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*The lid of the spinet organ built for L. F. Behaim in Nuremberg, 1619: music at the heart of an encomiastic life story governed by the signs of the months, the seasons, and the planets.*

Florence Gétreau

In the intersection between visual arts and music, certain images, created from the end of the Middle Ages to the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, bear witness, in both high and popular culture, to beliefs and customs linked to the parts of the day, the months, and the seasons under the effect of the stars. From refined books of hours with unicum status to printed almanacs containing multiple images that were more widely distributed, a range of media conveyed ancestral beliefs – particularly influenced by ancient and biblical texts that were revived during the Renaissance – in the power of the planets over the cycles of earthly life and human activities. Labours, and even more so leisure activities, naturally summon music, in the evening or at night, unbridled in February (carnivals and hullabalos), gallant or even erotic in April and May under the influence of Gemini and Taurus, conducive to inebriation in autumn, and recreational in the idle moments at the end of the year.

Among these abundant visual sources, often conceived by artists in thematic series (the times of day and night, the months, the seasons, the signs of the zodiac, and the Planet-Gods), we will look at a singular case, likely unique in its kind: the decoration of a spinet lid, whose programmatic complexity embodies with particular symbolic richness a patrician patron who placed music at the heart of his existence.

### **Time cycles and astrological themes in musical iconography**

Tilman Seebass, in his article on music iconography as a discipline within musicology,<sup>1</sup> after defining its field of knowledge and discussing its historiography and methods, turns to the examination of its principal themes. He mentions symbols, allegories, and emblems, but not the cycles of life or the planets. However, he provides two references useful for our subject: Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's study on the medieval period<sup>2</sup> and Kathi Meyer-Baer's examination of the Pythagorean writings, those of Plato and the Neoplatonists, the Gnostics, and the Fathers of the

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<sup>1</sup> Tilman Seebass: *Musikikonographie*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 6, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel [etc.] 1997, col. 1319–1343.

<sup>2</sup> Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny: *Les Muses et les sphères célestes*, in: *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies in honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, II (= *Storia e Letteratura raccolta di Studi e Testi* 94), ed. Charles Henderson, Rome 1964, p. 7–19.

Church, with visual representations on mosaics and in illuminated manuscripts, which predate our subject.<sup>3</sup>

For the period that interests us, from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Albert Pomme de Mirimonde is a prolific author whose works on these subjects endure.<sup>4</sup> In particular, he discusses the allegories placed under the protection of Venus and Mercury. Furthermore, in his work *L'iconographie musicale sous les Rois Bourbons*, Mirimonde devotes the first chapter of the volume dedicated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century to allegories of music, with a special section on the 'Allegories of the Seasons, Months and Parts of the Day'. He states that:

'Calendars, designed to show auspicious dates and nefarious days, were religious long before they became civil and served to measure the passage of time. As the centuries succeed one another, Time is more and more considered as the primary cause. It regulates the course of the stars and determines the fertile union of the elements. Consequently, the seasons that give rise to this action, the months, subject to the zodiac, each sign of which has a god as its protector, and the parts of the day become in their turn divinities that preside over the evolution and mutations of the universe. [...]. The painted or engraved suites devoted to these subjects enjoyed a persistent favor during the Renaissance, and then in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries'.<sup>5</sup>

Mirimonde then illustrates how certain months are characterised by musical allusions: January and February with entertainments marking the change of year and Carnival; April, under the sign of Taurus, as one of the 'houses of Venus'. December, under the sign of Capricorn, a 'house of Saturn', the protector of some of the liberal arts. The Seasons are expressed through subjects that respond to the same type of inspirations, with Autumn for example inviting the triumph of Bacchus. For the Parts of the Day, the images bring Diana and the Moon together, and the scenes of gallantry and even nocturnal debauchery in music often offer contrasting images with a strongly moral message.

