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THE EUCHARIST SERIES

VOLUME I

NORA DE POORTER



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VOLUME I

NORA DE POORTER

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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

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

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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"

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ABBREVIATIONS

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Nora De Poorter

I. ISABELLA'S GIFT TO THE DESCALZAS REALES

1. *Isabella and the Descalzas Reales*

When her husband and cousin Albert of Austria died on 13 July 1621 Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II, exchanged her courtly robes for the dress of a Poor Clare (Fig. 1). She remained in the world and continued to play her part in governing the Netherlands, while giving outward expression to her sorrow, her humble piety and her determination to forsake all the worldly splendour to which she was entitled as one of the highest-born personages in Europe. In October 1621, on the feast-day of St. Francis, she became a member of the Franciscan Third Order, receiving the habit at Brussels from Andreas de Soto, her father confessor, who was also Commissary-General of the Third Order for the Netherlands and Germany. After a year's novitiate she made her profession in 1622.[1]

There had at all times been links between the Infanta and the disciples of St. Francis with whom she had had close contact as a girl, in the Poor Clares' convent of the Descalzas Reales at Madrid. This was a community for noble ladies, founded in 1556 by the Infanta Juana (Figs. 2, 3), youngest daughter of the Emperor Charles V and widow of King John of Portugal. The first nuns, who came from the celebrated convent of Poor Clares at Gandia, remained for some years at Valladolid while the palace in which Juana was born at Madrid was, on her instructions, rebuilt and enlarged into a convent.[2] This work continued until 1564, but the nuns were able to take up occupation in 1558: the convent was consecrated on the feast of the Assumption in that year and was given the name "Nuestra Señora de la Consolación". Under

[1] Philippe Chifflet's account on Isabella's entry into the Third Order (*Besançon, Bibl. Mun., Coll. Chifflet,* No. 96, f° 253^{v}, 321^{v}) is confirmed more briefly by other writers (A. Miraeus, *Serenissimae Principis Isabellae Claraе Eugeniae Hispaniarum Infantis Laudatio funebris,* Antwerp, 1634, pp. 15, 16; F. Peri, *Regel van het Derde Orden genaemt van Penitentie, Ingesteld door den Seraphinschen Vader Franciscus...,* Antwerp, 1782, pp. 283, 284). See also *de Villermont,* 1, pp. 152–154.

[2] For the history of the Descalzas Reales we have relied on the monograph by Elias Tormo y monzó (*Tormo*); however, for facts of direct interest to our study we have gone back to the original sources in Spanish publications of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Juana's will it was bequeathed to her brother Philip II, and was thus under the King's personal administration: it soon became known as the Descalzas Reales, the Royal [Convent of the] Discalced or Unshod.[3]

The Infanta Isabella saw much of the convent in her youth and no doubt had many memories of it. The church of the Descalzas played an important part in the religious life of the Spanish Habsburgs and functioned more or less as a court chapel: the royal family often attended services there, especially on great feasts. It became a tradition, which continued until the eighteenth century, that when a member of the royal family died the remains were transferred to the Descalzas for the requiem Mass.[4] The Infanta's mother, Isabella (Elizabeth) of Valois, was buried in the convent church.

However, religious services were not the only reason for the connection with the royal court. The foundation occupied a special position among the royal convents in Madrid. The building, which with its annexes and gardens covered a larger area than the present-day complex (Fig. 7), continued in part to perform the same function as in Charles V's time, when it belonged to Alonso Gutiérrez, the Emperor's treasurer-general: it then served as an annexe to the Alcázar, where the Emperor could stay when in Madrid, and also as a "Palacio de Ausencia" for the Empress when her consort was away.[5] The Infanta Juana was born there in 1535, while Charles V was campaigning in Tunis. After the Gutiérrez Palace was transformed into the Descalzas Reales, the royal family still used it as a "Palacio de Ausencia": apartments were provided where the Queen and the Infantes could stay during the King's

[3] The term 'Discalced' had led many to suppose wrongly that the Descalzas were Carmelites ([*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 76; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 30; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 32; *Goris-Held*, p. 34; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Held, 1968*, p. 4;[*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1965*, pp. 224–225).

[4] *Tormo*, IV, pp. 34, 35, 53, 54.

[5] It is not clear whether the palace ever actually belonged to Charles V. Tormo thinks not: he points out that princes on their many journeys frequently called on the hospitality of their subjects, and he thinks this must also have been the case under Charles V at Madrid, as the Alcázar at that time was virtually uninhabitable (*Tormo*, IV, pp. 13, 19, 20, 89, 98, 99). For the royal personages who used the palace see also *López de Hoyos*, f° 42 (Doc. 1, pp. 409, 414) and *Palma*, f° 38v (Doc. 13, pp. 440, 441, 443).

absence. Thus the Infanta Isabella often ſtayed there, as did her ſiſter Catalina (Catherine). The princesses had loſt their mother at an early age and their ſtepmother soon afterwards, and, when Philipp II was absent it was cuſtomary for them and the other royal children to ſtay in the Descalzas. [6]

In the 1580s two of Isabella's close relations became members of the community. The pious empress Maria, Philip II's ſiſter, whose husband the Emperor Maximilian II died in 1576, returned to Madrid a few years later and joined the Third Order, wearing its habit for the reſt of her life (Fig. 4). In 1581, accompanied by her suite, she took up residence in the royal apartments of the Descalzas. [7] Although not an enclosed nun, she took an active part in the life of the community. Her daughter Margarita, the fifteenth of her sixteen children, came with her from Vienna: resolute to become the bride of Chriſt, the young Archduchess refused a proposal of marriage from Philip II and in 1584 took her vows in the convent church, escorted to the altar by Philip and the Infanta Isabella in the presence of the whole royal family. [8] Thenceforward, under the name of Sor Margarita de la Cruz, the Emperor's daughter, lived a life of exemplary piety as a simple enclosed nun, "the Infanta of the Descalzas" (Fig. 5).

Philip II and Isabella often left their palace to spend a few days in retreat: the King usually went to the Escorial, while the Infanta preferred the Descalzas Reales. [9] After her father's death on 13 September 1598, when the young King Philip III had left the Alcázar, Isabella ſtayed eight months at the Descalzas. Her cousin Albert of Auſtria married her by proxy in Italy on 15 November of that year, but it was some months before he could come to Spain: the marriage was consummated at Valencia on 18 April 1599. The

[6] *Palma,* f° 35, 35^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 440, 443). The presence of the children at the convent in 1581 is reported by *Méndez Silva,* f° 39; in 1634 the abbess of the Descalzas ſtated that Isabella was brought up there as a child (Doc. 10a); see also *de Villermont,* I, p. 32, and II, p. 493.

[7] *Carrillo,* f° 195^{v}-224^{v}; *Palma,* f° 91^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 441, 444); *Méndez Silva,* f° 37, 39, 40; *Tormo,* IV, p. 21.

