.²⁹ The focus of the thesis is on the construction of meaning from material culture in its broadest sense within the Habsburg court. The animals of the Wawel tapestries are studied in Habsburg context not just as a collectable object in a collecting culture, but also as aspects of everyday life that were nonetheless imbued with the great splendour of courtly life, such as expensive pelts and royal hunting quarry. Studies of this kind have already been conducted for other courts and especially for foreign, 'exotic', animals.³⁰ Added to this body of work are new insights from a fresh examination of the recently integrally published inventories of Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary.³¹ In 2002, Margaret's inventory has been studied with a focus on collecting by Dagmar Eichberger, who also provides a great guide to studying these inventories.³² Mary's possessions have never been analysed comprehensively to this end.³³ Information on menageries, court expenses and gift-exchange is also considered, but no new archival research has been undertaken to this end.³⁴

²⁶ Neither Jerzy Szablowski nor Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa mention natural historical objects while discussing Sigismund II's collections and library: Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 33-42; Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arranges"; Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*.

On the lions and quail, see Fabiański, "Wawelskie Wirydarze Zygmunta Starego," 48-49, 54. I thank Dr Magdalena Ozga for kindly sending me this publication.

²⁷ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 7-8. Egmond refers to Carlo Ginzburg's *Clues* (1979) as inspiration for how attention to detail "provides clues to what was at the time considered relevant in the study of living nature". I gratefully borrow this interpretation of 'clues' here.

²⁸ For an extended introduction into Panofsky's work, see: Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art"; for a recent view on how to nuance this methodology, see: Harbison, "Iconography and Iconology".

²⁹ Iconographical interpretations based on Christian symbolism have already been suggested for various animals by: Markiewicz, "Iconography of the Paradise Tapestry in the Old Polish Royal Collections";

³⁰ Silver, "World of Wonders: Exotic Animals in European Imagery, 1515-1650."

³¹ Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*.

³² Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*. In Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria," Eichberger provides great insight in the nuances of the function and subsequent make-up of inventories of this kind and how to interpret the placement of items properly.

³³ Mary of Hungary's court and collecting has been published on in Federinov, Docquier, and Musée Royal de Mariemont, *Marie de Hongrie* and Van den Boogert, Kerkhoff, and Blockmans, *Maria van Hongarije*. The inventories of her library have been studied in Sanchez-Molero, "La biblioteca de María de Hungría y la bibliofilia de Felipe II".

³⁴ Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries*, vol. 1. is the broadest study of menageries in the Southern Netherlands to this date. His assertions have been checked where possible against archival documents published over the years by Julien Finot and Chrétien Dehaisnes (see bibliography for the respective volumes).

Various publications on the Coudenberg palace in Brussels have also dealt with the question of animals, most thoroughly Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*.

Detailed information on the lion court in Ghent during this period is found in Lievois and Van den Abeele, "Une Menagerie Princiére Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance." I want to thank Dr Ingrid de Meüter for kindly sending me this article.

The Habsburg context is also the frame from which this thesis explores its second aim: to place the Wawel tapestries within the pictorial tradition of depicting the first nine chapters of Genesis with a (varying) multitude of animals. Such a study has not been undertaken for the Wawel tapestries, nor has it been conducted into great detail for these subjects in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in general.³⁵ The comparison of the Wawel tapestries against artworks of the same subject matter reveals to what degree the designers innovated on existing traditions. Close visual relations between pictures indicate to what extent the tapestry designs did, or indeed did not, adhere to visual standards set by the Habsburg court. The question of direct visual sources for animal motifs is also considered here.

To successfully gauge the pictorial connections a large pool of artworks with many animals per piece must be considered. The Habsburgs governesses, Margaret and Mary, inherited a sumptuous manuscript library from their Burgundian ancestors.³⁶ Other artworks from the Southern Netherlands must also be included, especially the early landscape works from the circle of Joachim Patinir (c. 1480-1524). Prominent German artists, like Dürer, Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531) and Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), are known for drawing and painting animals and cannot be left out on the grounds that they had a large influence on Netherlandish artists in general and, in some cases, worked for the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I, the grandfather of Charles V. Lastly, because of the focus of both the Brussels tapestry artists and their Habsburg clientele on Italian fashions, the work of the Italian Raphael (1483-1520) is necessary to include for a complete picture.³⁷

To keep track of all animals inside and outside the Wawel tapestries, a small database was built in Excel recording the number of animals per species per artwork.³⁸ The resulting tables have been analysed and are used throughout the thesis to summarise information. All data gathering has been done by the author, who is not a zoologist but has a more than average interest in animals and ornithology, and reasonable experience with the medieval practices of picturing fauna. Species have been identified where possible to degree that a sixteenth-century audience could have reasonably identified it, meaning that Latin species names – an invention of the eighteenth century – have not been included. The degree to which some species are distinguished is somewhat subjective and the numbers and names must therefore not be understood as absolutes, but guides. Lastly, hard to make out, unidentifiable or likely fantastical beasts have been grouped under “bird”, “quadruped” or “fish”. Therefore, the species counts per artwork only reflect the *identified* species count and do not accurately portray the actual diversity if the numbers in the aforementioned groups are high. For example, while the artist of the Wawel tapestries has pictured only one or two individuals of every bird in *The Animals*

³⁵ The most in-depth study of depictions of Paradise are contained in the 1982 exhibition catalogue accompanying the “Het aards paradijs” show in Antwerpen of the same year: Van de Velde, “Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten,” and Balis, “Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst”.

A very brief survey of the history of the Animals Entering the Ark of Noah is included in Kolb, *Jan Brueghel the Elder*, 6-7. A broad but not very precise study is contained in Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*.

³⁶ Marguerite Debae has traced all books from Margaret of Austria’s library still extant today. The majority of these works passed on to Mary of Hungary, whose library has been documented less rigorously. See: Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche*; Lemaire, “De Librije van Maria van Hongarije”; Sanchez-Molero, “La biblioteca de María de Hungría y la bibliofilia de Felipe II.”

³⁷ Coxcie and many of his tapestry colleagues had spent time in Rome: Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, “The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592,” 26-29. The interest in Italian Renaissance forms at the Brussels court is described, among others, in Van den Boogert, “De triomfen van de keizer,” 225-231; Van den Boogert, “Macht en pracht,” 285-290.

³⁸ This database was inspired by the database built by Marringje Rikken to keep track of the dissemination of animal motifs and to count animal species on the works of Brueghel and Savery. Rikken, “Dieren verbeeld”.

Embarking on the Ark, 37 birds are still recorded under “bird” due to the dirt layer hiding the colours and the lack of detail shots.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates to which degree the Wawel tapestries can be explained from and formed part of a Netherlandish Habsburg interest in animals of all kinds. In doing so, it endeavours on one hand to further our understanding of the interaction between material culture and art at the Habsburg court in respect to animals. Simultaneously, it places the tapestries in a pictorial tradition that extends beyond the Habsburg realm and nuances the influence of tangible objects versus artistic customs. The tradition outlined here is solely retrospective, but aims to fill some of the lacunae regarding Netherlandish art in this fascinating period just after the medieval understanding of animals and just before the onset of pre-modern natural history.



Fig. 16. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark*, 1613, oil on panel, 54.6 × 83.8 cm, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

PART 1: THE TAPESTRIES AND THEIR CONTEXT

Who made the Wawel tapestries, where, how and for whom? What is on them and is the current appearance similar to when it was made? These foundational questions are answered in part one of the study. The facts and uncertainties surrounding the production of the Wawel tapestries and their appearance at the Polish court of Sigismund II are laid out. The first chapter also sketches the intricacies of the tapestry medium, the industry in Brussels and the function tapestry sets in general had in European courts of the sixteenth century. The second chapter describes the images on the tapestries themselves and to what extent the main fields may have altered during the centuries. Fortunately, most of the main fields of the tapestries are indeed complete and allow the viewer to marvel at the many animals depicted among the stories of Adam and Eve and Noah's Ark.

Chapter 1. Court and context

The context of the Brussels tapestry production and the history of the commission of the Wawel tapestries in particular are indispensable as foundation for a good understanding of their meaning and place in European art of the period. As a medium, tapestry differs from panel painting. More people are involved in its production and trade, and the material itself leads to a different expression of images. Their size and portability made tapestries popular with the European elite. Sigismund II's court was no different in this respect, and the First Parents and Noah series discussed here form part of his larger tapestries collection. Unfortunately, the exact circumstances of the tapestries' inception and acquisition are unknown, but details from Sigismund's court and the lives of various tapestry artists in Brussels allow for an approximate dating and attribution as discussed below. Today, the Wawel tapestries have traversed the centuries fairly unscathed despite the various hazards to which they were exposed.

The Polish court and its tapestries

In 1553, King Sigismund II Augustus of Poland married his third wife, the Habsburg Catherine of Austria (1533-1572). She was the daughter of Ferdinand I, the archduke of Austria and brother of Emperor Charles V.³⁹ For the occasion, the royal castle on the Wawel Hill was abundantly decorated with Flemish wall hangings. In his panegyric *Panagyricus nuptiarum Sigismundi Augusti Poloniae Regis* (Cracow 1553), courtier Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-1566) wrote an ekphrasis of the tapestries with stories of the First Parents, Noah's Ark and Moses.⁴⁰ These constituted only the beginning of Sigismund's collection of Flemish tapestries, also called the Jagiellonian tapestries after this Polish dynasty, of which he would acquire more than 150 throughout his life. Unfortunately, the Moses set is no longer extant, but the other two tapestry cycles present at Sigismund Augustus' wedding are the topic of this study.

At the age of 27, Sigismund II Augustus (1520-1572) assumed full control of Poland and Lithuania when his father, King Sigismund the Old (1467-1548), passed away. Cracow was a wealthy city thanks to its favourable position on several trade routes. It was among the most important Central European intellectual and artistic centres, where people from court circles corresponded with Erasmus and other humanists.⁴¹ Italian artists and intellectuals had arrived at the court after 1518, when Sigismund the Old's married Bona Maria (1494-1557), the daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Prince of Milan, and Isabel of Aragon.⁴² Sigismund the Old had also started to build ties with the new ruling power in Europe of the period, the Spanish Habsburgs in the Netherlands. Sigismund Augustus would marry two Habsburg princesses, both daughters of Ferdinand I.

Sigismund Augustus eagerly patronised artists, composers, scholars and writers like his parents before him. His personal library illustrates Sigismund's wide interests, containing books from law, history and theology to geography, natural history and medicine.⁴³ His primary pride seems to have

³⁹ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 43.

⁴⁰ Orzechowski's was published in Cracow in *Panagyricus nuptiarum Sigismundi Augusti Poloniae Regis*. A version translated to English is available in: Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 45-50.

⁴¹ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 25-29.

⁴² Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 28-29.

⁴³ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 33.

been his treasury, including twenty full coats of armour, one of which engraved and encrusted with silver, costing 6000 scudos.⁴⁴ If the report given by papal nuncio Bernardo Bongiovanni in 1560 is to be believed, Sigismund's treasury contained boxes with jewels worth between 200 000 and 500 000 scudos.⁴⁵ The Jagiellonians also had a love for Flemish tapestry. In 1526, Sigismund's mother Bona paid 205 florins 10 groschen for a set of sixteen figural tapestries from Antwerp, according to designs which she approved.⁴⁶ In 1533, a much larger order was paid for in Bruges: six figural tapestries, 60 wall hangings with the emblems of Poland, Lithuania and Milan, and 26 without armorial bearings.⁴⁷ In total, the commission cost 1170 florins, 26 groschen and 9 denarii. Sigismund II would inherit this tapestry collection of his parents and commission many new pieces throughout his lifetime. Some ornamental tapestries were made for Sigismund on the spot, and he also commissioned decorative textiles from Turkey.⁴⁸ Most tapestries in his collection were Flemish. The exact number of tapestries in Sigismund's collection is unknown, but based on a list made in 1573, it is usually assumed it numbered around 350 pieces.⁴⁹

More than 150 of these Flemish tapestries are considered part of one large commission by Sigismund Augustus, spread out over the years around his coronation to his death. These tapestries are seen as a semi-coherent series not only because of their origin but also because of the same borders of intertwined ribbons used throughout. The exact size of Sigismund II's patronage is unknown, but in an inventory of 1669, 157 pieces are still mentioned.⁵⁰ Currently, 138 pieces from Sigismund Augustus's commission are known, of which 136 are presently in Wawel castle.⁵¹ The main series consists of six tapestries of the *First Parents*, nine of *Noah and the Ark* (one tapestry, *The Wickedness of Mankind* is currently in Warsaw) and four with the story of the *Tower of Babel*. These figural tapestries all measure the same height, around 4.6 metres, to match the castle rooms, and vary from 5 to 8 metres in width. The whole series is woven in the same high quality, namely eight warp threads per centimetre.⁵² The Genesis tapestries are complemented by a series of landscape verdures with animals and grotesque tapestries with the Polish coats-of-arms.⁵³

The function of tapestry

Tapestries were the real luxury items of the Middle Ages and Renaissance and Sigismund Augustus' commissions would not have been cheap. The sheer cost of tapestry production confined its purchase to the elite of Europe. The *Acts of the Apostles* series, a set of ten tapestries commissioned by Medici Pope Leo X (1475-1521) from Raphael for the Sistine Chapel in 1515, were reputed to have cost between 1,600 and 2,000 ducats each – bringing the total on some 16,000 ducats, more than five times the

⁴⁴ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 37.

⁴⁵ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 38.

⁴⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August," 13.

⁴⁷ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 31; Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 23.

⁴⁸ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 42.

⁴⁹ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 43.

⁵⁰ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 8.

⁵¹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 8.

⁵² Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August," 11.

⁵³ For more information on the verdures and the arrases with grotesques, see: Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases"; Piwocka, "Arrases with Grotesques".

amount that Michelangelo was paid for the Sistine Chapel according to Vasari.⁵⁴ The cost of tapestry resulted from the combination of the cost of materials and the cost of labour. In inventories, the presence of precious materials, such as gold or silk thread, is almost always noted and reflects the financial implications of the medium.⁵⁵ The gold thread in tapestries raised the cost by about a factor twenty.⁵⁶ It was considered a kind of collateral, which could be unpicked from the textiles and melted down, as was done in the eighteenth century to some of the borders of the Wawel set.⁵⁷ Even coarser forms of tapestry, woven solely from wool and with poorer designs, were only attainable for the prosperous members of society.⁵⁸ Besides the material cost, weaving a 3.5 by 5-metre tapestry took three weavers working together about seven months to complete.⁵⁹ Although weaver's workshops would work on several tapestries from the same set simultaneously, it rarely occurred that all looms were occupied for the same commission.⁶⁰ In result, patrons frequently had to wait more than a year for their wall hangings.

For European princes – thus also for Sigismund II – it was a symbol of status to own and further acquire a large tapestry collection. Many had stores of tapestry numbering hundreds of pieces; Henry VIII of England owned a truly astounding 2,700 tapestries, which was exceptional even in his own time.⁶¹ Not only their cost but also their movability and customizability made tapestries popular with the elite. Tapestries' portability facilitated gift-giving and an itinerant lifestyle because, despite their size, tapestries remained easier to move and store than paintings of the same dimensions.⁶² In the case of the Wawel tapestries, it has been recorded that the king took the smaller tapestries with him, particularly the heraldic pieces. Loaded on 'treasure carts', the tapestries constituted moveable wall-decorations for all places the king resided – whether monasteries, inns or castles.⁶³ Primarily, as becomes evident from inventories, tapestries were divided into wall hangings, chamber hangings (suites including furniture hangings, bed hangings and wall hangings) and chapel hangings.⁶⁴

Furthermore, tapestries presented the perfect medium for ostentation. In contrast to other valuable textiles, which were technologically limited to widths of under a metre and semi-predetermined patterns, tapestries could be woven to enormous dimensions and with completely customised designs, allowing for grand and complex pictorial schemes.⁶⁵ Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) commissioned the nine-piece *Los Honores* set for his coronation in 1520 to celebrate and impress Habsburg imperial power on anyone who viewed them.⁶⁶ Charles also commemorated his battle victories in tapestry, namely in the seven-piece *Battle of Pavia* (c. 1526-28), and the twelve-piece *Battle*

⁵⁴ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 4.

⁵⁵ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 23.

⁵⁶ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 6.

⁵⁷ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 17; Hannel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 37.

⁵⁸ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 13.

⁵⁹ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 14.

⁶⁰ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 14.

⁶¹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 3.

⁶² Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 16; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 13-15.

⁶³ Hannel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 12.

⁶⁴ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 23.

⁶⁵ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 14-15.

⁶⁶ Delmarcel, *Los Honores*, 16-17; Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*, 64.

of Tunis (c. 1545) commissioned by his sister Mary of Hungary.⁶⁷ In 1533, Francis I is recorded to have discussed the relative merits of the Pope's *Acts of the Apostles* and his own *Scipio* set, indicating the importance of tapestry at court and the degree to which it was the subject of conversation.⁶⁸ For the most significant events, the elite displayed its richest series. For example, the massive biblical series of the Wawel tapestries was intended for royal celebrations, being taken out of storage during the weddings of Sigismund II (1553), Sigismund III (1592 and 1605), and Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki (1670), and the coronation of Ladislas IV (1637).⁶⁹

Flemish tapestry and its place in Europe

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Brussels became the centre of fine Netherlandish tapestry weaving. In the Low Countries, the lavish patronage of the arts by the Burgundian princes and their primary residence in Brussels enabled Brussels to become a leading production centre.⁷⁰ Brussels had remained the administrative centre of the Burgundian Netherlands even after Philip the Good's (1396-1467) granddaughter Mary and her husband Emperor Maximilian I lost most of their control over these territories.⁷¹ The relative freedom the city and the guilds had wrested from their lords encouraged prosperity and trade. Brussels' weavers produced many high-quality tapestries series for the top elite of Europe, like the aforementioned *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Battle of Pavia* series for Emperor Charles V.⁷² The finest tapestries were made on demand, but many more were made for the open market to be sold at fairs such as those in Antwerp, Bruges or Bergen op Zoom.⁷³ Agents of the European elite travelled to these fairs and reported to their masters on the available wares. To guarantee the quality, in 1528 the Brussels city authorities made it mandatory for all tapestries over the size of 6 ells (2.81 m²) woven in Brussels to bear the Brussels city mark – two b's flanking a red shield - and a weaver's sign.⁷⁴ From 1544 onwards, this obligation was extended to the entire Netherlands by imperial edict.⁷⁵

In contrast to workshops in Paris or Florence, which were run by the authorities, the Brussels workshops were independent and collaborated with artists, agents, financiers and vendors.⁷⁶ A 1545 report by an agent of Cosimo de' Medici spoke of fifteen thousand people active in the tapestry trade at that moment.⁷⁷ The first prominent weaver-merchant of Brussels was Pieter Edingen van Aelst (c. 1450- c. 1533), who processed orders for the European elite and had sets woven as speculative ventures.⁷⁸ Other successful Brussels weaver families were: the Dermoyen family of Jan, his brother Willem and Willem's son Roderick; the De Kempeneers, Willem and his son Jan; Ghieteels, often in collaboration with Jan van Tieghem who married Jan Ghieteels daughter Johanna; and Pieter de Pannemaker and

⁶⁷ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 321-328, 428-434; Van den Boogert, "De triomfen van de keizer," 233.

⁶⁸ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 270.

⁶⁹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 12, 30.

⁷⁰ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 131.

⁷¹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 131.

⁷² Bangs, "Documentary Studies," 1.

⁷³ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 131.

⁷⁴ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 22; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 282.

⁷⁵ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 283.

⁷⁶ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 20-22.

⁷⁷ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 279.

⁷⁸ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 277-78.

his son Willem.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Antwerp was the main port of trade in the region, both for tapestry and other goods: in 1551, a Venetian agent estimated that 2,400,000 ducats worth of goods passed through Antwerp per year, of which 500,000 ducats (about 21%) was represented by tapestry.⁸⁰ Naturally, Antwerp merchants also became involved in the trade and their names are often connected to the important commissions of the period.⁸¹

The Flemish Wavel tapestries bear the weaver's marks of several esteemed Brussels' weaver-merchants. Not all Wavel tapestries have retained their blue selvedge carrying the city and weaver's marks, but those that do all bear the Brussels mark, two b's flanking a red shield, albeit with changing letterforms.⁸² Weaver's marks were found on almost all of the tapestries from the two narrative sets present at Sigismund II's 1553 wedding. In the tapestries of the *First Parents*, four different marks are found: *The Story of Paradise* bears the mark of Jan de Kempeneer; *Adam Tilling the Soil* that of his father Willem de Kempeneer; *Fratricide Conceived* and *Cain Kills Abel* are both from the workshop of Jan van Tieghem; *Cain's Flight* carries Pieter van Aelst the Younger's mark; and finally, *Abel's Sacrifice* has lost its mark.⁸³ The weaving of the Noah set was carried out predominantly by Pieter van Aelst the Younger, in whose workshop *Noah's Conversation with God*, *The Construction of the Ark*, *The Animals Embarking*, *Noah's Thanksgiving*, and *Noah Intoxicated* were woven.⁸⁴ He collaborated with Willem de Kempeneer on *The Construction of the Ark* and *Noah's Intoxication*.⁸⁵ Jan van Tieghem's workshop wove *Disembarking from the Ark* and *God Blesses Noah*, the latter in collaboration with Jan de Kempeneer.⁸⁶ Lastly, *The Moral Decline of the Human Race before the Flood* and *The Flood* no longer have a weaver's mark.⁸⁷

Weavers worked after cartoons: full-scale tempera paintings on paper which they followed minutely. In Brussels, a dispute between the artists and weavers in 1476 guaranteed that thereafter, all designs and cartoons would be drawn by artists enrolled in the St. Luke guild. Weavers were henceforth only permitted to add flowers or animals to verdure and to elaborate existing cartoons with charcoal, crayon or ink to improve legibility.⁸⁸ Former Metropolitan Museum tapestry curator Thomas Campbell has suggested that the motivation for this agreement was probably purely financial on part of the artists, but that it in consequence drove the Brussels production to new artistic heights. It guaranteed that weavers worked from good cartoons and stimulated them to develop techniques to better render the painterly qualities of the cartoons in thread.⁸⁹ This brought the arts of tapestry and oil paint visually closer together; Brussels tapestries from the following decades were essentially conceived as large panel paintings. But whereas the initial design of a tapestry on paper, called a *petit patron*, was alike to designing a panel painting, working such designs up to full-scale cartoons was a special skill.⁹⁰ It

⁷⁹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 278-79.

⁸⁰ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 280.

⁸¹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 280-282.

⁸² Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 19.

⁸³ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 20; Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 12.

⁸⁴ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 13.

⁸⁵ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 20; Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 13 gives it as Jan de Kempeneer.

⁸⁶ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 13.

⁸⁷ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 13.

⁸⁸ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 133-34.

⁸⁹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 134-35.

⁹⁰ Cleland, *Grand Design*, 10.

required working in the medium of tempera and in a style that was legible to the weavers, emphasising contours and lines. Not all master artists would have acquired the skills to do so; many would have delegated it to skilled assistants.

When finished, the cartoon was cut in strokes and placed underneath the warp.⁹¹ In the sixteenth century, Brussels tapestry workshops typically used horizontal looms (low-warp looms or *basse-lisse*), which allowed slightly speedier weaving than vertical looms.⁹² The weaver stretched the plain warp threads between two rollers, then worked in the coloured threads of the weft, following the design of the cartoon from left to right. The finished portion was rolled on one end of the loom and a new strip of cartoon could be woven. Resulting in a horizontal warp once finished and hung, the advantage of this method was that the width of the loom corresponded to the height of the wall, while in theory, the width of the tapestry was unlimited as the finished portions could be continually rolled onto the loom.⁹³ Due to the cartoons being placed underneath the warp and the weft being knotted on top, tapestries became the mirror image of their cartoons.⁹⁴ After the work was done, the cartoons usually remained in possession of the workshop and could be reused to weave new tapestries from.⁹⁵ The first edition of a series, generally the highest quality version, is called the *editio princeps*. It is a testament to the success of some designs, like the Wavel tapestries, that weavers still wove copies until more than a century later.⁹⁶ Such copies were not immutable. Rather, small alterations happened in nearly every copy, while bigger changes and repositioning of fragments took place in others.⁹⁷ Additionally, the borders changed with the prevailing tastes.

Tapestry in Brussels was a thoroughly international affair. Not only the patrons came from all corners of Europe, so did agents, artists and cartoons. For example, the *Acts of the Apostles* were sent from Rome to Brussels. However, locally designed tapestries are also particular examples of a European style that was meant to appeal broadly.⁹⁸ Not surprisingly, the important designers of Flemish tapestry, such as Bernard van Orley (between 1487 and 1491-1541), Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (c. 1504-1559) and Michiel Coxcie all worked in a Roman-Flemish style that married love for Flemish detail with Italian conception of movement, composition and space.⁹⁹ Van Orley could be considered one of the trendsetters; according to Karel van Mander, Van Orley was also the master of Vermeyen, Coecke and Coxcie.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the artists of the younger generation all travelled abroad, including to Italy. Since Coecke is documented as working in Antwerp in 1526, Campbell suggests that he might have been an apprentice in the late 1510s and journeyed to Italy in the 1520s.¹⁰¹ He later visited Turkey too. Vermeyen, born in the Northern Netherlands, perhaps worked in

⁹¹ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 11; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 5.

⁹² Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 12; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 5-6.

⁹³ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 14.

⁹⁴ Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, 12.

⁹⁵ Patrons occasionally bought the cartoons as a sort of copyright claim.

⁹⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 13.

⁹⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 13

⁹⁸ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 24.

⁹⁹ For more about Bernard van Orley, see: Bücken and De Meûter, *Bernard van Orley*. A recent study into Coecke and his work in tapestry production was Cleland, *Grand Design*.

¹⁰⁰ Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. From the First Edition of the Schilder-Boeck (1603-1604)*, 293.

¹⁰¹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 379.

Van Orley's workshop before setting up his own in 1525.¹⁰² He accompanied Charles V to Tunis and the Conquest of Tunis set shows great awareness of the details of the setting.¹⁰³ Coxcie, originally from Mechelen, lived and worked in Rome for almost a decade, between 1530 and 1539, before returning to Brussels.¹⁰⁴

Attribution of the Biblical Wawel Tapestries

The main design of the Genesis series of the Wawel tapestries is generally attributed to Michiel Coxcie. In 1925, Morelowski, who was the first to be able to systematically study the tapestries as they were being returned from Russia, presented Coxcie as the foremost cartoon painter based on the similarities in style between the figures on the tapestry and in Coxcie's panel paintings.¹⁰⁵ Subsequent scholars, like Gebarowicz and Mankowski, the 1972 monograph under Szablowski's direction, and Hennel-Bernasikowa in her subsequent publications, all agree that the figures are undoubtedly Coxcie's.¹⁰⁶ It is important to note that the borders are excluded from this attribution. These scrollwork borders containing human figures, classical Gods and animals are very obviously from the circle of Antwerp designers Cornelis Floris and Cornelis Bos, who invented this particular kind of grotesque decoration.¹⁰⁷ To keep the analysis manageable and because it is likely that the animals in the borders were designed by a different artist than the animals of the main fields, the borders are not discussed further.

Coxcie was an avid follower of Italian examples, most notably Raphael's, and had a long artistic career in which he was favoured by various Habsburg rulers.¹⁰⁸ He blended Italian figures and architecture with a Flemish predilection for detail, which is visible in how he painted materials and landscapes.¹⁰⁹ Nothing is certainly known about Coxcie before his stay in Italy in the 1530s.¹¹⁰ Traditionally, he is considered to have learned his craft from Van Orley. Even if he has not, Coxcie was at least the artistic and societal heir to Van Orley.¹¹¹ In Italy, Coxcie likely relied on intercessions from Van Orley's patron Margaret of Austria, as he was taken under his wing by Cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt.¹¹² For Van Enckevoirt, Coxcie painted a fresco in the Santa Maria dell'Anima around 1531-34.¹¹³ Thus, Coxcie must have trained in fresco painting in Italy before this moment, as this technique was not practised in the North. After his return to the Southern Netherlands, Coxcie quickly followed in

¹⁰² Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 385-86.

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 386-87.

¹⁰⁴ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 395.

¹⁰⁵ Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August," 9.

¹⁰⁶ Duverger, "De Brusselse stadspatroonschilder voor de tapijtkunst," 173; Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August," 9-11; Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 14.

¹⁰⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 18. For more on Floris and Bos, see: Van Santen, "De Groteskendecoratie".

¹⁰⁸ Michiel Coxcie has been understudied in comparison to his contemporaries. Van Mander discredited him as an uninspired follower of Raphael and little art historical interest was subsequently given to him. The most recent, and virtually only, publications on Coxcie are De Smedt, *Michel Coxcie, Pictor Regis* and Jonckheere, *Michiel Coxcie and the Giants of His Age*.

On Coxcie borrowing from Italian painters, see: Jonckheere, "Michiel Coxcie and the Reception of Classical Antiquity in the Low Countries," 79-86.

¹⁰⁹ The latter are called "almost Eyckian" by Jonckheere, "Michiel Coxcie and the Reception of Classical Antiquity in the Low Countries," 83.

¹¹⁰ Leuschner, "The Young Talent in Italy."

¹¹¹ Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, "The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592," 24.

¹¹² Jonckheere, "Michiel Coxcie and the Reception of Classical Antiquity in the Low Countries," 72.

¹¹³ Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, "The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592," 26.

Van Orley's footsteps and became a court painter, in this case to Mary of Hungary and, after her abdication to, Philip II. Coxcie's Italian-influenced style and skill for large-scale projects made him a popular choice for Habsburg state art. In the 1545-50 Coxcie helped decorate Mary's new castle in Binche alongside Titian (c. 1488/90-1576). Binche was renovated in renaissance style, with two frescoed rooms, and nearly completed in 1549, in time for Philip II's tour through the Netherlands. Coxcie was also involved in the decorations for Philip's Joyous Entry in Brussels: he designed the arches and superintended the painting work.¹¹⁴

There are almost no sources on Coxcie's work as a tapestry designer, but Erik Duverger nonetheless supposes that he must have been the most important cartoon painter in the Netherlands between Coecke's death in 1550 and the arrival of Pieter de Kempeneer as Brussels' official patron painter in 1563.¹¹⁵ The document reporting the appointment of Kempeneer also makes note of the same wage (50 Rhenish guilders) having been paid previously to master "Cocxyen", indicating that the city had also employed Coecke to paint patrons.¹¹⁶ Whether these were only *petit patrons* or entire cartoons is not clear.¹¹⁷ Coxcie most likely worked with one or more assistants to arrive at the final cartoons.

