

# Le Cheval Rayé: A French Tapestry Portraying Dutch Brazil

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In 1687 the French royal Gobelins manufactory began weaving a series of tapestries that is now known as *Les Anciennes Indes*. The cartoons for eight subjects were prepared at an earlier date by two Dutch artists, Albert Eckhout (ca. 1610–1665) and Frans Post (1612–1680), and were presented as a gift to Louis XIV in 1679 by Johan Maurits de Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679). The cartoons were given to the king, along with a collection of supplementary paintings and possibly some other ethnographic materials, in order to verify that the artists portrayed accurately the flora, fauna, native people, and African slaves of the Dutch-held territories of eastern Brazil. Intended to convey the wonders of this “New World,” the cartoons constituted an early documentary effort at recording the nature, people, and landscape of the region. The effect of the cartoons, the accompanying materials, and the subsequent tapestries evoked the immediate fascination of contemporaries, as court comments have recorded.<sup>1</sup> These subjects have continued to interest historians, anthropologists, zoologists, and botanists throughout the intervening centuries to the present day. Curiously, the artistic compositions chosen to render the revelation of these discoveries arose from deep-seated traditional images and from contemporary European formulas. This article will focus on the design and production of one tapestry from the series, *Le Cheval Rayé*, in order to explore the repertory of traditional forms used by the painters of the cartoons.

In 1992 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a tapestry woven at the Gobelins manufactory entitled *Le Cheval Rayé*, from the series *Les Anciennes Indes* (fig. 1). The complete series consisted of eight hangings: *Le Cheval Rayé*, *Les Deux Taureaux*, *L'Eléphant* (or *Le Cheval Isabelle*), *Le Chasseur Indien*, *Le Combat d'Animaux*, *Le Roi Porté par Deux Maures*, *Le Cheval Pommelé* (or *L'Indien à Cheval*), and *Les Pêcheurs*. The tapestries are composed of a foreground with a plethora of fish and animals, and occasionally, a human, a mid-

dle ground of plants and trees with birds, and a background that portrays distant panoramas.

*Le Cheval Rayé* is an imaginative scene filled with unusual plants, birds, fish, crustaceans, and animals, including a rhinoceros, a gazelle, armadillos, and, in the center, a striped horse—presumably a zebra—which is being attacked by a spotted jaguar. For the majority of commissions, only the central subject of the animal combat by the stream was woven (fig. 2). This example of the scene, however, was extended beyond the original cartoon on both sides to include two native hunters. On the left, a spear thrower is poised, while the figure on the right aims and draws his bow. The border of *Le Cheval Rayé* is of the first design applied to this series at the Gobelins manufactory. It consists of a simple, entwined acanthus leaf and guilloche motif, which is set against a blue ground, with an agrafe in each corner. At the center top is woven the coat of arms for the family Camus de Pontcarré de Viarmes de la Guibourgère.<sup>2</sup>

The *Anciennes Indes* tapestry series derives ultimately from studies made by two Dutch artists during an expedition to northeast Brazil, which took place from 1637 to 1644. Albert Eckhout and Frans Post recorded their observations in the form of sketches and oil paintings while accompanying the newly appointed Dutch governor and official of the Dutch East Indies Company, Johan Maurits de Nassau-Siegen. Eckhout was primarily interested in plants, animals, and people, while Post executed landscapes.<sup>3</sup>

On returning to Brazil, Maurits envisioned a series of tapestries representing a portrait of Brazil *en grandeur de vif*, and he commissioned large-scale tapestry cartoons from the same artists. These were prepared by 1652 when Maurits presented a set of canvases to his cousin Frederick William, the elector of Brandenburg.<sup>4</sup> In 1679 he repeated the gesture and gave the same set of cartoons (or possibly another set painted by Eckhout after 1663) to Louis XIV with the inten-



FIGURE 1 Gobelins manufactory. *Le Cheval Rayé*. From the series *Les Anciennes Indes*, ca. 1690–1730. Wool and silk, 326 x 580.2 cm (10 ft. 10 in. x 18 ft. 10 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.DD.21.

tion that the eight paintings would serve as cartoons for the French royal tapestry workshops. Maurits anticipated that changes would be necessary and suggested that Louis XIV send a painter to the United Provinces, “qui se coignoit Paysages, et en quelle façon on est accoustumé de peindre les models des tapisseries au quel je donneray ouverture de mes desseins, que j’ai là dessus, et formeray en sa présence une liste de la qualité de chaque animal, lesquels desseins vostre Majesté pourra faire changer selon son bon plaisir.”<sup>5</sup>