[8] *Carrillo,* f° 191; *Palma,* f° 65^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 440, 441, 444); *Méndez Silva,* f° 42, 42^{v}.

[9] *de Villermont,* I, pp. 51, 52.

intervening time was spent by Isabella at the "Palacio de Ausencia" with Maria and Margarita, Albert's mother and sister. [10]

On 7 June 1599 Albert and Isabella left for the Netherlands, where, as provided in the testament of Philip II, they were to rule the territory jointly as a sovereign state. During the religious restoration over which they presided, the most favoured Order was without doubt that of the typically Spanish Carmelites, whom Isabella greatly admired; [11] but she had a stronger personal devotion to the followers of St. Francis and her own patroness, St. Clare of Assisi. This is shown by the fact that her confessors were all Franciscans and that she herself entered the Third Order of St. Francis; moreover, while in the Netherlands she remained in touch with the Poor Clares, who reminded her of he Descalzas Reales. [12]

It is known that after Albert's death Isabella thought of withdrawing to a convent, [13] and it seems not unlikely that she would have preferred to return "home" to the Descalzas, in the same way as her aunt Maria had become a

[10] *Palma,* f° 102 (Doc. 13, pp. 441, 444, 445); F. Peri, *op. cit.,* p. 280; *de Villermont,* I, pp. 155–157. Philippe Chifflet also knew of the Infanta's stay at the Descalzas: when preparing her biography he asked the Jesuit Claude Clement, then in Madrid, to enquire at the convent for more details. However, Father Clement could not find out much: over thirty years had passed, and in any case the humble community seemed to think it unsuitable for them to give such information (Doc. 10 a-b).

[11] A. Pasture, *La Restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas Catholiques sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596–1633),* Louvain, 1925, p. 8; *de Villermont,* II, pp. 492–496.

[12] According to de Villermont she felt most at home with the Poor Clares: "... Après les Carmélites, Isabelle n'aimait rien tant que les Clarisses; là, elle se sent chez elle, en famille, parmi ses sœurs, car elle a une grande dévotion à sa patronne sainte Claire et à la réformatrice des Clarisses, sainte Colette..." (*de Villermont,* II, p. 497). In Chifflet's notes there is an extensive account of Isabella's contacts with the Poor Clares at Ghent. She regularly sent them presents (*Ibid.,* II, p. 478); she visited them seven times (*Ibid.,* II, pp. 498–500), and remarked on one occasion that their customs reminded her of life at the Descalzas Reales in Madrid: "Voyant que les religieuses sortaient et rentraient en leur place par dessoubs la table, elle disait que celles d'Espagne faisaient de même où l'Infante Marguerite était religieuse" (*de Villermont,* II, p. 500); she took an active interest in the entry of two of her ladies-in-waiting into the Ghent convent (*Ibid.,* II, pp. 476-477).

[13] See, *inter alia,* a letter of 17 July 1621 from Grisogno Flacchio to Ludovisi (B. de Meester, *Correspondance du Nonce Giovanni-Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1621–1627), (Analecta Vaticano-Belgica, 2e série : Nonciature de Flandre,* V), I, Brussels, 1936, p. 29, No. 30); J. Puget de la Serre, *Mausolée Erigé a la Mémoire Immortelle de Tres-haulte, Tres-puissante, et Tres-auguste Princesse Isabella, Claire, Eugénie d'Austriche, Infante d'Espagne,* Brussels, 1634, pp. 12, 13.

member of the Third Order there after her consort's death. By thus withdrawing from the world she would have been following a still older family tradition: both her grandfather and her father, Charles V and Philip II, had wished, after a life spent in the storms of politics, to consecrate their last days to God in the seclusion of a monastery, and Charles V actually did so.

In 1621 the Infanta would have been no stranger to the convent in Madrid, now under the protection of her nephew Philip IV. The Empress Maria had died years before, in 1603, and was buried in the convent church; but Albert's pious sister, Sor Margarita de la Cruz, was still living there as a nun, and Isabella had remained in correspondence with her.[14] A few years later, in 1624, another Habsburg princess joined the community: Ana Dorotea, aged thirteen, the natural daughter of he Emperor Rudolph II.

Whatever Isabella's own wishes may have been after Albert's death, however, she was not allowed to quit the political scene in the Netherlands. The Provinces had reverted to the Spanish crown, but Philip IV requested the Infanta to remain in office as governor. She did so reluctantly, to comply with the King's wishes and because Albert on his deathbed had begged her not to abandon the Netherlands. She would not promise the King to remain governor all her life, but only that she would not desert her post as long as this would be contrary to his interests.[15] She expected in this way to be relieved of her heavy task after some years, but her hopes were in vain. Not until 1628 was the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand appointed to assist her in the Netherlands, and despite her frequent appeals he did not actually go there until after her death.

[14] It is known that Isabella and Margarita exchanged letters. In 1635 the Jesuit Claude Clement informed Philippe Chifflet that Margarita, out of humility, always burnt the letters she received from Isabella (Doc. 10b). On 17 October 1626 the nuncio Guidi di Bagno wrote to Antonio Barberini that the Archduchess had received a letter from Margarita, who was concerned at the dissolute life of Philip IV of Spain: see B. de Meester, *op. cit.*, II, Brussels, 1938, p. 783, No. 1650. In her will, dated 1616, Isabella bequeathed to Margarita (whom she calls "la Infanta Doña Margarita, mi hermana") a reliquary of Saints Stephen and Lawrence, with a request that Margarita should pray for her soul. However, Margarita died some months before Isabella, and the reliquary was given to Ana Dorotea (Doc. 4).

[15] J. Cuvelier and J. Lefèvre, *Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVII^e siècle*, II, Brussels, 1927, p. 19, No. 61, p. 21, No. 65, p. 22, Nos. 66, 67; B. de Meester, *op. cit.*, I, Brussels, 1936, p. 29, No. 30, p. 38, No. 45; *de Villermont*, II, p. 156.

The Infanta never returned to Madrid, and any hope she had of seeing the Descalzas again remained unfulfilled. Instead, she made a princely gift to the convent of a large series of tapestries depicting a Eurcharistic subject.