The landscapes and animals – the foremost subject of this thesis – are often attributed to another artist, Jan Tons. This attribution is based on the similarity between the landscapes in Van Orley's Hunts of Maximilian tapestry series (c. 1531-33, fig. 53-54) and those in the Wavel tapestries. André Félibien, the court historian and art chronicler of Louis XIV, reported in 1666 that Van Orley designed these Hunts with landscapes by a Tons.¹¹⁸ This view is corroborated in Félibien's contemporary, the French historian Henri Sauval, who attributed the landscapes to "Toms", the "greatest landscape artist who ever existed, uncle of Champagne".¹¹⁹ Indeed, Van Mander also praises a Willem Tons as an excellent painter of animals and plants, who was documented painting tapestry cartoons in Brussels in 1577-79.¹²⁰ Willem's father, Jan Tons the Younger (c. 1503-?), and grandfather, Jan Tons the Elder (between 1457-67-before 1556), were painters and had a close relationship to Van Orley: Tons the Elder had married Bernard's aunt, and together with his son Jan he was arrested at one of the Lutheran sermons held in Van Orley's house in 1527.¹²¹ Either Jan Tons may have painted the landscapes of the Hunts.¹²² Although Hennel-Bernasikowa strongly disputed with the idea that a Tons painted the landscapes, it is otherwise generally agreed that one of the Tons family was likely responsible.¹²³

¹¹⁴ Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, "The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592," 33.

¹¹⁵ Duverger, "De Brusselse stadspatroonschilder voor de tapijtkunst," 165. See also 175-184 for various tapestry attributions to Coxcie.

¹¹⁶ Duverger, "De Brusselse stadspatroonschilder voor de tapijtkunst," 161-162.

¹¹⁷ Duverger, "De Brusselse stadspatroonschilder voor de tapijtkunst," 162; see also Cleland, *Grand Design*, 10, which states that Coxcie probably only made designs, not entire cartoons.

¹¹⁸ Balis et al., *Les chasses de Maximilien*, 54-57.

¹¹⁹ "le plus grand Paysagiste qui ait jamais été, oncle de Champagne" from a re-edition of Sauval's work: *Histoire et recherches des anitquités de la ville de Paris*, iii, Paris: 1724, 10, cited in: Balis et al., *Les chasses de Maximilien*, 57.

¹²⁰ Van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck*, f. 230r.; Grazzini, "Verdures with Animals," 340.

¹²¹ Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 299; Duverger, "TONS, Jan I," and "TONS, Jan II".

¹²² Duverger, "TONS, Jan I."

¹²³ Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 244-245. See also: Grazzini, "Verdures with Animals," 340-341 and 364, n. 16 for a more detailed historiography for the attribution to Tons.

Precise dating of the Biblical tapestries

The dating of the various tapestries comprising the Wawel tapestry set have to be inferred from circumstantial evidence because the exact details of the commission have been lost. The attribution to Michiel Coxcie roughly determines the terminus post quem as 1539, the moment he registered with the St Luke's guild in Mechelen.¹²⁴ Despite there being ample documentation on the king's other finances, no extant documents that can be securely connected with Sigismund's commission of the Flemish tapestries.¹²⁵ This lack of documents is perhaps due to the enormous financial strain Sigismund II's formation of the royal tapestry collection placed on the finances of Lithuania and Poland.¹²⁶ The king might have preferred to keep the exact figures hidden. Moreover, in his will of 6 May 1571, Sigismund II ordered his sister Anna Jagiellon (1523-1596) to destroy all private documents kept in specific chests and caskets.¹²⁷ His secrecy is furthermore supported by an account of the papal nuncio Bernardo Bongiovanni in 1560, who wrote that the king showed Bongiovanni his treasures in secret, "as he does not wish for the Poles to discover that he has spent so much on them".¹²⁸ To further aggravate matters, the Brussels city archives burned down in a fire at the end of the sixteenth century.¹²⁹ In result, what is left to us is circumstantial evidence and later inventories.

For this thesis, the most important questions concern the dates of the First Parents and Noah's Arks sets. The year of Sigismund II's wedding to Catherine of Austria (1533-1572), the younger sister of his first wife Elizabeth of Austria (1526-1545), marks the date of the first document certainly referring to the Flemish Genesis tapestries. The panegyric *Panagyricus nuptiarum Sigismundi Augusti Poloniae Regis*, written by humanist Orzechowski, records the festivities of the marriage, including the wall decorations.¹³⁰ Sigismund II's wedding to Catherine was a political one following the death of his beloved second wife Barbara in 1551.¹³¹ Having mourned Barbara in Vilnius, Sigismund II returned to Cracow in 1553 and began negotiations for the marriage to Catherine in March of that year, marrying her in July. It was an ostentatious affair with feasts lasting multiple days.¹³² Orzechowski described, in the style of a classical ekphrasis, the wall hangings of the bride's bedchamber, the preceding reception hall and the corridor connecting the two. Scholars generally accept his account as trustworthy, although it contains a few strange discrepancies.¹³³

In his description of the tapestries, published fully in translation in the 1974 monograph, Orzechowski recounted every individual tapestry of the *First Parents*, *Noah's Ark*, and lost *Story of Moses* series.¹³⁴ His description suggests however how the tapestries might have hung: *The Story of the*

¹²⁴ Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, "The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592," 29.

¹²⁵ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 25.

¹²⁶ Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene, "Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle."

¹²⁷ Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene, "Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle"; Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 25. A Latin-language copy of the will can be found, among others, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Anc. Petits Fonds, Fr. 20141.

¹²⁸ Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene, "Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle."

¹²⁹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 25.

¹³⁰ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 43.

¹³¹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 24.

¹³² Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 43.

¹³³ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 43; Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 28.

¹³⁴ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 45-50.

First Parents in the Queen's bedroom, with the first tapestry – Adam and Eve in Paradise – hanging at the head of the nuptial bed, the *Story of Moses* in the vestibule and the *Story of Noah* in the spacious reception hall (now Senators Hall) connected to the bedroom by the vestibule.¹³⁵ Szablowski assumed that the other tapestries ordered by Sigismund started arriving in 1553, although some of them might have already been present in 1553, hanging in rooms outside Orzechowski's ekphrasis.¹³⁶ As to the errors – or perhaps poetic liberties – Orzechowski separated the first tapestry the *Story of Paradise* into three separate parts (*Bliss of the First Parents*, *The Fall of Man*, and *Expulsion from Paradise*), and mentions *Noah's Conversation with God* twice.

Many scholars have dismissed the importance of Orzechowski's errors, but Erik Duverger has interpreted the panegyric literally. In 1973, Duverger concluded from Orzechowski's panegyric that the *Story of Paradise* tapestry must have been unfinished in 1553 and substituted by three separate hangings, perhaps of painted cloth.¹³⁷ Duverger further points out that the Polish king never had direct contact with any weaver, but conducted his negotiations through agents such as Roderick Dermoyen. In this case, the *Story of Paradise* is possibly of a later design and weaving date, but the other tapestries of the series may still be suspected to have hung in Cracow in 1553. Citing a second version of the Wawel designs presently in Germany, under the care of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Duverger argued that both the German and Cracow series must stem from a third, earlier set, thus undermining the *editio princeps* status of the Wawel tapestries. His reasoning was that in the Bavarian six-piece set, the episodes in the Garden of Eden are distributed over three separate wall hangings, thereby corresponding closer to Orzechowski's three-part description: *God gives Adam Dominion over the Animals*, *The Creation of Eve and Institution of Marriage*, and *The Fall of Man*.¹³⁸

However, several of Duverger's arguments are implausible. This is not the place to fully refute Duverger's claims, but a few remarks must be made. Firstly, despite Duverger's claim to the contrary, Orzechowski did not make an error describing the First Parents as nude: the vines were added at a later date.¹³⁹ It is also a bit of a stretch to assume that the artist of the Bavarian *Adam Names the Animals* has made the mistake of "taking part of a carton for another [tapestry]" by depicting God with His hand raised, instead of lowered as in a later copy now in Burgos.¹⁴⁰ Rather, this seems like a good reason to conclude that this figure was directly copied after the central figure of God in *The Story of Paradise* and that the hand pointing at nothing in the Bavarian piece was corrected in the later Burgos copy. Finally, it is not the great mystery Duverger makes it out to be why the ostrich is cut off in the *Story of Paradise* but appears whole on the Bavarian *Creation of Eve* – why this is so will become clear further down in this research, when animal motifs from different tapestries are compared.¹⁴¹ In conclusion, Duverger's arguments for a third lost set are not persuasive. However, he did rightly point out that there is no direct

¹³⁵ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 50.

¹³⁶ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 50.

¹³⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa et al., *Vlaamse Wandtapijten Uit de Wawelburcht Te Krakau*, 105; Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan Van Tieghem représentant l'histoire des Premiers Parents," 57.

¹³⁸ Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan Van Tieghem représentant l'histoire des Premiers Parents," 23-41.

¹³⁹ Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan Van Tieghem représentant l'histoire des Premiers Parents," 57; Szablowski, Misiag-Bochenska, and Piwocka, *The Flemish Arrases. Royal Castle in Cracow*, 351.

¹⁴⁰ Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan Van Tieghem représentant l'histoire des Premiers Parents," 59.

¹⁴¹ Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan Van Tieghem représentant l'histoire des Premiers Parents," 59.

evidence that Sigismund II commissioned the tapestries directly, which means it must always be taken into consideration that he might have purchased an already-designed set.

Although the tapestries hung in Wawel castle for Sigismund II's marriage to Catherine, he could hardly have conceived of them especially for the wedding: there is no weaver who could have delivered that amount of wall hangings in the mere four months between Sigismund's return to Cracow and his third marriage, unless they had already been woven on speculation. Gebarowicz and Mankowski have suggested that the *First Parents* series might have indeed been a set produced without a specific commission. Namely, a series of the same subject documented to have been on sale in Augsburg in 1549 and which Catherine of Austria, Sigismund's future wife, wished to purchase.¹⁴² However, they were themselves already in doubt of this theory on the basis that there are no written sources to confirm that Sigismund had any involvement in this sale. Szablowski further refuted this claim: the Story of the First Parents is integrally connected to that of Noah, which was not on sale in Augsburg; the dimensions correspond to the Wawel rooms; because his parents commissioned directly from Flanders, Sigismund II would not have failed to place an order there; such a costly series with threads of gold would not have been undertaken without a commission to back it up.¹⁴³ The last argument against this theory has recently been given concerning the Paradise series now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence, which has been identified quite convincingly as the set on sale in Augsburg.¹⁴⁴

Whether Sigismund Augustus bought an already finished set or not, the weavers would have needed about two to three years to weave the First Parents and Noah sets. To this estimate, the design time and possible correspondence must be added. The quite well-documented first seven tapestries of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, measuring a comparable 483 x 721 centimetres, took five years to be completed from idea to arrival in Rome.¹⁴⁵ This knowledge places the latest possible design moment of the Wawel First Parents and Noah series sometime in late 1550, if the artists would still have been designing the cartoons while the weaving of the first tapestries was already underway. Most scholars traditionally view 1548 or 1549 as the earliest moment the tapestry commission was conceived of, taking into account the weaving time and because Sigismund II came into full possessions of Poland and Lithuania in that year.¹⁴⁶

An older document might suggest that the commission was in process several years before 1548. In 2006, a bill from Vilnius Castle in Lithuania dated January 14 1546 surfaced. Both Lithuanian tapestry historian Ieva Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene and Hannel-Bernasikowa suggested it may be the oldest document related to Sigismund II's Genesis series.¹⁴⁷ The bill records the payment of a "German" man for several paintings, including two of the "*Creation of the World and Noah's Ark, or The Great Flood*". Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene has argued that the price paid for these paintings – one and a half *kapos* each

¹⁴² Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 54; Meoni, "The Story of Creation," 311.

¹⁴³ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 54.

¹⁴⁴ Meoni, "The Story of Creation," 311.

¹⁴⁵ In December 1519, the first seven tapestries of this set arrived in Rome. Raphael was first paid for his cartoons in June 1515 and a second and final time in 1516. An eyewitness account relates that the first tapestry was woven by July 1517, according to which Campbell calculates that the first cartoon(s) must have been sent to Brussels no later than early 1516. Campbell places the proposal of the idea for this series somewhere in late 1514 or early 1515. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance, 187-190*.

¹⁴⁶ Hannel-Bernasikowa, "Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August," 13.

¹⁴⁷ Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene, "Sigismund Augustus's Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle."; Hannel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 23-24.

– is hardly sufficient for a high-quality painting but is similar to the price paid by the chancellor of the Council of Brabant to Jan Kempeneer for two tapestry cartoons on January 15, 1541. Moreover, she points out that *Germania* was the historic name of the Netherlands and that therefore a more correct translation of the text would be a ‘Netherlandish man’. It is possible – though there is nothing beyond speculation to substantiate it – that the two paintings referred to by Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene are early *patrons* for the Flemish tapestry commission. This theory is repeated by Hennel-Bernasikowa in 2013.¹⁴⁸ Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene fails to mention the monumentality of this discovery if it were true: if the tapestry commission of Sigismund II was indeed already underway in 1546, he was commissioning them before acquiring full power over Poland, and over its finances.¹⁴⁹

This new document, if believed to indeed speak of early *petit patrons* for the large tapestries, would put the earliest date of the designs back to around 1546-47. Incidentally, this matches with other events in Sigismund Augustus’ life. In 1547, Sigismund Augustus secretly married his lover Barbara Radziwiłł (1520–1551), who from 1543 onwards might have been his mistress during his first marriage to Elizabeth of Austria. Around the time of his coronation, Sigismund II was also preparing to present Barbara to the court, which eventually happened on 13 February 1549.¹⁵⁰ Barbara’s fiercely contested coronation took place 7 December 1550.¹⁵¹ Unfortunately for the happy couple, Barbara passed away five months after her coronation. Perhaps, but this is pure speculation, did Sigismund Augustus intend to decorate Wawel Castle sumptuously for Barbara’s coronation, rather than his third marriage? Whatever Sigismund’s reasons, the designing of the tapestries can be assumed to have taken place between 1546 and 1551, while the weaving would have been completed early in 1553 at its latest.

The fate of the tapestries after 1553

More documents on Sigismund II’s tapestry commissions dated after 1553 have been found. Two documents, dated 7 September 1559 and January 1561, contain details of payments for ‘hangings with gold’.¹⁵² The first, found in the municipal archives of Antwerp, reports the conclusion of a contract between a Roderick Dermoyen and Sigismund II. Dermoyen is to be paid 12,000 florins in three instalments of 4,000 fl., the last on 29 September 1560, for the execution of an unspecified number of hangings woven with gold and silk.¹⁵³ Scholars like Hennel-Bernasikowa suppose that this Dermoyen is related to the famous Brussels tapestry workshop owners of the same name and that Roderick worked as an agent in the tapestry trade, being the person who sold the *History of Octavianus* to the king of Sweden in 1561.¹⁵⁴ The document of 1561 relates the king’s debt of 79,404 florins 6 groschen to Jakub Herbrot, a citizen of Augsburg, for the delivery of “jewels and also hangings made with gold as well as silk”.¹⁵⁵ Sigismund II promised in the document to repay Herbrot in three instalments within three years. Although neither document specifically describes the subject matter of the wall hangings, the

¹⁴⁸ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 23-24.

¹⁴⁹ The same conclusion was reached by Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 23-24.

¹⁵⁰ Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene, “Sigismund Augustus’s Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle.”

¹⁵¹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, “Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August,” 13.

¹⁵² Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 24-25.

¹⁵³ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 25.

¹⁵⁴ Hennel-Bernasikowa, “Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August,” 15 and note 23, which refers to Gębarowicz and Mańkowski, *Arasy Zygmunta Augusta*.

¹⁵⁵ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 24.

materials mentioned – gold and silk threads – suggest that it concerns tapestries from the Flemish series, perhaps the verdures and armorial hangings which may not have been present during the wedding in 1553.¹⁵⁶

Other letters, dating from the first years of the 1560s, have been connected to the Flemish commission. In two royal letters, one in Latin, one in Polish, of May 1564 King Sigismund ordered Jan Kostka, castellan of Gdansk and treasurer of the Prussian lands, to pay three years remuneration to the same Roderick Dermoyen of the Antwerpian contract.¹⁵⁷ He also tells Kostka to order Roderick to go abroad, supervise the production of ordered cortinas and bring the textiles to the king.¹⁵⁸ According to Szablowski, the letter does not specify which tapestries were being made around 1560-64.¹⁵⁹ In 2013, Hennel-Bernasikowa could identify them as a series of 84 black-and-white cortinas, delivered in 1566 by Dermoyen and lost after 1655, when they were documented as part of the funeral decoration of Bishop Karol Ferdynand Vasa in Warsaw.¹⁶⁰

The tapestries have not been delivered down the centuries entirely unscathed. In his will, Sigismund II – for lack of a male heir - bequeathed his possessions to his sisters: Sophie, Duchess of Brunswick, Catherine, Queen of Sweden, and Princess Anna, living unmarried in Poland.¹⁶¹ In the long list of precious objects, the tapestries are mentioned separately and were to be shared equally among the sisters. Sigismund further specified that if all his sisters had passed away, the tapestries would revert to the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. In scholarship, two inventories have been key in understanding the collection for years. The first dates of 1573 and was compiled at the castle of Tykocin in connection to the coronation of Henry Valois, the elected king of Poland who would later become the French monarch Henry III.¹⁶² The first item on this list is “golden wall hangings with legends, large-sized pieces 19”, which are the three biblical series. Therefore, this is the first mention of the Tower of Babel series. In 1669, King John Casimir had an inventory of tapestries drawn up when he left them in Gdansk. It does not include the *Wickedness of the Human Race Before the Flood*, which is why this piece was not returned in the restitution from Russia in the 1920s.¹⁶³ In fact, it was not returned until 1977 and is now in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

In 1795, after the fall of Poland, the Russians took the Wawel tapestries to the Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg.¹⁶⁴ The wall hangings, especially the verdures and heraldic tapestries, were heavily damaged in the nineteenth century in Russia, having been used for upholstery of furniture and pillowcases.¹⁶⁵ After their restitution in 1920, the tapestries moved once again to protect them from the violence of the Second World War. First, they moved to Paris in 1939, where a start was made in restoring them in Aubusson to repair water damage eight tapestries suffered during the transport.¹⁶⁶ When France fell to the Nazi army, the Canadians safeguarded the tapestries. The set would not return

¹⁵⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 25.

¹⁵⁷ Szablowski, “The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage,” 53; Hennel-Bernasikowa, “Zeventien Wandtapijten Uit de Collectie van Sigismund August,” 15.

¹⁵⁸ This part of order is from the Polish letter. ‘Cortiny’ means tapestry work in Polish.

¹⁵⁹ Szablowski, “The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage,” 54.

¹⁶⁰ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 26.

¹⁶¹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 28.

¹⁶² Misiąg-Bochenska, “Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis,” 69.

¹⁶³ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 40.

¹⁶⁴ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 38.

¹⁶⁵ Szablowski, “The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage,” 60.

¹⁶⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 42.

to Poland until 16 January 1961, first out of fear for appropriation by the new Stalinist regime, then as a result of a personal political battle waged by the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 43-44.



Fig. 1. *Story of Paradise*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Jan de Kempeneer, c. 1548-1553, tapestry with gold thread, 463 x 854 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 2. *Adam Tilling the Soil*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Willem de Kempeneer, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 467 x 531 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 3. *Abel's Sacrifice*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 453 x 576 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 4. *Fratricide Conceived*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Jan van Tieghem, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 455 x 246 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.

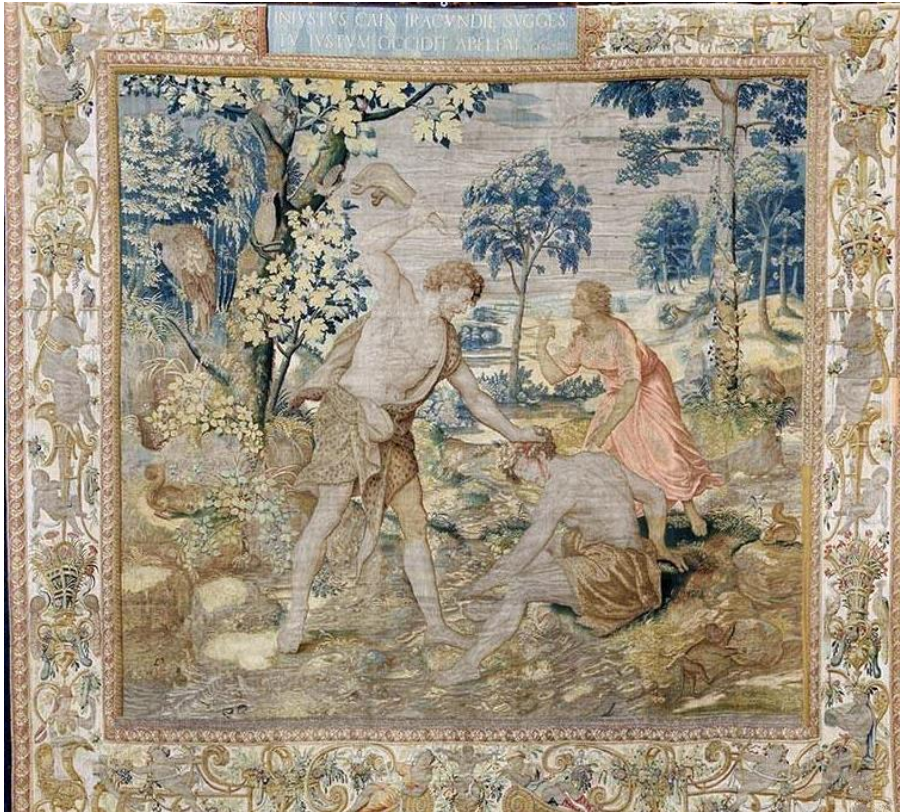


Fig. 5. *Cain Kills Abel*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Jan van Tieghem, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 462 x 535cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 6. *Cain's Flight from God's Wrath*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Pieter van Aelst the Younger, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 468 x 526 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 7. *The Moral Decline of Mankind*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 452 x 612 cm, Warsaw, Royal Castle.



Fig. 8. *Noah's Conversation with God*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Pieter van Aelst the Younger, c. 1548-1553, tapestry with Gold thread, 472 x 525 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 9. *The Construction of the Ark*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshops of Pieter van Aelst the Younger and Willem de Kempeneer, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 483 x 784 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.

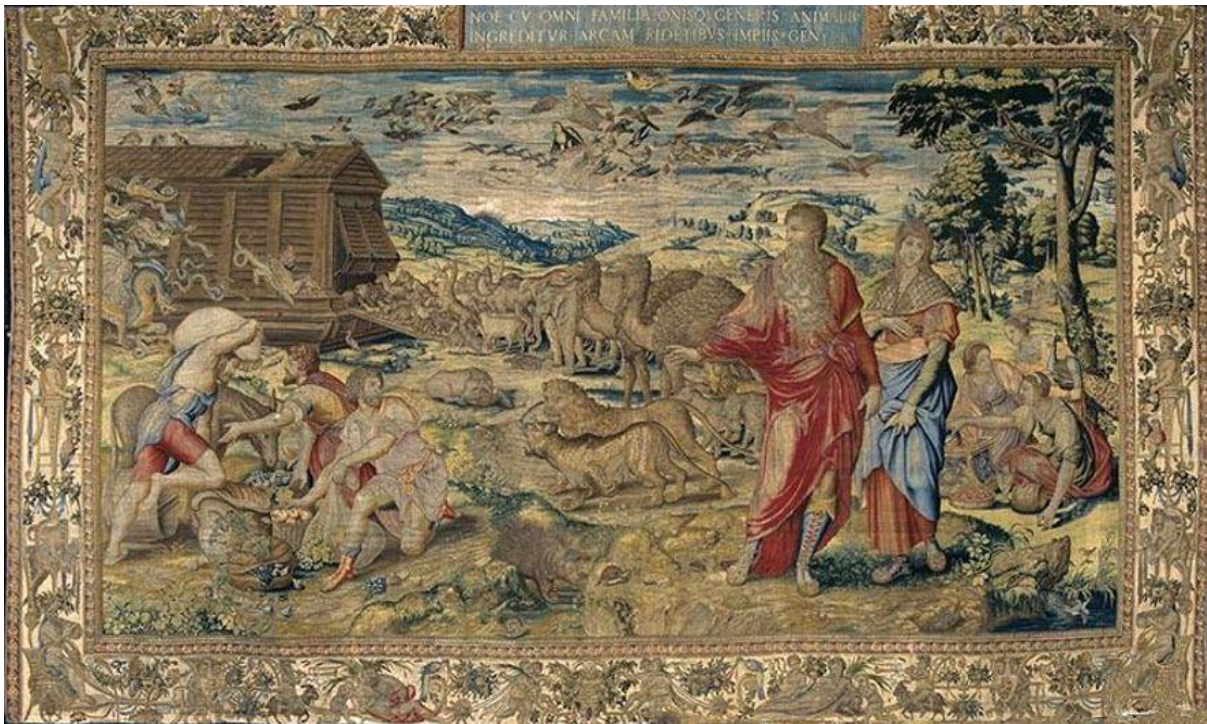


Fig. 10. *The Animals Embarking on the Ark*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Pieter van Aelst the Younger, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 474 x 784 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 11. *The Flood*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 477 x 835 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.

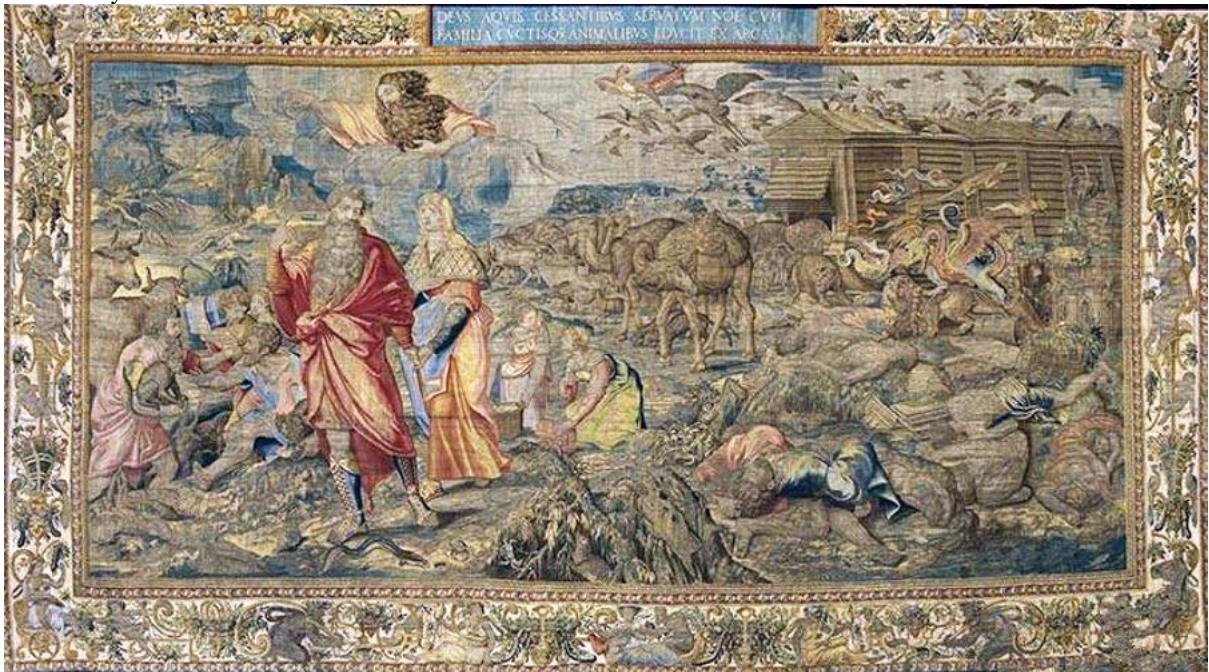


Fig. 12. *The Animals Disembarking from the Ark*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, Jan van Tieghem, c. 1548-1553, tapestry, 477 x 880 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 13. *Noah's Thanksgiving*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshop of Pieter van Aelst the Younger, c.1548-1553, tapestry, 462 x 711 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.



Fig. 14. *God Blesses Noah*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshops of Jan de Kempeneer and Jan van Tieghem, ca. 1548-1553, tapestry, 467 x 604 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.

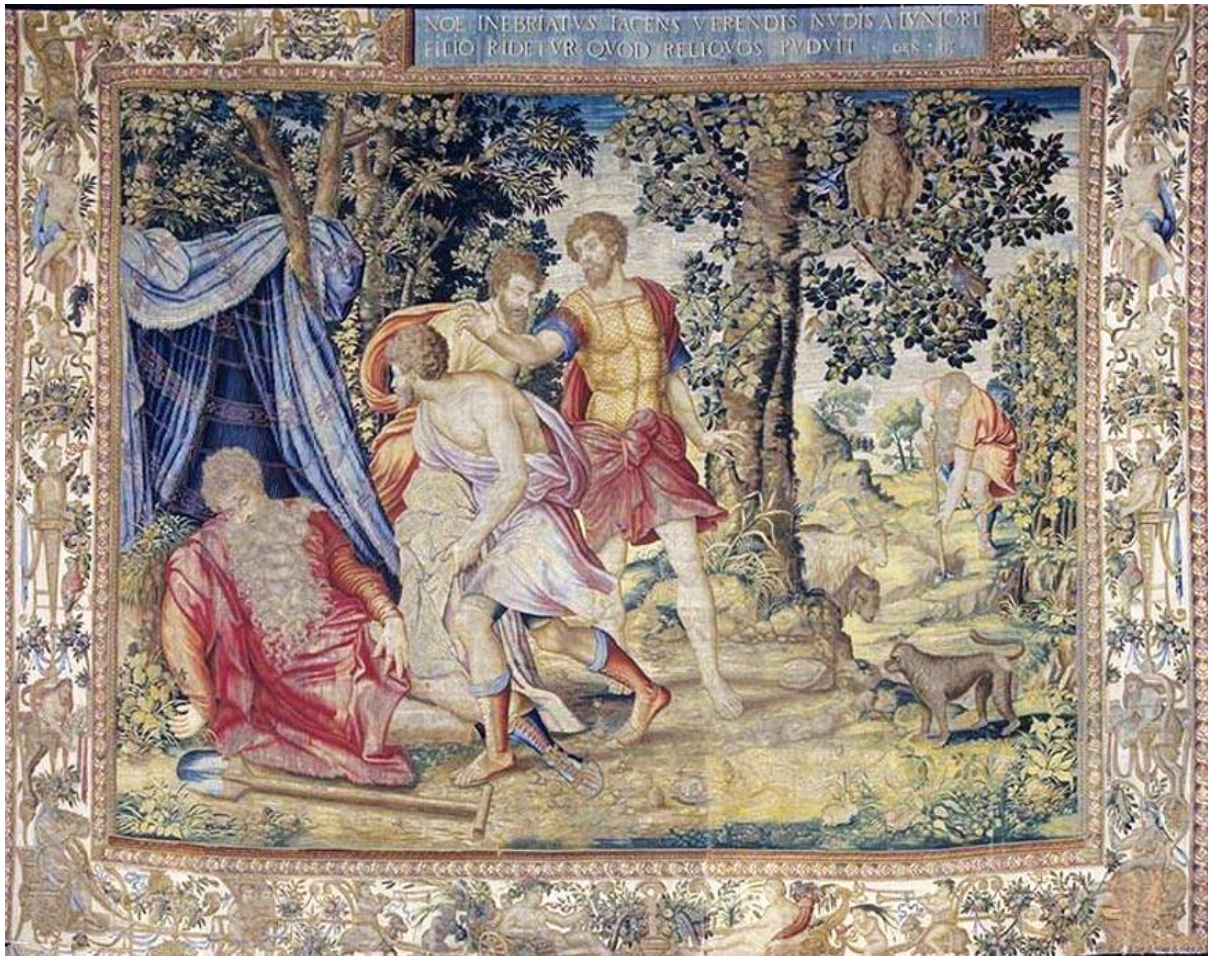


Fig. 15. *Noah Intoxicated*, designed by Michiel Coxcie, woven in Brussels, workshops of Pieter van Aelst the Younger and Willem de Kempeneer, c. 1548-1553, tapestry with gold thread, 470 x 610 cm, Cracow, Wawel Royal Castle.