There is no record that such an artist was sent, but Louis XIV accepted the eight paintings along with thirty-four supplementary paintings after receiving a favorable report by a French agent.<sup>6</sup> It was not until 1687 that the paintings were used by the Gobelins manufactory. The king approved their weaving on the low-warp looms when the weavers lacked work.<sup>7</sup> At that point, administrators of the tapestry workshops paid four French artists to *raccorder* the canvases: Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699) and Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715) retouched the plants and birds, while René-Antoine Houasse (1644/45–1710) and François Bonnemeyer (1638–1689) retouched all eight scenes.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1687 and 1730 the Gobelins manufactory wove the complete *Anciennes Indes* series eight times—all without metallic thread—and also filled an unspecified number of private commissions. In summary, three sets entered the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne, two went into storage at the Gobelins, one set was an official commission by *Le Grand Maître des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean* in Malta, Raymond de Perellos (*grand maître* 1697, d. 1720), one other was a diplomatic presentation to Czar Peter the Great in 1717, and the remaining set decorated the French Academy in Rome.

After the first two sets were woven on the low-warp looms, Alexandre-François Desportes (1661–1743) was paid in 1692/93 to repair the cartoons for use in the high-warp workshops. The low-warp looms required the cartoons to be cut into strips and placed one after the other directly under the warp threads, while the cartoons for the high-warp looms hung intact on the wall behind the weavers. (In both methods the weaver worked from the back of the hanging. A subject, when woven in the low-warp technique, left the loom as a mirror image of the painted model.) Converting the cartoons from the former process to



FIGURE 2 Gobelins manufactory. *Le Cheval Rayé*. From the series *Les Anciennes Indes*, ca. 1689–1690. Wool and silk, 482 x 382 cm (15 ft. 9 3/4 in. x 12 ft. 6 3/8 in.). Paris, Mobilier National GMTT 193/1.

the latter involved stitching the canvas strips together and painting in the losses.

In 1703, during a period when only the Maltese order was in progress, Claude Audran III (1658–1734) restored the cartoons for *Les Anciennes Indes*. At least one scholar considered this repair proof that contemporaneous private commissions were causing wear to the cartoons.<sup>9</sup> By 1722, they had deteriorated further and Alexandre-François Desportes was paid yet again for additional work, which included “ouvrage de peintures et dessins pour exécuter à la Manufacture des Gobelins.”<sup>10</sup> He surely introduced slight modifications to the cartoons at this point and uniformly diminished their height by one-half *aune* (approximately 59.5 cm [1 ft. 11 3/8 in.]). These shorter tapestries of the sixth through eighth weavings had more elaborate borders and were distinguished by the title *Les Petites Indes*.

By 1735, the *Directeur des Bâtiments du Roi*, Philibert Orry, commissioned Alexandre-François Desportes (who was, by then, animal painter to the king) to design a new set of cartoons based on the same subject. Inspired by the original series, which he studied and retouched in 1692/93 and in 1722, Desportes

created eight new models that were exhibited in the Salons of 1737, 1738, 1740, and 1741.<sup>11</sup> He altered the composition of *Le Cheval Rayé* by repositioning the animals and moving the stream. Furthermore, he replaced the jaguar with a leopard that attacks the zebra from the front (fig. 3). *Les Nouvelles Indes* gained rapid success and no fewer than fourteen complete sets were woven between 1740 and 1800.

Scholars disagree on the authorship of the original tapestry cartoons. Research concludes that the work of Eckhout and Post formed the basis of the cartoons, but that French artists working at the Gobelins rearranged and modified certain areas. Ruediger Joppien doubted that the French artists substantially altered the content of the Dutch cartoons, because French documents and inventories always identified them as those given by Johan Maurits, reaffirming their origin and provenance. The eight paintings presented to the king corresponded in number and height to the first tapestry series woven and, therefore, could be regarded as their models. Furthermore, Joppien speculated that French artists, such as the flower painters Monnoyer and Belin de Fontenay, would have respected the originality of the material.<sup>12</sup> There are, however, differences of opinion as to the extent that the Maurits canvases were reworked by French artists. The fact that the four painters Monnoyer, Belin de Fontenay, Houasse, and Bonnemer were paid to *raccommoder* the cartoons has been interpreted in many ways. Joppien, Peter James Palmer Whitehead, and M. Boeseman believe



FIGURE 3 Gobelins manufactory. *Le Cheval Rayé*. From the series *Les Nouvelles Indes*, ca. 1740–1741. Wool and silk, 416 x 416 cm (13 ft. 7 3/4 in. x 13 ft. 7 3/4 in.). Paris, Mobilier National GMTT 312.



