

The Political Function of the *Esther Tapestries*: On the Image Strategy of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, for his Marriage Ceremony in 1468*

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1. The *Esther Tapestries* and the Duke of Burgundy

The Duchy of Burgundy, ruled first by Philip the Bold from a branch of the French Valois family, which reigned from 1363 to 1404, was known for its magnificent court culture.⁽¹⁾ The palaces built everywhere within the Duchy were gorgeously adorned and hosted a great number of magnificent jousts, joyous entries, processions, and feasts. They not only provided aesthetic enjoyment for viewers but also impressed them with the great power of the Dukes of Burgundy.⁽²⁾ Among numerous ornaments displayed at the palaces, large tapestries woven with gold and silver threads were particularly striking, powerfully conveying their owners' wealth and authority. One typical example was the set of *Alexander Tapestries*, depicting the life of the ancient ruler Alexander the Great (356 BC-323 BC).⁽³⁾

Although the set of *Alexander Tapestries* is no longer complete, it is believed to have consisted of six large tapestries, measuring more than eight meters in width. They were frequently on display during meetings and feasts held by the third Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, who reigned from 1419 to 1467 (see Fig. 8)⁽⁴⁾ and his son Charles the Bold, who became the fourth Duke of Burgundy, reigning from 1467 to 1477 (Fig. 9).⁽⁵⁾ They won particularly high praise when exhibited at the palace of the Duke of Burgundy in Paris. Georges Chastellain, the chronicler of the Duchy of Burgundy, reported that they were the richest tapestries in the world.⁽⁶⁾ The set was also displayed at a meeting between Charles and delegates from Ghent, who had revolted against the domination of the Duke. There the *Alexander Tapestries* helped to emphasize the Duke's power to control the citizens of Ghent.⁽⁷⁾

The present article examines the *Esther Tapestries*, inspired by the *Book of Esther* and, in particular, those associated with Duke Philip the Good and Duke Charles the Bold (Figs. 1-7).⁽⁸⁾ Although only fragments and versions of the originals survive, the remaining parts

convince us that the set was of excellent quality and well suited to adorn the marriage ceremony of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York (1446-1503, Fig. 10).

In previous research, the *Esther Tapestries* have been mentioned among the magnificent tapestries displayed at the ceremony.⁽⁹⁾ The iconography of this set has been analyzed to identify particular motifs, such as the “Burgundian court goblet,” which appears in the banquet scene, to help researchers imagine what the court of Burgundy was like.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, a full reconstruction of the whole iconography of the set has never been carried out.

With regard to function, discussions have centered on the impact of the *Esther Tapestries* at the wedding ceremony. Drawing a parallel between Esther and the bride, Margaret of York, scholars have emphasized that Esther presents a bride’s *model* of bravery in these tapestries.⁽¹¹⁾ Although such a role would certainly have been expected, it is important to examine it from the perspective of the bridegroom Charles, who owned the tapestries and hosted the ceremony. As the case of the *Alexander Tapestries* illustrates, successive Dukes of Burgundy were highly skilled at using tapestries in political situations. It is therefore essential to approach the *Esther Tapestries* from Charles’s point of view.

The following chapters begin by exploring how the Duke of Burgundy used these tapestries. They then consider the symbolic meanings of the story of Esther, comparing the *Tapestries* with the iconographic tradition of Esther stories. Finally, they analyze the function of this set in relation to the political situation during the reign of Charles the Bold.

2. The Function of Tapestries and the *Model* of the Duke of Burgundy

Although most have now been worn away or lost, a great number of tapestries were woven during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Europe as luxury goods.⁽¹²⁾ At that time, a set of tapestries was worth the equivalent of a landowner’s annual income. We can therefore surmise that very few aristocrats were able to possess more than two or three tapestries.⁽¹³⁾

Among the princes of Europe, the Dukes of Burgundy owned a great number of tapestries. When Philip the Bold inherited the regions of Flanders and Artois in 1384, he soon began to order tapestries from tapestry ateliers in the city of Arras, both as gifts and to decorate his own buildings.⁽¹⁴⁾ During the reign of Philip the Good, the Duke’s collection of tapestries increased to total of one hundred sets.⁽¹⁵⁾

The Dukes of Burgundy were fond of tapestries for obvious reasons: first, the large woven artworks were simply useful for protecting buildings from the severe winters common in the northern Alps. Second, they suited a Duke’s lifestyle, which involved moving constantly

from one place to another. As mentioned above, reputable tapestry ateliers in Arras and Tournai encouraged these commissions.

Another important reason for buying tapestries was the fact that they could convey the Duke's messages so effectively. The *Alexander Tapestries*, for example, not only showcased their owner's wealth through their own material value, but associated the Duke with representations of the hero Alexander the Great, implying that the two men had a similar status and power. Charles the Bold appears to have had a great interest in ancient heroes, seeking out role *models* for himself in books and images.⁽¹⁶⁾ In writing about Charles, Philippe Wielant, one of the chroniclers of the Duchy of Burgundy, commented:

Il . . . ne prenoit plaisir qu'en histoires romaines et ès faitz de Jule Cesar, de Pompée, de Hannibal, d'Alexandre le Grand et de telz aultres grandz et haultz hommes, lesquelz il vouloit ensuyre et contrefaire.⁽¹⁷⁾

Another chronicler, Philippe de Commines, made a similar reference, emphasizing Charles's ostentatiousness:

Il estoit fort pompeux en habillemens et en toutes aultres choses, et ung peu trop . . . Il desiroit grant gloire, . . . eust bien voulu ressembler à ces anciens princes dont il a esté tant parlé apres leur mort.⁽¹⁸⁾

However, it was actually Philip the Good who gave Charles the idea of showing off his status in this way.⁽¹⁹⁾ The commentary of Vasque de Lucène, translator of *Historiae Alexandri Magni* by Quintus Curtius Rufus, can help us understand how Philip expected his son to learn from ancient heroes:

Grant temps a que volenté m'a print de assembler et translater de latin en françois les fais d'Alexandre, affin de, en vostre jone eage, vous donner l'exemple et l'instruction de la vaillance.⁽²⁰⁾

However, this does not explain what message Duke Charles intended to express through the story of Esther. The following chapter therefore considers the *Book of Esther* and its symbolic meanings.

