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## Imagining Christian kingship in Sigismund II Augustus's "Genesis" tapestries at Wawel Castle (1553)

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: List of *Genesis* tapestry inscriptions

1. *Paradise Bliss*: “Deus Ade et Eve ne pomo ligni vite vescerentur preceperat. illi inobedientes eieci sunt Paradiso. GEN III.” (“God commanded Adam and Eve not to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life. They, disobedient, were exiled from Paradise.”)
2. *Adam Cultivates the Earth*: “Iubet Deus Adamo operari terram. GEN III” (“God commands Adam to cultivate the earth.”)
3. *Abel’s Sacrifice*: “Per fidem Abel meliorem obtulit Deo hostiam quam Cain. GEN III, HEBR XI.”<sup>623</sup> (By his faith Abel made a better offering to God than Cain.”)
4. *Fratricide Conceived*: “Egrediamur foras.” (Let us go out into the field.”)
5. *Cain Kills Abel*: “Iniustus Cain iracundi[a]e suggestu iustum occidit Abelem. GEN III.” (Prompted by wrath, unjust Cain kills Abel.”)
6. *Cain Flees the Wrath of God*: “Cain a Deo correptus territus profugit. Profugientem Vindicta et Desperatio sequuntur. GEN III.” (Cain, seized by terror, flees from God. The fugitive is followed by Vengeance and Despair.”)
7. *The Moral Downfall of Mankind*: “Ob i[m]pioru[m] giga[n]tu[m] et tiiranoru [sic] mala exempla et viole[n]tias Deus minatur exitiu[m] mundo. GEN VI.” (Because of the evil deeds and violences of godless giants and tyrants, God threatens the world with its ruin.”)
8. *God Converses with Noah*: “Noe a[m]bulat cu[m]] Deo, cui Deus futuru[m] aperit diluviu[m] Arcamq[ue] servatricem facere iubet. GEN VI.” (Noah walks with God. God reveals the future Flood and commands him to build the protective Ark.”)
9. *The Building of the Ark*: “Noe per fidem ad salutem domus su[a]e aparat. Impii virum subsannantes riden[t]. GEN VII. HEBR XI.”<sup>624</sup> (By his faith Noah builds an Ark for the salvation of his house. The godless mock him.”)

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<sup>623</sup> “Now faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not. For by this the ancients obtained a testimony. By faith we understand that the world was framed by the word of God; that from invisible things visible things might be made. By faith Abel offered to God a sacrifice exceeding that of Cain, by which he obtained a testimony that he was just, God giving testimony to his gifts; and by it he being dead yet speaketh.” Heb 11:1-4.

<sup>624</sup> “But without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and is a rewarder to them that seek him. By faith Noe, having received an answer concerning those things which as yet were not seen, moved with fear, framed the ark for the saving of his house, by the which he condemned the world; and was instituted heir of the justice which is by faith.” Heb 11:6-7.

10. *The Animals Enter the Ark*: “Noe cu[m] omni familia o[m]nisq[uisque] generis animalib[us] ingreditur Arcam ridetibus impiis. GEN VII.” (Noah enters the Ark with his whole family and all kinds of animals. The godless laugh at him.)
11. *The Flood*: “Aquis inundantibus omnia perunt. Sola mediis in tempestatibus servatur Arca. GEN VII.” (With the flooding waters everything dies. Amidst the tempest, only the Ark is protected.)
12. *The Animals Exit the Ark*: “Deus aquis cessantibus servatum Noe cum familia cu[u]tisq[ue] animalibus educit ex Arca. GEN VIII.” (With the waters resting, God leads the saved Noah and his family and all the animals out of the Ark.)
13. *Noah’s Thanksgiving Sacrifice*: “Noe extracto altari offert Deo holocausta ex omnibus animantibus mundis. GEN VIII.” (“Having raised an altar, Noah makes God a burnt offering from all the creatures of the world.”)
14. *God Blesses Noah’s Family*: “Deus benedicit Noe eiusq[ue] filiis ostenditq[ue] eis posita in nubibus iridem signi aeterni cu[m] eis foederis. GEN IX.” (God blesses Noah and his sons and shows them a rainbow in the sky as a sign of the eternal covenant with them.)
15. *Noah’s Drunkenness*: “Noe inebriatus iacens verendis nudis a iuniori filio ridetur quod reliquos puduit. GEN IX.” (The inebriated Noah is mocked by his younger son for his awful nakedness, which shames the others.)

## Appendix 2: Stanislaw Orzechowski's *ekphrasis* from *Panegyricus nuptiarum...*

Post coenas et post certamina et ludos, sternitur genialis lectus in interiore thalamo, rara et non alias uti ferebatur visa apud reges cortinarum magnificentia. In quibus ut ortus nostri autores, ita calamitatis parentes Adam et Eva ad effigiem veritatis stabant textu depicti, ambo per omnes cortinas auro praetextati. Et quoniam illae primorum parentum effigies preter ceteras res visendas admirabili fuerunt materia et opere, eas ad Ceбетis instar demonstrabo, ut inde cum opus ipsum preclari artificis. Tum vero ingenium optimi regis pernoscatis, quod ex studio ipsarum rerum potissimum cernitur.