In his book *Astrologie et musique*,<sup>6</sup> Mirimonde also brings together 150 images, with commentary, on three subjects that associate music with Mercury, Venus, and the patron gods

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<sup>3</sup> Kathi Meyer-Baer: *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death*, Princeton 1970/1984.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Pomme de Mirimonde: *La Musique dans les allégories de l'amour, II. Éros*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1967), p. 319–346; *Les Allégories de la Musique I – La Musique parmi les Arts Libéraux*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1968), p. 295–324; *Les Allégories de la Musique II – Le retour de Mercure et les allégories des Beaux-Arts*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1969), p. 342–362; *Les allégories astrologiques dans l'histoire de Marie de Médicis peinte par Rubens*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1977), p. 155–164.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Pomme de Mirimonde: *L'iconographie musicale sous les Rois Bourbons. La musique dans les arts plastiques (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, vol. 1, Paris, 1975, p. 37–41.

<sup>6</sup> Albert Pomme de Mirimonde: *Astrologie et musique*, Geneva 1977.

of Gemini. Mercury's attribute is the flute or the lyre, which he invented from a tortoise shell. In the Hellenic legends he is said to be the educator of humanity. From the Renaissance onwards, he became the protector of all the liberal arts, including musicians, painters, sculptors, architects, and goldsmiths. Because of his multiple aptitudes, 'the "children" of his planet were industrious and shone in the intellectual and artistic disciplines, especially as musical instrument makers and performers. The lyre had a sacred role, but it had ceased to be used in the Middle Ages. In the Christian world, it was replaced by the organ, which became an attribute of the "children" of Mercury'.<sup>7</sup>

### **The spinet lid commissioned by L. F. Behaim and its related studies**

It is thus possible to understand the traditional and symbolic context of the lid we are studying (Fig. 1). It both protected and decorated the polygonal spinet built by Paul Wissmaier,<sup>8</sup> completed in 1619, at the request of the Nuremberg patrician Lucas Friedrich Behaim von Schwartzbach (1587–1648),<sup>9</sup> to form a claviorganum prepared jointly by the organ builder Steffan Cuntz. This double instrument has disappeared, except for its cover, which was acquired in May 1960 by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (GNM) from a descendant of the Behaim family. An archive from this family is kept at the same institution, which has made it possible to document the acquisition extensively. In a well-attested article on the prominent role that L. F. Behaim played, not only in his private life but also in the musical life of the city of Nuremberg in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (he was considered the 'Musik-Herr' of the city), Heinz Zirnbauer is the first scholar to describe in detail this painted panel with the aid of archival documents,<sup>10</sup> to decipher its iconographic programme, and to attempt to confirm an attribution to the painter Friedrich von Valkenburg<sup>11</sup> (1565–1623). This hypothesis can be traced back to the catalogue of the sale of the collection of Hans Albrecht von Derschau, who was the owner at the time, in Nuremberg in 1825. It was not until Andreas Tacke's monumental catalogue raisonné of 17<sup>th</sup>-century paintings in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, published

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<sup>7</sup> Mirimonde: *Astrologie et musique* (as fn 6), p. 14f.

<sup>8</sup> In archive documents his name is Wissmar or Wissmeher.

<sup>9</sup> See Lucas-Frédéric Behaim's eulogy by Martin Beer: Martin Beer: *David's Liebe zu dem Hause dess Herrn bey christlicher Leichbegängniss dess [...] Herrn Lucas Friedrich Behaims [...]*, Nuremberg 1649. See especially »Erzählung dess Lebenslauffe«, p. 17–26. The journey to the Holy Land is then described p. 27–36. For modern literature see Anton Ernstberger (ed.): *Ludwig Camerarius und Lukas Friedrich Behaim: ein politischer Brief wechsel über den Verfall des Reiches 1636-1648*, Munich 1961, p. 4–7.

