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A portrait of Dutch 17th century Brazil

Animals, plants and people
by the artists of
Johan Maurits of Nassau

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and almost restful atmosphere as in the Copenhagen paintings; by contrast, the other Schwedt paintings have an active flow of gestures, glances and body movements which serve to relate the figures either to each other or to some common theme. If these others must post-date Dapper's *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf* of 1670 (Nos 6 and 10), or even De Hooghe's engraving of about 1680 (No 8), there is no reason why the Brazilian scene should not have been painted much before this and only later incorporated into the series. We conclude that this painting could well have been by Eckhout prior to his departure in 1663.

If the remaining paintings must be dated after 1670, then Eckhout must have left his sketches in Dresden, unless they were carefully copied by the other court artists. It would be of enormous value if these sketches could be found.

TAPESTRIES

The most splendid and successful outcome from the Brazilian pictorial record was undoubtedly the tapestry series derived from cartoons based eventually on the drawings and paintings assembled by Johan Maurits. Three tapestry series were made: the Van der Gucht series in Holland and the *Anciennes* and *Nouvelles Indes* series at the Gobelins in Paris (plus some series made in Russia, copied from the first Paris series). Known collectively as the *Tenture des Indes*, they have attracted a considerable amount of scholarly attention. The principal source of information on the two Paris series is Fenaille (1903, 1907), who gives much of the original documentation, as also Guiffrey (1886) and Engerand (1899, 1901). Of the more important recent studies, see Sousa-Leão (1947), Jarry (1957, 1958, 1959, 1976), Benisovich (1943) and the excellent review by Joppien (1979), as well as the unpublished thesis by Verdier (1977). Examples of all eight *Anciennes Indes* and *Nouvelles Indes* tapestries were exhibited at the Musée des Tapisseries at Aix-en-Provence in 1984, the excellent catalogue including colour pictures of all sixteen pieces (Krotoff, 1984); included also were short essays on the general history of the series (Coural, 1984) and possible iconographic sources (Whitehead, 1984), as well as brief notes on the examples in Rome (Arizzoli-Clementel, 1984) and in Malta (Jarry, 1984).

Until recently, authors have not attempted a full-scale analysis of the source for the subject matter of the tapestries and its correlation with all the pictorial material discussed here, perhaps largely because the Cracow pictures have been unavailable, the Leningrad pictures were unknown until comparatively recently, and access to these as well as to the Dresden, Gotha and other material was not easy. Moreover, the only complete sets of these tapestries that can be studied in one place and at ease (i.e. hung on the walls) are those in Malta and Rome (*Anciennes Indes*) and in Prague (*Nouvelles Indes*). We have not seen these and for the moment offer some observations based on isolated tapestries or on photographs.

Van der Gucht series

The first series of tapestries was that made by Maximiliaan van der Gucht

(? – 1689), who had a tapestry works in Delft and a sale-room in The Hague; with his sons, he virtually monopolised Dutch tapestry-making in the period 1636–70 (Ysselsteyn, 1936(1): 134 *et seq.* and 157–158). In a letter from Van der Gucht, signed and dated The Hague 16 April 1667 and addressed to the Elector of Brandenburg, he stated that he had received from Johan Maurits the Elector's 11 'Indian' pictures (8 large, 3 smaller) showing all sorts of people and done life-size (*indiaenische schilderijen van allerhande menschen, gedierte en kruiken soo groot als 't leven*) and that he would make them into tapestries within four months; also, he would make no other use of them except for Johan Maurits, if the Elector permitted it (Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1478; reproduced by Ysselsteyn, 1936(2): 324, no. 713; Panhuys, 1925: 438; Larsen, 1962: 251, doc. 47; Sousa-Leão, 1973: 162, doc. IV).

The immediate source of these 11 cartoons is not absolutely certain, but a possible reference to them is in an undated and unsigned list of 10 cartoons (and 3 smaller) sent to Johan Maurits from the Elector and brought to Cleves under the care of Michael Hanff (wrongly Hauff in earlier literature), gardener to the Elector, first in Königsberg and after 1645 in Berlin (Nadler, 1968). This Hanff list (Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1478) is cited by Panhuys (1925: 439–440) and Larsen (1962: 252, doc. 49), but a more correct rendering of it is given by Lemmens (1979: 270–271). We have cited the Lemmens versions in the documentation to each of the tapestries.

If these were the cartoons that were sent on by Johan Maurits to Van der Gucht in 1667, then Johan Maurits must either have eliminated two of the larger ones, or perhaps combined two of them with two others. In fact, Nos 1–8 were stated to be 12½–14 feet long, whereas 9 and 10 were only 5 and 4 feet long (smaller than 11–13, which were 6½ feet long). If these were not the cartoons transmitted to Van der Gucht, then one would have to assume that the cartoons went back to the Elector and only later were sent again to Johan Maurits so that he too could have tapestries made, but this seems unnecessarily complicated. After the tapestries were made, their cartoons were sent back to The Hague according to a note on Van der Gucht's original letter accepting the contract (*Die Schildereyen seint wiederumb geliffert undt hab solle im Hage bewahrung*; this seems to have been missed by all authors except Sousa-Leão, 1973: 162, doc. IV). Whether Johan Maurits was allowed to keep them is of some importance in determining the basis for the subsequent Paris tapestries.

The original source for the cartoons sent by the Elector via Johan Maurits was undoubtedly the 16 pictures of Indians, mammals, birds, snakes, fishes, invertebrates, trees, fruits, herbs and flowers (7 large, 9 smaller) apparently sent by Johan Maurits to the Elector some fifteen years earlier, in 1652. They were specified as item 13 in two undated lists of this transaction, which included also the pictures of the *Theatri* and the two *Handbooks* (one list slightly amplifies the other; both were formerly in the Prussian Secret Archives, but now in Merseburg, Deutsches Zentral Archiv, Rep. 34.2, fols. 7–11 – see Lemmens, 1979: 290). They were reproduced by Driesen (1849: 357) and by Larsen (1962: 253, doc. 50). A third version of this list is in The Hague (Koninklijk Huisarchief, IV dossier 1478; cited in Panhuys, 1925: 440–441),

but it differs considerably and the 16 pictures are not included (nor the *Handbooks*); presumably this was an earlier list. The Merseburg lists state that the 16 pictures could decorate a large room, much like tapestries (*womit als mit Tapeten ein grosser Saal behängt werden kann*). Possibly they were painted as such and could thus have been hung in Johan Maurits' palaces of Vrijburg or Boa Vista in Recife; alternatively, they were painted on the return to Holland, based on the *Theatri*, *Handbooks* and other pictures.

Van der Gucht completed the Elector's tapestry commission, perhaps in the four months that he promised. A year later, on 19 May 1668, the Elector wrote to Johan Maurits expressing his satisfaction with the work (Koninklijk Huisarchief, IV dossier 1478; cited in Ysselsteyn, 1936(2): 326, No 718 and in Larsen, 1962: 252, doc. 48). Records of these tapestries have been traced in 1691 and 1699 and they were perhaps the *Neun Tapeten von wilden leuthen und thieren, worinnen auch des Fürsten Moritz von Nassau hochfürstl. Durchlaucht Persohn gewirket*, No 12 (MS Berliner Meublenkammer for 1717, fol. 6 – see Börsch-Supan, 1967: 453). They have since disappeared without trace (Joppien, 1979: 325, on information from the Staatliche Schlösser und Garten, West Berlin).

There is no direct evidence, but it seems likely that Johan Maurits ordered a set of some or all of these tapestries himself. Certainly, there were tapestries with Brazilian themes in the Mauritshuis, as specified by Hennin (1681; relevant passage translated as *tapeçarias de assuntos brasileiros das Indias* by Sousa-Leão, 1966: 22). If these remained in the Mauritshuis, they would have been destroyed in the fire of 1704. However, they might have been transferred to the Nassauischer Hof in Siegen after Prince Willem Maurits handed the Mauritshuis over to the creditors. In the 1690 Siegen inventory there are 7 large and 4 small tapestries listed, but the subjects are merely given as *grosse wilde Thiere in Lebensgrosse seind* (Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1521; cited in Lück, 1957: note 115 and in part by Sousa-Leão, 1973: 165, doc. IX). However, in this case they could also have been destroyed, in the fire of 1695 (Lück, 1957).

Thus, by the early 18th century, all trace of the Van der Gucht tapestries appears to have been lost and it seems doubtful that any of them have survived. This is unfortunate because they could throw considerable light on the history of the Paris tapestry series.

Anciennes Indes (1st Paris series)

The second series of Brazilian tapestries was that made from 1687 at the Gobelins workshops in Paris, for which more documentation exists than with the Van der Gucht series. Among about sixty letters in the dossier 'Présents à Louis XIV' is one to the Marquis Simon Arnaud de Pomponne, Secretary of State (21 December 1678) and another to Louis XIV (8 February 1679) in which Johan Maurits offers to Le Roi Soleil about forty large and small pictures, being *tout le Brésil en portrait . . . tout en grandeur de vif*, from which a tapestry could be made (Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1478; cited in full by Thomsen, 1938: 177–178 and Larsen, 1962: 254–255, docs 52, 53). Johan Maurits claimed that it was very necessary to have an artist sent who understood tapestry cartoon painting, but there is no record

that this was done. However, the pictures were seen and favourably reported on by a certain Riscard (possibly Jacques II Francart according to Benisovich, 1943: 219). In mid-July 1679 the pictures were sent to Paris accompanied by Johan Maurits' painter Paul de Milly to explain the *raretés*, together with the major-domo and the gardener Dupuis, who was to demonstrate a new type of pruning shears. De Milly is given as Picter de Melly by Jacob Cohen, financial agent to Johan Maurits, in his letters describing the assembling of this gift to Louis XIV, and was said to have been employed, together with Jacob de Lange, to restore the paintings (8 December 1678, also 27 December and 10 February 1679, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1463; cited in Sousa-Leão, 1973: 162–164, docs VI f, g, i). The gifts took 25 days to reach the royal residence at St Germain-en-Laye, the party travelling via Rotterdam, Rouen and then up the Seine *via* Poissy. They were exhibited in the Salle de la Comédie at the Louvre and were seen there by Colbert on 18 August and later by the young Dauphin and Madame Henriette and her daughter. They were not seen by the king until a month later, on 21 September (Jarry, 1957: 312–313).

Although the pictures seem to have impressed Louis XIV and visiting nobles, no decision was taken to have them worked into tapestries and when Johan Maurits died only a few months later (20 December 1679) the paintings were in store and were to remain there for nearly eight years (perhaps also partly due to the downfall of the Marquis de Pomponne and the death of Colbert in 1683). It was not until mid-1687, when the Gobelins had apparently run out of suitable tapestry designs, that La Chapelle Bessé, Contrôleur des Bâtiments du Roi at the Gobelins, suggested to the Surintendant, Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois, that the *Tenture des Indes* be begun and royal assent was requested (Archives Nationales, Paris, 0¹ 2040; cited in Jarry, 1957: 316).