In prima cortina ad caput genialis lecti, parentum nostrorum contextu expressa foelicitatis cernebatur effigies, in qua foelices illi cum essent, non erubescabant nudi. Porro utriusque nuditas ita commovebat animos, ut viri Evae, Adamo vero lascive introingressae arriderent puellae. Aperta enim pube ille viri, haec foeminae sexum sinu ostendebant pleno.

Secunda cortina arboris pomum et serpentis referebat suasum, tanta arte, ut et serpentis fallacias, et Evae gulam, et Adae peccatum loqueretur ipsa cortina.

In tertia repraesentabatur exilium illud nostrum miserum et calamitosum. Hic fugam Adae et trepidationem Evae, tum Deum iudicem iratum perhorresceres, teque damnari una, ac de te sententiam ferri spectans diceres, ita omnibus umbris, ac partibus cortina peccatum Adae et iram Dei in nos exaggerabat.

In quarta labor et dolor noster ob oculos proponebatur. Adam infoelix, mortali indutus pelle, patria pulsus, alienam colebat terram gravibus rastris. Eva vero proterva humilem horrida in pelle servabat casam, geminam circum sinum educans sobolem. Casae cespitem culmen congestum cernebatur, tum varie circumquaque, supraque insuetae volucres obstrepebant Evae, casaque volabant, peccatum exprobrantes, ac illi insultantes exuli.

In quinta gratum Deo Abelis sacrificium, Caini contra ingratum proponitur, impii fratris irarum causae. Videres furentem Cain dentibus mordere manum pre iracundia, quam illi a tergo mulieris specie docta artificis textu depinxerat manus.

In sexta impius frater impetum facit iustum in Abelum, quem ille sinistra arripit vertice, dextra vero illum mento mactat equino, promptum ad caedem, et ad mortem paratum. Hic mira imitatione expressos cerneret instantis tyranni vultus, inflatas cervices, furiosos oculos, turbatam faciem, horrentes comas, ictus denique ipsos furiis agitados, ac in fratrem contortos.

In septima, coelo prospicientem in terras, ars incredibilis effinxerat iratum Deum. lacebat in conspectu Abelis cadaver tetrum cruore, ac pallore foedum, horribile visu. Ex adverso stabat adornans fugam sceleratus Cain, quem depraehensum caedis, consequitur iuxta

desperatio, deinde indignata ultio muliebri habitu. Praeclara effigies, quae docet impiorum fratrum tristes semper fuisse exitus.

In octava docetur, quam mali corvi malum sit ovum. Scite enim expresserat artifex, quam scelerata fuerit Caina soboles. Ibi videres virgines ad stuprum rapi ingenuas, violari matronas, diripi urbes, privatas eripi res, caedes edi, ac vi rem plane geri: ut haec soboles ilio dignissima fuerit patre.

In nona cortina versabatur vindex ille malorum, et fautor bonorum divina specie Deus, ambulans cum Noe, et diluvium illi pollicens, quo sceleratos illos esset obruturus. His formis, atque figuris motus modo, et lingua defuit, caetera ad veritatis effigiem proxime accedebant. Hic ornatus thalami fuit, tanto rege dignus.

Et quoniam fidelem navamus nunc operam eis, qui aut abfuerunt, aut haec propter reverentiam regii thalami non viderunt, addam de Noach patre reliquam historiam, eodem contextu descriptam. Quod ut faciam, educam vos e thalamo paululum. Deinde mox huc revertar, ac per intermedium vestibulum, legatione in Egyptum Mosis, eiusdem cum Pharaone colloquio. Tum Israelis transitu, data lege, ac bello Amalechico per cortinas auro pretextas amplissime exornatum in atrium vos introducam grande, quod ante vestibulum ipsius thalami est.

Et in primis iratum Deum Cainitis vobis ostendam. Noach patri de arca praecepta dantem, ac modum arcae praescribentem. Haec admirandi operis cortina pendeat ad caput athrii.

In secunda ita aedificabatur arca, ut modo non fabrorum, & securium exhaudirentur in opere sonitus.

In tertia cogebat in arcam animalia Noe, victumque comportabat, ac se suosque in arcam includebat.

In quarta, ruptas coeli cataractas, apertasque abyssus, ac effusam coelo hyemem videres, cum fulgurum, fulminumque vi, quibus impiam sternebat pavor sobolem. Quo in loco turpem fugam Cainitarum conscientiae testem cerneres, alios arbores redundantibus aquis inscendere, alios, editas rupes capere, alios vero altos montes petere. Plena tumultus haec fuerat cortina, perterre faciebatque spectatorem, ut is quoque stupidus ad tam horrendam effigiem metueret sibi a diluvio, arcamque cogitaret.