3. The *Book of Esther* and the *Esther Tapestries*

• The *Book of Esther* and its Iconographical Traditions

The *Book of Esther* in the Old Testament (abbreviated as “*Esther*”) is the story of a Jewish woman named Esther and the Persian king Ahasuerus (Xerxes). Ahasuerus became furious with his queen, Vashti, for rejecting his commands and forced her to give up her position. He chose a Jewish woman, Esther, as his new queen because she was very beautiful – without knowing her origins. Around the same time, Haman, the Grand Vizier of Persia, was trying to massacre Jewish people living in the country because he was offended with Mordecai, Esther’s cousin and guardian. Mordecai begged Esther for help and she made a direct appeal to Ahasuerus to prevent Haman’s plot. It was a brave, desperate act for Esther to go before Ahasuerus; at that time, going before the King without being summoned was a crime that carried the death penalty. Fortunately, Ahasuerus forgave Esther and showed this by stretching out his scepter to her. The king listened to her appeal, understood the situation, and prevented Haman’s plot to persecute the Jews; eventually Haman was hanged.

In the story of “*Esther*,” it was above all Esther herself who was regarded as a *model* for readers. By risking her own life to save her Jewish compatriots, Esther became a heroine of the Old Testament. Christians identified her with the Virgin Mary; the name “*Esther*” signifies “star,” coinciding with the famous title used to express admiration for the Virgin, “*Stella Maris*.”⁽²¹⁾ In addition, twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians, such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Bonaventura, referred to Esther as a typological Figure of the Virgin mediating at the *Last Judgment*; they also saw her as a personification of the Church, through an interpretation of the *Song of Songs*. This typological image was reflected in Andrea del Castagno’s series of wall paintings, *Illustrious People* series by Andrea del Castagno, in which the figure of Esther was placed opposite the Virgin (ca. 1450, Villa Carlucci, Legnaia).

In Christian art of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most frequently represented scene was *Esther’s Supplication to Ahasuerus*. In Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, painters created many images of Esther daring to approach Ahasuerus and the king giving his permission by stretching out his scepter (Fig. 11).⁽²²⁾ The scene of *Esther Fainting* was another favorite. While this scene does not actually appear in the story of *Esther*, it depicts the moment when Ahasuerus gives his permission (Fig. 12).⁽²³⁾ However, these subjects gradually disappeared, replaced by the secular theme, *The Toilet of Esther*, which conveyed

her womanly grace and sensuality, as in Théodore Chassériau's 1841 painting (now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris).

It is particularly interesting that, in the fifteenth century, Esther's marriage was also represented frequently. The wedding of Esther and Ahasuerus (from *Esther* 2: 17-18) was frequently painted on the rectangular face of the *cassone*, a common piece of matrimonial furniture in Italy (Fig. 13). With its *rustika*-surfaced buildings and Cathedral of St. Maria Annunziata in the background, this scene certainly represents a contemporary Florentine cityscape. The paintings of Jacopo da Sellaio (ca. 1485, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) would also have been for *cassone*.⁽²⁴⁾ It may not be a coincidence that these paintings were made around the time of Charles the Bold's wedding.

It is also worth pointing out that the story of Esther gained more attention as a tapestry subject from the fifteenth century onwards. One of the oldest documents that mentions a tapestry depicting Esther says that Louis d'Anjou (1339-1384) obtained a "grand tapiz de hautez lice à ymages" representing "ystoire d'Estor" in 1376.⁽²⁵⁾ In England, a document dating from 1419 refers to a tapestry presenting the story of Esther.⁽²⁶⁾ In Italy, the Duke of Ferrara is known to have acquired *Esther Tapestries* in 1457.⁽²⁷⁾

Within the territory of Burgundy, *Esther Tapestries* owned by the wife of Nicolas de Barbançon, a steward of Hainaut, were displayed in 1468, 1470, and 1515 at Mons.⁽²⁸⁾ Another *Esther Tapestry*, probably woven around 1510-25 in Brussels (Fig. 14),⁽²⁹⁾ has survived to the present day. Bordered with patterns of flowers and fruits, this tapestry shows Ahasuerus sitting on the throne and Esther swooning. It is Esther herself, rather than Ahasuerus, who draws our attention by occupying the central foreground and turning her body toward the viewer.

Why were episodes from the life of Esther chosen as subjects for tapestries? First, as the story involved the exotic, splendid Persian court, it must have particularly well suited for displaying its owner's wealth and authority.⁽³⁰⁾ Secondly, the large, rectangular format of a tapestry is suitable for narrating episodic stories, as architectural frames are used to divide the space into small squares. An independent, square tapestry can also function as such, by juxtaposing several pieces to create a single whole. As we will see, the Duke of Burgundy took advantage of tapestry's ability to narrate a story.

• The Composition and Iconography of the *Esther Tapestries*

The "List of the *Esther Tapestries*," is based on works woven in the Duchy of Burgundy. Among those mentioned, the tapestries of Zaragoza (Figs. 1-3, Lists 1-3) retain the largest sections of the original panels, each measuring about 8 meters in width.⁽³¹⁾ The Latin

phrases inscribed at the top of each section relate major episodes in the story of *Esther*; the tapestry includes *Feast of Ahasuerus*, *Disobedience of Vashti*, and *Deposition of Vashti* (from *Esther* 1), from left to right in order (List 1, Fig. 1). Here Vashti is still enthroned as a queen and Esther has not yet appeared.

The second tapestry based on *Esther* 2 depicts, from left to right: *Mordecai informing Ahasuerus about Eunuchs' plot*, *Esther chosen as a Queen*, and *Esther enthroned by Ahasuerus* (List 2, Fig. 2). The third tapestry represents *Haman's Plot*, *Mordecai asks Esther to make a Supplication*, *Esther's Supplication to Ahasuerus*, and *Esther inviting Ahasuerus and Haman to the feast* from *Esther* 3-5 (List 3, Fig. 3). As *Esther* continues until Chapter 10, the latter half of the story may have been woven in the fourth and following tapestries.

The tapestry of Minneapolis has kept its brilliant color, although the top and sides appear to have been cut off (List 4, Fig. 4).⁽³²⁾ The remaining parts of the tapestry include *Esther's Supplication* and *Feast of Esther* from *Esther* 5. The Latin inscriptions on the lower left indicate that the episode that came before *Supplication of Esther* was represented in the lost section; it may have been *Haman's Plot* from *Esther* 3.⁽³³⁾

The two tapestries of Nancy (List 5-6) are also fragments, lacking both sides and the lower section (Figs. 5-6). As the old French inscriptions on the top indicate, they represented scenes of *Vashti's Disobedience* and *Vashti's Deposition*. The figures and ornaments in the Nancy tapestries are similar to those in the Minneapolis tapestry (Fig. 4). The tapestry of Paris, (List 7, Fig. 7), follows the first Nancy tapestry (Fig. 5) almost completely but is much smaller, with no inscriptions. Esther does not appear in the final three tapestries.