Of great interest to the present study would be to know exactly what were the pictures sent to Paris, what was the basis for them, to what extent were they modified for the tapestries, and what happened to them? Were they the same as the *tableaux* that Johan Maurits once showed to Cardinal Mazarin and that he coveted, at some time before 1661? (Johan Maurits to Louis de Beauveau, Comte d'Espence, Koninklijk Huisarchief, IV dossier 1478; extract in Sousa-Leão, 1973: 31). Were they the same as those in the list for the Elector of Brandenburg in 1652; the same that were sent to Van der Gucht in 1667; and the same that were eventually sent back to Johan Maurits? If so, then Johan Maurits seems guilty of some duplicity when he wrote in his letters to the Marquis de Pomponne and to Louis XIV that his pictures could be made into a tapestry *qu'on aye jamais vue* and *qui ne se trouve plus au monde*. Had he forgotten the Elector's tapestries made eleven years earlier, and did he not have a set himself? The surviving documentation seems to confirm this. In a letter to Johan Maurits from Jacob Cohen, referring to *de schil-dereyen* and their possible restoration by De Lange, but surely meaning the tapestry cartoons, Cohen states that *de waepens, dien daer boouen aen zyn, zyn niet van de Churf. maer van uf. gen.* (the coats of arms, which are above, are not those of the Elector but of Your Grace) (28 November 1678, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1463; cited in Sousa-Leão, 1973: 162,

doc. VIb). As pointed out by Lemmens (1979: 274), this can only refer to cartoons given to the Elector in 1652 and returned to Johan Maurits for his own set of Van der Gucht tapestries. Either Johan Maurits had forgotten that his own arms had been substituted once the Elector's tapestries had been made, or Johan Maurits' arms were left on the cartoons and a subsidiary diagram of the Elector's arms merely pinned on top for the tapestry workers. Whatever the sequence, it seems clear that these cartoons destined for Louis XIV had formerly belonged to the Elector. One can only suppose, therefore, that in claiming the cartoons would make unique tapestries, Johan Maurits had in mind a more splended and comprehensive series than before, presumably as a result of being worked up and elaborated by the Gobelins artists.

The gifts to Louis XIV are briefly described in a list drawn up by Gédon du Metz, Contrôleur Général des Meubles de la Couronne, in an *Inventaire Général des Meubles de la Couronne*, dated 30 January 1681 or about eighteen months after the gifts were brought (cited in Guiffrey, 1886 (2): 23 and given also by Benisovich, 1943: 222 and Larsen, 1962: 259, doc. 55). Item 442 is '*Huit grands tableaux . . . de 14 pieds 8 pouces de hauts*' and item 443 is '*Trente quatre autres tableaux . . . hauts d'environ 2 à 3 pieds sur 3 à 4 de large*'.

More detailed than the Du Metz *Inventaire* is an undated and unsigned list entitled *Description des Tableaux que le Prince Maurice de Nassau a offerts au Roi Louis XIV* (Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1478; cited in full by Thomsen, 1938: 178–183 and by Larsen, 1962: 255–259, doc. 54). This *Description* is in two parts: the first 12 items are labelled Litt. A–M (J omitted), all except M having up to 13 subheadings, numbered under each item (total 85), while the next 9 items are labelled Litt. AA–II. It has generally been assumed that the first 12 referred to cartoons for tapestries, and the next 9 to landscape paintings by Frans Post. The *Description* was evidently compiled by Johan Maurits himself, since Eckhout was dead, Piso died while the pictures were being assembled, and Frans Post was the worse for drink, being *ongesien vervallen tot den dronk en bevende* as Jacob Cohen informed Johan Maurits (9 January 1679, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, IV dossier 1463; cited in Sousa-Leão, 1973: 164, doc. VIh). According to Cohen, the pictures for Louis XIV were first to be sent from The Hague to Johan Maurits and accompanied by the painter De Melly (or Milly) as soon as the ice had cleared (10 February 1679, same source); in fact Johan Maurits was already expecting them to arrive in March according to his letter from Berghendaal written to Louis XIV two days earlier (source cited above). Thus, the *Description* must have been written between March and mid-July when the pictures were dispatched to Paris and any decisions whether to omit certain items must have been taken by Johan Maurits at that time. He used Piso's 1658 edition of the *Historia* to help document the pictures, since page numbers are given occasionally; it was presumably a copy of this book that was included in the presents to Louis XIV (No 271 in the Du Metz *Inventaire*; cited in Guiffrey, 1886 (2): 23).

As with the documentation for the Van der Gucht tapestries, there is a discrepancy in numbers: 11 cartoons (i.e. Litt. A–L) are given in the *Description*, whereas only 8 are given in the *Inventaire* and only 8 were actually made into

tapestries. No-one has explained this. The *Inventaire* was made six years before any decision was taken about using the cartoons, so that it is unlikely that any had been rejected at that time. Possibly the *Description* was a preliminary list, from which three were withdrawn. Joppien (1979: 328) has suggested that Litt. I, K and L could have been incorporated into the others since no new subjects are given. The *tableau* Litt. M, which showed a Tapuya couple, was not used for the tapestries (see below) and was almost certainly not sent; possibly the other three were not sent either. It is unfortunate that the *Inventaire* is not more precise and detailed. In fact, Cohen had selected 3 large paintings all of a size, 3 smaller ones, 2 oblong ones and 3 small window paintings for inclusion in the gift (10 December 1678, source cited above), which suggests that Litt. I, K and L were the window paintings; there is no mention of any Tapuya picture which could have been Litt. M, however.

There has been considerable speculation over the 85 subheadings in the *tableaux* Litt. A–L. Some have assumed that they were actual objects, natural history specimens and artifacts, sent to show the Gobelins artists what the cartoons were trying to depict (Benisovich, 1943; Larsen, 1962; Jarry, 1976). However, for the *boa constrictor* and the *cheval marin* (Litt. C, No 4 and Litt. D, No 5) it is clearly stated that the skins are in the 'Academy' in Leiden (the latter appears as a gift from Johan Maurits in the various catalogues of the Leiden Anatomy Theatre, e.g. Blancken, 1698: 6, item 32). Fruits and vegetables, such as the watermelon of Litt. E, No 7, could not have been sent, while a number of items refer to landscapes, thus surely pictures. Certainly some objects were sent, as for example the drainage pipes in the Du Metz *Inventaire* (Nos 269, 270) and the hammock in which the plump young Dauphin swung (Jarry, 1957: 313). There is no indication, however, that some of the 85 items were objects while others were pictures; it seems more reasonable that all must have been pictures, the objects being listed separately.

Another possibility is that the 85 numbered items in the *Description* were in fact an explanatory key to numbers on the cartoons, as in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam market scene. However, the instructions against two of the landscapes (Litt. D, No 3 and Litt. H, No 1) state that *il ne faut pas se servir dans les grands tableaux*, which may imply that they were not already on the cartoons. Again, there is an instruction for the rasp, press and cauldron in Litt. G, No 9 that *Il faut peindre ceci dans les grands tableaux . . .*, which also suggests that these were not yet on the cartoons.

The Du Metz *Inventaire* mentions only 34 smaller paintings (to make 42 pictures sent to Louis XIV) and in his letter to the Marquis de Pomponne, before the gift was sent, Johan Maurits does indeed speak of *environ quarante tant grands que petits tableaux, tous originels*. Sousa-Leão (1973: 31–33) combined the *Inventaire*, the *Description* and Cohen's letters to conclude that 30 paintings by Frans Post were sent to Paris (9 in Litt. AA–II, plus 21 not described), of which 27 were certainly alluded to in Cohen's letter of 10 December 1678; perhaps three more were acquired before the gift was sent. Two extant Post paintings can be identified as part of the gift since they still bear the Du Metz *Inventaire* number 443 (View of Itamaracá in the Louvre; Fort Frederik Hendrik owned by the late J. de Sousa-Leão). A third painting, Franciscan

cloister (Louvre, No 1723) has a torn label on the back which reads *Un cloître des Pères Capuchins de l'ordre St Francisci/La Maison de Portugais noble./NB Tout ce qu'on voit dans le pais ce qui a la couleur/jonatre [c'est de la Cane] dont on presse le Sucre*. The label, as well as the painting, were reproduced by Sousa-Leão (1973: 100–101, No 63). The text omits one line, but otherwise faithfully repeats the wording in Litt. BB of the *Description*. This, together with the inventory number 443 on the other two paintings, virtually proves that the 9 items Litt. AA–II were pictures, most likely all by Post. To arrive at the 34 paintings of the *Inventaire* one must assume 21 more by Post and a further 4 by Eckhout, being those specified by Cohen as three window paintings (still-lifes?) and one of a negro (another picture which showed two negroes on horseback was damaged and Cohen wanted to get it repaired, but perhaps failed).

Although the 34 pictures of the *Inventaire* can thus be accounted for, there is no hint in any known inventory of another 85 pictures supporting the cartoons of Litt. A–L. One must perhaps conclude that such supporting pictures were unframed, possibly in portfolios, and were thus considered an essential part of the cartoons themselves.

If indeed the 85 items in Litt. A–L were actual pictures, then they are of enormous interest, first because they will have provided exact models for the tapestries, and second because they will represent an iconographic source additional to all those yet discussed, being quite distinct from what was given to the Elector in 1652 (*Handbooks*, loose paintings for *Theatri*) or what was taken by Eckhout to Dresden. For example, in the first *tableau* (Litt. A) it is stated that this picture of Chile and Peru was painted from life, thus one must assume that the llamas, people and artifacts (nos. 1–9) were actually drawn on the Brouwer expedition of 1642–3. The *Theatri*, on the other hand, contains only five paintings from Chile (three Indians, llama and guanaco), whereas Litt. A gives llamas, horses, Chileans on horseback with pikes, a poncho, a saddle and harness, and women in traditional costume (of which all but the last appear in the last but one tapestry). This again raises the problem of whether Eckhout went to Chile or whether he relied on Schmalkalden's sketches.

Many other items are of interest, as for example the hammock, parasol and weaver-bird nests in Litt. B, the *jangada* or raft in Litt. B and Litt. L, and the pots and Tapuya weapons in Litt. H. They are unrepresented in the Cracow material and there is no way, when they appear in later works, to check their accuracy (e.g. the parasol in the Huis ten Bosch painting).

Of importance also are the representations of people. Some were used in the tapestries, but look rather stylised; others appear to be unique. The following are listed in the *Description*:

Chileans

Litt. A, No 2. Women in traditional costume. Not used in tapestry, not found elsewhere; possibly the source for the woodcut in the *Historia*, p. 284

Litt. A, No 6. Men on horseback, with pikes. Presumably the basis for the man on the horse in the tapestry L'Indien à cheval; perhaps constructed from the standing man in the *Historia*, p. 284, but poncho much more elaborate.

ist to have merely given the general impression of this detail. Similarly, the cashews in L'Éléphant have a ring of observed truth, as also some of the flowers and the crustaceans in other cartoons. On the other hand, most of the birds and almost all the fishes are rather flat and nowhere approach the standard of the best pictures in the *Theatri*. Significantly, the birds and fishes are for the most part rather woodenly placed and in a decorative rather than realistic way. Eckhout omitted them in his Copenhagen paintings. Perhaps he also omitted them in the cartoons sent to Louis XIV and they were later added from drawings supplied. More natural postures are seen in the mammals, but these were either familiar to the Gobelins artists or could be extrapolated from similar species. Overall, there is a feeling of movement in the figures and animals and to some extent this is reinforced by the plants. That Eckhout's rather static composition of the Copenhagen paintings were not his only style, however, is hinted at by the small pencil sketch of a group of women in *Miscellanea Cleyeri*: 14, where gestures and movement are clearly expressed. Of the thirteen human figures in the tapestries, no less than six are either three-quarters or fully turned away from the viewer, most strikingly in the principal figures of L'Indien à cheval (the Chilean on horse-back) and Le chasseur (the Bowman himself). Was this a tactic adopted by the Gobelins painters Houasse and Bonnemér in the absence of sufficient source material? Or does it reflect another aspect of Eckhout's repertoire? Certainly,

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it appears in the Schwedt Brazilian painting, which we think may have been by Eckhout. In general composition, the tapestries follow a traditional formula, the immediate foregrounds being crowded (with animals; frequently with fishes in water), the figures and some trees placed behind this, and the space available for distant views much reduced. In essence, this describes the Copenhagen paintings, but with fewer animals and plants in the foreground, less complex patterns of plants, and skies that begin well below the half-way mark. One has the impression that the Gobelins artists, if they did not completely repaint the cartoons, certainly imposed the crowded foregrounds, using some of the subjects in the pictorial matter of the *Description*. For the moment we find no certain evidence that the present cartoons, now greatly modified and overpainted, originally came from Eckhout's brush.