In quinta compositi fluctus aquis diminutis cernebantur. Tum victimae caese et admoti altaribus ignes, ac directum ad coelum sacrificium, placatusque Deus insignem in opere ostendebant artem, quam in cortina mirandum in modum condecorabant illa extinctorum hominum cadavera flaccida, et aquis putrida et rancida. Nihil unquam poterit a quoquam vero similis excogitari.

In sexta benedicitur Noach, irisque effulget coelo, signum pacis et charitatis Dei in nos, triplici specie: una aquea, diluvii horrendi memoriam nobis conservans. Altera pallida, crucem Ecclesiae nunquam defuturam pollicens. Tertia vero ignea, cuius non comparet finis, aeterna impiorum supplicia nobis designat.

Haec fuit cortinarum admirabilis ars, atque series, quae docent quo animo et qua mente Sigismundus Augustus sit praeditus, qui sibi tot et tantis exemplis in thalamo et in omni suo athrio iram vindicis Dei ob oculos proposuit, ut sive dormiat, sive vigilet et noctu et interdum illi regi regum subiectum se esse cum uxore sua cogitet, apud quem peccato sua sunt semper parata supplicia. Sed nos revertamur iam in thalamum, captosque regi nostro canamus hymenaeos.

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*Translation by C.A. Stackpole:*

After the dinner and contests and games, the marriage bed was prepared in the bedchamber, in which hung magnificent tapestries, rare and not otherwise seen among kings. On them, our parents and the cause of our misfortune, Adam and Eve, stood as if they were alive, painted by the art of weaving, both woven in gold on all of the tapestries. And because the figures of our first parents, aside from other details worthy of note, stood out thanks to the remarkable nature of the materials and artistry, I will present them in the style of Cebes, so that you will come to know not only the works of an outstanding artist, but also the mind and innate majesty of the greatest king, which is most fully expressed through his commissioning of such things.

On the first tapestry, at the head of the marriage bed, you could see the image of the bliss of our forefathers presented in the textile, in which they, in their happiness, were not ashamed of their nakedness. And the nudity of both had such an effect on the viewers that the men smiled at Eve, and the girls who had come in smiled playfully at Adam. For his unclothed nature revealed his masculinity, and hers her femininity.

The second tapestry showed the fruit of the Tree and the temptation of the serpent with such artistry, that the tapestry itself spoke of the serpent's temptation and Eve's gluttony, and Adam's sin.

On the third our exile, miserable and disastrous, was shown. Here, you would recoil in terror at the sight of Adam's flight, Eve's trembling, and God the wrathful judge, so that, looking on, you would say that you, too, were condemned, and that a sentence had been proclaimed on you as well. Such did the tapestry depict the sin of Adam and the wrath of God in all its shades and details.

On the fourth, our toil and pain was presented before our eyes. Miserable Adam, covered in an animal pelt, exiled from his homeland, cultivated foreign land with a heavy hoe. And

reckless Eve in a shaggy pelt guarded a lowly mud hut, watching two children next to her. You could see the roof of the hut covered in grass, and around and above all sorts of unusual birds raised their voices at Eve, recalling her sin and mocking her exile.

On the fifth, Abel's pleasing offering to God is shown and, conversely, the unpleasing offering of Cain, the cause of the godless brother's wrath. You could see how mad Cain bites his own hand in anger, which the skilled hand of the artist personified in the tapestry behind Cain's back in the form of a woman.

On the sixth, the godless brother strikes at righteous Abel, ready for the strike and prepared for death. Cain holds him by the head with his left hand, while killing him with a horse's jaw[bone] in his right hand. Here you could see the face of the fierce tyrant, wonderfully presented: the taut neck, the crazed eyes, the tormented face, the bristled hair, and finally the blow itself, dictated by anger and directed at his brother.

On the seventh, the wrathful God looking down at the earth is presented with unbelievable artistry. Before the eyes of the viewer are the remains of Abel, covered with gore, disfigured by pallour, terrifying to behold. Across from him stood the perpetrator, Cain, preparing to flee, and right behind him, catching him in the act of the murder, hurries Despair, followed by outraged Vengeance in the form of a woman. What a magnificent image that teaches us that the end of godless brethren is always sad.

On the eighth we have proof that the evil crow lays evil eggs. For the artist skillfully showed how criminal Cain's progeny were. There you could see the rape of the noble virgins for the purpose of adultery [i.e. illicit sex], the violation of the matrons, the pillaging of cities, the theft of private property, the bloodshed and blatant violence, such that this progeny was most worthy of such a father.