FIGURE 4 Unknown. *Horse Attacked by Lion*, late fifteenth century. Ink on paper, 10.7 x 14.6 cm (4 1/4 x 5 3/4 in.). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz kdz 25 020. Photographer: P. Anders.

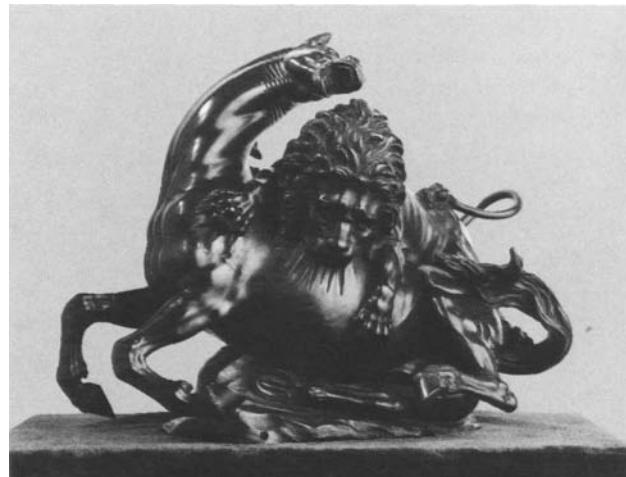


FIGURE 5 Antonio Susini (Italian, d. 1624) after Giambologna (Flemish, 1529–1608). *Lion Attacking a Horse*, ca. 1600–24. Bronze, 26.6 x 30.4 cm (10 1/2 x 12 in.). Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase 25.20.

the payments of approximately 2,102 livres to the Gobelins painters were too small for design work and do not compare with the minimum of 16,000 livres that was paid to Desportes for the cartoons of *Les Nouvelles Indes*.<sup>13</sup> Joaquim de Sousa-Leão believed that the work of the French artists was limited to a mere restoration of the original Eckhout cartoons, and Madeleine Jarry agreed.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, Michael Benisovich believed the French actually designed the cartoons, since they were executed more skillfully than Eckhout's decorative schemes that were painted for the royal Saxon castles around Dresden, and because Johan Maurits had suggested that Louis XIV send an artist "qui se coignoit . . . en quelle façon on est accoustumé de peindre les models des tapisseries."<sup>15</sup>

Although *Le Cheval Rayé* purports to document the wonders of eastern Brazil, the composition of the main animals and figures seems to be inspired directly from European art traditions. Sources for the design come from disparate arenas: the setting and subject from Brazil, the composition of the horse and jaguar from Hellenistic sculpture, the rhinoceros from Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), and one of the figures from the school of Charles Le Brun (1619–1690).

Some individual elements closely follow the Eckhout preparatory drawings done on site or the paintings executed afterward.<sup>16</sup> Curiously, the zebra attacked by the jaguar is not known in any of the surviving sketches by Eckhout. *Les Anciennes Indes* contain at least three large animals that are not indigenous to

South America: the zebra, the rhinoceros, and the elephant. Authorities are divided over whether Eckhout went to Africa where he may have studied such creatures alive, or whether these animals were possibly contained in Maurits's menagerie in his Brazilian camp at Recife.<sup>17</sup> The subject and composition of the attack are similar to another animal hunt portrayed in the same series, *Le Combat d'Animaux*, in which a tapir is also pounced upon by a jaguar from behind. Both must have been inspired from an age-old animal combat prototype.<sup>18</sup>

The positions of the zebra and jaguar spring from the European repertory of animal hunt scenes. Ultimately the composition derives from a Renaissance bronze that reinterpreted a broken and incomplete colossal Greco-Roman marble sculpture. This classical work was known and admired in Rome during the fifteenth century and a drawing from that period recorded its appearance—the torso of a stallion, lacking head and limbs, twisting beneath a clawing and biting lion whose hind legs are missing (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> In 1594 the sculpture was restored and completed, with the horse's head leaning forward, by Ruggero Bescapè (d. 1600).<sup>20</sup> Before this date, however, it is surmised that Giambologna (1529–1608) took inspiration from the classical group and created a bronze sculpture that positioned the missing elements differently. In the version attributed to Giambologna the stallion's head arches back above the lion. This model is known only through supposed replicas by Antonio Susini (d. 1624)

and his nephew Giovanni Francesco Susini (ca. 1575–1653), since none of the bronzes may be ascribed with certainty to Giambologna (fig. 5).<sup>21</sup> It is noteworthy that a marble copy of the ancient sculptural fragment entered the French royal collection at Versailles in 1685 and must have been known to the school of artists working there.<sup>22</sup>

Like the zebra, the rhinoceros does not appear in the sketches from the Brazilian expedition of 1637–44. It seems, instead, to be based on Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1515, which was widely circulated in numerous editions during the sixteenth century (fig. 6). The small horn that protrudes from the animal's back, an anatomical anomaly, can be traced to Dürer's drawing for the original woodcut.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, a rendering of the creature after Dürer is featured on the title page of the second edition of *Historia Naturalis Brasiliæ* (1658). In this work the joint Brazilian observations of Johan Maurits's physician Willem Pies or Piso (1611–1678) and scientist Georg Marcgraf (1610–1643) are published.<sup>24</sup> However, the rhinoceros in *Le Cheval Rayé* (fig. 7) turns its head to the left.

