

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

LUDWIG BURCHARD

NC 79/22

PART II

THE EUCHARIST SERIES

VOLUME II

NORA DE POORTER



ARCADE

CORPUS RUBENIANUM LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS
BASED ON THE MATERIAL ASSEMBLED
BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG BURCHARD
IN TWENTY-SIX PARTS

SPONSORED BY THE CITY OF ANTWERP
AND EDITED BY THE "NATIONAAL CENTRUM
VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN
VAN DE XVIde EN XVIIde EEUW"

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BRUSSELS - ARCADE PRESS - MCMLXXVIII

NATIONAAL CENTRUM
VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN
VAN DE 16e EN DE 17e EEUW

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PUBLISHED JOINTLY BY HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS AND HEYDEN & SON LTD.

DISTRIBUTION:

HEYDEN & SON LTD., SPECTRUM HOUSE, HILLVIEW GARDENS, LONDON NW4 2JQ

HEYDEN & SON INC., 247 SOUTH 41stE STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA 19104

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 68-21258

PRINTED IN BELGIUM - LEGAL DEPOSIT D 1978/0721/89

ISBN 2-8005-0125-1

(2-8005-0036-0 complete edition)

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THE EUCHARIST SERIES

VOLUME II

DOCUMENTS

Doc. 1 1569. — *Description by Juan López de Hoyos of the church of the Descalzas Reales at Madrid and its decoration for the funeral of Elizabeth of Valois, Queen of Philip II, in October 1568.*

Y porque la descripcion del templo se infiera la disposicion y real aparato que en las honras huuo, con la breuedad que en mi fuere dire solo lo que hiziere al proposito y declaracion [f° 42] del templo, dexando a parte el sitio y clemencia del cielo, jardines, fuentes, reales, patios y claustros adornados de mucha escultura y columnas de marmol de Genoba, y muy rico alabaastro, la grandissima capacidad de toda la casa, que es vna Isla donde en los años pasados el inuictissimo y catholico emperador Carolo.5. y la emperatriz daña [sic] Isabel de Castilla, padres del rey don Phelippe N.[uestro] S.[eñor] y de la serenissima princesa.¹ Y el Arçobispo de Seuilla don Hernando de Valdes, Inquisidor general, se aposentaron harto holgadamente, la qual no es mal argumento de la gran capacidad y compartimiento de aposento: y dexo a parte lo mucho que cada día la Serenissima Princesa va ilustrando con nueuos [f° 42^v] edificios, escultura y pintura de toda la casa y claustros sumptuossisimamente.

[In the margin] *Traz y descripcion del templo.*

El templo en su edificio y planta (para hablar con termino de architectura) es de orden dorica. La portada que comunmente llaman delantera, es labrada a lo Romano del mismo orden toda de requadramentos de piedra berroqueña, los claros o macizos de ladrillo que herrosean mucho el edificio: en medio cay la puerta, a la qual se sube con tres gradas muy bien compartidas. Es guarnecida de vn alquitraue que va haziendo vn requadramento a toda la puerta, salen a los lados dos medias columnas doricas que alcançan hasta el alto de las jambas, parece que salen como detras de la guarnicion, [f° 43] encima vn friso y alquitraue, sobre el qual ay vn tablamento al ancho de la puerta con su guarnicion por las mismas jambas, encima de la qual corona vna cornisa con su frontispicio, la qual sale por detras del entablamiento hasta el plomo de las columnas.

Sobre esto se leuanta vn çoculo, o enuasamento sobre el qual viene otro segundo cuerpo, y en medio vn compartimiento Romano con las armas de la

¹ The Infanta Juana.

Serenissima princesa, y Rey de Portugal,² todos los requadramientos que la acompañan son de columnas Doricas, sobre la cornisa que las corona, corre y abraça toda la obra vn muy rico frontispicio con su friso y alquitraue, difinen, e rematen toda la obra tres [f^o 43^v] Acroterias, en las quales ay vnos Globos de piedra grandes, con tres cruces de piedra verroqueña: encima del escudo de armas esta vn tondo, o ventana redonda, con vna cornisa al rededor, y vidriera por donde entra luz al coro de las monjas, que esta fabricado sobre vn portico en entrando en la yglesia, de la manera siguiente.

[In the margin] *Entrada y portico sobre que esta el coro.*

Ay diez y seys columnas que por otro termino llaman Pilastras quadradas de piedra berroqueña labradas graciosamente, encima destas sus capillas y arcos de vna Pilastra a otra, embuelta de arista con sus encasamientos a los lados de las dos primeras Pilastras, a seys pies de la entrada salen dos pilas de agua Bendicta muy bien labradas de Marmol [f^o 44] en forma de veneras asentadas sobre dos manos que salen por abaxo que en las palmas sustentan estas dos veneras sin tener otro pie alguno, porque no estorben el paso, este portico tiene singular compartimiento, porque hazen tres transitos a manera de naues, el principal tiene diez pies, y los caleterales bien proporcionados, cada pilastra es de a. 22. pies de alto, su planta de quatro pies y medio de salida, las quales reciben los lienços de de las paredes, tienen buena parte de relieuo en medio de las quales ay dos nichos correspondiente el vno al otro, que es una parte concaua donde suelen poner algunas figuras, es el primer edificio que en españa se ha labrado desta manera, sobre el qual portico assi dispuesto esta el coro con vna [f^o 44^v] reja de hierro bien fuerte que sale en frente del altar mayor, tiene doze pies de alto, y mas de ocho de ancho, y en cada claro del ñudo que hazen los encasamientos de la reja, sale vna pua bien fuerte, a manera de punta de Diamante, que tendra de largo vna quarta, sube el cuerpo de la yglesia mas que el choro, tanta cantidad que encima desta reja caben tres ventanas con sus vedrieras, y fajas, las quales solas bastauan a dar luz a toda la yglesia, la altura de su cuerpo, que es cerrada a medio punto que haze vn caño, es mas de .65. pies. Las paredes adornadas de muchas fajas y pilastras y requadramientos con tal proporcion, que corresponden las partes al todo que son muy gratas a la vista, todo este templo esta [f^o 45] blanqueado de estuco que es vn betun hecho de marmol y cal, que

² The Infanta Juana and King John of Portugal.

reberuera de tal manera que se veen en ello, tiene en el testero de enfrente de la puerta el altar mayor de gran magestad, hecha vna messa con onze gradas de piedra verroqueña.

[In the margin] *Retablo del altar mayor.*

El altar mayor tiene vn retablo labrado de sculptura y pintura de mas de cinquenta pies de alto, sentado sobre dos escudos de armas de la Serinissima Princessa y Rey de Portugal, son de marmol de Genoua, toda su guarnicion y ornato de lo mismo labrado costosissimamente, ay en el retablo diez quadros de marmol negro, en los quales ay muchas historias Sagradas pintadas de mano de Gaspar Bezerra Español, maestro de las obras del Rey [f° 45°] don Phelippe N.[uestro] S.[eñor] que a testimonio de todos los artifices estrangeros y personas que en esto tienen voto ha sido el que mas a tirado la barra, como tan notablemente declaran sus obras, y entre las sculturas (porque todo es de su mano) que ay marauillosas, ay la Asumpcion de nuestra S.[eñora] que es la dedicacion del templo, porque en tal dia fueron las primeras monjas colocadas en este monesterio año de .1558. acompañadas con gran aparato y procession general desde las casas del illustrissimo y reuerendissimo S.[eñor] don Gutierre de Bargas Carabajal, obispo de Plasencia natural de Madrid, donde su señoria por commission de la SS. princesa las tuuo muchos dias con gran veneracion y costa, en el interin que se hazia este monesterio, donde fueron acomodadas [f° 46] estan a los lados de los escudos que reciben el retablo dos puertas de nogal labradas de vnos arabescos hechos de oro y negro,

[In the margin] *Reliquias del templo.*

por estas puertas se entra a vn relicario questa en vna boueda detras del Retablo de muchas maneras de labores, assi de talla como de pintura, poblada y tantas y tan varias reliquias que es cosa marauillosa, porque ay grandes partes del lignum crucis, y de la tabla de su titulo, de la columna, sabana, y sudario de christo Nuestro Señor todas las quales prouacan a tanta deuocion que como testigo de vista entrando dentro desta boueda vistas las Reliquias por vna Ventana pequeña por donde las Religiosas reciben el Sanctissimo Sacramento, se dezir que mueuen tan enternecidamente [f° 46°] que parecen arrebatar los animos, y temblar los cuerpos, porque ay treynta y tres cabeças de Sanctos las mas dellas son de las onze mil virgines, reliquias, huessos de señora sancta Vrsula, de señor sant Sebastian, de sant Blas, del habito y silicio de S. Francisco, de sant Antonio, del bienaventurado S. Bernardo, ay vn Innocente entero con su sangre tan viuua ques cosa de grandissima deuocion,

y otras muchas y diferentes reliquias illustrissimamente adornadas de plata y oro de mucho valor. La cabeça de S. Isabel Reyna de Vngria.

Y tornando a nuestro proposito a la parte del Euangelio esta vn confessorario de las Monjas, con vna portada labrada con su friso y alquitraue, y cornissa, encima desta puerta [f° 47] en el derecho del lado della esta vna ventana adornada de la manera de la dicha puerta.

Por la qual se entra al pulpito que es ochauada con quatro niños en la peana que parescen sustentar el pulpito, assi en este lado como en el yzquierdo, estan dos puertas que entran a la sacristia que esta hecha de vna muy excelente boueda debaxo de las gradas del altar mayor, tan clara y tan polida y de tanto ornato que me admire de tan Ricos y tan reales ornamentos, ternos, vasos y seruicio para el culto diuino, en tan grandissimo numero y excelencia. A los dos lados del altar mayor ay dos oratorios labrados de azulejos con dos rejas doradas que salen al altar mayor, el vno de los quales es [f° 47^r] de gran deuocion, porque en el ay muchas reliquias, ymagines con illustre ornato, poblado de excelentes, varias y diuinas historias de marauilloso pincel, en el qual nascio la Serenissima princesa, y al presenta su alteza tiene grande oracion y recogimiento en el como tan catholica y afficionada a la religion, a los dos lados del altar mayor en dos esconces colaterales ay dos altares con dos retablos de orden Corinthio excelentemente labrados, con vn quadro de marmol negro en cada vno, el vno de la aduocacion de S. Iuan Baptista, y el otro de S. Sebastian, al lado de cada vno destes esta vna puerta en correspondencia la vna de la otra. La vna sale a vn jardin de diuersas maneras de labores de quadros [f° 48] donde ay grandissima copia de yerbas exquisitas, odoriferas y de grande fragancia, naranjos en medio del qual esta vna fuente adornada de principales labores de açulejos, a este jardin salen los Reales aposentos de su Alteza, todo este templo es blanqueado de Stuco (que es) vn material hecho de marmol y cal y que reberbera de tal manera que se pueden ver en el, es losado de Marmol blanco y negro, en figuras quadradas ricamente adornado.

[In the margin] *Tumulo con su traça y composiura.*

En medio deste Templo, sobre la boueda que se hizo donde sepultaron a su Magestad se hizo vn tumulo, el qual fue de singular orden de architectura que llaman Corintia, fundado sobre vna planta quadrada, con doze columnas .3. a cada [f° 48^v] esquina con sus pedestales, vasas y capiteles, los pedestales de laspe verde y colorado, las vassas y cornijas de los pedestales eran de plata

y lo mismo era las de las columnas, en cada vna de las colleterales que acompañauan a la esquina, en lo alto della auia vn angel de vulto que tenia en las manos vn escudo de armas de la christianissima reyna, encima destas columnas en el lugar del alquitraue corrie en su contorno vna pieça de terciopelo negro, sobre esto venia vn corredor, o anden de valavistres torneados, jaspeados de verde, y plateados, dentro otro segundo cuerpo con ciertas gradas del qual subia vna punta piramidal que los estrangeros llaman capilla ardente, o castrum doloris: subia hasta [f° 49] la techumbre con gran numeros de candeleros, como diximos en la relacion de la muerte de su alteza, en el remate del qual estaua de vulto vna corona real de oro que campeaua por buena parte, que de diametro tenia seys pies, dentro destas doze columnas por la parte inferior se leuataron tres gradas, sobre las quales se puso la tumba cubierta vn Rico paño de Brocado cruzado de carmesi, y la guarnicion de terciopelo negro, sobre el qual estaua vna almohada de brocado, y encima de la almohada vna corona real de muchas y diuersas piedras de grande valor, en cuya correspondencia estauan pendientes dos Angeles de vulto que tenian en las manos vn escudo de Armas a [f° 49^v] dos hazes que hazien buena vista de qualquier parte, con tan marauilloso artificio que parecian sustentarse en el ayre.

[In the margin] *Ornato y distribucion de los assientos en el templo.*

Todo la yglesia se poblo de lutos, tan altos que llegauan a las vedrieras, a los lados de las quales muy proporcionadamente auia vnos escudos de armas pintados en paños negros, los quales tenian a los lados vnos angeles que parecian substentar los escudos de grande magnitud, en el testero sobre el choro de las monjas otros escudos de armas de la misma forma: que acompañauan y correspondian a los otros con graciosa y agradable perspectiua: todo el restante del templo se adorno de lutos que arrastrauan por tierra, los assientos lo estauan de la misma manera los [f° 50] quales, los dos sobredichos don Fadrique Enriquez, y el conde de Chincon: con singular acuerdo ordenaion y distribuyeron en esta manera. A la parte que corresponde con el lado del euangelio al altar mayor, en la correspondencia que a manera de capilla esta frontero de la puerta que sale al jardín, se hizo vna cama de luto, con su sitial para los Serenissimos Principes, mas baxo en el interualo que auia entre el sitial de sus Altezas, al assiento de los Grandes, huuo vna silla rasa, para don Iuan Manrique, como Mayordomo mayor de la Reyna: consecutiamente el assiento de los Grandes, junto el del consejo Real, luego el de la Sancta

Inquisicion, tras el del Real consejo de Indias, en su seguimiento el [f° 50^v] de ordenes y contaduria, aunque no se hallaron presentes, a lo menos en el orden que tenemos dicho. Tras esto estuuo el regimiento y corregidor desta villa de Madrid.

El sitial del cardenal se puso frontero del de los principes, al lado de la epistola, y mas baxo el de los embaxadores. Tras esto para chanciller y consejo de Aragon, mas abaxo para los presidentes de Flandes todo lo demas se poble de illustres y muchos caualleros.

J. López de Hoyos, *Historia y relacion verdadera de la enfermedad, felicissimo transito, y sumptuosas exequias funebres de la... Reyna de España dona Isabel de Valoys... Con los sermones, letras, y epitaphios a su tumulo, dilatado con costumbres... de diferentes nasciones en enterrar sus diffunptos, etc...* Madrid, 1569, f° 41^v - 50^v (consulted copy: London, The British Library).

TRANSLATION - DOC. I

And so that the furnishing and regal adornment of the ceremony may be understood from the description of the temple, I shall describe as briefly as I can the temple itself, [f° 42] saying nothing of the site and the clemency of the climate, the gardens, fountains, royal apartments (?), patios and cloisters adorned with many sculptures and columns of Genoese marble and richest alabaster, or the great size of the whole dwelling, which is an island where in past years the most invincible and Catholic Emperor Charles V and the Empress Isabella of Castile, parents of our Lord King Philip and the most serene princess [the Infanta Juana], and the Archbishop of Sevilla and Grand Inquisitor Don Hernando de Valdes, were accustomed frequently to sojourn, which is no small proof of the great capacity and convenience of the place; and also forbear to mention all that the most serene Princess does every day to embellish it with new [f° 42^v] constructions, sculpture and painting, adorning the whole house and cloisters most sumptuously.

[In the margin] *Plan and description of the temple.*

The temple in its structure and plan (to speak in architectural terms) is of the Doric order. The front doorway is worked in the Roman style of the same order, the framework of granite and the intervening spaces of brick, which greatly embellishes the building; the door is in the centre, approached by three well graded steps. It is surmounted by an architrave which frames the whole door, and on either side are Doric half-columns as high as the jambs,

so that they seem to come out from behind the decoration [f° 43]; above are a frieze and architrave, and on top an entablature as wide as the door with its decoration by the jambs (?), above which is a cornice with its frontispiece, projecting from the entablature as far as the vertical line of the columns. Above this again is a base on which is a second division, and in its centre a Roman compartment with the arms of the most serene princess [the Infanta Juana] and the King [John] of Portugal; all the framework is of Doric columns; over the cornice which surmounts them there runs, embracing the whole work, a very rich frontispiece with frieze and architrave. Finally the whole work is surmounted by three [f° 43^v] acroteria, on which are great globes of stone with three granite crosses. Above the coat of arms is a tondo or round window with a cornice around it and panes of glass admitting light to the nuns' choir, which is built over a porch as one comes into the church, in the following manner.

[In the margin] *Entrance and porch over which the nuns' choir is situated.*

There are sixteen columns, otherwise called square pilasters, gracefully carved in granite, and above them "caps" and arches from one pilaster to another, ... ? ...; at the side of the first two pilasters, six feet from the entrance, are two holy-water stoups finely carved in marble [f° 44] in the form of scallops resting on two hands which project from the wall and support the scallops on their palms, there being no other support, so as not to hinder those passing by. The porch is of a particular design, with three passages after the fashion of naves, the main one being ten feet wide and the side ones duly proportioned; each pilaster is 22 feet high, and projects four and a half feet from the wall; in the middle of each wall is a niche, that is to say a concavity in which figures are placed, the two niches facing each other; this is the first building in Spain to be constructed in this manner, and on the porch thus disposed is the choir with [f° 44^v] a stout iron grille looking towards the high altar: this is twelve feet high and more than eight broad, and at each intersection of the grille a spike, pointed like a cut diamond, projects to a distance of over a quarter [of a yard?]. The main body of the church is higher than the nuns' choir, so that above the grille there is room for three windows divided into panes, which give light to the whole church; the height of the main body ... ? ... is over 65 feet. The walls are adorned with divisions and pilasters in such proportions that the parts correspond to the whole in a manner very pleasant to the eye; the whole temple is [f° 45]

whitened with stucco, a mixture of lime and marble, which reflects light in such a way that things can be seen in it; in the wall opposite the entrance is the magnificent high altar, in the form of a table with eleven granite steps.

[In the margin] *Retable of the high altar.*

The high altar has a carved and painted retable more than fifty feet high, over two coats of arms of the Most Serene Princess and the King of Portugal, of Genoa marble; all the adornment and furnishing of the same is worked in the most costly fashion; the retable contains ten compartments of black marble in which are many sacred histories painted by Gaspar Becerra the Spaniard, Master of Works [f° 45^v] to our lord King Philip, who by the testimony of all foreign craftsmen and people of judgement is the most eminent, as his works do signally declare, and amongst the marvellous sculptures (for all is by his hand) is the Assumption of Our Lady, to which feast the temple is dedicated, as it was on that day that the nuns first came to reside here in 1558, escorted in a procession with great splendour from the abode of the most illustrious and reverend Don Gutierrez de Bargas Carabajal, Bishop of Plasencia and a native of Madrid, where His Lordship by command of the sainted princess had entertained them for many days with great veneration and expense while the convent was being built to accommodate them; [f° 46] beside the escutcheons that support the retable are two doors of walnut wood carved with gold and black arabesques;

[In the margin] *Relics of the Temple.*

these doors open into a reliquary chamber in a vault behind the retable, with all manner of carved and painted work, filled with a marvellous number of relics including great parts of the *lignum crucis* and the board of the title on the Cross and of the column, robe and shroud of Christ Our Lord, all which incite to such devotion that one who enters this vault and sees the relics through a small window through which the nuns receive the most holy Sacrament would say that they are so deeply moving [f° 46^r] as to penetrate the soul and cause the body to tremble: there are thirty-three heads of saints, mostly of the eleven thousand virgins, relics, bones of St. Ursula, St. Sebastian, St. Blaise, the habit and hair-shirt of St. Francis and those of St. Anthony and the blessed St. Bernard; there is the whole body of an Innocent lying in his blood, very lifelike and a cause of great devotion, and many other relics richly adorned with silver and gold of much value. Also the head of St. Elizabeth, queen of Hungary.

And, returning to what we were speaking of, on the Gospel side there is a confessional for the nuns with a door carved with frieze and architrave, and a cornice, above the door [f° 47] and to the right of it a window adorned in the same manner as this door.

This door is the entrance to the pulpit, which is octagonal, with four figures of children supporting it from below, and on this side as on the left are two doors leading to the sacristy which is most handsomely vaulted, beneath the steps of the high altar, so clear, polished and adorned that I was amazed at such rich and royal ornaments, vessels and implements for divine service, of such great number and excellence. On either side of the high altar are oratories decorated with glazed tiles and with two gilded grilles, looking towards the high altar, one of which [f° 47^v] is of great devotion because there are in it many relics and images, brilliantly adorned, with many excellent, varied and divine histories marvellously depicted; this is the spot where the most serene Princess was born, and at present her Highness is full of prayer and devotion to it, being so truly Catholic and affected towards religion; on either side of the high altar, in two recesses, are altars with retables of Corinthian order, excellently worked, each with a painting on black marble, one of the invocation of St. John the Baptist and the other of St. Sebastian, and beside each of these is a door, one opposite the other. One door leads to a garden with beds (?) of diverse shapes, [f° 48] where there is a quantity of exquisite, odoriferous and fragrant herbs and orange trees and in the centre a fountain richly adorned with glazed tiles; her Highness's apartments open on to this garden; the whole church is whitened with stucco, a mixture of lime and marble, which shines so that things can be seen in it, and is paved with black and white marble, in richly adorned squares.

[In the margin] *The funeral monument, its plan and construction.*

In the middle of the temple, above the vault built over Her Majesty's tomb, a monument was erected in the particular style of architecture called Corinthian. It rests upon a square base with twelve columns, three at each [f° 48^v] corner, with pedestals, bases and capitals, the pedestals of green and red jasper, the bases and cornices of the pedestals were of silver and likewise those of the columns, in each of the ... ? ...; at the top was a large figure of an angel holding an escutcheon of the Most Christian Queen; above the columns a black velvet band extended all round in the place of the architrave, above this was a corridor or platform of turned balusters, marbled in green

and silvered, and within a second structure with steps from which rose a pyramidal point, this being what foreigners call a *chappelle ardente* or *castrum doloris*; it rose as far as [f° 49] the roof with a great number of candlesticks, as we described in the account of the death of Her Highness, at the top of which there was a massive royal crown of gold that ... ? ... six feet in diameter, within this twelve columns, at the bottom were three steps above which the tomb was placed, covered by a rich crimson brocade cloth trimmed with black velvet, on which was a brocade cushion, and on the cushion a royal crown with many and diverse jewels of great value, opposite which hung two large figures of angels holding a coat of arms [f° 49^v] with two faces which presented a fine spectacle from either side, so marvellously contrived that they appeared to be poised in the air.

[In the margin] *Decoration and distribution of seats in the temple.*

The whole church was hung with mourning drapery, so high that it reached up to the windows, alongside which in due proportion were painted coats of arms draped in black; beside these were angels that appeared to hold up the large shields; on the wall above the nuns' choir were coats of arms of the same form, matching and corresponding to the others in a gracious and agreeable perspective; all the rest of the temple was adorned with mourning draperies which trailed on the floor, and the seats were draped similarly. [f° 50] As to these, the aforesaid Don Fadrique Enriquez and the Count of Chinchón, in complete agreement, ordered and allotted them in the following manner. On the Gospel side of the high altar, in the part which forms a kind of chapel alongside the door leading to the garden, a bed of mourning was erected with the seat of honour for the most serene princes; below, in the space between them, in the place reserved for the grandees, there was a plain chair for Don Juan Manrique, chief steward to the Queen; next came the seats of the grandees, then that of the royal council, then the Holy Inquisition, then the royal council of the Indies, then that of [f° 50^v] the Orders and the Contaduría, although they were not present, at least in the order we have stated. After these came the magistrates and corregidor of the city of Madrid.

The cardinal's seat was opposite that of the princes, on the Epistle side, and below it were the seats of the ambassadors. Then came a place for the chancellor and council of Aragon, and next to it the "presidents" of Flanders; all the remaining space was occupied by many illustrious gentlemen.

Doc. 2 1572. — *In the charter of the Descalzas Reales, drawn up in 1572, the Infanta Juana expresses the wish that three feasts should be celebrated in the convent with especial splendour.*

XXXV. [in the margin] *Oficios de la semana Santa, y Resurreccion.*

Y por quanto yo tengo particular devocion á que todo el Oficio de la semana Santa desde el Domingo de Ramos hasta la Pasqua se haga con [p. 56] mucha solemnidad, ansi en lo que toca á las Pasiones, como al encerrar el Santissimo Sacramento el Jueves Santo, y á la ceremonia santa y devota de que por Autoridad Apostolica se usa en el dicho nuestro Monasterio el Viernes Santo, que representa la sepultura de nuestro Señor y Redemptor, en estos dias el dicho Capellan Mayor hará el Oficio Divino en el Altar, y tendrá cuenta de proveer de Clerigos y mas Cantores que fueren menester, para que todo lo sobredicho se haga son mucha solemnidad de la manera que yo acostumbro en mis dias de madarlo hacer: especialmente queremos, y es nuestra voluntad, que haya mucha solemnidad en cada un año perpetuamente la mañana de la Resurreccion antes del dia, en la qual el dicho Capellan Mayor ha de dar orden como se aderece el Claustro que está fuera junto á la Iglesia del dicho Monasterio, y se cuelgue de paños, y se hagan quatro Altares, uno en cada ángulo, muy bien aderezado, y se llamen por lo menos doce Clerigos, que sirvan en lo que fuere menester en la Procesion que se ha de hacer con el Santissimo Sacramento en su Custodia, que ha de llevar en las manos el dicho Capellan Mayor; y juntamente procure que haya Musica de Ministriles, que acompañen la tal Procecion, de manera que se haga con toda devocion y solemnidad, segun y como Nos procuramos que se haga en nuestra vida: lo qual ansimismo es nuestra voluntad que se guarde y cumpla en la Procecion que se ha de hacer la Oçtava del Sacramento por la tarde, segun y como se acostumbra á hacer en nuestros dias, ansi en lo que toca al aderezo del Claustro, como en la provision [p. 57] de mas Clerigos y Ministriles, haviendo dicho en la mañana del tal dia oçtavo la Misa mayor con mucha solemnidad, é á la tarde antes de la Procecion las Visperas con la misma; en lo qual encargamos muy particularmente al Capellan Mayor ponga tanta diligencia y cuidado, que procure de cumplir con la devocion que nuestro Señor ha sido servido de darme á que la una Fiesta y la otra se hagan con particular solemnidad.