On the ninth tapestry the avenger of evil and protector of good appeared in His divine form, walking with Noah and telling him of the Flood, in which He wanted to bury the aforementioned criminals. These forms and figures lacked only movement and speech, and the rest was presented as if they were alive. Such were the decorations of the wedding chamber, worthy of such a great king.

And because we now want to serve those with this work who were not there, or who did not enter the royal bedchamber out of respect, I will add the further story of the patriarch Noah, described in the same context. For this end, I will lead you for a moment out of the bedroom, wherein I will shortly return, and into an antechamber, richly decorated, with tapestries woven with gold showing Moses's embassy to Egypt and his meeting with Pharaoh, then the passage of the Israelites, the passing down of the law, and the war with the Amalekites. Then I will take you to a great hall next to the antechamber of the bedchamber.

And first, I will show you God, enraged at the progeny of Cain, as he gives the patriarch Noah instructions for the Ark and tells him how to build it. This tapestry of excellent handiwork hung at the head of the room.

On the second tapestry, the building of the Ark was presented in such a way that one could almost hear the voices of the workers and the clanging of axes at work.

On the third, Noah led the animals into the Ark, loaded provisions, and closed himself and his family into the Ark.

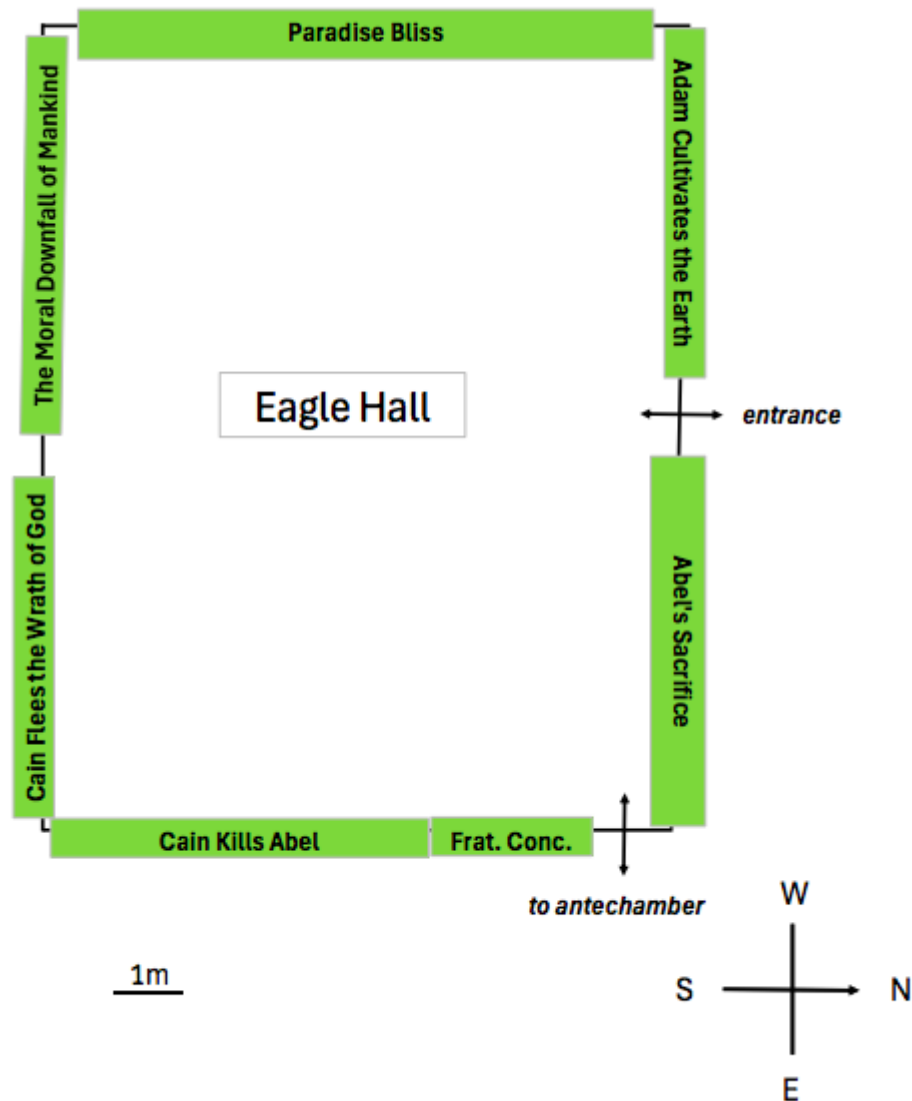
On the fourth you could see the heavens split with a downpour, the open abyss, and the skies pouring out a storm with thunder and lightning. Struck with fear, the godless progeny fell to the ground. Here, you could see the shameful flight of Cain's progeny, a sign of their guilty consciences, some climbing trees in the overflowing waters, others climbing exposed rocks, and others seeking the high mountains. This tapestry was so full of confusion and so terrified the viewer that he himself, struck dumb at such a horrible sight, feared for himself in the flood and longed for the Ark.