The original cartoons were eventually brought into use in mid-June 1687 and the first set of tapestries for the Tenture des Indes was begun in early October of that year. This was the first of the five in the series Anciennes Indes and they were later dubbed Grandes Indes to distinguish them from the next three slightly smaller sets, the Petites Indes. The eight sets of the Anciennes Indes were made between 1687 and 1730, using wool and silk, but not metallic threads. They were worked in both *basse lisse* (horizontal loom, cartoon immediately underneath, image reversed) and *haute lisse* (vertical loom, cartoon traced on warp, image correct), the latter considered the superior of the two techniques, although from a textile point of view no difference can be seen in the result. Within each set the height of the tapestries was standardised, but the width varies. The measurements, given in aunes (aunc = 1.19 m) and sixteenth parts of aunes (7.44 cm), were very precisely recorded in the documents because payment to the various ateliers which made up the Gobelins was calculated on the square aunes produced. The

border, which is given variously as 10 pouces or 1 pied, seems to have been extra and the heights given in the documents do not include it. The following schedule is taken from Fenaille (1903).

Grandes Indes (height 4 aunes or about 4.75 m; border simple, gold or bronze acanthus leaves on blue)

1. 1678–88, *basse lisse* (No 158, ateliers of De la Croix and Mozin)

Only four are known (Argentina – see below)

2. 1689–90, *basse lisse* (No 161, ateliers of De la Croix and Mozin)

At Versailles in 1789; four in Berlin, three in Ministère de l'Agriculture, one in Garde-Meuble in 1900; presumed to be all now in care of Mobilier National, Paris, but perhaps some from 1st set

3. 1693–1700, *haute lisse* (ateliers of Jans and Lefebvre)

Gift to Peter the Great in 1717, as described in detail by Saint-Gelais (1717); used as models for further sets by the Imperial Tapestry Factory in St Petersburg; originals destroyed in Winter Palace fire of 1837 (Sousa-Leão, 1947: 79)

4. 1708–10, *basse lisse* (atelier of Le Blond)

Commissioned in 1708 by Ramon de Perellos y Rocafull, Grand Master of the Knights of St John for the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta, Malta; L'Éléphant and Le chasseur split to make 10 pieces out of the 8; delivered in June 1710; correspondence in Biblioteca Rjali ta' Malta (Zerafa, 1975)

5. 1718–25, *haute lisse* (ateliers of Jans and Lefebvre)

Not offered to M. Bouret, Fermier Générale and Directeur des Postes in 1769 (Fenaille, 1903: 386 was mistaken; Bouret received the Nouvelles Indes *fide* Fenaille, 1907: 60, 61); possibly some or all of the Wattenwyl pieces belong to this set

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Petites Indes (height 3½ aunes or about 4.1 m; border complex, royal arms top centre, royal monogram *LL* below a crown bottom centre, a shell device at each corner)

6. 1723–27, *haute lisse* (ateliers of Lefebvre, De la Tour and Jans)

Sent to Académie de France at Mancini Palace in Rome in 1726 and at Villa Medici from 1803; restored at Mobilier National in Paris in 1982 to present

7. 1725–28, *haute lisse* (ateliers of Lefebvre, De la Tour and Jans)

Four pieces given to Académie de France in Rome, but replacements made soon after; two pieces in Berlin, one in Paris and one in Rome in 1900 (Fenaille, 1903: 398). Present location of pieces difficult to determine. One piece burned in Gobelins fire in 1871 (Fenaille, *loc. cit.*: 393)

8. 1726–30, *haute lisse* (ateliers of Lefebvre, De la Tour and Jans)

Two pieces burned in Gobelins fire in 1871 (Fenaille, *loc. cit.*: 393); remainder difficult to trace.

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The eight subjects in the sets were given the following names:

1. *Le cheval rayé*

A somewhat unconvincing zebra, with a jaguar digging claws and teeth into its back, and behind it a Düreresque rhinoceros

2. *Les deux taureaux*

Two large oxen draw a cart laden with vegetables and fruits, while behind two negroes carry an ornamental hammock or palanquin

3. *L'Éléphant* or *Le cheval isabelle*
An elephant and a white horse, in front of which are a negro woman and child and an anteater
4. *Le chasseur indien*
A hunter with a bow sits beside a cactus tree, while an ostrich and a cassowary stand behind him
5. *Le combat d'animaux*
A tapir, with a jaguar digging claws and teeth into its back, with two startled ostriches behind and various other animals in combat in front
6. *Le roi porté par deux maures*
African with parasol carried in palanquin, sheep in front
7. *L'Indien à cheval* or *Le cheval pommelé*
Chilean on horseback, a negro holding a second (dappled) horse, with a white llama in front
8. *Les pêcheurs*
Hunter firing bow and arrow, with girl sitting beside him holding basket, and in foreground two fishermen pulling on a seine net.

In all, 70 official pieces of the Anciennes Indes were made (8 sets of 8, plus two extra for Malta, plus 4 extra pieces from the 7th set that were added to the 6th set in Rome) and at least twenty extra pieces. Fenaille (1903: 397–398) tabulated the location of 35 pieces in 1900, but there has been no modern attempt to review the pieces that have survived two wars, or those that have since been scattered through sales. We have listed those that we know, but for some of these we lack photographs or details of the borders and it is not always easy to know from which sets they came.

Of the Grandes Indes (height 4.75 m, border of gold acanthus leaves on blue), the 1st set appears to be known only by 4 pieces in *basse lisse* reported by Francisco Arrebola (*in litt.* to Mobilier National, 2 November 1980) from Cordoba Province in Argentina. These pieces are *Le cheval rayé*, *Les deux taureaux*, *L'Éléphant* and *Le chasseur indien*, which match the four pieces listed and illustrated in the sale of H. Braquené on 18 May 1897 (Fenaille, 1903: 394). We have been unable to locate the other four pieces and they were unknown to Fenaille in 1900.

The 2nd set (but possibly with pieces from the 1st) appears to be complete and is under the responsibility of the Mobilier National in Paris (all but two of the pieces are out on long-term loan, to the Assemblée Nationale and to the French embassies in Washington, Vienna and Lisbon). All 8 pieces were listed by Verdier (1977: 40), but *Les deux taureaux* and *Les pêcheurs* are joined together, the latter on the right, and they have the elaborate and monogrammed border otherwise only specified for the Petites Indes series; however, they are *basse lisse* and must be from the 1st or 2nd sets.

The 3rd set, given to Peter the Great in 1717, is said to have been destroyed by a fire in the Winter Palace in St Petersburg (Leningrad), although Fenaille (1903: 383) mentions a fragment of *Le combat d'animaux* in the 'Musée des Voitures' in 1900 (but evidently not the Hermitage piece, which is a copy).

The 4th set, of which *L'Éléphant* and *Le chasseur* were split and modified

to make 10 out of the 8 pieces, has remained in Valletta, Malta as the only complete, extant and exhibited series of the Grandes Indes. Zerafa (1975) used details from this set for a calendar (in colour) and Fahrenkamp (1977) gave four of the pieces (again in colour).

The 5th set is mysterious since Fenaille (1903: 398) wrongly records that in 1769 it was given by the King to M. Bouret, at that time Fermier Générale and Directeur des Postes (these were Nouvelles Indes *fidé* Fenaille, 1907: 60, 61). By deduction, any *haute lisse* piece with a simple acanthus leaf border and approximately 4.75 m high should belong to it. However, it is clear that a number of unofficial pieces were made and we have preferred to leave this set as missing in our Table.

Of the extra pieces made in the Grande Indes series, possible candidates are the 7 pieces in the collection brought into the Wattenwyl family by Bernard Ferdinand von Wattenwyl-De Sacconay (1772–1836), of which *Le cheval rayé* and *L'Indien à cheval* have hung since 1886 on the staircase of the Beatrice von Wattenwyl-Haus on the Junkerngasse in Berne, Switzerland. Three other pieces from this collection are at the family's country estate Marillon, and two are in private possession in Berne; missing from the set is *L'éléphant* (Cetto & Hoffer, 1964: 24–27, pl. 14 – *L'Indien à cheval*). All seven are *haute lisse* and have the simple acanthus leaf borders, but they are too small to have been the 5th set and they have some rather curious features. For example, two figures are introduced into *Le cheval rayé*, the tree on the right in *Le combat d'animaux* is simplified, and two birds are added to *Les pêcheurs*. Two other candidates for extra pieces of the Grandes Indes, both showing *Les pêcheurs*, are a piece in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris and another in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Once again there are modifications, which seems to imply that they were made for particular customers and perhaps to fit a particular room. Whereas the *basse lisse* method, in which the cartoon is immediately underneath the weaving, allows for no modification, the *haute lisse* method, with the cartoon marked in ink on the warp, enables elements to be shifted or new pieces merely pinned onto the cartoon. Since the cartoons were revised, modified and reduced in size for the first of the Petites Indes sets, even modifications to the 5th set cartoons would not necessarily have been carried forward.

Of the Petites Indes (height 4.1 m, border with royal arms top centre, royal monogram bottom centre, corners with shells), the 6th set is still in Rome in the care of the Académie de France in the Villa Medici; four of the pieces were illustrated by Krotoff (1984 – *Le cheval rayé*, *Les deux taureaux*, *Le chasseur indien* and *L'Indien à cheval*, all in colour). To this set was added 4 extra pieces, *Le chasseur indien* and *Les pêcheurs* in 1726, followed by *Le cheval rayé* and *Le combat d'animaux* in 1731, all of which were repeated and presumably restored to the 7th set afterwards (Fenaille, 1903: 389–390); *Le combat d'animaux* is still at the Villa Medici. Arizzoli-Clementel (1984, 1985) noted the fires and pillage at the Mancini Palace, former seat of the Académie de France in Rome; he only recorded the two 1726 pieces (lost) and gave no indication whether *Le combat d'animaux* had survived. It is possible that two Petites Indes pieces in the care of the Mobilier National, *Le chasseur indien* and *Les pêcheurs*, are the 1726 extra pieces; in 1900 they

were in the French embassy in Berlin (Fenaille, 1903: 398). The remaining extra piece, *Le cheval rayé*, was said to be in the Ministère de la Justice in Paris in 1900 (Fenaille, *loc. cit.*), but this was a *Nouvelles Indes* piece.