While it is unclear how extensively the Gobelins artists modified the original cartoons, it is certain that French artists designed the extensions found to the left and right of the central subject in the Museum's example. The two hunting figures look toward contemporary French design for their Baroque movement and musculature. The posture of the spear thrower, with bent left knee and raised right arm, is strikingly similar to the satyr painted by Charles Le Brun and his assistants on the ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces at

Versailles.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, the scheme in which the frontal left figure balances the right figure, seen from the back, also echoes the ceiling decoration of the Galerie des Glaces. Perhaps René-Antoine Houasse designed the extensions to the tapestry, since he was a pupil of Charles Le Brun and a member of his *équipe* since 1672, and worked with the master at Versailles. Houasse was also *garde des tableaux du roi* and receiver of the original eight Dutch paintings and thirty-four accompanying works when they were deposited into the royal store.<sup>26</sup> As stated above, he also was one of the four original artists paid by the Gobelins to retouch the cartoons in 1687. In certain respects, however, the left-hand figure (fig. 8) follows site studies of Brazilian natives. In terms of pose and facial characteristics, the spear thrower resembles the dancing Tapuyan Indians painted by Eckhout, and it is possible that Houasse found such subjects among the supplemental materials (fig. 9).<sup>27</sup>

The present author has not yet identified a direct source for the figure of the archer, which is woven in the extension to the right. The artist responsible for the figure may have seen graphic variants of an engraving of *The Battle of the Ten Nudes*, by Antonio Pollaiuolo (ca. 1426–1498), which includes an archer, seen frontally, in the left-hand middle ground. The tapestry's archer raises his right arm to pull the bow string and leans forward on his bent left leg, as does Pollaiuolo's archetype. But the differences in their musculature and stance suggest unknown intermediaries.<sup>28</sup>

Two other extended weavings of *Le Cheval Rayé* are known with the same figures appearing to the left

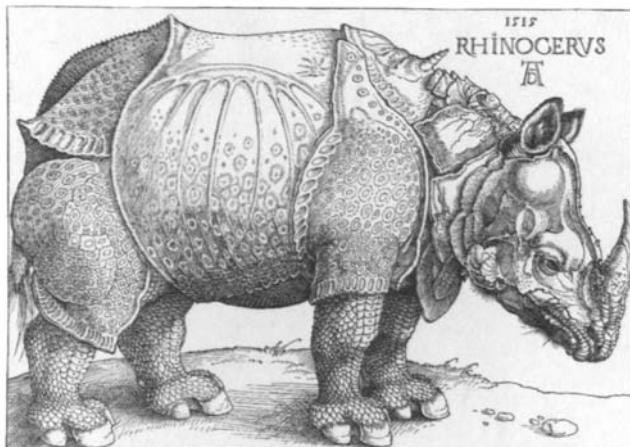


FIGURE 6 Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *The Rhinoceros*, 1515. Woodcut. London, The British Museum, 1895-1-22-714.



FIGURE 7 Detail of rhinoceros from the Getty Museum's tapestry *Le Cheval Rayé*.

and right. One is in the possession of Monsieur Babin, Château de Saint Rémy-en-l'Eau, near Saint Julien-en-Chausée, Oise.<sup>29</sup> It was formerly one of four Anciennes Indes tapestries in the Achille Leclercq collection, attributed to the workshop of Jean Jans *le fils* (entrepreneur of the high-warp loom, 1668–1723), because of the common height and woven signatures found on the three others of the group. It lacks the rhinoceros and jaguar.<sup>30</sup> A second version is in the Louvre, Paris, but the foliage and ground in the lower left are treated differently.<sup>31</sup> A third tapestry passed through the Paris art market in 1992. Extended only on the left side, it also bears the same spear thrower.<sup>32</sup>

The hunting figure on the left in the J. Paul Getty Museum's tapestry has been expertly rewoven from the hips to the feet. It is not known why the reweaving was necessary, but it was accomplished in wefts of wool fiber that match the surrounding area in color and brilliancy. Visually, it is nearly impossible to discern the repair and the fading is even overall, which suggests that the reweaving followed shortly after the completion of the tapestry. It may be possible that the figure of the spear thrower was originally naked, as