In both subject and iconography, the tapestries mentioned in Lists 4-7 are strongly inter-related; they seem to have been based on the same cartoons and woven in the ateliers of Tournai or Brussels. Stylistically, these tapestries can be situated earlier than the Zaragoza works (Figs. 1-3).⁽³⁴⁾ Curiously, the common feature in all of these tapestries is the inconspicuousness of Esther, contrasting with her prominence in the story. She may have appeared in lost sections, but the images that survive present a striking contrast to those that place a fainting Esther in the middle of the space (Figs. 12 and 14).

• Who ordered the *Esther* Tapestries?

As we will explore later, the *Esther Tapestries* decorated the *Prinsenhof* in Bruges, where Charles's wedding ceremony was held. It may therefore be natural to assume that the original *Esther Tapestries* were commissioned for the wedding, but no records exist to confirm that the weaver of this was hired to prepare for the marriage. On the contrary, various accounts mention payments to artisans, including painters, sculptors, and gold-

smiths, who were engaged to prepare for the ceremony.⁽³⁵⁾ Since a set of tapestries was so expensive, some records and accounts must have been made if Charles ordered it for this occasion. In fact, it must have been difficult to commission tapestries in advance of a wedding, as they usually took several years to finish. For example, the *Gideon Tapestries* ordered in 1448, took more than five years to supply.⁽³⁶⁾

On the other hand, we can find at least two documents that refer to the set of *Esther Tapestries* in the Duke's collection before 1468, the year of Charles's marriage. The first is a document written by the manager of the Duke's tapestries, noting that "Four large tapestries of Ahasuerus and Esther" were restored in 1451.⁽³⁷⁾ The second record concerns a payment for six *Esther Tapestries* in 1461-62. The set was ordered by Philip the Good from the prosperous atelier of Pasquier Grenier in Tournai:

A Pasquier Grenier, marchand tappareur, demourant à Tournay, — pour plusieurs pièces de tappareur, ouvrées de fil de laine et de soye, garnies de toile, franges, cordes et rubans, contenant en tout vij^e aulnes ou environ. C'est assavoir: six tapis de muraille, pour parer une sale, fais et ouvréz de l'histoire du roy Assuere et de la royne Hester, et quatre pièces d'autres tapis . . . et icelles donner et fait présenter en don, de par lui, à MS le cardinal d'Arras . . .⁽³⁸⁾

The atelier of Grenier received a great number of orders from the Dukes of Burgundy, including the *Alexander Tapestries* mentioned above.⁽³⁹⁾ It therefore seems highly probable that this second set of *Esther Tapestries* was inherited from Philip the Good by Charles the Bold; like the *Alexander Tapestries* or the *Gideon Tapestries*, they would have been used on many occasions to decorate the Duke's palace and other buildings. Charles's wedding would certainly have been one of the best occasions for displaying them.

In the next chapter, we will examine the function of the *Esther Tapestries* at Charles's wedding ceremony.

4. Charles's Marriage Ceremony

• The Marriage Ceremony and its Reputation

The wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York was held in July 1468⁽⁴⁰⁾. While Charles had lost two wives who had died young, it was Margaret's first marriage. Since she was a sister of the king of England, Edward IV, who reigned from 1461 to 1483, their marriage was simply designed to reinforce the relationship between England and Burgundy. A

large number of guests and audience members gathered for the ceremony and the feast that followed it. Chastellain included this grand wedding among Charles's "eleven *magnificences*:"

La troisième La solennité de ses nopces, en la mesme ville de Bruges, les riches et somptueuses joustes qui s'y firent, et les diverses excessives coustanges et pompes monstrées en la salle durant la feste.⁽⁴¹⁾

He referred to it as a third magnificence, fluently explaining how solemn the ceremony was, and how lavish the feast. By contrast, other *magnificences* were mentioned briefly, simply as "the meeting of the order of the Golden Fleece" or "the feast with the Emperor."

Another report also describes the magnificence of the feast in detail. The author, Olivier de la Marche, helped to prepare the wedding as a Burgundy employee; he later wrote his *mémoires*. Although he confused some dates, his writings still provide important details of Burgundian culture.⁽⁴²⁾ Based on his reports and those of another chronicler, Jean de Haynin, we can reconstruct the ceremony.

To attend the ceremony, Margaret and her companions left England, crossing the North Sea and arriving in Sluis. Charles went to Damme to meet her on July 3rd, 1468. Together they entered Bruges:

Le lendemain, qui fust troiziesme jour de juillet, mondit seigneur le duc de Bourgogne et de Brabant se partit, à privée compaignie, entre quatre et cinq heures du matin, et se tira au lieu du Dan, où il trouva madicte dame Marguerite et sa compaignie... et là mondit seigneur l'espousa, comme il appartenoit, par la main de l'evesque de Salsbery dessusdit, et, après la messe chantée, mondit seigneur s'en retourna en son hostel à Bruges.⁽⁴³⁾

The party passed through the gate of Kluis (Kluispoort) into the city of Bruges. One miniature may help us imagine how the splendid procession looked. It shows the entry ceremony of Charles V (1500-1558) into Bruges (Fig. 15). Although Charles V was placed in the midst of the procession, the *Kluispoort* decoration appears in the upper right.

As in this miniature, the roads used for Charles's procession were lavishly decorated with tapestries and *tableaux vivants* (plays in which silent performers stood still, while an explanation was given).⁽⁴⁴⁾ As we can see in the illustration (Fig. 16) of the entry ceremony of Joanna of Castile (1479-1555) into Brussels in 1496, citizens were expected to exalt the

ruler. During Charles's ceremony, the city of Bruges prepared *tableaux vivants*; interestingly, the story of Esther was one of the subjects presented:

Et fault commencer à reciter les personnaiges qui furent monstrez en sa joyeuse venue. Et au regard des rues, elles furent tendues très richement de drap d'or et de soye, et de tapisserie; et quant aux histoyres, j'en recuillys dix en ma memoire . . .⁽⁴⁵⁾
Et si estoient entre ladicte porte et ladicte court en divers lieux assises dix grandes louables histoires... La premiere histoire prouchaine de la porte estoit comment Dieu conjoingnoit Eve et Adam au paradis terrestre selon Genese....La IX^e estoit en la fin du marchié vers la court le mariage de Hester, qui disoit: *Assuerus, rex Persarum, cui Hester formosa omnium oculis graciosia placuit, ducta ad ejus cubiculum dyadema regni capiti ejus imposuit, cunctis principibus convivium nuptiarum preparavit. Hester secundo.*⁽⁴⁶⁾

According to Olivier de la Marche, ten plays were performed, between the gate of Kluis and the palace. The subjects were all taken from the Bible and histories: first, Adam and Eve, then the marriage of the Alexander the Great; the third was about King of Solomon.⁽⁴⁷⁾ *Ahasuerus and Esther* was the ninth subject.