<sup>10</sup> Heinz Zirnbauer: *Lucas Friedrich Behaim, der Nürnberger Musikherr des Frühbarok. Neue Dokumente zur städtischen und privaten Musikpflege in Nürnberg zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 50 (1960), p. 330–351, here 342–345.

<sup>11</sup> Also known as Frederik van Valchenborg.

in 1995, that a new critical study – this time by an art historian – presented fresh arguments to the discussion.<sup>12</sup> As the bibliography of this lid, compiled by Tacke, demonstrates, for more than three decades this spinet lid has been commented on by organologists<sup>13</sup> and music iconographers.<sup>14</sup> The commission of this exceptional hybrid instrument by this highly educated patrician is documented through payments from January to December 1619. These payments are directed to builder Stefan Cuntz,<sup>15</sup> as he is creating a ‘six-stop organ case’ with recumbent pipes intended to be placed under the pre-existing spinet built by ‘Paul Wissmeher’ – which appears in the account books of L. F. Behaim since 1617 for the maintenance of his instruments – to the cabinetmaker who prepared the instrument’s backrest seat, and to the painter – mentioned several times but not named, which omission suggests that he was a very regular visitor to the house.

### **The pictorial programme of the spinet lid**

The spinet lid consists of a banded upper section (originally hinged to the main panel and intended to act as a front flap to protect the instrument’s keyboard) with seven cartouches featuring trompe l’oeil borders that imitate fittings. The subject is the seven Planet-Gods (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Venus, Mercury, and Diana) in the form of statues in the Antique style, each surmounted by the corresponding signs of the zodiac, surrounded by contemporary scenes (Fig. 1b).

The principal part of the cover depicts a music scene in the open air in the Behaims’ garden at the Thumenberg manor house, with the city of Nuremberg in the distance (Fig. 1c). On either side of the concert, the four seasons are depicted with their associated work and leisure

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<sup>12</sup> Andreas Tacke: *Die Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts im Germanisches Nationalmuseum*, Mains 1995, p. 376–385, Nr. 227; *Der Behaimsche Spinettdeckel von 1619: Zu einem hochrangigen Kulturgeschichtlichen Zeugnis der Nürnberger Barockzeit*, in: *Der »Schöne« Klang. Studien zum historischen Musikinstrumentenbau in Deutschland und Japan unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Nürnberg*, ed. Dieter Kirckeberg, Nuremberg 1996, p. 143–157.

<sup>13</sup> John Henry van der Meer: *Sweelinck und Nürnberg?*, in: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 20/1–2 (1964–1965), p. 37–44; *Musikinstrumente, Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich 1983, p. 177, 184, 194; Jürgen-Peter Schindler: *Der Nürnberger Orgelbau des 17. Jahrhunderts: Leben und Werk der Nürnberger Stadtorgelmacher Steffan Cuntz und Nicolaus Manderscheidt* (= Institut für Aufführungspraxis der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts. Sonderbeitrag 10), Michaelstein/Blankenburg 1991, p. 40.

<sup>14</sup> Lucas van Dijck and Ton Koopman: *Het Klavecimbel in de Nederlandse Kunst tot 1800 – The Harpsichord in Dutch Art before 1800*, Zutphen 1987, Ill. 51, without a date and under the title “The Four Seasons”.

<sup>15</sup> On this maker, see Konrad Dänhardt: *Die Restaurierung der Cuntz-Organ – mit Beiträgen von Stephan Thürmer und Dirk Zacharias*, in: *Festschrift anlässlich der Restaurierung der Cuntz-Organ von 1627*, ed. Klemens Unger und Peter Germann-Bauer, Regensburg 2015, p. 16–51.

activities: Spring and Summer (Fig. 1d), and Autumn and Winter (Fig. 1e), along with other family homes.

