

**“A COLLECTION OF TAPESTRY CARTOONS AT THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM IN OXFORD”**

When it comes to tapestry cartoons, the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology (University of Oxford) is best known for a series of seven full-size copies of Raphael's 'Acts of the Apostles' made in England for the tapestry manufacturer Jacob Christoffel Le Blon (1667-1741).<sup>1</sup> Less well known is a collection of twenty-one fragments of tapestry cartoons depicting heads, hands, feet and drapery.<sup>2</sup>

[Fig. 1] These cartoon fragments are currently kept in the Ashmolean's Print Room under the Flemish artist Pieter de Kempeneer or Pedro Campaña (1503–1586) who was a tapestry designer but this article will reject this attribution and connect the Ashmolean fragments to their related tapestries.

Eighteen of the Ashmolean fragments will be presented here for the first time within the context of other cartoon fragments which have survived worldwide. Many of these have been traditionally linked to the production of the tapestries of the Scuola Nuova and this paper will survey all the known cartoon fragments and present a reconstruction of their positions on their respective cartoons and tapestries.

The tapestry series known as the Second Series or the Scuola Nuova, i.e. New School [of Raphael], which is named in order to distinguish it from the more famous Scuola Vecchia series containing the ten tapestries depicting the 'Acts of the Apostles' or 'Acts of St Peter and St Paul' designed by Raphael.<sup>3</sup> This second series has, however, received significantly less attention than its more famous predecessor. The tapestries illustrate twelve episodes of the 'Life of Christ' (Vita di Cristo) divided in two sets, six scenes of Christ's early years and six after Christ's Crucifixion: *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Nativity); *Adoration of the Magi* (Nativity); *Presentation in the Temple*; *Massacre of the Innocents* (in three portions); *Christ in Limbo* (Descent into Hell); *Resurrection*; *Christ appearing to*

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<sup>1</sup> Inv.nos. WA1845.52 to WA1845.58, presented in 1807 by George Spencer, 4th Duke of Marlborough, of Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire; since 1992 on long-term loan and on display in the Cartoon Gallery at Hampton Court Palace, London. See C. Casley, C. Harrison, J. Whiteley (eds.), *The Ashmolean Museum: Complete Illustrated Catalogue of Paintings*, Oxford, 2004, pp.180-181. They were previously attributed to Henry Cooke as the copyist but now given to Isaac Vogelsang and Thomas Carwitham.

<sup>2</sup> Inv.nos. WA1846.234 to WA1846.254. See K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection of drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, II. Italian Schools*, Oxford, 1956, pp.326-330, cat.nos. 599-619; H. Macandrew, *Catalogue of the collection of drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, III. Italian Schools Supplement*, Oxford, 1980, p. 280, cat.nos. 599-619.

<sup>33</sup> Seven of the ten original cartoons were brought to England in 1623 by the later King Charles I and are currently on long-term loan from the Royal Collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; see M. Evans and C. Browne with A. Nesselrath (eds.), *Raphael: Cartoons and Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, exh.cat. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2010, pp. 18-63.

*Mary Magdalene* (Noli me Tangere); *Supper at Emmaus*; *Ascension*; and *Pentecost* (Descent of the Holy Ghost).<sup>4</sup> [Fig. 2]

Although the original contract for these tapestries has not survived, documents in the papal archives related to their payment suggest that they were initially commissioned by Pope Leo X, probably just after Raphael's death in April 1520.<sup>5</sup> Because of Leo's death and the short tenure of his successor Pope Adrian VI, their actual production only took place under Pope Clement VII when they were finally woven in Brussels in the workshop of Pieter van Edingen van Aelst (c.1450-c.1533) between 1524 and 1531.<sup>6</sup> Only one set of twelve tapestries was ever produced, eleven of which have survived in the Vatican collections.<sup>7</sup> The weaving, including the gold and silver thread used, cost 20,750 ducats in total. Inventories indicate that the tapestries were originally meant as decorations for the consistories, i.e. the meetings of the college of cardinals, during the Christmas and Easter holidays. As the entire series of tapestries appears too large for either the Camera del Papa (for secret consistories) or the Sala Regia or the Aula Terzia (for public consistories), they were probably hung in rotation per set of six episodes. The tapestries' irregular dimensions indicate that they were intended for a specific space in the Vatican with some of the narrower panels fitting between windows. The Sala Regia has been suggested by Charles Hope in his 1968 unpublished dissertation about the Scuola Nuova tapestries.<sup>8</sup>

This paper will aim to make a clear distinction between the artist(s) responsible for the design of the tapestries on the one hand and those tasked with the execution of the cartoons on the other hand. Confusion between these – often different – sets of artists has sometimes occurred in previous publications on cartoon fragments.

The authorship of the designs of the tapestries and therefore the cartoons is not well documented with no mention of the designers made in the payment records and no preparatory drawings which seem to have survived. It is known that after Raphael's death, his Roman workshop continued independently under his joint artistic heirs, Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546) and Giovanni Francesco Penni (c.1496-c.1528), until they left for Mantua in 1524 and 1626 respectively.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Vatican Museums, Rome, inv.nos. MV\_43856 to MV\_43865. For reproductions of the set, see E. Müntz, *Les tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican et dans les principaux musées ou collections d'Europe*, Paris, 1897, pp. 36-44. Some panels have been published online with colour images on the Vatican Museums database.