The Confraternity of *Our Lady of the Dry Tree* and that of the *Blessed Lady of the Snow* prepared the feast at Bruges. Painters including Petrus Christus and Hans Memling belonged to these confraternities.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In addition, the Italian merchant Giovanni Arnolfini, Isabel de Portugal, and Charles the Bold himself were also members. It is therefore likely that Charles was given the chance to choose the subject of Esther. They entered the palace of Burgundy, *Prinsenhof* (Fig. 17).⁽⁴⁹⁾ The courtyard, situated near the gate, served as the banquet hall. De la Marche reported in detail on the gorgeous tableware:

La grant salle dont j'ay fait mencion estoit moult noblement parée . . . Et d'emprès ladicte haulte table estoit ung très hault dressoir fait à trois quarrés con dist losengue, chascune quarré de quinze piés de large et IX degrez de hault en estroicissant jusques à pointe. Sur lesquelz degrez estoit vaisselle d'or et d'argent garnie de riche pierrie . . . Et sur le sommeron dudit dressoir faisant la fin, une très grande et très rice coupe d'or.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Similar tableware is depicted in the *Esther Tapestries* (Figs. 4 and 20), including the so-called *Goblet of Burgundy* (Fig. 18). The goblet, decorated with crystal, gold, enamel,

pearls, diamonds, and rubies, may have been ordered by Philip the Good and passed down to Charles.⁽⁵¹⁾

The feast continued for nine days, during which various spectacles were performed. The performers appeared one after another, disguised as unicorns, peacocks, or elephants, to celebrate the alliance of the Duchy of Burgundy and England. Stories from the *Labors of Heracles* were also performed to praise Charles for his braveness.⁽⁵²⁾ Lively trumpet and clarinet music was played in the building next to the courtyard. This was a place for those who were not invited – they could watch the feast from the windows. At the market place near the palace, large-scale games with jousting and horses were held. Thus the citizens of Bruges could see the marriage ceremony, whether inside or outside the palace.

• The Role of Tapestries

Tapestries were displayed in various places during Charles's marriage ceremony and feast. De Haynin enumerated the subjects of those tapestries, which decorated every room:

Et estoit ladicte sale toute tapissée richement de tapisserie contenant l'histoire de Gédéon et de la Toison d'or. La grande sale du commun estoit tapissée de l'histoire de la grande bataille de Liège, . . . La seconde sale en haut, c'est à scavoir la sale des chambellans estoit tapissée du coronnement du roy Cloïs, premier prince chrestien de France . . . La sale devant la chapelle estoit tapissée de l'histoire de Beggue, duc de Béline, et de Garin, duc de Lorraine. Une autre sale estoit tapissée de l'histoire d'Assuérus et de Hester. La chapelle estoit tapissée de drap d'or, contenant la passion de Nostre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ. La sale du parement de madame tenoit l'histoire de Lucrèce. . . . et les autres toutes très richement tapissées et parées.⁽⁵³⁾

Among the tapestries De Haynin saw, "l'histoire d'Assuérus et de Hester" is relevant here. The "l'histoire de Gédéon et de la Toison d'or" corresponds to the famous *Gideon Tapestries*; the *Passion Tapestries* are thought to have been made by the same Grenier atelier as the *Esther Tapestries*⁽⁵⁴⁾. Historical heroes were also shown, such as Clovis I, King of Franks; Jean sans Peur in the battle of Liège in 1408; and the Dukes of Belin and Lorraine.

As De Haynin noted, every tapestry must have been richly woven to successfully decorate the spaces used for this special event. The guests and audience members would have been impressed with the power and the authority of Charles, the host, conflating him with these historical rulers.

What role did the *Esther Tapestries* really play in this event? As scholars have pointed out, the brave and noble-minded Esther seems to have had been strongly associated with the bride, Margaret. It was also desirable for Charles that Margaret should be as respectful and obedient as Esther. Esther was also represented in the *tableau vivant* prepared for this ceremony, as mentioned above. It is therefore easy to imagine that people of Burgundy may have expected Margaret to help them, as Esther risked herself to save her compatriots. Guests from foreign countries would have understood Margaret's role in this way. Indeed, the story of Esther was repeated during entry ceremonies introducing Margaret to the cities of Mons and Douai in 1470⁽⁵⁵⁾.

However, the composition and representation of the surviving parts of the *Esther Tapestries* do not always emphasize Esther herself. It is also important to note that the *Esther Tapestries* decorated "another room," while tapestries representing Lucretia were displayed in the women's room (*parement de madame*). Needless to say, Lucretia was considered to be a *model* of chastity in ancient Rome and women's room must have seemed an appropriate place to associate this subject with the bride Margaret. We do not know what kind of room the *Esther Tapestries* were displayed in, but it seems likely that men as well as women were able to see this set.

It is even more important to examine whether Esther was really a perfect *model* for women, given her "complexity." In other words, it is possible to conclude that she hid her Jewish origins in order to become a queen, using her beauty to influence men intentionally.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In addition, it was her guardian, Mordecai, who persuaded Esther to derail Haman's plot. Comparing Esther to Judith, another Old Testament heroine, shows that Esther's ability to control men was uncertain. While Judith killed Holofernes to achieve her goal, Esther merely made a supplication and waited for the king to make a decision.

Reexamining these aspects of the story of Esther, we note the absolute right of Ahasuerus to cast out Vashti and hang Haman. This is what made Esther's supplication such a desperate act: she was sure to be killed if she made Ahasuerus angry. Indeed, in the surviving *Esther Tapestries*, the absolute authority of Ahasuerus seems more prominent than the virtue of Esther.

5. Charles's Image Strategy and the Political Background

• *The Esther Tapestries and Charles's Model*

The Duke's *Esther Tapestries* (Figs. 1-7) differ from the traditional iconography of Esther. While Esther still plays a key role, the set emphasizes the kingly powers of Ahasuerus by

highlighting the splendors of his feast.