Heinz Zirnbauer (1960) and Andreas Tacke (1995) have identified almost all of the figures: in the centre, playing the double instrument of spinet and organ, whose two manuals are clearly visible, the master of music of the house, Johann Staden the Elder (1581–1634), whose career is well-known in the city of Nuremberg, seems to greet us by turning around. The resemblance between his figure in the painting and his portrait engraved by Johann Pfann (1648–1663) two decades later can be verified (Fig. 2). Note also that under the musician's left elbow, on the organ case, and on the back of his chair, the date 1619 is painted twice. Around him, from left to right, Paulus Behaim (1557–1621), the father of the patron, holds his grandson Georg Friedrich (1616–1681) in his lap. Next to them the head of the family and patron, Lucas Friedrich Behaim, plays a bass viol. His likeness can be compared with his portrait by Michael Herr (1591–1661),<sup>16</sup> painted in 1637, and with another engraved by Georg Walch (fl. 1632–1654), probably after 1648 (Fig. 3). On this plate, printed thirty years later than the spinet lid, his being overweight is visible and his resemblance to his father is quite striking.

In the centre, aligned with the keyboard instrument, Lucas Behaim's wife Anna Maria Pfinzing von Henfenfeld (1591–1654) brings fruit trays with her sister, while her granddaughter Anna Sabina (1615–1681) closes the circle of violin and viola players surrounding the spinet in the foreground, in symmetry with her younger brother. In front of a large wine cooler, one of the bottles of which bears her mother's coat of arms, she is raising a glass of wine in a toast. Behind her, farther to the right, gazing at the viewer with the same intensity as the musicians and the family, are the lid painter holding his paint pot and palette, the harpsichord maker with his tuning key, and the organ builder holding a pipe (Fig. 1h).

Four family homes around Nuremberg – in Schoppershof, Gleisshammer, Platnersberg, and the Pfinzig family pond house – are depicted in the background, the first two of which still exist today. On either side of the music scene, the activities of each season, from Spring and Summer on the left to Autumn and Winter on the right, are depicted in tableaux that are both naively realistic and conventional, with masters and servants mingling. Andreas Tacke has suggested that some of the details of the grape pickers, card players, and drinkers are borrowed from Jost Amman's engraved series of months, especially the month of October.<sup>17</sup>

The seven compartments of the small lid-flap, representing the figures of the Planet-Gods, are associated with the signs of the zodiac, and are taken directly from a series engraved by Jan

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<sup>16</sup> Tacke, *Die Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts* (as fn 12), p. 116ff., n° 53.

<sup>17</sup> Tacke, *Die Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts* (as fn 12), p. 381.

Pietersz Saenredam (ca. 1565–1607) after Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), representing *The Seven Planets*.<sup>18</sup> But the artist has supplemented and adapted the works of each season around these symbolic figures, with both recent historical scenes and significant scenes from the life of the Behaim family.

Saturn, accompanied by the signs for Capricorn and Aquarius, presides over the harvest (Fig. 4); Jupiter, under the signs for Pisces and Sagittarius (Fig. 5), offers the occasion to display scholars, a musician playing the harp, and, also, hidden behind the statue, the painter, who represents himself a second time, from behind, in front of his easel (Fig. 6); Mars, with the signs for Aries and Scorpio, presides over battles; and Apollo, with the Sun and Leo (Fig. 7), makes it possible to evoke the ennoblement of L. F. Behaim by Emperor Matthias (1556–1619), the knighthood having taken place in 1612 in Frankfurt (even though the landscape in the background shows a view of Nuremberg). Both his castle and the emperor's entry into the imperial city in 1612 are notable, with two details reported in the chronicles: the erection of a triumphal gate designed by the painter Frederik van Valckenborch and fireworks. The fireworks explosion is depicted with the brutality of a single detonation. In the same compartment, Paulus II Behaim, the father, is shown receiving the Bohemian fiefs from the emperor, together with Georg Volckamer. Venus, with Libra and Taurus (Fig. 8), offers the occasion for a small love concert showing a gambist wearing the same light-coloured jacket as the painter, a young singer, and a lute player in the same severe costume as the concert musicians in the lid's centre. Mercury, with Gemini and Virgo (Fig. 9), evokes commercial activities — a trademark on one of the barrels is perhaps that of the Behaim family. And finally, with Diana, accompanied by the Moon and Cancer (Fig. 10), the maritime landscape, vessels, and turbaned oriental figures certainly allude to the long journey undertaken by L. F. Behaim through Italy to Constantinople and Jerusalem between 1608 and 1610.<sup>19</sup>