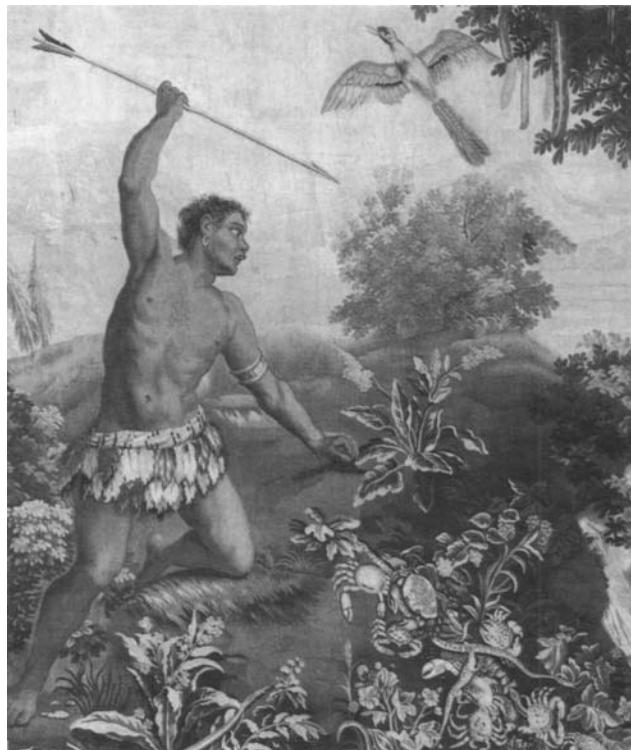


FIGURE 8 Left-hand figure from the Getty Museum's *Cheval Rayé*.



FIGURE 9 Albert Eckhout (Dutch, ca. 1610–1665). *Tapuya (Tarairiu) Dance*, 1640s. Oil on canvas, 168 x 294 cm (5 ft. 6 1/8 in. x 9 ft. 7 3/4 in.). Copenhagen, The National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography N 38B. Photographer: Lennart Larsen.

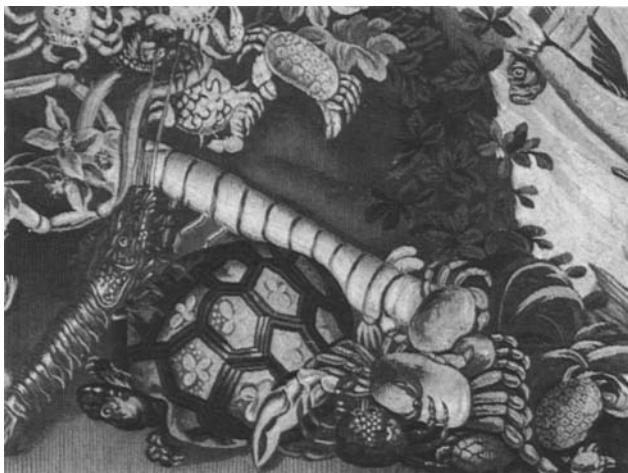


FIGURE 10 Detail of tortoise from the Getty Museum's tapestry *Le Cheval Rayé*.

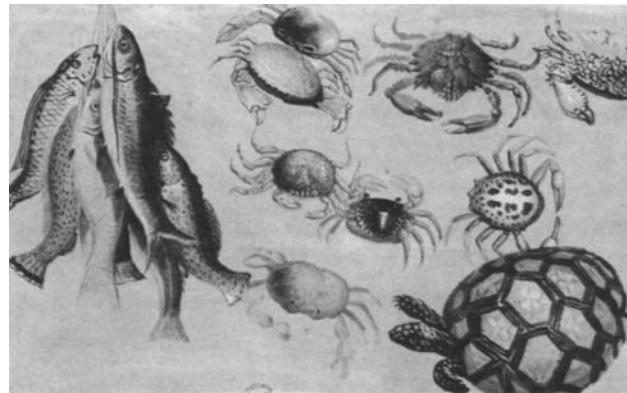


FIGURE 11 Alexandre-François Desportes (French, 1661–1743). *Fishes Hanging, also Crabs and Tortoise*, ca. 1692–1722. Oil on paper, 31 x 49 cm (1 ft. 1/8 in. x 1 ft. 7 1/8 in.). Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, Portfolio 2, n 46.