Real Fundación de la Capilla y Monasterio de Religiosas Franciscas Descalzas de la Primera Regla de Santa Clara, que en la villa de Madrid dotó y fundó la Serenissima

Señora Doña Juana de Austria, Infanta de Castilla y Princesa de Portugal, por los años de 1572. con las declaraciones que á ella hizo en Gumiel de Mercado á 15. de Octubre de 1602. el Señor Rey Don Phelipe III. como Patron y Proteçtor que era, confirmadas por la Santidad de Clemente VIII. en 24. de Marzo de 1601, Madrid, 1769, pp. 57-57 (consulted copy: London, The British Library).

TRANSLATION - DOC. 2

XXXV. [In the margin] *Offices of Holy Week and Easter Sunday.*

And since it is a particular devotion of mine that the whole Office of Holy Week from Palm Sunday to Easter should be celebrated with [p. 56] much solemnity, as regards the readings (?) of the Passion and the reposition of the Sacrament on Holy Thursday, and the holy devout ceremony observed by Apostolic Authority in our said Convent on Good Friday, representing the burial of our Lord and Redeemer, on those days the said senior Chaplain shall celebrate the Divine Office at the altar, and shall take care to provide clergy and such other singers as are necessary so that all the aforesaid shall be done with great solemnity in the way in which I had it done in my lifetime. We especially wish and desire that there should be great solemnity every year in perpetuity on the morning of Easter before daybreak, at which time the senior Chaplain shall give order for the decoration of the cloister immediately outside the Convent church, which shall be hung with drapery, and there shall be four altars, one at each corner, very well adorned, and at least ten clerics shall attend to do what is necessary in the procession that shall take place with the Most Holy Sacrament in the Monstrance, which the said senior chaplain shall bear in his hands; and he shall also see that there be music of minstrels accompanying the procession, so that it be conducted with all devotion and solemnity, in the way that we have endeavoured to see it done in our lifetime. And it is our wish that the same be observed and accomplished in the procession to be held on the Octave of the Sacrament in the evening, as is customary in our own lifetime, both as regards the adornment of the cloister and in the provision [p. 57] of more clerics and minstrels: on the morning of that Octave, high Mass shall be celebrated with all solemnity, and in the same way Vespers in the evening before the procession; and we most particularly enjoin that the senior Chaplain use all diligence and care in this, to ensure that both feasts are celebrated with especial solemnity with the devotion that Our Lord has been pleased to instil in me.

Doc. 3 1616. — *Juan Carrillo, father confessor to the Descalzas Reales, speaks of the Infanta Juana's great devotion to the Holy Sacrament and gives a detailed account of the Octave of Corpus Christi, which, on her instructions, is celebrated every year with the greatest solemnity.*

Capitulo XIII. De la gran deuocion que la santa Princesa tenia al santissimo Sacramento, y como queria que se celebrassen las fiestas en esta santa casa.

Aunque todas las cosas del seruicio del Señor queria que se hiziesen puntualissimamente, pero en lo que toca al culto diuino, y a la veneracion deuida al santissimo Sacramento, era verdaderamente estremada. Toda la fundacion deste conuento, y toda la hazienda y cuidado que puso en ella, parece que yua encaminada a este fin y efeto, de que el santissimo Sacramento, y la honra deuida a tan alto misterio, estuuiesse en toda la puntualidad possible, y que sus fiestas se celebrassen con grandissimo cumplimiento, como lo hizo todo el tiempo que viuio. Ayudaua a esta deuocion, la mucha que [f^o 36] auia en todas las religiosas, y señaladamente en la Abadesa, la qual si pudiera deshazerse toda a si misma para aumentar la gloria de Dios en este misterio, sin duda lo hiziera. En todas las otras cosas queria que se guardasse muy estrecha pobreza, solo para esto deseaua ser rica, y le parecia que todas las riquezas del mundo eran pocas para emplearse en ello. Pareciase bien ser imitadora del espiritu del gran Patriarca san Francisco, que con ser tan grande amigo y zelador de la pobreza, a la qual llamaua su Reyna y su Señora; con todo esso llegando a este punto de la honra deuida al santissimo Sacramento, parece que se oluidaua de la pobreza, y aun de si mismo. Y dexò encargado en su testamento, que aquellos santissimos misterios del altar, sobre todas las cosas fuessen honrados y venerados, y en lugares muy preciosos y ricos colocados. Este mismo espiritu tenia tambien la santa Princesa, y assi quando llegaua la fiesta del santissimo Sacramento, parece que salia fuera de si misma, y se ponía en alta mar de deuocion y feruor de espiritu. Mandaua traer todas quantas joyas y riquezas tenia, y con ellas de su propia mano adornaua, y componia las andas y la custodia del santissimo Sacramento. Mandaua venir toda la musica y cantores, para celebrar la fiesta y toda la octaua, y que los Oficios diuinos se hiziesen solenissimamente, y que desde la mañana hasta la noche, con diferentes modos e instrumentos se hiziesse musica. En la procession del octauo dia procuraua que no faltasse cosa alguna en Magestad y grandeza, y que a la del cielo se rindiesso y prostrasse toda la de la tierra. Mandaua

componer toda la Iglesia y Claustro, con los mas preciosos adornos, y ricos altares que podia. Andaua siempre detras del santissimo Sacramento en [f° 36^v] la dicha procession, siguiendo como oueja a su pastor, y como humilde sierua y esclaua a su soberano Rey y Señor. Tuuo tan buen principio esta solenidad por el santo zelo y deuocion de la Princesa, que despues acá siempre ha ido creciendo con tan grande aumento, assi en lo temporal como en lo espiritual: que comparecer imposible cada año poder auer aumento en la solenidad y sumptuosidad, con que se haze; con todo esso por la misericordia de Dios, siempre hasta oy ha ido creciendo. Y lo que mas es de considerar, que quando se començò a celebrar y festejar esta fiesta en esta santa Iglesia, estaua tan de caida la deuocion acerca desto, y tan olvidada la veneracion deuida al santissimo Sacramento, que casi no auia memoria della en España; a lo menos para celebrarse con la puntualidad deuida. Aqui se començò, y de aqui se fue estendiendo poco a poco, por toda Castilla, y por toda España, lo qual se deue a la deuocion desta santa Princesa.

Y porque se vea quan de veras se va continuando esta deuocion, y el punto en que està aora, quiero breuemente referir lo que cada año se haze en la fiesta y octauas del santissimo Sacramento en esta santa Iglesia. Primeramente, algunos dias antes del Corpus se sacuden los altares, y se limpia toda la Iglesia, se laua el suelo y se cuelgan todas las paredes con vna colgadura bordada, hecha a medida de las mismas paredes. Paranse quatro altares mas de los ordinarios, de manera que se pueden dezir en siete altares Missas. Todo el altar mayor, de alto a baxo, se enrama con rosas y flores hechas de mano, de sedas y matizes. Cubrense las gradas de los altares, con tan ricas alfombras, que vale cada vna mil ducados. La vispera del Corpus, se ponen sobre el altar mayor doze candeleros de plata, de vna vara de alto cada vno con su cruz [f° 37] enmedio y en los demas altares se ponen dos candeleros de plata sobredorados tambien de vna vara de alta, todos con sus velas blancas y la cruz enmedio. Y entre todos los candeleros de todos los altares, se ponen sus jarras de plata de media vara muy ricamente labradas, y en ellas vnos ramos de clauales de mano muy hermosos, muchos peuetes y perfumes. Entre los candeleros y las jarras, se ponen imagenes de plata de los doze Apòsteles, y de otros santos, todas sobredoradas de mas de media vara en alto. En las pilas de agua bendita, se ponen aguas de olores. Los Frontales, todos de bordadura, y brocados recamados finissimos. Enmedio del altar mayor, se pone vn dosel muy rico de brocado blanco, bordado de gran precio, el qual este año passado de 1615. se hizo de nueuo. Mas abaxo

en el lugar donde ha de estar la Custodia, se apareja su trono, con arcos de ramos hechos de mano, de plata y oro, muy ricamente adornados, con muchos joyeles, y relicarios de oro, perlas, y finissimos diamantes. Comiençanse las Visperas con Menestriles, y toda la Capilla, añadiendo ocho Cantores de los mejores que tiene su Magestad, cantan a dos y a tres coros. Sacanse cada dia diferentes ornamentos, todos blancos, vno mas rico que otro, y tambien diferentes frontales en los altares, no siendo cada vn dia todos de vna manera, desuerte que lo que sirue vn dia no sirue otro, ni las Albas, Amitos, ni los Corporales, Bolsas, y Purificadores, porque son cada dia todos diferentes. Todos los adereços de dezir Missa, como son candeleros, vasos, campanillas, hostieros, vinageras, platos, y saluillas son de plata, hasta las taças para dar agua despues de la Comunión. Ay tambien seis pares de ciriales de plata, para sacar cada dia los suyos. El dia del santissimo Sacramento se descubre luego por la mañana a las seis, con [fº 37^v] mucha musica, y no paran de cantar con el organo y diferentes instrumentos, hasta las nueue horas, quando se tañe a Missa mayor, la qual se canta a dos y tres coros. Acabada la Epištola, cada dia se canta vn villancico nuevo. Ay cada dia sermon de los mejores Predicadores de la Corte. Dizense cada dia setenta, o ochenta Missas rezadas, dase de limosna por cada vna dos reales: ay siesta todos los dias con harpas, viguelas, y otros diferentes instrumentos, y canciones del santissimo Sacramento, hasta la hora de Visperas, las cuales se dizen con toda la musica sobredicha. A las siete horas de la tarde se canta solenissimamente la Salve, y tras ella vn villancico, para lo qual se encienden todas las velas de los altares, y mas de duzientas bugias por toda la Iglesia. Ay en este octauario, cinco lamparas de plata en la capilla, que pesa cada vna treinta marcos, y quatro blandones de plata, para hachas. Ponense en medio de la Iglesia, dos candeleros pendientes maravillosamente labrados, en los cuales se ponen muchas docenas de velas blancas. Esta toda la noche descubierto el santissimo Sacramento, con veynte y quatro velas de a libra, encendidas. Estan continuamente en oración muchas religiosas en el coro todas las noches y dias, y el Sacristan cada noche muda toda la ropa blanca, y apareja los altares, con diferentes ornamentos, para todos los dias. Llegado el dia octauo, se cuelga todo el claustro, con vna tapizeria riquissima, en que està la guerra de Tunez, la qual aunque està en poder de su Magestad, es de la fundadora desta casa, y la dexò al Rey don Felipe Segundo, con condicion que se aya de colgar este dia el claustro con ella. Aparejense quatro altares en el claustro, con sus doseles de brocado labrados, y bordados: [fº 38]

adornarlos con muchas flores de mano, señaladamente a donde se ha de assentar la custodia del santissimo Sacramento, la qual es vna grande y rica pieça, toda de oro fino, y adornada con muchas perlas y piedras preciosas. Ponense en cada altar sus quatro candeleros de plata, y figuras de santos, tambien de plata. Está todo el suelo muy enramado, y todo aparejado con mucha curiosidad y riqueza, y con muchas luzes sobre las verjas del claustro. Hacese la procession despues de Visperas, con mayor solenidad, de musica y cantores que se puede dezir. Capas riquissimas, hachas, y velas blancas de a libra, que se dan a todos los religiosos y clerigos, caualleros, y señores que ay en la Iglesia. Van veinte y quatro niños vestidos como Angeles, con hachas blancas encendidas. Lleuan el Palio seis clerigos con sus capas. Las seis varas del Palio son de plata, y el mismo Palio de brocado riquissimo, bordado y labrado. Cantase en cada altar su villancico, dura la procession casi dos horas: y lo que mas es de notar, que todo quanto ay en los Altares, Iglesia y Claustro, assi de plata, como de ornamentos, doseles, y colgaduras; todo es de la dicha Iglesia, sin que se traiga de fuera cosa alguna. Acabada la procession, y cerrado el santissimo Sacramento, todas las flores y ramos que quedan en los altares (que son sin numero, y todo el año trabajan en ellas las religiosas) se recogen, no para guardarlas de vn año para otro, ni para seruirse dellas en otras festiuidades, sino para repartirlas la madre Abadesa, entre las señoras y otras personas deuotas desta santa casa. Finalmente ay tanto que dezir, que todo lo sobredicho no llega con mucho, ni se puede bastantemente referir, sino es remitiendolo a la vista dello. Y con ser tanto, cada año [fº 38º] va creciendo assi como la deuocion del santissimo Sacramento, correspondiendo bien a los santos deseos de la fundadora, que en el cielo tiene particular gloria por ello.

Allende de todo lo sobredicho se haze la renouacion del santissimo Sacramento, los primeros Iueues de todos los meses, y para esto preuiene toda la musica, y Cantores de casa, con algunos otros de la Capilla Real, y se apareja el altar, con toda la riqueza de ornamentos y imagenes, luzes, y flores hechas de mano, que es possible. Y dicha la Missa de Prima, a las siete horas de la mañana, sale el que está preuenido para dezir la Missa rezada. Y comenzando toda la musica, saca la Custodia de oro en que está el santissimo Sacramento; y puesta en su lugar, prosigue la Missa continuandose siempre la musica, hasta que hecha la renouacion, y acabada la Missa, buelue al Sacrario la Custodia. Dexò ordenado que se hiziesse assi la Santa Princesa, la renouacion, señalando

tambien la limosna que se auia de dar al Sacerdote que dize la Missa, que es ocho reales, y tambien su especial estipendio para los Cantores.

J. Carrillo, *Relacion Historica de la Real Fundacion del Monasterio de las Descalças de S. Clara de la villa de Madrid. Con los frutos de santidad que ha dado y da al cielo cada dia. De las vidas de la Princesa de Portugal doña Iuana de Austria su fundadora. Y de la M. C. de la Emperatriz Maria su hermana, que vivió y acabó santamente alli su vida...*, Madrid, 1616, f° 35^v - 38^r (consulted copy: Brussels, Royal Library).

TRANSLATION - DOC. 3

Chapter XIII. Of the great devotion that the sainted Princess had for the Most Holy Sacrament, and how she wished the feasts to be celebrated in this holy house.

While she wished all matters of the Lord's service to be attended to most punctually, she was exacting to the utmost as regards everything to do with divine worship and the due veneration of the most holy Sacrament. The whole foundation of this convent and all the work and care that she devoted to it seemed directed to the end and purpose that the most holy Sacrament and the honour due to so great a mystery should be performed with all punctiliousness and that the feasts of the same should be celebrated with great devotion, as she herself did as long as she was alive. In this she was aided by the great devoutness [f° 36] of all the nuns and especially the Abbess, who without doubt would have annihilated herself completely, if she had been able, to enhance the glory of God in this mystery. In all other matters she required that the strictest poverty be observed: only in this did she wish to be rich, and it seemed to her that all the riches of the earth were too little for this purpose. She seemed to imitate the spirit of the great patriarch St. Francis, who, while such a great lover and champion of Poverty, whom he called his queen and his lady, yet when it came to the honour due to the most holy Sacrament, he appeared to forget about poverty and himself also; and he enjoined in his testament that the most sacred mysteries of the altar should be honoured and venerated above all things, and housed in most precious and rich localities. Such was also the disposition of the sainted Princess, and thus when the feast of the most holy Sacrament came round she appeared to be beside herself and to embark on a high sea of devotion and fervour of spirit. She then caused all her jewels and riches to be brought, and with her own hands adorned with them the litter and the monstrance of the most holy Sacrament.

She summoned all the music and singers to celebrate the feast and the whole Octave, so that the divine services were performed with the utmost solemnity and music of different modes and instruments from morning to night. In the procession of the Octave she endeavoured that there be nothing lacking of majesty and grandeur, and that all the glory of earth should surrender and abase itself before the glory of heaven. She had all the church and cloister furnished with the most precious adornments and the richest altars possible. She herself always walked in [f^o 36^v] the procession behind the most holy Sacrament, like a sheep following its shepherd, or a humble servant and slave following her sovereign King and Lord. Thanks to the Princess's holy zeal and devotion this solemnity was so well established that since then it has continued to increase mightily both in the spiritual and in the temporal sphere, so that every year it appears impossible that there should be greater solemnity and sumptuousness, yet by the mercy of God it has increased steadily up to this day. And it is to be noted that when this feast began to be celebrated and solemnized in this holy church, the devotion and veneration due to the most holy Sacrament were so decayed and forgotten that scarcely any memory of it was left in Spain, at least as regards celebrating it with due attention. The custom began here, and gradually spread throughout Castile and all Spain, thanks to the devotion of this sainted Princess.

And in order to show how truly this devotion continues and what a point it has now reached, I shall briefly relate what happens each year in this holy church on the feast and octave of the most holy Sacrament. Firstly, some days before Corpus Christi the altars are dusted down and the whole church cleaned, the floor is washed and all the walls hung with embroidered hangings to the size of the walls. Four altars are prepared in addition to the usual ones, so that Mass can be said at seven altars. The whole of the high altar, from top to bottom, is covered with roses and flowers made by hand, of silk and different colours. The altar steps are covered with carpets so rich that each is worth a thousand ducats. On the eve of Corpus Christi there are placed on the high altar twelve silver candlesticks, each one a yard high with its cross [f^o 37] in the centre, and on each of the other altars are placed two silver-gilt candlesticks, also a yard high, all with white candles and the cross in the centre. And between all the candlesticks of all the altars are placed silver vases half a yard high, very richly carved, and in them very handsome hand-worked carnations, many censers and perfumes. Between the candlesticks and the

vases are silver images of the twelve Apostles and other saints, all gilt, half a yard high. The holy-water stoups are filled with sweet-smelling waters. The frontals are all embroidered with delicately finished needlework. Over the centre of the high altar is a very rich canopy of white brocade, richly embroidered, which was made anew in this past year of 1615. Below, where the monstrance is to be, its throne is made ready, with arches of branches made by hand in silver and gold, most richly adorned, with many jewels and reliquaries of gold, pearls and finest diamonds. Vespers are begun with minstrels and with the whole choir, with eight more of the best of His Majesty's singers singing in two or three choirs. On each day different vestments are brought out, all white, each one richer than the last, and different frontals for the altars, so that they are not all alike each day, but those used on one day are not used on another – the albs, amices, corporals, burses and purificators are all different each day. All the implements for Mass, such as candlesticks, vessels, bells, ciboria, wine vessels, plates and salvers are of silver, as are the cups from which water is poured after Communion. There are also six pairs of tall silver candlesticks so that a different pair can be used each day. On the feast of the Sacrament itself they rise (?) at six o'clock with [f^o 37^r] much music and continue to sing with the organ and other instruments until nine, when the bell is rung for High Mass, which is sung with two or three choirs. After the Epistle a new villancico is sung each day, and there is a sermon every day by one of the chief preachers of the Court. Each day seventy or eighty low Masses are said and there is an offering of two *reales* for each; there is a "siesta" (afternoon music) each day with harps, guitars and diverse other instruments and songs to the most holy Sacrament, until the hour of Vespers, which again are accompanied by all the aforesaid music. At seven in the evening the Salve is solemnly sung, and after it a villancico, for which all the candles on the altars are lit, and more than two hundred others throughout the church. During the Octave there are five silver lamps in the chapel, each weighing thirty marks, and four silver stands for torches. In the middle of the church are hung two chandeliers, marvellously worked, with many dozens of white candles. The most holy Sacrament is exposed all night, with twenty-four lighted candles each weighing a pound. Many nuns are continuously at prayer in the choir both night and day, and each night the sacristan changes all the white linen and decks the altars with different vestments for each day. On the Octave day the whole cloister is hung with a most rich tapestry

showing the Tunis campaign: this belongs to His Majesty, but the foundress of the convent left it to King Philip II on condition that it be hung in the cloister on this day. Four altars are set up in the cloister, with embroidered canopies of brocade; [f^o 38] they are adorned with many flowers made by hand, especially where the monstrance of the most holy Sacrament is to be placed; this is a fine rich vessel, all of pure gold, adorned with many pearls and precious stones. On each altar are placed four silver candlesticks and silver figures of saints. The whole floor is covered with branches and most richly and elaborately adorned, with many candles on the grilles of the cloister. The procession takes place after Vespers, with the greatest imaginable solemnity of music and song. Rich copes, torches and white candles of a pound's weight that are presented to all the religious and clergy, lords and gentlemen in the church. Twenty-four children, dressed as angels, carry lighted white torches. The pall is carried by six clerics wearing copes; the six rods that support the pall are of silver, and the pall itself is of rich brocade, worked and embroidered. A villancico is sung at each altar, and the procession takes nearly two hours. It is to be noted that everything on the altars, in the church and cloister, the silver and ornaments, canopies and hangings – all is from the church itself, nothing being brought in from outside. When the procession is over and the Sacrament in its place of reposition, all the flowers and branches still on the altars (which are numberless, as the nuns work at them all the year round) are collected, not to be kept for next year or to be used in other festivities, but for the Mother Abbess to share them out among the ladies and other devout persons of this holy house. Finally there is so much else to be told that all I have said falls far short of it, nor can it be imagined by one who has not seen it. And, this being so, it increases year by year [f^o 38^v] the devotion to the most holy Sacrament, fulfilling the godly desires of the Foundress, who enjoys special glory in heaven on this account.

In addition to all this there is a renewal (?) of the most holy Sacrament on the first Thursday of every month, for which all the music and singers of the house are employed, with others of the royal chapel, and the altar is decorated with all possible wealth of ornaments and images, candles and hand-made flowers. And after the Mass of Prime is said, at seven in the morning, the priest comes out whose duty it is to celebrate Low Mass. And as all the music begins to play, he takes out the gold monstrance containing the Sacrament and, setting it in its place, continues to say Mass, the music also

continuing, until the ceremony and the Mass are over and he returns the monstrance to the sacarium (?). The sainted Princess enjoined that the Renewal should be celebrated in this way; she also fixed the amount of the offering to be given to the priest saying Mass, which is eight *reales*, and a special fee for the singers.

Doc. 4 1616, 26 December. – *Clauses in the will of the Archduchess Isabella (with codicils of 30 November 1633).*

[f^o 85] Mando que my cuerpo sea depositado a la pueruta de la capilla del S^{mo} Sacramento del mylagro en brusselas por donde pasan todos con sola una [f^o 85^v] losa en que dyga como estoy ally y esto basta tanto que nuestro Señor llebe al archiduque; que entonces es my boluntad que nos enteremos juntos, pues ansy como e deseado en la byda no apartarme del, deseo que en la muerta estén nuestros cuerpos juntos y sy yo muriere en parte que no puedan llebarme a brusselas me pondran en la forma que aquy dygo, en la parte que ordenare el archyduque.

Mando que me entyeren con el abyto de Sant Francysco por tenelle particular devocyon.

...

[f^o 87] Que se den palyos a todas las peroquyas del lugar adonde muryere, y los demas que parecyere a mys testametaryos, y se funde tanto para cera, para que salga con mas decencya el S^{mo} Sacramento, y se pyda a Su Santydad facultad para fundar la confradrya del S^{mo} Sacramento que ay en España, si esto todo no estubiere hecho cuando nuestro Señor me llebe.

...

[f^o 88^v] A la Infanta Doña Margaryta my hermana mando que se lleben el relycario de ebano y plata que [f^o 89] tyene Santyštevan y San Lorenzo de marfyl, para que se acuerde de rogar a nuestro Señor por my.

[Added in the margin in 1633, f^o 88^v] Esto se dara a su sobrina Soror Ana Dorotea.³

...

³ In our opinion "la Infanta Doña Margaryta" does not mean Isabella's sister, as Piot thought (Ch. Piot, *loc. cit.*, p. 111) – the sister's name was Catalina – but her husband's sister Margarita de la Cruz, who was a nun in the Descalzas Reales. This is shown by her request for prayers and the annotation in 1633 that the reliquary should be given to Ana Dorotea, also a nun in the Descalzas Reales. Margarita de la Cruz died some months before Isabella.

[f° 92^v, codicil of 30 November 1633] A mi sobrino, el Cardenal Infante Don Fernando le mando mi libreria y le supplico que reciba a Pedro Vila por su ayudo de camara para que mire por ella, y tambien deyo al dicho mi sobrino todas las buenas tapicerias, y todo lo que se esta haciendo para el, se acaba, y se le de, y las pinturas de las tres galerias no se aparten sino se queden ally.

*Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Archives de la Famille de Mercy Argenteau, No. 125, f° 85, 85^v, 87, 88^v 89, 92^v. – A copy of the complete will (*Ibidem*, f° 95–104) was published by Ch. Piot, *Le testament et les codicilles de l'Infante Isabelle, Compendium des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire ou recueil de ses Bulletins*, IVe série, XII, 1885, pp. 108–122; two extracts, in connection with the works of art, in *De Maeyer*, pp. 400, 401, Doc. 248.*

TRANSLATION – DOC. 4

[f° 85] I give order that my body be interred at the entrance to the chapel of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle at Brussels, where everyone passes in and out, with only a single [f° 85^v] flagstone recording that I lie there, and this shall suffice until Our Lord takes the Archduke to Himself; then it is my will that we be buried together, for as in life I desired not to be separated from him, so in death I wish that our bodies be together, and if I should die in a place such that my body cannot be taken to Brussels, let me be interred in the manner that I here direct, wherever the Archduke shall decide.

I give order that I be buried in the habit of St. Francis, on account of my particular devotion to it.

...

[f° 87] I desire that palls be given to all the parishes of the place where I shall die, and such others as my executors shall think proper, and that an amount be supplied for candlewax so that the most holy Sacrament be displayed more becomingly and that His Holiness be asked to give permission for the establishment of the Confraternity of the most holy Sacrament that exists in Spain, if all this shall not have been done before Our Lord takes me to Himself.