First, in the works of Zaragoza (List 1-3, Figs. 1-3) Ahasuerus appears twice as many times as Esther. His dignity is particularly emphasized in the first scene, which shows him sitting at the center of the banquet table with the cloth of honor in the background (Fig. 20). In the next scene, Ahasuerus is standing at the gate, ordering a servant to make Vashti appear in front of various people (Fig. 1). He then listens to Mordecai's report, chooses Esther as his new queen, and sits on the throne with her (Fig. 2). The king also appears at the center of a banquet table when he forgives Esther (Fig. 3). Every image of the king's throne is a prominent feature. It seems evident that the Zaragoza tapestries intentionally emphasize the authority of Ahasuerus.

These tapestries also emphasize details of the banquet (Figs. 1 and 4). The tapestries themselves were an important part of the decorations; they show the "golden vessels, each vessel being different from the other, with royal wine in abundance" (*Esther* 1:7). The sideboard and precious tableware correspond to De la Marche's descriptions. Every motif is represented much more concretely than in the *cassone* (Fig. 13). In addition, the court of Ahasuerus shown in the *Esther Tapestries* bears a close resemblance to the court of Burgundy (Fig. 4). On the wall in the background, we can see a tapestry with a deep green ground, similar to the famous *Millefleur Tapestry* (Fig. 19). Ahasuerus wears a crown instead of a Persian turban and his servant wears the gold brocade clothes and shoes with pointed toes that were fashionable in the Duchy of Burgundy.

Admiring such scenes, the guests would have naturally compared the *Esther Tapestries* with real tableware, including the goblet (Fig. 18), and linked the gorgeous banquet of Ahasuerus with Charles and his authority.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Indeed, Ahasuerus's feast was regarded as a metaphor for the wealth of Charles, as shown in a report of the banquet from Charles's meeting with the emperor in 1473, in which it was praised "as if the great feast of Ahasuerus."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Thus Ahasuerus can be seen as a *model* of Charles.

Like the Minneapolis tapestry, the original *Esther Tapestries* must have been used frequently to decorate the walls of the palace, demonstrating the wealth and power of the Duke of Burgundy. Of course, other tapestries must also have played important roles at feasts. At first glance, Gideon or Alexander the Great might seem more appropriate subjects for the ruler's tapestries than the story of Esther. Nevertheless, we can find strong ties between Charles and Ahasuerus in these *Esther Tapestries*. They also reflected the political situation at that time: in conflict with neighboring France, Charles had to display his authority by every possible means.

• The Duchy of Burgundy and Relations between France and England

Although they were close relatives, the feud between the Dukes of Burgundy and the House of France continued for a long time.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Charles's first wife was Catherine, the daughter of the Charles VII of France, who reigned from 1422 to 1461. Catherine was engaged to Charles to bring about a reconciliation, but she unfortunately died young.

After the Hundred Years' War between England and France, Charles VII of France and the next king, Louis XI (reign: 1461-1483) tried to improve the relationship with England. Instead, they became more and more estranged from the Duke of Burgundy; when the powerful ruler Philip the Good passed away in 1467, they aggressively invaded the territory of Burgundy. The marriage contract between Charles and Margaret was arranged in these circumstances.

Shortly after his second wife Isabelle died in September 1465, Charles sent an ambassador to Edward IV of England to propose the engagement with Margaret of York.⁽⁶⁰⁾ At that time, Charles held the title of Count of Charolais; it was only after he became the Duke of Burgundy that the marriage "project" went ahead. In the meantime, Louis XI tried to prevent the marriage by asking the Pope not to permit it. Ultimately, his interference was not successful.

In this context, Charles must have regarded the marriage ceremony as the first and ideal occasion to display his power, wealth, and territory as a new Duke, overwhelming neighboring countries. It was also a perfect opportunity to build a powerful alliance with England. For this purpose, the *Esther Tapestries* must have had an important political role – exalting both Charles and Margaret and their countries.

The present article has examined the *Esther Tapestries* in relation to the political aims of Charles the Bold. It is clear that the *Esther Tapestries* were chosen intentionally to showcase the dignity and power of Charles, comparing him and his court to that of Ahasuerus, along with his magnificent marriage ceremony. The image of Esther successfully praised, not only the Margaret's virtue as a bride, but also Charles's power.⁽⁶¹⁾ This way of using images may not have been established all at once; instead, it was adopted by successive Dukes of Burgundy as a kind of "Burgundian brand."

[Notes]

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(1) For the Duchy of Burgundy and its court culture, see Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*

- française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne: Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire, Genève, 1970[1909]; Joseph Calmette, *Les Grands ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1976; Bertrand Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon 1363-1477*, Paris, 2005; Susan Marti et al., eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, Antwerp, 2009; Wim Blockmans et al., *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, Turnhout, 2013.
- (2) Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Portable Propaganda: Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold," *Art Journal*, 48, 1989, pp.123-129; Wim Blockmans & Esther Donckers, "Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in Wim Blockmans & Antheun Janse, eds., *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the late Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 1999, pp.81-111.
 - (3) The two tapestries in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj (Rome) would have been part of a set of *Alexander Tapestries* ordered by the Duke of Burgundy, or at least reflected the composition of the original. For recent research, see my article (in Japanese): Sumiko Imai, "Collection of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy: Political Function of the *Alexander the Great Tapestries*," in Koichi Toyama and Hiromasa Kanayama, eds., *Reading the Art Collection*, Tokyo, 2012, pp.191-211; Françoise Barbe et al., eds., *L'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand dans les tapisseries au XV^e siècle*, Turnhout, 2013.
 - (4) For the reign of Philip the Good, see note 1 above and Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 1970; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1979.
 - (5) For the reign of Charles the Bold, see note 1 above and Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, London, 1973; Edward A. Tabri, *Political Culture in the Early Northern Renaissance: The Court of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467-1477)*, Wales, 2004; Atsushi Kawahara, "Charles the Bold and the Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century Burgundy: Some Remarks for the Burgundian Court Ideology," *The Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 475, 2013, pp.1-14 (in Japanese).
 - (6) "L'une sy estoit la tapisserie. . . , la plus riche de la terre pour ce temps et celle qui toutes les autres du monde jusques à ce jour passe et surmonte, . . . si grande que à peine salle du monde nulle ne la peut comprendre tout pour y estre tendue." Georges Chastellain, K. de Lettenhove, éd., *Œuvres*, Bruxelles, 1836-66, III, p.94.
 - (7) ". . . estoit aournée et circompndue de très riche tapicerie du grant roy Alexandre, Hanibal et aultres nobles anciens . . ." Alexandre Pinchart, *Tapisseries flamandes: Histoire générale de la Tapisserie*, 3 (Pays-bas), Paris, 1884, p.30. On the conflict between the Duchy of Burgundy and the city of Ghent, see Vaughan, *op.cit.*, *Philip*. . . , pp.303-333.
 - (8) For the *Esther Tapestries* ordered by the Dukes of Burgundy, see V. de Sansonnetti, *Tente de Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1843; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: art and civilization*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960; Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503*, New York, 1989; Candace J. Adelson, *European Tapestry in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, Minneapolis, 1994; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, London, 1999; Fernando Checa, *Trésors de la couronne d'Espagne, un âge d'or de la tapisserie flamande*, Bruxelles, 2010.
 - (9) Weightman, *op.cit.*, pp.30-60; Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, Los Angeles, 2005, in part. pp.233-234; Marti, *op.cit.*, p.292.
 - (10) Eva Helfenstein, "The Burgundian Court Goblet: On the Function and Status of Precious Ves-