were the tribesmen depicted in the Eckhout studies. If so, then the subject may have been reworked to appease the private patron as was once done for Madame de Maintenon, who was the mistress and then the morganatic wife of Louis XIV. She was affronted by the nudity in another Gobelins tapestry series, *Les Sujets de la Fable* (or *Les Amours de Psyché*) and, beginning in 1700, had draperies added to the figures already woven.<sup>33</sup> While conventionally correct according to European portrayals of American natives, the spear thrower's feathered skirt is ethnographically inaccurate.<sup>34</sup>

A chronology of the surviving examples of *Le Cheval Rayé* can be determined by discrepancies between the sets that were caused by the deterioration and subsequent modification of the cartoons.<sup>35</sup> Comparing *Le Cheval Rayé* from the second tenture with later weavings confirms that the Museum's example must postdate the Desportes repairs to the cartoons of 1692/93. The tapestry of the second tenture woven in low-warp has details that were not carried through in the following sets, such as more foliage in front of the gazelle's hind legs, the position of the zebra's foreleg behind the bird's wing, and the presence of a small llama-like mammal near the river with fish (fig. 2). Furthermore, the fish in this river are woven with greater detail than in later versions. Just prior to the weaving of the third set begun in 1692, Alexandre-François Desportes retouched the Anciennes Indes cartoons for the first time and certain details seen in *Le Cheval Rayé* from the third weaving forward show

his intervention.<sup>36</sup> For instance, the tortoise to the left of the river bank (fig. 10) more closely follows an oil sketch by Desportes (fig. 11) than a study of fighting tortoises ascribed to Eckhout and two other renderings of South American tortoises depicted in the surviving Brazilian sketchbooks.<sup>37</sup> Desportes repeated this unidentified species of tortoise in his 1738 cartoon of the same subject for *Les Nouvelles Indes*. The tapestry in the J. Paul Getty Museum, therefore, must have been woven after 1692 and probably before 1703, but certainly before 1730.

For all the novelty of subject in *Le Cheval Rayé*, traditional and contemporary artistic conventions provided the basis of composition. The cartoon painters, whether Dutch and/or French, not surprisingly drew on European prototypes to portray the scene, applying exotic and foreign attributes to familiar forms. The lush imagery, although rich and novel, evolved during the process of design and production from an observational record to a stylized interpretation.

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## NOTES

1. The paintings arrived in late summer of 1679 at the royal residence of Saint Germain-en-Laye and were later exhibited in the Salle de la Comédie at the Palais du Louvre. The king and members of the court, including the dauphin and the minister, Colbert, made repeated visits to the Salle de la Comédie through that September. See M. Benisovich, "The History of the Tenture des Indes," *The Burlington Magazine* 83 (September 1943), pp. 216–25.
2. The tapestry has descended through the Camus de Pontcarré de Viarmes de la Guibourgère, an extended family that was located in both Paris and Rouen. Through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, various members served the French crown, the Paris *parlement*, and local authority in Rouen in ministerial capacities.
3. More than eight hundred small oil paintings known as *Theatrum rerum naturalium Brasiliæ* and watercolor sketches known as the *Handbooks*, together with the *Miscellanea Cleyeri*, survive in the Jagiellon Library, Cracow. Nearly three hundred watercolor and pencil studies are conserved in the archives of the Academy of Science, Saint Petersburg, and more small oil paintings from the *Theatri* are in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. See P. J. P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil* (Oxford and New York, 1989).
4. One or, possibly, two sets of tapestries after these cartoons were woven in Delft under the direction of Maximillaan van der Gucht (d. 1689) in 1667, while they were still in the possession of the elector of Brandenburg. No trace of them survives. The original cartoons may have been retained by Johan Maurits after the van der Gucht weavings; if so, they may have been the models that were subsequently presented by Maurits to Louis XIV. See Whitehead and Boeseman (note 3), pp. 109–10.
5. Letter of February 8, 1679, as cited in Whitehead and Boeseman (note 3), p. 115.
6. Gédéon du Metz, *Contrôleur Général des Meubles de La Couronne*, described the gifts on January 30, 1681, in the *Inventaire Général des Meubles de la Couronne*, no. 442 (as published by Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire Général du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV [1663–1715]* [Paris, 1886], vol. 2, pp. 22–23):
 

Huit grands tableaux donnez au Roy par le Prince Maurice de Nassau, représentant des figures d'hommes et de femmes de grandeur naturelle, plusieurs plantes, fruits, oiseaux, animaux, poissons et paysages du Brésil, de 14 pieds 8 pouces de haut, sur. . . de large, qui peuvent servire aux peintres pour faire des dessins au naturel de tout ce qui vient dudit pais.

and the accompanying materials as no. 443:

Trente quatre autres tableaux aussy donnez au Roy par le prince Maurice de Nassau, représentant des villes, forteresses, ports de mer et paysages du Brésil, et quelques fruits et animaux dudit pais, dont partie sont dans des bordures d'ebéne, hauts d'environ 2 à 3 pieds de large.