The history of the 7th and 8th sets is difficult to follow. From the 7th and/or 8th sets, *Les deux taureaux* and two versions of *L'Indien à cheval* were burned in a fire at the Gobelins in 1871 (Fenaille, 1903: 393). There are 5 *Petites Indes* pieces in the Museu de Arte in São Paulo, Brazil, being *L'éléphant*, *Le combat d'animaux*, *Le chasseur indien*, *Les deux taureaux* and *Les pêcheurs* (all lacking borders). Sousa-Leão (1947: 79 and 1968: 78) claimed that they had come from Highcliffe Castle, the seat of Lord Stuart of Rothesay, who had acquired them in 1815 while ambassador in Paris; Sousa-Leão further suggested that these had been brought to Paris from the Villa Medici in Rome by Napoleon, but only three match the extra subjects sent to Rome and these extra pieces seem already to have been accounted for. They were purchased from Lady Abingdon in 1949. There are 4 further pieces of *Petites Indes* at the Château de Chantilly, being *Le cheval rayé*, *Le combat d'animaux*, *Les deux taureaux* and *L'Indien à cheval* (as noted by Fenaille, 1903: 395); the last two have a simple acanthus leaf border, while the first two lack borders, and all are rather smaller than normal thus perhaps a private commission. Fenaille (*loc. cit.*: 395) listed 4 *Petites Indes* pieces in the collection of A. Leclercq, which are now owned by M. Babin and are at the Château de St Rémy-en-l'Eau near St. Julien-en-Chaussée, Oise; these are *Le cheval rayé*, *L'éléphant*, *Le chasseur indien* and *Le roi porté*, and they have a simple acanthus leaf border. Further *Petites Indes* pieces are *Le cheval rayé* and *L'éléphant* bought by the Galerie Chevalier at Courbevoie, being perhaps a private commission by Jans. In the Louvre is an example of *Les pêcheurs*, illustrated by Krotoff (1984: 46), which has the typical *Petites Indes* border. At the Ministère de la Marine in Paris is *L'éléphant* (No 129), again with a typical *Petites Indes* border and *Le combat d'animaux* without a border. Finally, there is a *Petites Indes* version of *Le combat d'animaux* in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. It was looted from the old Yuanmingyuan palace in Peking in 1861 and bore an inventory ticket of the Emperor Qianlong, dated 1771; the border is curious because it has the royal French arms at top centre, but it lacks the royal monogram at bottom centre (a variant otherwise used for the *Nouvelles Indes*). Possibly it was from the set mooted for sale to the Emperor by Soufflot in a letter to Marigny of 21 November 1769 (Mondain-Monval, 1918: 243; Arch. Nat., O¹ 1554).

In total, 61 pieces are known to exist, 11 are definitely said to have been destroyed (8 in Leningrad, 3 at the Gobelins), and 18 are unaccounted for in our Table, making 90 pieces or 20 more than the 70 officially recorded. Exactly how many extra pieces were made by the ateliers of the Gobelins is unknown and at present it is difficult to recognise them as such. In the case of the *Petites Indes*, of course, such extra pieces could not have had the royal arms on the borders, and it is possible that pieces that depart from the official ones in size or details must have been private commissions, but much more study is needed, especially in the comparison of details.

The most recent exhibition of the tapestries was at the Musée des Tapisseries at Aix-en-Provence in 1984, where all except *Le roi porté* were shown

from both the Anciennes and the Nouvelles Indes (Krotoff, 1984). Rather little has been done as yet to analyse the subjects in the tapestries, but a useful start was made by Albertin (1981, 1985) on the animals in *Les deux taureaux*; a more detailed study of the crustaceans was made by Holthuis (unpublished), in which he compared those in *Le cheval rayé*, *Le combat d'animaux*, *Le roi porté* and *Le chasseur indien* with their representations in the Leningrad copies of the Cracow pictures. In reviewing the iconographic sources for the tapestries (Whitehead, 1984), it was noted that some of the animals, plants and people, as well as the artifacts, have no known models, showing that an even greater range of visual material was brought back from Brazil than the Cracow and other pictures explored here.

Only some of the contents of the tapestries are analysed here; a more detailed study must await comparison with the Cracow material. The tapestry titles are those accorded them at the Gobelins and we give a tentative synonymy for the cartoons in the *Description* (Litt. A–H), the 1690 Yvert list and the Hanff list.

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et seq.

1. *Le cheval rayé*

Plate 67

Description: Litt. D (no general title, but 13 items which include the rhinoceros and sugar cane)

Yvert list: No 1. Un grand tableau, dans lequel est représenté un cheval rayé de noir et un rinoceros . . . de 13 pieds 6 pouces de large sur 12 de haut

Hanff list: No 1. Ein bundt Pferd undt ein Rhijnoceros

Reproductions: Jarry (1957: opp. p. 320), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 2nd set, Mobilier National, GMTT 193/1st; Jarry (1976: 63), detail of rhinoceros and zebra, same example; Zerafa (1975), detail of rhinoceros and zebra, Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, Malta; Krotoff (1984: 32 – colour), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, 6th set, Rome (AFR 80.8*, T. 62**).

Example studied: Jarry example, photograph.

Extant cartoon: GOB 746, left panel only (out of four), 3.92 by 1.12 m, three pieces stitched together and mounted on a backing of canvas, with six metal rings sewn down right (inner) side.

Zoology: 7 birds in tree, including a hawk (*Parabuteo unicinctus*) based exactly on *Theatri*, 2: 207a but reversed; next to it, *Trogon collaris*, close to the *guirapotiapiran-gaiuparaba* (!) of Hoflössnitz, reversed and perhaps *Handbook*, 1: 204 (but not *Theatri*, 2: 181, which is *Trogon curucui*, as also is *Historia*, p. 211 – see Schneider, 1938: 91); on right, a fish eagle and then an owl (*Tyto alba tuidara*), reversed but close copy of *Theatri*, 2: 195; three birds flying (wing only of third). Great Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), based on Dürer's 1515 woodcut (complete with hornlet on shoulder) and appearing, but without head turned, in the engraved title page for the so-called 2nd edition of the *Historia* (Piso, 1658), as noted by Coste (1946). Striped horse, presumably intended as a zebra, but the mane long and the muzzle white; attacking the zebra with claws and teeth is a jaguar with red eyes, not dissimilar to that attacking the tapir in *Le combat d'animaux*, but neither with any known model. A deer or antelope at its rear and a second and unrecognisable mammal at its feet. Foreground (left), a guinea pig even more closely modelled on *Handbook*, 1: 26 than the one in *Les deux taureaux* (or the one in the Schwedt painting), thus matching that in Eckhout's Mameluc woman. To its right, a small mammal

with a ringed tail, unidentified and no model found. To its right, two armadillos (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), the bands too many but loosely based on the two drawings in *Handbook*, 1: 104 (*Historia*, p. 231 based on Clusius, 1605: 330 and used again by De Laet, 1630, 1633, 1640). To its right, an alligator (no model found). At the forefeet of the 'zebra', two birds, the first a more animated reversed version of jabiru (*Jabiru mycteria*) of Hoflössnitz (Schaeffer, 1970: pl. 4), possibly also *Handbook*, 1: 174, but head incorrect; the second equally animated and probably *Sarkidiornis melanotos* of *Theatri*, 2: 7 and *Handbook*, 1: 226, the latter perhaps basis for *Historia*, p. 218. Thirteen fishes (left to right):

Page 54 *Ogocephalus longirostris*. Virtually exact copy of the cuacucua of Griebe, f. 207, which was presumably once in *Theatri*, 1: 21, where it was copied as Leningrad, B series, f. 91. Here it is reversed. Wagener, No 15 is quite different
Thalassophryne natteri. Reversed but exactly matching niqui of *Theatri*, 1: 101. This and the previous fish appear, not reversed, in a Desportes drawing
Pufferfish *Lagocephalus laevigatus*. Close to Leningrad, f. 94 (missing from *Theatri*), reversed
Mullet. Possibly pirametara of *Handbook*, 1: 364, basis for *Historia*, p. 156, but not clear
Sawfish *Pristis pectinatus*. Loosely based on *Handbook*, 1: 362, reversed, basis for *Historia*, p. 159
Serranid fish, probably *Epinephelus itajara*. Close to *Handbook*, 1: 336, basis for *Historia*, p. 169
Fish above it, diagonal. Possibly *Bodianus rufus* of *Handbook*, 1: 340, reversed, basis for *Historia*, p. 146
Porcupinefish *Diodon* sp. (at head of last fish). Loosely based on *Handbook*, 1: 304
Fish behind the latter's tail, unidentified
Serranid fish? (at tail of *Bodianus*). Not identified
Fish beneath caudal fin of sawfish, unidentified
Flyingfish or flying gurnard (top of waterfall, near to goose). Possibly *Theatri*, 1: 103a or 105.

Four crabs shown in bottom right corner, identified by Holthuis as:

Page 128 *Calappa ocellata* (on left of group, at tail of the large serranid *Epinephelus*). See further notes under Le chasseur indien for the species given here
Cardisoma guanhumi (left half only, to right of *Calappa*)
Mithrax hispidus (left side only, below *Cardisoma*)
Carpilius corallinus (above *Cardisoma*).

Botany: the principal tree is *Cassia grandis*, with long seed pods hanging down, but not modelled on that in Eckhout's Tapuya woman; as in the latter, a species of *Passiflora* is entwined round the trunk. Round a branch is a second climbing plant, *Aristolochia brasiliensis*, in part resembling the woodcut (upside-down) of ambuyaembo in *Historia*, p. 15 (based on *Theatri*, 4: 455). The plants in the foreground include sugar cane, as in Eckhout's Mulatto man, but not the same.

Ethnology: nil. However, in the *haute lisse* example from Berne, a man with left arm outstretched falls forward under the feet of the zebra, while a running figure appears on the much extended right side of the tapestry (as noted by Cetto & Hoffer, 1964: 27). Additions like this show the extent to which Eckhout's original cartoons could have been modified by the Gobelins artists.

Plate 68 **2. Les deux taureaux**

Description: Litt. E (no general title, but 8 items, including the oxen and cart)

Yvert list: No 2. Un autre, où sont deux taureaux qui tirent un chariot chargé de fruits, de 14 pieds 6 pouces sur 12 de haut

Hanff list: No 3. Ein Portugiese zu Ross und ein ossen wagen

Reproductions: Sousa-Leão (1968: 82) and Albertin-De Vries (1981: pl.1; 1985: fig 7), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, Lefebvre, De la Tour and Jans, the São Paulo example; Lemmens (1979: 290, pl. 25), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, the Malta example (oblique view *in situ* in Sousa-Leão, 1968: opp. 71); Krotoff (1984: 34-colour), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, 6th set, Rome (AFR 80.2*, T. 56**); Arizzoli-Clementel (1985: fig. 12 – same).

Example studied: Mobilier National, GMII 190/1st, 4.70 by 7.40 m, elaborate border as in Petites Indes, but *basse lisse*, seen at Assemblée Nationale in 1976; joined to it on right is Les pêcheurs (see below, No 8).

Extant cartoon: GOB 742, three out of four panels (left one missing), 4.0 by 3.6 m, in poor condition, paint flaked.