...

[f° 88^v] To the Infanta Dona Margarita my sister I command that there be sent the reliquary of ebony and silver [f° 89] with St. Stephen and St. Laurence in ivory, that she may remember to pray to Our Lord for me.

[Added in 1633 in the margin, f° 88^v] This shall be given to her niece Sister Ana Dorotea (see n. 3).

...

[f^o 92^r, codicil of 30 November 1633] To my nephew the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando I bequeathe my library and beg him to take Pedro Vila his "*aide de chambre*" to look after it, and I also leave to my said nephew all the fine tapestries, and let all that is being made for him be finished and given to him, and let the pictures in the three galleries not be removed but remain here.

- Doc. 5 1626, 22 December. – *In connection with a lawsuit concerning tapestries for the King of Poland, Jacob Geubels declared before the notary Guyot that the non-receipt of payments had prevented him from working on commissions he had undertaken, including that for the Infanta Isabella.*

... daer dore oock belet wordende in zynen ordinarisen handel ende notable wercken van tapitseryen die hy aengenomen heeft soo voor de Serenissime Infante, als voor Jan Baptista van Lemens ende andere particuliere personen;...

Antwerp City Archives, Vierschaar Lakenhalle, v, 1687 (unbound document); published in full by: E. Duverger, Une tenture de l'histoire d'Ulysse livrée par Jacques Geubels le jeune au prince de Pologne, Artes Textiles, VII, 1971, pp. 96, 97, Doc. VII.

TRANSLATION – DOC. 5

... being also hindered thereby in his ordinary trade and in the notable works of tapestry that he has undertaken to carry out for the Most Serene Infanta and for Jan Baptista van Lemens and other private persons;...

- Doc. 6 1627, 21 May. – *Philippe Chifflet⁴ writes in a letter to Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno that Rubens is planning to visit Rome in September, after finishing some pictures commissioned by the Infanta Isabella.*

Les domestiques de Monsieur le Cardinal tiennent qu'a la fin il se resouldra de passer à Rome a ce mois de septembre prochain. V.S.I. le doit mieux scavoir

⁴ A rich source of information on Isabella's life is comprised in the notes which Philippe Chifflet, chaplain to the Infanta's oratory from 1624, compiled in order to write her biography. Chifflet did not finish this work (the book was never published), but the collected material is kept at the Bibliothèque Municipale at Besançon; see: A. Caстан, *Les origines et la date du Saint-Ildefonse de Rubens* (reprinted from *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*), Besançon, 1884, pp. 57–71; *de Villermont*, I, p. 14; *De Maeyer*, pp. 18, 19. Excerpts from Chifflet's notes are used and quoted in the exhaustive biography of the Infanta Isabella by Countess Marie de Villermont (*de Villermont*).

que nous. Rubens fait conte de partir pour Rome environ ce temps la, après qu'il aura parachevé plusieurs⁵ tableaux qu'il a entrepris pour S.A. Il emportera avec soy dix ou douze mille florins pour employer en statues antiques. Ceux de Rome ne sont guère curieux de permettre qu'on distraye de la sorte les plus beaux ornements de leur ville. Rubens ne les veut achepter que pour les revendre et gagner dessus.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Baluze, No. 162, f^o 138^v. – Quoted in part in *De Maeyer*, pp. 383, 384, Doc. 214 (with reference to earlier publications).

TRANSLATION – DOC. 6

The Cardinal's servants believe that he will finally decide to go to Rome in September next. Your Lordship must know this better than we. Rubens proposes to leave for Rome about then, after finishing several pictures that he has undertaken for Her Highness. He will take with him ten or twelve thousand guilders to buy antique statues. The people of Rome are not at all pleased that the finest ornaments of their city should be dispersed in this way. Rubens only wishes to buy them in order to sell them at a profit.

Doc. 7 1628, January. – *The Infanta presented Rubens with some pearls in return for the patterns of the Eucharist series.*

En janvier 1628 furent données à Pierre Paul Rubens plusieurs perles, a bon compte des patrons de tapisserie pour les cordelières de Madrid.

Besançon, Bibl. Mun., Coll. Chifflet, No. 97, f^o 190. – Published in *De Maeyer*, pp. 385, 386, Doc. 219 (with reference to earlier publications).

TRANSLATION – DOC. 7

In January some pearls were given to Peter Paul Rubens for the tapestry patterns for the Franciscan nuns at Madrid.

Doc. 8 1628, 21 July. – *Philippe Chifflet writes to Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno that the Infanta sent works of art to Spain two days previously.*

S.A. a fait partir dès deux jours ençà, deux chariots qu'elle fait passer en

⁵ Here followed originally *pièces*, which were deleted.

Espagne, chargez de tapisseries, de toilles et de chartes géographiques, et de quelques peintures.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Baluze, No. 162, f^o 195. – Published in De Maeyer, p. 387, Doc. 222 (with reference to earlier publications).

TRANSLATION – DOC. 8

Two days ago Her Highness sent off to Spain two waggons laden with tapestries, cloths, geographic maps and some paintings.

Doc. 9 *After 1628, 21 July, and before 1657, 11 January.*⁶ – *Information concerning the patterns and tapestries of the Eucharist series in Chifflet's notes on donations and foundations by the Infanta Isabella.*

[f^o 297] Observations meslées.

...

[f^o 301] Donations et fondations.

...

[f^o 302] L'Infante envoya à Madrid aux Déchaussées une tapisserie contenant les figures et mistères de la Saint-Eucharistie⁷ de laquelle les patrons, sont faits par Rubens, ont cousté trente mille florins. La tapisserie en valoit près de cent mille.

Besançon, Bibl. Mun., Coll. Chifflet, No. 96, f^{os} 297, 301, 302^v. – Published by De Maeyer, p. 432, Doc. 266, (with reference to earlier publications).

TRANSLATION – DOC. 9

[f^o 297] Miscellaneous observations.

...

[f^o 301] Gifts and foundations.

...

[f^o 302] The Infanta sent to the Descalzas at Madrid a set of tapestries showing the figures and mysteries of the Holy Eucharist, the patterns for which were done by Rubens and cost 30,000 guilders. The set of tapestries was worth nearly a hundred thousand.

⁶ This note must have been written after the works were despatched in 1628 and before Chifflet's death in 1657.

⁷ Instead of "figures et mistères de la Saint-Eucharistie" this originally read "mistères du St. Sacrement".

Doc. 10 1634, 9 November, and 1635, 24 February. – Letters to Philippe Chifflet from the Jesuit Claude Clement, who had obtained information from the Descalzas Reales about Isabella's stay there.

[f° 1] Aucunes lettres du Père Claude Clement Jesuite Bourgignon qui enseignoit l'Erudition au College Imperial de Madrid, sur ce qu'il peut apprendre de l'Enfance et éducation de son Altesse, au Couvent des Descalces Royales en ladite Cour.

a. Letter of 9 November 1634, from Madrid [f° 8, 8^v]

Dimenche dernier ie fus parler a la R^{de} Abbessse de las Descalzas de Madrid touchant ces memoires que vous desires; Elle me diçt que son Altesse doña Isabel avoit esté nourrie en son bas-age dans ce monastere, et me promit de faire diligence a Vous recueillir ce qui peut contribuer à Voſtre hiſtoire.

...

Je voulous aussi parler a son Excellence Soror Ana Dorotea – mais ladite superieure me diçt que iusques a Noel, l'on ne luy pouvoit parler pendant leur advent qui commence des la Toussaint, je la prié de suppleer, et en son temps nous ne manquerons de solliciter ces responces.

b. Letter of 24 February, 1635, from Madrid [f° 10]

Monsr.

Par cet ordinaire qui arriva il y huit ou dix iours il nay receu aucune lettre de vous, si éstec que ie ne lairray de vous donner advis qu'en fin apres toutes mes diligences faiçtes en las descaldas le responce a esté, que Son altesse que éste en gloria demeura huit mois en ce Royal monastere attendant ses nopces. Voila tout, ce qui vous couſte beaucoup de pacience dont il a fallu être bien pourveu pour ne vous couſter de l'impacience.

[A slip of paper pasted to this letter reads:]

Le P. Augustin de Castro qui semploya a me faire avoir les lettres que la Ser^{me} Infante de flandres escrivit a la S^{me} Infante de las descaldas ma diçt que Labbesse dudit monastere a respondu que ladite Soror Marguerite estoit si humble qu'elle brusloit incontinent lesdites lettres ou par soy mesme quant elle avoit la veue, ou par autre quand elle fut aveugle: toutefois que les

Religieuses scavent quelques particularités touchant la S^me Infante de flandres, lesquelles elles vont receuillant pour vous les envoyer.

Besançon, Bibl. Mun., Coll. Chifflet, No. 97, f^o 1, 8, 8^v, 10. – Quoted in part by : A. Caстан, Les origines et la date du Saint-Ildefonse de Rubens, reprinted from Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs, Besançon, 1884, p. 78, n. 2.

TRANSLATION – DOC. 10

Some letters by Father Claude Clement, a Jesuit from Burgundy who taught at the Imperial College in Madrid, concerning what he was able to learn of Her Highness's childhood and education at the convent of the Descalzas Reales at that Court (i. e. Madrid).

a. *Letter of 9 November 1634, from Madrid.*

Last Sunday I went and spoke to the Reverend Abbess of the Descalzas at Madrid concerning the memoirs you require. She told me that Her Highness Doña Isabel had been brought up in the convent as a child, and promised to do her best to collect any information that may be useful to your history.

...

I wished also to speak to Her Excellency Sister Ana Dorotea, but the Mother Superior told me that no-one could speak to her until Christmas because of their Advent season, which begins at All Saints. I begged her to transmit my enquiry, and we shall not fail to seek the answers in due time.

b. *Letter of 24 February, 1635, from Madrid.*

Sir, by the ordinary which arrived eight or ten days ago I received no letter from you, so that I shall not omit to tell you that in the end, after all my efforts at the Descalzas, the reply was that Her Highness (*que esté en gloria*) spent eight months at the Royal convent in preparation for her wedding. That is all : it will have cost you much patience, of which you must have ample store lest it should cost you impatience.

[A slip of paper pasted to this letter reads:]

Father Agostino de Castro, who endeavoured to procure for me the letters that the Most Serene Infanta of Flanders wrote to the Most Serene Infanta of the Descalzas, tells me that the Abbess of the convent replied that Sor Margarita was so humble that she burnt the said letters at once, either by her own hand

when she still had her eyesight, or by another's when she was blind. However, the nuns have some items of information concerning the Most Serene Infanta of Flanders, and they are collecting these to send them to you.

Doc. II 1634, or soon after. — *The Discalced Carmelite nuns of Brussels, in their testimony to the Infanta's virtues, mention her great devotion to the Holy Sacrament.*

[f° 129] "Noticias de las virtudes de la S^{ma} Infanta por las Carmelitas descalzas de Bruselas".

...

La devocion que tenia al SS^{mo} Sacramento, es indicible, y se Echava bien de ver, pues en todas sus fiestas assi^{stia}, con tan gran devocion, y espiritu que le ponía miracla y quando le recibía Era Extraordinaria su humildad, y aparejo que lleuava todo el tiempo que se decía el confiteor estaua postrada, el cuerpo hechado casi en tierra. La Reuerencia con que le adoro lo mostro bien, el postrer dia que le recibio, pues llevandosele por viatico con estar ya de le Enfermedad mortal sepuso de Rodillas en la cama, viendole entrar en su camera. Nunca dexo assi^{stir} a las processiones; assi la del dia del corpus, estando en bruselas, y ala del SS^{mo} sacramento de milagro, venia expressamente para celebrarla para este dia, cada año, le daua alguna dadiua preciosa. y desde las primeras visperas, assi^{stia} a los officios, y esta noche, todo el tiempo que viuió el archiduque, andaua en corto y habito humilde, el gran torno del SS^{mo} Sacramento: tomando de la mano, a una de sus damas, para ir mas desconocido y deuota y desta [f° 129^v] misma manera, andaua las Estaciones el jueves Santo todos los años; y el dia siguiente, acompañauala la procession a pie con la vela en la mano siempre, sin admitir defensa, ni reparo alguno, por grande sol, y calor que hizies y las vezes que la admitio, fue solo, por respeto del archiduque, lo qual se prueua bien, en que despues que murio, no le consentio mas, y diciendole una vez, que hazia gran sol, respondió, este dia no haze mal el sol, y vno vez que yendo fuera, y Encontrandose con el SS^{mo} Sacramento en la calle, se apeo del coche y le fue acompañado, hasta la yglesia de S^{ta} gudula, dondo recibio la bendicion y acabada se bolvio, a su coche. En fin in todas ocasiones dio muestras, que de toda su Recreacion era, assi^{stir} en la presencia deste divino señor; a assi adonde la conbidauan, que estaua descubierta, yua con particular consuelo, y gusto.

TRANSLATION — DOC. II

[f° 129] "Record of the virtues of the Most Serene Infanta by the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Brussels".

...

Her devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament was beyond description, and this could be seen very clearly, for she attended all its feasts with such devotion and such a pious spirit that it was a marvel to see (?), and she received it with extraordinary humility all the time the Confiteor was said she remained prostrate, her body cast down almost to the ground. The reverence of her adoration was well seen on the last day she received the Sacrament, when the viaticum was brought to her, for although mortally ill she knelt down on her bed as soon as she saw it brought in. She never tired of attending its processions; and thus on *Corpus Christi* day, when she was in Brussels, and on the day of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, she came expressly to do it honour each year, and presented some precious gift. She attended the services from First Vespers onwards, and on that eve, as long as the Archduke lived, she attired herself in a poor and lowly costume to visit the Most Holy Sacrament in different churches, taking one of her ladies by the hand so as to be less conspicuous and more devout; and in the [f° 129^v] same way she attended the Stations on Holy Thursday every year; and on the following day she always walked in the procession with a candle in her hand and refused all remedy or protection against the hot sun, or, if she accepted, it was only out of respect for the Archduke, which is well seen by the fact that after his death she refused to cover her head in the procession, and once when they told her the sun was very hot she replied "On this day, the sun does no harm"; and on one occasion when she was out of doors and met the Holy Sacrament in the street, she alighted from her coach and accompanied it to the church of St. Gudula, where she received the benediction, and when the ceremony was over she returned to her coach. In short, on every occasion she gave proof that it was her supreme delight to be in the presence of her divine Lord; and thus whenever they invited her to where the Sacrament was displayed, she went with especial pleasure and consolation.

DOC. 12 1634, or soon after. – *Testimony to Isabella's piety by Mother Leonora of St. Bernard, Prioress of the Carmelite nuns at Ghent.*

De la submission, resignation & uiue foy en Dieu que la Ser^{me} Infante auoit.

...

[f^o 285] Et aussy de la vive foy qu'elle auoit a l'endroit du tres St. Sacrement, comme tout le monde sçait, & a veu par exemple, mais tous ne scauent pas qu'estant souvent bien mal et incommodée ne laissait pour cela de l'aller honorer en processions et le suivre par le soleil et mauvais temps, comme aussy il me souvient qu'estant ceste Princesse en Anvers lors qu'elle nous y amena la fille de Mons. le Comte de Vertain, elle estoit fort incommodée d'un grand rume, elle debvoit aller a une procession nous luy priames de permettre qu'on luy portast un garde soleil affin qu'il ne luy donnast sur la teste ny espaules, elle me respondit avec beaucoup de poidz, que cela ne seroit pas bien en la presence du tres s^t Sacrement, et qu'il estoit necessaire aussy de donner bon exemple au peuple, et une autre fois que ceste Ste Princesse suivoit une procession il commença a pleuvoir si extremement fort qu'en peu d'espace elle fut toute mouillée ou l'Evesque luy fit grande instance d'entrer soulz le baldaquin, mais elle ne s'y voulu jamais mettre, pour la grande reverence qu'elle portoit a ce tresauguste Sacrement.

[f^o 285^v] Elle estoit si devote, et l'aymoit si ferverment que du vivant de feu S.A. l'Archiduc comme l'on sçait elle se couvrait d'une hucque, s'en alloit avec ses dames le Jedy St. faire les stations de toutes des Eglises de la ville ou il avoit des sepulchres, et pour plus d'humilité, elle se faisoit eclairer avec une petite lanterne, comme les pauvres gens, et tous ces iours la [illegible] ne se vouloit agenouiller sur carreaux, ny tapis, et despuis la mort de l'Archiduc de bonne memoire qu'elle ne pouvoit aller les stations de la ville elle se cachoit de celles de sa maison, et alloit a piedz nudz d'une tribune a l'autre plusieurs fois, faisant ses visites au tress^t sacrement qui estoit en sa chappelle, et lors que S.A. l'Archiduc au dernier estoit plus malade qu'a l'ordinaire, elle se degagoit en habit de fille de chambre sortant de bon matin du palais avec la Comtesse de la Feira, allant derriere comme la fille de chambre faire des neufvaines au St. sacrement de miracle et affin que celles de sa maison ne s'en fussent aperçues, en retournant de ses voyages, elle s'en alloit recoucher comme si rien n'eust esté.

*Besançon, Bibl. Mun., Coll. Chifflet, No. 97, f^o 28^s, 285^v; partial transcription in *de Villermont*, II, pp. 488, 489.*

TRANSLATION – DOC. 12

Of the Most Serene Infanta's submissiveness, resignation and lively faith in God.

...

[f^o 285] And also her lively faith in the Most Holy Sacrament, as all the world knows and has seen by example, but not everyone knows that, while often ill and in much discomfort, she did not cease to honour the Sacrament in processions which she attended in the heat of the sun or in foul weather. Thus I remember that at the time when the Princess brought to us in Antwerp the daughter of M. le Comte de Vertain she was much incommoded by a heavy cold, and, as she was to attend a procession, we begged her to allow a parasol to be brought so that the sun should not beat upon her head and shoulders, but she replied very solemnly that this would not be fitting in the presence of the Most Holy Sacrament, and that it behoved her in this to set a good example to the people. And on another occasion when this holy Princess was following a procession it began to rain so violently that in a short time she was wet through, and the Bishop urged her to walk under the baldachin, but she would never do so because of her great reverence towards the most august Sacrament.

[f^o 285^v] She was so devout and adored it so fervently that while his late Highness the Archduke was alive she would put on a "hucque" and go with her ladies on Holy Thursday to make the Stations at every church in the city where there was a Sepulchre, and for the sake of greater humility she had her way lit by a small lantern like a poor person, and on all those days the [illegible] would not kneel on a carpet or a tiled floor; and after the death of the Archduke of blessed memory, when she could not make the Stations in town, she would hide from her household and go barefoot several times from one gallery to another, paying visits to the Most Holy Sacrament in her chapel; and when His Highness the Archduke was more ill than usual she would slip out in the early morning with the Countess de la Feira, walking behind her and disguised as a lady's maid, to make her novena to the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, and, so that her household should know nothing of it, she would return from these walks and go to bed again as if she had not been out.

Doc. 13 1636. – *Information furnished by Juan de Palma concerning the life of the Archduchess Margarita of Austria (Sor Margarita de la Cruz), a nun in the Descalzas Reales, and her mother the Empress Maria, who belonged to the Third Order and resided in the royal apartments at the convent.*

[f^o 35] Quando el Rey ⁸ partiò à Portugal, dexò à sus hijos, el Principe don Diego, y à los Infantes don Phelipe, y doña Maria, que todos tres eran nietos de la Emperatriz, [f^o 35^v] hijos de la Reyna doña Ana, y à las Infantas doña Ysabel, y Catalina, hijas de la Reyna Ysabel de la Paz, en el Monasterio Real de las Descalças : Que estas santas paredes han sido siempre Palacio de ausencia de los Reyes,...; Pero luego que el Rey supo, que estaua ya en España la Emperatriz su hermana, dio orden, que el Principe, con todos sus hermanos passassen al Pardo, y se desocupasse el quarto en que estauan en las Descalças, para que en el se aposentassen la Emperatriz, y la Infanta MARGARITA.

...

[f^o 38^v] Auiase criado su Magestad Cesarea ⁹ en esta Real Casa ¹⁰ viuiendo Carlos V. su padre, antes que la diessen forma de conuento... Señalaua à los que estauan presentes, las piezas, los aposentos, y los camarines en que auia viuido la Augusta persona del Emperador, el Rey, la Princesa su hermana, ¹¹ y su Magestad.

...

[f^o 54] Hallaron hecha la Tribuna que en el Templo desta Real Casa cae al Altar Mayor, en donde en las fiestas publicas oyen, y assisten los Reyes à los Oficios Diuinos. Comunicauase la Tribuna con el quarto de su Alteza, y en ella hazia nido esta candidissima Paloma... ¹² Cobrò grandissima aficion à una Imagen de Christo Nuestro Señor crucificado, que esta en el Altar Mayor, y à el enderezaua sus feruorosas Oraciones...

...

[f^o 65^v] Continuòse la procession en esta forma. ¹³ Iba la Cruz delante, y dos Religiosas à los lados, con los ciriales; las monjas à dos coros, con las velas

⁸ Philip II.

⁹ The Empress Maria.

¹⁰ The convent of the Descalzas Reales.

¹¹ The Infanta Juana.

¹² Margarita.

¹³ This refers to the celebration in the convent church on the occasion of Margarita's entry.

encendidas, y luego la Infanta D. MARGARITA en medio de su prima la Infanta D. Isabel su madrina, y de la Abadessa, a quien inmediatamente seguian el Rey, y la Emperatriz su hermana...

...

[f^o 83^v] Señalado ya el dia de la santissima Encarnacion del Señor, año mil y quinientos y ochenta y cinco, por preciso a la profession de su Alteza, ¹⁴ se adornò el Conuento, Iglesia, Claustros, y Capillas con ricas, y preciosas colgaduras. Pusieronse los Altares con todas las reliquias, decencia, y curiosidad. Las Religiosas, que son muy aduertidas en sus espirituales Fiestas, en esta que fue la mayor que ha visto aquella casa Real, se excedieron à si mismas. Hizieron artificiosos arcos de flores; adornaron el Coro; aderezaron el Capitulo; llenaron la casa de velas blancas, olores suauissimos, con tanta fragancia, y alifio, que parecia todo junto vn cielo abreuado.

...

[f^o 91^v] Estaua la Emperatriz en el quarto que los Reyes tienen en este Real Conuento vnido à la misma habitacion de las Religiosas. Es vn Palacio en que viuiò algun tiempo el Emperador Carlos V. su padre, y en el diuidia la clausura del Conuento vna puerta, en que auia dos portereras, ò guardas, vna Religiosa por la parte de adentro, y vna Señora de honor en la del Palacio, con que no podian salir, ni entrar mas de las personas à quien era permitido. Aqui estuuò la Emperatriz Maria veinte años, y no le parecieron largos, para disponerse al transito breue de la muerte.

...

[f^o 102] Assi como murió Phelipe Segundo, se recogió à San Geronimo el Rey, ¹⁵ y al quarto de las Descalças, la Infanta doña Ysabel su hermana; hallando consuelo en la Emperatriz, y en la Infanta; aliuandose vnos à otros el dolor, con comunicarlo entre si. Fue estrechissima la amistad que hizo con la Infanta MARGARITA la Infanta D. Isabel, primas hermanas antes; y ya con el nueuo vinculo, hermanas. El mayor aliuio que tuuo en la trîsteza deste sucesso la Infanta D. Isabel, fue el ver la suma virtud de su prima, que la consolaua con sus palabras, y edificaua con su exemplo.

...

[f^o 168] Embiò estos años vltimos la señora Infanta D. Isabel [f^o 168^v]

¹⁴ Margarita.

¹⁵ Isabella's brother, Philip III.

su prima, a su A. [lteza] ¹⁶ para el templo del Real Monasterio de las Descalças, vna rica tapiceria, de los triunfos de la Iglesia, de valiente dibuxo, y en la estofa, y en el arte de las mas señaladas de España. Llevaron algunos paños a la pieza donde estaua su A. y dandole noticia de como era, llegò entristecerse, de no poderla ver : y boluiendose à Dios, dixo con grande amor : Quando os pagarè, Señor mio, el auerme dado que ofreceros? si la viera, vosme la dauades, como no la veo, yo os la doy. Dixieron las Religiosas, como vieron vna cosa tan digna de verse, y que no podia verla la Infanta : Señora, ha se mortificado V.A. mucho? Respondiò con alegia : Mucho no, pero poco si; MARGARITA, lo ha sentido, yo no...

...

[f^o 231] Como su alma enamorada, estaua tan rendida à esta deuota passion, no auia tesoro que le pareciesse bastante, ni le saciasse, para procurar con el, que estuuiesse con mayor decencia adornado el santissimo Sacramento, y assi quanto le daua la Emperatriz su madre, y despues le dieron los Emperadores sus hermanos, y los Reyes, todo lo aplicaua para su seruicio, y veneracion. Preguntauo à sus compañeras, en reciuiendo alguna cosa deste genero; en que forma os parece que podra servir esto al santissimo Sacramento? y platicauan en ello hasta hallar [f^o 231^r] como se pudiesse acomodar, y quando no podia conseguirlo, lo trocava à otra alhaja que pudiesse servir al intento. El Emperador Matias su hermano, y su A. fueron los que mas se quisieron, y assi la embiaua el Cesar muy preciosos regalos, y presentes de deuocion, Imagenes excelentes, y Relicarios de grande estimacion, y riqueza. En vna ocasion le embiò vna Imagen de Christo N.S. de Lignum Crucis, guarnecido de hermosos diamantes, y dos Aguilas, que le adornauan, de muy grande precio... Luego que se vio à la muerte el Emperador Matias, mandò que todo el adorno, y joyas de su Camera, se remitiessen à la Infanta MARGARITA su hermana; lo qual puso en execucion el Emperador Ferdinando, y entre las cosas que le remitio fue vna Cruz de diamantes de grande valor, y otras joyas deste genero, que seruian de guarnicion, y adorno à las reliquias. En recibiendo esto, lo ofrecia al Señor, y dedicaua al seruicio del santissimo Sacramento. Dio en esta ocasion los Relicarios à la Sacristia, y de los diamantes, y otras joyas hizo vn frontal, y gradas de plata, y sobre ellas vn trono de lo mismo, sobre el qual se sustenta la Custodia, obra de grande precio, y primor. En dandole

¹⁶ Margarita.

auiso de que en alguna Iglesia, ó Convento pobre, estava el Santissimo Sacramento con poca decencia; procuraua con mucha breuedad, que aquello se reparasse, y embiaua Relicarios de plata, en que estuuiesse conseruado, y Sagrarios dorados muy buenos, con todo quanto era necessario para su seruicio.