Chapter 2. The tapestries

Evidently, tapestry was the perfect medium for ostentatious messages. Although the exact circumstances of commission and production of the Wawel First Parents and Noah series are unknown, what is depicted on them is still legible. Despite their adventures in Russia and Canada, the main narrative tapestries have not undergone drastic changes or losses that affect the main scenes. Some of the gold strips from the borders have been removed and melted down between 1764 and 1768.¹⁶⁸ In Russia, the border with interwoven ribbons was cut from the fourteen largest biblical tapestries.¹⁶⁹ However, the central panels of the tapestries have remained fairly undamaged, save for some smaller losses in places.¹⁷⁰ Although the surface is in places abraded, most of the silver-gilt thread even remains present. The most damaging natural agent to tapestry has been light, which fades the colours, along with dust and mould, which obscure the colours and damage the threads.¹⁷¹ Today, the tapestries are continually being restored by Polish conservators of the Textile Conservation Department of the Wawel Royal Castle but the main series remains very grimy. What follows is a brief description of the subject matter with a focus on the most conspicuous animals on each piece of the First Parents and Noah's Ark sets. The identification of species is subjective and meant as a guide to allow discussion and comparison of the tapestries and artworks. A sixteenth-century audience would not have understood species in our modern view – our Latin taxonomy is an invention of the eighteenth century – but would have distinguished the different appearances of animals of the same group, such as various colourings of parrot species, as they are presented in the Wawel tapestries.

Description of the subject matter and animals

With a stunning 8.5 metres in width, the *Story of Paradise* (fig. 1) tapestry is immediately the largest piece of the First Parents set. Polish courtier Orzechowski described it as three different tapestries hanging behind the nuptial bed: the bliss of the first parents, Eve being seduced by the snake in the tree of knowledge, and the expulsion from Paradise.¹⁷² He especially notes the stimulating effect the nakedness of the main figures had on the wedding guests. In reality, this first tapestry combines six scenes into one elliptical composition in a panoramic paradise landscape. On the left, in the far background, God creates Adam. Passing by a rabbit and a hard-to-distinguish quadruped – perhaps a civet cat – the eye is pulled to the far left, where Eve has just been created. A small lion, snake and turkey accompany the first human pair here. Still to the left of the central scene, now on the second plan, is the marriage between Adam and Eve. At Eve's feet is a somewhat diminutively proportioned barnacle goose, while the left corner is filled with an ostrich bending to drink from one of the four paradisiacal streams. In the centre, God commands the first humans not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, filled with apples and with a parrot and eagle perching on its branches. In the grass at Eve's feet, a snake is approaching a redshank while on Adam's side a peacock struts into the right corner. Behind the tree, a pheasant peeks out and far in the background behind Adam two cows relax in the field. Orzechowski may have

¹⁶⁸ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 37.

¹⁶⁹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 49.

¹⁷⁰ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 50.

¹⁷¹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 46.

¹⁷² Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 46.

been right about the alluring effect of the figures' nakedness; the vines hiding their private parts from view have been added later.¹⁷³ Back on the second plan, to the right, Adam and Eve eat from the forbidden fruit watched by the snake, a peculiarly coloured duck that's probably a common shelduck, and a rather unsettling pink-white bird. Hennel-Bernasikowa first identified this bird as a dodo, but has corrected this in a recent catalogue to pelican, which seems to be the right identification as the bird has the webbed feet of a waterfowl.¹⁷⁴ Finally, in the far right, the sinning pair is driven out of Paradise by an angel. Including the various frogs, butterflies and dragonflies scattered through the grass, there are 27 animals present in this piece (see table 1).

Being almost square, the second tapestry depicts *Adam Tilling the Soil* (fig. 2) accompanied by Eve, their two sons Cain and Abel, and 42 animals covering nearly all space left free by the figures and vegetation. Orzechowski characterised this piece as “our toil and pain [...] presented to our eyes”.¹⁷⁵ From the foreground with a rabbit, pheasant, tortoise and eel, to the waterside with a beautifully rendered cormorant, a mallard, a partridge and quail, to the background with deer, egrets, and cows and the sky filled with various birds, this image is the most packed with animals of the whole First Parents cycle. The figures also interact with the animals. Abel holds a small bird in his hands. Despite Hennel-Bernasikowa's identification of the bird as a goldfinch, its blue-and-yellow colouring does not match the goldfinch's striking brown, yellow and black coat.¹⁷⁶ In addition, Cain is accompanied by a docile lion and behind him, two ostriches watch over the family. On the roof of their hut, a hoopoe, tawny owl, parrot and two small birds are perched. Between Adam's legs, a rather unrealistic lizard navigates the grass. Not everything is peaceful: in the sky, two birds attack each other. Although this patch of blue is a distinctly different colour from the rest of the sky, it is not a new addition. Curator Magdalena Ozga theorised that the difference in colour might be caused by the threads for that patch having been dyed with a slightly different dye, causing it to fade differently from the other threads. Almost all tapestries of the set contain these patches and none of them appear to be later reweavings.¹⁷⁷

The subsequent tapestries of the First Parents set do not contain nearly as many animals as the first two. In *Abel's Sacrifice* (fig. 3), the brothers Cain and Abel make their sacrifices to God. Abel's sacrifice of sheep takes the centre-left stage, showing part of Abel's living flock (a goat and five sheep) between him and the burning altar. Next to Abel is an angel, while the kneeling Cain on the left is accompanied by a personification of his anger. Apart from Abel's flock, the only other animals are two mallard ducks in the left-bottom pond and a few butterflies. *Fratricide Conceived* (fig. 4) is a tall tapestry focused on the two brothers departing from Abel's altar, accompanied only by a frog near Abel's feet. Orzechowski did not mention it, for which reason Misiag-Bochenska proposes it might not have been woven at the same time as the other tapestries.¹⁷⁸ In the fourth tapestry, Cain executes his plan and his brother. In *Cain Kills Abel* (fig. 5), Cain is accompanied in the act not only by another personification, but also by a cast of various animals: a monkey in the foreground, two red squirrels on either side of the picture plane, an eagle, and lastly a – rather flat-looking – owl attacked by three birds.

¹⁷³ Szablowski, Misiag-Bochenska, and Piwocka, *The Flemish Arrases. Royal Castle in Cracow*, 351.

¹⁷⁴ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 54; Hennel-Bernasikowa and Piwocka, *Katalog arrasów króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 76.

¹⁷⁵ Szablowski, “The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage,” 46.

¹⁷⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 58.

¹⁷⁷ Dr Magdalena Ozga, personal conversation, 14 September 2019.

¹⁷⁸ Misiag-Bochenska, “Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis,” 69.

The last tapestry of this set, *Cain's Flight from God's Wrath* (fig. 6), gives focus to the figures of the slain Abel, the running Cain, two personifications of Despair and Revenge, and a wrathful God in the sky. The only animals present are two very small sheep grazing in the background near Abel's altar.

Noah's Ark is the second Wawel cycle that contains many animals, although this is not true for the first tapestries of the set. The cycle starts with the *Moral Decline of Mankind* (fig. 7). It is populated with fighting figures, some on horseback. No other animals are present, not even a bird. Next is another relatively under-populated piece. In *Noah's Conversation with God* (fig. 8) the main pair is accompanied to the left by three rabbits and a red squirrel. The *Construction of the Ark* (fig. 9) is so densely filled with the skeleton of the boat, the building materials and workers that it is surprising the artist still managed to squeeze in twelve animals. In the left corner is a lovely rendered tortoise – the exact same from *Adam Tilling the Soil* – and perched under Noah's pointing hand is a fantastically coloured parrot. Higher up, a magpie and songbird watch over the proceedings. In the right corner, a dog drinks from a pond, startling one of the two ducks into flight. Numerous cows stand or lie around in the background.

The true high point in numbers of animals lies in *The Animals Embarking on the Ark* (fig. 10), with about 150 animals if all the heads and birds in the background are counted. It is impossible to describe all the species (see table 1 for a full list) on this 7.8-metre wide tapestry, but several animals in the foreground immediately jump out. Starting from the middle, a lifelike porcupine is joined by a mean-looking turtle, perhaps a snapping turtle. Immediately behind them are two large felines, a female leopard and a male lion. The head of the leopard is echoed behind the pair by a lion. Between them are what appear to be wolves, but they are not realistically rendered. Other striking members of the train filing into the ark are two detailed dromedaries, a couple of elephants, a pair of civet cats, some one-horned giraffes, and a unicorn. Weird-looking additions to the crowd are a bear on its hind legs making a shrugging gesture and a goat with a suspiciously flat, human-like face. On the left several dragons and their flying snake brethren come into the picture plane, while the air is populated by birds of all species including several big waterfowl. Lastly, a peacock is held by the female members of Noah's family on the right edge of the picture.

In *The Flood* (fig. 11) a horrible storm washes away the world while the populace tries to flee in despair. The lion in the centre echoes this terror, quaking on its feet. It is accompanied by the same eagle that was in the *Story of Paradise*. The other nine animals on the picture are two horses, three dogs, a heron on the far left, a monkey on a leash and a tiny rat and turtle in the centre roots.

After the Flood, the *Animals Disembarking from the Ark* (fig. 12) leads to another multitude of animals leaving Noah's boat. Because there is no large train of animals in the background, this tapestry contains slightly fewer beasts than its *Embarking* pendant: 73 in total. Many animals are of the same kind seen embarking earlier, like the dromedaries, civet cats – now a good deal closer to the viewer – and the lion and leopard. In fact, the leopard assumes almost the same pose as the frightened lion from *The Flood*, but the rear legs are positioned slightly differently. Meanwhile, the lion is engaged in a battle with one of the large dragons. In the sky, the birds are led out by a crane and a red macaw. Noah and his family walk past the ruins of civilisation and the victims of the flood. In a mirror image of the peacock from *The Animals Embarking*, Noah's family members are now holding a turkey. They are also

accompanied by a monkey and some white-and-brown spotted cows, although the spots are hard to make out through the current dirt layer on the tapestries.

After surviving the Flood, Noah and his family participate in *Noah's Thanksgiving* (fig. 13). It is yet another large tapestry teeming with animal life, numbering about 35. While Noah's family is preparing a cow and a lion to join the deer and other cattle on the already burning altar, many other animals are gathered around. In the foreground are a cat and a monkey, while nearing the altar a hare lies down with a dromedary and two sheep. On the dromedary's back is another monkey of a different kind. A barn owl and a stork oversee the proceedings. From the right, two cranes and a civet cat approach. The lower corner is taken by a lounging lion, a genet standing somewhat high on its feet, and yet another tortoise. The lion looks strongly like its cousin behind Cain in *Adam Tilling the Soil*.

In the penultimate tapestry, no animals are present as *God Blesses Noah* (fig. 14) and his family. However, in the last piece of the set various animals accompany Noah's new venture as winegrower and *Noah Intoxicated* (fig. 15). On the left, the sons find their father drunk from the wine he brewed. A tree inhabited by a large horned owl divides this scene from Noah working the soil. Smaller birds attack the owl. Behind the tree stand a goat and sheep looking at a baboon-like monkey. Hidden in the grass next to the lower border is a little rabbit.

The last four figural tapestries of the Wawel series comprise the Tower of Babel story. They have not been described by Orzechowski and are therefore often considered of a later date.¹⁷⁹ More important in the light of this study, they lack the wealthy animal world of the other two sets. The first tapestry of the *Construction of the Tower of Babel* contains a dog, dromedary and various cows. *God's Wrath* has no animals at all and *The Confusion of Tongues* and the *Separation of Nations* show a few camels in the background. Because of this difference in animal material, this set is not considered further in this study.

¹⁷⁹ Misiag-Bochenska, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 69.

PART 2. MEANINGS

Meaning is a broad term that can cover all kinds of types of cultural significance, from religious and spiritual symbolism to monetary and use value. The former is the more traditional ground of the art historian, while the latter has become more pertinent in art historical research, among other things due to the study of material culture. This part explores both the religious meanings sought behind the animals in previous scholarship, as well as new interpretations based on the material culture of the court and collecting culture of the elite.

However, before delving into the various meanings that can be ascribed to species of animal in the Wawel tapestries, it must first be asked whether a hierarchy of significance exists. Just from looking at the tapestries, some animals pop out more than others. The high levels of detail and strong contours grab the attention of the eye and help set the animals apart from their environment. When standing in a room with these tapestries, only the animals up till about mid-way are clearly visible, with a distinct focus on the middle plane. If the artists would have wanted to impress a message on the tapestries' audience through an animal, they would have surely placed it here. Everything in the sky is much harder to make out, especially nowadays as everything is grimy. Some details still jump out at the viewer though, like the magpie in the *Construction of the Ark*. Meanwhile, the various small woodland creatures, cows, deer, horses and birds of the background can probably best be understood as staffage.

Chapter 3. Christian symbolism

When discussing the meanings of animals, it is impossible to forego Christian-symbolical meanings. After all, the narratives in which the animals occur are Christian stories with layered religious significance. Moreover, animals have been the subject of a long symbolic tradition that was an amalgamation of information from Classical texts, predominantly Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (77-79), filtered through a Christian didactic moralising lens. Scholars of animal symbolism generally see the Greek *Physiologus* (c. fourth century), in which this knowledge was codified as religious associations per animal – usually substantiated by a Biblical passage – as the basis of this medieval symbolic tradition. Over the centuries, this knowledge was ruminated and expanded on by subsequent church fathers, bestiaries, preacher's handbooks and early natural history encyclopaedias.¹⁸⁰ The rediscovery of Greek texts, like Horapollon Nilus' *Hieroglyphics*, by humanist scholars caused the addition of emblematic literature to the aforementioned body of work.¹⁸¹ Animal emblems were still deeply embedded in the moralising Christian bestiary tradition but infused with more classical sources.¹⁸² Besides, the matter of everyday life, which is the subject hereafter, was itself permeated with Christian meanings. Therefore, the following is a short introduction into previously suggested symbolical interpretations with some new ideas. However, it is not an exhaustive analysis by any means; Misiag-Bochenska rightly pointed out that any symbolical interpretation of the animals is seriously frustrated by the “plurality of meanings” inherent in medieval and Christian symbolism.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ There is no room here to discuss the long and intricate history of medieval animal symbolism. For more information, see Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, 3-23; Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, especially 92-94, 341-342.

Natural history encyclopaedias, both of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, were highly infused with myths, proverbs, symbolism and religion. See Ashworth Jr, “Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance”; Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, 23-34.

¹⁸¹ Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, 37-42.

¹⁸² For more information on Renaissance emblem books, of which Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg, 1531) was the earliest (Italian) example, see: Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, 35-53.

¹⁸³ Misiag-Bochenska, “Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis,” 109.



Fig. 17. Albrecht Dürer, *The Fall of Man*, 1504, engraving, 25.1 x 20 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum.



Fig. 18. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Paradise*, 1530, oil on panel, 81 cm × 114 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie.



Fig. 19. Herri met de Bles, *Paradise*, c. 1541-1550, oil on wood, 46.6 × 45.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 20. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, 1509, woodblock, 33.5 × 23.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum.

Paradise and the First Parents

The Brussels' artists had a long textual and pictorial tradition to fall back on regarding the choice and composition of the First Parent's cycle. The Wawel *Story of Paradise* tapestry combines the six major points of the story of Adam and Eve, which developed in the Middle Ages around the three key scenes of the Creation of Eve, the Fall of Man, and the Expulsion from Paradise.¹⁸⁴ In the Wawel tapestry's first scene, Adam is created from the dust of the ground. It is not pictured how he is then taken to the Garden and asked to name the animals, because the next event seen here is Eve's creation and introduction to Adam. Next, God marries Adam and Eve and in the next episode, forbids them to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. Seduced by the snake, the First Parents eat from the fruit anyway and are subsequently expelled from Paradise by an angel. The inscription on top reinforces the focus on God's commandment: "God ordered Adam and Eve not to eat the fruit of the Tree of Life; those disobedients were thrown from Paradise".¹⁸⁵ The combination of this many parts of the story seems unusual, as this story was often further condensed into just the Fall of Man, of which Dürer's 1504 engraving (fig. 17) is a famous example followed by other artists. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Adam and Eve also regularly appeared as just a solitary pair against a dark backdrop.¹⁸⁶ However, the Wawel tapestry's combination of all scenes in one landscape is found in contemporary panel paintings, for example, in Cranach's *Paradise* (1530, fig. 18) or Herri met de Bles' (c. 1510-c. 1555–1560) *Paradise* (c. 1541-1550, fig. 19). Although the focus in the Wawel weaving on God's commandment rather than the actual sin of eating the apple seems unusual, it also occurs quite prominently in the aforementioned two pieces.

Artists did not have much textual evidence to fall back on for the animals accompanying Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. In the Old Testament, hardly mention specific animals. On the fifth day, God created the birds and fishes and on the sixth day, he made the land animals and the first human, who was to rule over the other living creatures: "Let us make mankind in our image, in our likeness, so that they may rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky, over the livestock and all the wild animals, and overall the creatures that move along the ground."¹⁸⁷ In the second chapter of Genesis, the creation of the Garden is described, as well as the event where all the animals are led before Adam to name them.¹⁸⁸ Except for the snake that seduces Eve, the text is not explicit on whether the animals stayed in the Garden after being named.¹⁸⁹ Because there is no textual evidence that this Garden was full of animals or that these animals lived peacefully together, the question of whether animals were present long occupied theologians.¹⁹⁰ One group held, based on the writings of Saint Basil, that Paradise must have been full of animals that coexisted peacefully; if God had given man dominion over all animals, they must have been present to be commanded.¹⁹¹ The other, more influential, side under the lead of Saint Thomas of Aquino, assumed that God had created the Garden solely for the two humans;

¹⁸⁴ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 19.

¹⁸⁵ "DEVVS ADE ET EVE NE POMO LIGNI VITE VESCIERENTVR PRECEPERAT ILLI INOBEDIENTES EIECTI SVNT PARADISO GEN.III" (directly transcribed from tapestry by author, the inscription in Szablowski, Misiąg-Bochenska, and Piwocka, *The Flemish Arrases*, 351 is faulty. Translation also by author).

¹⁸⁶ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 21.

¹⁸⁷ NIV, Genesis 1:20; NIV, Genesis 1:26.

¹⁸⁸ NIV, Genesis, 2:19.

¹⁸⁹ NIV, Genesis 2, Genesis 3 (3:1: "Now the serpent was more crafty than any of the wild animals the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, "Did God really say, 'You must not eat from any tree in the garden?").

¹⁹⁰ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 23.

¹⁹¹ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 24.

the animals had been led into the Garden to be named but did not dwell there.¹⁹² As a result, many medieval Genesis cycles show the animals being created, without including them in the scenes featuring Adam and Eve.¹⁹³

If animals are included in images of Adam and Eve, scholars have often explained them symbolically. Most famous perhaps in this regard are the interpretations of Dürer's 1504 engraving of Adam and Eve. The famous iconologist Erwin Panofsky first posited an often-followed reading that the moose, cat, rabbit and ox represent the four humours, of which the perfect balance in humans was lost during the Fall.¹⁹⁴ As Panofsky's explanation fails to account for the presence of the mouse, parrot and ibex (or chamois) in the engraving, other scholars have argued for different interpretations. For example, Van de Velde has pointed out the inherent oppositions between the cat and mouse, and the parrot and snake.¹⁹⁵ Paul Smith has drawn attention to the importance of German linguistic motivations, such as the German word for elk, 'heilant', simultaneously meaning 'saviour' (as in, Christ).¹⁹⁶ Van de Velde argued that animals must also be interpreted symbolically in images of Adam and Eve by other artists.¹⁹⁷ According to him, animals connected to lust or other negative characteristics that appear most often in depictions of the Fall of Man are monkeys, rabbits, hares, squirrels, a cat or billy goat; the wily fox, lazy snail or dirty pig.¹⁹⁸ When such animals are paired with sensual poses of Adam and Eve, the meaning is clear. Van de Velde subtly suggested that this is not the case with the Wavel tapestries. Rather, these tapestries are the beginning of a new development in picturing the Fall of Man, where not "Adam and Eve" but "Paradise" is depicted, with "a beautiful landscape and interesting animals" taking the place of reminding the viewer of the sinfulness of humans.¹⁹⁹ According to Van de Velde, this change ran parallel to the development of landscape as a separate genre.²⁰⁰

Of Dürer's much-discussed animals, only a parrot is also found in the Wavel *Story of Paradise*. This red macaw above Eve is generally accepted as Marian symbol. Christian scholars understood Macrobius' report that a parrot had exclaimed 'Ave Caesar' at Caesar's victory over Marc Antony as a prefiguration of 'Ave Maria', and thus the parrot as a symbol of Mary.²⁰¹ Since the Middle Ages, typological thinking – the practice of finding prefigurations of New Testament events in Old Testament episodes – commonly linked Adam to Christ and Eve to Mary.²⁰² Mary was known as the second Eve because the 'Ave' with which Mary is greeted by the archangel Gabriel is the inversion of 'Eva'. As such, the parrot above Eve is a prefiguration of Mary, who would redeem her ancestor's sin by giving birth to the Son of God. Precedents are not only found in Dürer's 1504 engraving of Adam and Eve (a rose-

¹⁹² Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 24.

¹⁹³ For example, a c. 1412-15 copy of the *Grande Bible historique complétée* (BNF, français 9, fol. 7v-10v) has beasts accompanying God, but no Adam and Eve.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, "Rereading Dürer's Representations of the Fall of Man," 311.

¹⁹⁵ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 24-25. The snake is a symbol of the Devil whereas the parrot is a symbol of Mary, making them opposites.

¹⁹⁶ Smith, "Rereading Dürer's Representations of the Fall of Man," 311-320.

¹⁹⁷ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 25-26.

¹⁹⁸ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 25.

¹⁹⁹ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 28: "een mooi landschap met interessante dieren".

²⁰⁰ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 29.

²⁰¹ Verdi, *The Parrot in Art. From Dürer to Elizabeth Butterworth*, 13-15.

²⁰² Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 20.

ringed parakeet) but also his 1503 drawing of *Mary Among a Multitude of Animals* (likewise) and the Florence *Paradise* tapestry set (fig. 51, a scarlet macaw next to Eve and Adam).

The parrot is but one of the surprisingly many birds in this tapestry piece. In contrast to many other images of the Garden of Eden (see table 2), the birds take the first plan instead of lions, deer and monkeys – the latter two, which are found in respectively sixteen and nine other artworks from the table, are not even present in the *Story of Paradise*. The lion and the stag are traditional symbols of Christ and therefore often paired with Adam, as is amply illustrated in a woodcut by Cranach (1509, fig. 20).²⁰³ In the Wawel tapestry, Adam's lion is a tiny figure in the background.²⁰⁴ Much more prominent are the eagle, ostrich and the peacock. Markiewicz has interpreted these birds as symbols of divine justice, an interpretation echoed by the Tree of Life, wrapped in the vines of Salvation, as the place where God's throne would be erected on the Day of Judgment.²⁰⁵ The eagle is also a common symbol of Christ and can, therefore, be read as another prefiguration of the New Testament, declaring Adam as Christ.²⁰⁶ In addition, Markiewicz interprets the three birds in the right corner as symbols of death and salvation.²⁰⁷ The peacock is indeed a well-known bird of immortality because its flesh was thought to never rot; the pelican is another widely-used symbol of Christ as Redeemer and the Eucharist, usually depicted picking its breast to feed its young with its blood.²⁰⁸ However, Markiewicz' declaration of the duck as a symbol of death through its connection to the goddess Astarte is an interpretation rarely found elsewhere.

In the Bible, after the first humans are banished from the Garden, animals recur only briefly in their story when their son Abel is described as keeping a flock, in contrast to his brother Cain who works the soil.²⁰⁹ Contrary to the text, *Adam Tilling the Soil* contains a large number of animals and again many birds. According to court chronicler Orzechowski, these birds reproach Eve for her sin.²¹⁰ Misiag-Bochenska has interpreted the owl as a symbol of mortality, the punishment of Adam and Eve for their sin.²¹¹ It returns in *Cain Kills Abel*, where it again heralds death. The small bird in Abel's hand, a goldfinch according to Hennel-Bernasikowa, although its colouring is not right, may suggest his martyr's death.²¹² She also suggested that the lion behind Cain's symbolises his strength. Lastly, Misiag-Bochenska pointed out the tortoise as a symbol of sluggishness.²¹³ The scenes with the brothers contain only the necessary sheep from Abel's flock and a lonely frog in *Fratricide Conceived*. It is always possible to suggest meanings of innocent sacrificial lamb and creature of evil for these, but especially the sheep are also simply appropriate to the episode pictured.

²⁰³ Smith, "Rereading Dürer's Representations of the Fall of Man," 308; Misiag-Bochenska, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 109.

²⁰⁴ Markiewicz has also connected the lion and snake next to Eve's creation with Psalm 91, line 13: Markiewicz, "Iconography of the Paradise Tapestry in the Old Polish Royal Collections," 15.

²⁰⁵ Markiewicz, "Iconography of the Paradise Tapestry in the Old Polish Royal Collections," 11-14.

²⁰⁶ Markiewicz, "Iconography of the Paradise Tapestry in the Old Polish Royal Collections," 15.

²⁰⁷ Markiewicz, "Iconography of the Paradise Tapestry in the Old Polish Royal Collections," 16.

²⁰⁸ Reibold, *Der Pfau. Mythologie Und Symbolik*, 37-42; Charbonneau-Lassay, *Le Bestiaire du Christ*. 559-565.

²⁰⁹ NIV, Genesis 4:2.

²¹⁰ Szablowski, "The Origins of the Collection and Its History. Royal Patronage," 46.

²¹¹ Misiag-Bochenska, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 109.

²¹² Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 58.

²¹³ Misiag-Bochenska, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 109.

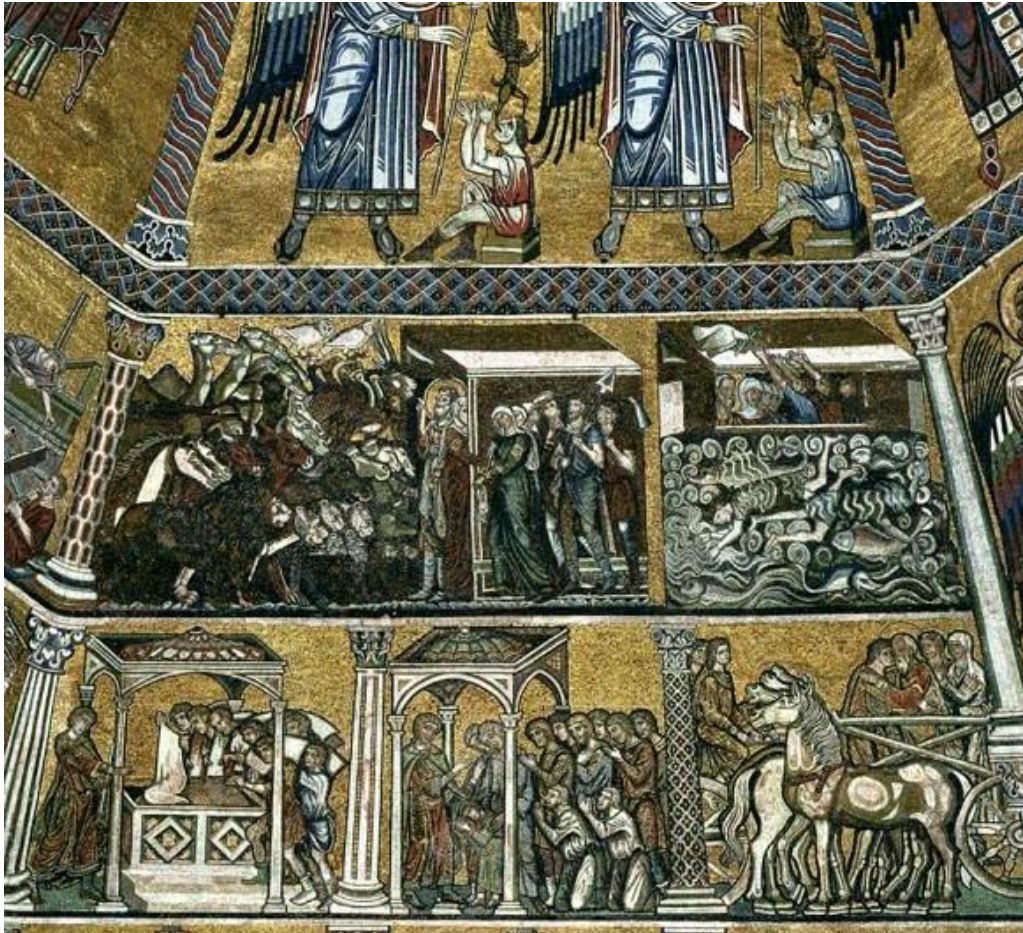


Fig. 21. *Animals Entering the Ark*, detail of the baptistery ceiling, c. 1240-1300, mosaic, Florence Baptistery of San Giovanni.

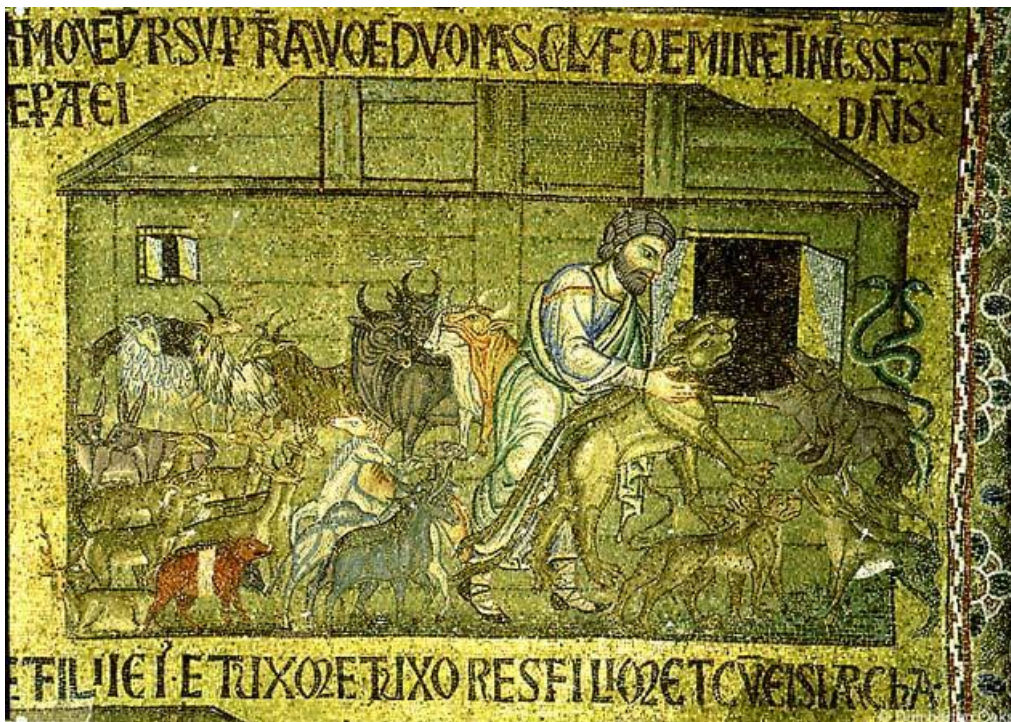


Fig. 22. *Animals entering the ark*, 13th century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco.