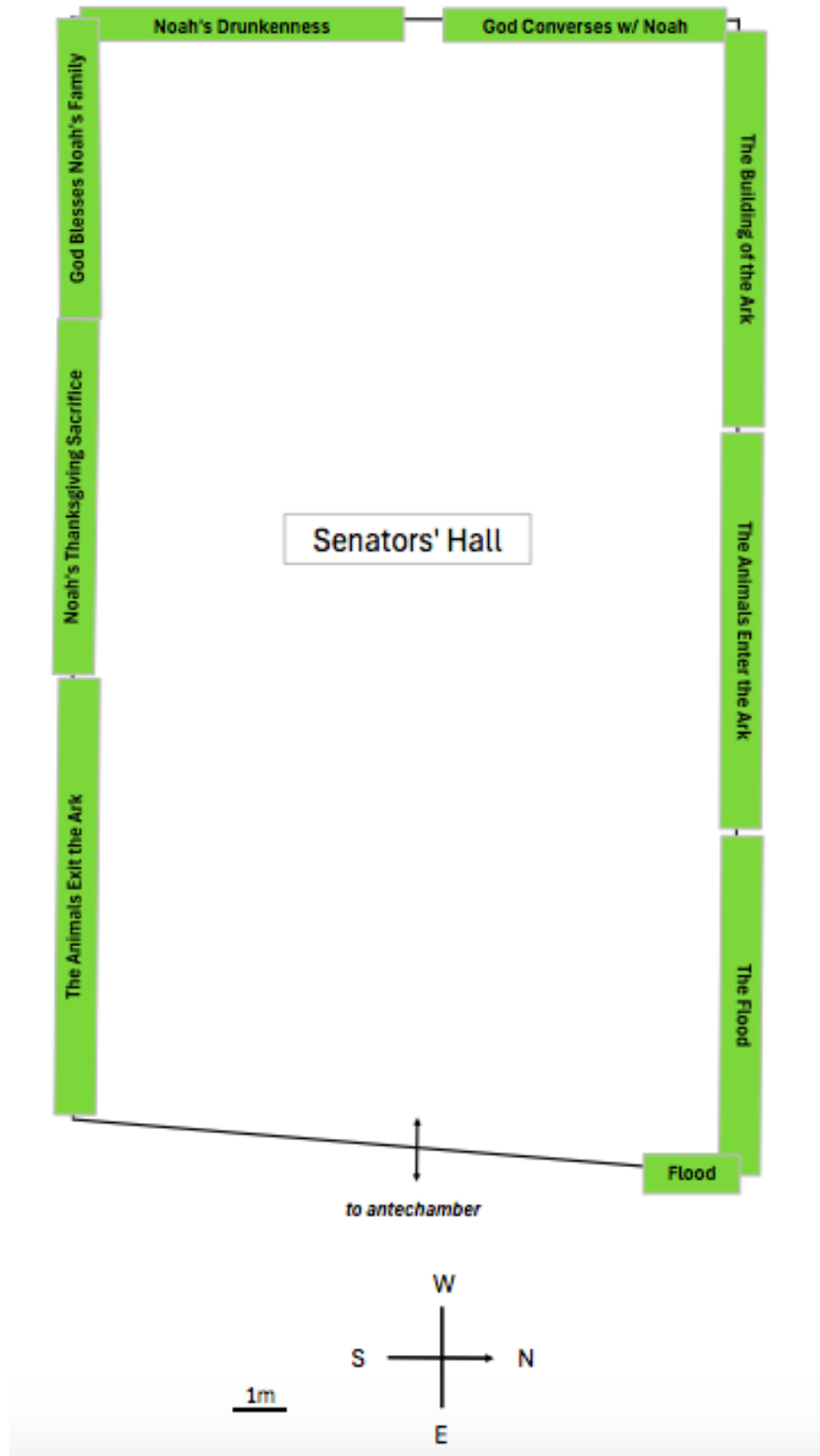
On the fifth you could see the calm waves after the retreat of the waters. With illustrious artistry it presented the killing of animals as an offering, the lighting of fires on the altars, carrying the smoke of prayers straight to the heavens and merciful God. And the particular ornaments of this tapestry were the flaccid remains of the drowned, rotting in the water and putrid. No one will ever be able to imagine something closer to reality.