Love and music, power, travel, trade, the career of honours, and war are associated with these ancient figures, and with the evocation of the seasons and astrological signs, by so many contemporary subjects evoking the career and social life of Lucas Behaim in the political context of the time. A sort of visual, moral, and encomiastic life story, it forms a counterpoint to the values conveyed by this astrological programme, which demonstrates that the destiny of men is influenced by that of the planets. As for the theme linked to wine, it is summoned three

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<sup>18</sup> Ilja Beldman: *Goltzius' Zintuigen, Seizoenen, Elementen, Planeten en Vier tijden van de dag: van allegorie naar genre-voorstelling*, in: *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 42/43 (1991–92), p. 307–336; special issue devoted to Hendrick Goltzius. See chapter IV.1 »De zeven planeten, gegraveerd door Jan Saenredam (1596)«, p. 325ff.

<sup>19</sup> See note 1.

times, as if to celebrate the completion of the double instrument: it is embodied in the evocation of the grape harvest in Autumn, by its presence in a house placed between Autumn and Winter where, under an awning, a group of card-playing drinkers is seated, and by two children bearing a toast. In fact, on the band dedicated to Jupiter, next to the painter who has represented himself again, but from behind and this time in front of his easel, we notice on his right a young boy (probably his son) who is raising a glass of wine to the viewer, just as little Anna Sabina did in the foreground. (Fig. 1i).

### **Who is the painter-inventor of this spinet lid?**

The persistent enigma of the attribution of this lid remains to be addressed. Considered since 1825, in all publications prior to Andreas Tacke's catalogue, to be the work of Frederik van Valckenborch, the lid has fallen into anonymity because this art historian has meticulously deconstructed the attribution: there is inconsistency with the dates of van Valckenborch, his career, and his style; and there has been misidentification of the very legible monogram on the gable of the inn where the card players and drinkers are seated (Fig. 1j): it should read L[inverted]FB, i.e. the initials of Lucas Friedrich Behaim, which are also those of his motto (*Laborum Finis Beatitudo*), also present on his already-mentioned portrait, painted by Michael Herr (preserved at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum). Heinz Zirnbauer, in his 1960 argument, compared the portrait of the painter on the lid next to the two instrument-makers with a print by Georg Fennitzer (fl. 1671–1700), depicting 'Friderich von Falckenburg, Mahler in Nürnberg' [Frederik van Valkenborch] holding a rolled-up print in his hand (Fig. 11). Falcke agreed in 1995 that the facial features are comparable to some extent, but noted the absence of a beard. The facts remain that this portrait was executed postmortem, that Fennitzer did not know the artist because he was born fifteen years after his death, that no self-portrait of 'Friderich von Falchenburg' is known, and that Fennitzer is known for mediocre portraits that are of poor resemblance and unreliable. This engraving cannot therefore be considered in support of an attribution of the spinet lid. But even more crippling is the fact that stylistically the works of Frederik van Valckenborch bear no relation to the lid commissioned by L. F. Behaim, as the excellent monograph by Alexander Wied, published in 2016 for the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, demonstrates beyond a doubt.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Alexandre Wied: *Frederik und Gillis van Valckenborch. Zwei italo-flamen im Deutschen Exil* (= Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 16), ed. by Sabine Haag, Vienna 2016. For doubts about the documentary significance of the portraits engraved by Georg Fennitzer, see p. 150, ill. 22.