Fig. 23. *Animals Entering the Ark*, miniature from *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César*, c. 1260-70, Acre Jerusalem. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 562, f. 6r.



Fig. 24. Dosso Dossi, *Entry of animals into the Ark*, c. 1530, oil on canvas, 107 x 112.4 cm, Providence, RISD museum.

Noah's Ark

After the account of the Garden in the Old Testament, animals reappear in chapter six of Genesis, when God commands Noah to build an ark and take: “two of all living creatures, male and female, to keep them alive with you. Two of every kind of bird, of every kind of animal and of every kind of creature that moves along the ground will come to you to be kept alive.”²¹⁴ In the next chapter, that number is inflated further when Noah is commanded to take seven pairs of each kind of clean animal and seven pairs of each kind of bird – of unclean animals, one pair of each kind suffices.²¹⁵ When Noah entered the ark with his family, all the required pairs of animals came to them and entered the ark too.²¹⁶ All other living creatures on land perished in the floodwaters.²¹⁷ After the well-known part with the dove and the olive branch, God commanded Noah and his family to leave the ark with all the animals.²¹⁸ Finally, Noah sacrificed some of the clean animals and clean birds to God, who formed a covenant with him.²¹⁹

Cycles of Noah's Ark existed in art since early Christian times. During the Middle Ages the cycle condensed, like the cycle of Adam and Eve, to its most important moments: the building of the Ark, the entry of the animals, the Ark during the Flood, the return of the dove – the most important medieval motif – and Noah's sacrifice of thanksgiving.²²⁰ The entry of the animals was a powerful image of salvation through the Christian faith, where the ark could be interpreted as the Church and its wood symbolic of the wood of the Cross.²²¹ Many images of Noah reduce the story to the Ark and occasionally Noah, his family or the dove, with little room for additional fauna.

However, there are some twelve- and thirteenth-century Italian examples of wall decoration that portray a mass of animals entering the Ark, for example, the Baptistery mosaic in Florence (c.1240-1300, fig. 21) and the mosaic in the San Marco in Venice (13th century, fig. 22), much like the multitude of images discussed regarding the Wawel tapestries. Furthermore, a miniature of the same century shows a similar iconography (c. 1260-70, fig. 23).²²² In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, if animals were pictured with Noah, the subject existed in roughly in the same manner in manuscript illumination from England to Germany as in the aforementioned wall coverings.²²³ In the sixteenth century in Italy, Dosso Dossi (c. 1489-1542), working for the court of Ferrara, painted the animals entering the ark on canvas in c. 1520 (fig. 24). There is no real underlying pattern in the choice of animals between these miniatures and later paintings that indicate a standard combination or symbolical meaning (see table 3).

The animals of the Wawel Noah's Ark set have not attracted as much attention regarding their symbolism.²²⁴ This is partly due to the relative lack of comparable pictorial material, as will be discussed

²¹⁴ NIV, Genesis 6:19-20.

²¹⁵ NIV, Genesis 7:2-3.

²¹⁶ NIV, Genesis 7:8-9, 14-16.

²¹⁷ NIV, Genesis, 7:21-23.

²¹⁸ NIV, Genesis 8:15-17.

²¹⁹ NIV, Genesis 8:20-22 and Genesis 9.

²²⁰ Von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis*, 434.

²²¹ Von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis*, 462.

²²² *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César*, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 562, f. 6r.

²²³ See for examples: England, c. 1350-60, Egerton Genesis, London, British Library, Egerton 1894, f. 3r; Paris atelier, c. 1412-1415, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 9, f. 15r; Utrecht, c. 1430, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 38 I, f. 13r; German, c. 1470, Furtmeyer Bible, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 8010 a, f. 13v.

²²⁴ Most interest has always been on the question picturing the Ark itself, see Von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis*, 422-451.

in chapter five. It is probably also the case that the multitude of animals in the *Animals Embarking* and *Disembarking* does not facilitate symbolical readings. Regarding *Noah's Thanksgiving*, Hennel-Bernasikowa has remarked that the stork is a symbol of new life.²²⁵ Of *Noah Intoxicated*, Misiag-Bochenka said that the owl is an attribute of sleep.²²⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa has further pointed to apocryphal stories of Noah as the first wine-grower.²²⁷ It seems that she thought it most likely that the goat, sheep and monkey refer to the tale where Noah fertilises the ground with the blood of a monkey, lion, sheep and pig. However, there are no lion or monkey in the picture, nor are any animals being sacrificed. Her second theory is perhaps more plausible: that Noah spotted a goat getting drunk on grapes, thereby getting the idea to plant grapes himself. The monkey can then be interpreted as a common symbol of inebriation.

Several birds are probably more significant than previously discussed in scholarship. The aforementioned conspicuous magpie in the *Construction of the Ark* is likely placed there as a foreteller of the Flood. Due to their human-like chattering, magpies were regarded as prophets, especially of evil.²²⁸ The three goldfinches on top of the ark in the *Animals Embarking* are almost comically enlarged in comparison to the other animals near the ark. Supposing the artists did this on purpose, they must probably be understood as a symbol of sacrifice and redemption, just like Hennel-Bernasikowa theorised for the small bird in Abel's hands.²²⁹ Note that the pelican from the *Story of Paradise* – also a symbol of Christ as the sacrificial saviour – returns prominently in the *Animals Embarking*, taking the centre in the sky. Furthermore, an interesting mirroring effect happens between the peacock in the *Animals Embarking* and the turkey in the *Animals Disembarking*. Not only the compositions of the two tapestries are a mirror, but the birds are too. This is almost certainly a visual play originating from an often-found symbolical interpretation of the turkey and the peacock. Ever since the Europeans brought turkeys from the Americas, they were confused with their longer-tailed cousins and called a peacock of the Indies. The turkey's less beautiful appearance caused it to be used as an ugly counterpoint to the peacock, a bird literally and figuratively of beauty.²³⁰ Lastly, the owl in *Noah Intoxicated* is not a symbol on its own, but is in fact under attack by smaller birds. In real hunting, real or fake owls were used as a decoy to lure birds into a trap. Small birds spot the owl and become upset, attacking it to defend their home and flying into the trap.²³¹ In art, the owl was a common symbol of Jewish people and evil, because the owl turns away from the light – in other words, from Christ.²³² Within the context of Noah's intoxication, the birds attacking the owl can therefore be interpreted as Noah's sons deriding him for his drunkenness.

Evidently, several animals lend themselves well for interpretation in a Christian context. The eagle, lion, parrot, peacock, pelican and owl are all species regularly associated with religious themes. It is no

²²⁵ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 82.

²²⁶ Misiag-Bochenka, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 109.

²²⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 84.

²²⁸ Simonson, "Pieter Bruegel's *Magpie on the Gallows*," 74.

²²⁹ Charbonneau-Lassay, *Le Bestiaire du Christ*. 533-534; Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch: Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art*.

²³⁰ Silver, "World of Wonders: Exotic Animals in European Imagery, 1515-1650," 304.

²³¹ Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 104-105.

²³² Vandenbroeck, "Bubo Significans," 37-78.

surprise that they are present in the Biblical stories on the Wawel tapestries, as they have been part of artistic and symbolic tradition from the early Middle Ages onwards. Neither is it surprising that several apt interpretations have already been given in previous scholarship. The brief exploration of a few additional symbolical meanings for the birds in the Ark of Noah cycle of the Wawel tapestries shows how more symbolical or emblematic explanations can always be sought and found. However, all of these have been fairly open doors. It is doubtful how much further such research would help explain the choice of uncharacteristic species, such as a red macaw or a civet cat, or the relatively large number of birds.



Fig. 25. Little dragon out of ray skin, c. 17th or 18th century, 11 x 32 x 14 cm, Utrecht, Universiteitsmuseum.



Fig. 26. Albrecht Dürer, *Drawing of the view on Coudenberg palace gardens*, 1520, pen on paper, 28.3 x 40 cm, Vienna, Akademie Schone Kunste.



Fig. 27. Albrecht Dürer, *Studies of animals and landscapes*, 1521, silverpoint on paper, 26.4 x 39.7 cm, Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute.



Fig. 28. Gerard Horenbout, detail of *April*, miniature in the Grimani Breviary, c. 1510, full miniature 28 x 21.5 cm, Flanders. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. lat. I 99, f. 4v.



Fig. 29. Master of 1499, *Margaret of Austria praying to the Virgin*, c. 1501-1504, oil on panel, 30.6 x 14.6 cm, Ghent, Museum voor de Schone Kunsten Gent.

Chapter 4. Material culture of the Habsburg court

The previous chapter has shown how a symbolical reading of the Wawel animals is perfectly possible and how the Christian meaning was likely an important motivation for the inclusion of several species – like the lion, eagle and parrot. However, the plurality and ambiguity of Christian symbolism makes any interpretation beyond the obvious hard to discuss. Furthermore, it is not the most useful context against which to consider the novel and rare species that occur often on the Wawel tapestries, such as the civet cat. Therefore, this chapter considers another way meaning would have been generated for a contemporary audience, namely the everyday engagement with animals or parts thereof.

Animals as objects with value and meaning at court, whether dead or alive, have a European history that extends back beyond the Renaissance. Rulers throughout time have liked to show off their wealth and power by owning and using rare, expensive or dangerous animals. In Roman times, rulers kept menageries of special animals to embellish their courts.²³³ Lions and elephants were favoured by

²³³ Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 17-19.

medieval and renaissance rulers: thought to be the strongest animals, dominating all others, lions and elephants formed excellent symbols of superiority.²³⁴ Rulers would collect animals in menageries or in the form of skins and shells, where they were both of economic and display value, they would send them away again to other lords hoping to impress them or strengthen diplomatic ties. Owning nature also meant owning knowledge, an aspect that would grow in importance as collections developed from elevated treasuries to systematic microcosms in the second half of the sixteenth century. Another form of owning animals was the lavish hunting parks kept for sport and to supply the princely table. Importantly, animal collecting in all its forms was not confined to a dark dungeon or inaccessible garden, never to be seen by anyone but the ruler. Not only servants but artists, scholars and members of the ruler's family also came into contact with these animals; for their symbolical function, there needed to be an audience. At their most public, princes put animals in spectacles, like fights and parades, to entertain and awe. The presence of animals at court in this sense was social.²³⁵

Although the Wawel tapestries were woven for Sigismund in Poland, the Habsburg family constitutes a geographically and culturally closer context for their designs. When the Brussels tapestry workshops worked on the Wawel First Parents and Noah sets, Habsburg Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) ruled a large part of Europe, including the Netherlands. Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, the Habsburgs held court in Brussels or its vicinity. The successive governesses of the Low Countries, Margaret and Mary, as well as Charles himself, employed artists from the tapestry trade as their court artists: Bernard van Orley, Michiel Coxcie and Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Moreover, the magnificence of the Habsburg court was emulated by the other courts of Europe and their favour actively sought after. Sigismund Augustus himself married two women from the Habsburg line, the daughters of Charles V's brother Ferdinand.

This chapter takes a closer look at the Netherlandish Habsburg court's engagement with animals and how it could have inspired the multitude of animals in the Wawel tapestries. First, the animals present at the Habsburg court at various moments are discussed, including those in the collections and further possessions of Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary. Then, the various motivations for owning and showing off these animals in real life – and by extension, in the Wawel tapestries – is considered within the context of the animals at the Habsburg court. The chapter concludes with the significance of other kinds of animal possession, hunting and feasting, to the tapestries. Note that what is defined as material culture in this chapter overlaps with what is generally thought of and researched as collecting culture. However, since in this period collections were not yet strictly delineated and tucked away in specific rooms like the later Kunst- and Wunderkammern, this chapter expands beyond the narrower definition of 'the collection' as a carefully curated whole. After all, acquiring and possessing were key actions in almost all sixteenth-century courtly engagement with animals. As such, this chapter considers predominantly the (material) court culture around animals, which is to a large extent synonymous with the collecting culture.

²³⁴ Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 24.

²³⁵ Dupré and Egmond, "Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia," 206-207.

Animals at the Habsburg court in the Low Countries

Although the Habsburg family had its roots in Austria, in the sixteenth century, one of the primary seats of Habsburg power lay in Brussels at the Coudenberg Palace, also the administrative centre of the prosperous Low Countries. Charles had inherited the Low Countries from his father Philip the Handsome (1478-1506), the son of Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482), last of the line of the famous Burgundian dukes, and Maximilian I (1459-1519), the Austrian Habsburg Emperor. Charles was born in Brussels in 1500 and raised by his aunt Margaret of Austria in Mechelen from 1506. Maximilian had appointed his daughter Margaret as guardian and governess of the Netherlands after Philip's death in 1506. Upon reaching maturity and inheriting the Spanish and Holy Roman lands in addition to the Netherlands, Charles was often off fighting wars in various corners of Europe. The Habsburg presence in the Low Countries was guaranteed first by his aunt Margaret, between 1519 and 1530, and then his sister, Mary of Hungary. When Mary took on the governessship after Margaret's death, she inherited most of Margaret's possessions but moved her court from Mechelen to the Brussels Coudenberg Palace. From the 1540s to 1556, Charles was frequently found on the Coudenberg, residing there more or less permanently from 1548 onwards.²³⁶ In 1555, Charles and Mary abdicated together and retired to Spain, Charles to Yuste and Mary to Cigalés.

In regard to collections in general and objects of animal origins in particular, both Margaret and Mary can be typified as the real collectors of the family.²³⁷ More than their nephew and brother Charles, who lived a peripatetic life, both governesses remained relatively stationary in the Netherlands, allowing them to build up a collection of art, jewels and other interests.²³⁸ Charles' collections were much less connected to Brussels, but he lived there from 1544 on and his possessions should not be disregarded.²³⁹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars like Julius von Schlosser, Ghislaine de Boom and Alfons Lhostsky already recognised Margaret of Austria as an important early sixteenth-century collector.²⁴⁰ However, her significance as a collector was mostly ignored until Dagmar Eichberger started reconstructing Margaret's complete collection of art, natural objects and manmade artefacts.²⁴¹ Eichberger has demonstrated how Margaret had a keen personal interest in her collections that stemmed from the enjoyment of rarity and aesthetic pleasure, rather than the monetary value of pieces.²⁴² From notes in the margins, it is evident that Margaret herself was strongly involved in drawing up these inventories by being present and submitting information about the objects in question.²⁴³ As Margaret's possessions were quickly dispersed after her death, her possessions must primarily be studied through inventories and other documents left to us. Much of Margaret's collection initially passed onto Mary of Hungary. After her retirement, Mary took part of her collection of artworks, books, and manmade and natural objects with her to Cigalés and Valladolid in Spain, while other items, like a

²³⁶ Van den Boogert, "De triomfen van de keizer," 233.

²³⁷ Checa Cremades, "The Period of Charles V. Collections and Inventories of the House of Austria," 30.

²³⁸ Checa Cremades, "Emperor Charles V," 57.

²³⁹ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 77.

²⁴⁰ Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria," 2351.

²⁴¹ Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria," 2351; Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 14; MacDonald, "Collecting a New World," 661.

²⁴² The 1516 inventory already contains aesthetic judgments, like "well painted", a good indication of Margaret's critical eye for art. The same kind of judgments are also made on the quality of the corals. Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 359, 403.

²⁴³ Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria," 2353-54.

large part of the Burgundian library, stayed behind in Brussels. Again, her collection got dispersed over various family members and is best studied by the remaining inventories.

Although recent scholarship has typified Mary as the leading collector of the Netherlandish Habsburg court after Margaret, steering the taste of her brother with help of Cardinal Granvelle (1517-1586), much less is known about Mary's collections.²⁴⁴ Fire and mismanagement have caused holes in the documentation of her possessions. The thorough 1556 inventory of her possessions in Spain omits everything that may have been left behind in Brussels, where the palace was likely still well-furnished because Philip II took up residence there after Mary.²⁴⁵ The Coudenberg Palace in Brussels was Mary's primary seat of residence. In 1545, her brother Charles gifted her the city and lands of Binche and Mariemont, where Mary proceeded to have a splendid castle and hunting lodge built that matched the renaissance palaces of Italy.²⁴⁶ Contemporary sources speak of a muse garden with, among other things, the Parnassus mountain fashioned from mother-of-pearl shells, a Helicon-fountain with nine music goddesses in marble, a pond of porphyry and a table for feasts inlaid with the city of Binche and the 'Plus oultre' motto.²⁴⁷ Unfortunately, Mary could not enjoy her new palace for long. In 1554, the French King Henry II had it destroyed as revenge for the damage his own country house Folembay had suffered. The castle in Binche is clear evidence of Mary's love for the Italian renaissance style, which is also exemplified by the artworks, gold- and silverwork, and tapestries she acquired over the years.²⁴⁸ Among her precious metalwork she owned goblets made of exotic materials like ostrich eggs and shells.²⁴⁹ Mary also had her predecessor's possessions transferred to the palaces in Binche, Brussels and Mariemont after the Mechelen palace was sold in 1547.²⁵⁰ Whether Mary kept a *studiolo* in the manner of Margaret is hitherto unknown – although Juan Calvete de Estrella has described the furnishings of Binche for the arrival of Charles V and Philip II, he does not describe Mary's personal apartments beyond a quick description of its tapestries.²⁵¹

Both governesses owned several pieces of natural origin with manmade decorations. Margaret owned over 50 pieces of coral, in their natural state and set in silver or carved in little statues.²⁵² In her garden cabinet, Margaret kept several natural objects decorated by artisans, namely three shells cut 'strangely' and two horns in the cabinet with added silver griffin claws.²⁵³ The big, 'strangely decorated' shell may have been a nautilus shell, which was a collector's item already in the Middle Ages, but the decorative cutting was a sixteenth-century novelty.²⁵⁴ Like her predecessor, Mary was also a keen collector of rare items of natural and artificial origin. She owned a piece of unicorn horn, a nautilus

²⁴⁴ Checa Cremades, "The Period of Charles V," 30-32, 34.

²⁴⁵ Van den Boogert, "De triomfen van de keizer," 269-271.

²⁴⁶ Kerkhoff, "Het hof van Maria van Hongarije in de Nederlanden," 162.

²⁴⁷ Kerkhoff, "Het hof van Maria van Hongarije in de Nederlanden," 163.

²⁴⁸ Van den Boogert, "Macht en Pracht," 276-301.

²⁴⁹ Van den Boogert, "Macht en Pracht," 291.

²⁵⁰ Kerkhoff, "Het hof van Maria van Hongarije in de Nederlanden," 164.

²⁵¹ Calvete de Estrella, *Le Très-Heureux Voyage Ait Par Très-Haut et Très-Puissant Prince Don Philippe...*, 90.

²⁵² "Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Cinq Cents de Colbert, 128," in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2461, p. 206-209.

²⁵³ Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 399-401, n. 122 "BNF CCCC 128, fol 98v: "une escaille de lymeson de mer, pomeler, et l'ouverture est esdantée", "ung aultre grant coquille de parle, a trois fulletz et est taillée estrangement" "une aultre coquille de parle, a moitie creusé" and n. 125, CCC 128, fol 94v, "ung cournet de courne nore, garniz d'argent, les trois pieds fait d'argent, en manière de piedz d'oyseau, avec le couvercle chargé des glans d'argent, donné a Madame par le Maître d'hostel Allard" "ung aultre cournet d'une ongle, d'ung griffon, bien garniz d'argent, dedans dorez, assiz sur deux piedz d'argent dorez").

²⁵⁴ Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 399-401.

shell, a coconut, a wooden casket filled with ground unicorn horn, coral branches and carvings.²⁵⁵ She even owned a rhinoceros horn cup.²⁵⁶ Such cups were thought to counter-effect poison and served both an apotropaic and ceremonial function.²⁵⁷ A similar function was attributed to unicorn horn: Charles V sent a piece to Catherine when she had fallen ill in 1528.²⁵⁸ Several other items also had similar practical functions. Mary possessed, for example, teeth of wild boar and one of an elephant, which were used in sewing and embroidering.²⁵⁹ Between various medical and alchemical supplies, several perfumes are listed, as well as musk and civet.²⁶⁰

Margaret also owned several stuffed animals and animal skins. Already in an early inventory, probably drawn up in 1520, “a small dragon stuffed with hay” and “the skin of another beast round like a ball, very strange and also full of hay”, are recorded under the heading “tables” (paintings) present in the library.²⁶¹ The hay indicates stuffed animals, but despite the description, it remains unclear what animals have been displayed here. The strange round animal was perhaps an armadillo, while the ‘little dragon’ may have been a type of lizard or a ray turned inside out (fig. 25).²⁶² In the inventory of Castle Pont-d’Ain, a camel skin of little value is listed.²⁶³ Kept in her *petit cabinet*, Margaret’s most private study, primarily accessible only to herself, was a bird of paradise wrapped in taffeta.²⁶⁴ It must have been one of her most prized possessions. ²⁶⁵ The first five of these birds were brought to Europe in 1523 by the sole surviving ship of Magellan’s expedition.²⁶⁶ According to a letter to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Salzburg from Maximilianes Transsylvanus (1490-c.1538), secretary to Charles V, the skins were part of a gift of the Maluku rulers to Charles, who had backed Magellan’s voyage.²⁶⁷

The Brussels’ palace inherited its live animals from the Habsburgs’ Burgundian ancestors. From 1431, Philip the Good and the city of Brussels started large renovation works on the palace on the Coudenberg and the adjacent Warande Park.²⁶⁸ The park was enlarged and the animal garden – which

²⁵⁵ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 11.

²⁵⁶ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 11.

²⁵⁷ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 15.

²⁵⁸ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 15.

²⁵⁹ “Yten cinco dientes, quatro de xabalis y vno de elefante.” “Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 1a época, leg. 1093,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2874, p. 148

²⁶⁰ “Almyzque” and “algalia”, both for the king. “Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 1a época, leg. 1093,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2876, p. 155-156

²⁶¹ “vng petit dragonnet plein de foin” and “la peaul d’une autre beste rronde comme une bolle fort estrange aussi plaine de foing” in “Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, Chambre des Comptes de Lille, no 123962” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2403, p.7. These are not discussed in MacDonald, “Collecting a New World.”.

²⁶² The armadillo, which was later almost synonymous with the New World, was already pictured in Netherlandish art by the Master of the Saintly Figures in his *St Christopher* triptych, c. 1501-1524 (now in Museum Mayer Van den Berg, inv. 24). I thank Dr Victor Schmidt for alerting me to this panel.

At least in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, rays were turned inside out and preserved to be sold as ‘dragons’. An inverted ray indeed looks somewhat reptilian and menacing, see for example one of the specimens preserved in the Utrecht University Museum: “Draakje van Roggenhuid,” *Universiteitsmuseum Utrecht*, <<https://www.universiteitsmuseum.nl/collectie/collectieverhalen/draakje-van-roggenghuid>.> Accessed 11 September 2019.

²⁶³ “una fella camelli pauci valoris”, “Archives Municipales, Dijon,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2531, p. 349.

²⁶⁴ “vng oyseau mort appelle ayseau de paradis, envelope de taffetaf, mis en vng petit coffret de bois” (a dead bird called a bird of paradise, enveloped in taffeta, placed in a small coffer of wood), “Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Cinq Cents de Colbert, 128,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2456, p. 175; MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 658; Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 110-11, 185.

²⁶⁵ Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 185.

²⁶⁶ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 658.

²⁶⁷ Swan, “Exotica on the Move,” 628.

²⁶⁸ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 30.

until then had reduced to simply a rather large amount of rabbits – was reinstated.²⁶⁹ From that point onwards, the park included fallow deer, peacocks, swans and wild boar from Hesdin. In 1444 the Burgundian dukes added rare animals like a lion, ostrich and, according to Smolar-Meynart, a ‘guinea pig’ to the Warande.²⁷⁰ Both Maximilian and his son Philip the Handsome had kept lions, which Maximilian found so important that he had them travel with him when he changed residencies.²⁷¹ During the time of Maximilian, a bear had also lived in the courtyard. In 1504, Philip kept three ostriches, two parrots, a chameleon and four chickens from India in Brussels.²⁷² Twice a year, the Warande park was open to the public, in addition to being always open to “honestes gens”.²⁷³ Apparently, Dürer made use of this freedom to visit the garden. In August 1520 Dürer was greatly impressed by them.²⁷⁴ He does not describe which animals he saw in his diary and no animals are depicted on the sketch he made of the gardens (fig. 26).²⁷⁵ However, a different sheet with animals is thought by Koreny to represent some of the beasts Dürer saw in Brussels: lions, a lynx, a young chamois and a baboon (fig. 27).²⁷⁶ This sheet is dated to 1521, which suggests that Dürer visited the menagerie again on his way back to Germany when he stopped in Brussels in July 1521.

Quite a lot of the Wavel animals would also have been found, at one point or another, in the Habsburg menageries during the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁷⁷ From Dürer, we already know that lions and baboons – the latter is to be found in *Noah’s Intoxication* – lived at the Coudenberg Palace. In Ghent, the Burgundian dynasty had also traditionally kept lions in the specially appointed Lion Court. During the rule of Charles V, between four to nine lions lived in Ghent, being taken relatively good care of as they gave birth to cubs several times.²⁷⁸ Dürer also drew the lions in Ghent in 1521 on two other sheets.²⁷⁹ In Brussels, Charles also possessed a leopard or a cheetah, perhaps the model for the animal entering the Ark.²⁸⁰ A pelican, as featured in the *Story of Paradise* and *Animals Embarking*, is known to have lived and occasionally flown above Margaret’s palace in Mechelen. This particular bird was described in the early 1540s by physician Johann Culmann and naturalist William Turner.²⁸¹ However, if the pelican in the Wavel weavings is truly a nod to the one in Mechelen, it is probably not

²⁶⁹ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*. 31-40.

²⁷⁰ “guinees biggetje” Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 40, based on RK 2409-2413, en 2414-2423. Without archival research I cannot confirm the veracity of this statement, but it seems highly unlikely that a guinea pig, an exclusively South American animal, would be available in Europe before Columbus’ first voyage to the Americas. Perhaps it was a different kind of rodent or pig?

²⁷¹ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 63.

²⁷² B. 896, “Bruxelles, le 23 octobre 1504. Copie des lettres patentes de l’archiduc Philippe le Beau accordant une pension de 14 sols par jour à Marquêt de Coche, garde de ses « trois austrices, deux papegais, ung méléon (caméléon) et quatre ghelines d’Inde »” Finot and Dehaisnes, *Inventaire Sommaire Des Archives Departementales à 1790*, vol. 1 part 2, 85.

²⁷³ Dupré and Egmond, “Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia,” 207.

²⁷⁴ Goris and Marlier, *Le Journal de voyage d’Albert Dürer*, 64.

²⁷⁵ The drawing was annotated “Dz ist zw prüssel der diergarten vnd dis lust hinden aws dem schlos hinab zw sehen” (This is in Brussel the animal garden and this lies behind the palace seen from here).

²⁷⁶ Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer Und Die Tier- Und Pflanzenstudien Der Renaissance*, 166.

²⁷⁷ For all animals found in the Wavel tapestries, see table 1.

²⁷⁸ Lievois and Van den Abeele, “Une Menagerie Princiere Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance,” 93-98.

²⁷⁹ Goris and Marlier, *Le Journal de voyage d’Albert Dürer*, 91-92. (12.2x17.1 cm, silverpoint, Berlin-Dahlem, Cabinet des Estampes and 12,9x19, silverpoint, annotated “zw gent”, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina).

²⁸⁰ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 63; “leopard” was also used for cheetah in this period, which was a popular cat at Italian courts. Whether Smolar-Meynart means a leopard (or panther) here or a cheetah is not clear, and may not have been clear from the archival text either. See also: Lievois and Van den Abeele, “Une Menagerie Princiere Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance,” 103.

²⁸¹ Dupré and Egmond, “Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia,” 202.

based on first-hand observation: it is sufficiently far off from a pelican that scholars have mistaken it for a dodo.²⁸² Seals, like the one in the *Animals Disembarking*, passed through the court from the Netherlandish coast. Around 1540, Mary of Hungary had seals from the coast sent to Charles V “in service of his court” and in 1542 she sent Francis I, king of France, two live seals or walrus (*lous marins*) for his menagerie.²⁸³

The various parrots and monkeys seen in the Wawel tapestries are likely modelled on the pets kept in or around the court. Princes, courtiers and wealthy citizen commonly kept these animals as pets.²⁸⁴ Margaret of Austria loved parrots and allegedly always carried one on her arm when she walked through her palace gardens.²⁸⁵ How this would have looked can be seen on a miniature from the Grimani breviary, a manuscript illuminated by one of Margaret’s court artists (c. 1510, fig. 28). She might also have owned monkeys of indeterminate species, for she is pictured with one in a diptych with the Virgin on the other wing, now in Vienna (fig. 29).²⁸⁶ It has also been reported that Margaret kept a pet marmot.²⁸⁷ In his retirement in Yuste, Charles V received a parrot and two cats from India from his youngest sister Catherine to keep him entertained.²⁸⁸ More evidence of parrots as pets can be found in Margaret’s and Mary’s inventories, namely as portraits of young children with birds, who may have been relatives.²⁸⁹ The status of pet of monkeys and parrots is amplified in the composition of several tapestries. In *Noah’s Thanksgiving*, the monkey in the foreground is paired off with a common housecat and perhaps even the parrot overseeing the *The Construction of the Ark* carries the same connotation as the dog drinking in the right corner of the same tapestry.

On the other hand, the First Parents or Noah’s Ark cycles did not immortalize some animals apparently readily available as examples in Brussels. For example, there are no lynxes or bears, even though a bear lived in Ghent up to at least 1549 and Dürer portrayed a lynx from the Brussels garden.²⁹⁰ Charles V, when he grew up at the Brussels court, possessed several moose, but these are not present on the tapestries.²⁹¹ The very rare bird of paradise from Margaret’s study is not pictured in the Wawel

²⁸² Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 54

²⁸³ “pour le service de sa Majesté et ceulx de sa court”, Finot, *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Departementales*, t. 5, B. 2418. Loisel reports seven seals from Holland, but it is unclear where he found the number: Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries*, vol. 1, 214.

Jordan Gschwend, “Ma meilleur soeur: Leonor of Austria, queen of Portugal and France,” 2589.