<sup>5</sup> For the tapestry series and their commission see W. Gunn, *Cartonensis or an Historical and Critical Account of the Tapestries in the Palace of the Vatican*, London, 1831, pp. 25-28; C. Hope, *The Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova in the Vatican Museum*, unpublished M.A. dissertation Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1968, pp. 1-3; D. Cordellier and B. Py, *Raphaël, son atelier, ses copistes*, exh.cat. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1992, pp. 616-624; T.P. Campbell, with contributions by M.W. Ainsworth et al., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 237-245.

<sup>6</sup> G. Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse Wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, Tiel, 1999, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> The tapestries were removed from the Vatican in 1798 and taken to France where they were exhibited at the Musée du Louvre in Paris in 1799. They returned to the Vatican in 1808 and have been on display in the Galleria degli Arazzi (west corridor of the Belvedere at the Vatican) since 1838. The tapestry illustrating *Christ in Limbo* is now lost, probably destroyed or looted by Napoleonic troops in 1781. Its design is known through prints made after the original, see for instance the engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet dated 1541; an impression is at the British Museum, London, inv.no. 1866,1114.794.

<sup>8</sup> C. Hope, *The Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova... op. cit.*, pp. 4-20.

<sup>9</sup> G. Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse Wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw*, Tiel, 1999, p. 91.

As the Scuola Nuova tapestries were commissioned in 1520, Raphael's stylistic influence is unsurprisingly still apparent in the tapestries. Stylistically they are closest to Giulio Romano, especially when looking at the facial features, poses, gestures, hairstyles, elaborate furniture and their general tendency towards the grotesque.<sup>10</sup> It is generally assumed that Giulio Romano was responsible for the overall design of the tapestries, while slight stylistic differences between the tapestries can be explained by Penni continuing the design of the cartoons independently after Giulio Romano left for Mantua in 1524.<sup>11</sup> Some scholars have tried to attribute the designs of some of the later scenes, such as the *Supper at Emmaus* and *Christ in Limbo*, to Flemish artists as they feature fewer Italian influences.<sup>12</sup> Despite these clear stylistic differences between the eleven surviving tapestries, their designs were probably conceived in the workshop of Giulio Romano and Penni, possible also after they had both left Rome for Mantua. The long production period of the tapestries, which were woven between 1524 and 1531, indicates that not all designs were likely finished by 1524.

As no actual design drawings (called the *modelli* or *petits patrons*) seem to have survived, it has proven difficult to support this attribution of the design to the workshop of Giulio Romano and Penni. Some drawings have been previously described as possible preparatory sketches for the cartoons but none are currently accepted as autograph.<sup>13</sup> Raphael's influence is still visible in some related drawings, such as a sheet in Paris showing the *Adoration of the Shepherds* which incorporates elements by Raphael and is possibly a copy made by Penni after earlier designs.<sup>14</sup> [Fig. 3] The composition of the tapestry illustrating the *Adoration of the Magi* has previously been linked to the fresco of the same subject in Raphael's Loggia in the Vatican, especially the central part with the Virgin and Child and the kneeling king.<sup>15</sup> Four additional drawings in Oxford – *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation in the Temple*, *Resurrection* and *Supper at Emmaus* – were previously described as preliminary designs but are now generally accepted as copies after the tapestries or the now lost

<sup>10</sup> P. Pouncey and J.A. Gere, *Raphael and his Circle. Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 2 vols., London, 1962, vol. I, pp. 80-81; K. Oberhuber, [Review Pouncey and Gere], in *Master Drawings* 1.3 (1963), p. 50; C. Hope, *The Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova...* *op. cit.*, pp. 21-30.

<sup>11</sup> Hope even attributes the design of the *Adoration of the Magi* to Perino del Vaga and Polidoro da Caravaggio.

<sup>12</sup> T.P. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>13</sup> A drawing of the *Supper at Emmaus*, presumed to be the *modello*, was previously in the collection of Henri Joseph François, Baron de Triqueti (1804-1874); present whereabouts unknown.

<sup>14</sup> Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.no. 3460; D. Cordellier and B. Py, *Raphaël, son atelier, ses copistes*, exh.cat. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1992, cat.no. 887 (as Raphael or Penni?); K. Oberhuber and A. Gnann (eds.), *Roma e lo stile classic di Raffaello 1515-1527*, exh.cat. Palazzo Te Mantua and Albertina Vienna, Milan, 1999, p. 288 (as Raphael); C. Monbeig-Goguel, *Drawings by Raphael and his Circle. Mantua, Vienna and London* [Review Roma e lo stile classic di Raffaello], in *The Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999), p. 496 (as not by Raphael); N. Dacos, *L'adoration des bergers de la Scuola Nuova: des modèles pour la tapisserie aux tableaux*, in A. Forlani Tempesti and S. Prosperi Valenti Rodino, 'Per Luigi Grassi: Disegno e Disegni', Rimini, 1998, pp. 112-122; T.P. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 240 (as Penni). Another drawing of the same subject is probably copied after the tapestry, see Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.no. 3602; D. Cordellier and B. Py, *Raphaël, son atelier ... op. cit.*, cat.no. 1013.

<sup>15</sup> E.A. Standen, *Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries related to Raphael's Workshop*, in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 4 (1971), pp. 109-121. A drawn copy is now at the Ashmolean Museum, inv.no. WA1846.298; see K.T. Parker, K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 656. Another drawing at the Louvre is probably copied after an initial design by Raphael; Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.no. 3934; D. Cordellier and B. Py, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 1014 (as copy after Workshop of Raphael). Another drawn copy is in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, inv.no. 45.