- sels at the Court of Burgundy,” in Wim Blockmans et al., *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, Turnhout, 2013, pp.159-166.
- (11) Weightman, *op.cit.*, pp.48-49; Adelson, *op.cit.*, p.40.
- (12) For the history of tapestries, see George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries*, Philadelphia, 1925; J. Lestocquoy, *Deux siècles de l'histoire de la tapisserie (1300-1500)*, Arras, 1978; Fabienne Joubert, *La Tapisserie*, Turnhout, 1993, in part. pp.29-32; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, London/New Haven, 2002.
- (13) Hunter, *op.cit.*, p.89; Weightman, *op.cit.*, p.56.
- (14) Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.5.
- (15) Smith, *op.cit.*, *The Artistic* . . . , p.334; Schnerb, *op.cit.*, p.359.
- (16) Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, pp.130-177; Smith, *Ibid.*; Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the Mid-16th Century*, Turnhout, 1999, pp.353-373.
- (17) Philippe Wielant, *Antiquités de Flandre*, p.56; Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, p.182.
- (18) L. M. E. Dupont, éd., *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, II, Paris, 1843, p.66.
- (19) For the interest of Philip the Good in the historical rulers, see Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, pp.125-130, 134-177; Smith, *Ibid.*; Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.288-325.
- (20) Paris, Mss. franç., II, p.281; Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, p.182. See also, Chrystèle Blondeau, “Les intentions d’une œuvre (Faits et gestes d’Alexandre le Grand de Vasque de Lucène) et sa réception par Charles le Téméraire,” *Revue du nord*, 83, 2001, pp.731-752.
- (21) For Esther’s typological iconography, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, Paris, 1955, I, pp.335-342; James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London, 1974, p.116.
- (22) For example, see the Utrecht Master’s *Esther and Ahasuerus* (illustration from the Bible) in the 1430s, Royal Library of the Netherlands, 78 D 38 II, fol.14 v., The Hague; Konrad Witz, *Esther and Ahasuerus*, ca.1435, Kunstmuseum, Basel. Réau, *Ibid.*
- (23) Veronese’s work in 1562 (Musée du Louvre, Paris) is known for depicting the same scene. Réau, *Ibid.*
- (24) Exh.Cat., *Galleria degli Uffizi: arte a Firenze da Botticelli a Bronzino: verso una ‘maniera moderna’*, Tokyo et al., 2014, pp.52-55 (in Japanese). For Fig. 13, see John Pope-Hennessy & Keith Christiansen, “Secular Painting in 15th-Century Tuscany: Birth Trays, Cassone Panels, and Portraits,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 38, 1980, in part. pp.24-28.
- (25) He obtained it in Paris. Jules Guiffrey, *Nicolas Bataille, tapissier parisien du XVe siècle*, Paris, 1884, pp.32-33. As it was spelled as “Estor” in the document, it is possible to interpret it as an another subject. Lestocquoy, *op.cit.*, p.23.
- (26) Louise Roblot-Delondre, “Les sujets antiques dans la tapisserie,” *Revue archéologique*, sér. 5, 10, 1919, pp.294-332, in part. p.312.
- (27) Lestocquoy, *op.cit.*, p.102.
- (28) Roblot-Delondre, *op.cit.*, p.312.
- (29) For this tapestry, see Alan Chong et al., eds., *Eye of the Beholder: Masterpieces from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, Boston, 2003, p.115.
- (30) Checa, *Ibid.*
- (31) The *Esther Tapestries* in Zaragoza are generally considered to have been made between 1475 and 1490. Delmarcel, *op.cit.*, pp.60-63; Checa, *op.cit.*, p.53.
- (32) The date of the tapestry of Minneapolis (List 4, Fig. 4) has been estimated as 1450-1485. Based on its resemblance to the *Trojan War Tapestry* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), it may

- have been woven by the atelier of Tournai. Adelson, *op.cit.*, p.42. However, the Brussels atelier may also have been involved. *Flanders. . .*, *op.cit.*, pp.324-327.
- (33) Adelson, *op.cit.*, pp.39-40.
- (34) Adelson, *op.cit.*, p.46.
- (35) Léon de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle*, 1849-52, II, Paris, pp.293-381
- (36) The contract for the *Gideon Tapestries* specifies a four-year term for production. Eugène Soil, *Les Tapisseries de Tournai*, Tournai, 1891, p.374. For the *Gideon Tapestries*, see Smith, *op.cit.*, *The Artistic. . .*, pp.149-159; Sumiko Imai, "The *Gideon Tapestries* and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy," *Bulletin of Osaka Ohtani University*, 52, 2018, pp.23-42.
- (37) ". . . 4 grans tapis du roy Assuere et de Hesther . . ." Roblot-Delondre, *op.cit.*, p.312, CXLII.
- (38) Archives de Lille; Laborde, *op.cit.*, I, p.480, no.1871. It is not certain that the *Esther Tapestries* were included among the tapestries presented to the Bishop of Arras; these may have been limited to "quatre pièces d'autres tappis."
- (39) For the commission of the *Alexander Tapestries*, see Imai, *Ibid* (2012).
- (40) For the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, see Weightman, *Ibid*; Belozerskaya, *Ibid*.
- (41) Chastellain, *op.cit.*, V, p.505.
- (42) Weightman, *op.cit.*, pp.30-31.
- (43) H. Beaune & J. d'Arbaumont, eds., *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche: maitre d'hotel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, Paris, 1884-88, III, p.105.
- (44) For *tableaux vivants*, see Dagmar Eichberger, "The Tableau Vivant: an Ephemeral Art Form in Burgundian Civic Festivities," *Parergon*, 6 A, 1988, pp.37-64; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, Oxford, 1998; Yoshinori Kyotani, "Note on the Tableaux Vivants in Burgundian Civic Festivities," *Studies in Western Art*, 15, 2009, pp.169-185.
- (45) De la Marche, *op.cit.*, III, pp.114-115.
- (46) De la Marche, *op.cit.*, IV, pp.101-103.
- (47) De la Marche, *Ibid*.
- (48) Atsushi Kawahara, *Bruges*, Chuko-shinsyo 1848, 2006, pp.173-176.
- (49) For the *Prinsenhof* in Bruges, see Bieke Hillewaert, "The Bruges Prinsenhof: Absence of Splendour," in Wim Blockmans et al., *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, Turnhout, 2013, pp.25-31.
- (50) De la Marche, *op.cit.*, IV, p.107.
- (51) For the Goblet of Burgundy, see Helfenstein, *op.cit.*, pp.159-166.
- (52) De la Marche, *op.cit.*, III, in part. pp.133-135.
- (53) R. Chalon, éd., *Les mémoires de Messire Jean, seigneur de Haynin et de Louvegnies, chevalier, 1465-1477*, Mons, 1842, pp.106-110.
- (54) Soil, *op.cit.*, pp.240-241.
- (55) When Margaret entered the cities in 1470, Esther was represented in *tableaux vivants*, along with biblical heroines such as Judith. Sylvie Blondel, "La première et joyeuse entrée de Marguerite d'York à Douai," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes*, 44, 2004, pp.31-42.
- (56) For the moral complexity of Esther, see Cristelle L. Baskins, "Typology, sexuality, and the Renaissance Esther," in James Grantham Turner, *Sexuality and Gender in early modern Europe*,