²⁸⁴ In 1520, Dürer also owned several parrots and a monkey, see: Goris and Marlier, *Le Journal de voyage d’Albert Dürer*, 67-68, 103.

²⁸⁵ Jordan Gschwend, “Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal.” 3019; Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries*, vol. 1, 225-26.

²⁸⁶ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 658.

²⁸⁷ Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries*, vol. 1, 225.

²⁸⁸ Jordan Gschwend, “Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal,” 3019.

²⁸⁹ “la pourtraiture en toile d’vng jeusne enfant, tenant vng papegay sur sa main, habille d’vng seon cramoisy quilete dedrapt d’argent”, (a portrait on canvas of a young child, holding a parrot in their hand, clothed in a crimson [robe](?), covered with cloth of silver), “Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Cinq Cents de Colbert, 128,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2460, p. 203; Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 164 and n. 77, the 1523-24 inventory: “ung aultre tableau de la pourtraiture de la fille du Roy Henry d’aingleterre moderne, habillée de velours noir et une cotte de toile d’or, tenant ung papegay sur sa main senestre.”; “bng aultre tableau quatre du second filz du dit siegneur rroy [previous line: don Fernand], tenant vng oyseau sus la dextre main, et est assiz sur bng coussin vert” (another table [i.e. panel] square of the second son of the said lord king [don Fernando], holding a bird in the right hand, and sitting on a green cushion) and “vng aultre tableau de [crossed out: l’angue] <lasuee> fillee du dit seigneur rroy tenant vng oysee entre ses mains, habille de drap d’or” (another table of *untranslatable* (perhaps l’ainée; eldest?) daughter (?) of the said lord king holding a birds between her hands, dressed in gold cloth) “Archives Générales du Royaume, Bruxelles, Papiers d’Etat et de l’Audience, 1242 (2),” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2833, p. 41-42.

²⁹⁰ Lievois and Van den Abeele, “Une Menagerie Princiere Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance,” 93-98, 101-103.

²⁹¹ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 63.

tapestries, probably because it was Margaret's secret to enjoy. In fact, the first picture of a bird of paradise is only found in the 1546 miniatures of the Farnese Hours, when more skins began to reach Europe.²⁹² In other words, while there is a large overlap of animals present at the Habsburg court and animals in the Wavel tapestries, the tapestries are not an exhaustive display of all available animals.



Fig. 30. Erhard Reuwich, *Animali in terra sancta*, 32 x 23 cm, woodcut in in Bernard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, Mainz: Peter Schöffer the Elder, 1486, New York, Metropolitan Museum.

²⁹² Lawrence, "Fallen Angels: Birds of Paradise in Early Modern Europe."

Animals as knowledge

In 2007, Niekrasz argued that the Wawel tapestries, especially the First Parents set extended by the animal verdure, must be interpreted in the context of contemporary religious motivations in the development of early modern science. In the sixteenth century, the pursuit of knowledge was partly justified as an attempt to restore the knowledge of the natural world lost in the Original Sin.²⁹³ Indeed, already in the Middle Ages, the study of nature was considered a necessary addition to the study of Scripture if man was to fully penetrate God's Creation.²⁹⁴ According to sixteenth-century scholars, Adam had had perfect knowledge of all animals and their natures which he had condensed into the original names he had given them. Recovering these names, which had been lost in the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, was, therefore, a pressing issue in the minds of the early natural historians.²⁹⁵ Niekrasz saw the Ark of Noah cycle as a logical continuation of this theme. Like Adam, Noah had full control of nature and the Ark functioned as a sort of microcosm, "encompassing all of nature" (except, of course, for the aquatic animals).²⁹⁶

The interest in nature at the courts of Mechelen and Brussels was indeed to a degree intellectual. Both governesses owned classical works on animals and nature, such as Aesop's animal fables and Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, and medieval works like Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*.²⁹⁷ Both also held an interest in lands found overseas. Margaret already owned a copy of Marco Polo's description of his travels to Asia.²⁹⁸ Margaret further owned Hayton of Corycus' *La Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* (1307), Jehan de Mandeville, *Le voyage d'Outremer* (c. 1355-1357), and Petrus Martyr Anglerius, one of the first historiographers of the New World, even dedicated part of his *De nuper sub D. Carolo repertis insulis, simulque incolarum moreibus enchiridion* (1521) to Margaret.²⁹⁹ All of these books ended up in Mary's possession, who additionally also owned two books on plants from the Indies, a book on miscellaneous subjects from the Indies, as well as various descriptions of (voyages to) continents outside Europe.³⁰⁰ Additionally, Mary acquired several new books of natural historians after her retirement to Spain: a copy of Guillaume Rondelet's *De piscibus*

²⁹³ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 141.

²⁹⁴ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 152-53.

²⁹⁵ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 153-54.

²⁹⁶ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 174-76.

²⁹⁷ "Dos grandes libros, en tablas, cubiertos de terciopelo morado, clauos e manos y cantoneras doradas, escritos en pergamyno, de mano, en françes. De la propiedad de todas las cosas.;"

"Otro tal, como flores doradas. Los libros 17 y 18 de Plinio de la natural historia, traduçidos de latin en françes."

"Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093," in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2920, p. 344, p. 361.

²⁹⁸ Certain identification by Debae: Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 428

²⁹⁹ Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 396-399, 433-434 and 498-500.

³⁰⁰ "Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093," in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*: "Yten otro libro con la cubiertas de (tachado: rraso) < terciopelo > carmesi y el es de papel de marquilla, pintados en el los arboles y flores que dizen que ay en las Yndias." and "Yten otro libro pequeño guarneçido de terciopelo carmesi de las yervas y arboles de las Yndias pintado" 2850, p. 46;

"Yten otro libro guarneçido asimysmo de (tachado: rraso) < terciopelo > carmesi, de marquilla el papel de el, de muchas pinturas de cosas de las Yndias" 2850, p. 46, see: Sanchez-Molero, "La biblioteca de María de Hungría y la bibliofilia de Felipe II," 166;

"Yten otro, en pergamyno, ynpresso, en papel, en françes. La discrípçion de Africa." 2936, p. 409;

"Otra tal, [ynpresso, en papel] en françes. Historia de la Yndia. Abtor Fernan <Lopez> de Casteñada, traduçido de lengua portuguesa." 2936, p. 410;

"Otra, marca de pliedo comun, cuero negro. La conquista de Mexico y otras tierras de Yndias del año 51, en español." 2938, p. 419;

"Otro tal. La segunda parte de la nauegaçion de Africa a las Yndias. La primera esta arriba." 2938, p. 419.

(1554) and Pierre Belon's *L'Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (1555).³⁰¹ Her interest in animals is further attested by various drawings of them in her possession.³⁰²

The Wawel artists drew relatively little of their inspiration out of books. Only one book can be successfully argued to have served as model.³⁰³ Bernard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz, 1486), is a description of Breydenbach's voyage to the Holy Land. This book was already in Margaret's possession, as Nicole le Huen dedicated his French translation to her and a copy is listed in her inventory.³⁰⁴ It was later inherited by Mary. It is most probably Breydenbach's sheet of animals (fig. 30) that is the inspiration for the one-horned giraffes that appear in several of the Wawel tapestries.³⁰⁵ Whereas Hennel-Bernasikowa at a certain point identified this animal as the 'kylin' of Chinese myth, it seems more logically explained as a misunderstood copy of an originally two-horned giraffe.³⁰⁶ Like the giraffes in the Wawel tapestries – and unlike real giraffes – Breydenbach's animal has pointed horns. And while Breydenbach's version has two, their number is easily mistaken for one, especially when someone is more familiar with a unicorn than a giraffe. The nose of Breydenbach's giraffe is also extremely similar to the Wawel creatures', as is the pattern of small round spots and the thin elongated body. Another animal that may have been copied after Breydenbach is the Indian goat that appears in the procession into Noah's ark, just behind the giraffe. The crocodile, salamander, dromedary and unicorn of Breydenbach do not seem to have inspired following in the Wawel tapestries. This either indicates that better examples were available, or that Breydenbach's giraffe travelled as a singular motif apart from its source material.

However, the importance of knowledge is not very evident from the way the governesses arranged their collection of natural objects. There is no explicit evidence that the Brussels animal gardens or the governesses' collections were strictly ordered as a microcosm in the way many collections

³⁰¹ "Otro, en tablas de papel, cuero colorado, con flores. Trata de los anymales de agua. Avtor Rodeleçio, medico, en lengua latina"; "Otro tal. De la naturaleça de las abes, ystoriado, en françes. Autor Pierre Velon." "Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093," in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2936, p. 409 and 2938, p. 421.

³⁰² "dos pergamynos y en ellos pintados dos pescados de vna forma que dizen se llaman carpes." (two parchments on which are painted two fishes of the form called carps) and "vn pergamyno con vn rretrato de vna tortuga de la mar." (a parchment with a portrait of a turtle) "Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093" in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2897, p. 246 and 247.

³⁰³ Mary did not own Gessner's *Historiae Animalium*, but the book was certainly connected to the Wawel verdure. Hennel-Bernasikowa states there are direct borrowings from Gessner in the verdure, while Balis argues that the similarities are only superficial and that the Wawel animals are executed much better. I agree with Balis: on close inspection of the animals in the Genesis set and in Gessner's first volume of 1551, no species look sufficiently alike to presume any borrowing or use of the same sources. Beyond Gessner, there are other printed books which could have served as a source. Balis also examined Mathiolus (Venice 1554) and Belon (*Les observations de plusieurs singularitez*, Antwerp 1555) and found no comparable animals. This is hardly surprising given the late date of these works. Other printed books with animal illustrations are Bartolomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, (several printed editions, Haarlem: Jacob Bellaert, 1485, has two woodcuts depicting respectively birds and land animals. They do not appear as direct sources for Wawel); G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, *De la Natural Historia de las Indias* (1526, contains only a chameleon and a manatee); Adam Lonitzer, *Naturalis historiae opvs novum*, (1551-55 (?), Frankfurt, several small animal illustrations of good quality); and the Munster *Cosmographiei*, (printed in several editions between 1544 to 1628, contains woodcuts of animals from various sources that cannot be connected to Wawel but do seem connected to Gessner). None of these present direct models for the Wawel tapestries either.

See: Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 259 and Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 41, 52 n. 18.

³⁰⁴ Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, XVII.

³⁰⁵ For example, in the background of the *Animals Embarking*.

³⁰⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 100. Allegedly the kylin was "frequently depicted as a single-horned giraffe and in this form appeared in late 15th century Italian art". Hennel-Bernasikowa does not give her sources for this statement.

from the second half of the sixteenth century were.³⁰⁷ It is not even certain that the animals outside would have been viewed as part of a collection, although Dupré and Egmond have suggested that outdoor garden often complemented indoor collections and were probably regarded as a whole. Likewise, Eichberger argued that the position of part of Margaret of Austria's collection adjacent to the garden can be understood as the joining of inside and outside.³⁰⁸ Moreover, in Margaret's collection natural objects and artificial objects were mixed. There does not seem to have been a division between *naturalia* and *artefacta* as is found in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially in theoretical texts like Samuel Quiccheberg's ideal museum.³⁰⁹ Nor is there a scientific interest in all forms of nature as there was in the collections of scholars and humanists. Rather, Eichberger has found that the interest in natural objects was motivated out rarity, aesthetic pleasure and material worth – the same kind of motivation that already led to the collection of horns, ostrich eggs and shells in medieval treasuries.³¹⁰ In important contrast to these medieval collections though, where natural objects were regarded as raw materials ready to be further worked on or with, Margaret's collection did contain unworked objects collected simply for their own pleasure.

An additional remark on Niekrasz' theory is pictorial. If the primary impression of the Wawel First Parents on their learned audience is about reclaiming the lost knowledge of God's Creation and the importance of Adam therein, it does not fit this hypothesis that neither the episode of the Creation of the Animals nor, even more aligned with this theme, Adam Naming the Animals are included in this tapestry set. Two earlier instances of cycles of Genesis, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, can be cited here as examples of this theme. In Raphael's rendition of Genesis for the Papal Loggia frescoes, the *Creation of the Animals* (fig. 63) is the first fresco showing a profusion of animals. *Adam Naming the Animals* is included in a tapestry set dating only a year or two earlier than the Wawel designs (fig. 47), from one of the same Brussels workshops the Wawel tapestries were woven in.³¹¹ Niekrasz has admitted to this curious absence herself, but argued that the emblematic nature of the animals in the verdure would have communicated the same message to the viewer.³¹² However, later copies after the Wawel tapestries do include the Creation and Naming scenes, such as the Bavarian version of roughly 1555 described by Erik Duverger or seventeenth-century sets in Burgos, Madrid and Essen cited in the same article.³¹³ In the Wawel set, there would not have been room for an additional tapestry of Adam Naming the Animals, because the complete story of the First Parents is told the first wall hanging. There is no evidence to suppose a Creation of the Animals would have ever been part of the set – such a theme would surely have featured in Orzechowki's ekphrasis. Indeed, although Niekrasz seems completely right in interpreting the verdure as movable borders to the figural tapestries, her theory that natural knowledge would have been the primary explanation of these tapestries does fit

³⁰⁷ Dupré and Egmond, "Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia," 223; Impey and MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums*.

³⁰⁸ Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 112-115.

³⁰⁹ Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 403. For Quiccheberg, see: Jansen, "Samuel Quicchebergs Inscriptioes."

³¹⁰ Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 403.

³¹¹ Genesis series, design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, woven in Brussels, workshops of Jan van Tieghem and Frans Ghieteels, c. 1547-48, now in Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

³¹² Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 158.

³¹³ Duverger, "Tapisseries de Jan Van Tieghem," 22-23, 58-59.

strangely with this one Genesis cycle of the first half of the sixteenth century that does not seem to put stress on God's mystery of the Creation and mankind's once-held knowledge thereof.



Fig. 31. Andrea Mantegna, Triumphs of Cesar, Triumph 5 *Elephants*, c. 1484-1492, glue tempera on canvas, 266 x 278 cm, Greater London, Hampton Court.



Fig. 32. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *The Triumph of Maximilian, The people of Calicut*, designed c. 1517-18 printed c. 1777, woodcut on paper, 27.3 x 37.5 cm, London, British Museum.

Animals as representations of nobility and power

An important aspect of animals at court was the nobility they conveyed, because they were representations of the knowledge the ruler has access too, but more importantly as representations of power both symbolically and literally. An important aspect of this value was the difficulty in procuring and keeping these animals. The aliveness added an important dimension to the value of animals, because a live animal must be kept alive by appropriate care.³¹⁴ This was particularly the case with unfamiliar, foreign animals that might have additionally been transported over great distances. That this was a legitimate concern for the nobility is evident from the instructions that came with a parrot delivered to Philip the Handsome shortly before his death: the bird's cage had to be always kept near a fire.³¹⁵ Birds proved some of the easiest animals to transport overseas. Already on his first voyages, Columbus brought with him macaws and other parrots.³¹⁶ For the same reason, civet cats were valued because they were difficult to keep due to their aggressive behaviour and particular and expensive diet.³¹⁷ Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal, bred her own civet cats, owning ten between 1550 and

³¹⁴ Dupré and Egmond, "Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia," 206.

³¹⁵ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 63.

³¹⁶ Silver, "World of Wonders: Exotic Animals in European Imagery, 1515-1650," 304.

³¹⁷ Dannenfeldt, "Europe Discovers Civet Cats and Civet," 407.

1554.³¹⁸ It may explain why civet cats and a closely related genet are featured in four separate Wawel tapestries.

In addition to the power inherent in the ability to procure rare animals, these animals and their upkeep also embodied economic power. Care and transport naturally cost money, as did the wages of a knowledgeable caretaker. Moreover, some animals had a production value: civet cats produce a musk highly valued for both medicine and in perfume production. The economic factor is clearly expressed in the role of these animals in the gift-giving culture of the period. Gifts were an important part of maintaining diplomatic and familial relationships in sixteenth-century Europe. Charles V and his siblings exchanged many special and expensive gifts among themselves, like clothing, portraits, jewellery, valuable or medicinal items from overseas and foreign and domestic animals. Of the Habsburg siblings, especially Catherine of Austria, the youngest sister, was in a key position to supply her family with rare animals from Asia and the Far East as queen of Portugal.³¹⁹ Elephants, civet cats and parrots – like those on various Wawel tapestries – were sent by Catherine. In 1551, she presented Maximilian II the elephant Suleiman.³²⁰ Three civet cats were sent to Empress Isabella and in 1552, Catherine sent two cats to the King of Belez in North Africa.³²¹ In 1566, the infante D. Carlos would receive two large waterfowl, called gangas, a pair of civet cats, two macaws from Brazil and a small singing bird from Santo Domingo.³²² Apart from raw monetary worth, rarity was also a strong reason to value items as gifts. As mentioned before, Mary of Hungary gifted seals to Francis I.³²³ Furthermore, Mary of Hungary received from her brother Ferdinand minerals and stones with various forms of fish, because he knew of her love of “strange and new things”.³²⁴ Several letters accompanying gifts speak of mutual love and trust, while the rarity of the items can be seen as tokens of their high esteem.³²⁵ Rare animals were part of the practice of gift-giving and many of the animals pictured on the Wawel tapestries would have made excellent Habsburg gifts.

To impress others with their power, rulers also liked to show off their animals. In the fifteenth century, Lorenzo de' Medici would put on parades of lions and elephants to impress his subjects with his might. Parades of animals not only showed of a ruler's abilities in possessing the animals in question as outlined above, it also alluded to classical antiquity and imperial power.³²⁶ Most European rulers, and especially the Habsburg dynasty, liked to fashion an image of themselves as successors to the unlimited power of the Ancient Roman emperors.³²⁷ Beside real joyous entries, triumphal marches were

³¹⁸ Dannenfeldt, “Europe Discovers Civet Cats and Civet,” 423-26; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 15.

³¹⁹ Around 1550, Catherine's private quarters became the first *Kunstammer* of Renaissance Portugal, containing more non-European objects than any other collection at that moment: Jordan Gschwend, “Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal,” 3018; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 6.

³²⁰ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 15.

³²¹ Jordan Gschwend, “Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal.” 3019; 3037, n. 87 cites from Archivo General de Simancas, CSR, leg. 67: “gatos de algalia que tiene en su poder bartolomeo conejo. Doss gatos e una gata de algalia que tiene el bartolomeo conejo tasaronse escomta ducados. Vendose la gata en doze ducados.”; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 15 and 16 n. 112.

³²² Jordan Gschwend, “Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal.” 3019. Cf. 3038, note 89.

³²³ Loisel, *Histoire Des Ménageries*, 267-68.

³²⁴ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 11.

³²⁵ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 6, 11.

³²⁶ Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 24.

³²⁷ Van den Boogert, “De triomfen van de keizer,” 221-223.

also a popular theme in art. For example the *Triumphs of Caesar* (c.1484-1492, fig. 31) by Andrea Mantegna with elephants and Indian long-eared goats. Maximilian I had a triumphal parade made on paper by Hans Burgkmair the Elder around 1517-18 (fig. 32), which also included elephants and camels. As such, these real and imagined parades are somewhat similar to the animals *Embarking* and *Disembarking* in Wawel, which also prominently feature elephants, dromedaries and lions.³²⁸

Lastly, strong animals embodied strength. As entertainment, large animals would be pitted against each other in the knowledge that the noblest and strongest – lions, bears, elephants – generally won. In 1497, Philip the Handsome ordered fights between bulls and a bear on the occasion of his marriage to Joanna of Castile.³²⁹ Charles V also had animals fights held for his son Philip’s tour of the Low Countries in 1549, for example between a lion and a horse.³³⁰ However, the animals of the Wawel tapestries are rather peaceful. A fighting theme seems more suited to the stylistically similar *Isola Bella* verdure, of slightly later date, on which every weaving shows animals in strife, than to the Wawel tapestries.³³¹



Fig. 33. *Vasco da Gama in Calicut*, unknown designer, woven in Tournai, first quarter of the 16th century, tapestry, 770 x 400 cm, Lisbon, Caixa Geral de Depósitos Museum.

Animals and expansionist values

Overseas animals not only had economic value, but they also represented a symbolical value that was especially poignant for the Habsburg dynasty. Charles V’s motto “plus ultra” expressed his desire to rule ever larger parts of the world, including the overseas parts of which the Europeans only recently discovered the existence. Already in the time of Philip the Handsome, his marriage to a Spanish princess had given the Coudenberg lords access to more foreign species from Africa and the Americas. In the

³²⁸ The same point has been briefly made by Niekrasz, albeit with different examples. Niekrasz, “Woven Theaters of Nature,” 187.

³²⁹ Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries*, vol. 1, 224.

³³⁰ Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries*, vol. 1, 227.

³³¹ Viale, “Quelques nouvelles données sur les tapisseries de l’Isola Bella.”

sixteenth century, the Habsburg family was perfectly connected to get the first pick of luxuries deemed exotic. These rare animals and objects came into Europe by way of Lisbon and Antwerp and foreign wares formed the main part of the gifts the family exchanged with each other.³³²

Rulers put foreign animals and objects on display to show how far their power reached. The gift of the Aztec Emperor Montezuma made a strong impression when it arrived in Europe in 1519.³³³ It was put on display in the Coudenberg palace and part of it went to Margaret of Austria, who showed it in her library. This treasure brought from the New World via Spain not only included numerous gold and silver items, but also many animal heads and skins, including the heads of “apparently” a tiger and a wolf.³³⁴ Deanna MacDonald has shown how Margaret kept many items from the Indies in relatively public rooms, the first chamber and the library, which reflected on their “high curiosity value” and where they were “a physical manifestation of a concept of universal power”.³³⁵ The exhibition of these objects impressed on the viewer the Habsburg control over the New World.³³⁶ Blended with the European objects on display, which all spoke of the Habsburg family’s dynastic connection and their right to rule, the objects from outside Europe contributed to the same image of a “strong and unchallenged Habsburg authority”.³³⁷

The animals on display did not need to be real. Like the triumphal parades, which also often featured rare animals, conquests and the role of animals therein were immortalized in artworks. The elite especially favoured tapestries as a medium in this regard. Manuel I, king of Portugal, had the Portuguese voyage to India woven into tapestries from Tournai in 1504 (fig. 33).³³⁸ The unshipping of rare animals, including a mythical unicorn, was featured explicitly. The Habsburg lords acquired tapestries of the same fashion. Maximilian I bought a tapestry set with the “history of men and wild beasts in the manner of Calcut” in 1510.³³⁹ Philip the Handsome also ordered tapestries “in the manner of Portugal and the Indies”, although it is unsure from this description whether any animals featured thereon.³⁴⁰ The inclusion of a scarlet macaw, ostriches, civet cats, elephants and dromedaries on the Wavel tapestries may very well have fallen into this wider trend of putting animals on artworks to impress overseas dominion on the viewer. Coupled with the story of Noah, in which a (dangerous) sea voyage with animals plays a central role, the pictured beasts seem to relate even more closely to naval expansion.

Animals as food and entertainment

Lastly, another courtly purpose of animals must be considered. The Wavel tapestries include, among the other beasts, a fair share of sheep, goats, cows, horses, deer, rabbits and small birds. The first and

³³² Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collections,” 6-8.

³³³ Vandebroek, “Amerindiaanse kunst- en siervoorwerpen,” 99-100.

³³⁴ The heads are first listed in the inventory of gifts sent to Joana and Charles by Hernando Cortés in 1519, where they are described as ‘apparently wolves’, ‘apparently tigers’, see Vandebroek, *America: Bruid van de zon*, 111, no. 83-86. Other skins include no. 87-88, 89 and 90-95. The wolf and tiger’s heads were sent to Mechelen, see Vandebroek, *America: Bruid van de zon*, 116, 910 and 911.

³³⁵ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 654-657.

³³⁶ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 662-663.

³³⁷ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 663.

³³⁸ Da Costa, “Secrecy, Ostentation, and the Illustration of Exotic Animals in Sixteenth-Century Portugal,” 70.

³³⁹ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 660.

³⁴⁰ MacDonald, “Collecting a New World,” 660.

most common place for such animals at the Habsburg court was as food and as quarry. Both during daily operations and on special days, bills show that much meat was consumed. Mutton, beef, veal, pork, rabbit, hare, partridge and pheasant were the most popular kinds, while a lot of fish was also eaten, including cod, sturgeon, herring, salmon, porpoise, eel, pike and shrimp, as well as carp from the palace pond.³⁴¹ The kitchen bought small birds from a dedicated hunter. For special occasions, enormous amounts of meat would be consumed, including geese, herons, swans, peacocks, woodcocks, partridges, turkeys, pheasants, and ducks.³⁴² In other words, a large part of the birds on the Wavel tapestries could also have been served at an aristocratic feast. The animal park and the adjacent Zoniënwood were not just for keeping rare animals on display, they also served the meat supply for the Coudenberg Palace. During Charles V time, the park with wild animals had grown to such proportions that feeding the animals during a drought posed a serious problem.³⁴³

Under the influence of humanism, country life and agriculture became of increasing interest to the aristocracy in the sixteenth century. The list of books Mary took with her in her retirement to Spain show her interest in these matters. Mary owned various works on agriculture and rustic life, such as “Trata de agricultura e de ynstruir para la grangeria. Yntitulado el buen casero”, “Menospreço de corte e loos de la vida rrustrica, en françes” and a French translation of Palladius Rutilius’ *Opus agriculturae*.³⁴⁴ Part of these books on agriculture were only bought after Mary had moved to Spain, according to José Sanchez-Molero in an effort to redecorate the Spanish palace gardens to an equivalent of the Flemish gardens of Brussels, Binche and Mariemont.³⁴⁵ Presumably, the necessary knowledge was already available in Flanders before that time without the need for the ruler to purchase books on the subject.

The First Parents and Noah sets contain undertones of agriculture. In *Adam Tilling the Soil*, in addition to the titular activity of agricultural significance, a pheasant and rabbit feature prominently in the foreground. To the left is a stream with fish – the only fish in the figural series – and a little further up a partridge and quail – again, the only time this poultry is featured. While there are definitely animals that do not suggest animal husbandry, such as the lion and ostriches, there are many that do in a prominent part of the composition. The story of Cain and Abel, respectively a farmer and a shepherd, has even clearer agricultural overtones. In *Abel’s Sacrifice*, his flock is shown, along with some arguably edible ducks. The scene of *Cain Slaying Abel* contains no farm animals, but in *Fratricide Conceived* Abel’s animal sacrifice is still visible and in *Cain’s Flight from God’s Wrath* Cain’s sacrifice of fruits and vegetables is seen in the background. In the Noah cycle cows and donkeys are glimpsed, suggesting an agricultural society, as do the various supplies brought by Noah’s family onto the ark. For what it is worth, it must also be noted that when human structures – buildings, bridges, columns – are foregrounded, it is in conjunction with the sinful part of humanity: in *The Moral Decline of Mankind*,

³⁴¹ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 63.

³⁴² Kerkhoff, “Het hof van Maria van Hongarije in de Nederlanden,” 170.

³⁴³ Smolar-Meynart, *Het Paleis van Brussel*, 63.

³⁴⁴ “treatise on agriculture and instruction for the farm. Titled the good home”; “Disappointment of court and praise (?) of rustic life, in French” (perhaps a translation of Antonio de Guevara (c. 1481-1545) *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* (Valladolid, 1539)); “Los treçe libros de las cosas del campo e agricultura. Palladio Rrutyllio, traducido de latin en françes.” “Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2924, p. 360, 2925, p. 362 and Palladius, 2936, p. 411. See also Lemaire, “De Librije van Maria van Hongarije,” 182-183.

³⁴⁵ Sanchez-Molero, “La biblioteca de María de Hungría y la bibliofilia de Felipe II,” 166-167.

the *Flood* and as rubble in *The Animals Disembarking*. It is therefore not unlikely that the choice of animals on some tapestries is motivated from an ideal of pastoral life.

In addition to the pastoral ideal of animal husbandry, hunting had important courtly connotations too. Hunting was not only the work of the groundkeeper to ensure a sufficient supply of meat for the courtly dining table, it was also considered an aristocratic activity *pur sang*.³⁴⁶ Aristocrats were trained from childhood to amuse themselves, exercise and practice violence this way.³⁴⁷ Not much changed in this respect between the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance: aristocratic hunting was mainly done from horseback with hounds or birds of prey as aids. The privilege to hunt denoted the possession of grounds, usually forests, on which could be hunted. The great expense that came with buying, equipping, accommodating and training of hunting birds restricted their use to the aristocracy and good birds were so valued they were sometimes used to pay ransoms.³⁴⁸ The same was true for good horses and dogs. The classification of quarry is somewhat confusing, but in most treatises, red deer, hares, wild boar, wolves and bears are discussed and considered noble.³⁴⁹ The premier position was for large harts with ten points to their antlers, which were considered royal game. These animals were strong, deft and cunning, thus the capturing of one reflected well on the hunter.³⁵⁰ Second and third to the stag were wild boar and hares.³⁵¹ A 1541 remission from the audit office in Lille testifies to the fact that wolves were hunted in the Low Countries.³⁵²

Mary of Hungary herself was a proficient huntress who even took on the role of senior hunting master of Brabant from 1544 onwards.³⁵³ Her interest in hunting, including the more theoretical side of things, is reflected in her library, which contained various treatises on the subject.³⁵⁴ Adjacent to her prowess in the field, the hunting birds bred in under her auspices were also considered some of the best of Europe.³⁵⁵ Perhaps Mary even took a personal interest in the birds. Between bedspreads, books, combs and various items related to needlework listed by the First Lady of her bedchamber, Madama de Hernan, a “wooden head for modelling (?) falcon hoods” can be found.³⁵⁶ The Habsburg love for hunting

³⁴⁶ Since there is a difference between the meaning of ‘hunting’ in the UK and elsewhere, the hunting that is discussed here refers to all pursuit of wild quarry using any method. See Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 3.

³⁴⁷ Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 13-17, 28-36.

³⁴⁸ Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 40.

³⁴⁹ Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 61.

³⁵⁰ Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 63-64

³⁵¹ Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 66-68.

³⁵² In a register of remissions of the *Chambre des Comptes* (Audit office) of Lille of the year 1541, a person is mentioned to have died in a quarrel over the right to hunt wolves in the woods of Wismes, Nielles “and others”: “[...] à Jean Bourdet, « povre gentil homme, » auteur involontaire de la mort de Jean Parent, à qui il avait donné quelques coups d'épieu en lui intimant l'ordre de s'abstenir désormais de chasser le loup dans les bois de Wismes, de Nielles et autres et de « héler et porter » par les villages de Ledinghem, du Vernal, de Laires et autres circonvoisins « la teste du loup pour exiger des subjetez aucuns vivres, chairs, pain, argent et cervoise, le tout au contemp des prohibitions portées par les placards sur la chasse contre tels gens rustiques prenant plaisir d'oster la haulteur et déduyct des gentilzhommes, ».” In: Dehaisnes, *Inventaire Sommaire Des Archives Departementales à 1790. Nord. Archives Civiles Serie B Chambre Des Comtes 1681-1841. Tome Troisième*, B 1752.

³⁵³ Kerkhoff, “Het hof van Maria van Hongarije in de Nederlanden,” 174.