2. *Devotion to the Eucharist at the Descalzas Reales*

Religious life at the Descalzas Reales culminated in the feasts devoted to the Eucharist, which were celebrated with great splendour. It was the general custom in Spain to surround the Sacrament with costly adornments, to honour the King of Kings with the precious metals and treasures in which the country was once so rich, and to celebrate His feast-days with gorgeous public processions. In addition, the Infanta Juana had seen to it that life at the Descalzas was devoted in large measure to honouring the Blessed Sacrament. She had received her spiritual education from St. Francis Borgia at Gandia, where the Sacrament was especially revered, and had brought her ardent devotion to the convent at Madrid. [16] In the charter of foundation she enjoined that the three Eucharistic feasts should, as in her own lifetime, be celebrated with especial splendour at the Descalzas: the *"Santo Entierro"* (the Entombment), the Resurrection and the whole Octave of Corpus Christi. Processions were to be held within the convent, and the monstrance paraded around the cloister. [17] The three feasts are expressly mentioned in the list of celebrations and special Masses attached to the charter: "Procession of the Entombment, with the Lament of the three Marys; Procession of the Resurrection with the whole of the Passion; the Feast of Corpus Christi and each day of the Octave, Vespers and Mass daily according to custom." [18]

As regards the Easter celebration (Procession of the Resurrection) no details are known to us other than the description in the charter, but the "Santo Entierro" and Corpus Christi were marked by special traditions that are preserved to this day, though in a less elaborate form than under the Habsburgs.

[16] *Tormo* I, pp. 143–146; Juana's special devotion to the Sacrament is described by *Carrillo*, f° 35v, 36, 36v (Doc. 3, pp. 421, 422, 425, 426).

[17] *Real Fundación de la Capilla y Monasterio de Religiosas Franciscas Descalzas de la Primera Regla de Santa Clara...*, Madrid, 1769, pp. 55–57 (Doc. 2, pp. 419, 420).

[18] *"Procesion de sepultura, que se dice con* Heu, *de las Marias"; "Procesion de la Resureccion con toda la Pasqua"*, and *"La Fiesta de Corpus Christi y todos los dias de la Octava, Visperas y Misa cada dia conforme à la costumbre"* (*Ibid.*, p. 54).

These feaſts are repeatedly cited as moſt typical of the Descalzas Reales, and as the oldeſt ceremonies in Madrid to have retained their original character.[19]

The "Entombment" takes the form of a moving and melancholy procession, held at sunset on Good Friday. A small monſtrance is placed in the hollow side of the *Criſto Yacente*, a wooden image of the dead Chriſt (Fig. 6).[20] The image is then carried round the cloiſter by candle-light to the ſtrains of a lament sung by acolytes representing the three Marys. The Descalzas Reales enjoyed a special Papal dispensation for this rite, unique in the Chriſtian world, as in general the Sacrament was not displayed to the faithful on Good Friday.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti was celebrated annually at Madrid, among other ways, by allegorical performances (*Autos Sacramentales*) enacted on the Plaza Mayor, the centre of the city's public life. These dated from the 13th century and remained popular through the 17th century. Numerous and varied texts of these plays have come down to us, many by famous writers such as Lope de Vega and especially Calderón de la Barca.[21] No doubt the feſtivities took on even greater importance when the royal convent was more closely associated with them.

[19] *Carrillo*, f° 35^{v}–38^{v} (Doc. 3, pp. 421–429); Geronimo de Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada villa de Madrid, Hiſtoria de su antiguedad, nobleza y grandeza*, Madrid, 1629, f° 414^{v} ("La grandeza con que en eſta casa se celebrá los divinos officios y en particular la octava del Santissimo Sacramento, y el aparato Real con que se haze es la mayor que en ninguna parte del mundo, quien no lo ha viſto lo podra leer en el Autor citado [Carrillo]"); *Ponz*, 1787, V, p. 222 ("Eſta es una de las pocas Iglesias de Madrid donde se da el culto con la mayor ceremonia, oſtentacion y propriedad. Para eſte efecto tiene diferentes alhajas, que por su artificio merecerian particular mencion, si las tuviésemos á la viſta"); *Rosell y Torres*, p. 531; E. Tormo, *Gaspar Becerra, una obra desconocida de Becerra en las Descalzas de Madrid?*, *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XX, 1912, pp. 66, 67, 69; J. Ramón Mélida, *Una Fieſta religiosa caracteriſtica, El Santo Entierro de las Descalzas*, *La Epoca*, 8 April 1909, p. 1; *Tormo*, I, p. 148; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 5; *Tormo*, III, p. 9.

[20] The origin and date of this remarkable and famous image are disputed. Was it brought by the nuns from Gandia together with the cuſtom of the *Santo Entierro*? Tormo ascribes it on ſtyliſtic grounds to Gaspar Becerra, who executed the retable of the convent church for the Infanta Juana (E. Tormo, *Gaspar Becerra..., loc. cit.*, pp. 66–71, fig. facing p. 68; *Tormo*, I, pp. 48, 50, 61, n. 94: *Tormo*, IV, figs. 171, 172; M. Trens, *Las Cuſtodias españolas*, Barcelona, 1952, No. 62, repr.; M. Trens, *La Eucariſtía en el Arte español*, Barcelona, 1952, pp. 319, 320, fig. 243; Paulina Junquera, *Las Descalzas Reales, a la vez convento y museo*, *Goya*, No. 42, 1961, p. 384, fig. p. 386).

[21] *Autos Sacramentales desde su origen haſta fines del siglo XVII*, ed. by González Pedroso, Madrid, 1865; M. Newmark, *Dictionary of Spanish Literature*, New York, [1956], p. 21.

A full description of the celebrations of Corpus Chriſti at the Descalzas in 1615 has been left to us by Juan Carrillo, father confessor of the convent. In his monograph on the foundation he ſtates that the ceremonies inſtituted by the Infanta Juana were so splendid and impressive that they did much to increase devotion to the Euchariſt in Madrid and throughout Caſtile. Juana personally adorned the monſtrance with all her jewels and valuables; she engaged musicians and singers and gave orders that the church and the cloiſter should be decorated as richly as possible. [22]

The court was naturally closely involved in the celebration, and supplied its beſt singers and preachers for the eight-day feſtival. The King and his family attended the service in the convent church, followed the procession through the ſtreets of Madrid and presided over the performances on the Plaza Mayor.

3. *Isabella's Devotion to the Euchariſt*

As a Spaniard and a Habsburg Isabella was as devoted to the Sacrament as were the nuns of the Descalzas Reales; moreover, as Infanta she had attended the annual feſtivities in Madrid in the King's presence, and no doubt remembered them all her life.

In the Netherlands Albert and Isabella continued the tradition of superb religious feſtivities. Philip II had enjoined upon them to combat heresy and do all they could to ſtrengthen the Catholic faith in the Provinces. It was natural therefore that they should display before the Proteſtants their ardent devotion to the Holy Sacrament, the Virgin and the relics of saints. The Archducal couple took part in pilgrimages and processions without number, presided over the transfer of relics and made coſtly presents to shrines, especially those where miraculous images of the Madonna were worshipped.