Zoology: two oxen, not based on *Handbook*, 1: 34, but not unlike those in Post's painting of an ox-cart (Louvre; colour reproductions in Sousa-Leão, 1968: pl. 2 and Larsen, 1962: pl. 25) and showing very clearly the method by which they were yoked (chest greatly exaggerated, however). Ten birds in trees and two flying; an African crowned crane (*Balearica pavonina*) beside the hammock, not in the *Handbooks* or *Theatri*, but a drawing by Desportes (S. 46) in the collection at Sèvres and also shown by Van Kessel; another bird beside it; in water, an anhinga (*Anhinga anhinga*), close to *Theatri*, 2: 11, but tail spread out and head stretched upward. Guinea pig (*Cavia porcellus*) near feet of oxen, clearly related to *Handbook*, 1: 26 and to that in Eckhout's Mameluc woman, but colour patterns slightly different; monkey hanging by tail in palm tree (macaíuba of *Handbook*, 1:66) and sloth climbing same tree (possibly the two-toed sloth *Choloepus didactylus* of *Handbook*, 1: 112 or *Theatri*, 3: 99).

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Botany: two coconut palms, with a grape vine around the trunk of the one behind the cart, the latter with sugar canes and a manioc with leaves and roots (but not the same as in Eckhout's still-life EN 93). Various fruits and vegetables in baskets on cart and in front of oxen, including cashew, guavas, citrus and a large sliced and unsliced melon (the melons, in the basket near the feet of the oxen, very close to those in still-life EN 92). Among the plants in the foreground is castor oil (*Ricinus communis*), altered only slightly from *Theatri*, 4: 145 and not related to *Miscellanea Cleyeri*: 65v–66r.

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Ethnology: two negroes carry a very ornamental hammock on a long pole, clearly the same hammock as in *Le roi porté*, but with a boldly patterned red and yellow cloth laid over the occupant (who is not visible). The pole is encased in basketwork, with black transverse strips woven to form a diamond-shaped pattern; the ends appear to be metal. The cloth of the hammock appears to be heavy cotton lace with a pattern of small squares, edged with triangular flaps with tassels. No sketch is known, but Wagener, No 104, shows a similar hammock (in that case a woman peeps from behind the cloth). The hammock (from the aruák *hamák*, hence Dutch *hangmat* and German *Hängematte*) was early taken over by the Portuguese and used as a kind of sedan chair, known as *serpentina*. Wagener notes that velvet or damask covers were draped across to keep out the sun. Palanquins are shown also in some of Post's paintings. The ox-cart is fairly close to that in Post's Louvre painting, but the rim of the wheels is much thinner. Two of the baskets have hoops at the sides and thus resemble those in Post's painting of *Itamaracá* (Mauritshuis; Sousa-Leão, 1968: pl. 1, in colour); the third is of a style not seen elsewhere. Above the cart is

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Page 155 a hillside with buildings and figures (houses of wealthy *moradores* or settlers) and below is a sugar mill, reversed but clearly based on the same sketch by Post as used for the sugar mill in the Marcgraf map (Map 3); to the left, an open-fronted building and behind it a chapel (no model found). In the cartoon, the houses and people are entirely in the style of Post, but more crudely executed.

Note: the 8 items in Litt. E mention the sloth, the sugar mill, sugar cane, the cart and oxen, manioc and watermelon. Albertin-De Vries (1981: 21 and 1985b: 304) claimed that 16 flowers, plants and animals were exact copies from the Cracow pictures.

Plate 69 3. **L'Éléphant or Le cheval isabelle**

Description: Litt. C (no general title, but 9 items which include the goat and the anteater)

Yvert list: No 3. Un autre, où est représenté un grand éléphant et quelqu'autres animaux, avec des fruits . . . de 14 pieds 6 pouces de large sur 12 de haut

Hanff list: No 2. Ein Weiss Pferdt und ein Elephandt

Reproductions: Fenaille (1903: 388), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, 6th set, Rome (AFR 80.3*, T 57**); Krotoff (1984: 36), same; Thomsen (1938: fig. 73), Petites Indes, another; Benisovich (1943: pl. 3), Jarry (1976: 64, pl. 2) and Honour (1976: No 114), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, probably 2nd set, De la Croix and Mozin, Mobilier National, GMTT 192/1; Coural (undated: 17), same; Fahrenkamp (1977: opp. p. 64), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, Malta.

Example studied: photograph of the Mobilier National example.

Plate 75 Extant cartoon: GOB 743, complete in four separate panels, 4.0 by 4.53 m, in poor condition, paint flaked.

Zoology: African elephant, but not that in *Theatri*, 3: 163; white horse (not from *Handbook*, 1: 30, but possibly the same individual); black goat with small horns (bottom left) and giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*, bottom right), the latter only approximately related to *Handbook*, 1: 84 and *Theatri*, 3: 95. Five birds in cashew tree, of which the owl is *Bubo virginianus nacurutu* and based on *Handbook*, 1: 256 (probable source for jacurutu of *Historia*, p. 199, reversed); the peacock has no counterpart. The spoonbill is the aiaia of the *Historia*, p. 204 (*Ajaia ajaja*), but not based on *Handbook*, 1: 210, *Theatri*, 2: 83 or Hoflössnitz. Four birds near anteater, of which the scarlet ibis is similar to that at Hoflössnitz and both it and the white stork are

Page 98 reminiscent of those in the Aurora painting in the Huis ten Bosch; the toucan (*Ramphastos ariel*) is fairly close to the Hoflössnitz version and perhaps also to *Theatri*, 2: 39 (not studied, missing in Leningrad). Boa constrictor in tree, but no obvious model found; item 4 of Litt. C states that the skin is in the Leiden Academy.

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Botany: coconut palm (left) with grape vine; cashew tree with fruit (right). Various fruits and vegetables in foreground, of which the following have reversed counterparts in Eckhout's Copenhagen paintings:

Coconuts. Exactly match EN 96

Inflorescence of coco palm. EN 96 and 101, but not exact

Bottle gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*). EN 95 and 98, exact

Sicana odorifera or *Luffa cylindrica*. EN 102, exact

Cactus pinda (*Melocactus violaceus*). EN 98, close, as also to *Handbook*, 2: 57

Red flower of bromeliad (*Aechmea* sp.). EN 98, very close; not matching *Handbook*, 2: 65

Gustavia and *Lecythis* nuts. EN 99, close.

Ethnology: small negro boy reaching over fruits, naked (no model known); negro woman (left) wearing feather hat similar to that in Eckhout's Copenhagen painting and holding a similar Baongo basket, but in neither case is the design the same; as in the painting, she wears a pearl earring and has a clay pipe stuck into the cloth round her waist; however, she lacks the necklaces and bangles.

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4. Le chasseur indien

Plate 70

Description: Litt. H (no general title; the nine items do not refer to such obvious subjects as the ostrich, cassowary or the many crustaceans and reptiles, while the Tapuya woman and the red-haired and albino negroes are not represented)

Yvert list: No 4. Un autre, où est représenté un chasseur qui tient des flèches et assis contre arbre, dans lequel tableau il y a une autruche et un casuel . . . de 12 pieds sur 12

Hanff list: No 7. Ein Indian mit einem flitschbogen item ein Portugies Wieb ihm hembt so fruchte und 2 Körben trägt

Reproductions: Sousa-Leão (1947: opp. p. 70), apparently from 2nd set; *Idem* (1969: 115) and Fahrenkamp (1977: cover picture, trimmed – colour), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, Malta; Jarry (1957: opp. p. 321), possibly Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 1st or 2nd set, Mobilier National, GMTT 193/3rd; Krotoff (1984: 38 – colour), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, 6th set, Malta.

Example studied: photograph of presumed Mobilier National, GMTT 193/3rd, Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4.6 by 3.4 m.

Extant cartoon: GOB 745, two out of three panels (left missing), 3.95 by 1.98 m, paint flaked. Plate 75

Zoology: 7 birds perched in tree, of which the toucan (*Pteroglossus aracari*) matches *Handbook*, 1: 186 and Wagener, No 32 and the bird with numerous stripes across its breast (*Thamnophilus palliatus*) bears some relation to *Handbook*, 1: 252 left; the large parrot is *Ara macao* in a more life-like posture than *Handbook*, 1: 272, while the small parrot (lower of two birds facing the border) may be ajuruete of *Theatri*, 2: 231 (not studied, missing in Leningrad) judging by Litt. H of the *Description* (see *Note* below). Two more birds flying. On ground, an ostrich and cassowary (both perhaps in Johan Maurits' zoo; no pictures in *Handbooks* or *Theatri*). At base of tree, what may be a coati (*Nasua nasua*), but no such head-on picture known (crayon drawing, *Theatri*, 3: 87). Six fishes in water (left to right):

Guaperua (*Antennarius principis* = *A. multiocellatus* of authors). *Handbook*, 1: 378 and 2: 363, but not exact

Carangid. Possibly the corcovado of Wagener, No 10, but very badly drawn (no dorsal fin, anal fin joins tail, etc.)

Pomacanthid (*Holacanthus tricolor*). *Theatri*, 1: 123, close

Serranid fish (*Epinephelus itajara*). Clearly based on the drawing *Theatri*, 1: 192, reversed (Lück, 1947: 433, halftone)

Porcupinefish (? *Chilomycterus atinga* juvenile). *Handbook*, 1: 382, reversed, fairly close

Pterygoplichthys etentaculus (below porcupinefish). *Handbook*, 1: 392, not reversed, very close

Octopus (at tail of carangid), not close to *Theatri*, 1: 11. Five reptiles, of which the iguana (*Iguana iguana*) is from *Theatri*, 3: 167, reversed, the lizard cannot be located, the snake is ibiboboca (*Micrurus ibiboboca*) of *Theatri*, 3: 191 upper, the tortoise is close to *Handbook*, 1: 302 (possibly *Phrynos* (*Batrachemys*) *nasutus*, not illustrated in the

Historia, but used in Piso, 1658: 105, reversed), and a very small lizard by the head of the mantis shrimp, of which no counterpart can be located. Ten crustacean species are identified by Holthuis:

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Large mantis shrimp (*Lysiosquilla scabricauda*, diagonal, at right angles to unidentified lizard). *Handbook*, 1: 324 (much closer than *Theatri*, 1: 311), which was basis for *Historia*, p. 187, reversed and left raptorial dactylus missing in error.

Wagener, No 23, not this species, but *Squilla obtusa* (see Schwedt painting)

Large shrimp (*Macrobrachium carcinus*, parallel to the above). Not *Theatri*, 1: 323

Shovelnose lobsters (*Parribacus antarcticus*, two at water's edge and one above tail of lizard). The one nearest the hunter's leg is based on *Handbook*, 1: 316, which was basis for *Historia*, p. 186, while the one next to it is fairly close to *Theatri*, 1: 335a and the final one to *Theatri*, 1: 335b

Crab (*Carpilius corallinus*, overlapping tail of mantis shrimp, but front parts overlapped by lizard). Possibly *Theatri*, 1: 337

Crabs (*Calappa ocellata*, next to legs of mantis shrimp and facing toward border). *Theatri*, 1: 339, exact. Another specimen at border and under claw of mantis shrimp; a third at tail of mantis shrimp and overlapped by head of lizard

Land crab (*Cardisoma guanhumi*, partly hidden by lizard and tortoise, but one large chela pointing to head of tortoise). Possibly from *Theatri*, 1: 355

Red spider crab (*Mithrax hispidus*, behind the claw of the last species). Clearly based on *Handbook*, 1: 338 (colour reproduction in Whitehead, 1979a: opp. p. 432)

Grapsid crab (*Goniopsis cruentata*, at side of mantis shrimp away from hunter and overlapped). *Handbook*, 1: 348 and Wagener, No 27 lower, but tapestry not clear enough

Crab (*Plagusia depressa*, at side of mantis shrimp on side of hunter and overlapped). *Handbook*, 1: 366, close

Crab (*Persephona mediterranea*, near tail of mantis shrimp away from hunter, partly overlapped by *Carpilius* at back). *Handbook*, 1: 328 (basis for *Historia*, p. 182), fairly exact, but colour pattern a little different.