*modelli*.<sup>16</sup> [Fig. 4] The Teylers Museum holds two sets of three compositional sketches related to the three portions of the *Massacre of the Innocents* tapestries. Although the first set was thought to be made by Penni, both sets are now generally accepted as copies after preliminary designs by Giulio Romano.<sup>17</sup> [Fig. 5]

The full-size cartoons created for the production of the tapestries would have been based on these now lost *modelli* but it is unclear who was responsible for their execution. Most of the older catalogues attribute the production of the cartoons to either the workshop or school of Raphael or the workshop of Giulio Romano and Penni, suggesting the cartoons were made in Rome even though they are stylistically very different from those made for the 'Acts of the Apostles'.<sup>18</sup> As both artists left Rome for Mantua within two years of each other, it seems unlikely that all twelve cartoons would have been finished in such a short period. Documents reveal that Leo X had sent another of Raphael's pupils, Tommaso Vincidor (1493-1536), to Brussels in June 1520 to supervise the papal tapestry projects.<sup>19</sup> Although undocumented, it is likely that Vincidor was involved in the production of the cartoons in Brussels and may have even intermittently contributed himself as suggested by some scholars.<sup>20</sup> Vincidor had planned to return to Rome as soon as possible but the deaths of Leo X and Adrian VI prevented a quick return and he probably never returned to his home country before he died in Breda in 1536. Different hands can be discerned in the fragments and it is assumed that Vincidor supervised both Italian artists trained in their homeland and Netherlandish artists in order to execute the full-size cartoons. All surviving fragments related to the Scuola Nuova tapestries can therefore be attributed to the Brussels workshop of Tommaso Vincidor. Nicole Dacos goes even further by dividing the different hands in Italian and Flemish artists and suggests a few possible names (such as Pedro Séraphim, Léonard Thiry and Lambert Suavius) but this seems difficult to substantiate.<sup>21</sup> For instance, four fragments from the *Presentation in the Temple* are given by Dacos to Vincidor as Italian in style, while another fragment is linked to the same unidentified Flemish

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<sup>16</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.nos. WA1846.298 to WA1846.301. See K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.nos. 665d-665g; H. Macandrew, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.nos. 665d-665g.

<sup>17</sup> Teylers Museum, Haarlem, inv.nos. A 085a-c and A 086a-c; see P. Pouncey and J.A. Gere, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; C. van Tuyll van Serooskerken, *The Italian Drawings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Teyler Museum*, Haarlem, 2000, cat.nos. 268-273 (as after Workshop of Raphael); T.P. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>18</sup> P. Pouncey and J.A. Gere, *Raphael and his Circle... op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; C. Hope, *The Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova... op. cit.*, pp. 33-34; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1976, vol. I, pp. 135-137.

<sup>19</sup> For Raphael tapestry projects supervised by Vincidor, see also T.P. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-236; L. Karafel, *Raphael's tapestries: the Grotesques of Leo X*, New Haven, 2016, pp. 31-32. For other surviving cartoons by Vincidor, see T.P. Campbell, *Pope Leo's consistorial 'letto de paramento' and the Boughton House cartoons*, in *The Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996), pp. 436-445.

<sup>20</sup> E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 25; F. Filippini, *Tommaso Vincidor da Bologna: Scolaro di Raffaello e Amico del Dürer*, in *Bollettino d'Arte* 8 (1929), pp. 308-324, esp. pp. 316-320; N. Dacos, *Tommaso Vincidor: Un élève de Raphaël aux Pays-Bas*, in *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance: Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger (Etudes d'Histoire de l'art publiées par l'Institut belge de Rome 4)*, Brussels-Rome, 1980, pp. 80-88; N. Dacos, in *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608: artistes des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège à Rome à la Renaissance*, exh.cat. Palais des Beaux-Arts Brussels and Palazzo delle Esposizioni Rome, Brussels-Ghent, 1995, p.295, under cat.no.163 and cat.nos.228-231; T.P. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 241; L. Wolk-Simon and C. Bambach, *An Italian Journey. Drawings from the Tobey Collection: Correggio to Tiepolo*, exh.cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2010, under cat. no. 7.

<sup>21</sup> N. Dacos, *Lambert Lombard et Lambert Suavius: Encore sur leurs débuts et leur voyage en Italie*, in *Figura: Studies on the Classical Tradition* 1 (2013). Online journal, accessed 6 January 2018: [http://figura.art.br/2013\\_9\\_dacos.html](http://figura.art.br/2013_9_dacos.html).

artist who also worked on the *Pentecost* cartoon.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the fragments belonging to the *Massacre of the Innocents* cartoons are divided between Vincidor and two Flemish hands.<sup>23</sup> In the early period, Vincidor could still lean on Giulio Romano and Penni's expertise and perhaps other Flemish tapestry designers in Brussels, most of which were occupied with different projects from 1525 onwards.<sup>24</sup>

While Hope listed thirty fragments in 1968, the present research has revealed over forty fragments worldwide.<sup>25</sup> As more fragments have recently appeared on the market, further additions can be expected to surface in the future. All fragments are full-size colour cartoons in reverse to the tapestries. No repetitions or duplicates are known which indicates that they were taken from the original set of cartoons and not from later copies. They are all executed in the same technique, done with a brush in bodycolour and watercolour, sometimes heightened with white (often oxidised), over traces of black chalk. Only two fragments are pricked for transfer and one contains colour notes. They are mostly preserved per sheet of laid paper (around 55 x 35 cm) which explains why some feature a random detail such as an insignificant piece of drapery. Others are preserved on conjoined sheets of paper and depict an independent motif such as a complete head or bust. Some fragments are silhouetted which was probably done by later collectors in order to trim damaged edges.