The paintings were accepted by order of François Michel Le Tellier de Louvois, *Surintendant et Directeur des Bâtiments du Roi* (1683–1691) and received by René-Antoine Houasse, *Garde des Tableaux du Roi*.
7. Archives nationales, o<sup>1</sup> 2040 (as printed in Maurice Fenaille, *Etat Général des Tapisseries de La Manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1600–1900* [Paris, 1903], vol. 2,

p. 371). M. de la Chapelle, *Contrôleur des Bâtiments du Roi at the Gobelins*, records the following:

Les ouvriers de basse lisso n'ayant plus d'ouvrage, je proposai de faire la première tenture des *Indiens*, j'en fis voir les tableaux à M. de Louvois, que je fis apporter du Garde-Meuble, il en parla au Roy et S. M. approuva cette proposition. Les srs Houasse, Bonnememer et Baptiste [Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer] eurent ordre d'en raccommoder les tableaux.

8. Monnoyer and Belin de Fontenay received a total of 552 livres and Houasse and Bonnememer received 1,550 livres; Fenaille (see note 7), vol. 2, pp. 371–72.
9. See Fenaille (note 7), vol. 2, p. 384.
10. Fenaille believed that this payment must refer to Desportes's work on the *Anciennes Indes* cartoons; see Fenaille (note 7), vol. 2, p. 387. Some of the related Desportes sketches, which are in the Archives of the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (but dispersed to other institutions), may date from this period. See especially the Desportes oil study of the zebra, jaguar, and rhinoceros reproduced in *La Tenture des Anciennes et Nouvelles Indes*, exh. cat. (Aix-en-Provence, Musée des tapisseries, June–October 1984), no. 23, p. 29, and illustrated on p. 18.
11. The eight models survive and are dispersed among several museums. See R. Joppien, "Dutch Vision of Brazil," in *Johann Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679*, ed. E. van den Boogaart et al. (The Hague, 1979), p. 357, n. 368. The model for *Le Cheval Rayé* is in the Musée de Guéret, Creuse (inv. 388).
12. See R. Joppien (note 11), p. 355.
13. See R. Joppien (note 11), p. 355; and Whitehead and Boeseman (note 3), p. 115.
14. J. de Sousa-Leão, "Du nouveau sur les tableaux du Brésil offerts à Louis XIV," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 116 (February 1961), pp. 95–104; and M. Jarry, "L'exotisme au temps de Louis XIV: Tapisseries des Gobelins et de Beauvais," *Medizin Historical Journal* 11 (1976), pp. 52–71.
15. M. Benisovich (note 1).
16. Compare the following details in the tapestry with preparatory studies and finished paintings: the tuidara owl (oil on paper drawing in Jagiellon Library, Cracow); cuacucu fish (oil on paper, Griebe collection, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden); Potiatinga, the lobster-type crustacean between the toad and tortoise (oil on paper, Griebe collection, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden); Iapu, campo oriole—the bird near the spear thrower (oil on canvas, painted ceiling decoration, Hoflössnitz Lodge at Radebeul near Dresden); Cassia grandis tree (portrait of a Tapuya woman, oil on canvas, Copenhagen); toad (portrait of a Tupinamba woman, oil on canvas, Copenhagen); and sugar cane (portrait of a Mestizo man, oil on canvas, Copenhagen). Refer to Whitehead and Boeseman (note 3), pp. 123–24 and pls. (in the order listed above) 9b, 32a, 32b, 33a, 39, 41, 42.
17. In 1641 the Dutch crossed from Brazil to Africa, to capture the Portuguese port of Luanda. One Eckhout drawing (*Theatrum A. 34, f.147*) depicts a Zunú sheep and is inscribed in Dutch "Uyt Congo" and "Angola." See R. Joppien (note 11), p. 313.
18. The portrayal of a wild cat hunting a game animal can be traced at least to Assyrian relief sculpture. The marble obelisk of Shalmaneser III, circa 859–824 B.C., depicts a lion clawing and biting a fleeing stag in the hindquarters (London, British Museum, inv. II8885. Reproduced in H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum* [Paris, 1928], pl. 23 and p. 38). A strikingly similar representation of the same

subject was the central scene of verdure tapestries woven in Audenarde during the mid-sixteenth century. An example is found in the New York Academy of Medicine.

19. The drawing is in the Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. See *Zeichner Sehen die Antike*, exh. cat. (Berlin-Dahlem, February–April 1967), no. 6.