Botany: three trees, the one in front a cactus (*Cereus jamacaru*) virtually identical, branch for branch, to that in Frans Post's painting of Fort Maurits on the São Francisco river of 1638 (Louvre; Larsen, 1962: pl. 24 and Sousa-Leão, 1968: 39); behind it, a tree bearing plum-like fruits, and behind that what appears to be a tree bearing lemons. Various plants in foreground, including millet (?) and wheat (?) beside trees.

Ethnology: the hunter, turned away from the viewer, wears a wreath of small feathers and a striped loin-cloth; he holds an unstrung double-curved bow (rare, but such a bow from Brazil is mentioned as BM 1962 AM 2-1, Pakahas-Novas Indians, by Heath & Chiara, 1977: 39, fn.). To the tree are tied with a cord two arrows of 177 cm

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(in cartoon; identical to those in the Schwedt Brazilian scene); a spear-thrower or atlatl of 77.7 cm and 6.5 cm wide at its end and bound with four red feathers of 4.2 cm (in cartoon; a little narrower than the Schwedt version); a Tapuya club of about 94 cm and 10 cm wide at its end, bound with about seven long red feathers of which the largest is 43.2 cm, the blade bound with cord for half its length, the rest black with a double line of about thirty small round circles (in cartoon; a little different from Schwedt version); a feather bag of 22.5 by 13.5 cm with a draw-string (in cartoon; unknown in the material studied here, but such a feather bag is shown in Frans Francken's Abdication of Charles V of 1636, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam); and a gourd of 20.5 cm diameter (cartoon). These artifacts are shown in extraordinary detail, not only in the cartoon, but in the tapestries too.

Note: item 3 in Litt. H of the *Description* is the talking parrot of *Handbook*, 1: 216 (airueté or *Amazona aestiva*), of which the caption is cited by Thomsen (1938: 65 and fig. 27).

5. Le combat d'animaux

Plate 71

Description: Litt. G (no general title; 10 items, including the tapir, crocodile and 'tigre')

Yvert list: No 5. Un autre représentant un combat d'animaux . . . de 10 pieds 6 pouces de large sur 12 de haut

Hanff list: No 5. Allerhandt Gemeine Thier und zwei Strauszen

Reproductions: De Vries *et alii* (1953: pl. 34), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 1st or 2nd set, Mobilier National, GMTT 193/2nd; Fahrenkamp (1977: opp. p. 16 – colour), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, Malta; Krotoff (1984: 40 – colour), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse* (incomplete, lacking border), Département des Objets d'Arts, Louvre (2.43 by 2.51 m); Leite (1967: pl. 35) and Sousa-Leão (1968: 81), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, São Paulo (3.20 by 2.58 m, no border).

Example studied: Mobilier National, GMTT 193/2nd (on photograph).

Extant cartoon: GOB 744, complete in three separate panels, 4.05 by 3.41 m, flaked in places.

Zoology: 11 flying birds among the branches, all with wings outspread, thus much modified if taken from the Cracow material. Two ostriches in background, mouths open, wings outstretched (no models known). The tapir bears only slight resemblance to *Theatri*, 3: 109b, while the jaguar attacking it and all the other mammals have no counterparts and most seem to come from a European hunting repertoire; the capybara presumably stems from a Post drawing, but the alligator attacking it has no counterpart. Two crabs on beach, the one nearest the water being *Cardisoma guanhumi*, the other almost certainly a replica of it, but the large chela hidden; not based on *Theatri*, 1: 355. Three fishes, two unidentified, the third close to the seahorse of *Theatri*, 1: 17.

Botany: coconut palm and cashew in background, with the trunk of a second palm behind the latter (no models known). Various plants in foreground, including *Montrichardia* (?) under the cashew (not the species in Eckhout's Tapuya woman) and manioc against the right border (stems close to those in Eckhout's Tapuya man and clearly based on the same original sketch, as perhaps was Wagener, No 60).

Ethnology: nil.

Note: in the Petites Indes examples in Rome, São Paulo and the Ashmolean the crab emerging from the water (*Cardisoma guanhumi*) has two curved cylindrical spines projecting back from the carapace. These are absent in the earliest example, i.e. the 1st or 2nd set at the Mobilier National, but of course are present on the cartoon, which represents the final (8th) version. They are present, however, in the Malta set (4th), so presumably were there also on the 5th set. Curiously enough, they are present also in the incomplete *basse lisse* example in the Louvre (Krotoff, 1984: 40), which shares some details with the Petites Indes, but departs again in many other details, suggesting that it was made later and is not recorded by Fenaille (1903).

6. Le roi porté par deux maures

Plate 72

Description: Litt. B. Le Tableau representant, comme les Principaux Nègres en Angola se font porter dans une hamaque de 13 pieds de longeur par [à travers] le pais

Yvert list: No 6. Un autre représentant un Roy naigre porté pas deux esclaves, lequel Roy tient une flèche . . . de 8 pieds 6 pouces sur 12

Hanff list: No 8. Eine Schwartzze Frau wirdt in einem hangb(r)et getragen. Hat über sich einem bunten Schirm von Papageij federn

Reproductions: Fenaille (1903: 394) and Jarry (1957: opp. p. 321), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, Mobilier National, GMTT 193/4th; Jarry (1976: 65), Fahrenkamp (1977: opp. p. 96 – colour) and Krotoff (1984: 42 – colour), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, Malta; Schaeffer (1968b), cartoon.

Example studied: photograph, Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, Mobilier National, GMTT 193/4th, 4.6 by 3.1 m.

Extant cartoon: GOB 790, complete in three panels sewn together, 3.93 by 2.65 m, the best preserved cartoon.

Zoology: three birds perched in trees, the owl (*Glaucidium brasilianum*) clearly based on *Theatri*, 2: 193, the parrot possibly *Psittacus erithacus* of *Handbook*, 1: 218, the third not identified; five weaverbirds and five nests (not from New World). Three monkeys in trees, the lowermost probably the West African *Erythrocebus patas* of *Handbook*, 1: 74 (posture slightly modified). Two sheep in foreground, the black and white reversed but almost exactly matching *Handbook*, 1: 88 (except black extended on belly, possibly to show up the flamingo in front of it); the cream-coloured sheep reversed but very close to the crayon sketch of *Theatri*, 3: 87v (Joppien, 1979: opp. p. 344). The flamingo (*Phoenicopterus antiquorum*) probably modified from *Theatri*, 2: 17. Twenty-three fishes shown, mostly rather poorly depicted (left to right):

Unidentified (extreme left, pointing downward)

Glyphtisodon saxatilis (next to it, pointing upward). Close to *Historia*, p.156 (*Handbook*?, but *Theatri*, 1: 143 missing)

Unidentified tail below it

Tail to right of that, presumably the wrasse *Halichoeres radiatus*, the whole fish also on right of the seven hanging fishes. Close to *Handbook*, 1: 388 and *Theatri*, 1: 199 (the former basis for *Historia*, p. 146)

Epinephelus morio (spotted fish above the last). *Handbook*, 2: 315, but not exact (Whitehead, 1979a: opp. p. 448)

Monacanthus hispidus (to right of last, the dorsal spine shown as a horn above eye).

Loosely based on *Handbook*, 1: 380 (basis for *Historia*, p. 154, but much better).

The superimposed squid exactly matches *Theatri*, 1: 11b (reversed)
Sciaenid fish (below squid). Not found

Pilotfish *Nomeus gronovii* (below *Monacanthus*). Based on *Handbook*, 1: 386 (basis for *Historia*, p. 153). Not visible are the additional spots discussed under the Van Kessel painting

Unidentified (facing downward from the last)

Frogfish (covering tail of pilotfish). Crude, but possibly related to *Handbook*, 2: 361 (see below)

Sailfish *Istiophorus platypterus* (across right of tapestry). *Handbook*, 2: 403, fairly close (*Historia*, p. 171 reversed and somewhat modified)

Sparid with black spot on nape (part hidden by tortoise). Unidentified

Striped frogfish *Antennarius striatus* = *A. scaber* of authors (striped fish over tail of sailfish). Possibly related to *Handbook*, 2: 361

Catfish (below the last). On *Handbook*, 1: 368 (basis for *Historia*, p. 151, upside-down)

Hanging fishes: highest a catfish, possibly the bagre of *Historia*, p. 173; the next, *Halichoeres* (see above); the next (in centre) unidentified; the next (on left)

Epinephelus morio (discussed under tapestry No 7, L'Indien à cheval); the next (spotted fish, head obscured) possibly carauna of *Historia*, p. 147; two tails not identified.

Two moray eels emerging from basket, not identified

South African tortoise *Testudo (Psammobates) geometrica* (against sailfish). *Handbook*, 1: 396 (shell only)

Five crabs, identified by Holthuis (discussed under tapestry No 4): *Mithrax hispidus* (next to tortoise); *Calappa ocellata* between tortoise and frogfish; presumably another at head of sailfish); *Cardisoma guanhumi* (above the last, half hidden); *Carpilius covallinus* (under tail of frogfish).

Botany: unidentified palm with tree trunk behind it (left), and wax palm (right), not modelled on that in Eckhout's negro woman but similar and like it having below the cactus *Cereus* (probably *C. pernambucensis*, near negro's foot); also a maize cob very like that held by the negro child in Eckhout's painting. Other plants not identified.

Ethnology: two negroes bearing hammock, both with a long check cloth over the shoulder (not the same as in Eckhout's negro man and woman; ceremonial, since not on carrying shoulder of man on left). Both men bare to waist and without body ornaments, wearing a skirt to below knee (fringed at bottom) of animal hide, held by a narrow band of cloth into which the man on right has tucked another cloth with a bold geometric pattern. An ornamental spindle at each end of the pole prevents the hammock rope sliding inwards. The man on the right carries a forked stick (rest for pole). The king is the same man as in *Theatri*, 3: 5 (gold necklace with cross, red double-bead rosary, bow and two unfeathered arrows, quiver over shoulder, red cloth at waist and white cloth across stomach, skirt but more ornamented below, bee-hive hat), but he wears pearl earrings and all is rendered in much more detail. He holds a feather parasol, but not those in the Huis ten Bosch painting. The hammock is clearly the same as in *Les deux taureaux*, but with slight modifications. In the water, a jangada or fishing craft of three logs held together with pegs, of which the only other representation seems to be that by Frans Post for the engraving of Cabo S. Agostinho in Barlaeus (1647: No 37, opp. p. 136); Marcgraf noted that the wood of apeiba (*Apeiba tibourbou*) was used for jangadas (Marcgrave, 1648: 124).

Note: although some of the elements in the picture are Brazilian (jangada, most or all of the fishes, the wax palm), some African 'colour' has been included (lefthand monkey, tortoise, parrot, weaverbirds, sheep and flamingo). There is no clear evidence, however, of any animal or plant that could not have been brought to Brazil for Johan Maurits' botanical garden and zoo, which were both extensive (Barlaeus, 1647: 144 and Calado, 1648: 52–53). Three African delegations came to Recife (the Duke of Congo, the Count of Sonho and one from the ruler of Mpemba – see Barlaeus, 1647: 676, Thomsen, 1938: 170–172), and thus the people and the artifacts could have been drawn in Brazil.