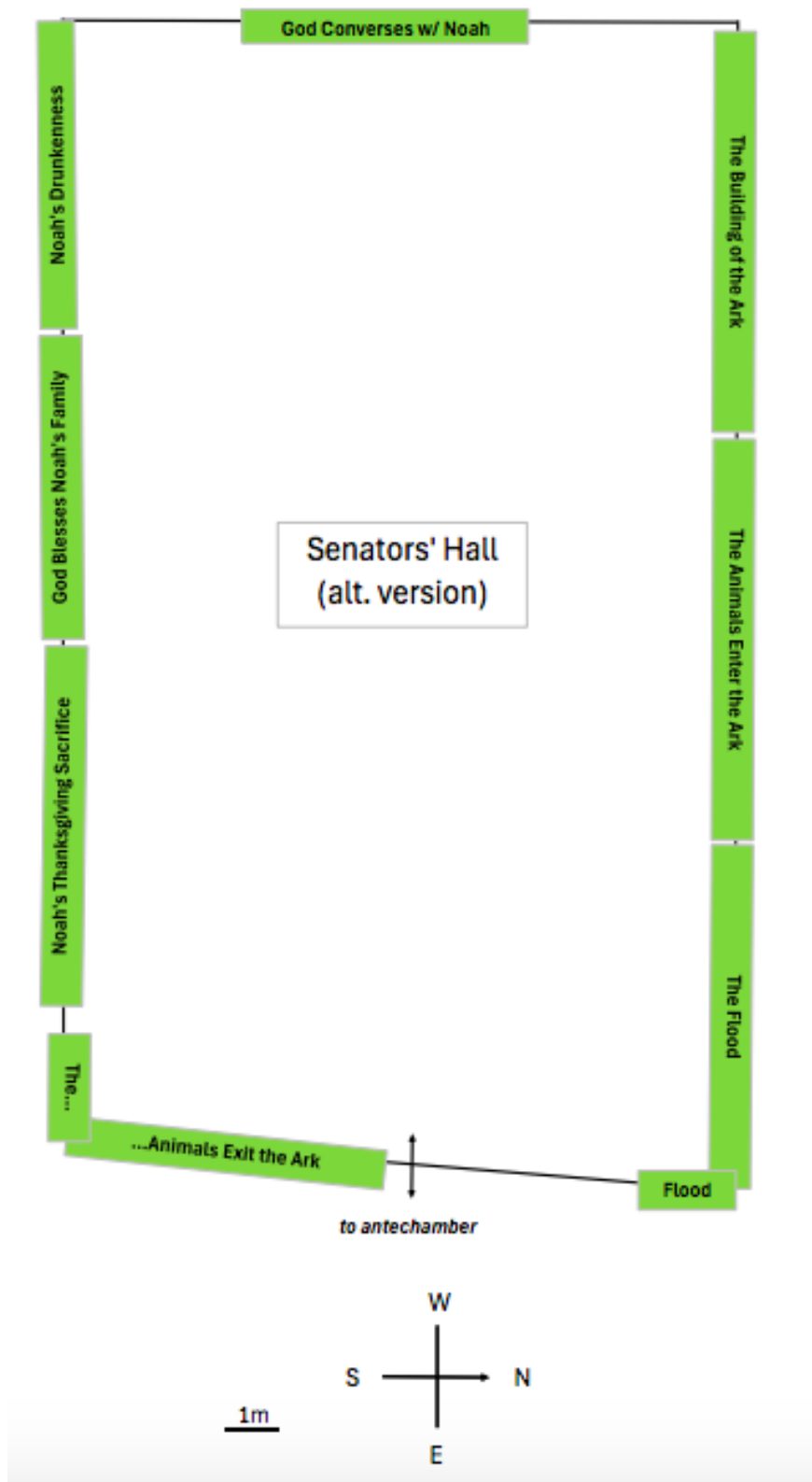
On the sixth, Noah receives a blessing and a rainbow shines in the sky, as a sign of peace and God's love for us, and in three forms: one colour, like water, maintaining our memory of the terrible flood. The second pale-coloured, promising that the Church will never be without its cross. The third like fire, which never ends, showing us the eternal punishment awaiting the godless.

Such was the admirable art and sequence of the hangings which demonstrate the spirit and mind with which Sigismund Augustus has been endowed, he who with such and sundry examples in the wedding chamber and in each of his rooms placed himself beneath the eyes of a wrathful God, so that, whether waking or sleeping, by night or by day, he and his wife would contemplate the King of Kings above them, in whom there is always a ready punishment for sin.

**Appendix 3: Maps of possible *Genesis* hanging locations at their unveiling (31 July 1553) and discussion**







Marcin Fabiański has explained in numerous works that it is impossible to know with certainty which rooms were used for the *Genesis* unveiling for several reasons. Firstly, we have very few extant sources on the functions of rooms within Wawel in this period,<sup>625</sup> and secondly, we know based on accounts of other royal weddings in the decades preceding Sigismund and Catherine's that the nuptial bedchambers were not necessarily located within the same set of rooms or even on the same floor of the castle.<sup>626</sup> Thirdly, because we do not know for certain how many of the *Genesis* tapestries were present for the unveiling (based on Orzechowski's *ekphrasis*, it is possible to argue that up to three of the tapestries were not delivered on time, which will be discussed in Chapter Three), it is difficult to draw firm conclusions on which rooms hosted which tapestries based on architectural dimensions. It is also important to note that the tapestries' current dimensions may differ somewhat from the originals, as their modern versions are reconstructions after significant destruction and deconstruction during over two centuries in the Tsarist collection.<sup>627</sup>