The following section will present the known fragments within the context of the related tapestries in chronological order following the life of Christ. The fragments are numbered and listed according to their position on the tapestry, from top left to bottom right.

#### Adoration of the Shepherds [Fig. 6]

Cat.no. 1: *Left foot of the second shepherd from the left and the forelegs and paws of the dog; lower left corner of the tapestry.*<sup>26</sup>

Cat.no. 2: *Head of a bearded shepherd; right on the tapestry, next to Joseph.*<sup>27</sup>

Cat.no. 3: *Raised right arm and adjacent drapery of the flying angel; top right corner of the tapestry.*<sup>28</sup>

#### Adoration of the Magi [Figs. 7-8]

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<sup>22</sup> N. Dacos, *Tommaso Vincidor: Un élève de Raphaël ... op.cit.*, pp. 81-84.

<sup>23</sup> N. Dacos, *Tommaso Vincidor: Un élève de Raphaël ... op.cit.*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>24</sup> The authorship of the *Adoration of the Magi* has previously wrongly been attributed to Bernard van Orley; see D.R. de Campos, *La tapisserie vaticane de l'Épiphanie, une oeuvre inconnue de Bernard van Orley*, in *L'Illustrazione Vaticana* 3 (1932), pp. 32-34.

<sup>25</sup> C. Hope, *The Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova... op. cit.*, pp. 31-32; C. Hope, *Gli arazzi della Scuola Nuova, in Raffaello in Vaticano*, exh.cat. Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie Vatican City, Milan, 1984, p. 332.

<sup>26</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.239; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 604. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>27</sup> Christ Church, University of Oxford, inv.no. 1972; W. Gunn, *Cartonensia ... op.cit.*, p.42; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters ... op.cit.*, pp. 136-137, cat.no. 460. This fragment is pricked for transfer. Provenance: Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck, Dr Richard Mead, bought by General John Guise and bequeathed to Christ Church in 1765.

<sup>28</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.238; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 603. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

Cat.no. 4: *Two hands of onlookers, raised and with fingers spread*; far left on the tapestry.<sup>29</sup>

Cat.no. 5: *Head of a Man wearing a hat*, silhouetted; centre left on tapestry.<sup>30</sup>

Cat.no. 6: *Head of a bearded Man, in profile to left*, silhouetted; centre left on tapestry.<sup>31</sup>

Cat.no. 7: *Drapery of the kneeling king*; centre right on the tapestry.<sup>32</sup>

Cat.no. 8: *Horse's Head*; centre right on tapestry.<sup>33</sup>

Cat.no. 9: *Left foot of the crowned king*; right on the tapestry.<sup>34</sup>

Cat.no. 10: *Foot of the attendant wearing leather sandals*; behind the crowned king, right on the tapestry.<sup>35</sup>

Cat.no. 11: *Head of a boy and section of a horse's mane*; far right on tapestry.<sup>36</sup>

#### Massacre of the Innocents (first portion) [Fig. 9]

Cat.no. 12: Large central fragment containing all the figures (overpainted in the eighteenth century).<sup>37</sup>

#### The Massacre of the Innocents (second portion) [Fig. 10]

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<sup>29</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.243; *Ibidem*, cat.no. 608. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>30</sup> American private collection. Illegible inscription on the hat in black chalk, possibly a colour note. With thanks to Greg Rubinstein. Provenance: Willard B Golovin (New York), his estate sale Sotheby's New York (23 January 2003, lot 55), Sotheby's New York (28 January 2015, lot 6 as attributed to Tommaso Vincidor and an unidentified Netherlandish artist).

<sup>31</sup> Collection of David M. and Julie Tobey, New York; L. Wolk-Simon and C. Bambach, *An Italian Journey ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 7. Provenance: Brophy Collection, English private collection, sale Pandora Old Masters 1998-99, acquired by Tobey's in 1999.

<sup>32</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.242; *Ibidem*, cat.no. 607. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>33</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 22.72.1; L. Wolk-Simon and C. Bambach, *An Italian Journey ... op.cit.*, pp.26-29, under cat.no. 7; J. Bean and L. Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1982, cat.no. 213. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, John W. Lisle.

<sup>34</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.241; *Ibidem*, cat.no. 606. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>35</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.240; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 605. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>36</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 22.72.2; L. Wolk-Simon and C. Bambach, *An Italian Journey ... op.cit.*, pp.26-29, under cat.no. 7; J. Bean and L. Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 214. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, John W. Lisle.

<sup>37</sup> Foundling Hospital, London, inv.no. FM81; B. Nicolson, *The Treasures of the Foundling Hospital*, Oxford, 1972, pp.76-77, cat.no. 69. With thanks to Alison Duke. This cartoon fragment shows the soldiers left-handed and must therefore have been woven the wrong way round. Hope suggests this was done by the weavers to change the lighting angle of the composition; see C. Hope, *The Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova ... op. cit.*, p. 9. Provenance: Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck, Pierre-Antoine Motteux, bought by William Hoare, his son Prince Hoare, by whom bequeathed to the Foundling Hospital in 1835.



Cat.no. 13: *Chest and drapery of the soldier striking with a dagger*; left on tapestry.