Devotion to the Euchariſt was considered a typical virtue of the House of Habsburg, as exemplified in the ſtory of Count Rudolph of Habsburg giving up his horse to a prieſt carrying the Sacrament and refusing thereafter to ride it for any worldly purpose. The Archducal couple were faithful to this tradition, and gave full expression to their piety in opposition to the heretics' denial of the Real Presence. In Brussels, as in Madrid, there was already a well-eſtab-

[22] *Carrillo*, f° 35ᵛ–38ᵛ (Doc. 3, pp. 421–429).

lished Eucharistic feast, with a procession at Corpus Christi. Since the Middle Ages there had been a devotion to the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, based on a legend of three miraculous Hosts which bled when stabbed by Jews: [23] these were preserved in a chapel specially built by Charles V in the church of St. Gudula. They were venerated every year on Corpus Christi day, and the "Archdukes" were invariably present. Every July the chapel was enriched with a costly gift: silver ornaments of all kinds, including candelabras, censers and figures of angels; pots containing flowers made of silk, hangings of various kinds, a large "Turkish" carpet and, above all, three crowns with 648 pearls and 194 diamonds and a precious mantle which gave the reliquary its characteristic appearance (Fig. 99). [24] The Archduke Albert was buried in this chapel, and so was Isabella in accordance with her last wish. [25]

Isabella's testament also bears witness to her concern for the due adoration of the Holy Sacrament. In it she asked that baldachins and candles should be presented to every parish of the town in which she died, and to other parishes as her executors might see fit, so that the Sacrament might be displayed more fittingly (*"para que salga con mas decencya el S^mo Sacramento"*). She also

[23] S. Schoutens, *Geschiedenis van den Eerdienst van het Allerheiligste Sacrament des Altaars in België*, Antwerp, 3rd ed., 1903, pp. 293–295; H. Velge, *La Collégiale des Saints Michel et Gudule à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1925, pp. 42–46, 60, 61, 76–78, 80; M. Thys, *Een terugblik op de legende van de bloedige geconsacreerde Hostieën van Brussel, De Brabantse Folklore*, Nos. 189, 190, 1971, pp. 5–53, 146–203.

[24] The archives of the church of St. Gudula at Brussels, and also Chifflet's notes, contain descriptions of gifts by the Archducal couple, and later by Isabella, in 1614, 1615, 1618, 1621–23 and 1625 until 1633, in which year Isabella died (*Bibl. Mun., Besançon, Coll. Chifflet*, No. 96, f° 254, 257–265; No. 97, f° 188, 193, 201, 206, 206^v, 207, 212; P. Lefèvre, *Offrandes princières faites en l'honneur d'une relique eucharistique à Bruxelles au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XLI, 1972, pp. 82–85, 91–98, Annexes I–IV); see also the evidence of A. Miraeus (A. Miraeus, *De Vita Alberti Pii, Sapientis, Prudentis, Belgarum principis Commentarius*, Antwerp, 1622, p. 85) and of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns of Brussels (Doc. 11, pp. 436, 437). The large monstrance with the crowns and mantle that we see in engravings and pictures (Fig. 99) has not been preserved. A silver copy was made in the 19th century: see under Cat. No. 1c, p. 264, n. 3.

[25] Doc. 4; the plan to build a separate funerary chapel in the church of St. Gudula, according to Isabella's commission to Francart shortly before her death (*De Maeyer*, pp. 401, 402, Doc. 249), was never carried out; see J.H. Plantenga, *L'Architecture religieuse dans l'ancien duché de Brabant depuis le règne des Archiducs jusqu'au Gouvernement Autrichien (1598–1713)*, The Hague, 1926, pp. 54, 55; H. Velge, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

directed that the Pope should be asked to establish the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in the Netherlands in the same way as in Spain, if this had not already been done at the time of her death. [26]

Isabella's piety, and especially her devotion to the Virgin and the Eucharist, were among the virtues celebrated in panegyrics in the churches of the Netherlands and Rome, and in poems of praise and mourning that were published shortly after her death. Most of the writers do not forget to mention her devotion to the Sacrament. [27] A long discourse on this subject, embellished with anecdotes of all kinds, was in circulation: it can be found in Courvoisier [28] and, with variations, in the unpublished material which the Carmelite Nuns of Brussels and Ghent sent to Chifflet. [29] The accounts express particular admiration for the humble attitude of the high-born princess in the presence of the King of Kings.

Isabella's devotion was still famous in the eighteenth century, as can be seen in Franciscus Peri's book on the Third Order of St. Francis. Describing the royal personages who became members of the Order, he expatiates on her exemplary love of the Sacrament in the following words:

"Her Highness's piety towards the Holy Sacrament of the Altar was without equal, and the burning torches which she so often carried in the procession, with their spiritual light happily inflamed the hearts of many heretics, who mingled with the throng out of curiosity to see what was afoot, so that they were inclined thereby to embrace the Catholic faith. She desired to be buried

[26] Doc. 4, pp. 429, 430.

[27] A. Miraeus, *Serenissimae Principis Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae Hispaniarum Infantis Laudatio funebris,* Antwerp, 1634, pp. 29, 30; N. Vernulaeus, *Laudatio Funebris Aeternae Memoriae Isabellae, Clarae Eugeniae,* ..., Louvain, 1634, pp. [24, 25]; C. Chappuisot, *Laudatio funebris ... Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae,* Brussels, 1634, p. 74; J. Puget de la Serre, *Mausolée Erigé à la Mémoire Immortelle...,* Brussels, 1634, p. 24; P. Marchant, *Oratio Funebris In exequiis Serenissimae Elizabethae, Clarae, Eugeniae Austriacae Hispaniarum Infantis Belgarum Principis..., solemniter celebratis Romae in Conventu de Aracoeli 19 Januarii an. 1634,* Milan [?], 1634, pp. 7–9; P. Marchant, *Af-beeldinghe Des waerachtigh Christen Mensch, Naer het voor-beelt vanden Reghel der derde Ordre Van den Godtsalighen Vader S. Franchois...,* Ghent, 1639, f° b, b^{v}.

[28] J.J. Courvoisier, *Le Sacré Mausolée, ou les parfums exhalants du tombeau de la Serenissime Princesse Isabelle, Claire, Eugenie, figuré sur le Sepulchre du Roy David,* Brussels, 1634, pp. 258–261 (wrongly numbered).

[29] Docs. 11, 12.

beneath the threshold of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle at Brussels, so that they who entered might tread upon her body, or rather that she might lead them to worship the mysteries of the altar and afford, as it were, a foothold for their devotion." [30]

4. *Isabella's Gift*

As the charter of the Descalzas Reales laid down that all its members must be of noble birth, the convent received many gifts from highly-placed persons and has accumulated many treasures over the centuries. The sixteenth-century foundation grew into a complex which, with its paintings, sculptures, frescoes and precious metalwork, might rival the magnificence of a palace. In 1960 the convent was opened as a museum: though much less extensive and brilliant than in its heyday, it is still an amazing sight and provides a picture of the living conditions of the nobility at the time of the Spanish Habsburgs, with its medley of masterpieces, knick-knacks and bizarre objects of devotion. The most typical part of the building is no doubt the cell of Sor Margarita de la Cruz, the "saintly" Archduchess. This has been reverently preserved as it was in her lifetime, with the works of art by which she used to be surrounded. The original reliquary chamber of the convent also still contains hundreds of relics in precious shrines.