...

[f^o 276] Preuenido todo lo necessario al entierro,¹⁷ y honras de su A. adornado el santo Templo del Real Monasterio de las Descalças con sus propias colgaduras, el Cruzero, y la Capilla con telas ricas, negras, y moradas, y el cuerpo de la iglesia con terciopelo, y damasco negro, alfombradas rica y decentemente las gradas: el tumulo con Real ornamento compuesto, cubierto de brocado, con insignias Reales, cetro, y corona, escudos, y tarjetas de las armas Imperiales, y con los blasones de Infanta;...

Ioan de Palma, *Vida de la serenissima Infanta Sor Margarita dela Cruz, Religiosa descalça de S. Clara...*, Madrid, 1636, f^o 35, 35^v, 38^v, 54, 65^v, 83^v, 91^v, 102, 168, 168^v, 231, 231^v, 276 (consulted copy: Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*).

TRANSLATION – DOC. 13

[f^o 35] When the King (Philip II) departed for Portugal he left his children, Prince Don Diego and the Infantes Don Felipe and Doña Maria, the nephews and niece of the Empress [f^o 35^v] and children of the Queen Doña Ana, and the Infantas Doña Isabel and Catalina, daughters of Queen Isabel de la Paz (Elisabeth of Valois), in the royal Convent of the Descalzas, as its sacred walls have always been a place of sojourn for the royal family...; but when the King learnt that the Empress his sister was already in Spain he gave order that the Prince and his brother and sisters should remove to the Pardo and vacate their apartments at the Descalzas so that the Empress and the Infanta Margarita might stay there.

...

[f^o 38^v] Her Imperial Majesty (the Empress Maria) had been brought up in this Royal House (the convent of the Descalzas Reales) during the life of her father Charles V, before it became a convent... She pointed out to those who were present the rooms, dressing-rooms (?) and apartments that had been used by the august Emperor, the King (Philip II), the Princess her sister (Juana) and Her Majesty.

¹⁷ The burial of Margarita.

[f^o 54] They found her (Margarita) in the gallery which faces the high altar in the church of this Royal House, whence the King and Queen assist at Divine Service on public feasts. The gallery communicated with Her Highness's room, and in this gallery the whitest of doves had made her nest. ... She had a great devotion to an image on the high altar of Christ our Lord crucified, and addressed her most fervent prayers to it.

...

[f^o 65^v] The procession (of Margarita's entry in the convent) continued in this form. The Cross went in front, with two nuns bearing large candles to left and right of it; then two choirs of nuns with lighted candles, followed by the Infanta D. Margarita between her cousin and godmother the Infanta D. Isabel and the Abbess; immediately after these came the King and the Empress his sister...

...

[f^o 83^v] The day of our Lord's most holy Incarnation, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-five, having been chosen as fitting for the profession of Her Highness (Margarita), the convent, church, cloisters and chapels were adorned with rich and precious hangings. The altars were furnished with all relics, handsomely and in good order. The nuns, who are very expert in these spiritual festivities, excelled themselves in this, the most splendid that that royal House has seen. They made artificial arches of flowers; they decorated the choir; they filled the house with white candles and most sweet odours, with such fragrancy and beauty that it seemed altogether like paradise in miniature.

...

[f^o 91^v] The Empress (Maria) stayed in the room used by the King and Queen in this royal convent, adjoining the part where the nuns live. It is a palace in which her father the Emperor Charles V lived for a time, and it was divided from the enclosed convent by a door guarded by a nun on the convent side and a lady-in-waiting on the palace side, so that none could enter or leave without permission. The Empress Maria stayed here twenty years, and they did not seem a long time in which to prepare herself for the brief passage of death.

...

[f^o 102] When Philip II died, the King (Philip III) withdrew to San Jerónimo, and his sister the Infanta Doña Isabel moved to the apartment in

the Descalzas, finding consolation with the Empress and the Infanta, all three lessening their grief by sharing it. A very close friendship united the Infanta Margarita and the Infanta D. Isabel, who were cousins by birth and sisters by the new tie between them. The greatest consolation of the Infanta D. Isabel in this sad event was the extreme virtue of her cousin, who comforted her with words and edified her by example.

...

[f^o 168] In these last years the Infanta D. Isabel [f^o 168^r] sent to Her Highness her cousin (Margarita) for the church of the Royal Convent of the Descalzas a rich tapestry of the triumphs of the Church, of admirable design and material, among the most signal works of art in Spain. They took some of these to the room where Her Highness was, and when they told her how they looked, she was sad that she could not see them; and, turning to God, she said with great love: "When shall I repay you, my Lord, for having given me what I can offer you? If I could see it, you would be giving it to me, but as I cannot see it, I give it to you". When the nuns saw such a handsome object, and that the Infanta could not see it, they asked whether Her Highness was greatly mortified. She replied joyfully (?) "Not greatly, but a little; Margarita has felt it painfully, but I have not".

...

[f^o 231] Her enamoured soul was so full of this devout passion that no treasure seemed great enough to adorn the most holy Sacrament as becomingly as she would wish, and thus she applied to its service and worship all that the Empress her mother gave her, and afterwards the Emperors her brothers and the King and Queen. Whenever she received anything of the kind she asked her companions in what way it could be used for the most holy Sacrament, and they would debate until they found [f^o 231^v] some way of using it, and if they could not, she would exchange it for another precious object that would answer the purpose. The greatest affection existed between Her Highness and her brother the Emperor Matthias, and so the Emperor sent her precious gifts and devotional presents, splendid images and reliquaries of great esteem and richness. On one occasion he sent her an image of Christ our Lord, of lignum crucis set with fine diamonds, adorned by two eagles, of very great price... when the Emperor Matthias found himself near death he commanded that all the finery and jewels of his collection should be sent to his sister the Infanta Margarita; which command the Emperor Ferdinand duly performed,

and among the objects sent was a diamond cross of great value and other like jewels, which served as furnishing and adornment to the relics. When she received this she offered it to the Lord and dedicated it to the service of the most holy Sacrament. On that occasion she gave the reliquaries to the sacristy and made with the diamonds and other jewels a frontal and steps of silver, and above them a throne of the same, on which reposes the monstrance, a work of great price and splendour. If she heard that in any church or poor convent the most holy Sacrament was housed unbecomingly, she would endeavour to remedy this with all speed, sending silver reliquaries to contain the Sacrament and very fine gilded shrines, with everything necessary for its service.

...

[f° 276] When all things were prepared for the burial (of Margarita) and to do honour to Her Highness, the holy church of the Royal Convent of the Descalzas was adorned with its own hangings, the transept (?) and the chapel with rich black and violet cloth and the body of the church with velvet and black damask, the steps being richly and decently carpeted; the catafalque royally adorned and covered with brocade, with the royal insignia, sceptre and crown, escutcheons and targets with the Imperial arms, and blazons of the Infanta;...

Doc. 14 1648, 6 January. — *Philip IV requests the Archduke Leopold William to send to Spain patterns of the Eucharist series belonging to the estate of the Cardinal Infante.*

Serenissimo Señor Archiduque Leopoldo Guillelmo mi primo mi gouernador y capitan general de mis paisses Vajos de Flandes. Las pinturas o patrones que se refieren en la memoria inclusa, y quedaron de la cassa mortuoria del Infante Cardenal mi hermano, (que Dios haya), en la parte y forma que se dize en dicha memoria, hazen falta para lo que estan destinados aqui. Vuestra Alteza hara que se remitan en la primera buena ocasion que se offreziere para ello. Nuestro Señor guarde à Vuestra Alteza como desseo. De Madrid à 6 de enero 1648. Buen Primo de Vuestra Alteza, yo El Rey, P.º Coloma.

Memoria de las pinturas que Su Magestad (Dios le guarde) manda se traygan de Brusselas, que quedaron de la casa mortuoria del Señor Infante que este en El Cielo.

Quinze pinturas grandes y otras menores de lienzo pintadas al olio por Pedro Pablo Rubens, que hizo para la Tapiceria del triunfo de la Iglesia, historia del santissimo sacramento, que el Señor Infante imbio à las descalças Reales de la Señora Emperatriz en Madrid, que quedaron arrolladas en Palacio, en la Galeria de los Emperadores, a cargo de Juan de Benero ayuda de guarda Joyas del Señor Infante, que este en el Cielo.

[On the back]

Copia de carta de Su Magestad en que ordena se le remitan unas pinturas que quedaron de la casa mortuoria del Señor Infante.

Copy. — *Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre*, No. 239, f° 5, 6^v. — Published in: A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres*, III, Ghent, 1881, p. 217, s.v. *Rubens (Pierre-Paul)*; *Rooses*, I, p. 73, n. 1, 2; mentioned in: J. Cuvelier et J. Lefèvre, *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe Siècle*, IV, Brussels, 1933, p. 79; *De Maeyer*, p. 414, Doc. 261. — Minute: *Simancas, Archivo General, Estado*, Leg. 2256; mentioned in M. Van Durme, *Les archives générales de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique (IXe-XIXe siècles)*, II, Brussels, 1966, p. 501, No. 41 (wrongly dated at 24 June 1648).

TRANSLATION — Doc. 14

To the Most Serene Lord Archduke Leopold William, my cousin, governor and captain-general of my low Countries of Flanders. The paintings or patterns referred to in the enclosed memorial, which were left at his death by my brother the Cardinal Infante (whom God have in His keeping), in the form and manner set out in the said memorial, are lacking to us, as they were to have been sent here. Your Highness will please cause them to be sent at the first good opportunity that may offer. May our Lord keep Your Highness as I desire. From Madrid, this sixth day of January 1648. Your Highness's good cousin, I the King. P^o Coloma.

Memorial of the pictures that His Majesty (whom God preserve) orders to be sent from Brussels, remaining from the estate of the sainted Lord Infante.

Fifteen large pictures and other smaller ones painted in oil on canvas by Peter Paul Rubens, which he made for the Tapestry of the triumph of the Church, the history of the most holy Sacrament, which the Lord Infante sent to the Descalzas Reales of the Lady Empress in Madrid, which remained rolled

up in the palace, in the Emperors' Gallery in the charge of Juan de Benero, assistant jewel-keeper (?) to the sainted Lord Infante.

[On the back]

Copy of a letter from His Majesty ordering that there be sent to him some pictures remaining from the estate of the Lord Infante.

Doc. 15 1649, 7 August. – Philip IV points out to Leopold William that the Eucharist patterns have not yet reached Madrid, and again asks him to send them as soon as possible.

Serenissimo Señor Archiduque Leopoldo Guillermo mi Primo mi Governador y Capitan General de mis Payses bajos de flandes. Dias ha que escriui a V.A. me embiase con toda breuedad los Patrones de Rubens de la Tapiceria que ay en el conuento de las descalzas desta Corte, que son del santissimo Sacramento que se hallan en esse Palacio de Brusselas, y no haviendo venido, ni auisando me V.A. que en esto se ha hecho, he querido encargar a V.A. de nueuo me los embie con toda seguridad y breuedad, y caso que esto tenga algun embarazo me auisara V.A. el que es en la primera ocasion. Nuestra Señor guarde a V.A. como desseo. De Madrid a 7 de Agosto 1649.

Buen Primo de V.A. [signed] Yo el Rey

[countersigned, below right] Geronimo de la Torre.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre, No. 244, f° 277. – Published in De Maeyer, pp. 414, 415, Doc. 262. Minute: Simancas, Archivo General, Estado, Leg. 2258; mentioned in M. Van Durme, Les archives générales de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique (IXe–XIXe siècle), II, Brussels, 1966, p. 512, No. 20.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 15

To the Most Serene Lord Archduke Leopold William, my cousin, governor and captain-general of my Low Countries of Flanders. Some time ago I wrote to Your Highness to send me with all speed the patterns by Rubens of the set of tapestries of the most holy Sacrament in the convent of the Descalzas at this Court, which are in your palace in Brussels, and as they have not arrived, nor has Your Highness informed me what has been done in this matter, I again request Your Highness to send them to me with all safety and speed,

and should there be any difficulty to inform me what it is as soon as possible. May our Lord keep Your Highness as I desire. From Madrid, this seventh day of August 1649.

Your Highness's good cousin, [signed] I the King
[countersigned, below right] Geronimo de la Torre.

Doc. 16 1652, 24-26 October. – Record of six bozzetti for the Eucharist series in the inventory of the estate of Victor Wolfvoet.

- No. 424. Een schetsken van Rubens daer engelkens in een schipken varen op panneel in ebben lystken;
- No. 425. Noch een schetsken van Rubens daer den Engel by Elias compt met broot ende wyn op panneel in ebbenhoute lystken;
- No. 426. Een ander schetsken van als voore van Melchisedech op panneel in gelyck lystken;
- No. 427. Noch een ander schetsken oick van als voore van darcke des Verbonts oick in gelyck lystken;
- No. 428. Noch een ander schetsken mede van als voore daer het hemels broot regent oick in gelyck lystken;
- No. 429. Alnoch een ander schetsken insgelyckx van als voore daer men den osch op offert mede in ebbe lystken.

Antwerp, City Archives, Not. 3521 (Protocolen Notaris B. van den Berghe junior, 1650-52), not paginated; published in Denucé, Konstkamers, p. 150.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 16

- No. 424. A sketch by Rubens with angels in a boat, on panel with an ebony frame.
- No. 425. Another sketch by Rubens, with the Angel bringing bread and wine to Elijah, on panel with an ebony frame.
- No. 426. Another sketch as before, with Melchizedek, on panel with a similar frame.
- No. 427. Another sketch also as before, of the Ark of the Covenant, also in a similar frame.
- No. 428. Another sketch as before, with manna raining from heaven, also in a similar frame.
- No. 429. Another sketch as before, in an ebony frame, showing an ox being sacrificed.

Doc. 17 1653, 21 March. – Two engravings by Schelte a Bolswert after the Eucharist series are mentioned in a contract between the City of Ghent and the painter Erasmus Quellin for the execution of a large print on the subject of “The Conquests of Archduke Leopold William in Flanders”.

Ende bekennen tsaemen gecontracteert te hebben t' naervolghende, te wetene bekent den voors. Eerw. pater Hesius aenbesteet te hebben aenden voors. S^r Erasmus Quellinus te teekenen ende t'doen snyden op syne coste eene groote plate, van vier groote bladeren behelsende de victorie van vlaenderen becommen by syne hoocheyt den hertshertoch Leopoldus, ten behoeve van voors. magistraat... ende tot tsnyden der selven voort meeste ende principaelste part van tvoors. aen te nemen werck te moeten Employeren S^r Schelten van Bolsweert, op dat hy in conste by vonnisse des verstaende (te kieser by partyen) ghelyck sy aende triumphe van de heylighe kercke opden waghē met vier peerden, oft anden verwerp van afgoederye, beyden byden voors. Bolswert gesneden...

Ghent City Archives, Charters 1832, No. 2; the contract is published in full in P. van Duyse, Kunstplaet over de Overwinningen van den Aertshertog Leopold, vooral in West-Vlaenderen, Annales de la Société royale des Beaux-Arts et de Littérature de Gand, II, 1846–47, pp. 168–171; mentioned in P. van Duyse and E. De Busscher, Inventaire analytique des chartes et documents appartenant aux archives de la ville de Gand, Ghent, 1867, pp. 628, 629, No. 1832.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 17

And witness their mutual agreement as follows, to wit, the aforesaid Reverend Father Hesius has commissioned the aforesaid Sr. Erasmus Quellinus to draw and to have engraved at his own expense a plate of four large sheets celebrating the victory of His Highness the Archduke Leopold in Flanders, on behalf of the aforesaid magistrature... and for the engraving of the same, for the chief and greatest part of the work, to employ Sr. Schelten van Bolsweert, so that in the judgement of experts (to be appointed by the parties) it shall be of like workmanship to the Triumph of Holy Church in a chariot with four horses or to the Downfall of Idolatry, both engraved by the aforesaid Bolswert...

Doc. 18 *Between 1665 and 1698, probably before March 1692. — Record of four paintings of the Eucharist series in an inventory of paintings in the Palace at Brussels.*

[19] Vier stucken, representerende de Triomphus Sancte Ecclesie, hoogh 16 voeten ende respectieve lanck 25, 29, 25, 25 voeten etc^a.

Previously *Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience*, No. 1238 (document no longer there); quoted from *De Maeyer*, p. 456, Doc. 275, [38-41].

TRANSLATION — DOC. 18

[19] Four pieces representing the Triumph of the Holy Church 16 feet high and in length respectively 25, 29, 25, 25 feet etc.

Doc. 19 *1672. — Bellori mentions the Eucharist series and describes some compositions.*

[p. 233] Fece ancora il Rubens per seruigio del medesimo Rè Filippo, li quadri, e li cartoni per vna muta di tapezzerie tessute in Fiandra con soggetti sacri; cioè li Trionfi della nuoua legge, della Chiesa, l'Idolatria abbattuta, e la Verità del Vangelo rappresentate le figure frà compartimenti di colonne ritorte à vite, che reggone l'architraue, collegate con putti, imprese, & ornamenti. E perche l'inuentioni sono degnissime si accennano con breue descrizione.

TRIONFO DELLA NVOVA LEGGE.

Rappresentò prima el Trionfo della nuoua legge di Christo figurata in vna maestosa Donna ritta in piedi sopra vn carro tirato da due Angeli; stende auanti con la destra il calice sopra stando la sfera del Diuino Pane; e scintillante di luce volge la faccia indietro verso gli antichi Padri, che escono dall'ombre. Auanti di essa vn Angelo piega il ginocchio sopra il carro, & abbraccia la croce, precedendo in aria due Amoretti celesti con chiodo, e con la corona di spine simboli della nostra Redentione. Vn'altro Angelo con la face in mano la Real Donna addita; e traggono dietro il carro il primo padre Adamo stanco appoggiato al bastone, Eua mesta guardando à terra, cagione del peccato, e della morte, con le mani al seno in forma di prigionie, & in pena del suo partorire con dolore. Con loro vi è vno de' figliuoli di Seth inuentore dell' Astronomia, con l'astrolabio, & vn libro. Sotto gli ornamenti vi è l'impresa di vn cuore trà le fiamme sopra vn vaso.

[p. 234] TRIONFO DELLA CHIESA.

Segue la Chiesa trionfante, e questa ancora è vna nobil Donna à sedere nel carro in habito sacerdotale: sostiene con ambedue le mani la custodia col Diuino Pane, incontro Cherubini, e lo Spirito Santo; e dietro vn'Angelo le auuicina al capo la sacra Mitra Papale. Sotto le ruote del carro griacciono calpestate l'Heresia crinita di serpenti, il Demonio in horrida faccia; e dietro il carro seguono la verità, che porta con vna mano la lucerna, con l'altra mano scaccia due huomini deformati l'Errore bendato, e l'Ignoranza con gli occhi (sic) asinini. Vien tirato il carro da quattro candidi corsieri; sopra di vno caualca vn giouine alato coronato di lauro, portando il confalone della Chiesa, à cui sono legate le chiaui, e sopra l'altro la Vittoria col ramo della palma, e la corona, suonando gli Angeli le trombe del trionfo. Reggone i freni de'caualli la Fortezza, che è vn giouine robusto con la spoglia del leone in capo, impugnando la spada. Tiene auanti il freno dell'altro cauallo la Giustitia, & impugna la spada radiante, scorgendosi dietro i caualli alcune testi di giuini coronati di lauro. Vi è sotto l'impresa dell'Eterna monarchia della Chiesa il globo del mondo circondato dal serpente che si morde la coda, e col temone per lo suo perpetuo reggimento.

L'IDOLATRIA ABBATTUTA.

Dalla nuoua legge, e dalla illuminatione de gli antichi Padri segue la caduta dell'Idolatria; da vn lato si solleva vn Angelo risplendente in lampi di luce; con vna mano inalza il calice con l'ostia sacramentale, e con l'altra impugna il fulmine, e nel profano tempio cade l'ara percossa cò i vasi d'oro à terra. Fuggone spauentati li Sacerdoti, e li vittimarij, vno de' quali si arresta ginocchione tenendo per le corna vn toro inghirlandato, e lungi vedesi la statua di Giove Capitolino con gli Idolatri intenti al sacrificio.

[p. 235] LA VERITA DEL SACRO VANGELO

Precedone San Luca, e San Marco, le quali riuolti indietro alle parole dell'Angelo, che sospeso in mezzo sù l'ali con vna mano addita la luce con l'altra accenna il libro de'Vangeli che San Matteo tiene aperto nelle mani. Appresso San Giouanni solleva il calice col serpente, e'l volto in contemplatione; seguono li Dottori della Chiesa Santo Ambrogio col pastorale in habito di Vescouo, San Gregorio Papa con la mitra, e con la croce, & in mezzo di loro Santo Agostino si vede per di dietro anch'egli in habito con la mitra Episcopale. Succede San Tomaso d'Aquino, il quale tiene il libro, & alza il dito in atto disputatiuo, e l'accompagna Santa Chiara, che è l'Arciduchessa

Isabella Chiara Eugenia, tenendo la custodia sacramentale. Succede San Bonaventura in cui, e figurato el Cardinale Infante, con la berretta rossa, & in vltimo San Girolamo in habito anch'egli di Cardinale col cappello, ferman-dosi intento à leggere vn libro che tiene nelle mani.

G.P. Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, pp. 233-235.

TRANSLATION - Doc. 19

[p. 233] Rubens also made for the service of the same King Philip the pictures and cartoons for a set of tapestries woven in Flanders and depicting sacred subjects: the Triumphs of the new law and of the Church, Idolatry cast down, and the Truth of the Gospel, the figures being represented in compartments framed by spiral columns, which support the architrave, together with putti, emblems and ornaments. And as the inventions are most worthy we give a short description of them.

TRIUMPH OF THE NEW LAW.

He depicted first the Triumph of the new law of Christ in the form of a majestic woman standing on a chariot drawn by two angels; in her right hand she holds forth the chalice surmounted by the circle of the Divine Bread, and she turns her radiant face towards the antique Fathers emerging from the shadows. In front of her an angel kneels on the chariot and embraces the cross, while two heavenly cherubs fly on ahead with a nail and the crown of thorns symbolizing our redemption. Another angel with a torch points to the Royal Lady; and behind the chariot come our first father Adam, weary and leaning on a stick, and Eve looking sadly downwards, the cause of sin and death, her hands bound before her like a prisoner's, and in pain of childbirth. With them is a son of Seth, one who invented astronomy, with the astrolabe and a book. Under the ornaments is the "impresa" of a heart in flames with a vessel beneath.

[p. 234] TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH.

The Church Triumphant follows, and this too is a noble lady, seated in a chariot in priestly robes; she holds in both hands the monstrance with the Divine Bread; facing her are cherubs and the Holy Spirit, while behind her an angel is placing the Papal mitre on her head. Crushed under the wheels of the chariot are Heresy with serpents for hair, and the Devil of horrid aspect; and behind the chariot follows Truth, holding a lantern in one hand, while

with the other she chases away two deformed figures, Error with blindfolded eyes and Ignorance with the eyes (sic) of an ass. The chariot is drawn by four white chargers; on one of them rides a winged youth crowned with laurel, bearing the gonfalon of the Church, to which are attached the Keys, while above the other is Victory with a palm branch and a crown; the angels sound the trumpets of triumph. The horses' bridles are held by Fortitude, a robust youth holding a sword and with the lion's spoils on his head. The bridle of the other horse is held by Justice, who holds a glittering sword, and behind the horses can be seen heads of young men crowned with laurels. Beneath is the "impresa" of the eternal monarchy of the Church, a globe of the world surrounded by the serpent biting its tail, with the helm in sign of perpetual governance.

IDOLATRY CAST DOWN.

After the New Law and the illumination of the antique Fathers comes the downfall of Idolatry; on one side an angel rises, resplendent in flashes of light; in one hand he raises the chalice with the sacramental host, with the other he grasps a thunderbolt, and in the profane temple the altar and gold vessels are smashed and fall to the ground. The priests flee in terror, and so do the sacrificers, one of whom is on his knees holding a garlanded bull by the horns; afar can be seen the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus with idolaters going about the sacrifice.

[p. 235] THE TRUTH OF THE HOLY GOSPEL

St. Luke and St. Mark go before; they turn their heads to listen to the angel, which points with one hand towards the light and with the other indicates the book of the Gospels which St. Matthew holds open in his hands. Next to him is St. John holding up the chalice with the serpent, with a contemplative expression on his face; then come the Doctors of the Church, St. Ambrose with the crosier and in bishop's robes, Pope St. Gregory with the mitre and cross; between them St. Augustine is seen from behind, also in bishop's robes with the mitre. Then St. Thomas Aquinas holding the book and raising his finger in a debating gesture; with him is St. Clare with a monstrance, depicted as the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia. Then St. Bonaventure with the features of the Cardinal Infante, wearing the red biretta, and finally St. Jerome in cardinal's robes and with the hat, holding a book and reading it attentively.

Doc. 20 1687, summer. – *Nicodemus Tessin sees in the Palace at Brussels six tapestry cartoons by Rubens.*

Zu Brüssel haben wir erstens besehen dess Herren Gouverneuren Schloss, woran ausserhalb der Situation nichts besonders ist. In der grossen Gallerie haben wir befunden sex grosse schöne stücke von Rubens gemahlet, so in tapeten auch seyndt gemacht...

Published in: O. Sirén, *Nicodemus Tessin d. y: s Studieresor, i Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, Frankrike och Italien*, Stockholm, 1914, p. 84; *De Maeyer*, p. 454, Doc. 274.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 20

In Brussels we first saw the palace of the Lord Governor, which, however, is nothing special apart from its situation. In the great gallery we found six fine great paintings by Rubens, which are also made in tapestry.