Cat.no. 14: *Head of a Mother*; left of centre on tapestry.<sup>38</sup>

Cat.no. 15: *Arm and Head of a Child with the soldier's arm grasping it*; far right on tapestry.<sup>39</sup>

Cat.no. 16: *Head and shoulders of a mother*; centre on the tapestry.<sup>40</sup>

Cat.no. 17: *Leather boot of the stooping soldier*; right on tapestry.<sup>41</sup>

Cat.no. 18: *Raised elbow of the Child and part of the arm of the mother who embraces it*; central part of the tapestry.<sup>42</sup>

#### Massacre of the Innocents (third portion) [Fig. 11]

Cat.no. 19: *Head of the girl running up the stairs in the background*; top centre of the tapestry.<sup>43</sup>

Cat.no. 20: *Head and shoulder of an Onlooker in the Window in the background*; top left on tapestry.<sup>44</sup>

Cat.no. 21: *Two Heads*; middle centre on tapestry.<sup>45</sup>

Cat.no. 22: *Head of a Mother and Child*; far right on tapestry.<sup>46</sup>

Cat.no. 23: *Head and Hands of a weeping Mother*; lower centre on tapestry.<sup>47</sup>

Cat.no. 24: *Hand and Drapery*; centre on tapestry.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Present whereabouts unknown; previously in the collection of John Watkins Brett, sold at Christie's London, 8 April 1864, lot 545 (as Raphael).

<sup>39</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.234; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 599. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>40</sup> British Museum, London, inv.no. 1942,0711.13; P. Pouncey and J.A. Gere, *Raphael and His Circle... op.cit.*, cat.no. 138. Provenance: purchased from Max de Beer in 1942.

<sup>41</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.235; *Ibidem*, cat.no. 600. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>42</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.236; *Ibidem*, cat.no. 601. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>43</sup> Formerly in the collection of Earl Spencer at Althorp House, present whereabouts unknown; see P. Pouncey and J.A. Gere, *Raphael and His Circle... op.cit.*, under cat.no. 138. With thanks to Sarah Harvey for confirming that the fragment is not at Althorp anymore.

<sup>44</sup> British Museum, London, inv.no. 1947,0414.1; P. Pouncey and J.A. Gere, *Raphael and His Circle... op.cit.*, cat.no. 137. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., presented by Colnaghi in 1947.

<sup>45</sup> National Gallery, Edinburgh, inv.no. NG 638; T. Clifford, A. Weston-Lewis and J. Dick, *Raphael: The Pursuit of Perfection*, exh.cat. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1994, cat.no. 55. Provenance: bequeathed by Sir David Monro to the RSA in 1878, transferred and presented in 1910.

<sup>46</sup> English private collection; sold Sotheby's New York, 29 January 2014, lot 54 (as Studio of Raphael); W. Gunn, *Cartonensia ... op.cit.*, p. 27 (as lot 54 in Richardson's sale?); T. Clifford, [Review: Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford], in *The Burlington Magazine* 30 (1983), pp. 33-34. With thanks to Greg Rubinstein. Provenance: Bonham's London (17 November 1965, part of lot 21), Timothy Clifford, his sale Sotheby's London (3 July 1989, lot 9, as Studio of Raphael).

<sup>47</sup> Christ Church, University of Oxford, inv.no. 1971; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters ... op.cit.*, pp. 135-136, cat.no.457. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Revd Cracherode, presented by his sister Anne Cracherode in 1799/1800.

Cat.no. 25: [Unidentified] *Head of a terrified Girl*.<sup>49</sup>

### The Presentation in the Temple [Fig. 12]

Cat.no. 26: *Bust of a woman in profile to left; far left on the tapestry*.<sup>50</sup>

Cat.no. 27: *Two right feet belonging to women, one of them the Virgin Mary; lower left corner on the tapestry*.<sup>51</sup>

Cat.no. 28: *Part of a woman's bust and decoration of the column; far left on the tapestry*.<sup>52</sup>

Cat.no. 29: *Part of a wooden bucket with a dove in it; left on the tapestry*.<sup>53</sup>

Cat.no. 30: *Left foot of the Virgin Mary; lower left on the tapestry*.<sup>54</sup> Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

Cat.no. 31: *Top of the Virgin's Head with Hair Braided over a Cloth Headdress; middle centre on the tapestry*.<sup>55</sup>

Cat.no. 32: *Head of a Man in profile; centre right on the tapestry*.<sup>56</sup>

Cat.no. 33: *Head of a bearded Man; far right on the tapestry*.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, inv.no. 5574 (as School of Giulio Romano); W. Gunn, *Cartonensia ... op.cit.*, p. 27 (as lot 58 in Richardson's sale?); A.E. Popham and K.M. Fenwick, *European Drawings in the Collection of the National Gallery of Canada*, Toronto, 1965, cat.no. 17. Provenance: purchased in 1949.

<sup>49</sup> Vatican Museums, Rome; no image available; verbally communicated by Arnold Nesselrath; probably from the second or third portion of the Massacre of the Innocents.

<sup>50</sup> Christ Church, University of Oxford, inv.no. 1970; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters ... op.cit.*, p. 136, cat.no.458; N. Dacos, in *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608: artistes des Pays-Bas et de la principaute de Liège à Rome à la Renaissance*, exh.cat. Palais des Beaux-Arts Brussels and Palazzo delle Esposizione Rome, Brussels-Ghent, 1995, cat.no.228 (as Tommaso Vincidor). Provenance: Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck, Dr Richard Mead, bought by General John Guise and bequeathed to Christ Church in 1765.