Among all the gifts, Isabella's series of tapestries occupies a special place. It was one of the largest and most valuable donations to the convent, and shows a familiarity with its spirit and customs, natural in one who knew the community at first hand. The tapestries were intended to impart splendour to the feasts connected with the Holy Sacrament: they had thus a functional purpose and, unlike elaborate wall-decorations and many other adornments, were not in conflict with the most distinctive rule of a Franciscan community, that of poverty. It is typical of Isabella's seriousness and genuine religious feeling that she did not overstep this rule. The royal governor who had put on the humble

[30] F. Peri, *Regel van het Derde Orden genaemt van Penitentie, Ingestelt door den Seraphinschen Vader Franciscus...*, Antwerp, 1782, p. 286.

clothing of a Tertiary acted in obedience to the precept of St. Francis, who said in his will that the Holy Sacrament must be honoured above all things and kept in a place of value. [31]

The Infanta Juana and the nuns of the Descalzas Reales took these words of St. Francis to heart, and so especially did Sor Margarita de la Cruz, who received the Eucharistic tapestries on behalf of the convent. According to Palma, her only concern as regards the many gifts she received from her princely relations was to employ them in the best possible way for the honour of the Blessed Sacrament. [32]

The series of tapestries that Isabella sent to the Descalzas Reales bears witness to her affection for the Madrid convent of Poor Clares, her devotion to the Sacrament and her desire that the Eucharistic feasts should be celebrated with all possible splendour. However, it is not known with certainty what was the specific occasion of this gift, so extraordinary in scale and quality. At other times Isabella had sent costly trifles to the convent. [33] Were the tapestries a special gift to Margarita, or did Isabella, on joining the Third Order, wish to present the convent with a princely dowry surpassing all other gifts? Alternatively it may be that the present was the result of a vow or an expression of gratitude to God for some particular event.

Having decided to make such an impressive gift, it is natural that Isabella chose a work of art based on the theme of the Eucharist and especially intended for the great festivals of the year—that is to say a decoration with a seasonal character, for which tapestries are very suitable. In the Netherlands she had at her disposal the artists best suited to carry out the grandiose plan—her court painter, Peter Paul Rubens, the man best able to treat the extensive and complex subject in a worthy and responsible manner, and the renowned workshops of the Brussels weavers.

[31] "And I wish that these most holy mysteries be honoured above all other things and venerated and placed in precious places" (*St. Francis of Assisi, The Legends and Lauds,* ed. by O. Karrer, translated by N. Wydenbruck, London, 1947, p. 274); quoted verbatim in *Carrillo,* f° 36 (Doc. 2, pp. 421, 425).

[32] *Palma,* f° 231, 231^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 442, 443, 445, 446).

[33] Chifflet mentions small gifts to the Descalzas Reales in 1621, May 1630 and October 1630 (*Besançon, Bibl. Mun., Coll. Chifflet,* No. 97, f° 212, 241).

II. THE COMMISSION

There is very little documentary evidence of the origin of Rubens's Euchariſt series. We possess no contract, accounts or acknowledgements of payment, and it is therefore difficult to date the series and determine its exact composition.

From the surviving works by Rubens and his ſtudio we can infer that there were three preliminary ſtages: (1) the rough sketches known as *bozzetti*; (2) larger sketches, the *modelli,* which differed from the *bozzetti* in many details; (3) canvases of the same size as the tapeſtries, known as *patronen* (patterns) or cartoons. These different ſtages are examined in detail in later chapters.

1. *Dating and Commissioning*

Let us firſt consider how far the tapeſtries and the preliminary paintings can be dated. There is no direct evidence to show in what year Isabella decided to have the series executed. If she meant it as a "dowry" she muſt have formed the idea in 1621–22, when she became a follower of St. Francis, but such documents as we have ſuggeſt that the design and execution did not take place until some years later. Almoſt the only indications that throw light on the dating are four brief references by Philippe Chifflet, who was chaplain to the Infanta's oratory from 1624.[1] The series is twice mentioned in the notes which Chifflet prepared for a biography of Isabella, and which are now in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Beſançon. In addition there are two references in Chifflet's letters to the Florentine Giovanni-Francesco Guidi di Bagno, who was Papal nuncio at Brussels and later at Paris.

In a note entitled *Donations et fondations* (a subdivision of *Obſervations meſlees*), Chifflet ſtates that:

> "L'Infante envoya à Madrid aux Déchauſſées une tapiſſerie contenant les figures et myſtères de la Sainte-Euchariſtie, de laquelle les patrons ſont faits par Rubens, ont couſté trente mille florins. La tapiſſerie en valoit près de cent mille."[2]

[1] See Doc. 6, p. 431, n. 4.

[2] Doc. 9.

Chifflet gives no date, nor can this note itself be dated, but his other texts supply valuable details. On 21 May 1627 he writes to Guidi di Bagno that Rubens is occupied with paintings for the Archduchess and expects to finish them before the autumn, when he plans to visit Rome:

"Rubens fait conte de partir pour Rome environ ce temps là [i.e. September 1627] après qu'il aura parachevé plusieurs tableaux qu'il a entrepris pour S.A." [3]

The identification of these works with the Eucharist series is confirmed by a passage in Chifflet's *Présents faits par l'Infante,* from which it appears that in January 1628 Rubens received some pearls in return for the "patterns":

"En Janvier 1628 furent données à Pierre-Paul Rubens plusieurs perles, à bon compte des patrons de tapisserie pour les cordelières de Madrid." [4]

We presume that the "tableaux" of Chifflet's letter are the same as the "patrons" referred to in the note, i.e. the full-size studio paintings and not the *modelli.* [5] *The pearls were no doubt additional to the 30,000 guilders mentioned above,* and if they were given to Rubens on completion of the cartoons it would follow that the latter were produced by the end of 1627. Another letter from Chifflet indicates that in July 1628 the Archduchess sent to Spain two wagons containing works of art, including tapestries:

"S.A. a faict partir dès deux joursençà, deux chariots qu'elle faict passer en Espagne chargez de tapisseries, de toilles et de chartes géographiques et de quelques peintures." [6]

This was written on 21 July, so that the consignment must have been sent on the 19th. We may assume that the "tapisseries" were those for the Descalzas and comprised the whole series rather than only part of it, since the despatch of such a consignment by land was no doubt a major undertaking and not to be repeated at short intervals. Some weeks later, in August, Rubens himself went to Madrid and was in touch with the convent. The Infanta had commissioned him *inter alia* to paint portraits of her relations in Spain, [7] and it was no doubt

[3] Doc. 6.