The absence of the artist's name in the account books of the Behaim archives, mentioned above in connection with the making of the spinet and its lid, may be surprising. In our opinion, this can be explained by the fact that the artist was one of the family's loyal followers. As Heinz Zirnbauer mentions, a master painter contributed to the artistic education of L. F. Behaim's children: Paul Juvenel the Elder (1579–1643).<sup>21</sup> As such, we have sought to understand whether this artist could be a potential candidate for the attribution of this lid. The son of the painter Nicolas Juvenel (Dunkirk 1540–Nuremberg 1597), who worked in Hainaut, he studied painting with Adam Elsheimer in Frankfurt. A painter of religious subjects and church views, he painted the altar shutters of St. Matthew's Church in Herolsberg, and became a member of the Nuremberg guild in 1609, the year in which the first of his four children, all of whom were to become painters, was born; he took part in the restoration of Nuremberg's town hall in 1613 and was also commissioned to paint thirty-three compartments of its vault as well as the portraits of the emperors Ferdinand II, Matthias, and Rudolf I and II.

We have a portrait of Paul Juvenel in 1620, when he was forty-one years old, as shown in an engraving by Georg Strauch (1613–1675) printed in 1655 (Fig. 12).<sup>22</sup> He presents himself to us holding his palette, brushes, and support stick. He has a very different physiognomy from that of Frederik van Valkenborch. He wears a beard, and his pourpoint appears to be made of copper-coloured silk lamé (or silk with a gadroon or pod pattern) that is closely related to the one worn by the painter shown twice in the lid painting. (Fig. 11a).

But it is a study of Paul Juvenel's works that provides the most serious arguments for the hypothesis that he could have fashioned the lid of this spinet. If we follow their chronology, in *The Baptism of Christ* (Fig. 13), dated 1609, which is his masterpiece for admission to the Nuremberg guild, we can see interesting similarities with details of the lid. The almost naked body of Christ with a three-quarter back can be compared with the figures of Mars and Mercury (Fig. 13a). The face of John the Baptist compares with several male faces on the cover (Fig. 13b): in the season Spring, the man in red grafting a tree and the two men shearing a sheep. The muscularity of the figure seated in the middle foreground, seen from behind, compares with the figure of Mercury (Fig. 13c). Finally, the figures of the women bathing – and the naked child – have an anatomy close to the bodies of Venus and Diana, in particular the breasts, hands, and faces (Fig. 13d).

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<sup>21</sup> Zirnbauer, *Lucas Friedrich Behaim* (as fn. 10), p. 350; Thomas Aurelius Belz: *Das Instrument der Dame. Bemalte Kielklaviere aus drei Jahrhunderten*, PhD Diss., Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg 1998, p. 198.

<sup>22</sup> Georg Strauch (1613–1675): *Portrait of Paul Juvenel*, etching, 1655, 10,8 x 8,8 cm, The British Museum, Reg. Nr. 1865.0311.115. (*Paulus Juvenel Norib: Aetat: Suae XLI. Anno 1620*).