<sup>51</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.247; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 612; N. Dacos, in *Fiamminghi a Roma ... op.cit.*, cat.no.231 (as Tommaso Vincidor). Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>52</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.244; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 609; N. Dacos, in *Fiamminghi a Roma ... op.cit.*, cat.no.229 (as Tommaso Vincidor). Provenance: Pseudo-Crozat, Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>53</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.246; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 611. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>54</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.245; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 610.

<sup>55</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 22.72.3; J. Bean and L. Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1982, cat.no. 215. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, John W. Lisle.

<sup>56</sup> Sir John Soane's Museum, London, inv.no. P35; P. Thornton and H. Dorey, *A Miscellany of Objects from Sir John Soane's Museum*, London, 1992, p. 46. Provenance: Flinck; Jonathan Richardson, his sale, 1747, bt by Duke of Argyle; his sale, Langford's, 1779, bt by John Flaxman; by inheritance to his sister-in-law Maria Denman; acquired by Sir John Soane from her between 1832 and c.1834-35.

<sup>57</sup> Christ Church, University of Oxford, inv.no. 1969; J. Byam Shaw, *op. cit.*, cat.no.459; N. Dacos, in *Fiamminghi a Roma ... op.cit.*, cat.no.230 (as Tommaso Vincidor). Provenance: Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck, Dr Richard Mead, bought by General John Guise and bequeathed to Christ Church in 1765.



### Resurrection of Christ [Fig. 13]

Cat.no. 34: *Hand of Christ imparting a blessing*; central on the tapestry.<sup>58</sup>

Cat.no. 35: *Foot in a Buskin, Drapery and a Plant*; centre right on tapestry.<sup>59</sup>

Cat.no. 36: *Head of a bearded Soldier*; far right on tapestry.<sup>60</sup>

### Ascension of Christ [Fig. 14]

Cat.no. 37: *Hand of the angel stretched away from centre*; far right on the tapestry.<sup>61</sup>

### Descent of the Holy Ghost [Fig. 15]

Cat.no. 38: *Outstretched hand of the youthful Apostle seated to left of centre*; near the centre on left on the tapestry.<sup>62</sup>

Cat.no. 39: *Head of the Apostle seated*; near the centre on right on the tapestry.<sup>63</sup>

Cat.no. 40: *Head of an Apostle Surrounded by a Tongue of Fire and a Nimbus*, far right on tapestry.<sup>64</sup>

Cat.no. 41: [Unidentified]<sup>65</sup>

### Christ in Limbo [Fig. 16<sup>66</sup>]

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<sup>58</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.248; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 613. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Richard Cosway, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>59</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 22.72.5; J. Bean and L. Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 218. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, John W. Lisle.

<sup>60</sup> Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv.no. NM 2/1992; B. Magnusson, *Giulio Romano Manshubud: Gava av Föreningen Nationalmusei Vänner*, in Bulletin Stockholm 16 (1992), pp. 77-80 (as Giulio Romano); P. Bjurström and B. Magnusson, *Italian Drawings: Umbria, Rome, Naples* (Drawings in Swedish Public Collections 6), Stockholm, 1998, cat.no. 465; N. Dacos, *Lambert Lombard et Lambert Suavius ... op.cit.* (as Lambert Suavius). Provenance: purchased in 1992.

<sup>61</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.249; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 614. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>62</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.250; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 615. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>63</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.251; K.T. Parker, *op. cit.*, cat.no. 616. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>64</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 22.72.6; J. Bean and L. Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 216; C. Bambach, *The Tradition of Pouncing Drawings in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Innovation and Derivation*, New Haven, 1988, pp. 383-84, no. 278 (as School of Raphael). This fragment is pricked for transfer. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds, John W. Lisle.

<sup>65</sup> Australian collection; no image available; verbally communicated by Arnold Nesselrath.

<sup>66</sup> Tapestry now destroyed, see footnote 7.

Cat.no. 42: *Head of a bearded Man looking up to the left*; lower left on tapestry.<sup>67</sup>

It is clear from this survey that eighteen of the Ashmolean fragments were once cut from the Scuola Nuova cartoons and that their attribution to Pieter de Kempeneer is now untenable, the more so as he only worked as a tapestry designer much later, i.e. in the second half of the sixteenth century. From the collectors' marks often stamped on the sheets of paper, it is clear that the surviving fragments also share the same provenance. As mentioned above, only one series of tapestries was woven in Brussels in the workshop of Pieter van Edingen van Aelst. It is known the cartoons remained unused in Brussels and were collected intact by the Dutch artist Govert Flinck (1615-1660) who at some point cut them into smaller fragments, mostly containing recognisable details such as heads and hands. The British engraver George Vertue recounts in his notebooks on art that he was told by General Guise how the cartoons for the *Massacre of the Innocents* passed from Govert Flinck to his son Nicolaes Flinck (1659-1723) who sold them before his death to the London art dealer Peter Anthony Motteux (1663-1718).<sup>68</sup> A large part entered in the collection of the French engraver Nicolas Dorigny (1658-1746) who worked in England between 1711 and 1725. The sale of Dorigny's collection in 1723 included 104 fragments, mainly of hands and feet.<sup>69</sup> He sold the fragments in his possession to different British collectors, which explains why most of the known fragments today are still in the United Kingdom. Jonathan Richardson Senior (1667-1745), the British painter, art collector and art theorist, collected around 50 fragments and these were sold at auction in 1747 and some more in 1771.<sup>70</sup> From his earlier writings, *Theory of Painting* (1715), it is known that Richardson praised Raphael's cartoons for the Acts of Apostles as "the best history pictures that are anywhere now in being" and calls it a miracle they are in England.<sup>71</sup> As this art theory was published in 1715, he does not mention the cartoon fragments of the Scuola Nuova in his own collection but most of the fragments that have survived today bear his collector's mark.<sup>72</sup> Many of the fragments also bear additional collectors' marks related to other British painters who were also avid art collections such as Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830).<sup>73</sup> Lawrence had amassed an unrivalled collection of old master drawings which, at his death in 1830, was offered *en bloc* to King George IV and to the British Museum for £18,000 (a bargain price even at the time), but they both rejected. The London art dealer Samuel Woodburn finally bought the collection for £16,000. Subsequently Lawrence's collection was dispersed including the group which made its way to the Ashmolean Museum after it was presented to the University of Oxford in 1846 following a public appeal to acquire Lawrence's Italian drawings.<sup>74</sup> Despite this direct provenance, only some of the Ashmolean's fragments bear Lawrence's blind stamp, while Richardson's appears on ten drawings