[4] Doc. 7.

[5] The word "pattern" was used not only for paintings on the scale of the tapestries but also for preliminary drawings and sketches, so that there is room for difference of opinion: see further p. 109, n. 1.

[6] Doc. 8.

[7] M. Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres,* V, Antwerp, 1907, p. 7; *De Maeyer,* p. 105.

at this time that he painted the two nuns in he Descalzas Reales who belonged to the House of Habsburg, Sor Margarita de la Cruz (Fig. 5) and the young Sor Ana Dorotea. [8]

Spanish sources concerned with the Descalzas Reales give little help with the dating, but there is an anecdote which shows how greatly these works were appreciated at the convent. The chronicler Padre Palma relates that when the tapeſtries arrived, some of them were brought to the room of Sor Margarita de la Cruz, who had gone blind, and he praises the Chriſtian resignation with which she accepted her inability to see the wonderful works of art that her ſiſter-in-law had sent from Brussels. Palma, however, does not help us with the date: he says only that this took place during the laſt years ("eſtos años vltimos") of Sor Margarita, who went blind in 1625 and died in 1633. [9]

We thus have a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the cartoons and the tapeſtries, viz. January 1628 and July 1628 reſpectively. Presumably the Brussels weavers got to work before all the cartoons were completed, and it may be that some tapeſtries were already on the loom by the end of 1626. Jacob Geubels of Brussels, whose name or mark appears on six of the Madrid tapeſtries, declared on 22 December 1626, in the course of a lawsuit before the Antwerp city magiſtrate, that the non-execution of a payment was preventing him from working on commissions he had received from the Infanta among others. [10] Nothing is known of Isabella having commissioned any other work from Geubels, and we may presume he was referring to the Euchariſt series. It is not clear, however, whether he had actually begun the weaving at this time or was merely speaking of an agreement.

We have no firm information as to when Rubens received the Infanta's commission or when he began to work on the sketches; however, there is general

[8] In his short account of Rubens's ſtay at Madrid in 1628 Francisco Pacheco ſtates that Rubens painted a portrait of "la Señora Infanta de las Descalzas" – i.e., moſt probably, Margarita (F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura, Edición del Manuscrito original acabado el 24 de enero de 1638,* published by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, I, p. 153; same text in F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* Seville, 1649, p. 100). Several versions of portraits of Margarita and also of Ana Dorotea have been preserved, including some in the Descalzas Reales; see: *Tormo,* I, figs. 10, 52, 57, 58; María Teresa Ruiz Alcón, *Otro Rubens en las Descalzas, Goya,* No. 56/57, 1963, pp. 250, 251; Frances Huemer, *Portraits,* I (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* XIX), Brussels, 1977, pp. 99, 100, No. 1, fig. 41, pp. 140–142 No. 23, fig. 82.

[9] *Palma,* f° 168, 168v (Doc. 13, pp. 441, 442, 445).

[10] Doc. 5.

agreement that these date from 1625. It appears most likely, in fact, that Isabella conceived the idea of the series during Rubens's long stay at Brussels from the middle of August 1625 to 24 February 1626.[11] Rooses believes that Rubens did preparatory work for the series during those months, and his opinion is shared by Held.[12]

Elbern thinks it possible to date the commission more precisely, and somewhat earlier. After the capture of Breda on 11 June 1625, the victorious Isabella returned in July to Brussels via Antwerp, and took the opportunity to have her portrait painted by Rubens.[13] Elbern suggests that she may at the same time have commissioned the tapestries from him.[14] The capture of Breda was the greatest triumph of Spanish arms during Isabella's governorship, and Held conjectures that the gift of the tapestries to the Descalzas may have been an expression of her gratitude to God for the victory.[15] This is not impossible, since she regarded it as an answer to her prayers that the city began to discuss terms of surrender on Corpus Christi day and was captured a week later.[16]

It should be pointed out, however, that Rubens had other opportunities to meet the Archduchess than in 1625. He was not only her court painter but her confidant, and certainly performed diplomatic missions from September 1623 onwards.[17] From 1624 to 1628 he visited the court in Brussels on several occasions, and there is no reason to assume that 1625 was necessarily the year in which he received the commission and began to execute it.

From the historical and documentary evidence we can thus conclude that the origin of the series and the painting of the first sketches cannot be more

[11] For a summary of Rubens's journeys during this period see *Evers, 1943,* pp. 62 ff.

[12] *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 427; *Held, 1968,* p. 6.

[13] H. Hugo, S.J., *Obsidio Bredana Armis Philippi IIII Auspiciis Isabellae ductu Ambr. Spinolae perfecta,* Antwerp, 1626, p. 125; *De Maeyer,* pp. 115, 357, Doc. 199.

[14] *Elbern,* p. 10; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 51.

[15] *Held, 1968,* p. 6. Held also recalls the relationship between the Eucharist series and Lope de Vega's *Triumphos Divinos,* also published in 1625. We shall revert to this point in the chapter "Iconography".

[16] Isabella instituted an annual Mass of Commemoration on Corpus Christi day. See H. Hugo, *op. cit.,* p. 122: "Anniversarium Sacrum in Augustissimi Sacramenti honorem (cuius pervigilio tractari primum de deditione Bredae coepit, octavo autem die praesidium excessit) fieri decrevit."; also mentoned by F. Peri, *Regel van het Derde Orden genaemt van Penitentie...,* Antwerp, 1782, p. 288.

[17] M. Gachard, *Histoire politique et diplomatique de Pierre-Paul Rubens,* Brussels, 1877, pp. 6, 265; *De Maeyer,* p. 102; F. Baudouin, *Rubens' bedrijvigheid als diplomaat,* in [*Exh. Cat.*] *Rubens Diplomaat,* Rubenskasteel, Elewijt, 1962, p. 23.

precisely dated than ca. 1626. An inspection of Rubens's sketches that have survived throws little more light on the question: we can only say that there is no reason to question the date on stylistic grounds. Clearly it is impossible to determine, by comparison with other works by Rubens, whether 1625 or 1627 is the right date. If we compare the bozzetti with works that closely resemble them in purpose and technique, viz. the designs for the Marie de' Medici and the Henry IV series executed in about 1622 and 1629 respectively, we can only say that the Eucharist series appears closest to the latter. In the modelli we also find several points of resemblance to a sketch in the Louvre, dated 1625, of *Lot's Flight from Sodom.* [18]

It should be observed that the passages quoted from Chifflet make it quite clear that the idea for the Eucharist series came from the Infanta. In the older literature and in Spanish sources it is sometimes stated that the series was commissioned from Rubens by Philip IV; [19] but there is no reason to suppose that the King's aunt in Brussels merely acted as his agent, as the Cardinal Infante later did for the Torre de la Parada. Isabella's correspondence with the Spanish court, which has been carefully preserved, makes no mention of the Eucharist series. The misunderstanding is partly due to the fact that sketches and large canvases executed for the series afterwards came into the possession of the Spanish court and the nobility. As we shall see, however, the large canvases from Rubens's studio belonged in the first place to Isabella, who bequeathed them to Philip IV. [20]

2. *Composition of the Series; Number of Tapestries*

The sources give us no information on either of these points. There is no known contemporary list of the subjects treated, and experts on Rubens disagree as to how many tapestries there were.