20. See F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique, the Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), no. 54, pp. 250–51, illustrated. Bescapé's sculpture survives in the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.

21. An example of the bronze group signed by Antonio Susini is in the Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase, acc. 25.20. See Manfred Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna* (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 226–28.

22. The marble copy survives in the Château de Versailles, inv. MV8600. See S. Hoog, *Musée National du château de Versailles. Les sculptures. I - Le Musée* (Paris, 1993), no. 352, p. 97.

23. See T. H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515–1799* (London, 1986), pp. 92–94. Dürer's pen and brown wash drawing of 1515 is in the British Museum.

24. First noted by C. Coste in 1946 and cited in Whitehead and Boeseman (note 3), pp. 123, 210.

25. I would like to thank Ann Friedman of the J. Paul Getty Museum for pointing this out to me. The figure of the satyr that appears twice, once at either end of the Galerie des Glaces, supports the carved frame and central painting of the vault. A drawing for this figure by Le Brun is conserved in the Musée de Louvre, Paris, inv. 29.325. See *Charles Le Brun, 1619–1690, Peintre et Dessinateur*, exh. cat. (Château de Versailles, July–October 1963), no. 159, p. 361.

26. See note 5 above.

27. Albert Eckhout, *Tapuya (Tarairiu) Dance*, 1640s, oil on canvas, Copenhagen, The National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnology, inv. N 38B.

28. I would like to thank Laurie Fusco of the J. Paul Getty Museum for her insights on the relationship of the archer in the tapestry to the archer in Pollaiuolo's engraving. For further information, see L. Fusco, "Battle of the Nudes," in *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1973), no. 13, pp. 66–80, and by the same author, "Pollaiuolo's Battle of the Nudes: A Suggestion for an Ancient Source and A New Dating," in *Scritti de storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (Milan, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 196–99.

29. Whitehead and Boeseman (note 3), p. 122.

30. Its measurements are 340 x 530 cm (11 ft. 1 4/5 in. x 17 ft. 4 1/2 in.). See Fenaille (note 7), vol. 2, p. 395; and H. Göbel, *Die Wandteppiche - II. Die Romanischen Länder* (Leipzig, 1928), pt. 2, fig. 121 (and dated ca. 1690).

31. Paris, Louvre, inv. OAR 24, measuring 330 x 538 cm (10 ft. 9 4/5 in. x 17 ft. 7 1/5 in.). It was exhibited in *Les Gobelins (1662–1962): Trois siècles de tapisserie française* (Geneva, Château de Coppet, June–September 1962), no. 60, where it was identified erroneously as a tapestry from Les Nouvelles Indes.

32. It is likely that the tapestry was shortened in width, or intended to be woven wider, as the middle of the border does not align with the middle of the scene; it measures 292 x 414 cm (9 ft. 7 in. x 13 ft. 7 in.). Reproduced by S. Humair, "Les Gobelins: I. - De Colbert à Louvois," *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* 14 (April 3, 1992), p. 89.

33. Houasse and Bonnemer were among the artists who prepared the models for *Les Sujets de la Fable*. See Fenaille (note 7), vol. 2, pp. 252–53, 267–68.

34. T. Lefrançois, "L'Allégorie de l'Amérique à travers les collections du Musée du Nouveau Monde à la Rochelle," *Revue du Louvre* 5/6 (December 1992), pp. 53–62.

35. One of the four low-warp cartoon panels for *Le Cheval Rayé* survives in the Gobelins manufactory (GOB 746). It is the left panel, in three pieces stitched together and mounted on canvas, which measures 392 cm in height and 112 cm in width (12 ft. 10 1/3 in. x 3 ft. 8 1/10 in.)

36. The third set of *Les Anciennes Indes*, woven at the Gobelins manufactory between 1692 and 1700, was presented in 1717 as a diplomatic gift to Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, and served as models for production in the newly established Imperial Tapestry Manufactory in Saint Petersburg. The French originals were destroyed by fire in 1737, but an Imperial version of *Le Cheval Rayé* from the 1730s to the 1740s can be used for comparison. See T. T. Korshunova, *Russian Tapestry, Petersburg Tapestry Factory* (Leningrad, 1975), pl. 32.

37. Desportes's sketch portrays only one tortoise on a sheet of various fish and crustacean studies. The tortoise is of an unidentified species, with a red speckled head and forelegs and a polylobed floral pattern in the shell (Archives, Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres portfolio 2, N 46). The oil study attributed to Eckhout of two fighting South American tortoises (*Geochelone carbonaria* ?) quite specifically details the different formation and coloring of the shells (The Hague, Mauritshuis, N 957; reproduced in Whitehead and Boeseman [note 3], p. 292, pl. 59).

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