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<sup>67</sup> Christie's London, 24 May 2007, lot 215 (as Northern associate of Giulio Romano):

<sup>68</sup> Vertue *I. Autobiography*, in Walpole Society 18, Oxford, 1929-1930, p. 36 and 128.

<sup>69</sup> On a side note, Dorigny engraved details from the 'Acts of the Apostles' in Benjamin Ralph's *The School of Raphael or the Student's Guide to expression in historical painting, illustrated by examples engraved by Duchange and others under the inspection of Sir Nicholas Dorigny from his own drawings after the most celebrated heads in the Cartoons at the King's Palace* (London, c.1800).

<sup>70</sup> K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>71</sup> C. Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London, 2000, pp. 150-152.

<sup>72</sup> F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, no. L.2184.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, nos. L.2364 and L.2445 resp.

<sup>74</sup> The remainder was sold at Woodburn's posthumous sale at Christie's in 1860.

and Reynolds' for instance on two sheets. [Fig. 17] This is consistent with the other fragments that have survived, most of which bear the same collectors' marks.<sup>75</sup>

This superb provenance of the forty-two cartoon fragments is testimony to their quality and importance and is shared with a handful of stylistically similar cartoon fragments in the same technique which can unfortunately not be linked to any of the Scuola Nuova tapestries and were possibly produced for other – as yet unidentified – tapestry projects.<sup>76</sup>

Three further cartoon fragments at the Ashmolean bear similar collectors' stamps and are currently kept together with the eighteen fragments described above but unfortunately cannot be matched with any details of the Scuola Nuova tapestries.

*Two Heads of Young Men* (cat.no. 42) was initially given to Tommaso Vincidor by Nicole Dacos but later attributed by her to Pieter de Kempeneer.<sup>77</sup> This attribution was based on perceived similarities with the heads of some shepherds in an oil painting by the Flemish artist, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in the Pinacoteca Civica in Cento.<sup>78</sup> Dacos later linked the same cartoon fragment to some heads of shepherds in *The Liberation of Flavius Josephus* tapestry (Marsala Cathedral in Sicily), designed by the same artist.<sup>79</sup> This tapestry forms part of the tapestry series 'The War of Judaea' but no cartoons have survived and the heads do not correspond to any figures in these tapestries. Trained in Brussels, De Kempeneer worked in Italy and Seville where he was the leading painter. He returned to his home town around 1562 after which he was appointed as the creative head of the tapestry workshops and thus responsible for producing cartoons for the Brussels weaving workshops. References to Dacos' attribution to De Kempeneer were noted by previous museum staff in the documentation files and the annotated copy of the Parker catalogue of Italian drawings

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<sup>75</sup> For the provenance information of each cartoon fragment, please refer to their respective footnotes.

<sup>76</sup> - *Outstretched Hand, Body of a Seraph, and a Wing*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 22.72.4; J. Bean and L. Turčić, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 217.

- *Head of a Woman looking up*, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, inv.no. D.1630; unpublished. With thanks to Hélène Gasnault

- *Hands praying*, present whereabouts unknown; formerly in the collection of Carl Robert Rudolf, sold Sotheby's London 4 July 1977, lot 45 (for £620); C. R. Rudolf *et al.*, *Old master drawings from the collection of Mr C.R. Rudolf*, exh.cat. Arts Council, London, 1962, cat.no. 46 (as Paduan School c. 1500, formerly Botticelli). Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Joshua Reynolds. With thanks to Louisa Dace from the Courtauld Institute of Art.

- *Two unidentified fragments*, Horne Museum, Florence, inv.nos. 6033-6034; see K. Oberhuber and A. Gnann (eds.), *Roma e lo stile classic di Raffaello 1515-1527*, exh.cat. Palazzo Te Mantua and Albertina Vienna, Milan, 1999, p. 291; but described as not linked to the Scuola Nuova, see N. Dacos, *Tommaso Vincidor ... op.cit.*, p.99.