[18] *K.d.K.*, p. 283.

[19] That the King commissioned the series is stated by Bellori (Doc. 19) and Antonio Palomino (Doc. 24); *Rosell y Torres,* p. 531; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 250; see also below, p. 157, n. 84.

[20] In 1648 the King wrote to ask Leopold William to send him the pictures from the estate of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand. The King's letter was written under the impression that it was the Cardinal Infante who sent the tapestries from the Netherlands to Madrid (Doc. 14).

At present there are twenty in the Descalzas Reales: eighteen are exhibited in the rooms opened as a museum in 1960, while two are not exhibited for lack of space and because they are less well preserved. Previously the whole series were kept in the sacristy for most of the year, while some (not always the same ones) were brought out for processions.

To elucidate the discussion, and for no other reason, we shall divide the series into four groups, designated as follows.

(1) The group known collectively as *The Adoration of the Eucharist,* as seen in the Chicago sketch (Fig. 95). This group comprises five tapestries (Nos. 1–5; Figs. 96, 100, 101, 107, 113); one, *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1), is almost square and framed in volutes, while four are of upright format with columns and architraves.

(2) *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6; Fig. 117), of the same height as *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* and with a similar border.

(3) The eleven "large" tapestries (Nos. 7–17; Figs. 119, 132, 137, 144, 149, 160, 171, 183, 190, 199, 203), all equally high but differing in breadth, with the same border of columns and architraves.

(4) The "small" tapestries: three allegorical personifications, with a simple egg-and-dart border (Nos. 18–20; Figs. 209, 214, 216).

Few publications give the number of tapestries as 20; they vary in general from 11 to "at least 21". The main reason for the discrepancy is that the tapestries were lost to view in the convent. In addition the subjects were closely similar and difficult to distinguish, and confusion arose especially with the nine smaller compositions that were not known from sketches or engravings.

These problems are reflected in Rooses' works, which for a long time formed the basis of Rubens studies. Originally Rooses spoke in his *Œuvre* of fifteen compositions.[21] He was acquainted with the anonymous *Descripción* which enumerates seventeen,[22] but he may have attached overmuch importance to the oldest document (that of 1648) that indicates a number, viz. fifteen paintings.[23] When a copy of the Chicago sketch came to his attention (Fig.

[21] *Rooses,* I, pp. 54–70, Nos. 41–55, p. 77.

[22] *Descripción;* the missing three are *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1), *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6) and *Historiography* (No. 19). Rooses omits two works mentioned in the *Descripción,* viz. *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20) and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 4). He knew the sketch of *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6b), but did not connect it with the Eucharist series.

[23] Doc. 14.

94) [24] he became aware of *The Adoration of the Euchariſt*, two compositions from which (*The Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy in Adoration* and *The Monſtrance Held by Two Cherubs*) were not recorded in the *Œuvre*. However, as a result of further miſtakes and the confuſion of different subjects he ſtuck to the total of fifteen. [25] In his later monograph on Rubens he was obliged to alter this to eighteen, [26] but the figure of fifteen had won acceptance and is ſtill met with in recent literature.

At about the same time, independently of Rooses, Mesonero Romanos gave a ſtill more confuſing account, enumerating eighteen tapeſtries but giving the total as seventeen. [27] The matter was at laſt clarified by Tormo, who ſtudied all twenty tapeſtries and in 1942 published a full description with illuſtrations.[28]

While it is thus eſtabliſhed that there are twenty tapeſtries in the Descalzas Reales today, it is a further queſtion whether the series is complete or whether some pieces have been loſt in the paſt 350 years. In the absence of written documents a sketch, an engraving, another tapeſtry version or a cartoon might indicate the exiſtence of a loſt tapeſtry, but no such evidence has come to light. There is a small sketch *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21; Fig. 220) which belongs to the Euchariſt series but for which no corresponding tapeſtry exiſts; but, as we shall see, this is because the subject was rejected and no tapeſtry was woven from it.

[24] Painting on copper, formerly in the collection of Abbé Le Monnier, Paris; see under Cat. No. 1–5a, "Copy".

[25] M. Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p. 180. Le Monnier's copy (Fig. 94) is somewhat modified from the original sketch (Fig. 95) and gave Rooses the impression that four tapeſtries are depicted on it, two (above) with angels playing musical inſtruments and two (below) with figures kneeling; he did not realize that *The Monſtrance Held by Two Cherubs* also corresponds to a tapeſtry designed by Rubens (No. 1). He was obliged to add to his liſt *The Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy in Adoration*, but he made a miſtake in the title: he ignored *The Succeſſion of the Popes* (No. 18), which he called in his *Œuvre* "Le Dogme de l'Euchariſtie confirmé par les Papes", and used this title for *The Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy in Adoration*.

[26] He takes the view that there are thirteen "real subjects", one of which is treated in five tapeſtries plus a modified example of *The Triumph of Divine Love*, by which he means the *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20), thus bringing the total to eighteen (*Rooses, Life*, II, pp. 427, 428).

[27] He counts only ten of the "large" tapeſtries, forgetting *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17), but enumerates all five pieces entitled *The Adoration of the Euchariſt* (Nos. 1–5), also *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6) and *Hiſtoriography* (No. 19); *Mesonero Romanos*, pp. 250–251.

[28] *Tormo, 1942;* published in book form in 1945 (*Tormo*, III).

Tormo believed that there must have been at least one more tapestry [29] as a pendant to *King David Playing the Harp,* so that the original total would be at least 21. We cannot, however, accept his argument, which is based on a hypothetical reconstruction of the order in which the tapestries were hung.

It seems possible, however, that in addition to the twenty tapestries that have survived there were a number of smaller ones, the "passtukken" ("filling-in pieces") that were generally supplied as part of a series. The design for one of these is perhaps to be seen in the Chicago sketch: an oblong composition with chalice and loaves, but was this really intended as a tapestry and was it retained in the final version? For lack of further data we are obliged to ignore these pieces in the catalogue and in further discussion, and we must conclude that there is no indication that there were originally more tapestries—i.e. large ones with figural compositions—than the twenty that have survived.

There is, however, a more important problem connected with the composition of the series: it has often been questioned whether the twenty surviving tapestries belong to a single series, commissioned and executed at a particular time. The smaller tapestries, it has been suggested, may be of a later date and not even part of Isabella's gift to the convent.