Doc. 21 July 1689 – December 1691. – *In the account of the estate of Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, eight modelli of the Eucharist series are recorded als sold to Charles II of Spain.*

[f° 289^v]

135. Mas me hago Cargo de Cinco mill y quinientos Reales que valen 187.000 maravedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio a Su Magestad. Una pintura del Triunfo de la fee de mano de Rubens 187.000

136. Mas me hago Cargo de Cinco mill y quinientos Reales que valen 187.000 maravedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio. Una pintura que significa estar dando el pan de Bendicion a David de mano de Rubens 187.000

[f° 290]

138. Mas me hago Cargo de Cinco mill y quinientos Reales que valen 187.000 maravedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio a Su Magestad. Una pintura del Triunfo de la fee de mano de Rubens 187.000

142. Mas me hago Cargo de 5.500 Reales que valen 187.000 maravedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio a Su Magestad. Una pintura del Triunfo de la Iglesia. Orixinal de Rubens . . . 187.000

143. Mas me hago Cargo de 5.500 Reales que valen 187.000 maravedis por los mismos en que se bendio I estaba tasada. Otra pintura en

tabla del Triunfo de la Iglesia en que esta Sancto Thomas de aquino I otros doctores de mano de Rubens	187.000
144. Mas me hago Cargo de 5.500 Reales que valen 187.000 mara- vedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio a Su Magestad. Otra pintura en tabla de los quatro Enbanjelistas de mano de Rubens	187.000
[f° 290 ^v]	
150. Mas me hago Cargo de Dos mill Reales que valen 68.000 mara- vedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio a Su Magestad. Una pintura del Sacrificio del Toro de mano de Rubens	68.000
[f° 291]	
152. Mas me hago Cargo de Cinco mill y quinientos Reales que valen 187.000 maravedis por los mismos en que estaba tasada I se bendio a Su Magestad. Una pintura en tabla del Triunfo de la Caridad de mano de Rubens	187.000

Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocolo 9893, f° 289^v-291; mentioned by: Marqués del Saltillo, 1953, p. 235; Díaz, Padrón, Catálogo, pp. 289, 290.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 21

135. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000 mara- vedis, as it was taxed and sold to His Majesty. A painting of the Triumph of Faith, from Rubens's hand	187,000
136. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000 maravedis, as it was taxed and sold. A painting representing de bread of benediction being given to David, from Rubens's hand	187,000
138. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000 maravedis, as it was taxed and sold to His Majesty. A painting of the Triumph of Faith, from Rubens's hand	187,000
142. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000 maravedis, as it was taxed and sold to His Majesty. A painting of the Triumph of the Church, original by Rubens	187,000
143. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000 maravedis, as it was sold and taxed. Another painting on panel of the Triumph of the Church in which occur St. Thomas Aquinas and other Doctõrs, from Rubens's hand	187,000
144. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000	

maravedis, as it was taxed and sold to His Majesty. Another painting on panel of the Four Evangelists from Rubens's hand 187,000

150. And further I have a credit of 2,000 reales, worth 68,000 maravedis, as it was taxed and sold to His Majesty. A painting of the Sacrifice of the Bull, from Rubens's hand 68,000

152. And further I have a credit of 5,500 reales, worth 187,000 maravedis, as it was taxed and sold to His Majesty. A painting on panel of the Triumph of Charity, from Rubens's hand 187,000

Doc. 22 1694, 10 August. – *Record of eight modelli from the Eucharist series, entrusted to Luca Giordano, court painter to Charles II of Spain.*

Relacion de las Pinturas que ay en las tres piezas del Obrador de los Pinttores de Cám.^{ra} de Palacio, en el quartto que llaman del Príncipe, oy 10 de Agosto de 1694, asi colgadas como desmonttadas; y se hace esta memoria de Orden de Su Mag.^d, con el mottiuo de entregarse la llaue del obrador á Lucas Jordan, Pinttor de Cámara.

...

Pinturas que se ttomaron de la Almoneda del Marques del Carpio.

...

[5264] Ocho tableros, de una bara de alto poco mas de ancho, de los triunfos de la Iglesia, de las tapicerias de Rubens; sin marcos.

...

Hašta aqui las pinturas de las que se trajeron de la Almoneda del Marqués del Carpio, y son diez y nueue. Siguen las demas pinturas que hay en el dicho obrador.

*Madrid, Archives of the Royal Palace; original not seen; quoted from a copy in the library of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.*¹⁸

TRANSLATION – Doc. 22

Account of paintings in the three rooms of the court painters' studio, in the part of the palace known as the Prince's quarters, this 10th day of August 1694,

¹⁸ On account of the complicated formalities I was unable to see this document. The inventory is published in part (Spanish artists only) in M.R. Zarco del Valle, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de las bellas artes en España*, Madrid, 1870, pp. 439–443.

both hung and otherwise; this note is drawn up by His Majesty's command on account of the entrusting of the key of the studio to Luca Giordano, court painter.

...

Paintings from the auction of the Marqués del Carpio's collection.

...

[5264] Eight panels, a (vara) high and a little more in breadth, of the triumphs of the Church, of the tapestries by Rubens; without marks.

...

Thus far the paintings from the Marqués del Carpio's sale, which are nineteen in number. The following are the other paintings in the said studio.

Doc. 23 *ca.* 1700. – Daniel Papebrochius mentions patterns of the Eucharist series in the Palace at Brussels and engravings after them by Nicolaas Lauwers.

[f° 95^v] ... praeiverant omnibus Bruxellenses, pridem elucubratis praegrandidibus illis tabulis Aulae, porticui Palatinae imminentis, quibus in forman tapetium, spatio pedum¹⁹ extensis, ex voluntate pientissimorum Archiducum Alberti et Isabellae, idem praestantissimus pictor expressit. Ecclesiam, cum Eucharistia triumphantem inter devictas, hinc Idololatriam, inde Haerisem; quorum ectypa totam Europam locupletant, Nicolas Lauwers, antverpiensi sculptore, caelum suum in illis experto.

...

[f° 220] Nicolaus Lauwers, qui nobis adorationem magorum expressit, ac diu postea primariae Bruxellis in palatio Aulae, altos longosque tapetes, ubi, juxta Rubenii ejusdem designationem, exprimitur Ecclesia, per Eucharistiam triumphans de omnibus divinissimi Mysterij hostibus; cum Fide, hinc sensus intellectumque humanum pro illa captivante, inde idololatræ sacrificia ad ejusdem exhibitionem dissipante.

Brussels, Royal Library, Ms. 7923, f° 95^v, 220; published in: D. Papebrochius, Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum M.DCC..., ed. by F.H. Mertens and E. Buschmann, IV, Antwerp, 1847, pp. 404, 405; V, Antwerp, 1848, p. 230.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 23

[f° 95] ... the men of Brussels came first, having produced a long time ago

¹⁹ Not filled in.

those large pictures in the hall over the palace portico which the same eminent artist also created in the form of tapestries at the command of the most pious archduke Albert and his consort Isabella; the paintings extend over a space of [not filled in] feet. They show the Church with the Eucharist triumphing over Idolatry and Heresy respectively. The whole of Europe is enriched with copies of these works, engraved by Nicolas Lauwers of Antwerp.

...

[f° 220] Nicolaus Lauwers, who engraved for us the Adoration of the Magi, and long afterwards the high and broad tapestries in the gallery of the palace at Brussels, which, as Rubens himself indicated, represent the Church through the Eucharist triumphing over all the enemies of the divine mystery, together with Faith, which on the one hand subdues the human mind and senses to the Church and on the other glorifies it by destroying idolatrous sacrifices.

Doc. 24 1724. – Antonio Palomino, in his chapter on Rubens in "*El Parnaso español*", mentions the tapestries and some canvases of the Eucharist series.

[in the margin:] *Tapiceria de los Triunfos de la Fe.*

Hizo tambien Rubens de orden del Señor Phelipe Quarto los Quadros, y los Cartones, para aquella célebre Tapiceria, de los Triunfos de la Nueva Ley de la Iglesia, y el Sacro Evangelio; abatido el Gentilismo, y todos los Ritos Antiguos; cuya composicion es en extremo caprichosa, y erudita, coma se ve en dicha Tapiceria, y en los Quadros Originales, que están en la Iglesia de Carmelitas Descalzas de la Villa de Loeches, Fundacion del Excelentissimo Señor Conde Duque de Olivares, cerca de ésta Corte.

Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo pictorico y escala optica, Tomo III: El Parnaso español, pintoresco laureado...*, Madrid, 1724, p. 298 (repr. Madrid, 1947, p. 857).

TRANSLATION – Doc. 24

[in the margin] Tapestry of the Triumphs of Faith.

By order of our Lord Philip IV Rubens also painted the pictures and cartoons for that famous tapestry of the Triumphs of the New Law of the Church and the Holy Gospel, the overthrow of paganism and all antique rites; the composition of which is most ingenious and erudite, as is seen in the said

tapestry and in the original pictures, which are in the church of the Discalced Carmelite nuns in the town of Loeches, established by the most excellent Count Duke of Olivares of this Court.

Doc. 25 *ca.* 1720–1735. – Notes by an unknown hand concerning the cartoons of the Eucharist series, collected by François Mols in the album “*Analecta Rubeniana II*”,²⁰

a. Note asking questions about the cartoons and copies after them.²¹

van van Oorly²²

van de tapyten on sy waer

wie te Carmelieten de tapyten gekopieert heeft

waer de tapyten naertoe syn gevoert

oft sy van Sallaert begonst waeren

oft se waeterverf waeren

van victor²³, of hij Sallaert gekent heeft

van de stukken van ter-vueren

Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts, Ms. 5733 (Analecta Rubeniana II), f° 8; not published.

²⁰ The Album *Analecta Rubeniana* contains, as well as longer texts, a large number of stuck-in sheets of all shapes and sizes, arranged confusedly and giving miscellaneous information about Rubens's life and work. These may, it seems to us, have been part of the material for the study of Rubens's paintings by the Mechlin artist Egidius-Jozef Smeyers, a copy of a portion of which is bound in the same Album (see Doc. 29 below). At all events, the very sketchy drawings of the Virgin and Saints, scattered through the notes, seem to indicate that the latter were compiled by a painter.

²¹ This note was evidently written for the purpose of obtaining information, on a visit to Brussels, from cartoon painters there.

²² “Van Oorly” is probably the Brussels artist Jan van Orley (1665–1735), who was active as a cartoon painter (*Wauters*, pp. 272, 273; *Thieme-Becker*, xxvi, p. 50, s.v. *Orley, Jan van*) and who restored several cartoons by Rubens in 1725 (see Doc. 30).

²³ “Victor” may be the Brussels artist and cartoon painter Victor Janssens (1658–1736); *Wauters*, pp. 275–277; Vicomte Terlinden, *Victor Janssens, peintre bruxellois (1658–1736)*, *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Brussel*, vii, 1958, pp. 33–48. Antoon Sallaert died in 1657/58 (*Thieme-Becker*, xxix, p. 349, s.v. *Sallaert, Anthonis*); if our dating of ca. 1720–1735 is right, it is unlikely that anyone who had known him was still alive.

b. *Information on cartoons after designs by Rubens, and the collaboration of Jacob Jordaens.*²⁴

de groote tapyten van het hof syn daer naer gecopieert int water-verf van Jordaens om dat men als dan de manier nog niet en had van naer oliverf te kunnen weven.

de origineel stukken van Ulisses met de patroonen heeft Comte de Montré naer Spagnien genomen ende syn (aldaer verbrandt)²⁵ op zee vergaen.

Jordaens werkte in water verf en andere voor Rubens alsdan soodat Jordans alsdan soo veel by Rubens profiteerde dat hy op een jaer met Rubens met 8000 guldens afrekende.

Ibidem, Ms. 5733 (*Analecfa Rubeniana II*), f° 72; copied in another hand: *Ibidem*, Ms. 5732 (*Analecfa Rubeniana I*), f° 67, 67^v (pp. 130, 131), with a note by F. Mols in the margin of the first paragraph: "Il n'est pas bien certain que ces grands morceaux ayent été exécutés en tapisserie – Au moins une telle suite n'est connue nulle part".

c. *Information on cartoons of the Eucharist series.*

De originele tapyten van Rubens, waeren, soo my baudewyn gesydt heeft van Sallarts eerst geschildert en daernaer van Rubens heel oversien en getoucheert hebben langen tydt opgerolt op de solder vant hoff by de kolen gelegen en syn daernaer door bevel van avorto van van orley getoucheerd; baudewyns heeft een tronie ghehadt van eenen engel die op ons sag, uyt die tapyt daer Maria gevoort wort van de engels op eenen waegen, en was waeter verf op een karton geschildert synde soo dat hij gelooft dat alle dese tapyten op de selve maniere gedaen waeren. Dit kan ik vraegen aan M. van orley en ook waer die vervoort syn.

Ibidem, Ms. 5733 (*Analecfa Rubeniana II*), f° 74.

²⁴ At the top of the sheet with miscellaneous informations is written "COPPENS": was the anonymous writer's source Augustin Coppens, mentioned in 1689 as a cartoon painter? (*Wauters*, p. 277; L. Burchard, in *Thieme-Becker*, VII, p. 376, s.v. *Coppens, Augustin*).

²⁵ Deleted.

d. *Copy of (c), with notes in the hand of F. Mols.*

[after "geretoucheert"]

Ces tableaux furent placés au Sommier de la Chapelle de la Cour – du tems du duc de Baviere – mais en 1725 –, en preparant le palais pour la reception du Comte de Daun, on les retrouva & on les replacea dans la grande Sale d'audience ou ils restaient jusqu'en 1732 – quils furent brullés dans l'incendie qui consuma tout le palais.

[after "waegen"]

Il n'y a rien de tel que La Mère de Dieu Transportée sur un chariot par des anges dans tous ces Dessesins de Tapisseries – qui representent les Triomphes de l'Eglise.

Ibidem, Ms. 5732 (*Analec̃ta Rubeniana I*), f^o 68 (p. 132).

TRANSLATION – Doc. 25

a. *Note asking questions about the cartoons and copies after them.*

about van Oorly

about the "tapestries" [i.e. cartoons], whether they were ... [illegible]

who at the Carmelites copied the "tapestries" [i.e. cartoons]

whether they where begun by Sallaert

whether they where in water-colour

whether Viçtor knew Sallaert

about the Tervuren pieces

b. *Information on cartoons after designs by Rubens, and the collaboration of Jacob Jordaens.*

The great tapestries of the court were afterwards copied in water-colour by Jordaens because the method of weaving from oil paintings was not yet known.

The original pieces of Ulisses with the cartoons were taken by Count de Monterey to Spain and were [originally : destroyed by fire there] lost at sea.

Jordaens worked in water-colour and otherwise for Rubens to such purpose that in one year his account with Rubens amounted to 8,000 guilders.

c. *Information on cartoons of the Eucharist series.*

The original "tapestries" (i.e. cartoons) by Rubens, so Baudewyn²⁶ has told me, were first painted by Sallaert and then reworked and retouched by

Rubens; they remained for a long time rolled up in the attic of the palace, near the coals [?], and were later retouched by Van Orley on Avorto[?]'s orders. Baudewyns possessed a study of an angel's face looking down at the spectator, from the cartoon in which the Virgin is led in a chariot by angels [i.e. *The Triumph of Divine Love*], and it was painted in water-colour on paper, so he believed that all the cartoons were done in the same manner. I can ask Mr. van Orley whether this is so and where they were removed to.

d. Copy of (c), with notes in the hand of F. Mols.

[after "geretoucheert"]

These pictures were stored in the attic of the court chapel in the Duke of Bavaria's time, but in 1725, when the palace was being prepared for the reception of Count von Daun, they were recovered and replaced in the great audience hall; there they remained until 1732, when they were burnt in the fire that destroyed the palace.

[after "waegen"]

There is no such subject as the Mother of God borne in a chariot by angels, in all these tapestry designs representing the Triumphs of the Church.

Doc. 26 1725, 21 May. – A newspaper report of 21 May 1725 states that cartoons of the Eucharist series have been discovered in the Palace at Brussels and restored.

Tiré de la gazette d'Amsterdam, 1725, Bruxelles le 21 mai. ²⁷

Six tableaux de Rubbens fameux peintre representent le triomphe de l'église et l'entrée du cardinal infant qu'on croyoit perdu ou volez ont été retrouvé au sommier de la chapelle Royale, dans un endroit fort obscur lors qu'on

²⁶ "Baudewyn" is undoubtedly a member of the Brussels family of painters called Baudewijns or Boudewijns, whose genealogy is not yet ascertained. It may be Adriaan-Frans (1644–?1711), who was admitted into the Guild of St. Luke in 1694, or – more probably in view of the dating – Frans, who entered the Guild in 1720 and died in 1766. Both were active as cartoon painters (*Wauters*, pp. 260, 261, n. 1; *Thieme-Becker*, IV, pp. 437, 438, s.v. *Boudewijns*).

²⁷ The date 1725 is correct (see p. 152, n. 64), but the name of the newspaper is wrong. The report is not to be found in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* or *Amsterdamsche Courant* (consulted in the Royal Library at the Hague), at all events for the years 1724 to 1729 inclusive. At that period the newspaper was written in Dutch and not in French. We were also unable to find the text in the *Recueil des Gazettes* or *Gazette de Paris*, though this contains very similar reports (*Recueil des gazettes, nouvelles, relations et autres choses mémorables de toute l'année... par Théophraste Renaudot*, Paris, 1725–1727).

etoit occupé a reparer les appartemens du palais pour l'arrivée du comte de Daun; ces pieces sont d'une grandeur extraordinaire, occupent toute la grande gallerie de la cour, ou elles sont etendues. On sait par l'histoire que Rubens les a peint deux fois, ainsi les tableaux pareils se trouvent a l'escorial en espagne. Comme ces pieces ont resté cachées au moins 25 ans dans des endroits fort delabrez et qu'on ne les a vûes ici que du temps de l'electeur de baviere on a donné ordre a un habil peintre de les raccomoder.

Copy in an unknown hand. – *Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts, Ms. 5733 (Analec̃ta Rubeniana II)*, f^o 76^v; copied several times in F. Mols's notes: *Ibidem, Ms. 5732 (Analec̃ta Rubeniana I)*, f^o 70 (p. 136); *Ibidem, Ms. 5726 (Rubeniana II, Pars prima)*, f^o 15, 15^v; *Ibidem, Ms. 5736 (Pieces Justificatives III 1776)*, f^o 62, 63 (incorrectly dated 21 May 1727); published in *Rooses, I, 75*, as "1727".

TRANSLATION – Doc. 26

From the Gazette d'Amsterdam, 1725. Brussels, May 21.

Six pictures by the famous painter Rubens, representing the triumph of the Church and the entry of the Cardinal Infante, were thought to be lost or stolen but were found in a very dark place in the attic of the Royal chapel, when the Palace apartments were being repaired for the arrival of Count von Daun. These pictures are of immense size, occupying the whole of the great gallery of the court, in which they are displayed. It is known from history that Rubens painted them twice, the other set being at the Escorial in Spain. As these works have remained hidden for at least 25 years in very delapidated places, and were only seen here in the Elector of Bavaria's time, a skilled painter was ordered to restore them.

Doc. 27 1731, 14 and 30 March. – *Paintings of the Eucharist series are referred to in connection with the investigation into the cause of the fire at the Palace in Brussels.*

a. 1731, 14 March. – *The Palace cook Johann Riss declares that he saw the collapse of the Spanish Room where the Rubens pictures hung.*

[f^o 66] Er seye also bald seiner Schuldigkeit nach gegen Ihrer Durchlaucht²⁸ Zimmer hinaufgegangen, das Feuer aber hatte dergestalten über Hand ge-

²⁸ The Archduchess Maria-Elisabeth.

nohmen, dass er nicht mehr hinein könnte, wie er dann auch vernohmen, dass Ihre Durchlaucht sich glücklich salvirt hatten, ist er sodann hinunter zurückgegangen [f° 66^v] umb seine wenige effecte zu salviren; Wie er auch sambt seinem Weib etwas mit sich genohmen, und durch der Conseil Privé Secretairiegang in dem Labyrinth garten getragen, wie Er aber wider zurückgegangen, fiele schon der grosse Spanische Saal, worinnen die schöne Schildereyen von Rubens, die den Triumph der Kirchen praesentirt, waren, über den Büsten, mithin müste er zurückbleiben.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Manuscrits Divers, No. 1493 (Copie collationnée de l'Interrogatoire sur l'Incendie au Palais royal dans la nuit du 3 au 4 Fevrier 1731, 13 mars – 17 septembre 1731), f° 66, 66^v; not published; mentioned in De Maeyer, p. 125, n. 10.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 27a

[f° 66] He had than, as was his duty, gone upstairs towards the room of Her Serene Highness (the Archduchess Maria-Elisabeth), but the fire had so gained the upper hand that he could not enter the room, and as he heard that Her Highness had happily escaped, he went straight down again [f° 66^v] to salvage his few effects. He and his wife took what they could, and made their way to the Maze Garden through the passage used by the secretary to the Privy Council (?). When he returned, the whole of the great Spanish Room, in which Rubens's fine paintings of the Triumph of the Church were displayed hanging above the busts, had caved in, so that he could go no further.

b. 1731, 30 March. – *The painter Nicolas-Emmanuel de Pery declares that he tried vainly to save the Rubens paintings from the fire.*

[f° 127^v] Als er dahinein kame,²⁹ ware das Feuer noch nicht auf der Kirchenseithe zu sehen, ausser das er [f° 128] oberhalb der Gallerie durch ein fenster, welches unter der Hof Schreiberei demm Hofbrunn gegenüber ist, das feuer auf der anderen Seithe gegen dem Parc zu, zu seyn abgenohmen, wavon die flammen von derselbigen Seithe, welche schon in völligem feuer stunde, über das Tach auf die vordere Seithe sahe schlagen; welches erschied ist er den grossen stiegen zugegangen, umb zu trachten bis in die Retirata zu kommen, alda hat er 4 Soldaten ongetroffen...; Darauf seye er ungefähr 10

²⁹ He entered the inner court through the main door of the Palace.

staffeln hinauf gegangen, willend in dem grossen Saal, allwo die Schildereien von Rubens, welche den Triumph der Kirche representiren, zu kommen, und solche zu salviren; allein wie er an die Thür gekommen, hat er gesehen, dass das feuer diese schon ergriffen hatte, welche er eingestossen, damit das feuer den oberen boden nicht aus und einwendig ergreifen möchte;...

Ibidem, f^o 127^r, 128; not published; mentioned in *De Maeyer*, p. 125, n. 10.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 27b

[f^o 127^r] When he got in [he entered the inner court through the main door of the Palace], the fire was not yet visible on the church side, but he ... (?) ... [f^o 128] above the gallery through a window under the court chancery facing the court fountain, the fire on the other side towards the park (seemed ?) to have abated, while the flames on the side that was already ablaze were spreading over the roof to the façade; afterwards he made for the grand staircase in order to reach the “Retirata”; there he met four soldiers...; he then climbed about ten steps hoping to get to the great hall with the Rubens paintings of the Triumph of the Church, and to salvage them; but when he got to the door he found it already on fire, so he broke the door down in order that the fire should not engulf the whole of the upper storey.

Doc. 28 1732, between 17 January and 1 April. – Record of three cartoons of the Eucharist series in the inventory of pictures missing after the fire at the Palace.

Liste des tableaux qui ne sont pas retrouvés, qui étoient a la Cour avant l'incendie du 3 au 4 fevrie 1731.

...

Ceux qui etoient places dans la sale des Empereurs.

...

3. pieces du triomphe de l'Eglise.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Ouvrages de la Cour, No. 399, f^o 172; inventory published in full in *De Maeyer*, pp. 464-470, Doc. 280.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 28

List of untraced pictures that were at the Court before the fire of February 3-4, 1731.

...

Those which hung in the Emperors' Gallery

...

Three scenes of the Triumph of the Church.

- Doc. 29 *Between 1731 and 1771. – Egidius-Jozef Smeyers, in his description of known works by Rubens, mentions the copies after the Eucharist series in the church of the Discalced Carmelites at Brussels.*³⁰

Bovendien is dese kerck nog aensienelyk mits by naer alle de mueren bekleedt zyn met de copyen geschildert door eenen broeder van hunne instelling naer de Originaele Patroonen van de Tapyten van Rubens, welke copyen eenigsins voldoening kunnen geven aen den Besiender, mits men niet en wete waer sommige originaelen zyn en dat er vier capitael vergaen zyn in den brand van het hoff.

Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts, Ms. 5733 (Analecfa Rubeniana II), f° 143^v; mentioned by Rooses, I, pp. 75, 76.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 29

This church is also noteworthy because nearly all the walls are covered by copies, painted by a Brother of the community, after the original cartoons for the Rubens tapestries; these copies may give some satisfaction to the beholder, as in some cases we do not know where the originals are, and four of the principal ones were destroyed in the Palace fire.

- Doc. 30 *ca. 1775. – Information on the cartoons of the Eucharist series, collected and annotated by François Mols.*

[f° 13^v] 100. La grande Suite de Tapisseries de La Cour, ont été peintes après en detrempe par Jacques Jordaens, parce que l'on ne connoissoit pas

³⁰ Egidius (or Gilles)-Jozef Smeyers (1694–1771), a member of a Mechlin family of painters (*Thieme-Becker*, xxxi, p. 158, s.v. *Smeyers*), compiled a list of works by Rubens, part of which is bound into the album *Analecfa Rubeniana II*, containing notes on Rubens collected and annotated by François Mols. Concerning this portion Mols wrote: This fragment of a catalogue raisonné of Rubens's famous paintings was also compiled by our Smeyers and written in his own hand (*Ibid.*, f° 132^v). The portion deals with paintings at Mechlin, Lier (Lierre), Brussels, Louvain and Cologne.

encore la maniere de travailler sur les dessins peints a l'huile. – Ibid^m T. 2 p. 74.³¹

{added in the margin :}

Il est fachieux que notre faiseur d'anecdotes ne se soit pas mieux expliqué sur cette grande Suite de Tapisseries de la Cour – & qu'il n'ait marqué ce qu'elle representoient. Il ne dit rien de la maniere de les travailler – ni quand on a commencé a les travailler sur les patrons peints à l'huile.