New York, 1993, pp.31-54; Babette Bohn, "Esther as a Model for Female Autonomy in Northern Italian Art," *Studies in Iconography*, 23, 2002, pp.183-201.

(57) Marti, *op.cit.*, p.292.

(58) ". . . die misse gheeynt wesende leyde die hertoge den keyserlicke majesteyt by der hant in der salen, daer men eten soude, die so wtermaten ende onwtsprekelicken costelick bereyt ende verciert was, dattet scheen coninck Assuerus vyerlicke feeste te wesen." *Der Libellus de magnificencia ducis Burgundiae in Treveris visa conscriptus*, in C. Bernoulli, ed., *Basler Chroniken*, III, 1887, pp.332-364, in part. p.362.

(59) For the complicated relationship between the Duchy of Burgundy, France, and England, see Vaughan, *op.cit.*, *Charles. . .*, pp.41-83.

(60) As for how Charles the Bold got engaged to Margaret of York, see Vaughan, *op.cit.*, *Charles. . .*, pp.44-48.

(61) We do not know whereabouts of the *Esther Tapestries* after this ceremony. A supposition was suggested that the set was hanged in the tent of Charles the Bold at the battle of Nancy in 1477, and when he was killed in this battle, the tapestries were scattered around. De Sansonetti, *op.cit.*, p.1. This theory is generally denied today, as there remains no document about it. Adelson, *op.cit.*, p.42.

[Photo Credits and Sources]

Figs. 1-3, 20: G. Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, London, 1999.

Figs. 4-6: C. J. Adelson, *European Tapestry in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, Minneapolis, 1994.

Figs. 8-10, 17-19: S. Marti et al., eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, Antwerp, 2009.

Fig. 11: ©IRPA

Fig. 13: ©Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 14: A. Chong et al., eds., *Eye of the Beholder*, Boston, 2003.

Fig. 15: A.H van Buren et al., *Illuminating Fashion*, New York, 2011.

Fig. 16: D. Eichberger et al., *Women at the Burgundian Court*, Turnhout, 2010.

List of the *Esther Tapestries*

List. no	Place	Size/material	Period	Scenes (from the <i>Book of Esther</i>)	Provenance and remarks
List 1 (Fig. 1)	Museo de Tapices de la Seo, Zaragoza	430 × 820 cm, wool and silk	ca.1470~1490	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Feast of Ahasuerus</i> (1:1-9) · <i>Disobedience of Vashti</i> (1:10-21) · <i>Deposition of Vashti</i> (1:10-21) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · presented to Alonso de Aragón, illegitimate son of Ferdinand II of Aragon, in 1520
List 2 (Fig. 2)	Museo de Tapices de la Seo, Zaragoza	430 × 770 cm, wool and silk		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Mordecai informs Ahasuerus of eunuchs' plot</i> (2:21-23) · <i>Esther chosen as a queen</i> (2:1-18) · <i>Esther enthroned by Ahasuerus</i> (2:1-18) 	
List 3 (Fig. 3)	Museo de Tapices de la Seo, Zaragoza	395 × 800 cm, wool and silk		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Haman's plot</i> (3:1-15) · <i>Mordecai asks Esther to make a supplication</i> (4:1-17) · <i>Esther's supplication</i> (5:1-8) · <i>Esther inviting Ahasuerus and Haman to her feast</i> (5:1-14) 	
List 4 (Fig. 4)	Institute of Arts, Minneapolis	343 × 330 cm, wool and silk	the latter half of 15th century	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Esther's supplication</i> (5:1-8) · <i>Esther inviting Ahasuerus and Haman to her feast</i> (5:1-14) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · in the possession of A. Tollin, Paris 1897 · inscriptions on the left imply scenes from <i>Haman's plot</i> (3:1-15)
List 5 (Fig. 5)	Musée historique lorrain, Nancy	355 × 195 cm, wool and silk	1480s	· <i>Disobedience of Vashti</i> (1:10-21)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · in the documents of 1552, six <i>Esther Tapestries</i> were recorded
List 6 (Fig. 6)	Musée historique lorrain, Nancy	355 × 216 cm, wool and silk		· <i>Deposition of Vashti</i> (1:10-21)	
List 7 (Fig. 7)	Musée du Louvre, Paris	300 × 159 cm, wool and silk	1480s or later	· <i>Disobedience of Vashti</i> (1:10-21)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · follow the iconography of List 5



Fig. 1 List 1 of *Esther Tapestries*, 430×820 cm, wool and silk, Museo de Tapices de la Seo, Zaragoza.



Fig. 2 List 2 of *Esther Tapestries*, 430×770 cm, wool and silk, Museo de Tapices de la Seo, Zaragoza.



Fig. 3 List 3 of *Esther Tapestries*, 395 × 800 cm, wool and silk, Museo de Tapices de la Seo, Zaragoza.