That said, Fabiański has proposed two of the most likely locations for the *Genesis* unveiling, based on Orzechowski's ekphrastic tour of the rooms, the chronology he presents, and the hints he gives as to their placement within the rooms, as well as certain conclusions that can be drawn from the dimensions of the rooms and the tapestries. First of all, based on the height of the tapestries, they could only fit on the second (main) floor of the castle, the *piano nobile*, which was used for ceremonial functions and also housed some of the royal apartments. The two areas on this floor that were large enough to host the series and not otherwise occupied by private apartments were the Eagle Hall and Senators' Hall

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<sup>625</sup> Fischinger and Fabiański, *Dzieje*, 128.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*, 129, 131.

<sup>627</sup> Hennel-Bernasikowa and Piwocka, *Katalog*, 24-32..

with an adjoining antechamber in the north wing, and the Tournament Hall and Heads' Hall with an adjoining antechamber in the east wing.<sup>628</sup>

The only point that would make the location of the Tournament and Heads' Hall impossible is the presence of two tapestries in the *Genesis* set that Orzechowski omits: *Fratricide Conceived* and *Noah's Drunkenness*. Based on calculations of the dimensions of the tapestries and the walls in both sets of rooms, these two tapestries could only fit into the Eagle and Senators' Halls.<sup>629</sup> In this thesis, I have adopted the stance that it is more likely that these two textiles were indeed unveiled along with the rest of the series. As I argued in Chapter Three, Orzechowski's *ekphrasis* (the text from which this conundrum arises) was not intended as a forensic eyewitness account but as a rhetorical text within a specific genre. The absence of these two tapestries is not the only strange "error" in the text: he divides *Paradise Bliss* into three tapestries and *God Converses with Noah* into two, while we know that these episodes were contained in one hanging each. Moreover, he conflates *The Animals Exit the Ark* and *Noah's Thanksgiving Sacrifice*, although no scholar has suggested the possibility that either of these two tapestries were absent at the unveiling.

Since we have proof that Orzechowski did duplicate tapestries in his account, it is certainly within the realm of possibility that he omitted *Fratricide Conceived* and *Noah's Drunkenness* as well. Additionally, considering that the author had only one opportunity to view the tapestries before writing the *ekphrasis*, late at night during a revelrous wedding feast, it seems much more likely that the omissions are simply more "errors" or instances

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<sup>628</sup> Ibid., 132-133.

<sup>629</sup> In the case of *Fratricide Conceived*, if it were in the Tournament Hall, it would have to be rolled up at least 10 cm, or the tapestry next to it, *Cain Kills Abel*, would have to be rolled up the same amount. In this case, however, the door to the next room housing the Moses set would be blocked. In the Eagle Hall, however, *Fratricide* would fit easily onto the same wall as *Cain Kills Abel* with 1.61 m to spare for the door. In the case of *Noah's Drunkenness*, there would likewise not be enough wall space in the Head's Hall to accommodate it, allowing for one door leading from the antechamber into the hall. For measurements of all of the rooms in question, see Fabiański, *Wokół wawelskiego dworu*, 204.

of creative liberty, and not an indication that Sigismund displayed an incomplete set at his wedding.<sup>630</sup> In order to resolve the conundrum, we must ask ourselves if it is more likely that Orzechowski made these omissions, taking all of these factors into account, or that the tapestries did not exist at the 1553 wedding at all.

As I have included *Fratricide Conceived* and *Noah's Drunkenness* in my analysis, I have necessarily assumed that the locations of the *Genesis* unveiling were the Eagle Hall and the Senators' Hall with the adjoining antechamber. However, even if one discards these two tapestries from the discussion and adopts the alternate theory of the Tournament/Heads' set of rooms, this would not significantly impact my overall argumentation regarding the link between the function of space and the impact of the tapestries. In both cases, the first two subsets of *Genesis* (Adam and Eve/Cain and Abel) hung in a wedding bedchamber, regardless of its location. Both the Heads' Hall and the Senators' Hall were the grandest rooms at Wawel, both were used for similar governmental and ceremonial functions, and both had been used for past royal weddings.

Although it may be impossible with the evidence we have to arrive at a definite answer regarding the location of the *Genesis* unveiling, or to definitively state whether the aforementioned tapestries were present at the wedding, we may attempt to answer one further question that arises from Orzechowski's ekphrasis: was *God Converses with Noah* in the bedchamber or in the larger hall with the other *Noah* tapestries? This question stems from Orzechowski's repetition of the tapestry in his account of the bedchamber and in the larger hall.