In *The Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, a drawing from the 1620s in the National Museum in Warsaw,<sup>23</sup> the tree depicted is very similar to the one in front of the inn on the right-hand side of the cover. On the latter, the kneeling woman bleeding the pig not far from the spinner, in the lower-right-hand corner of the Winter season, shows similarities with the kneeling woman holding a child on the right-hand side of the *Baptism of Christ*, dated 1621, which has passed into the art trade.<sup>24</sup> In the same painting, the face of Christ is very close to that of the old man, also on his knees, bleeding the same boar. The figure of St. John the Baptist from behind, extending his muscular arm, is reminiscent of the statue of the Planet-God Mars on the upper band of the lid. In the same religious painting, the muscular, naked bodies seen from behind, although more elongated and wiry, have many similarities with this statue of the god Mars. If we return to the kneeling old man, he has the same physiognomy as Joseph in Juvenel's drawing of *The Visitation* in the British Museum, dated 1622 (Fig. 14).<sup>25</sup> The figure of Mary is reminiscent of the woman between the spinner seen from behind and the grain threshers against the inn, and of the faces of the women on the far right of the cartouche dedicated to Diana. It should also be noted that the man with the oriental turban and the red coat is very similar to the figure of Joseph, who is also similar to the bearded man with a black coat and hat on the right of the cartouche of Jupiter (Fig. 14a). This figure is clearly related to the figure of the priest holding the child Jesus in *The Presentation in the Temple*, a work dated 1630, which was sold in Munich.<sup>26</sup> As for the oriental figures in the background of this scene with Jupiter, they can be found on the cover in the centre of the panel with Diana, but also on numerous occasions in paintings by Juvenel, for example in another version of the *Presentation in the Temple*, sold at Koller's in Zurich in 2011, where the same scene occupies the right-hand side of a church view also comprising four oriental figures placed in the centre of the nave. Finally, in *The Tribute to Caesar*, an oil on canvas signed and dated 1630,<sup>27</sup> Caesar's face in profile is extremely close to the red-jacketed and turbaned oriental man kneeling on the right of the panel with Diana. All these connections open up the debate on the hypothesis that the Behaim lid can be attributed to this artist or to his studio, even though according to Zirnbauer he contributed to the artistic

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<sup>23</sup> Paul Juvenel: *The Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, drawing, ca 1620, 34,7 x 26,8 cm, National Museum Warsaw, Inv. 4146560.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Juvenel: *The Baptism of Christ*, oil on panel, 1621, 49 x 84 cm, London, Sotheby's, Auction catalogue from 27 Oct. 1993, lot 4.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Juvenel: *The Visitation*, drawing, 1622, 25,4 x 20,2 cm, The British Museum, Inv. 1923.0113.23.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Juvenel: *The Presentation in the Temple*, oil on panel, signed and dated 1630, 34,3 x 62 cm, Munich, Hampel, Auction catalogue from 20 Sept. 2003, lot 1759.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Juvenel: *Le dernier tribut à César*, oil on panel, signed and dated "Paulus Juvenel faciebat Anno MDCXXX", 96,5 x 132 cm, Paris, Drouot-Richelieu, Auction catalogue from 31 March 2003, lot 14.

education of the family's children. A more exhaustive examination of the archives kept at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum would undoubtedly allow us to confirm this.

## Conclusion

Thomas A. Belz, author of a doctoral thesis presented at the University of Bamberg in 1996 on the paintings decorating plucked-keyboard instruments, has commented on this spinet lid. According to Belz, we have a kind of updated summary of the theme of the gardens of love, but with the addition of family portraits, portraits of friends who are painters, builders, and musicians, the evocation of the months, the seasons, and the protective planets. He suggests, referring to Girolamo Cardano's treatise *Opus novum de Proportionibus* (Basel, 1570), in an effort to understand why this cover also evokes the musical order of the planets,<sup>28</sup> that the artist links in a single composition, based on the musical theory of Gioseffo Zarlino, the harmony of the cosmos (*musica mundana*), that of family and friends (*musica humana*), and finally that of the instrumentalists in a vision *mis en abyme* – for the observer of the double instrument when it was played – and of the musician at the keyboard (*musica instrumentalis*).

It can be assumed that Behaim, a highly educated man and very experienced traveler, gave his painter a quite prescriptive programme, encouraging, as in the education of his own children, friendship among the arts through the subterfuge of the children of Mercury and children of Venus. The ideal garden at the centre of this complex painting, like many other Antwerp virginal lids from the last decades of the sixteenth century, links these moments of Behaim's private life to the tradition of late medieval books of hours, placing them firmly within both his humanist culture and family background.

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<sup>28</sup> Belz, *Das Instrument der Dame* (as fn. 21), p. 196ff. Zirnbauer, *Lucas Friedrich Behaim* (as fn. 10), p. 344.