- *Head of one of the Soldiers*, present whereabouts unknown, mentioned in Richardson sale (lot 52); see W. Gunn, *Cartonensia ... op.cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>77</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.252; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 617. Provenance: Pseudo-Crozat, Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>78</sup> F. Sricchia Santoro, *Pedro de Campaña in Italia*, in *Prospettiva* 27 (1982), pp. 75-86, esp. pp. 83-84 and fig.15; N. Dacos, *Tommaso Vincidor... op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>79</sup> N. Dacos, *Fortune critique de Pedro Campaña-Pieter de Kempeneer: de Pacheco à Murillo et à Constantin Meunier*, in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 53 (1984), pp. 91-117; N. Dacos, in *Bastianino e la Pittura a Ferrare*, exh.cat. Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, 1985, p. 15 (as School of Raphael); N. Dacos, *Autour de Bernard van Orley, Pieter de Kempeneer et son compagnon*, in *Revue de l'art* 75 (1987), pp. 17-28; N. Dacos, *Pieter de Kempeneer/Pedro Campaña as a Draughtsman*, in *Master Drawings* 25 (1987), pp. 359-389, esp. p. 359 and footnote 3.

and the attribution was later applied to the entire group at the Ashmolean. This is the reason why these cartoon fragments are currently kept under the Flemish artist, an attribution which can now be dismissed.

Comparison with a cartoon fragment showing the heads of two soldiers which was on the market in 2003, reveals that *Two Heads of Young Men* and another one at the Ashmolean, *Head of a Young Man* (cat.no. 43<sup>80</sup>), can be traced to a specific tapestry series.<sup>81</sup> These fragments are stylistically close and feature the same almost translucent finish which reveals the diagonal hatching in the underdrawing in black chalk and it can be assumed the three details were cut from the same cartoon. Dacos correctly identified the fragment which is now in a private American collection, as corresponding to a group of soldiers at the far left of one of the tapestries of 'The Story of Scipio Africanus' showing *Scipio's Triumphal Procession with Prisoners*.<sup>82</sup> This series contained twenty-two tapestries and was commissioned by the French king, Francis I, illustrating the battles and triumphs of the Roman general Publius Cornelius Scipio who defeated Hannibal in 202 BC during the Punic Wars.<sup>83</sup> The tapestries were the most expensive items in the French royal art collection and were delivered between 1533 and 1535. The twelve battle scenes and ten triumphs were made after designs by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni and the cartoons were probably executed in Brussels in the workshop of Tommaso Vincidor, like those of the Scuola Nuova. The tapestries themselves were woven in several workshops in Brussels but unfortunately do not survive as they were destroyed in 1797 to recuperate the gold and silver used in the threads. The original set was copied numerous times before its destruction and some of its compositions are now known through later copies in tapestries, drawings and prints. *Scipio's Triumphal Procession with Prisoners* is known through a seventeenth century copy of the original Scipio tapestry now kept in Madrid. Closer examination of this tapestry revealed that the two Ashmolean fragments correspond to other details in the same tapestry: the *Two Heads of Young Men* belong to two prisoners at far left of the tapestry, while the *Head of a Young Man* belongs to one of the Roman soldiers leading two horses in the right foreground.

The last unidentified fragment from the group of twenty-one cartoon fragments at the Ashmolean is *Head of a bearded Man wearing a Wreath of Leaves* (cat.no. 44).<sup>84</sup> Although it is executed in a different technique from the other 'Scipio' fragments and although no correspondences can be found in the surviving copies after the original set owned by Francis I, the laureled head is very close to some of the Roman soldiers wearing laurel crowns in some of the other triumphal processions of the Scipio tapestry series. Examination of a group of preparatory drawings for 'The Story of Scipio Africanus' tapestries now kept in Paris revealed that the bearded figure with the laurel crown (including the lower part of an axe from a *fascis* seen behind his head) corresponds closely to a

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<sup>80</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.254; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 619. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

<sup>81</sup> American private collection; sold by Hill-Stone Inc. in 2003. With thanks to Alan Stone and Lesley Hill.

<sup>82</sup> A seventeenth century copy after the original tapestry is now at the Palacio Real de Madrid, inv.no. A.336-11198.

<sup>83</sup> T.P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance ... op. cit.*, pp. 341-349.

<sup>84</sup> Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA1846.253; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the collection ... op.cit.*, cat.no. 618. Provenance: Jonathan Richardson Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn.

figure seen next to a column at centre right in the *modello* attributed to Giulio Romano, *Prisoners led to a Triumphal Procession (Derision of Prisoners)*.<sup>85</sup>

The three cartoon fragments at the Ashmolean not linked to the Scuola Nuova series can thus all be identified as connected to the 'Scipio' tapestry series. How these fragments were collected together with those from the Scuola Nuova remains unclear but it can be assumed that they were acquired in Brussels by Govert Flinck like the others. This means that all the Ashmolean fragments have now finally been identified and linked to various tapestry projects and that the attribution to Pieter de Kempeneer can be dismissed. The Ashmolean fragments can now all be catalogued as produced in the workshop of Tommaso Vincidor after designs by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni and woven in Brussels.

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<sup>85</sup> Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.no. 3540; B. Jestaz and R. Bacou, *Jules Romain, L'Histoire de Scipion: tapisseries et dessins*, exh. cat. Grand Palais, Paris, 1978, p. 126. A later copy of the tapestry is in Palacio Real de Madrid, inv.no. A.361-12196.

For other *modelli* for the same tapestry series at the Louvre, see inv.nos. 3524, 3536-3542, 3544. For one of the completely preserved cartoons, *Lictors and Musicians of Scipio's Triumph*, see also inv.no. 3534. The only known fragment from the cartoon for *The Banquet of Scipio in the Temple on the Capitol after his Triumph*, was sold at Christie's, London, 19 April 1994, lot 10. Another *Head of a Soldier* for one of the 'Scipio' tapestries was found in the documentation files of the Witt Library (Courtauld Institute, London), but its present whereabouts are unknown.