101. Dans ce Temps la Jordaens travailloit beaucoup pour Rubens tant en detrempe qu'à l'huile – & gaignoit beaucoup avec Lui, puisque par salde de compte d'une année Rubens lui paya Huit mille florins. Ibid.^m p. 131 p. 74 T. 2.

{added in the margin :}

Anecdote fort curieux. C'est dommage qu'elle ne soit pas mieux appuiée.

[f° 15] 116. Les Grands Tableaux des Triumphe de L'Eglise (dont on voit encore les copies aux Carmes Deschaussés à Bruxelles) ont été peints par Antoine Sallart, sur les Dessesins de Rubens, & puis entierement retouchés par lui. – Ibid.^m

117. Ces beaux Morceaux on les croioit perdus, mais par un heureux hazard en reparant la vieille cour, on les decouvrit roulez audessus La Chapelle Royale, fourrez dans un Coin obscur du grenier. Comme ils avoient souffert beaucoup d'un si long confinement on les donna a reparer Van Orley qui les retablit assez bien. / Ibid.^m pa.

{added in the margin :}

Mais tous les sujets n'y etoient pas puisqu'on n'en decouvrit que six Morceaux, dont l'un etoit le Prince Cardinal a Cheval, voyez en dessous n° 118.

118. Voici un Extrait de La Gazette d'Amsterdam qui confirme l'anecdote précédante. Bruxelles, le 21 May 1727 ... [here follows a copy of our Doc. 26]

Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts, Ms. 5726 (Rubeniana II, Pars Prima), f° 13, 15, 15^v.

TRANSLATION – Doc. 30

100. The great series of "tapestries" (i.e. cartoons) belonging to the Court were afterwards painted in distemper by Jacob Jordaens, as the method of working from designs painted in oils was not yet known then.

³¹ These references are to *Analeccta Rubeniana I-II* (Ms. 5733, 5732).

[in the margin]

It is a pity that our anecdotist did not give a clearer account of this great series of tapestries belonging to the Court, or indicate what they represented. He says nothing of the way in which they were worked, or of when they were first made from patterns painted in oils.

101. At that time Jordaens did much work for Rubens in both distemper and oils – and earned much from this work, for in settlement of a year's accounts Rubens paid him 8,000 guilders.

[in the margin]

A very interesting anecdote; a pity it is not better attested.

116. The great pictures of the Triumphs of the Church, copies of which are still to be seen at the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels, were painted by Antoon Sallaert after Rubens's designs, and afterwards entirely retouched by him.

117. These fine pieces were thought to be lost, but by a fortunate chance, when the old palace was being repaired, they were found rolled up in a dark corner of the attic above the Royal Chapel. As they had suffered a good deal from their long confinement, they were given to Van Orley to restore, which he did satisfactorily.

[in the margin]

But not all the subjects were present, for only six pieces were found, one being the Cardinal Infante on horseback: see No. 118 below.

118. This extract from the Gazette d'Amsterdam confirms the foregoing account. Brussels, May 21, 1727 ... [here follows a copy of our Doc. 26].

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

This index lists the extant tapestries, oil sketches and cartoons made by Rubens, his assistants and tapestry weavers for the Eucharist series. Later tapestries, copies after the oil sketches and cartoons are also included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

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PLATES



D. ISABELLA CLARA EUGENIA, HISPANIARVM INFANS, &c.



1. P. Pontius after Rubens,
The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia in the Dress of the Poor Clares, engraving



2. A. Mor, *The Infanta Juana of Austria*.
Madrid, Prado



3. Attributed to Pompeo Leoni, *The Infanta Juana Praying*, marble statue.
Madrid, Church of the Descalzas Reales, funeral chapel of the Infanta



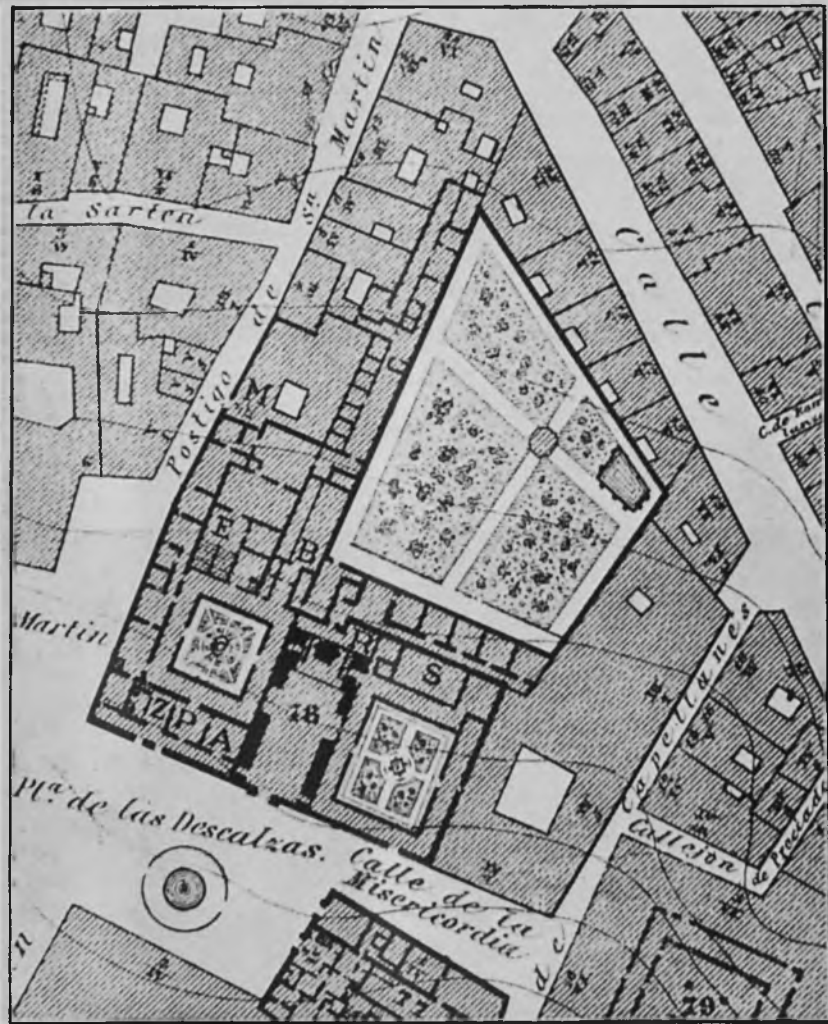
4. J. Pantoja de la Cruz, *The Empress Maria*.
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



5. After Rubens, *The Infanta Margarita (Sor Margarita de la Cruz)*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



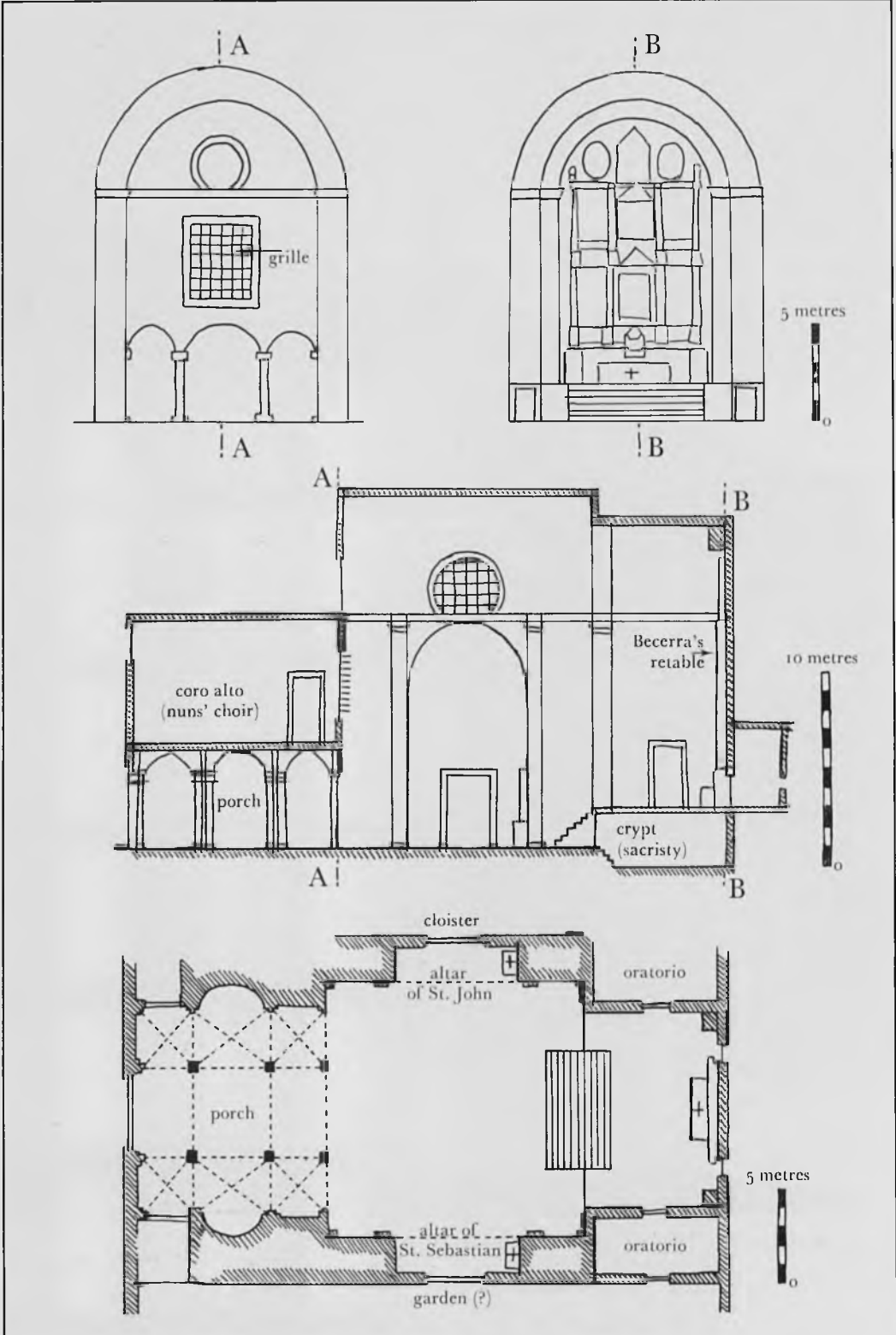
6. *Cristo Yacente*. wooden image. Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



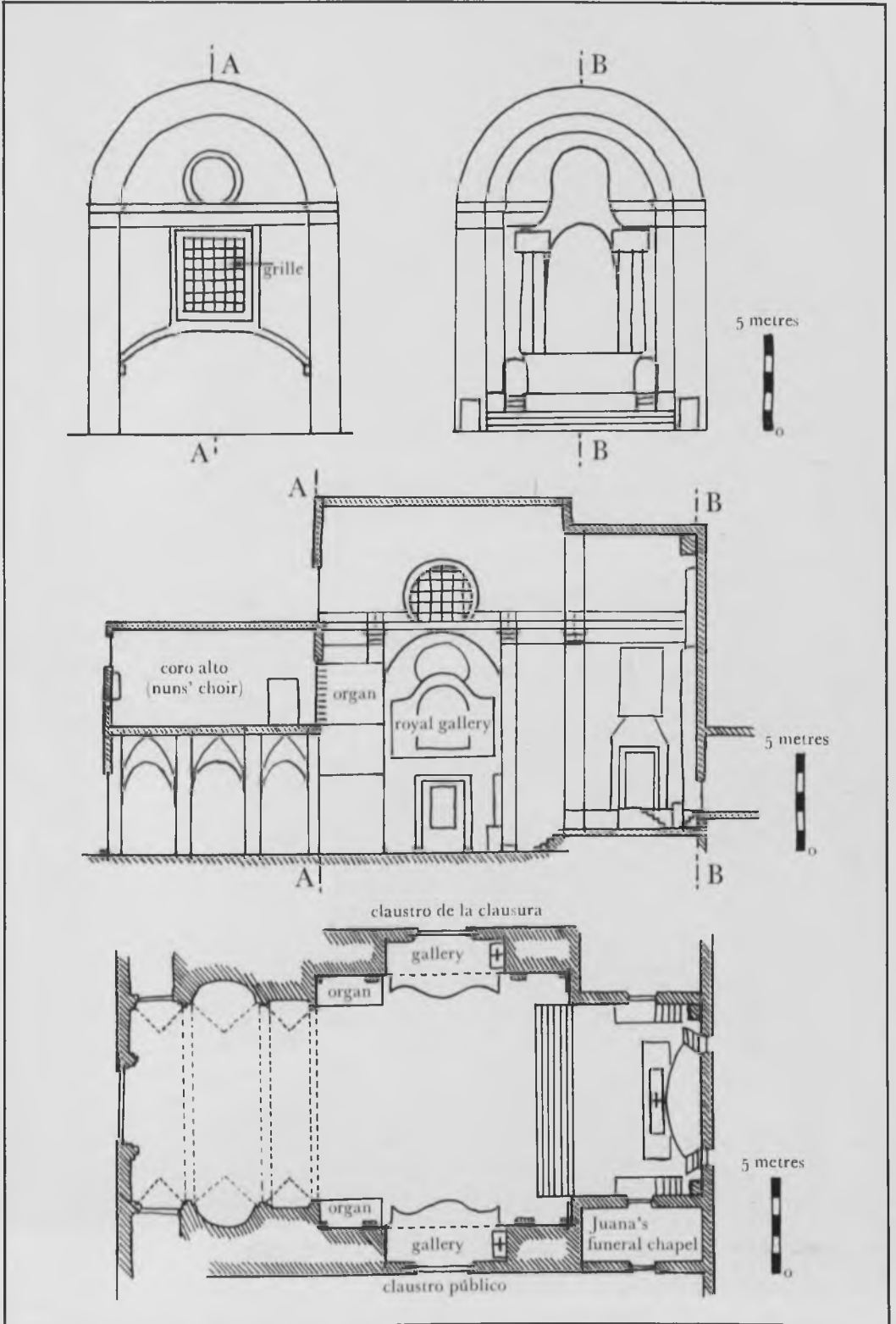
7. Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales, plan (from *Tormo*, 1)



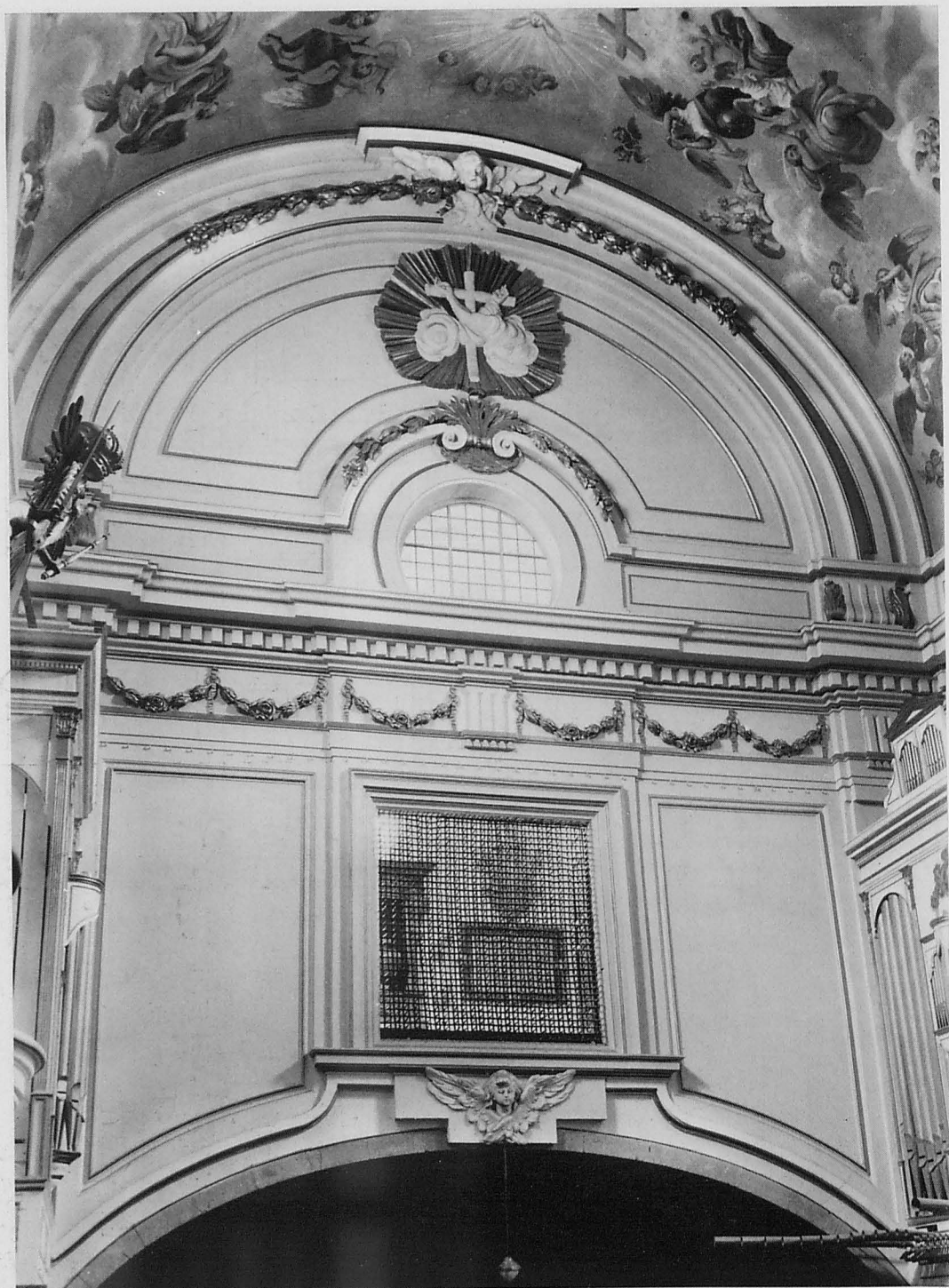
8. Convent of the Descalzas Reales : façade of the church



9. Church of the Descalzas Reales, 16th century (approximate and simplified scheme)



10. Church of the Descalzas Reales, 1975 (approximate and simplified scheme)



11. Church of the Descalzas Reales: nuns' choir (*Coro alto*) with grille



12. Church of the Descalzas Reales: entrance porch



13. Church of the Descalzas Reales: right side of the nave with royal gallery and organ



14. Church of the Descalzas Reales: high altar



15. G. Becerra, *Retable over the high altar of the cathedral of Astorga*



16. G. Becerra, *Design for the retablo over the high altar in the church of the Descalzas Reales*, drawing. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional



17. After J. Avrial, *G. Becerra's retablo over the high altar of the Church of the Descalzas Reales*, woodcut (*Semanario Pintoresco Español*, IV, 1839)



18. Church of the Descalzas Reales : right side of the choir, with entrance to the funeral chapel of the Infanta Juana



19. Convent of the Descalzas Reales: *claustró de la clausura*



20. Convent of the Descalzas Reales: *claustro público*



21. Convent of the Descalzas Reales: *claustro público*



22. A. van Leeſt, *Stage with The Triumph of Scipio*, woodcut
 (J.B. Houwart, *Sommare Beschrijvinge vande
 triumphelijcke Incomſt...*, Antwerp, 1579)



23. After J. Stradanus, *Wolf Hunt with Traps*, tapestry.
 Florence, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie



24. After F. Primaticcio, *Danaë*, tapestry. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



25. G. Lanfranco, *Design for a Wall Decoration*, drawing. Paris, Louvre



26. B. Croce, *Susanna and the Elders*, fresco. Rome, Santa Susanna



27. J. van der Biest after P. Candido, *The Day*, tapestry.
Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum



28. F. van den Hecke (?) after A. Sallaert, *The Triumph of Death*, tapestry. Present whereabouts unknown



29. J. Leclerc after D. Teniers III, *Armours of a Marques*, tapestry. Present whereabouts unknown



30. After J. Jordaens, *Usury is a Great Evil, a Plague in the Town (St. Yves, Patron of Lawyers)*, tapestry. Tarragona, Museo Diocesano



31. J. van den Hoecke, *January and February*, modello. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



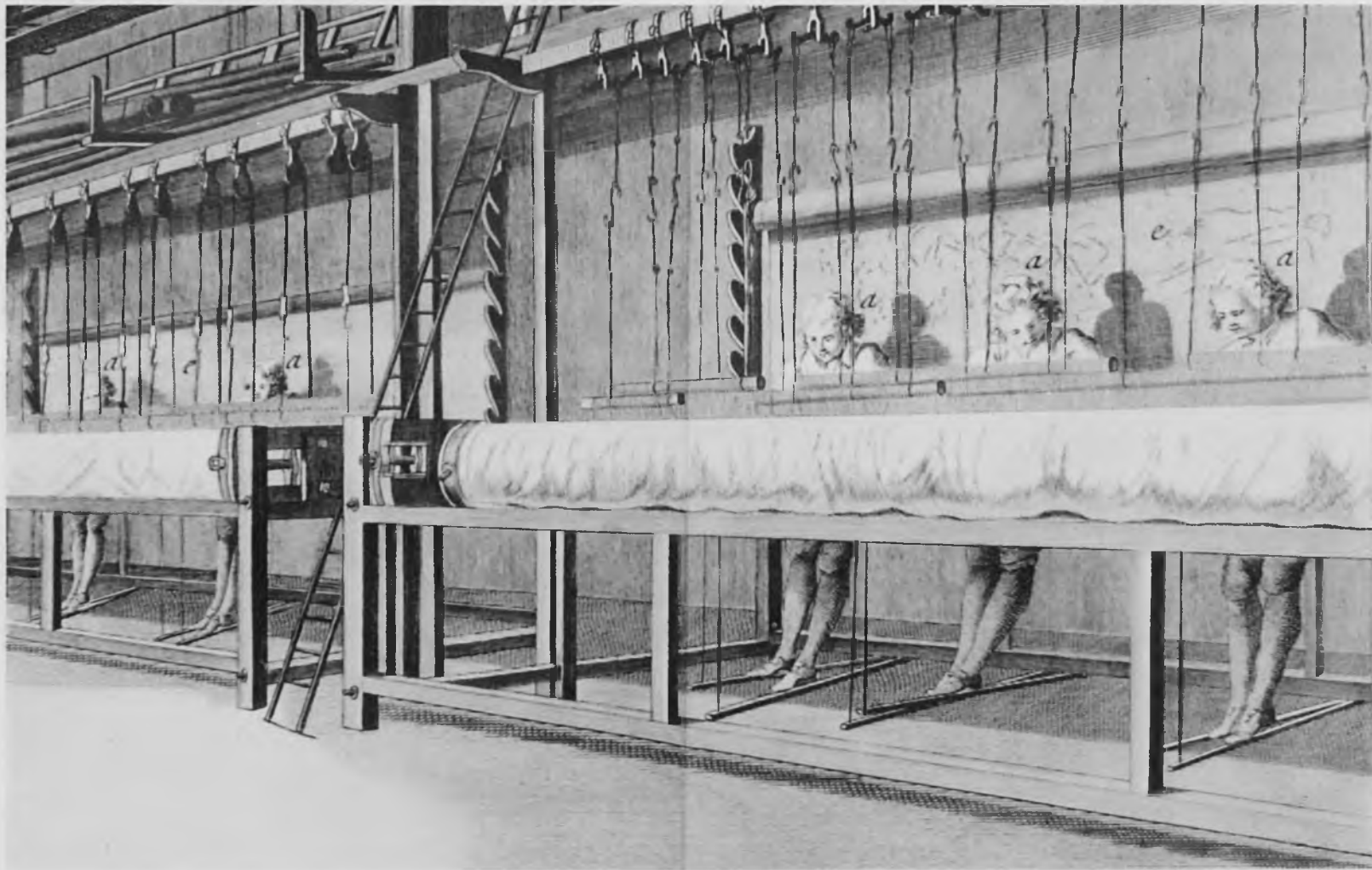
32. J. van den Hoecke and T. Willeboirts Bosschaert, *July and August*, cartoon. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



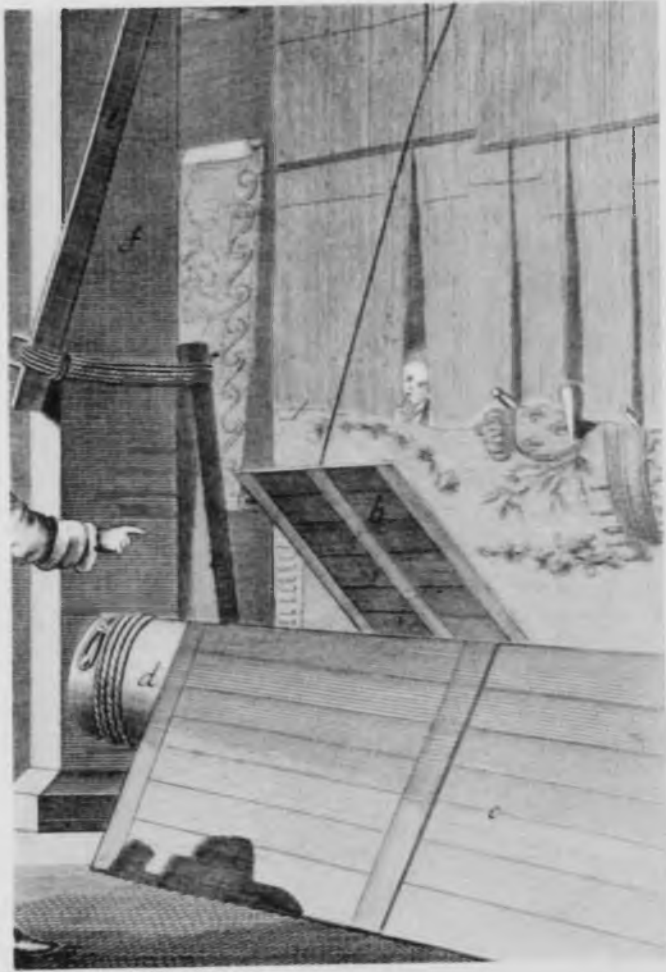
33. Rubens, *Unidentified Subject*, oil sketch. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



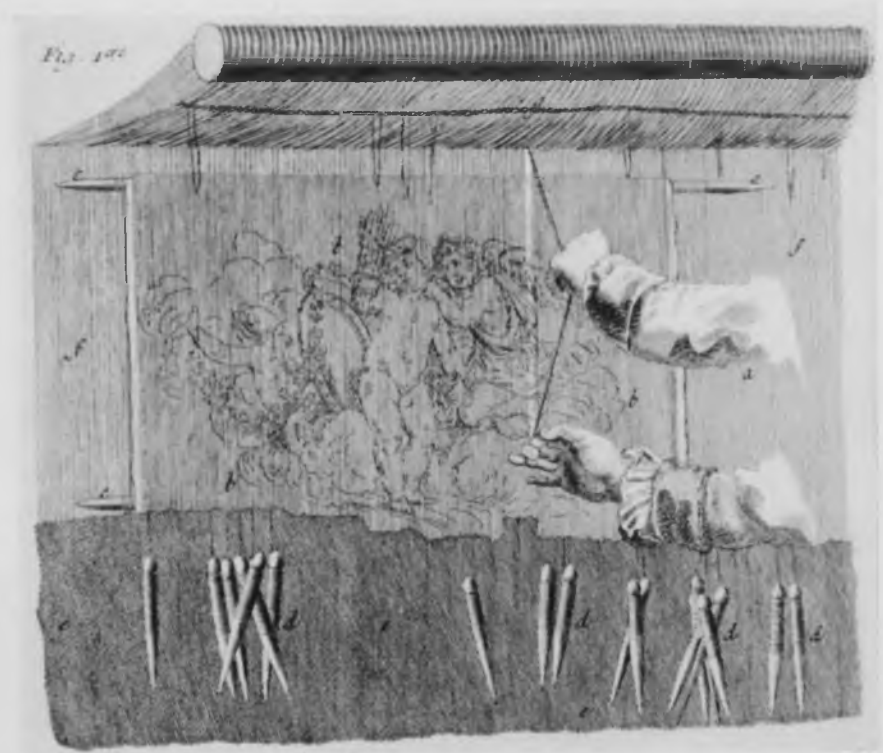
34. The Ducal Court (Coudenberg Palace) in Brussels, engraving (detail; J. Blaeu, *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum...*, Amsterdam, s.d.)