³⁵⁴ “Otro en tablas, cubierto de terçopelo berde, clabos e cantoneras y manos doradas, escrito en pergamino, de mano, historiado. De la naturaleza e propiedad de los anymales e de la caza. En lengua flamenca.”; “Otro en tablas, cuvierto de terçipoelo berde, clauov dorados, en pergamyno, de mano, ystoriado, jlumynado. En el prinçipio esta vn escudo de armas rreales de Castilla e Aragon, sin Granada. Es de la naturaleza de las vestias y anymales e de la caza. En lengua françes.” “Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2921, p. 345 and 2922, p. 350.

³⁵⁵ Kerkhoff, “Het hof van Maria van Hongarije in de Nederlanden,” 174.

³⁵⁶ “cabeça de maderá para molde de capirotos de halcones” “Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093,” in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2874, p. 148.

is also found with other family members, such as Mary's sister Catherine, queen of Portugal, whose specially-bred hunting dogs and horses were much sought after and regularly transported across Europe.³⁵⁷ Mary also had many skins in her possession: "ginetas" (genet), "lobo cervical" (iberian lynx), "lobo" (wolf), "corra" (fox)³⁵⁸, "martas" (marten), "cabritos de Yndias" (Indian goat).³⁵⁹ All of these were in the care of Marcos Ocox, Mary's chamberlain, and were taken by king Philip II after Mary's death, rather than given to the princess as Mary had willed.

The general importance of hunting at court has probably had some influence on the Wavel tapestry artists, but hunting is not a subject of the Wavel tapestries. No hunts are being conducted and only three times are animals seen attacking each other: once in *Adam Tilling the Soil*, when a bird grabs another in the sky, in the *Animals Disembarking*, when the lion fights the dragon, and in *Noah Intoxicated*, where the owl is attacked by birds.³⁶⁰ However, as seen above, hunting as an activity was surrounded by the tending of game parks and the breeding of auxiliary animals. It is therefore still prudent to note that the choice for – and in many cases the naturalism – of many animal species in the tapestries skews towards those kept for hunting, such as small and bigger prey birds, rabbits, squirrel and deer, and not, for example, mice or reptiles, which were not hunted or eaten. The landscapes are also reminiscent of those in the Hunts of Maximilian tapestries (figs. 53 and 54), which depict very real locations around the Warande park and Zoniënwood in Brussels. The resemblance is not insignificant, leading to several scholars attributing both designs to the same artist, Jan Tons. Therefore, without suggesting that the Wavel tapestries were meant to evoke thoughts of hunting in their audience, it can be presumed that the game parks and their inhabitants were a familiar setting to fall back on for the artists.

In conclusion, the Habsburg court in Brussels provides a vivid backdrop for understanding the animals in the Wavel tapestries. The various Habsburg rulers possessed a diverse assortment of live animals kept in menageries, as pets, as livestock or as quarry that also occur in the tapestries. The way Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary collected natural objects suggests that their primary interest in these pieces was aesthetic, an interest that may have extended somewhat to the depiction of the animals on the Brussels weavings. More than items of knowledge, both the animal pieces in collections and the rare live animals are suffused with auras of power and economic value which are tightly interlinked. Other artworks suggest that this aura was one of the reasons to picture rare animals and must be understood as the main reason for the Wavel artists to include animals such as civet cats and macaws. An equally large number of Wavel animals can be explained from the aristocratic connotations of animals eaten and hunted. While the Wavel tapestries are not outright hunting scenes, the keeping and consuming of such animals, for example in the Warande Park, was also a thoroughly princely activity made possible through wealth and privilege.

³⁵⁷ Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, "Luxury Goods for Royal Collections," 17.

³⁵⁸ Marcos Ocoche/Ocox, guardarropa and moço de camara, Cigales, among the clothes. All destined for the king, "Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093," in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2868, p. 124-125.

³⁵⁹ "Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas, 1a epoca, leg. 1093," in: Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios*, 2931, p. 392- 395.

³⁶⁰ The latter is a real hunting technique, where a live or decoy owl is put on a stick in order to lure and capture small birds, see chapter 3.

PART 3. PICTORIAL TRADITION

Pictorial tradition is as important to understand an artwork as textual and material context are. Artists continuously made use of and were inspired by other visual works. Due to the ability of both artworks and artists to travel, these influences were not limited to just Brussels, but extended as far as Italy. A comparison with other artworks, their artists and patrons suggests the sort of milieus in which this animal art came into being. It also elucidates (visual) connections between artists, or the absence thereof. This final, one-chaptered part provides a pictorial context to understand the religious and material meanings explored above. It offers a nuancing framework to the narrow Habsburg lens of the previous chapter and places the Wavel animals pictorially in a wider Flemish and European context.



Fig. 34. *Canis et leo*, miniature in Jacob van Maerlant, *Der Naturen Bloeme*, c. 1350, full page 27.8 x 20.8 cm, Flanders. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA16, f. 48v.



Fig. 35. Albrecht Dürer, *Left Wing of a Blue Roller*, c. 1500 or 1512, watercolour and gouache on vellum, heightened with white, 19.6 x 20 cm, Vienna, Albertina. Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 36. *Landscape with Pergola and Animals*, unknown designer, woven in Oudenaarde, c. 1560-1580, wool and silk, Bellegem, private collection.



Fig. 37. Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Deer hunt of Kurfürsten Johann Friedrich*, 1544, oil on wood, 116 × 176.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Chapter 5. The Wavel animals in the context of preceding artworks

The previous chapter considered the connection in meaning between animals at the Habsburg court and those seen in the Wavel First Parents and Noah sets. Artists may well have used the animals that lived in the Brussels parks as examples, but this is extremely hard to prove based on visual cues alone. After all, the sixteenth century was the period in which a naturalistic style of animal depiction developed that made it almost impossible to discern real from fantasy. This chapter considers both the history of the appearance of the Wavel animals – their incredibly naturalistic style – and their multitude within individual scenes. It starts with a sketch of the development of different animal depicting styles. Then, to connect the Wavel tapestries to their direct Brussels siblings, the circulation of animal models – whether based on real examples or pictures – is discussed. Lastly, the broader pictorial tradition of picturing many animals and specifically rare animals in scenes of the First Parents and Noah’s Ark is sketched to situate the Wavel tapestries.

Increasingly realistic depictions of nature

The animals in the Wavel tapestries are often of an incredibly precise and naturalistic appearance. Precise in the sense that the viewer has the feeling that the animal is depicted to the smallest detail, including veins or feathers, after a real example. Naturalistic as in seeming to be real, three-dimensional and existing animals that could be encountered in this way in real life. This style is also illusionistic, firstly because the animals are obviously not real but two-dimensional representations, and secondly, because many details are not rendered after life – in fact, some depicted animals do not even exist at all. How did this ‘illusionistic style’ of animal art come to be and what examples might the artists have used for the more and less realistic animal depictions?

In the Middle Ages, the naturalistic style of Classical Antiquity was discarded in favour of a decorative, schematic style that aimed at rendering narratives and concepts as succinctly – although not cheaply – as possible. Often present in the margins of architecture and book illumination, animals are subordinate to the overall decorative style.³⁶¹ In general, there is little evidence that artists used real-life models as a starting point.³⁶² Even in bestiaries and other medieval encyclopaedias with animals, such as the fourteenth-century *Der Naturen Bloeme* (fig. 34), artists rendered animals schematically, conforming to the style of the period.³⁶³ It is often hard to identify the visually less distinct animals from the image alone. Such recognition was beside the point, because the pictures were meant as embellishments of the texts, not guides for identifying animals.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were artists who, for various reasons, strove to depict animals after real-life examples. Brundson Yapp has shown how some bird depictions in English medieval manuscripts have definitely been drawn as closely as possible to real-life examples, despite not being done in an illusionistic style.³⁶⁴ Most importantly, the empirical character of texts like Emperor Frederik II’s *De arte venandi cum avibus* (c. 1250-1300) and Gaston Phébus *Le livre de la*

³⁶¹ Balis, “Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst,” 37.

³⁶² Balis, “Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst,” 37.

³⁶³ Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA 16,

³⁶⁴ Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts*; Yapp, “The Birds of English Medieval Manuscripts”.

chasse (before 1400) gave impulse to a more naturalistic mode of depiction.³⁶⁵ The origin for this way of drawing animals, based on observation of nature rather than one's imagination, is often situated in late fourteenth-century Lombardy.³⁶⁶ This resulted in a new stock of animal models, drawn after life, based on a ground pose: *en profile*, limbs arranged similarly and the head either to the front or 180 degrees to the back. Such models found their way into art all over Europe, like the famous drawings of Pisanello (c. 1395-c.1455) and in the work of French artists, like the illuminators of the aforementioned *Livre de la Chasse*.³⁶⁷

Although the Northern European art style in general became gradually more illusionistic in the following decades, a real interest in depicting animals remained the exception to the rule. Even in the panel paintings of the Flemish Primitives, whose style is characterised by 'deceptive' realism, animals are pictured solely where necessary: the donkey in the Flight to Egypt, a Lamb of God, or a playful dog.³⁶⁸ Indeed, a multitude as found in the Wawel tapestries is absent. Around 1500, animals increase both in number and more artists take a direct interest in working from nature. The sketches and drawings after direct observation by Albrecht Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci are examples where the artist is both craftsman and researcher at the same time.³⁶⁹ In the course of the sixteenth century, their attitudes culminated in increasingly abundant and naturalistic pictures of animals. Artists like Jan Brueghel the Elder and Roelant Savery included with confidence many species in their figurative landscape paintings at the end of the sixteenth century, while printmakers, draughtsmen and scholars together produced almost encyclopaedic albums of animal species from roughly 1550 onwards.

The first and most important work in this respect is Conrad Gessner's *Historia Animalium* (four volumes, Zurich, 1551-1558).³⁷⁰ Gessner's text is innovative in its framing of antique sources and anecdotes in observations on the animals' appearance and behaviour.³⁷¹ He also went out of his way to find images from eyewitnesses to illustrate almost every animal; his pictures were so successful that they were published as separate collections in 1553 and 1560 for animals and 1555 and 1560 for birds.³⁷²

The naturalistic style used by these famous painters of nature is characterised by a degree of realism that is deceptively like a direct registration of reality: it seems a rendering of a real specimen without any manipulation by the artist. One key component of this style was high attention to detail, called "high-definition naturalism" by Egmond, such as is already present in the watercolours of Dürer (fig. 35).³⁷³ A high degree of naturalism was not only an aesthetic pleasure, but it also lent a degree of veracity to what was pictured.³⁷⁴ In the case of works of natural history, accompanying texts would insist that the pictures were done 'after life' (*ad vivum*).³⁷⁵ However, many of these pictures have been proven to have been done after dead specimen or other pictures; historically, 'after life' meant as much as the

³⁶⁵ Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 37-38; Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies," 22-25.

³⁶⁶ Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies," 13-20; Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 38.

³⁶⁷ Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies," 20-22.

³⁶⁸ Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 39.

³⁶⁹ Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer Und Die Tier- Und Pflanzenstudien Der Renaissance*, 13-14.

³⁷⁰ Gessner, *Historiae animalium*.

³⁷¹ Ashworth Jr, "Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance," 17-19.

³⁷² Gessner, *Icones Animalium*; Kusakawa, "The Sources of Gessner's Pictures," 307.

³⁷³ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 93.

³⁷⁴ Gessner, among others, stressed the importance that picture gave an impression to the viewer that what was depicted was real. Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 98.

³⁷⁵ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 94; For a deeper discussion on how and why this term was used, see Swan, "Ad vivum, naer het leven."

effort to render an animal accurately or that the original source of the picture copied had claimed to be after an existing example.³⁷⁶ The highly detailed style of some of the Wawel animals fits perfectly with this trend of pleasure and a claim to veracity, but like the pictures of natural history works, this does not mean that they have necessarily been done after living examples.

Not only style, but also a specific composition of pose was developed to give a semblance of veracity. In many works that aimed at facilitating recognition, like zoological encyclopaedias and albums of animal drawings collected in the 1560s and 70s, animals are often pictured in profile to better show all their parts.³⁷⁷ Artists also often eliminated the background to visually declutter the image and avoid lighting problems.³⁷⁸ This is what Phyllis Lehmann termed the “archetype” of an animal, to contrast this kind of static representation with active animals. Although this archetypical way of rendering animals perhaps had its roots in the influential fourteenth-century Lombard mode, active animals certainly appeared in art too.

The Wawel tapestry animals are depicted in a slightly eclectic mix of styles, which is what makes them so striking in the first place. Overall, the animals are highly detailed – as is allowed by the tapestries’ large dimensions – and in many instances, the style of the fauna could indeed be termed ‘high-definition’ (fig. 38). Just a few, such as the squirrel and rabbits in *God Converses with Noah* and the lizard between Adam’s legs in *Adam Tilling the Soil* are of much lesser precision (fig. 39). The lighting on the animals is hard to gauge, as it is in the entire central fields, due to the fading of colours and general dirtiness of the tapestries. However, on most animal specimen, the light is even diffuser than on the human figures, and shadows are certainly much more absent than on the flora (fig. 40). In one case, namely the recurring reposing lion (fig. 41), a strong shadow is always seen on its back regardless of the direction of the light. This is incidentally also one of the few animals in which a stark shadow is visible on the body, rather than only on the ground.

A distinction can be made between animals that are seen in a lively pose and those depicted in the generic, in-profile pose also found in animal picture books as described above. Many of the birds on the ground are seen stiffly sideways – the cormorant and pheasant in *Adam tilling the Soil*, the goose, duck and pelican in *First Parents* and the heron in the *Flood*. So is the baboon in *Noah Intoxicated* and the genet and civet in *Noah’s Thanksgiving*. The various dogs, lions, cows, camels, ostriches and many of the airborne birds are lively and seen from a variety of angles.

The high amount of details of all animals and the static, *en profile* look of many birds are very reminiscent of the style of animal found in works of natural history. However, the lively or more medieval styles of other animals in the Wawel tapestries are equally represented in other sixteenth-century artworks. Just as many animal depictions in art still adhered to older schematic models. As for liveliness, contemporary verdures from Oudenaarde (fig. 36) and hunting scenes by Lucas Cranach the Younger (1544, fig. 37) show animals thoroughly in motion. Indeed, this is the mode that became the norm in the works by Brueghel and Savery, which have entirely discarded the stiff *en profile* manner of positioning their subjects. The developments of a detailed but stiff style in animal picture books and a

³⁷⁶ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 94-96; Swan, “Ad vivum, naer het leven,” 363; for a discussion of how Gessner’s images are examples of this, see: Kusakawa, “The Sources of Gessner’s Pictures,” 307-312.

³⁷⁷ For example in Gessner’s *Historiae Animalium* and the *Libri Picturati* (1560s), an album of drawings now in the Jagiellonian Library, Kraków. See: Ackerman, “Early Renaissance ‘Naturalism’,” 3.

³⁷⁸ Ackerman, “Early Renaissance ‘Naturalism’,” 4; Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 100-111.

lively, naturalistic style in landscape artworks ran parallel and overlapped. As Egmond has argued, the choice of style was up to the artist and the question of how the turn to naturalism was eventually entirely completed is still largely unanswered.³⁷⁹

Examples and circulating models

In the sixteenth century, the use of models (examples) on paper was vital to artists. Artists and workshops owned collections of examples that were valued highly, borrowed between colleagues and passed on down the generations. Artists built up a stock of models during their careers, by creating them in their formative years or receiving them from other artists through loans, trade or inheritance.³⁸⁰ In 1519 and 1520 famous Brugian painter Gerard David was taken to court by his assistant Ambrosius Benson over a coffer of pattern drawings which belonged to Benson, but David claimed to have kept as insurance for 7 livres gros Benson was still due to pay him.³⁸¹ When visiting Brussels in 1520, Dürer asked Margaret of Austria for the 'small book' of Jacopo de Barbari, Margaret's Venetian court painter whom Dürer strongly admired but who had passed away in 1516. Margaret refused Dürer the book, probably as sketch or model book, giving as reason that she had already promised it to her other court painter Van Orley.³⁸² Some of the Wavel animals were definitely part of the model stock of the workshop of the Wavel artists, under the leadership of Michiel Coxcie. Various animals are copied exactly between tapestries, most noticeably the Greek tortoise (*Adam Tilling the Soil; The Construction of the Ark; Noah's Thanksgiving*) and the eagle (*The Story of Paradise; The Flood*). Besides, the lion in the *Flood* and the leopard in the *Disembarking* are based on the same pose.³⁸³ That these animal motifs are tied to Coxcie's workshop in some way is evidenced by the fact that the exact same animal motifs reappear in a set of altar wings dated around 1550 and attributed to Coxcie, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (figs. 42 and 43). On these, *The Fall of Man* and *Expulsion from Paradise*, the same lion, civet, genet, monkey, tortoise and squirrel are found as in the Wavel tapestries.³⁸⁴

Where did Coxcie's workshop acquire these animal models? It has already been hinted in the previous chapter that the appearance of some animals on the tapestries may have been based on animals once living at the Brussels or Mechelen courts. It is certainly not impossible that artists gained access to the Coudenberg menagerie to sketch animals. Not only had Dürer done so in 1520, but the Warande Park is also known to have been open for 'honnestes gens' at all times and twice a year for the general public.³⁸⁵ Moreover, the Habsburg court employed the primary artists connected to Brussels tapestry design, Van Orley and Coxcie, and these artists, or their assistants, would have perhaps visited the palace gardens and passed on the sketches. It is tempting to assume that the most lively and lifelike

³⁷⁹ Egmond, *Eye for Detail*, 92.

³⁸⁰ For example, Goossen van der Weyden used his grandfather Rogier's and coffer that Benson and David fought over had not only contained Benson's own drawings, but also those of his colleague Adriaen Isenbrandt and a collection loaned from the painter Adriaen Cornelis. See Campbell, "The Early Netherlandish Painters and Their Workshops," 53-54.

³⁸¹ Campbell, "The Early Netherlandish Painters and Their Workshops," 53-54.

³⁸² Goris and Marlier, *Le Journal de voyage d'Albert Dürer*, 27, 100-101. It is uncertain whether Van Orley actually ever received the sketchbook.

³⁸³ For more repetition of animal motifs, primarily in the verdure, see: Grazzini, "Verdures with Animals," 341.

³⁸⁴ Duverger, "De Brusselse stadspatroonschilder voor de tapijtkunst." 174; Grazzini, "Verdures with Animals," 341 only discusses the civet and tortoise, but nearly all animals of the Vienna wings are also found in the Wavel tapestries.

³⁸⁵ Dupré and Egmond, "Collecting and Circulating Exotic Naturalia," 207.

animals must have surely been drawn after life. Whereas the artists could have easily drawn the naturalistic dogs, cattle and sheep after commonly available domestic examples, the Habsburg menagerie suggests itself as an attractive source of examples for the variously posed ostriches, the playful monkeys, the dromedaries, lions, and cranes. The incredible details of many other species seem almost impossible to attain without close study of a confined – or indeed dead – specimen. The Habsburg court could have provided examples of these: the civet cat and the macaw (both popular animals at court), the seal (gifted various times by Mary of Hungary), the turkey (kept in the Brussels menagerie) and the various waterfowl, pheasants, partridges and quail which would have roamed the wild reserve. Even the pelican that lived at the Mechelen court in the 1540s may be reflected, albeit badly, in the pinkish bird on the *Story of Paradise* tapestry. But however tempting it is to see a representation of the Brussels menageries in the Wawel tapestries, a direct link cannot be proven with certainty.

For the animals that were not readily available as examples in real life, and indeed perhaps even those that were, the artists would have turned to pictorial examples, such as prints and books. The fighting lion and dragon in the *Animals Disembarking* are based on a print thought to be after Leonardo da Vinci.³⁸⁶ Another direct source that has been suggested before is Gessner's *Historia Animalium*.³⁸⁷ It is tempting to suggest this work which constituted such a turning point in the attitude of published animal works. However, the animals in the First Parents and Noah sets are certainly not copied after these woodcuts. Comparison between the animals from Gessner's first volume, published in 1551, and the same species in the Wawel tapestries shows only differences (fig. 44 and 45). Moreover, as Balis has also pointed out, the animals in the Wawel tapestries are generally of superior rendering in terms of detail and overall form.³⁸⁸ The only animal similar between Wawel and the *Historia Animalium* is the giraffe, because in both cases it was based on Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, as described in chapter four.

Outside of the repetitions in the Wawel set itself, another tapestry set supports the idea that some animal motifs were workshop models. The Paradise tapestry set now in the Pitti Palace in Florence, woven in the workshops of Jan van Tieghem en Jan de Kempeneer is a cycle with very similar animals. It covers the story of Adam and Eve from the Creation of Adam to the Expulsion from Paradise in seven weavings (figs. 46-52). The designs have been variously attributed to Coecke, Coxcie and Jan Vermeyen.³⁸⁹ In 2014, Lucia Meoni has convincingly attributed these tapestries to Pieter Coecke van Aelst and dated their production to 1547-48, having been delivered mid-1551 to Cosimo de' Medici after the agent who sold them had had them in his possession for a while.³⁹⁰ Some animals on both tapestry sets must stem from the same models. The pheasant in the *Creation of Adam* (fig. 46) is the almost same bird as the ones in the *Story of Paradise* and *Adam Tilling the Soil*, albeit in reverse. The small differences in detail could easily be attributed to the weaver's interpretation of the cartoon. Additionally, two "shrugging bears" (fig. 48) stand in the tail of the animal queue being named in *Adam Naming the*

³⁸⁶ Hennel-Bernasikowa, *Arrasy Króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 80; Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 41.

³⁸⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 236; Hennel-Bernasikowa and Piwocka, *Katalog arrasów króla Zygmunta Augusta*, 76.

³⁸⁸ Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 52 n. 18.

³⁸⁹ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 27; Hennel-Bernasikowa et al., *Vlaamse Wandtapijten Uit de Wawelburcht Te Krakau*, 90.

³⁹⁰ Meoni, "The Story of Creation," 304-312.

Animals (fig. 47) and are the very same animal that is found entering the Ark in the Wawel *Embarking* (fig. 49). Very similar are the two monkeys holding berries in respectively the Wawel *Noah's Sacrifice* and Florence *Expulsion from Paradise* (fig. 52), but whereas the Wawel monkey is slimmer and only slightly lifting the berry, the Florence monkey is eating it, tail curled downwards. Also highly similar is the stiff, frontal pose of the ostriches in Florence's *Adam led to Paradise* (fig. 50) and Wawel's *Adam Tilling the Soil*, although the Wawel bird's head is turned slightly more to the right.

These extreme similarities suggest that the same models were used for both tapestry sets, perhaps by the same artist(s). Reasoning from her attribution of the figures to Coecke, Meoni supposes the landscapes and animals may have been designed by Jan van Amstel, Coecke's brother in law, or another landscape specialist.³⁹¹ Looking at the similarity between the Florence and Wawel sets, maybe the authorship should be placed on a member of the Tons family.

As stated in the first chapter, the attribution of the Wawel animals to the Tons family rests on the similarity between these animals and those in the Hunts of Maximilian. Does this set contain the same models? The Hunts of Maximilian were woven between 1531 and 1533 in Brussels based on Bernard van Orley's designs, of which two sets on paper are still extant today.³⁹² The attribution of the Wawel animals to a Tons based on the Hunts set is not undisputed. Hannel-Bernasikowa even went as far as to argue that the animals were incomparable, as there are no same species shared between the two sets.³⁹³ In fact, the series do share several species: the tawny owl, hoopoe, various small birds, the squirrel, wild boar, rabbits, and of course the dogs, horses and stags. None of these are drawn exactly alike between the two series, indicating at least that no models from the Hunts were exactly copied for the Wawel tapestries almost twenty years later. It can only be speculated whether this is due to the old models having been replaced, or the possibility of different authorship of both sets – or some other reason entirely. It must be pointed out that a few of the animals listed above do resemble each other closely though. The tawny owls (fig. 53a and b and fig. 2) hold a similar pose but are not alike in detail. The same goes for the hawk in the October hunt and the eagle in the *Story of Paradise* (fig. 54a and b and fig. 1). Overall, the conception of landscape and animal is fairly similar between the two tapestry sets and seems connected.

³⁹¹ Meoni, "The Story of Creation," 307-309.

³⁹² For more information about the Hunts of Maximilian and the preparatory drawings, see: Balis et al., *Les chasses de Maximilien*.

³⁹³ Hannel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases," 245.

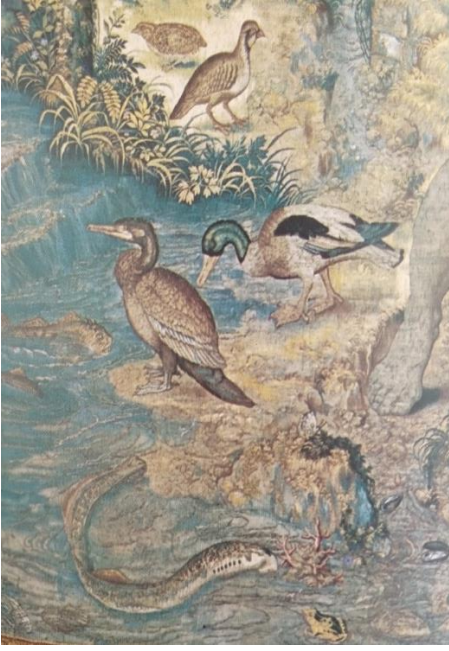


Fig. 38. Detail of *Adam Tilling the Soil*, fig. 2.

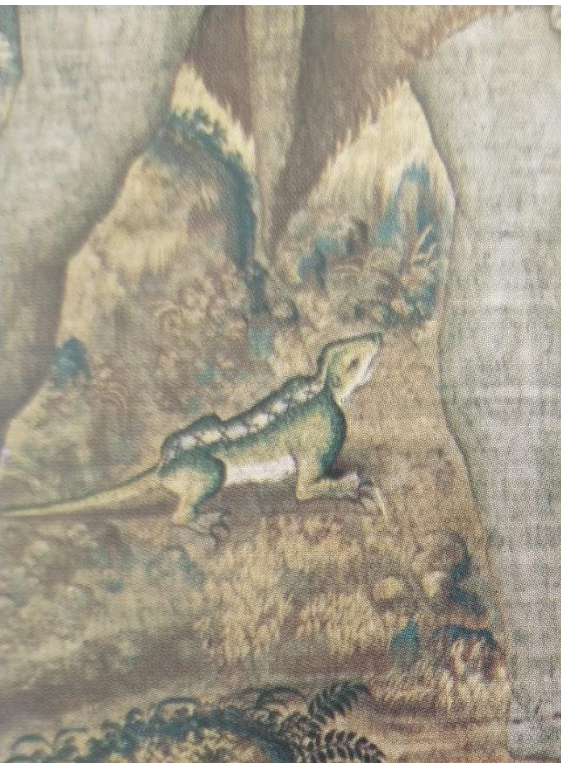


Fig. 39 (left). Detail of *Adam Tilling the Soil*, fig. 2.



Fig. 40 (right). Detail of *The Story of Paradise*, fig. 1.



Fig. 41. Detail of *Noah's Thanksgiving*, fig. 13.

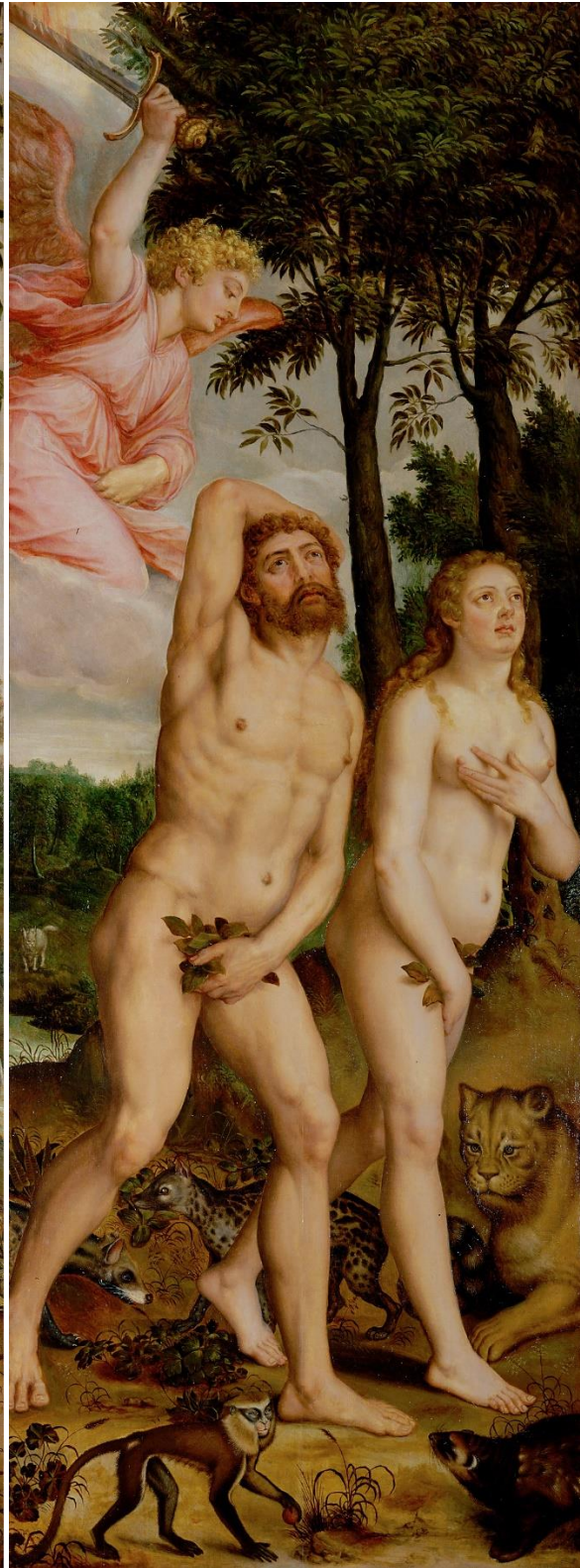


Fig. 42 and 43. Michiel Coxcie, wings from an altarpiece, *The Original Sin and Expulsion from Paradise*, c. 1550, oil on panel, 237 cm × 87.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 44. Porcupine, 1551, woodcut, in Gessner, *Historia Animalium*, p. 563. Photo: Biodiversity Heritage Library.



Fig. 45. Panther, 1551, woodcut, in Gessner, *Historia Animalium*, p. 824. Photo: Biodiversity Heritage Library.



Fig. 46. *The Creation of Adam*, designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Brussels, woven in the workshop of Jan van Tieghem, c. 1547-48, tapestry with metal-wrapped threads, 488 x 560 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



Fig. 47. *Adam Names the Animals*, designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Brussels, woven in the workshop of Jan van Tieghem, c. 1547-48, tapestry with metal-wrapped threads, 462 x 833 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



Fig. 48. Detail of *Adam Names the Animals*, fig. 47.



Fig. 49. Detail of *Animals Embarking on the Ark*, fig. 10.