7. L'Indien à cheval or Le cheval pommelé

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Plate 73

Description: Litt. A. Le tableaux de Chili et Peru peint au vif et tout à sa grandeur

Yvert list: No 7. Un autre, où il y un cheval blanc pommelé, couvert d'unc houssé et conduit par un naigre, et une figre montée sur un cheval noir . . . de 9 pieds sur 12

Hanff list: No 6. Zwei Reuter der eine auf einem weissen der ander auf einem schwartzzen Pferdt

Reproductions: Fenaille (1903: 376), Thomsen (1938: fig. 74), Anon. (1955: opp. p. 65), Van den Boogaart & Duparc (1979: 210 – colour), Galerie Nationale de la Tapisserie, Beauvais (coloured postcard), Coural (undated: 16), all Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 1st or 2nd set, Mobilier National, GMTT 192/3rd; Cetto & Hoffer (1964: pl. 14), Beatrice von Wattenwyl-Haus, Berne, *haute lisse* and acanthus leaf border, but only 3.35 by 2.50 m, thus smaller than the Petites Indes series; Krotoff (1984: 44 – colour), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, 6th or 7th set, Malta.

Example studied: Mobilier National, GMTT 192/3rd, 4.7 by 3.7 m.

Extant cartoon: GOB 747, right panel out of three, 4.0 by 1.07 m, the dappled horse only, poor condition.

Zoology: white llama, based on *Theatetri*, 3: 135 (but dark brown), again with four toes on the forefeet; head of brown llama or guanaco behind it, based on the white one in *Theatetri*, 3: 133, but not exact. Dappled horse and brown horse, neither based on *Handbook*, 1: 30, 36. Crow-like bird in tree (top left) resembling a magpie but tail too short (not found in *Theatetri* or *Handbooks*). Seven fishes (left to right):

Unidentified (320 mm tot. 1.)

Carangid fish (295 mm tot. 1.), possibly *Alectis* sp.; no counterpart found (abacatuaia of *Historia*, p. 161 taken from Clusius, 1611, via De Laet, 1633: 574 and 1640: 509). Orange spots on upper flanks, fins blue

Unidentified and no counterpart found

Sparid fish?, possibly *sallema* of *Historia*, p. 153 (*Archosargus unimaculatus*). Three gold lines down flank

Serranid fish (400 mm tot. 1.). *Epinephelus morio*, closely matching *piratiapia* of *Historia*, p. 158 (also facing right, which is reversed from *Handbook*, 2: 315; reproduced in Whitehead, 1979a: opp. 448)

Cowfish (370 mm tot. 1.). Similar to *Historia*, p. 142 (based on *Handbook*, 1: 372, reversed), but horns higher on head here

Remora (900 mm tot. 1.). Exactly matches *Handbook*, 1: 343 (on which *Historia*, p. 180 was presumably based).

Botany: main tree apparently bearing apples, the trunk overgrown with honeysuckle; beside it, a tree bearing cherries (right) and a tree bearing oranges (left). Foreground, *Eschscholtzia* (extreme left), remainder not identified.

Ethnology: Chilean on horseback, holding a pikestaff and wearing poncho, knee-length trousers and spurs as in *Historia*, p. 284, but far more detailed here and strongly suggesting accurate sketches (which have never been located). Bridle, reins, saddle and stirrup equally detailed, as also the bridle for the dappled horse, but again, no models known; red-lined embroidered cloth or tapestry on dappled horse. Negro wearing orange robe (no model). Woven saddle-bag on white llama.

Note: the 9 items in Litt. A of the *Description* mention the river, the llama and its saddle-bag, apples and cherries, the Chilean on horseback with a pike, the poncho and the harness. Item 2 also mentions the women, who ‘fish’ for gold in the rivers and are ‘habiliées à la même façon comme on les voit ici.’ Probably this is the woman in the *Historia* woodcut (p. 284); we presume that the Chilean man and woman in Schmalkalden’s *Reise* were copied from the models for this woodcut (which have never been found).

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Plate 74 8. Les pêcheurs

Description: Litt. F. (no general title, but mention of the banana, the bird arrow and the fisherman)

Yvert list: No 8. Un autre où il y a des Indiens qui pescsent et un tire des oyseaux avec des flèches et une femme naigre qui tient un panier plain de fruits . . . de 8 pieds de large sur 12

Hanff list: No 4. Ein Indianen mit einem braunen Zopf auf dem Kopf auch ein strom mit Fische

Reproductions: Fenaille (1903: 394) and Sousa-Leão (1947: opp. p. 70), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, private collection; Sousa-Leão (*loc. cit.*) and Schaeffer (1968b), Grandes Indes, *basse lisse*, 4th set, Malta; Lemmens (1979: 289, pl. 24), Grandes Indes, *haute lisse*, set not identified, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (3.50 by 2.95 m); Jarry (1976: 66), detail of bowman and woman, Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, Mobilier National, GMTT 188 (4.1 by 2.55 m); Krotoff (1984: 46), Petites Indes, *haute lisse*, perhaps 7th or 8th set, Louvre (4.23 by 2.97 m).

Examples studied: photograph of Mobilier National Petites Indes example; version in Assemblée Nationale, Paris in 1976 (joined on the right of *Les deux taureaux*) GMTT 190/1st, *basse lisse*; also, Musée Jacquemart-André, virtually the same as the Rijksmuseum example, but the latter considerably extended to the left beyond the woman and basket. Both of the latter examples have the Grandes Indes acanthus leaf border, but are reversed from the Fenaille (1st or 2nd set) and Malta examples, thus *haute lisse* and therefore should be from the 5th set (see Table). In both cases, however, the seated woman has been moved away from the bowman so that the lower part of the bow is now obscured by her head (as in the Nouvelles Indes version, but there the basket is not held on the palm of her hand but by its handle). The shifting of the woman is not found in at least three Petites Indes versions, the Rome, Louvre and Mobilier National examples (6th and 7th or 8th sets) and since the Gobelins artists are unlikely to have moved the woman across, only to move her back again for the first (if not all) of the subsequent Petites Indes sets, it would seem that the Jacquemart-André and Rijksmuseum examples were additional pieces and not from the 5th set. To fill the picture in the wider Rijksmuseum example (Anon, 1969), the fishermen have been moved to the left also, both their heads now being beyond the woman's foot (not adopted in the Nouvelles Indes). The Berne example, known to us from a photograph, closely matches the Rijksmuseum example and has been similarly extended on the left side; it differs, however, in having two more birds added (above and below that at which the arrow points) and the rope of the seine net extends to the righthand edge of the tapestry (looped onto a stick in the Rijksmuseum example). For the same reasons as given above, this piece is also unlikely to have come from the 5th set.

Cartoon: apparently lost; Fenaille (1903: 373) indicates a fragment, but perhaps misidentified a piece from the single but complete panel of *Le Cheval rayé* (which he gives as 'unc moitié de bande').

Zoology: 5 birds in trees, the one on the left *Chloroceryle amazona*, close to *Theatri*, 2: 47a (also *Handbook*, 1: 268, probable basis for *Historia*, p. 194); the other four birds not identified. Three flying birds, not identified. Sitting on bananas, a marmoset (*Callithrix jacchus*?), inaccurate, not matching that in the Schwedt painting, nor *Handbook*, 1: 50 and Wagener, No 80.

Botany: banana (*Musa sapientium*), the disposition of the flower and fruits almost identical to that in Eckhout's Tupinamba woman, but the leaves different, and the whole different from that in the Schwedt painting. In front of it a palm tree, the trunk encircled by a grape vine. Foreground, extreme right, *Montrichardia arborescens*, very close to that in Eckhout's Tapuya woman and presumably based on same sketch. Half hidden by the plants beside the river are two large melons and a gourd. Plants and fruits in the baskets not identified.

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Pl. 54. Locke drawings, watercolours. Sloane ms 5253, Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. a. Negro man (f. 31). b. Negro woman (f. 32). See p. 86

Pl. 55. Eckhout sketches of Tapuyas (Tarairius), pencil. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin. a. Tapuya man standing (41.0 by 24.4 cm, KdZ 24 541). b. Tapuya woman standing (33.2 by 21.6 cm, KdZ 24 542). See p. 88

Pl. 56. Eckhout sketches of Tapuyas (Tarairius), pencil. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin. a. Tapuya woman sitting (33.2 by 21.6 cm, KdZ 24 543). b. Tapuya woman sleeping (39.6 by 25.2 cm, KdZ 24 544). See p. 89

Pl. 57. Portraits of Indians, crayon. a. Unknown artist (28.3 by 23.0 cm, op 16893), Hermitage, Leningrad. b. Eckhout, Tapuya (Tarairiu) Indian (37 by 25.7 cm, KdZ 24 542), Kupferstich Kabinett, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin. See pp. 90, 88

Pl. 58. Americque by Van Kessel, oils on copper, signed and dated 1666 (main panel 48.5 by 67.5 cm, No 1913). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich. See p. 90

Pl. 59. Fighting tortoises, oils on paper (30.5 by 51.0 cm, No 957). Mauritshuis, The Hague. See p. 94

Pl. 60. Triumph, with the treasures of East and West, oils on canvas (308 by 205 cm, No 013/0135). Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. See p. 96

Pl. 61. Still-lifes with fruits and baskets, oils on panel (85 by 530 cm in total, a 4254). Flehite Museum, Amersfoort. See p. 98

Pl. 62. Schwedt paintings 1 and 2, oils on canvas. Formerly at Castle Schwedt an der Oder. a. Brazilian scene. b. Oriental scene. See pp. 100, 101

Pl. 63. Schwedt paintings 3 and 4, oils on canvas. Formerly at Castle Schwedt an der Oder. a. Malaysian market. b. Mughal merchant (?), etc. See pp. 101, 102

Pl. 64. Schwedt paintings 5 and 6, oils on canvas. Formerly at Castle Schwedt an der Oder. a. Indonesian (?) soldiers, etc. b. Oriental scene. See pp. 102, 104

Pl. 65. Schwedt paintings 7 and 8, oils on canvas. Formerly at Castle Schwedt an der Oder. a. Three Africans (? Hottentots). b. Greenlander, Africans, etc. See p. 104

Pl. 66. Schwedt paintings 9 and 10, oils on canvas. Formerly at Castle Schwedt an der Oder. a. Oriental scene. b. Chinese musicians. See pp. 105, 106

Pl. 67. Tapestry Le cheval rayé. Anciennes Indes, Grandes Indes, 2nd set, basse lisse (GMTT 193(1), Mobilier National, Paris). See p. 123

Pl. 68. Tapestry Les deux taureaux. Anciennes Indes, Petites Indes, 6th set, haute lisse (AFR 80.2*, T.56**, Académie de France, Rome). See p. 124

Pl. 69. Tapestry L'Éléphant. Anciennes Indes, Grandes Indes, 2nd set, basse lisse (GMTT 192(1), Mobilier National, Paris). See p. 126

Pl. 70. Tapestry Le chasseur indien. Anciennes Indes, Grandes Indes, 2nd set, basse lisse (GMTT 193(3), Mobilier National, Paris). See p. 127