35. Radel, *Low-warp loom*, engraving (detail; D. Diderot and J. d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie..., Recueil des Planches...*, ix, Paris, 1771)



36. Radel, *High-warp loom*, engraving (detail; D. Diderot and J. d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie...Recueil des Planches...*, IX, Paris, 1771)



37. Radel, *High-warp loom with "calque"*, engraving (D. Diderot and J. d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie..., Recueil des Planches...*, IX, Paris, 1771)



38. Sheet with marks and names of Brussels weavers. Brussels, Royal Library



39. Mark of J. Fobert (Detail of Fig. 132)



40. Mark of H. Vervoert (Detail of Fig. 113)



41. Signature of J. Raes (Detail of Fig. 132)



42. *Colonna Santa*. Rome, St. Peter's



43. "Salomonic" Column, detail. Rome, St. Peter's



44. Giulio Romano, *Facciata della Rustica*. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale



45. Rubens, *The Stage of Isabella*, oil sketch. Moscow, Pushkin Museum



46. M. de Vos, *The Glorification of the Name of Jesus*.
Antwerp, St. James's Church



47. P. de Jode, *The Adoration of the Holy Ghost*, drawing.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



48. *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, engraving ed. by A. Collaert. Brussels, Royal Library



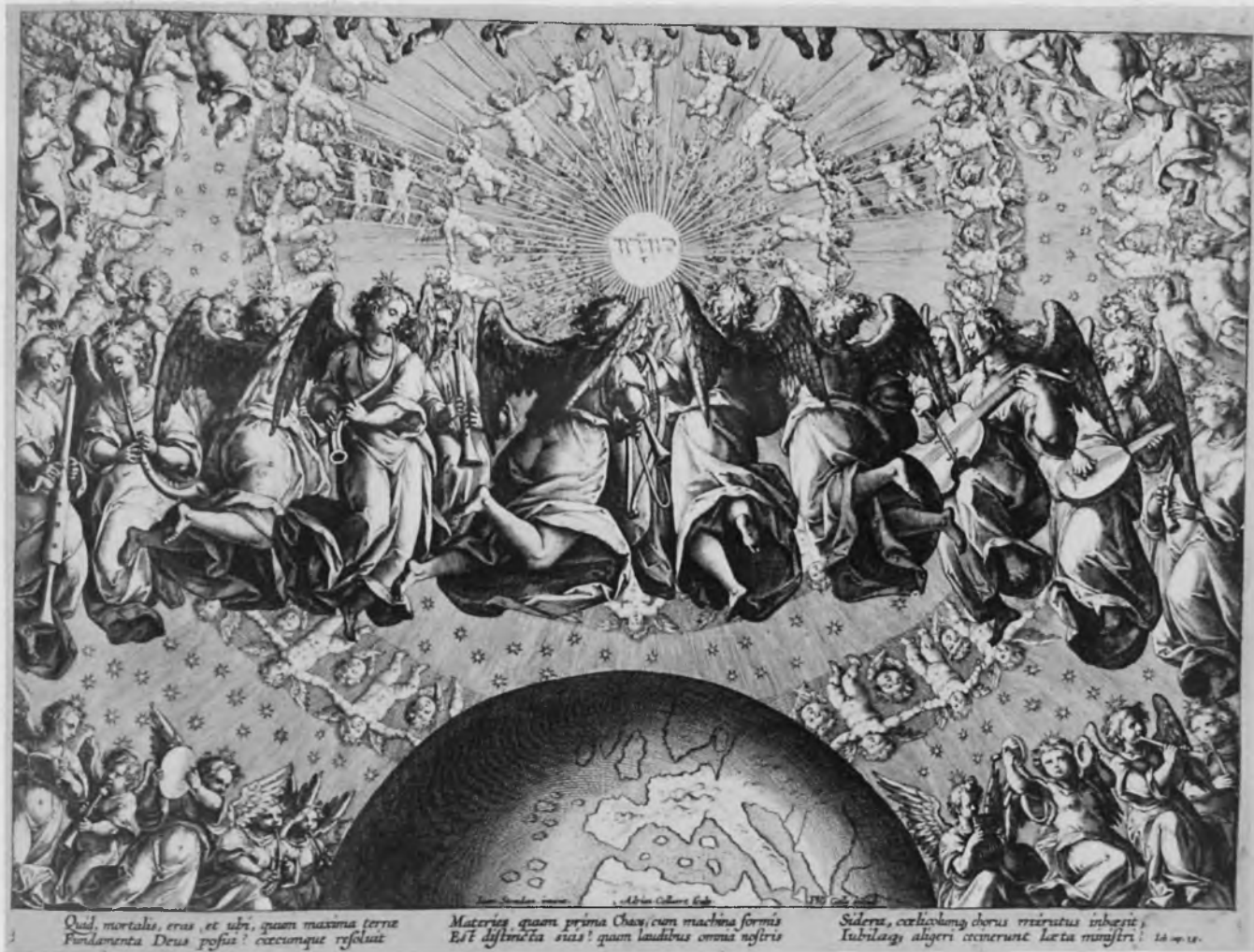
49. Anonymous, *The Ecclesiastical and Secular Hierarchies in Adoration of the Eucharist*. Brussels, Royal Museum



52. A. de Popma, *The Glorification of the Eucharist*, engraving (M. Prieto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica...*, Madrid, 1622)



53. Title-page of J. van den Vondel, *Altaergeheimenissen*, engraving (Cologne, 1648)



54. A. Collaert after J. Stradanus, *The Angels Praising God (Encomium Musices, Antwerp, s.d.)*



55. Rubens, *Design of the altarpiece of the Antwerp Carmelites (The Triumph of Christ)*, oil sketch.
New York, Metropolitan Museum



56. J. Boeckhorst, *The Glorification of the Eucharist*.
Ghent, St. Michael's Church



57. *The Holy Sacrament*, engraving ed. by J. Leclerc, 1622. Brussels, Royal Library



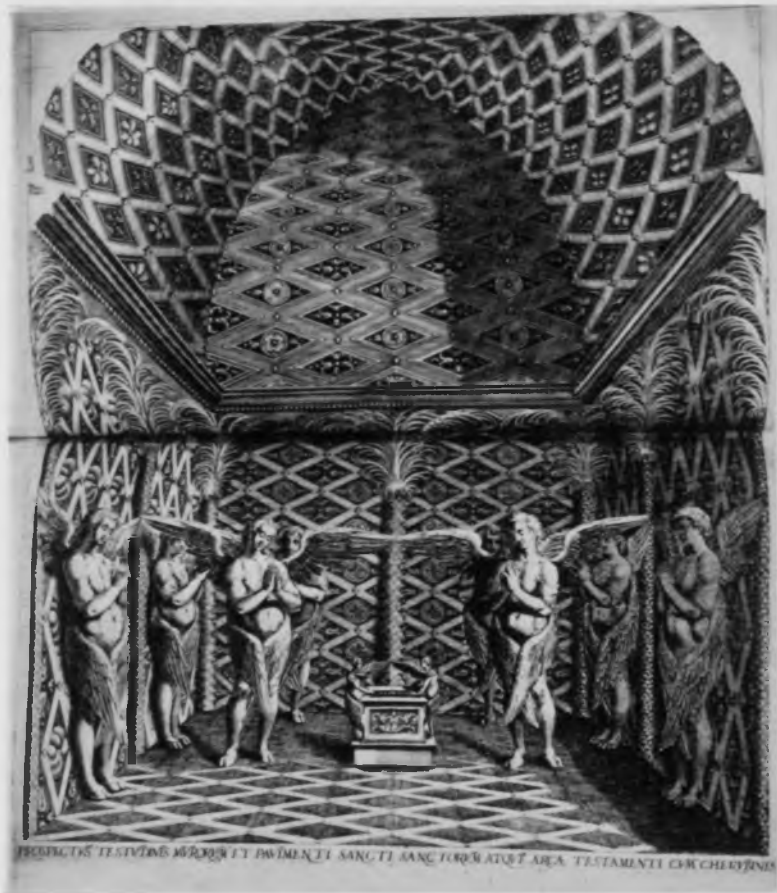
58. A. Francken, *Elijah and the Angel* and *Abraham and Melchizedek*,
outer wings of *Last Supper*, triptych. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum



59. A. de Popma, *The Praising of the Eucharist*, engraving
(M. Prieto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica...*, Madrid, 1622)



60. A. de Popma, *The Sacrifices of the Old and the New Law*
(M. Prieto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica...*, Madrid, 1622)



61. After J.B. Villalpando, *The Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem*. engraving (H. Prado and J.B. Villalpando, *In Ezechielem explanationes* ..., II, Rome, 1604)



62. After J.B. Villalpando, *The altar of incense in the Temple of Jerusalem*. engraving (H. Prado and J.B. Villalpando, *In Ezechielem explanationes* ..., II, Rome, 1604)

LES PAINS DE
PROPOSITION.



63. L. Gaultier, *The Showbread*, engraving
(L. Richéome, *Tableaux Sacrez ...*, Paris, 1609)

LE SACRIFICE
PROPITIATOIRE.



64. L. Gaultier, *The Sacrifice of Atonement*, engraving
(L. Richéome, *Tableaux Sacrez ...*, Paris, 1609)



65. After M. van Heemskerck, *Solomon Consecrating the Temple*, engraving



66. J. de Courbes, *Procession of the Holy Sacrament*, engraving (M. Prieto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica ...*, Madrid, 1622)



67. *The Deposition of Christ with Prefigurations*, engraving (J. David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae...*, Antwerp, 1618)



68. *The Virgin as "Arca Testamenti"*, engraving (J. David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae...*, Antwerp, 1618)



69. J. Stradanus, *The Triumph of "The Holy Scriptures" and The Church*, drawing.
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



70. A. Collaert after M. De Vos, *The Triumph of the three Estates united by Caritas*,
engraving



71. O. van Veen, *Triumph of Verbum Dei and Ecclesia Dei*.
Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



72. O. van Veen, *Triumph of Fides and Caritas*.
Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



73. O. van Veen, *Religious Triumph*. Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



74. O. van Veen, *The Triumph of Ecclesia Christi, with Universitas, Successio and Vetustas*. Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



75. *The Triumph of Caritas*, tapestry, ca. 1520–30. Present whereabouts unknown



76. *The Triumph of Faith*, tapestry, ca. 1520–30. Present whereabouts unknown



77. *The Triumph of Caritas*, tapestry, ca. 1550–60.
Brussels, Société Nationale de Crédit à l'Industrie



78. *The Triumph of Hope*, tapestry, ca. 1550–60. Brussels, Société Nationale de Crédit à l'Industrie



79. D. V. Coornhert after M. van Heemskerck, *The Triumph of Peace* (from the series *Circulus Vicissitudinis rerum humanarum*), engraving



80. D. V. Coornhert after M. van Heemskerck, *The Triumph of Christ* (from the series *Patientiae Triumphus*), engraving



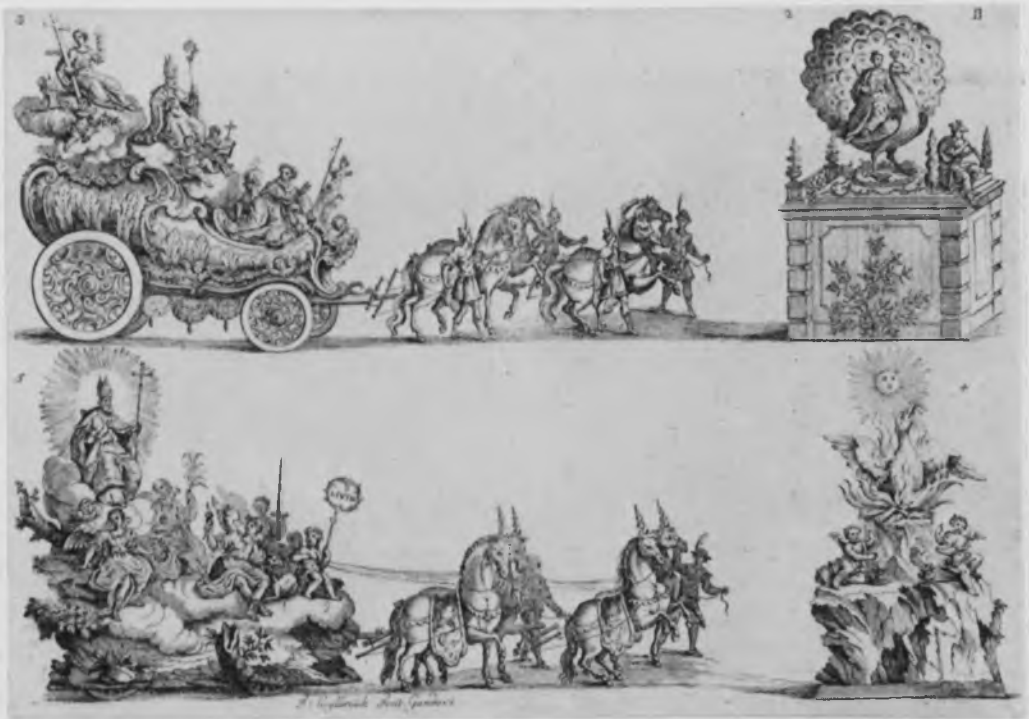
81. The Master of the Egmont Albums, *The Triumph of Christ*, drawing.
Washington, National Gallery



82. Attributed to J. Appier, *The Triumph of the Church*, engraving
(*Sacra atque Hilaria Mussipontana...*, Pont-à-Mousson, 1623).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



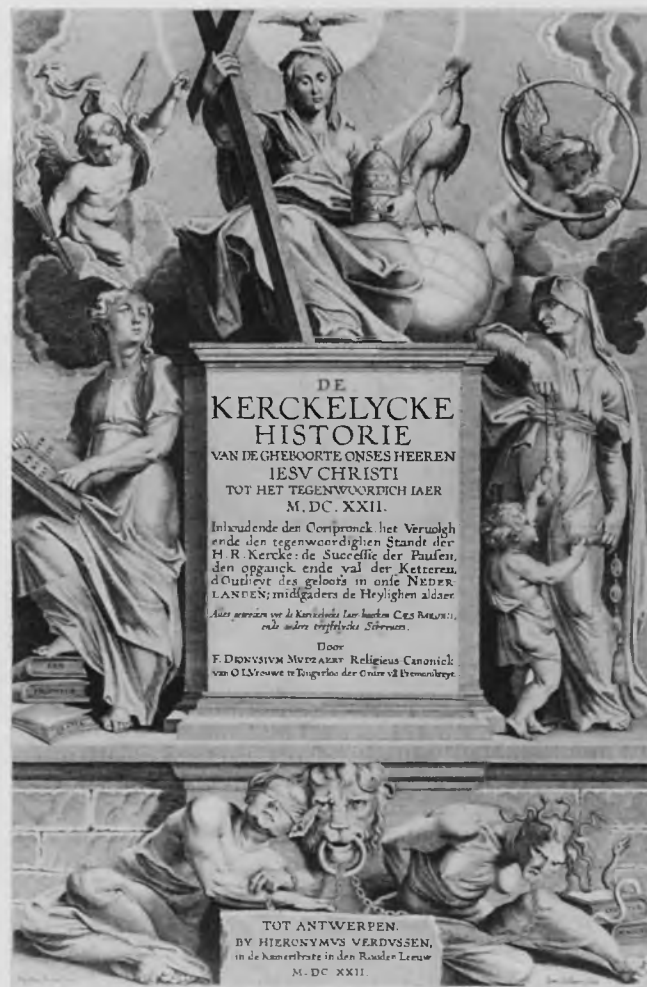
85. A. Palomino, *The Triumph of the Church and the Apotheosis of the Dominican Order*, fresco. Salamanca, Church of the Monastery of S. Eſteban



86. F. Heylbrouck, *Triumphal Cars*, etching (*Beschryvinge van het Zeven Honderdjaerig Jubilé van den heyligen Macarius...*, Ghent, 1767)



87. After A. Bloemaert, *St. Thomas and the Church Fathers debating about the Eucharist*, engraving



88. J. Collaert after Rubens, *Title-page of D. Mudzaert, De Kerckelycke Historie*, engraving (Antwerp, 1622)

Imago Ecclesiae Catholicae.



Quatuor notæ primariæ, quibus auctoritate S. Scripturæ, & SS. P.P. testimonio, Ecclesia Dei semper cognosci potuit.

89. R. Versteghen, *Speculum pro Christianis Seductis*, pamphlet (detail). Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum



90. L. Vorsterman after Rubens, *Title-page of C. Baronius, H. Spondanus and H. Rosweyde, Generale Kerckelycke Historie*, engraving (Antwerp, 1623)



91. C. Galle after Rubens, *Title-page of Luitprandus, Opera*, engraving (Antwerp, 1640)



92. After A. van Diepenbeeck, *Title-page of Acta Sanctorum, Ianuarius I*, engraving (Antwerp, 1643)



93. A. Lommelin after A. van Diepenbeeck, *Title-page of C. Hazart, Kerckelycke Historie van de gheheele Werelt*, engraving (Antwerp, 1667)



94. After Rubens, *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (No. 1-5a).
Present whereabouts unknown



95. Rubens, *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, bozzetto (No. 1-5a). Chicago, Art Institute



96. J. Geubels, *The Monstrance Held by two Cherubs*, tapestry (No. 1).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



97. After Rubens, *The Monstrance Held by two Cherubs*, etching (No. 1b). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



98. J.J. van den Bergh, *The Monstrance Held by two Cherubs*, engraving (No. 1c). Haarlem, Teylers Museum



99. D. Teniers, *The Monstrance of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, Borne by two Cherubs*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen



100. J. Geubels, *Angels Playing Music*, tapestry (No. 2).

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



101. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *Angels Playing Music*, tapestry (No. 3).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



102. Rubens, *Angels Playing Music*, modello (Nos. 2b, 3b). Potsdam, Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



103. After Rubens, *Angels Playing Music*, etching (Nos. 2b, 3b)



104. After Rubens, *Angels Playing Music*,
drawing (No. 3b). Turin, Biblioteca Reale



105. After Rubens, *Angels Playing Music*,
drawing (No. 2b). Turin, Biblioteca Reale



106. Infra-red photograph (detail) of : Rubens, *Angels Playing Music*, modello (No. 2b). Potsdam, Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



107. J. Geubels, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration*, tapestry (No. 4).

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



108. Rubens, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration*, modello (No. 4b).

Louisville, The J.B. Speed Art Museum



109. After Rubens, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration*, drawing (No. 4b).
Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, Coll. Mrs. P. Somervell



110. After Rubens, *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration*, drawing (No. 5b).
Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, Coll. Mrs. P. Somervell



111. *The Emperor Ferdinand II*, medal.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



112. D. Velázquez, *Queen Isabella of Bourbon* (detail). Switzerland, Private Collection



113. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration*, tapestry (No. 5).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



114. After Rubens, *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration*, paper cartoon (No. 5c).

Present whereabouts unknown



115. H. Terbrugghen, *King David Playing the Harp*. Warsaw, National Museum



116. M. van den Bergh after Rubens, *King David Playing the Harp*, drawing (No. 6b).
Yale, Yale University Art Gallery



117. J. Geubels, *King David Playing the Harp*, tapestry (No. 6). Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



118. Rubens, *King David Playing the Harp*, modello (No. 6b). Merion, Barnes Foundation



119. J. Geubels, J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, tapestry (No. 7).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



120. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, bozzetto (No. 7a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



121. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, modello (No. 7b). Madrid, Prado



122. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, modello (No. 7c). Washington, National Gallery of Art



123. V. Wolfvoet after Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*
(No. 7a). The Hague, Mauritshuis



124. Detail of Fig. 122



125. J. Neeffs, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, engraving (No. 7c)



126. Detail of Fig. 121



127. Detail of Fig. 122



128. Rubens and Assistants, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, cartoon (No. 7d).

Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



129. Detail of Fig. 128



130. A. Watteau after Rubens, *Head of a Priest*, drawing (No. 7d).
Present whereabouts unknown



131. After Rubens, *The Garment of Melchizedek*, drawing (No. 7c').
Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst



132. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Gathering of the Manna*, tapestry (No. 8).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



133. Rubens, *The Gathering of the Manna*, bozzetto (No. 8a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



134. Rubens, *The Gathering of the Manna*, modello (No. 8b).

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art



135. Rubens, *The Gathering of the Manna*, modello (No. 8b; Fig. 134)
with apocryphal additions, now removed



136. Rubens and Assistants, *The Gathering of the Manna*, cartoon (No. 8c).
Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



137. J. Geubels, *Elijah and the Angel*, tapestry (No. 9).

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



138. Rubens, *Elijah and the Angel*, bozzetto (No. 9a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



139. Rubens, *Elijah and the Angel*, modello (No. 9b). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



141. Rubens and Assistants, *Elijah and the Angel*, cartoon (No. 9c).

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



142. F. van den Hecke, *Elijah and the Angel*, tapestry (No. 9).
Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire



143. W. Panneels, *Elijah and the Angel*, etching (No. 9b)



144. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, tapestry (No. 10).