Fig. 50. *Adam led to Paradise*, designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Brussels, woven in the workshop of Frans Ghieteels, c. 1547-48, tapestry with metal-wrapped threads, 482 x 695 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



Fig. 51. *The Original Sin*, designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Brussels, woven in the workshop of Frans Ghieteels, c. 1547-48, tapestry with metal-wrapped threads, 483 x 789 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



Fig. 52. *The Expulsion from Paradise*, designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Brussels, woven in the workshop of Jan van Tieghem, c. 1547-48, tapestry with metal-wrapped threads, 483 x 640 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



Fig. 53a. *Month of March Hunt*, designed by Bernard van Orley, woven in Brussels, c. 1531-33, tapestry, 440 x 750 cm, Paris, Louvre.



Fig. 53b. Great tits, tawny owl and crow, detail of *Month of March Hunt*, fig. 53a.



Fig. 54a. *Month of October Hunt*, designed by Bernard van Orley, woven in Brussels, c. 1531-33, tapestry, 436 x 573 cm, Paris, Louvre.



Fig. 54b. Eagle (?) and hoopoe, detail of *Month of October Hunt*, fig. 54a.

The Wavel animals number and species in pictorial tradition

Animals in combination with the stories of the First Parents and Noah's Ark have been discussed in chapter three regarding specific meanings of animals. Here, the pictorial development of picturing many animals in one image is treated with attention to the kinds of species chosen. For both subjects, there exist a handful of predecessors which contain a (large) amount of animals, more so for the First Parents than for the Ark of Noah cycle. In respect to the latter, Arianne Faber Kolb even wrote that Jan Brueghel the Elder was the first Netherlandish painter to depict the Embarkation on the Ark and that it otherwise only occurred once in a twelfth-century Italian fresco, a handful of Netherlandish prints and some Venetian paintings of the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁹⁴ However, Carmen Niekrasz already rightfully pointed out in 2007 that the Noah cycle of Wavel Castle forms a definite counterpoint to Kolb's assertion.³⁹⁵ More pictorial predecessors are to be found in Netherlandish, German and Italian art. For both subjects, the development towards more and more animals of stranger and stranger species, culminating in Brueghel's works, is not a linearly upward trend. In the early sixteenth century, Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) never pictured any animals other than the perfunctory snake in his eight engravings of Adam and Eve.³⁹⁶ At the same time, artists that include many animals in some pictures, such as Lucas Cranach the Elder and Albrecht Dürer, do not do so in others. Evidently, different circumstances demanded different levels of fauna. What follows here is an account of the various groups

³⁹⁴ Kolb, *Jan Brueghel the Elder*, 6-7.

³⁹⁵ Niekrasz, "Woven Theaters of Nature," 181.

³⁹⁶ Smith, "Rereading Dürer's Representations of the Fall of Man," 301.

of artworks (according to artist, medium or production location) that include a large number of animals and the degree to which the composition of the Wawel tapestries' fauna is possibly related to them.

The oldest examples of large numbers of animals accompanying the First Parents and Noah's Ark are found in manuscript illumination. The connection between tapestry and manuscripts may be more likely than it seems: manuscripts were owned by same layers of society as tapestries. Margaret of Austria herself acquired a sizable library of manuscripts, which passed on to Mary.³⁹⁷ She also employed the services of an illuminator for a while, namely Gerard Horenbout (c. 1465–c. 1541).³⁹⁸ In many manuscripts featuring Adam and Eve or Noah's ark, no animals will be found. Up to the Late Middle Ages, illuminators generally pictured a generic landscape sufficient to understand the setting without any animals.³⁹⁹ For example, even at the beginning of the fifteenth-century, the Limbourg brothers painted no animals into their miniature in the *Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry* depicting the story of Adam and Eve in Paradise (fig. 55). However, several Flemish examples from the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth century come close in both numbers of animals and style to the Wawel tapestries (see table 2). For example, in a Flemish *Histoire Ancienne Jusqu'à César* of circa 1480 (fig. 59) that was part of Margaret of Austria's and Mary of Hungary's libraries, Adam and Eve are accompanied by eighteen animals.⁴⁰⁰ Gerard Horenbout populated his addition of Adam and Eve to the *Breviarium Grimani* of 1510 (fig. 60) with eighteen birds of various species, including peacocks.⁴⁰¹ Clearly, the tradition to picture several animals within Paradise already existed in the Habsburg court circle, not to mention its libraries. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined to what extent this was the imperative of the artists or the patrons.

At the same time, there are several images of Noah's Ark in manuscripts with a very respectable number of beasts (see table 3). Despite Kolb's assertions otherwise, the subject can be found in several manuscripts dating from the mid-thirteenth century up to the sixteenth.⁴⁰² The entry into Noah's Ark was usually depicted as a long line of pairs of animals, with Noah and his family to the side, or occasionally, partaking in the queue.⁴⁰³ A French copy of the *Grande Bible historique complétée* (c. 1412-15, fig. 56) contains 28 animals of which 11 are birds, all in an image of about 10 by 10 centimetres, and in the Bedford book of hours (c. 1410-1430, fig. 57) more than 40 animals are seen leaving the Ark.⁴⁰⁴ A slightly later Northern Netherlandish example of a miniature from Utrecht origins (c. 1430, fig. 58) includes 17 animals of various species entering the Ark with Noah's family.⁴⁰⁵

In tapestry of the same location and time as the Wawel set, the Brussels-woven Florence Paradise set stands out. This set is not only comparable to Wawel for its specific animal motifs, but also

³⁹⁷ Margaret took almost 30 manuscripts with her from Savoy to Mechelen after her second husband, Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, passed away. She also bought 78 manuscripts from Charles de Croy, prince of Chimay, in 1511. Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, XII-XIII.

³⁹⁸ Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, XVII.

³⁹⁹ Van de Velde, "Het Aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," 18.

⁴⁰⁰ Brussels, KBR, ms. 10175, f. 20r. Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 40-41.

⁴⁰¹ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. Lat. I,99, f. 286v.

⁴⁰² For example: Jerusalem, c. 1260-70, Dijon BM 562, fol. 6r; England, c. 1350-60, Egerton Genesis, BL, Egerton 1894, f. 3r; Paris atelier, c. 1412-1415, BNF, Français 9, f. 15r.; German, c. 1470, Furtmeyer Bible, BSB Cgm 8010 a, f. 13v; Paris?, 16th century?, Libro de horas de Carlos V, BNE, Cod. Vitr. 24-3, p.27.

Kolb also overlooked that the mosaic covering the vault of the baptistery in Florence (c. 1250) contains the Entry of the Animals into the Ark.

⁴⁰³ Von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis*, 461-62.

⁴⁰⁴ Paris, BNF, français 9, f. 15r; London, British Library, Add. Ms.18850, f. 16v.

⁴⁰⁵ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 38 I, f. 13r.

the way they have been combined with scenes and grouped in space.⁴⁰⁶ Like Wawel, a red macaw is found in proximity to the Tree in *The Original Sin* (fig. 51). The peacock from the *Creation of Adam* (fig. 46) stands to his right in the Wawel *Story of Paradise*. Moreover, the design and choice of animals in general are very similar. The same proclivity for larger, rarely-pictured bird species is found in both sets: the cormorant, barnacle goose and shelduck in Wawel, the lapwing, vulture and the male and female turkeys. The Florence *Adam Names the Animals* (fig. 47) and the Wawel *Animals Embarking* are especially similar. In the Florence set, one-horned giraffes are found next to an elephant and a lion and leopard accompanying each other, much like those species in the Wawel piece. Moreover, both tapestries share the visual idea of a large moving queue of animals. It was this mass of animals, along with the multitude of creatures filling *Adam Tilling the Soil*, that were pictorial novelties at the time.

The Wawel animals must also be compared to a school of painting that has only been mentioned previously in connection to the landscapes: the Flemish landscapes from the circle of Joachim Patinir.⁴⁰⁷ The conception of landscape is very different from that of the Wawel tapestries: a bird's eye view from a large distance. But like the Wawel tapestries, these landscapes are often teeming with animal life. No paintings of Adam and Eve by Patinir are known, but an honorary mention should go to his *Crossing the River Styx* (c. 1520-24). The left side of this painting contains a strip of Paradise inhabited by numerous beasts. One of Patinir's followers, Herri met de Bles, showed the Creation of Eve, Commandment, Fall of Man and Expulsion in the Garden of Eden among a staggering 71 animals (table 2) in his *Paradise* (c. 1540-1550, fig. 19). The general composition was based on a woodcut of the *Creation of the World* in the Luther Bible of 1534, while the four individual scenes have been copied after prints by Dürer and Heinrich Aldegrever.⁴⁰⁸ Although Bles painted as many animals and some of the same episodes as the Brussels Wawel tapestries, Bles foregrounds familiar quadrupeds like the cat, cow, lion, rabbit, monkey and goat, in contrast to *Story of Paradise's* first plan full of birds. The birds in Bles' *Paradise* flock around the fountain on the second plan and the only bird in the foreground is a cock. The species pictured are also much more mundane than those in the Wawel *Story of Paradise*, the rarest animal is the dromedary to the left or, perhaps, the tiny, now translucent, elephant seen in the far background. Unlike the Wawel tapestries, Bles' painting was probably not meant for the upper nobility, but the circumstances of purchase of Bles' painting remains unknown.⁴⁰⁹ His predecessor Patinir's patrons seem to have been predominantly wealthy merchants, cardinals and lower courtiers; the same was likely true for Bles.⁴¹⁰

These Flemish landscapes went back to Boschian examples.⁴¹¹ And indeed, more even so than in Bles, it is in Hieronymus Bosch' (1450-1516) work that the same desire to portray many and rare animals as in the Wawel tapestries is found. In the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych's left *Paradise* wing (c. 1495-1505, fig. 61), a staggering 192 animals have been counted, although about a 100 of them are the birds in the background (table 2). Various rare animals like a giraffe, lion, seal, porcupine and elephant are found here. What examples Bosch based these animals on is disputed; the giraffe is copied

⁴⁰⁶ See also table 2.

⁴⁰⁷ Negatively, in Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arranges." 204.

⁴⁰⁸ Bakker, "The Amsterdam 'Paradise' by Herri Met de Bles and the Fountain of Life," 117.

⁴⁰⁹ Hendrikman, "Early Netherlandish Paintings".

⁴¹⁰ Vergara, "Who was Patinir? What is a Patinir?" 36-39.

⁴¹¹ Vergara, "Who was Patinir? What is a Patinir?" 22-23.

after Cyriacus d'Ancona and the bear climbing a tree appears in a copy of Phebus' *Livre de Chasse*, but for other animals, both Charles Cuttler and Herman Colenbrander suppose Bosch may have supplemented his models from manuscripts with animals seen in real life.⁴¹² Bosch, who worked and lived in Den Bosch, was nonetheless loosely connected to the Brussels court. In fact, the *Garden* was in Brussels on the Coudenberg in 1517, in the Nassau palace of Henry III of Nassau.⁴¹³ After Henry's death it passed into the hands of his descendants, but probably remained in Brussels until it was confiscated by the Duke of Alva in 1567-68.⁴¹⁴ Moreover, his work was so popular with Philip II that by 1560 Felipe de Guevara lamented the number of paintings "falsely inscribed with the name of Hieronymus Bosch" in his *Comentarios de la Pintura*.⁴¹⁵ Whether the proximity of his patrons to the Burgundian/Habsburg court had any influence on the animals Bosch pictured, or whether the artist was simply fascinated with them himself, is unknown.

In respect to animal painting, previous scholarship has often pointed in the direction of Germany. Germany was part of an important trade route to the other Habsburg lands in Austria and Hungary. There was indeed a strong animal school in Germany of the early sixteenth century. Lucas Cranach the Elder's workshop put out many pictures of Adam and Eve or Paradise (like fig. 18) filled with animals (for fuller comparison, see table 2). Likewise, Albrecht Dürer and his pupil Hans Baldung Grien (c. 1484-1545) famously added animals to scenes of Adam and Eve (table 2).

Most notably and for good reasons Albrecht Dürer has often been singled out as especially important for the development of animal painting. Unquestionably, Dürer has had a large influence on Northern European art in general, especially regarding compositions.⁴¹⁶ According to Balis Albrecht Dürer would have also been the major inspiration for Flemish tapestry painters on account of his treatment of animals.⁴¹⁷ Indeed, there would have been ample opportunity to exchange ideas. Dürer visited Brussels in August 1520 during his trip to the Netherlands and was invited to dine at Van Orley's house along with notable dignitaries of the city and court.⁴¹⁸ However, his visit does not seem to have had much influence on the animal models used in Brussels: although Dürer pictured many animals in his prints and had drawn animals living in menageries in the Low Countries, none of these examples made it into the Wavel First Parents or Noah's Ark sets. Not the lions, the baboon or the lynx Dürer drew visiting Brussels (see fig. 27), nor any of the animals appearing in the 1504 print *Fall of Man* (fig. 17) or 1503 drawing *Mary among a multitude of animals* (fig. 62), nor examples from the later so often copied watercolours of hares and birds, not even his famous rhinoceros is found in the Wavel figurative

⁴¹² Cuttler supposes a travelling menagerie which came with Philip the Good to Den Bosch, Colenbrander suggests Bosch may have travelled to Spain. Lehmann, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Egyptian Visit*; Colenbrander, "Exotica"; Cuttler, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 169-207.

⁴¹³ It was described as part of the castle decoration by Antonio de' Beatis. Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman. Catalogue Raisonné*, 375. Dürer visited Nassau palace in 1520, although he does not mention the Bosch. Goris and Marlier, *Le Journal de voyage d'Albert Dürer*, 66.

⁴¹⁴ It came first into the hands of René of Chalon in 1538 and then passed on to William of Orange in 1544, before being confiscated by the Duke of Alva, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo. Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman. Catalogue Raisonné*, 356.

⁴¹⁵ Ilsink et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman. Catalogue Raisonné*, 34.

⁴¹⁶ See for one for many examples: Leeflang, "The Saint Reinhold Alterpiece by Joos van Cleve and His Workshop."

⁴¹⁷ For example in Balis, "Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst," 41.

⁴¹⁸ Goris and Marlier, *Le Journal de voyage d'Albert Dürer*, 27, 66.

tapestries.⁴¹⁹ For these animals at least, it seems Balis was mistaken – if Dürer had any influence on the Wawel tapestry artists, it was only in the spirit of the matter.

More closely related to the Wawel tapestries is the work of Hans Burgkmair the Elder. Burgkmair was a resident of Augsburg, one of the important trade cities of Germany and home to the Fugger Bank.⁴²⁰ Incidentally, Augsburg was also the centre of Habsburg imperial politics and Emperor Maximilian I employed Burgkmair to design over 300 woodcuts for him.⁴²¹ An important Habsburg example was the paper procession of the *Triumph of Maximilian I*, a set of 137 woodcuts made by Hans Burgkmair for Emperor Maximilian I in 1517-1518.⁴²² Commissioned by the emperor, the procession of all peoples of the empire includes warriors from South America and animals native to their region, such as monkeys and macaws.⁴²³ Moreover, Burgkmair painted a version of *St John on Patmos* (1518), now in the Alte Pinakothek München, enlivened with various reptiles and foreign and indigenous birds. The mass of animals as seen in Cranach and the naturalism of Burgkmair are not directly connected to the Wawel tapestries, but show a congruent tradition in a neighbouring region that was well-connected to the Southern Netherlands through trade and politics.

A more direct link may exist with art from Italy, notably from Raphael's workshop. In the Papal Loggia in the Vatican, Raphael and his workshop also pictured the first chapters of Genesis in fresco, including the *Creation of the Animals* (fig. 63), the *Creation of Eve*, the *First Sin*, the *Expulsion from the Garden*, the *Labours of Adam and Eve*, the *Building of the Ark* (fig. 64), the *Flood*, the *Animals Disembarking* (fig. 65), and *Noah's Sacrifice*. Designed before 1517 and painted from the end of that year by Raphael and his assistants, several episodes include a large number of animals (see tables 2 and 3). For example, there are 47 beasts and birds in the *Creation of the Animals*. It was Raphael's student Giovanni da Udine who was tasked with the scenes containing many animals, as he was the most skilled animal and plant painter.⁴²⁴ Unfortunately, many of these frescoes have been damaged by the elements over the years, making it difficult to accurately discern all animals pictured. However, there is the similar taste for rare animals, in case of the Loggia for a seal, a tiger, a polka-dotted rhinoceros, a one-horned giraffe and three porcupines. The composition with a low horizon is comparable, which also leads to a roughly comparable composition of both the *Building* and the *Disembarking* scenes between the Loggia and their Wawel counterparts. It was Pope Leo X (1475-1521) who commissioned the frescoes. He was a pope who took special pleasure in his menagerie and owned, among other animals, the famous elephant Hanno. Hanno had been part of two embassies of rare foreign animals from the

⁴¹⁹ The rhinoceros is found on a drawing in the British Library, inauthentically signed "P.V.Aelst fe[cit] 1549". This drawing is squared, perhaps in preparation for a big tapestry cartoon. Due to the similarities between this drawing and the Wawel and Isola Bella verdure, the drawing is now often attributed to the atelier that designed these verdure; according to Hennel-Bernasikowa this was the workshop of Pieter Coecke in Antwerp, Grazzini attributes it to Jan Tons the Younger. Although no verdure with a rhinoceros exists in the Wawel collection today, a 1735 inventory does include a tapestry with rhinoceros, elephant and monkeys. A woven version of the drawing dating approximately around 1600 can be found in the collection of the Mobilier Paris. Hennel-Bernasikowa, "Animal and Landscape Arrases." 240-245; Grazzini, "Verdures with Animals," 338-339, 342. The rhinoceros is also found in later versions of the figurative tapestries, such as the set in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

⁴²⁰ Mayor, *Prints & People*, 190.

⁴²¹ Mayor, *Prints & People*, 192.

⁴²² MacDonald, "Collecting a New World," 649.

⁴²³ MacDonald, "Collecting a New World," 649.

⁴²⁴ Dacos, *The Loggia of Raphael*, 33-36.

Portuguese king Manuel I to Leo in 1515 and 1516.⁴²⁵ It is quite likely that the inclusion of rare animals in the Loggia was directly related to the Pope's collection of animals.⁴²⁶

Coxcie himself had been to Rome in the 1530s and had been trained there to paint frescoes. Later, he profusely borrowed figures from Raphael's design.⁴²⁷ It is therefore not wholly unlikely that he would have been familiar with the Loggia's designs or could have familiarised himself through the slightly altered prints brought out after the frescoes by Giulio Bonasone. But although Coxcie, or his assistant, borrowed a lion and dragon from an Italian print, likely after Leonardo da Vinci, none of the animals in the Wawel tapestries are directly copied after Raphael. Not the porcupines, seal, lions or dromedaries resemble their tapestry counterparts – in fact, Wawel's dromedaries look more realistic than those in the Loggia. At first glance, the one-horned giraffe in the Loggia's *Creation of the Animals* could be mistaken for those in the tapestries, but the Loggia giraffe's horn points forwards, not backwards. Despite the lack of direct borrowings, the idea behind the compositions for both cycles and the desire to include many and rare animals is highly similar and suggest that the context of both may have been similar. Like the Wawel tapestries, these frescoes were meant to decorate the apartments of a ruler, which tentatively suggests a comparable princely occupation with many and rare animals.

The animals in the Wawel First Parents and Noah sets are strongly connected to contemporary and earlier pictorial traditions. The manner of depicting animals on the Wawel tapestries can be understood as a mix of parallel developments in style in the sixteenth century. On one hand, the highly-detailed style that was closely linked to emerging natural history and the faithful description of and easy recognition of species. On the other hand, the already existing manner of active animals further developed towards a naturalistic style, perhaps also thanks to the shift towards observation of live examples. However, schematic, more medieval ways of depicting animals kept existing, as in the lizard in *Adam Tilling the Soil*. Although it is impossible to say what animals were based on real examples, the models for the Wawel animals certainly circulated within the Flemish tapestry environment. A connection to other art traditions is less easily made, as no borrowings from major works have so far been found. However, in spirit the Wawel tapestries are very comparable to the works of Flemish landscape artists, Dürer and other German contemporaries, and most importantly the frescoes in the Papal Loggia by Raphael and his assistants. The inclusion of a large number in animals in both the First Parents and Noah subjects is also not a novelty of the Wawel tapestries, but has a pictorial tradition that stretches further back, among other things in manuscript illumination.

⁴²⁵ Da Costa, "Secrecy, Ostentation, and the Illustration of Exotic Animals," 75-76. For more information about Hanno, see: Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*.

⁴²⁶ Boehrer, "The Cardinal's Parrot," 9.

⁴²⁷ Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, "The Life and Times of Michiel Coxcie 1499-1592," 26-29; Jonckheere, "Michiel Coxcie and the Reception of Classical Antiquity in the Low Countries," 79; Misiag-Bochenska, "Biblical Arrases. Scenes from the Book of Genesis," 118-119.

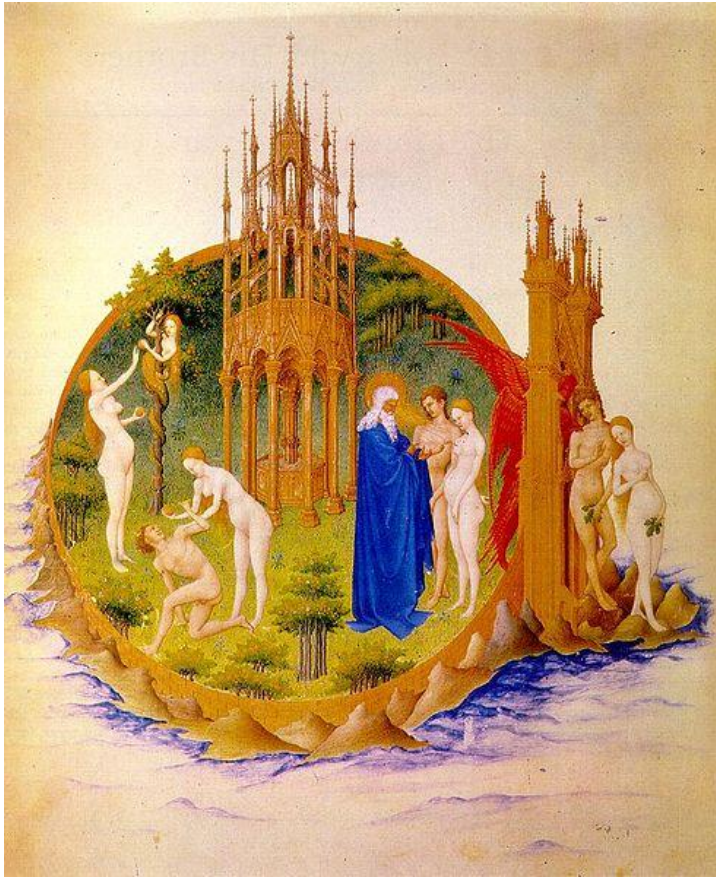


Fig. 55. Limbourg brothers, *Original Sin and Expulsion from Paradise*, miniature in the Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry, c. 1412-16, 29 x 21 cm, Paris. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, 25v.



Fig. 56. *The Animals Embarking on the Ark*, miniature in *Grande Bible historique complétée*, c. 1412-15, 44 x 31 cm, Paris. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 9, f. 15r.



Fig. 57. Bedford Master, *The Animals Disembarking from the Ark*, miniature in the Bedford Hours, c. 1410-30, 26 x 18.5 cm, Paris. London, British Library, Add MS 18850, f. 16v.



Fig. 58. *Animals Embarking on the Ark*, miniature in a history Bible, c. 1430, full page 39.8 x 30 cm, Utrecht. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 38 I, f. 13r.



Fig. 59. *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, miniature in *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César*, c. 1480, size unknown, Flanders. Brussels, KBR, ms. 10175, f. 20r.



Fig. 60. Gerard Horenbout, *The Original Sin*, miniature in the Grimani Breviary, c. 1510, 28 x 21.5 cm, Flanders. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. Lat. I, 99 f. 286v.



Fig. 61. Hieronymus Bosch, Paradise, left wing of the Garden of Earthly Delights, c. 1495-1505, oil on panel, 220 x 390 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Fig. 62. Albrecht Dürer, *Mary Among a Multitude of Animals*, c. 1503, pen and wash on paper, 32.1 x 24.3 cm, Vienna, Albertina.



Fig. 63. Giovanni Udine after design by Raphael, *The Creation of the Animals*, c. 1514-19, fresco, size unknown, Vatican, Papal Loggia.



Fig. 64. Romano Giulio and Giovanfrancesco Penni after design by Raphael, *The Construction of the Ark*, c. 1514-19, fresco, size unknown, Vatican, Papal Loggia.



Fig. 65. Giovanni Udine after design by Raphael, *The Animals Disembarking from the Ark*, c. 1514-19, fresco, size unknown, Vatican, Papal Loggia.

Conclusion

This study has connected the Wawel animals with their Brussels context, but questions remain as to what the main body of models, influences and meanings was that the Wawel artists drew from when they designed the animals in the Wawel First Parents and Noah's Ark sets. Many uncertainties surround the commissioning and dating of the Wawel tapestry set that are likely never to be fully resolved. Though Sigismund II was a learned king of a flourishing humanist court and there is no convincing reason to doubt that he ordered the *editio princeps* of the Wawel First Parents and Noah cycles, neither does anything suggest that Sigismund or his advisors would have had direct contact with the weavers and designers to communicate explicit wishes. The remarkable similarities between the Wawel Genesis animals and the Florence Genesis animals further indicate that the artist responsible for the animals pulled models from local stock. It remains a question who that animal artist was. Was it Coxcie himself, or more likely, a member of the Tons family – father Jan, son Jan II, or even the young grandson Willem? Not unimportantly, it must also be mentioned that the various weavers, dispersed over various workshops, have all delivered a tremendous achievement in terms of conveying the animals as illusionistic as possible. This indicates both the level of skill in the Brussels tapestry production and the level to which the cartoons would already have been detailed.

A symbolical or ideological explanation does not get to the bottom of why the artists chose to depict these species in such a high number and naturalistic style. Traditionally symbolically significant animals are not featured prominently in the Wawel tapestries at all, such as the stag and lion in combination with Adam, as encountered in Dürer's and Cranach's works. Noah is never accompanied by the dove. Furthermore, it is less significant that Eve is accompanied by a parrot as a symbol of Mary, than that the parrot in question is a scarlet macaw. After all, this specific bird was an animal recently encountered for the first time and a wanted object as a prestigious pet among the upper class. The artist choosing to picture this bird and not the more common rose-ringed parakeet indicates that an example, either in real life or on paper, was within reach of the artists and secondly, that the novelty value of the macaw was more important than the tradition of the green parrot. Likewise, the pelicans found in the *Story of Paradise* and the *Animals Embarking on the Ark* could be interpreted symbolically, but are much more meaningful when seen as images of a real-life animal that lived at the Mechelen Habsburg court as a curiosity. More symbolical or emblematic explanations can always be sought and found, but it is doubtful to what extent that would progress beyond the open doors suggested here and by previous scholars.

Besides a symbolical explanation, an explanation solely based on humanist theory of the knowledge of natural history as Carmen Niekrasz has presented, though sound of research, does not reflect day-to-day contact with and function of animals at courts either. There is not much evidence to suggest that the Habsburg collectors thought of their collections, whether the indoors stuffed animals or the live ones outside, as repositories of knowledge, but it is sadly true that there is still a large gap in the understanding of early Netherlandish Habsburg collections. Margaret of Austria clearly valued her collection of corals, goblets from shells, paintings and miscellaneous trinkets of precious and less precious materials predominantly for their aesthetic merits. Moreover, if the key to understanding the Wawel tapestries is knowledge of the original names Adam gave the animals, the absence of this scene

from the Wawel set in comparison to other cycles, such as the Florence Genesis, is somewhat strange from both a production and an audience perspective: why leave out the scene defining the meaning of a narrative?

The broader material culture surrounding animals – partially or whole, dead or alive – at the Netherlandish Habsburg court thus provides a meaningful framework to interpret the various Wawel animals. On an individual level, several species can be directly linked to animals in or around the court: the seals imported by Mary; the civet cats prized and bred for their musk; the genets whose skins were worn; the monkeys and parrots kept as pets; and the various lions, ostriches, peacocks, and other beasts and birds living for a variety of reasons in the parks bordering the Coudenberg Palace. The way the Habsburg court valued animals as commodities and symbols of grandeur helps explain why such a range of animals included in such a naturalistic way. Within European material court culture, the keeping of animals conveyed that the owner was rich, well-connected, and powerful. Rich because animals were expensive to procure, expensive to transport and even more expensive to keep for many years (especially alive). Well-connected because only with the right, equally rich and powerful, relations such a diversity of new species could be attained. And finally powerful, because owning dangerous and rare animals both meant that they were symbolically subordinate to you as a ruler, but also that you or your connections were mighty enough to have influence over the faraway places the beasts came from and that other rulers considered you a sufficiently important player to appease you with highly valued gifts in the form of rare animals. Even the practice of hunting falls within these parameters, because aristocratic hunting depended on the money to keep game parks, the connections to acquire good horses and birds, and the power to enforce the privilege of hunting. Besides, that the animals on the Wawel tapestries are rendered painstakingly detailed and naturalistically highly increases their impression of aliveness. This impression of life matches very well with the importance of aliveness of real animals at court, for the reasons set out above.

What remains unanswered in respect to the significance of this material court culture is the timing: why did artists start drawing from this culture to depict naturalistic animals only in the early sixteenth century, while both a naturalistic style and courtly menageries and hunting parks had existed in the previous centuries? From the artworks surveyed in this study, the suggestion arises that the development of interest in landscape and interest in animals may have been more interconnected than assumed at the start of this thesis. The sixteenth century saw the revival of an interest among the elite in agriculture and pastoral life as defined as ideal by writers from antiquity. For example, chapter four shows how Mary of Hungary owned several treatises on the ideal of pastoral life and tried to put these into practice for her gardens in Binche and later in Spain. It is also around this moment that the genre of landscape painting evolves with artists such as Joachim Patinir, who not only painted landscapes, but also populated them with a large number and variety of animals. To what extent was this interest in ideal pastoral life and landscape connected to an interest in and subsequent increased depiction of animals in art?

Unlike previously held views in scholarship surrounding the Wawel tapestries and later animal art, pictorial tradition shows that picturing many animals together is not a phenomenon that started only in 1550, not even when limited to images of the first chapters of Genesis. Indeed, already in the first half of the sixteenth century there are various artworks of the First Parents and Noah's Ark that fall

within this category. Such art is found in Germany (Cranach, Dürer), Italy (Raphael and assistants) and the Netherlands (Bosch, Patinir, Bles) and might be intimately tied to the development of landscape painting as suggest above. In fact, the idea that it was visually interesting to include many animals with stories from Genesis has existed in some form from the twelfth century onwards. The artworks presented here as precursors to the Wavel tapestries show without a doubt that this set was not a sudden innovation without precedent. However, it is without a doubt that in the first half of the sixteenth century the absolute amount of animals in individual pictures increased to a veritable multitude: about 151 and 73 in Wavel's *Animals Embarking* and *Disembarking*, 72 in Coecke *Adam Names the Animals*, about 90 in Bosch's *Paradise* wing and 70 in his *After the Flood*. Likewise, the Wavel animals are depicted in a highly detailed, occasionally lively, naturalistic style that is connected to developments earlier in the century.