Pl. 71. Tapestry Le combat d'animaux. Anciennes Indes, Petites Indes, 6th set, haute lisse (AFR 80.9*, T.63**, Académie de France, Rome). See p. 129

Pl. 72. Le roi porté. Anciennes Indes, Grandes Indes, 4th set, basse lisse (Palais du Gouvernement, Valletta, Malta – copied after Krotoff, 1984, p. 42)

Pl. 73. Tapestry L'Indien à cheval. Anciennes Indes, Grandes Indes, 2nd set, basse lisso (GMTT 192(3), Mobilier National, Paris). See p. 131

Pl. 74. Tapestry Les pêcheurs. Petites Indes, 7th set, haute lisso (GMTT 188(1), Mobilier National, Paris). See p. 132

Pl. 75. Tapestry cartoons, details. Mobilier National, Paris. a. L'éléphant (GOB 743). b. Le chasseur indien (GOB 745). See pp. 126, 127

Pl. 76. Desportes drawings 1 and 18, oils on paper. Bibliothèque, Manufacture Nationale de Porcelaine, Sèvres. a. Llamas (*Lama pacos*, 28.5 by 33.0 cm, Port. 1, No 109). b. Cuacucua and Niqui (*Ogocephalus longirostris* and *Thalassophryne natteri*, 23.0 by 31.5 cm, Port. 2, No 47). See pp. 142, 145

Pl. 77. Desportes drawings 9 and 19, oils on paper. Bibliothèque, Manufacture Nationale de Porcelaine, Sèvres. a. Fat-tailed sheep, also flamingo (27.0 by 44.0 cm, mounted, S. 67). b. Fishes hanging, also crabs and tortoise (31.0 by 49.0 cm, Port. 2, No 46). See pp. 144, 146

Pl. 78. Desportes drawings 3 and 23, oils on paper and crayon. Bibliothèque, Manufacture Nationale de Porcelaine, Sèvres. a. Birds and nine-banded armadillos (30.0 by 50.0 cm, Port. 1, No 122). b. Cactus (*Cereus jamacaru*, 36.0 by 25.0 cm, Port. 3, No 15). See pp. 142, 147

Pl. 79. Marcgraf's map of Brazil by Blaeu, 1647. Mounted as wall-map, 101 by 160 cm, or including text 123 by 214 cm. Formerly in possession of R.C. Bracken of Utrecht. See p. 152

Pl. 80. Marcgraf's map of Brazil by Blaeu, 1647. Vignette on map 1 and vignette a. See pp. 155, 156

Pl. 81. Marcgraf's map of Brazil by Blaeu, 1647. Vignettes b, c and d. In vignette c, the adjacent fishing tower scene from map 2 is added at left, a part at right being omitted. See pp. 157, 158

Pl. 82. Marcgraf's map of Brazil by Blaeu, 1647. Vignettes on maps 3 and 4. See p. 155

Pl. 83. Eckhout sketches, pencil. *Misc. Cleyeri* (p. 14, bottom). Jagiellon Library, Cracow

Pl. 84. Eckhout sketches, pencil, also oils. *Theatri*, 1 and 3. Jagiellon Library, Cracow. a. Standing man from rear (p. 104v). b. Negro girl (p. 21)

Pl. 85. Portraits ascribed to Eckhout, oils on canvas. a. African king with boy holding sword, 193.0 by 136.5 cm. Private collection, U.S.A. b. Soldier with gun, 118.0 by 76.2 cm. Sold in 1985 by Harari & Johns, London. See pp. 172, 177

Pl. 86. African portraits, perhaps by Becx, oils on canvas. a. African with hat (perhaps Dom Miguel de Castro), 72 by 60 cm, KMS 7, Etnografiske Samling, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen. b. African with sword, 75 by 62 cm, S. Nijstad Oude Kunst B.V., The Hague. See pp. 172, 173

Pl. 87. African portraits, perhaps by Becx, oils on canvas. a and b. Perhaps servants of Dom Miguel de Castro (see pl. 86 a), 72 by 59 cm, KMS 8 and 9, Etnografiske Samling, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen. See p. 173.

Pl. 88. Tile panel with polychrome decor, including Eckhoutian figures; Delft, around 1700 (unknown workshop, 170 by 79 cm, NM 12400-443). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Note resemblance of negress near centre to Eckhout's Negro woman, pl. 45.

Pl. 89. Frans Post landscapes, oils on canvas. a. Itamaracá, signed and dated 1637, 63.5 by 89.5 cm. No 915, Mauritshuis, The Hague. b. São Francisco river, signed and dated 1638, 60 by 88 cm. No 1727, The Louvre, Paris

Pl. 90. Frans Post landscapes, oils on canvas. a. Ox-cart, signed and dated 15 August 1638, 61 by 88 cm. No 1728, The Louvre, Paris. b. Fort Keulen, signed and dated 28 August 1639, 60 by 86 cm. No 1726, The Louvre, Paris

Pl. 91. Frans Post landscapes, oils on canvas. a. Porto Calvo, signed F. Coreo, dated 1639, 61 by 88 cm. No 1729, The Louvre, Paris. b. Fort Frederik, signed and dated 1640, 60 by 88 cm. The late J. de Sousa-Leão

Pl. 92. Frans Post landscapes, oils on panels. a. Landscape with tamanduaí and palanquin, signed and dated 2 October 1649, 53 by 69 cm. No 1560, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. b. Sugar mill, signed and dated 1652, 45 by 65 cm. No 153, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

Pl. 93. Frans Post landscape, oils on canvas, signed and dated 22 December 1652, 282.5 by 210.5 cm. No A3224, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Pl. 94. Frans Post, Mauritsstad and Recife, oils on panel, signed and dated 25 August 1657, 46 by 83 cm. Collection Dos Santos, São Paulo

Pl. 95. Frans Post, Tapuya (Tarairiu) Indians fighting and hunting, oils on panel, signed and dated 1665, 57 by 72 cm. Museu Nacional de Belas Artes (Governor's Palace), Rio de Janeiro

Pl. 96. Frans Post, landscapes, oils on canvas and on panel. a. Sugar mill, signed, about 1660, 71.5 by 91.5 cm. No 2116, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. b. Sugar mill, signed, 49 by 62 cm. No 847, National Gallery, Dublin

Pl. 97. Frans Post, Franciscan cloister, oils on panel, signed, 48 by 70 cm. No B 427, Historisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main

Pl. 98. Frans Post, plantation house with settlers, oils on panel, signed and dated 1660, 21.5 by 28.0 cm. Art Gallery K. & V. Waterman, Amsterdam

Pl. 99. Gouache copies of Frans Post paintings by De Thiery, ca. 1765. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. a. Itamaracá. b. São Francisco river. c. Fort Keulen. d. Fort Frederik Hendrik. See p. 186

Pl. 100. Gouache copies of Frans Post paintings by De Thiery, ca. 1765. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. a. Alagoas do Sul. b. Recife. c. Parai-
ba. d. Cabo S. Agostino. See p. 186

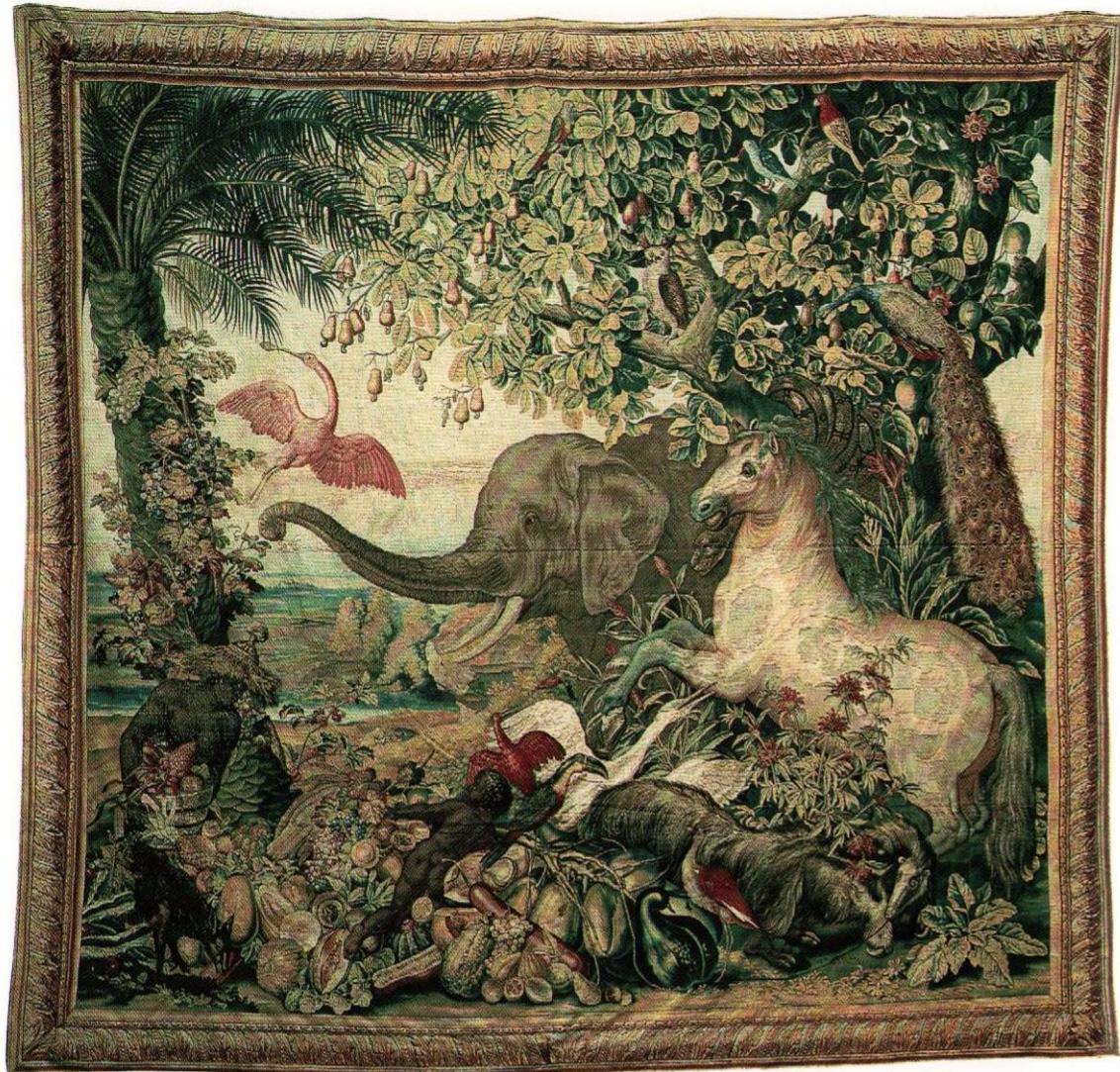
Pl. 101. Frans Post drawings. a. Sugar mill, pen and Indian ink, 14.3 by 28.2 cm. Musée Royal des Beaux Arts, Brussels; b. Mauritsstad and Recife, pencil, 17 by 29 cm. The late J. de Sousa-Leão

VIGNETTES

The vignettes at the end of each chapter are taken from Piso & Marcgrave's *Historia naturalis Brasiliæ* (1648).



300 *Plate 67. Le cheval rayé tapestry, Paris*



302 *Plate 69. L'Éléphant tapestry, Paris*



304 Plate 71. *Le combat d'animaux* tapestry, Paris