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



145. After Rubens, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, drawing (No. 10a). Present whereabouts unknown



146. Rubens, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, modello (No. 10b). Topsfield, Mass., Coll. W.A. Coolidge



147. A. Lommelin (?), *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, engraving (No. 10b).
Antwerp, Rubenshuis



148. Detail of Fig. 149



149. J. Raes, *The Triumph of the Church*, tapestry (No. 11). Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



150. Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church*, bozzetto (No. 111a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



151. Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church*, modello (No. 11b). Madrid, Prado



152. Detail of Fig. 151



153. S. a Bolswert, *The Triumph of the Church*, engraving (No. 11b)



154. A. Sallaert after Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church*, oil sketch (No. 11C).

Present whereabouts unknown



155. D. Teniers III after Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11C). Pontevedra, Museum



156. J.F. van den Hecke, *The Triumph of the Church*, tapestry (No. 11).
Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



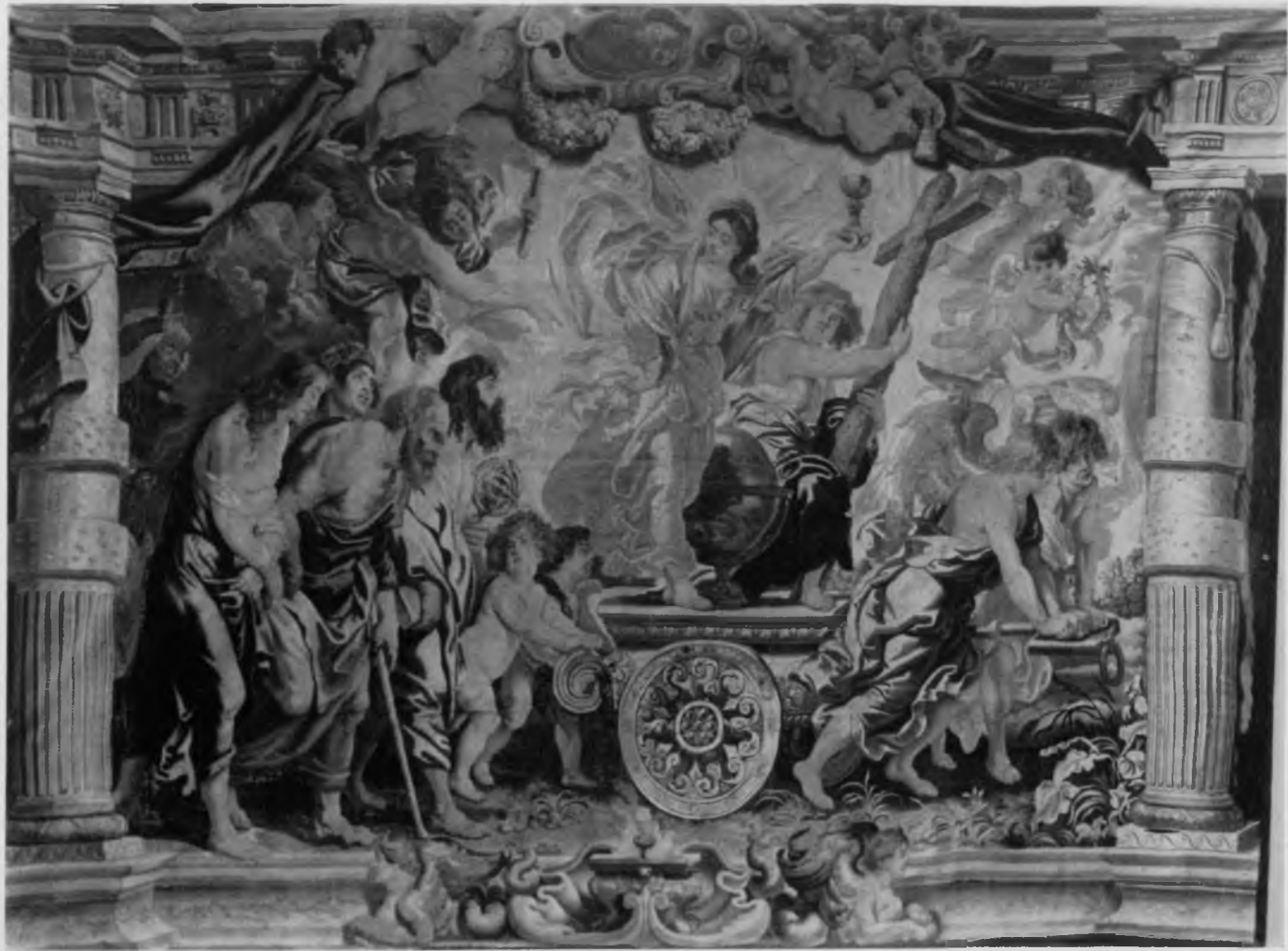
157. J. De Vos, *The Triumph of the Church*, tapestry (No. 11). Valletta, Malta, St. John's Cathedral



158. After Rubens, *Part of a Horse*, drawing (No. 11b).
Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst



159. *Triumphal Arch*, engraving (detail;
P. de Cafmeyer, *Hoogweirdighe Historie...*,
Brussels, 1720)



160. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Triumph of Faith*, tapestry (No. 12). Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



161. Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, bozzetto (No. 12a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



162. After Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, bozzetto (No. 12b). Sweden, private collection



163. Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, modello (No. 12c). Brussels, Royal Museum



164. Detail of Fig. 163



165. N. Lauwers, *The Triumph of Faith*, engraving (No. 12c)



166. Rubens and Assistants, *The Triumph of Faith*, cartoon (No. 12d). Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



167. After Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12c). Ghent, St. Peter's Church



168. F. van den Hecke, *The Triumph of Faith*, tapestry (No. 12). Cologne, Cathedral



169. A. Sallaert after Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith*, oil sketch (No. 12d).

Present whereabouts unknown



170. After Rubens, *Drapery*, drawing (No. 12d).
Copenhagen, Print Room of the
Statens Museum for Kunst



171. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Triumph of Divine Love*, tapestry (No. 13).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



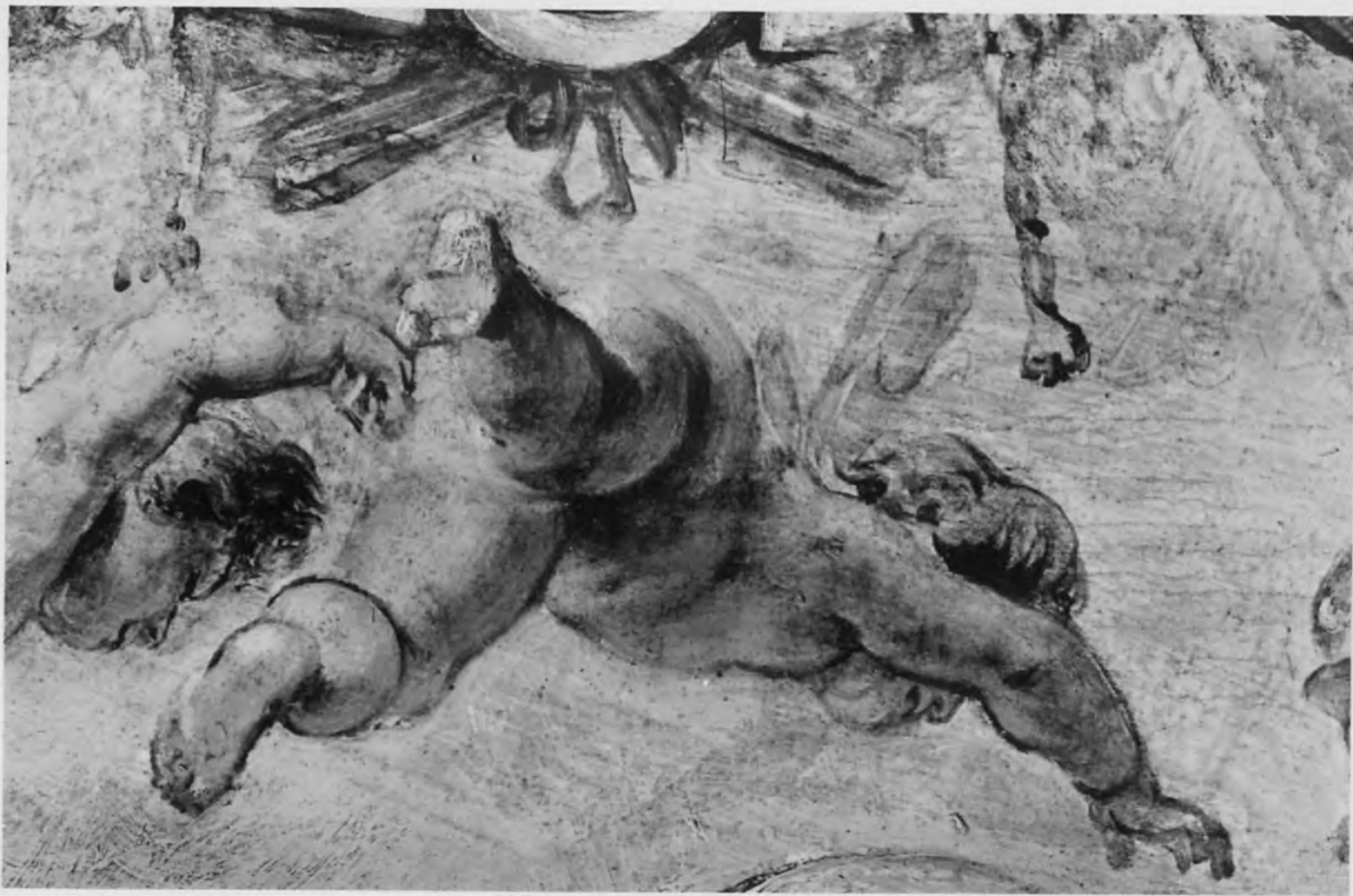
172. Rubens, *The Triumph of Divine Love*, bozzetto (No. 13a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



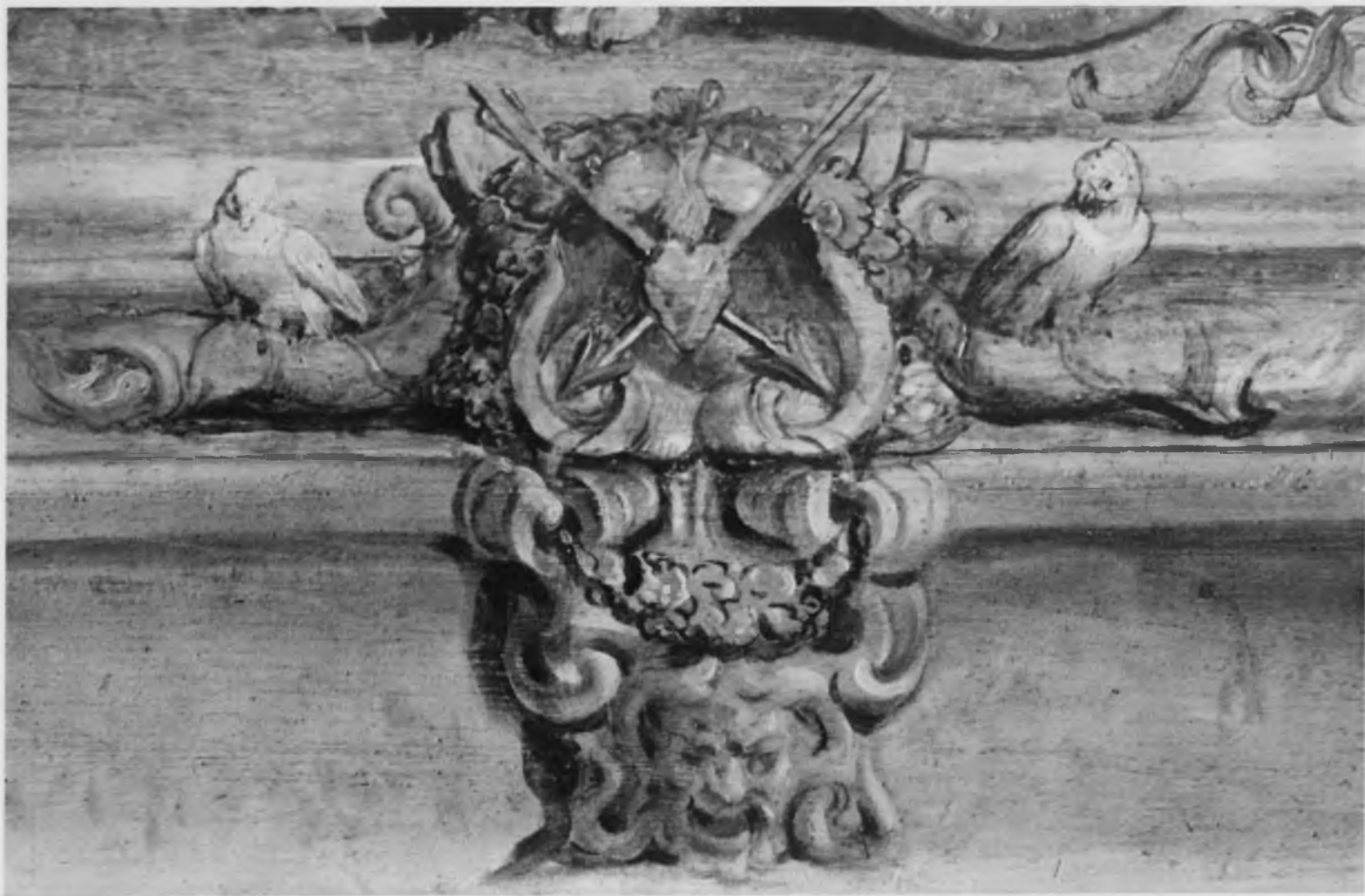
173. Rubens, *Female Nudes and Charity with Children*, drawing (No. 13b). Leningrad, Hermitage



174. Rubens, *The Triumph of Divine Love*, modello (No. 13c). Madrid, Prado



175. Detail of Fig. 174



176. Detail of Fig. 174



177. Detail of Fig. 174



178. *Omnia vincit Amor*, engraving (D. Heinsius, *Emblemata Amatoria*, Amsterdam, 1608)



179. After Rubens, *Cherubs*, drawing (Nos. 13d, 15d). Present whereabouts unknown



180. A. Lommelin, *The Triumph of Divine Love*, engraving (No. 13c)



181. Rubens and Assistants, *The Triumph of Divine Love*, cartoon (No. 13d). London, Ross Galleries



182. Detail of Fig. 181



183. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Four Evangelists*, tapestry (No. 14).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



184. Rubens, *The Four Evangelists*, bozzetto (No. 14a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



185. Rubens, *The Four Evangelists*, modello (No. 14b).

Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, Coll. Mrs. Dent-Brocklehurst



186. S. a Bolswert, *The Four Evangelists*, engraving (No. 14b)



187. After Rubens, *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14b). Madrid, Prado



188. After Rubens, *The Four Evangelists and the Defenders of the Eucharist*, engraving ed. by Mariette (Nos. 14b, 15c)



189. Rubens and Assistants, *The Four Evangelists*, cartoon (No. 14c).

Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



190. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, tapestry (No. 15).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



191. Rubens, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, bozzetto (No. 15a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



192. After Rubens, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, oil sketch (Nos. 15b, 15c).
Zürich, Coll. Mrs. H. Anda-Bührle



193. After Rubens, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, etching (Nos. 15b, 15c)



194. Rubens, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, modello (No. 15c). Madrid, Prado



195. Detail of Fig. 194



196. Detail of Fig. 194



197. S. a Bolswert, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, engraving (No. 15c)



198. Rubens and Assistants, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, cartoon (No. 15d).
Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



199. J. Raes, J. Fobert and H. Vervoert, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*, tapestry (No. 16).
Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



200. Rubens, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*, modello (No. 16b). Madrid, Prado



201. Detail of Fig. 200



202. S. a Bolswert, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*, engraving (No. 16b)



203. J. Raes or J. Geubels, *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, tapestry (No. 17). Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



204. Rubens, *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, bozzetto (No. 17a). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



205. After Rubens, *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, drawing (No. 17a). London, British Museum



206. Rubens, *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, modello (No. 17b). Madrid, Prado



207. Detail of Fig. 206



208. A. Lommelin, *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, engraving (No. 17b)



209. J. Racs and H. Vervuert, *The Succession of the Popes*,
tapestry (No. 18). Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



210. Rubens, *The Succession of the Popes*, modello (No. 18b).
San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery

ΠΟΕΣΙΣ.
 Β. ΑΝΥΛΙ, ΣΦΡΑΓΙΔΙΟΝ.
 ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΑΙΡΟΝ.



OBSCVRI generis cum sim: nullumq; feratur
 A Gentilijs nobile sctemma meus.
 Et mihi cum fuerit pater Anulus, & Rosa mater:
 Ex utroque meum schema parente gero.
 ANVLVS in sese reuoluti circulus angust,
 Aeternum signans est Hieroglyphicon.
 At ROSA, corporis est nota non obscura caduci:
 Qua perit hoc eodem, quo fuit orta, die.
 Scilicet vi quoniam mortali corpore consto,
 Aeternaq; anima: Symbolon hoc habe am



212. Rubens, *Historiography*, bozzetto
 (No. 19a). Tournai,
 Musée des Beaux-Arts

211. *Transiency and Eternity*, woodcut
 (B. Anulus, *Picta Poesis*, Lyons, 1565)



213. After Rubens, *Historiography and The Enlightenment of the World*, drawing (Nos. 19a, 20a).
 Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



214. J. Geubels, *Historiography*, tapestry (No. 19). Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



215. Rubens, *Historiography*, modello (No. 19b). Present whereabouts unknown

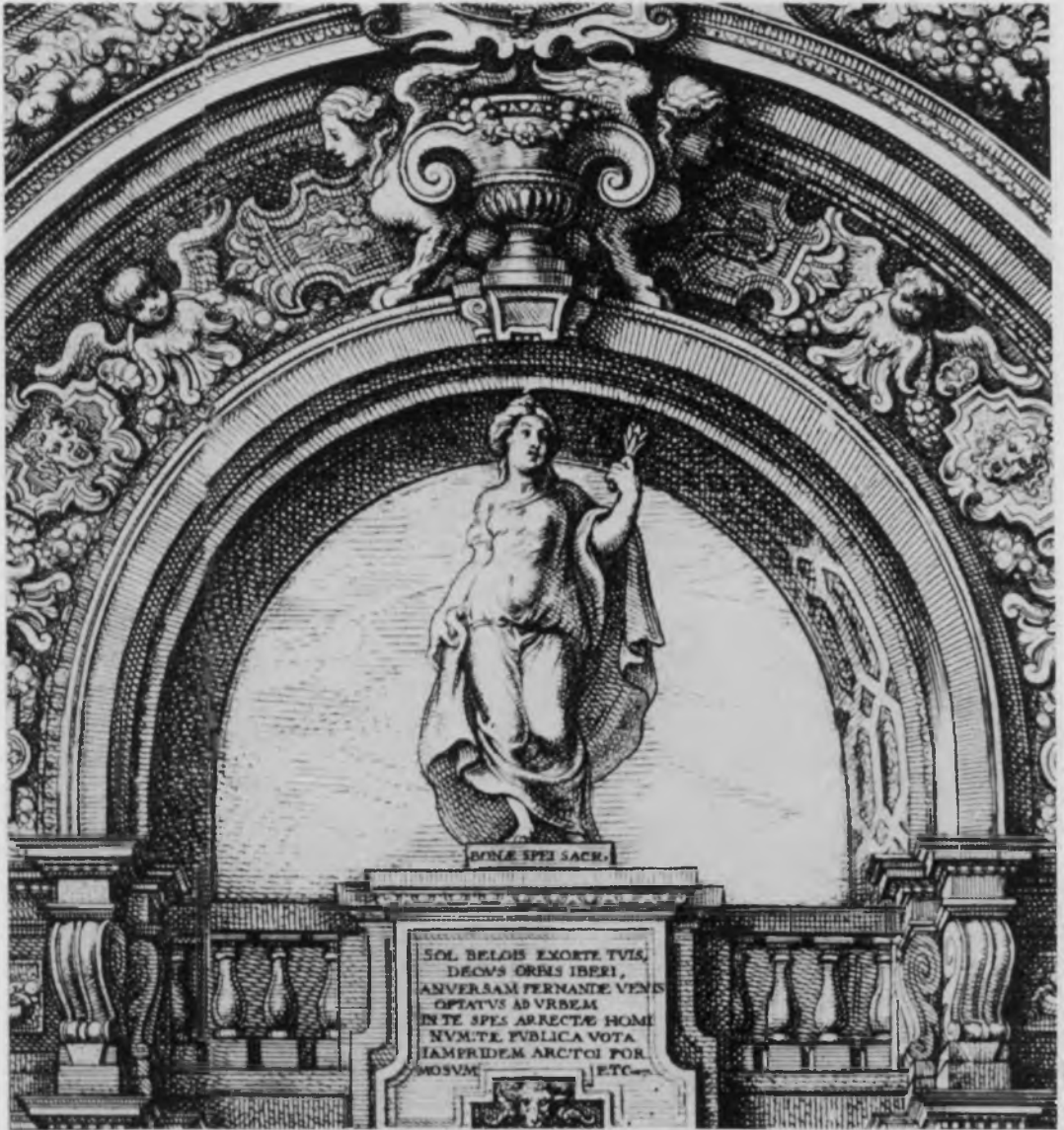


216. J. Raes, *Charity Enlightening the World*, tapestry (No. 20).

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales



217. Rubens, *Charity Enlightening the World*, modello (No. 20b). Amherst, Amherst College



218. T. van Thulden after Rubens, *Spes* (Detail of *The Stage of Welcome*), etching
 (C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* ..., Antwerp, 1642)



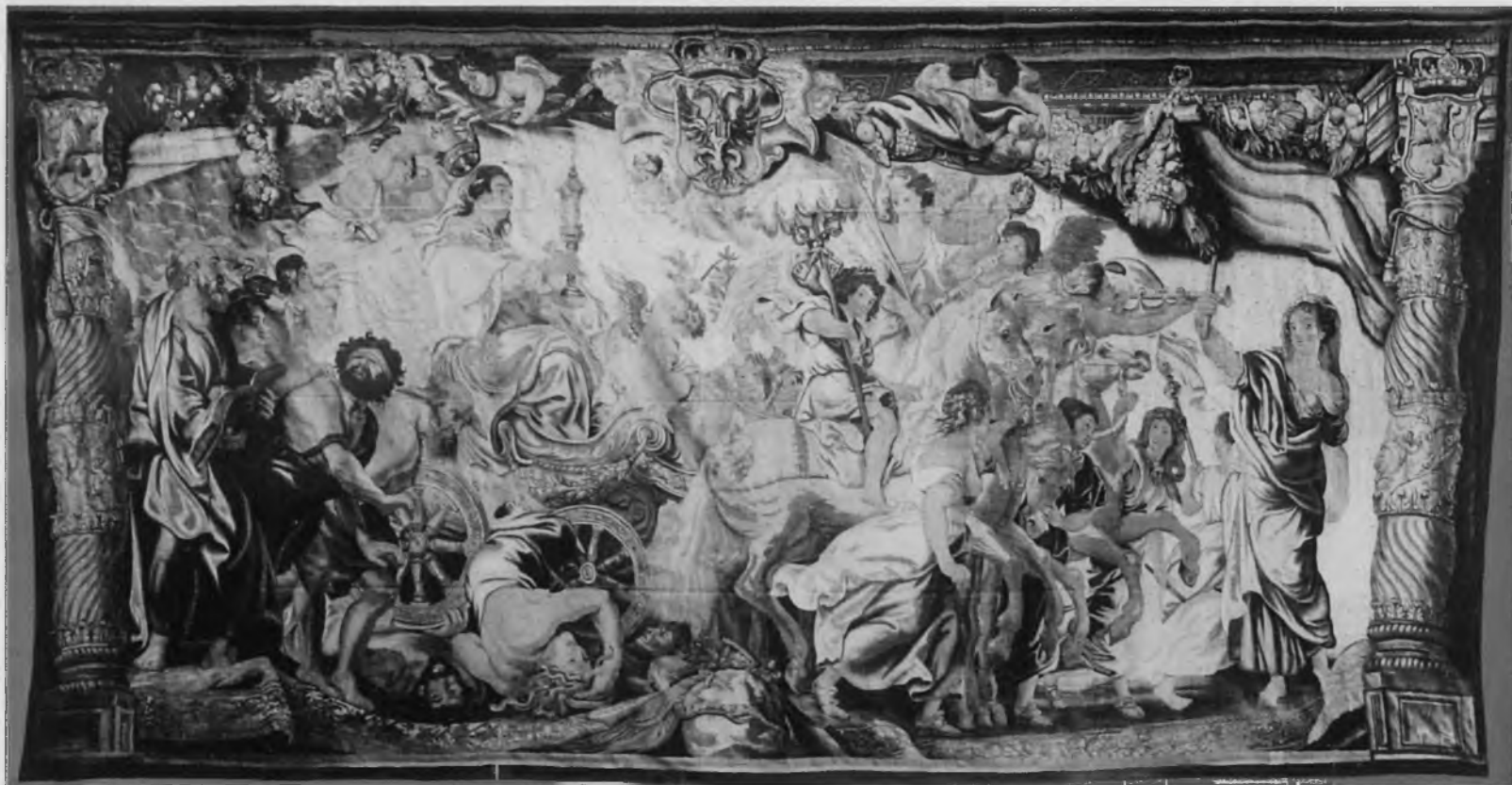
219. Three Roman Coins with "Spes", engraving
 (C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* ..., Antwerp, 1642)



220. Rubens, *The Triumph of Hope*, bozzetto (No. 21). New York, L. Feigen & C^o



221. F. van den Hecke, *The Triumph of Faith*, tapestry (No. 12). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



222. F. van den Hecke, *The Triumph of the Church*, tapestry (No. 11). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



223. Workshop of van den Hecke, *Justice*, tapestry. Turin, Museo Civico



224. Rubens, *Justice*, modello. New York, Coll. E.V. Thaw



225. J.F. van den Hecke, *King David Playing the Harp*, tapestry (No. 6).
Present whereabouts unknown



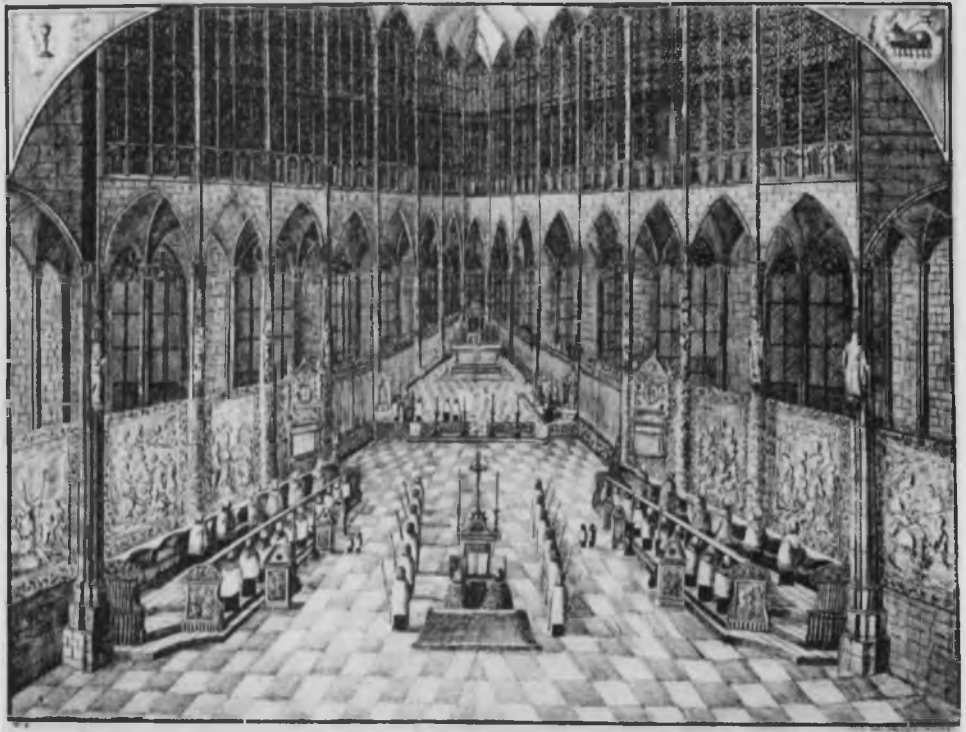
226. J.F. van den Hecke after Rubens (?), *Fortitude*, tapestry.
Present whereabouts unknown



227. J.F. van den Hecke, *The Succession of the Popes*, tapestry (No. 18).
Present whereabouts unknown



228. J.F. van den Hecke after Rubens, *Hope*, tapestry.
Present whereabouts unknown



229. J.M. Laporterie, *Interior of the Cologne Cathedral decorated with tapestries*, drawing. Cologne, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum



230. St. John's Cathedral, Valletta, decorated with the "Rubens Tapestries"