Previously, the Wavel tapestries had already been singled out as precedents to the works of Jan Brueghel the Elder and Roelant Savery. If so, this thesis has demonstrated a longer, century-spanning development in Southern Netherlandish art that does not start with the first treatises of natural history, but several decades earlier. However, to further substantiate this point additional research into the connection between the Brussels tapestry artists and the Antwerp animal painters is needed. Such a relation is not unlikely. After all, the Brussels tapestry trade and its artists were closely connected to their Antwerp colleagues, as is shown again in this thesis from the connection between the animal designer in the respectively Brussels Wavel and Antwerpian Florence sets. There are also striking similarities in the conception of, for example, the civet cats in all artworks concerned and there is much still to be uncovered in the further comparison of motifs between the two cities.

Returning to the main question, to what extent are the animals on these specific Wavel tapestry sets related to the material and visual culture from the circle of the Brussels Habsburg court in the end? On one hand, Habsburg material animal culture, both as collection object and in wider court culture has proven a useful framework for understanding what meanings the Wavel animals may have had. As outlined above, there seems to be a somewhat direct relation between animals present at the Brussels court and those pictured. The usefulness of the framework of the Habsburg court for explaining the animals does not mean that the tapestries are therefore a product of direct influence of the Habsburg family itself. Apart from the Polish destination, another counter-argument to this idea is the lack of some specifically Habsburg animals, such as the fabled bird of paradise owned by both Margaret and Charles. Actually, the analysis of the pictorial tradition shows that the Habsburg practices were probably a facet of a larger European elite material and visual culture surrounding animals. While a definite trend of including many, sometimes very naturalistic, animals in art existed in the Low Countries, it was also present in other regions in Europe like Germany and Italy. Neither region, though previously singled out as influence, can be said to have been directly quoted in the Wavel tapestries. Overall, the concept of the Wavel Genesis cycle comes closest to the frescoes by Raphael and his workshop for Pope Leo X. This is significant, as Leo X was a known lover of rare animals. Combined with the fact that Pieter Coecke's Genesis was bought from a dealer by Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, this suggests that the inclusion of rare animals appealed more broadly to various courts. In other words, in designing the animals on the Wavel tapestries, the Brussels artist(s) answered to an overall pan-European court

fashion by drawing from primarily local Habsburg examples of court culture surrounding animals that itself again was part of a larger European trend.

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Appendix

Table 1	Wawel tapestries					
Species	Story of Paradise	Adam Tilling the Soil	Abel's Sacrifice	Fratricide Conceived	Cain Killing Abel	Cain's Flight From God's Wrath
kingfisher			1			
marten						
nuthatch						
barnacle goose	1					
partridge			1			
blue tit			1			
porcupine						
common redshank	1					
quail			2			
crab						
rat						
genet						
red macaw	1					
goat (indian, long-eared)						
scorpion fish			1			
barn owl						
seal						
wolf						
snapping turtle						
cat						
sparrow						
eagle owl						
stork						
hare						
swallow						
bear						
tawny owl			1			
giraffe one horn						
treecreeper						
cormorant			1			
unicorn						
magpie						
willow warbler						
baboon						
duck (mallard)				2		
elephant						
donkey						
european eel			1			
ostrich	1		2			
giraffe						
crane						
turkey	1					
peacock	1					
wild boar						
dragon						
goldfinch	1					
eagle	1					1
snail						
snake	3					
dragonfly	3		1			
dog						
pheasant	1		1			
frog	2		1		1	
dromedary						
leopard						
mussle			2			
hoopoe			2			
egret			1			
tortoise (greek)			1			
red squirrel	1					2
civet						
lizard (fictional)			1			
quadruped (unidentified)	1					
rabbit	1		1			
deer (unidentified)			2			
goat				2		
heron	1		2			
horse			1			
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)			2			
butterfly				3		
monkey (unidentified)						1
lion	1		1			
bird (unidentified)	3		11			
cow	2		1			
sheep				4		3
Grand Total animals per tapestry	27	42	11	1	4	3
Total animal species per tapestry	19	25	4	1	3	1

Table 1						
Species	Noah's Conversation with God	Construction of the Ark	Animals Embarking on the Ark	The Flood	Disembarking from the Ark	Noah's Thanksgiving
kingfisher						
marten			2			
nuthatch			1			
barnacle goose						
partridge						
blue tit						
porcupine			1			
common redshank						
quail						
crab					1	
rat				1		
genet						1
red macaw						
goat (indian, long-eared)			1			
scorpion fish						
barn owl						1
seal					1	
wolf			2			
snapping turtle			1			
cat						1
sparrow			2			
eagle owl						
stork						1
hare						1
swallow			3			
bear			2			
tawny owl						
giraffe one horn			1			
treecreeper			1			
cormorant						
unicorn			1			
magpie		1				
willow warbler			1			
baboon			1			
duck (mallard)		2				
elephant			2		4	
donkey			1			1
european eel					1	
ostrich						
giraffe			2		2	
crane					1	2
turkey					1	
peacock			1			
wild boar			2		2	
dragon			6		4	
goldfinch			3			
eagle				1		
snail	1		2			1
snake			10		3	
dragonfly			3			
dog	1		2	3		
pheasant			1			
frog						
dromedary			4		2	2
leopard			2		1	1
mussle		4			3	
hoopoe			3		1	
egret			3		1	
tortoise (greek)		1				1
red squirrel	1					
civet			2		2	1
lizard (fictional)			1		1	
quadruped (unidentified)		1	20			
rabbit	3					
deer (unidentified)			1		1	1
goat					1	1
heron			2		1	
horse			5	3	2	
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)		1	2		1	
butterfly		2	6			1
monkey (unidentified)			1	1	1	2
lion			2	1	1	2
bird (unidentified)			37		33	3
cow		6	3		2	8
sheep			2			3
Grand Total animals per tapestry	4	20	151	11	73	35
Total animal species per tapestry	2	10	43	7	25	20

Table 1				
Species	God Blessing Noah	Noah's Intoxication	Total animals per species	Total artworks species occurs in
kingfisher			1	1
marten			2	1
nuthatch			1	1
barnacle goose			1	1
partridge			1	1
blue tit			1	1
porcupine			1	1
common redshank			1	1
quail			2	1
crab			1	1
rat			1	1
genet			1	1
red macaw			1	1
goat (indian, long-eared)			1	1
scorpion fish			1	1
barn owl			1	1
seal			1	1
wolf			2	1
snapping turtle			1	1
cat			1	1
sparrow			2	1
eagle owl		1	1	1
stork			1	1
hare			1	1
swallow			3	1
bear			2	1
tawny owl			1	1
giraffe one horn			1	1
treecreeper			1	1
cormorant			1	1
unicorn			1	1
magpie			1	1
willow warbler			1	1
baboon		1	2	2
duck (mallard)			4	2
elephant			6	2
donkey			2	2
european eel			2	2
ostrich			3	2
giraffe			4	2
crane			3	2
turkey			2	2
peacock			2	2
wild boar			4	2
dragon			10	2
goldfinch			4	2
eagle			3	3
snail			4	3
snake			16	3
dragonfly			7	3
dog			6	3
pheasant			3	3
frog			4	3
dromedary			8	3
leopard			4	3
mussle			9	3
hoopoe			6	3
egret			5	3
tortoise (greek)			3	3
red squirrel			4	3
civet			5	3
lizard (fictional)			3	3
quadruped (unidentified)			22	3
rabbit		2	7	4
deer (unidentified)			5	4
goat		1	5	4
heron			6	4
horse			11	4
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)			6	4
butterfly	1		13	5
monkey (unidentified)			6	5
lion			8	6
bird (unidentified)		5	92	6
cow			22	6
sheep	1	1	14	6
Grand Total animals per tapestry	2	11	395	
Total animal species per tapestry	2	6		

Table 2	All artworks with iconclass 71A2-71A6 (Story of Adam and Eve in Paradise)									
	Albrecht Dürer			Pieter Coecke						
	Adam and Eve	Fall of Man	Fall of Man	Adam names the Animals	Creation of Adam	Creation of Eve and Institution of Marriage	Expulsion from Paradise	God Accuses Adam and Eve	God Leads Adam into the Garden	The Original Sin
Species	1507	1504	1510	1547-49	1547-49	1547-49	1547-49	1547-49	1547-49	1547-49
hedgehog										
wolf										
baboon										
badger			1							
barnacle goose										
african grey (parrot)										
camel										
lapwing (kievit)							1			
chameleon				2						
civet (or genet)										
vulture						1				
butterfly										
crab										
lobster										
crow (hooded)										
mermaid (fable)										
eagle										
mule										
genet										
obviously fabulous										
goldfinch										
owl (general)				1						
tiger										
polecat										
dragonfly					2					
rat										
giraffe										
rhinoceros										
crocodile/caiman						1				
roedeer										
hare										
rose-ringed parakeet		1								
fly										
tawny owl							1			
tortoise (greek)										
red macaw										1
dragon										
giraffe one horn				2						
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)						1				1
fish (unidentified)										
crane				1					1	
mouse		1		2						
common redshank										
seal										
partridge										
snail				1						
crow										
goose (unidentified species)										
quail										
nothing										
leopard				1						
lizard (fictional)				2						
turkey				1					2	
duck (mallard)										
ostrich				1					2	
swan										
frog										
cat		1		2						
donkey									1	
chicken										
porcupine				2						
egret				1						
heron									1	
dog										
goat		1		2						
dromedary				1					1	
stork									2	
elephant				1						
pheasant					1					1
unicorn				1						
bear				2					1	
red squirrel				2					1	
peacock					1					
horse				1						
sheep				3					2	
monkey (unidentified)				2	2		1			
bird (unidentified)				15						
wild boar				2	1				2	
cow		1	1	2					2	
quadruped (unidentified)				8						
rabbit		1							2	
lion				1	1					1
deer (unidentified)			1		3				2	1
snake	1	1	1		5			1		1
Grand Total animals per tapestry	1	8	4	72	5	3	3	1	22	6
Total animal species per tapestry	1	8	4	30	4	3	3	1	14	6

Table 2	Michiel Coxie			Gerard Horenbout	Luca Penni	Lucas Cranach d.A.						
	Expulsion from Paradise	Story of Paradise	The Fall	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Creation of the World
Species	1540-1550	1550	1540-1550	1490-1510	1543-1545	1509	1526	1528	1533	1538	1534	
hedgehog						1						
wolf						1						
baboon												
badger												
barnacle goose			1									
african grey (parrot)												
camel												
lapwing (kievit)												
chameleon												
civet (or genet)	1											
vulture												
butterfly				1								
crab												
lobster												
crow (hooded)												
mermaid (fable)												
eagle			1									
mule												1
genet	1											
obviously fabulous												
goldfinch			1									
owl (general)												
tiger												
polecat	1											
dragonfly			3									
rat												
giraffe												
rhinoceros												
crocodile/caiman												
roedeer								2				
hare												
rose-ringed parakeet												
fly												
tawny owl	1											
tortoise (greek)				1								
red macaw			1									
dragon												
giraffe one horn												
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)												6
fish (unidentified)												
crane												
mouse												
common redshank			1	1								
seal												
partridge								1				
snail												
crow												
goose (unidentified species)							2					
quail												
nothing												
leopard												
lizard (fictional)						1						
turkey			1									
duck (mallard)												2
ostrich			1									
swan												
frog			2	1								1
cat												
donkey												1
chicken												1
porcupine												
egret				1								
heron			1					1				
dog						1						1
goat						1						
dromedary												1
stork								1				1
elephant												1
pheasant			1									
unicorn												
bear												1
red squirrel			1	1		1						
peacock			1		2	1						
horse						2	2	1				1
sheep						2	2	1				
monkey (unidentified)	1					1						1
bird (unidentified)			3		4							10
wild boar							1	1				1
cow			2			2						3
quadruped (unidentified)		1	1			1						1
rabbit			1	1		1						1
lion	1		1			1	1	1		1		1
deer (unidentified)				2			6	2		2		1
snake		3	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Grand Total animals per tapestry	6	27	10	6	18	15	12	1	4	1	1	39
Total animal species per tapestry	6	19	9	2	15	7	10	1	3	1	1	21

Table 2										
		group Raphael				Hans Baldung Grien			Herri met de Bles	Hieronymus Bosch
	Paradise	Creation of Eve	Animals	Expulsion from the Garden	The Fall	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Adam and Eve	Paradise	Paradise
Species	1530	1516-1519	1516-1519	1516-1519	1516-1519	1511	1514	1520	1541-1550	1500
hedgehog										
wolf										
baboon				1						
badger										
barnacle goose										
african grey (parrot)								1		
camel				1						
lapwing (kievit)										
chameleon										
civet (or genet)										
vulture										
butterfly										
crab				1						
lobster				1						
crow (hooded)										1
mermaid (fable)				1						
eagle										
mule										
genet										
obviously fabulous										19
goldfinch										
owl (general)										
tiger				1						
polecat										
dragonfly										
rat										
giraffe										1
rhinoceros				1						
crocodile/caiman										
roedeer										
hare				1						
rose-ringed parakeet										
fly				2						
tawny owl										
tortoise (greek)				1						
red macaw										
dragon				1						1
giraffe one horn				1						
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)										
fish (unidentified)									14	
crane										
mouse										
common redshank										
seal				1						1
partridge		2								
snail				1						
crow				1						1
goose (unidentified species)										1
quail								2	2	
nothing					0					
leopard										
lizard (fictional)										4
turkey										
duck (mallard)										15
ostrich										
swan		2								1
frog										8
cat										1
donkey				1						1
chicken				1						1
porcupine				1						1
egret				1						4
heron		4								1
dog		1		1						1
goat										2
dromedary										2
stork		3		1						
elephant				1						2
pheasant		2								1
unicorn				1						1
bear		2		1						1
red squirrel				1						
peacock		2		1						2
horse		5		1						1
sheep				1						1
monkey (unidentified)										1
bird (unidentified)		8		2						20
wild boar				2						2
cow				2						1
quadruped (unidentified)				9						10
rabbit			1	1			2			2
lion				1						1
deer (unidentified)		5		1						1
snake						1	1	1	1	1
Grand Total animals per tapestry		36	1	47	0	1	3	2	7	71
Total animal species per tapestry		11	1	35	1	1	2	2	6	23

Table 2								
	Hugo van der Goes	Limbourg Brothers	Master of the Dresden Prayerbook	Simon Bening	Simon Marmion	KBR, ms. 10175		
	Fall of Adam	Fall of Man	Creation of the Animals	Creation of Eve	Earthly Paradise	Adam and Eve	Total animals per species	Total artworks species occurs in
Species	1479-1482	1412-1416	1480-1490	1535-1540	1460	1480		
hedgehog							1	1
wolf							1	1
baboon							1	1
badger							1	1
barnacle goose							1	1
african grey (parrot)							1	1
camel							1	1
lapwing (kievit)							1	1
chameleon							2	1
civet (or genet)							1	1
vulture							1	1
butterfly							1	1
crab							1	1
lobster							1	1
crow (hooded)							1	1
mermaid (fable)							1	1
eagle							1	1
mule							1	1
genet							1	1
obviously fabulous							19	1
goldfinch							1	1
owl (general)							1	1
tiger							1	1
polecat							1	1
dragonfly							3	1
rat							2	1
giraffe							1	1
rhinoceros							1	1
crocodile/caiman							1	1
roedeer							2	1
hare							1	1
rose-ringed parakeet							1	1
fly							2	1
tawny owl							1	1
tortoise (greek)							2	2
red macaw							2	2
dragon							2	2
giraffe one horn							3	2
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)							2	2
fish (unidentified)							20	2
crane							2	2
mouse							3	2
common redshank							2	2
seal							2	2
partridge							3	2
snail							2	2
crow							2	2
goose (unidentified species)							3	2
quail							4	2
nothing		0					0	2
leopard				1			1	3
lizard (fictional)							7	3
turkey							4	3
duck (mallard)						2	19	3
ostrich							4	3
swan						1	4	3
frog							12	4
cat							5	4
donkey							4	4
chicken							4	4
porcupine				1			5	4
egret							7	4
heron							8	5
dog							5	5
goat						1	7	5
dromedary				1			6	5
stork							8	5
elephant							6	5
pheasant							7	6
unicorn				1	1		6	6
bear						2	10	7
red squirrel				1			8	7
peacock						2	12	8
horse							15	9
sheep				1		1	14	9
monkey (unidentified)				1		2	13	10
bird (unidentified)				12		4	178	10
wild boar				1			19	10
cow						1	17	10
quadruped (unidentified)				3	3	1	63	11
rabbit				1	1	1	19	14
lion				1		1	16	16
deer (unidentified)				1	2	1	39	18
snake		1			1		30	23
Grand Total animals per tapestry	1	0	26	8	4	18	696	
Total animal species per tapestry	1	1	13	5	4	11		

Table 3 All artworks with iconclass 71A2-71A6 (Story of Adam and Eve in Paradise)							
	Bedford Master	Dosso Dossi	Michiel Coxcie				
	Animals Disembarking from the Ark	Noah's Ark	Animals Disembarking from the Ark	Animals Embarking on the Ark	Construction of the Ark	God Blessing Noah	Noah's Conversation with God
Species	1410-1430	1520-1530	1550	1550	1550	1550	1550
hedgehog							
wolf				2			
magpie					1		
dragonfly				3			
marten				2			
eagle owl							
nuthatch				1			
falcon							
pelican							
genet							
pheasant				1			
goat (indian, long-eared)				1			
seal			1				
griffin (fable)							
snapping turtle					1		
crab			1				
sparrow				2			
european eel				1			
spoonbill							
giraffe one horn					1		
swallow					3		
hare							
treecreeper					1		
fox							
turkey			1				
duck (mallard)						2	
unicorn					1		
goldfinch					3		
willow warbler					1		
hoopoe			1		3		
dragon			4		6		
mussle			3			4	
barn owl							
nothing							
lizard (fictional)			1		1		
rat							
baboon					1		
red squirrel	1						1
cheeta		1					
rose-ringed parakeet	1						
peacock	1				1		
eagle	1	1					
heron					2		
snail					2	1	
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)			1		2	1	
snake			3		10		
civet (or genet)			2		2		
porcupine					1		
dove	1						
egret			1		3		
owl (general)							
swan							
crane			1				
tortoise (greek)						1	
chicken	1	2					
leopard			1		2		
giraffe			2		2		
stork	1						
monkey (unidentified)			1		1		
butterfly					6	2	1
goat			1				
cat							
elephant			4		2		
rabbit	1	2					3
bear	1				2		
deer (unidentified)		1	1		1		
wild boar			2		2		
quadruped (unidentified)	3				20	1	
donkey	1				1		
dromedary	1	1	2		4		
lion	1	1	1		2		
bird (unidentified)	19		33		37		
sheep	8	2			2		1
horse	1		2		5		
dog	2	1			2	1	
cow	1	1	2		3	6	
Total animals per tapestry	46	13	73	151	20	2	4
Total animal species per tapestry	18	10	25	43	10	2	2

Table 3								
	Noah's Intoxication	Noah's Thanksgiving	The Flood	group Raphael Animals Disembarking from the Ark	Noah's Sacrifice	The Building of the Ark	The Flood	The Leaving of the Ark
Species	1550	1550	1550	1544	1516-1519	1516-1519	1516-1519	1516-1519
hedgehog								
wolf								
magpie								
dragonfly								
marten								
eagle owl	1							
nuthatch								
falcon								
pelican								
genet			1					
pheasant								
goat (indian, long-eared)								
seal								
griffin (fable)					2			
snapping turtle								
crab								
sparrow								
european eel								
spoonbill								
giraffe one horn								
swallow								
hare			1					
treecreeper								
fox								
turkey								
duck (mallard)								
unicorn								
goldfinch								
willow warbler								
hoopoe								
dragon								
mussle								
barn owl			1					
nothing							0	
lizard (fictional)								
rat				1				
baboon	1							
red squirrel								
cheeta								
rose-ringed parakeet								
peacock								2
eagle				1				
heron				1				
snail			1					
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)								
snake								
civet (or genet)			1					
porcupine					1			2
dove								2
egret								
owl (general)					2			
swan					2			2
crane			2					2
tortoise (greek)			1					
chicken								
leopard			1					
giraffe								
stork			1					
monkey (unidentified)			2	1				
butterfly			1					
goat	1		1		2			
cat			1		2			2
elephant					2	1		
rabbit	2							
bear					2			2
deer (unidentified)			1		2			
wild boar					2	1		
quadruped (unidentified)						1		2
donkey			1			2		2
dromedary			2		2	1		
lion			2	1	2			2
bird (unidentified)	5		3		24			11
sheep	1		3		2	2		
horse				3	3			1
dog				3	2			1
cow			8		2	2		2
Total animals per tapestry	11	35	11	56	10	0	2	37
Total animal species per tapestry	6	20	7	17	7	1	2	14

Table 3								
	Hans Baldung Grien	Herri met de Bles	Hieronymus Bosch	Master of the Dresden Prayerbook	Michelangelo			Paris atelier
	The Flood	The Flood	After the Flood	Noah's Ark	Noah's Drunkenness	Noah's Sacrifice	The Flood	Animals Embarking on the Ark
Species	1516	1525-1550	1510-1520	1480-1490	1508-1512	1508-1512	1508-1512	1412-1415
hedgehog								2
wolf								
magpie								
dragonfly								
marten								
eagle owl								
nuthatch								
falcon								
pelican								
genet								
pheasant								
goat (indian, long-eared)								
seal								
griffin (fable)								
snapping turtle								
crab								
sparrow								
european eel								
spoonbill			2					
giraffe one horn								
swallow								
hare								
treecreeper								
fox		1						
turkey								
duck (mallard)								
unicorn								
goldfinch								
willow warbler								
hoopoe								
dragon								
mussle								
barn owl								
nothing						0		
lizard (fictional)								
rat								2
baboon								
red squirrel								
cheeta								
rose-ringed parakeet		1						
peacock								
eagle								
heron			1					
snail								
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)								
snake								
civet (or genet)								
porcupine								
dove					1			
egret								1
owl (general)	1	1						
swan								2
crane								
tortoise (greek)								2
chicken								
leopard								
giraffe			2					
stork		1						
monkey (unidentified)								
butterfly								
goat								
cat		1		2				
elephant				2		1		
rabbit		1						
bear		1						
deer (unidentified)			2	2				
wild boar		2	2	2				2
quadruped (unidentified)			48					2
donkey	1	1					1	
dromedary				2				2
lion				2				
bird (unidentified)	2	9	10					8
sheep		2				2		
horse		2	1				2	2
dog		1	2					2
cow		2	2	2			1	1
Total animals per tapestry	9	27	76	1	0	6	1	28
Total animal species per tapestry	7	14	11	1	1	4	1	12

Table 3							
	Utrecht school	San Marco	Florence Baptistarium vault	Dijon BM 562	Furtmeyer Bible		
	Animals Embarking on the Ark	Animals Embarking on the Ark	Animals Embarking on the Ark	Animals Embarking on the Ark	Animals Embarking on the Ark	Total animals per species	Total artworks species occurs in
Species	1430	1200-1300	1240-1300	1260	1470		
hedgehog						2	1
wolf						2	1
magpie						1	1
dragonfly						3	1
marten						2	1
eagle owl						1	1
nuthatch						1	1
falcon		2				2	1
pelican					2	2	1
genet						1	1
pheasant						1	1
goat (indian, long-eared)						1	1
seal						1	1
griffin (fable)						2	1
snapping turtle						1	1
crab						1	1
sparrow						2	1
european eel						1	1
spoonbill						2	1
giraffe one horn						1	1
swallow						3	1
hare						1	1
treecreeper						1	1
fox						1	1
turkey						1	1
duck (mallard)						2	1
unicorn						1	1
goldfinch						3	1
willow warbler						1	1
hoopoe						4	2
dragon						10	2
mussle						7	2
barn owl				2		3	2
nothing						0	2
lizard (fictional)						2	2
rat						3	2
baboon						2	2
red squirrel						2	2
cheeta			2			3	2
rose-ringed parakeet						2	2
peacock						4	3
eagle						3	3
heron						4	3
snail						4	3
parrot (unidentified/fantastical)						4	3
snake			2			15	3
civet (or genet)						5	3
porcupine						4	3
dove						4	3
egret						5	3
owl (general)						4	3
swan						6	3
crane						5	3
tortoise (greek)						4	3
chicken		2				5	3
leopard						4	3
giraffe					2	8	4
stork					2	5	4
monkey (unidentified)						5	4
butterfly						10	4
goat			2			7	5
cat						8	5
elephant						12	6
rabbit		1	2			14	8
bear			2		2	14	8
deer (unidentified)					1	11	8
wild boar			2			15	8
quadrupe (unidentified)		6	4	16	5	108	11
donkey			2	2	2	18	12
dromedary			2	2	2	23	12
lion			2	2	2	20	12
bird (unidentified)		2			4	167	13
sheep			2		2	31	13
horse			2	2	2	30	14
dog		2	2			25	14
cow		2	4	2	2	43	17
Total animals per tapestry		17	32	28	28	12	736
Total animal species per tapestry		7	14	7	12	6	

List of all artworks

title	period	artist	series	notes	icon-class
Fall of Man	1504	Albrecht Dürer		engraving	71A4
Adam and Eve	1507	Albrecht Dürer			71A4
Fall of Man	1510	Albrecht Dürer		Woodcut from small passion	71A4
Noah's Ark	1555	Aurelio Luini	Story of Noah Frescoes (3)		71B322
Animals Disembarking from the Ark	1410-1430	Bedford Master		London, British Library, Add. Ms.18850, f. 16v.	71B342
Noah's Ark	1520-1530	Dosso Dossi			71B322
Creation of Adam	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A31
God Leads Adam into the Garden	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A331
Adam names the Animals	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A333
Creation of Eve and Institution of Marriage	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A34
The Original Sin	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A4
God Accuses Adam and Eve	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A5
Expulsion from Paradise	1547-49	group Coecke	Medici Creation (7)		71A6
Story of Paradise	1550	group Coxie	First Parents (6)		71A4
Adam Tilling the Soil	1550	group Coxie	First Parents (6)		71A7
Abel's Sacrifice	1550	group Coxie	First Parents (6)		71A81
Fatricide Conceiving	1553-1573	group Coxie	First Parents (6)		71A8
Cain Kills Abel	1550	group Coxie	First Parents (6)		71A82
Cain's Flight From God's Wrath	1550	group Coxie	First Parents (6)		71A83
Noah's Conversation with God	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B31
Construction of the Ark	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B321
Animals Embarking on the Ark	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B322
The Flood	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B33
Animals Disembarking from the Ark	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B342
Noah's Thanksgiving	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B343
God Blessing Noah	1550	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B3431
Noah's Intoxication	1553-1573	group Coxie	Story of Noah (8)		71B35

Expulsion from Paradise	1540-1550	group Coxie	Paradise wings (2)		71A4
The Fall	1540-1550	group Coxie	Paradise wings (2)		71A4
Adam and Eve	1490-1510	group Horenbout		Grimani Breviary 286v	71A4
Adam and Eve working	1540-1550	group Jan Mostaert			71A7
Adam and Eve	1543-1545	group Luca Penni		Jean Mignon (attr.); Fontainebleau	71A4
Adam and Eve	1526	group Lucas Cranach d.A.			71A4
Adam and Eve	1509	group Lucas Cranach d.A.		woodcarving	71A4
Adam and Eve	1528	group Lucas Cranach d.A.			71A4
Adam and Eve	1533	group Lucas Cranach d.A.			71A4
Adam and Eve	1538	group Lucas Cranach d.A.			71A4
Paradise	1530	group Lucas Cranach d.A.			71A4
Creation of the World	1534	group Lucas Cranach d.A.		Monogrammist HS; Rijksmuseum: inspiratie Herri met Bles (65)	71A
Creation of the Animals	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Giovanni da Udine	71A25
Creation of Eve	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Tommaso Vincidor	71A34
The Fall	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Tommaso Vincidor	71A4
Expulsion from the Garden	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Tommaso Vincidor	71A6
Labours of Adam and Eve	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Tommaso Vincidor	71A7
The Building of the Ark	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Giulio Romano	71B321
The Flood	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Bartolomeo di David	71B33
The Leaving of the Ark	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Giovanni da Udine	71B342
Naoh's Sacrifice	1516-1519	group Raphael	Raphael's Loggia	Giulio Romano	71B343
Animals Disembarking from the Ark	1544	group Raphael Hans Baldung		Giulio Bonasone after Raphael	71B342
Adam and Eve	1511	Grien Hans Baldung			71A4
Adam and Eve	1514	Grien Hans Baldung			71A4
Adam and Eve	1520	Hans Baldung Grien		copy after Dürer but with added animals	71A4
The Flood	1516	Hans Baldung Grien			71B33

Paradise	1541-1550	Herri met de Bles		Cat entry: animals not underdrawn, figs based on german prints	71A
The Flood	1525-1550	Herri met de Bles			71B33
Paradise	1500	Hieronymus Bosch	Garden of Earthly Delights Left Wing		71A4
After the Flood	1510-1520	Hieronymus Bosch		workshop	71B3
Fall of Adam	1479-1482	Hugo van der Goes			71A4
Fall of Man	1412-1416	Limbourg Brothers		Très Riches Heures 25v	71A4
Noah's Ark	1480-1490	Master of the Dresden Prayerbook		Additional 18851 f. 65v;	71B3
Creation of the animals	1480-1490	Master of the Dresden Prayerbook		Additional 18851 f. 63	71A25
Fall of Man and Expulsion from Paradise	1508-1512	Michelangelo	Scenes from Genesis Sistene Chapel Ceiling (9)		71A7
Noah's Sacrifice	1508-1512	Michelangelo	Scenes from Genesis Sistene Chapel Ceiling (9)		71B343
The Flood	1508-1512	Michelangelo	Scenes from Genesis Sistene Chapel Ceiling (9)		71B33
Noah's Drunkenness	1508-1512	Michelangelo	Scenes from Genesis Sistene Chapel Ceiling (9)		71B35
Animals Embarking on the Ark	1412-1415	Paris atelier		BNF, Français 9, 15r; Grande Bible historique complétée	71B322
Creation of Eve	1535-1540	Simon Bening		Munchen-Montserrat Hours	71A4
Earthly Paradise	1460	Simon Marmion		Sept Ages du Monde KBR 9047 1v	71A4
Animals Embarking on the Ark	1430	Utrecht school		KB, 78 D 38 I	71B322
Creation and Fall of Man	1510-1515		Redemption of Mankind		71A4
Adam and Eve	1480			ms 10175, Histoire Ancienne Jusqu'a César	71A4

Animals Embarking on the Ark	1240-1300			Baptisterium vault	71B322
Animals Embarking on the Ark	1200-1300			San Marco	71B322
Animals Embarking on the Ark	1470			Furtmeyer Bible, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 8010 a, f. 13v.	71B322
Animals Embarking on the Ark	1260			Dijon BM 562, fol. 6r	71B322