Fig. 4 List 4 of *Esther Tapestries*, 343 × 330 cm, wool and silk, Institute of Arts, Minneapolis.



Fig. 5 (left) List 5 of *Esther Tapestries*, 355 × 195 cm, wool and silk, Musée historique lorrain, Nancy.
Fig. 6 (right) List 6 of *Esther Tapestries*, 355 × 216 cm, wool and silk, Musée historique lorrain, Nancy.



Fig. 7 (left) List 7 of *Esther Tapestries*, 300 × 159 cm, wool and silk, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Fig. 8 (right) Rogier van der Weyden (copy), *Portrait of Philip the Good*, ca. 1475, 32.5 × 22.4 cm, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.



Fig. 9 (left) Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Charles the Bold*, 49 × 32 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
Fig. 10 (right) *Portrait of Margaret of York*, 20.5 × 12 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 11 Herri met de Bles, *Triptych of Esther*, ca.1501-50, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.



Fig. 12 Filippino Lippi and Botticelli, *Scene from the Life of Esther* (detail), ca.1470-75, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 13 Marco del Buono Giamberti and Apollonio di Giovanni di Tomaso, *Story of Esther*, ca.1460-70, 44.5 × 140.7 cm, tempera on panel, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 14 *Esther and Ahasuerus*, ca.1510-25, 347 × 335 cm, wool and silk, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.



Fig. 15 *Entry Ceremony of Charles V into Bruges, 1515, from *Tryumphante et solemnelle entree* . . . , Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2591, Vienna.*

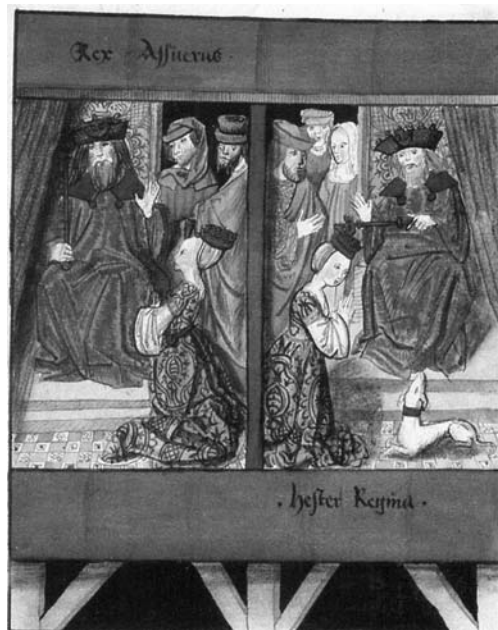


Fig. 16 *Esther and Ahasuerus, from *Entry of Jeanne de Castille into Brussels*, ca.1496, SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, ms.78 D 5, fol.40 r., Berlin.*

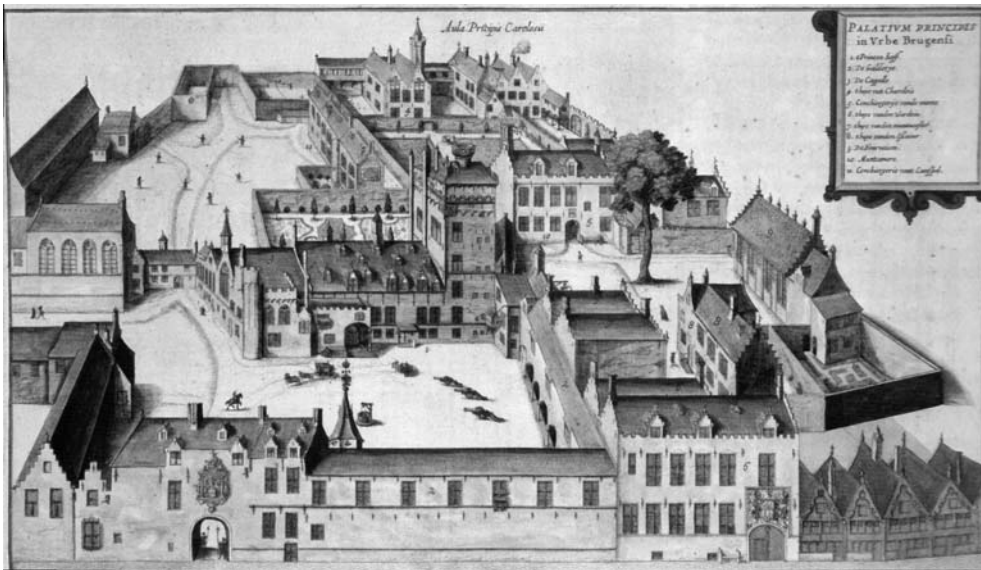


Fig. 17 *Prinsenhof, Bruges.* (A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, Bruges, 1641)



Fig. 18 *Burgundian Court Goblet*, around 46 cm, ca.1453-67, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

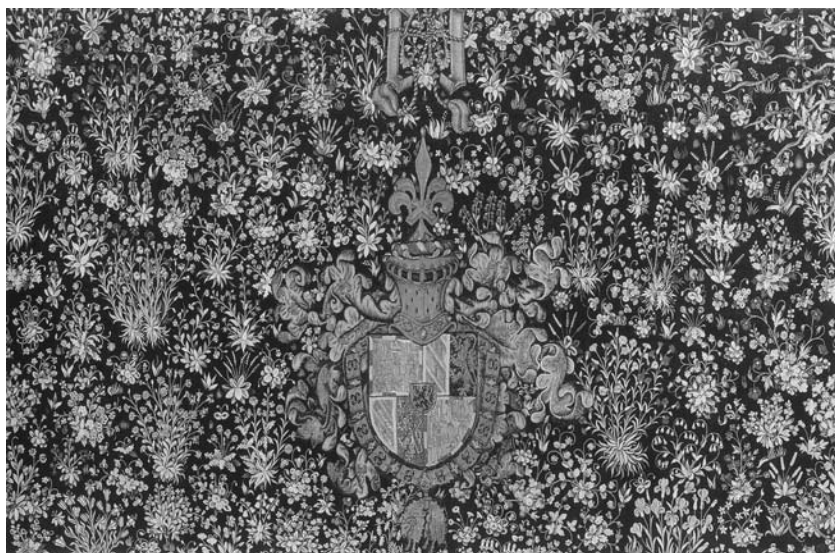


Fig. 19 *Millefleur Tapestry* (detail), ca.1466, 306×687 cm, Historisches Museum, inv. 14, Berne.



Fig. 20 *Banquet of Ahasuerus* (detail of Fig. 1)