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<sup>630</sup> It is noteworthy that *Fratricide Conceived* features a slightly different border design than the rest of the set (although *Noah's Drunkenness* has an identical design to the rest), but this does not necessarily mean that it was commissioned separately or from different artists. In fact, we know it was produced in the same workshop, that of Jan van Tieghem, as other tapestries that Orzechowski does identify at the unveiling (see list of tapestries above): *Cain Kills Abel* (the next tapestry in the biblical chronology), *The Animals Exit the Ark*, and *God Blesses Noah's Family*.

In answering this question, we must also keep in mind that the tapestries may have been somewhat larger (i.e. longer) in their original state before their deconstruction and reconstruction, so we must leave a margin of some additional centimetres when considering if they would fit on the walls. With this in mind, it is only possible that *God Converses with Noah* hung in the larger hall, as none of the possible bedchambers would be big enough in perimeter to host it, even assuming that *Fratricide Conceived* was not present. In addition, *God Converses* fits narratively with the rest of the Noah tapestries in the larger hall, and Orzechowski specifically notes that “this tapestry of excellent handiwork hung at the head of the room [the hall].” It seems unlikely that he would have made such a point of stating the location of this tapestry within the room in error.<sup>631</sup>

In the end, Fabiański leans toward the east wing rooms (the Tournament/Heads’ Halls) rather than the north wing (the Eagle/Senators’ Halls) as the more likely location of the *Genesis* unveiling. Firstly, he argues that the Senators’ Hall was often used for dancing and masques, and therefore would not have been used to unveil the Noah subset.<sup>632</sup> However, the evidence that he uses to support this comes from a treasury record from February 1543 for hardware fittings “*ad theatra stubae magnae Rmtis*,” and for tables for the same room: “*tempore nuptiarum pro scamnis ad salam magnam 4, qualibet 18 ulnarum*.”<sup>633</sup> The nuptials in question would be those of Sigismund and his first wife in May 1543, but as Fabiański himself mentions, there was no known precedent for the rooms at Wawel used for certain aspects of royal weddings. There is no evidence that any masques or dances took place in the Senator’s Hall at the 1553 wedding. Fabiański also draws on a

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<sup>631</sup> Orzechowski, “Panegyricus,” in *Arrasy*, 54. Fabiański has also convincingly refuted the possibility that Orzechowski did not make a mistake, and that there were in fact two separate tapestries (one of God walking with Noah, likely the extant *God Converses*, and one lost tapestry of God conveying the instructions for the Ark), in *Wokół wawelskiego dworu*, 202.

<sup>632</sup> Specifically, it hosted a ball for Bona Sforza and Sigismund the Old’s wedding in 1518, and a spectacle for Sigismund and Elizabeth’s wedding in 1543. It also may have served as a ballroom for this latter wedding, but the dancing may also have been held in the Head’s Hall. *Ibid.*, 195

<sup>633</sup> Fischinger and Fabiański, *Dzieje*, 133.

quote from Łukasz Górnicki's *Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej* (c. 1595-1603) describing the wedding. Although the author was present at the festivities, this text was written half a century after the wedding, and was not a work intended as a historical chronicle but as a colourful memoir of life at court, making it quite dubious as an accurate eyewitness account. Another possible point in favour of Fabiański's theory is a mention he makes later in this same cited work that the Heads' Hall was used to display tapestries for Sigismund and Elizabeth's wedding in 1543, but again, this was not a room that was designated for such a function at all royal weddings at Wawel.<sup>634</sup>

On the other hand, there are a few points in favour of the Eagle/Senators' set of rooms. In addition to the possible presence of the three tapestries Orzechowski omits, which would exclude the Tournament/Head's option entirely, we may also examine the dimensions of *Paradise Bliss*. One of the largest and most extravagant of the tapestries, it was clearly intended as a centrepiece which covered the wall behind the marital bed, according to Orzechowski's account.<sup>635</sup> If the tapestry hung in the Tournament Hall, around 1.7 m of the tapestry's length would have had to have been rolled up or rolled onto the adjacent wall in order to fit. If it hung in the Eagle Hall, it would have only had to be rolled up around 25 cm to accommodate for a covered fireplace in the corner.<sup>636</sup> It seems more likely that such a tapestry would be given a place of display that best showcased its attributes, especially as it framed the marriage bed. On the other hand, as Fabiański has convincingly shown, there is essentially no way that *The Flood*, arguably the most magnificent of the entire series, would not have been displayed across two adjacent walls

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<sup>634</sup> Ibid., 147

<sup>635</sup> Orzechowski, "Panegyricus," in *Arrasy*, 53.

<sup>636</sup> Fabiański, *Wokół wawelskiego dworu*, 207.

to accommodate for the door into the larger hall.<sup>637</sup> Therefore, it is not entirely impossible that *Paradise Bliss* could have been similarly hung.

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<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*, 215, 218.

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