This suggestion relates especially to the five tapestries of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (Nos. 1–5). Tormo supposed that these, together with *King David Playing the Harp* and its lost counterpart, were designed by Rubens as a supplement to the main series: [30] the *"subseria segunda"* was, in his opinion, intended for a different practical purpose than the *"subseria principal"*, i.e. the eleven "large" compositions. This view was generally accepted by later authors. Elbern classes the five tapestries of the *Adoration of the Eucharist* as the "retable cycle", added to the others after a certain time; [31] he excludes them from his catalogue, which is confined to the "original" cycle.

Critics have taken a more extreme view as regards the three small allegorical compositions, which were thought to have even less to do with the original series. Tormo speaks of them as "additional", and considers that by reason of their subject they cannot belong to the main series, which is specifically

[29] *Tormo,* III, p. 59 ("Tapiz perdido").

[30] *Tormo,* III, pp. 21–23, 52.

[31] *Elbern,* p. 14; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 54.

Eucharistic. He also believes that the invention of *Historiography* (No. 19) and *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20) cannot be attributed to Rubens but must be the work of a pupil. The corresponding sketches are unknown to him, and the compositions seem to him too poor in quality.[32] The modelli for these three small compositions have also been misinterpreted. Before Tormo had published illustrations of the twenty tapestries in the Descalzas they could not be recognized as designs for this series, and were dated about or after 1630 on stylistic grounds. When the connection with the tapestries was established, critics maintained the late dating and accepted Tormo's view that they did not belong to the main series but were added to it later.

From Burchard's documentation and certain publications of his it appears that he too shared this opinion of the three small allegorical works, chiefly on stylistic grounds. His view was first expressed (in a sale catalogue) with regard to the modello for *Historiography* (No. 19b; Fig. 215), to which, without knowing the tapestry, he assigned the date 1625–30.[33] In a letter concerning *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20b; Fig. 217) he dated the three sketches later still, stating that the eleven "large" compositions were "later supplemented by a few more panels which Rubens added, I suppose, only after 1630, when he returned from Madrid and London to his native Antwerp."[34] For *The Succession of the Popes* (No. 18b; Fig. 210) Burchard also proposed a late date, 1635, in view of the close resemblance of the colouring to the sketches for the Whitehall ceiling;[35] this dating was followed by Larsen.[36]

Held, in his discussion of the *Succession of the Popes*, also questioned whether this work was part of the series, and he dated it 1630–35.[37] In his more recent writings on the Eucharist series he no longer seems convinced of this: he confines himself to mentioning Tormo's rejection of the three "small" compositions, pronouncing no opinion of his own and not proposing a later

[32] *Tormo*, III, pp. 23, 24, 60–63; *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 16, 298–301.

[33] Catalogue of the Hess Collection, sold at Lucern (Cassirer and Fischer), 1 September 1931, lot 12.

[34] Letter of 23 November 1956 from L. Burchard to T.P. Grange.

[35] Catalogue of sale by Van Diemen & Co., Berlin (Graupe), 25 January 1935, lot 51; somewhat modified in manuscript in Burchard's documentation.

[36] *Larsen*, p. 219, No. 100.

[37] *Goris-Held*, p. 35, No. 59.

date. Held discovered the bozzetto of one piece, *Historiography* (No. 19a; Fig. 212) and rightly observed that this points to a connection with the series. [38]

In our opinion there is no reason whatever to doubt that the twenty tapestries in the Descalzas are integral parts of a single series. The contrary opinion originated in insufficient knowledge of the individual tapestries. Most of the eleven "large" tapestries were known well enough, as illustrations of them were widely published outside the convent, and the relevant engravings, sketches and large canvases were well known. The nine smaller compositions (the five entitled *Adoration of the Eucharist*, together with *King David Playing the Harp* and the three small allegorical works) were either unknown or not regarded as part of the series. In consequence, a wrong opinion prevailed as to the series itself. It was assumed that it must be composed of Triumphs, Victories and Prefigurations, depicted in the form of a procession, on a tapestry in an architectonic "border". The eleven "large" compositions, which answered to this description, were accordingly regarded as "the" Eucharistic series or the main series, while the nine smaller works that did not fit the preconceived scheme were more or less firmly excluded.

We are convinced, on the other hand, that all twenty tapestries were commissioned and executed at the same time as part of a single series. They were presented to the same convent, designed by the same artist and woven in the same workshops: the smaller ones, like the larger, bear the signatures of Jan Raes and Jacob Geubels. [39]

The stylistic arguments which have led critics to date the modelli five or more years later do not seem to us convincing. On the contrary, we find striking resemblances in the modelli for the large and small compositions respectively—compare for instance the figures in the *Succession of the Popes* (No. 18b; Fig. 210) with those in *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11b; Fig. 151)—so that there is no reason not to consider them contemporaneous. The stylistic

[38] *Held, 1968*, pp. 8, 13.

[39] *Historiography* (No. 19) and three of the tapestries representing *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (Nos. 1, 2, 4) bear the mark or signature of Jacob Geubels. It has been stated that Geubels died in 1628 or 1629 (J. Duverger, *Aantekeningen betreffende Tapijten naar Cartons van Jacob Jordaens, Artes Textiles*, V, 1959, p. 49), but we are not certain that this is so and therefore do not give the date as a *terminus ante quem*.

judgement was formed on the basis of the modelli only, when it was not yet known that bozzetti were painted for the three small allegorical compositions as well as for the others. The iconographic unity of the series is also undeniable on close examination.

We may thus conclude that there is no reason to doubt that Isabella's gift consisted of the series of twenty tapestries now in the Descalzas: these form an integral whole and there is no ground for supposing that the series is incomplete. It is probable, moreover, that all Rubens's sketches and designs were executed at the same period, ca. 1626, and that all the tapestries were forwarded to the convent in July 1628.

III. THE DESTINATION OF THE TAPESTRIES

There is no doubt that Isabella's series of tapestries depicting Eucharistic subjects was intended for Eucharistic feasts in the Descalzas Reales, but on which of the convent walls were the tapestries to be displayed?

The convent possesses two cloisters, one on either side of the church: that on the left, the *claustro de la clausura* with a lower part and an upper story (Fig. 19), belongs to the enclosed area, while the *claustro público* on the right (Figs. 20, 21) is accessible from the street.[1] It has been customary since the end of the 19th century to hold processions in the *claustro público,* also called *claustro procesional,* and to hang most of the tapestries on the walls of this cloister.[2] There is reason to think, however, that while the tapestries have continued over the centuries to be displayed on the same occasion, they are no longer hung in the same place as formerly.

We have sought to find old descriptions that would give an idea of the way in which feasts were celebrated in the convent, and in particular how the building was decorated. Two sources are available, from the 16th and 17th century respectively. The earliest text is the foundation charter of the convent, drawn up in 1572 and published in the 18th century, in which the Infanta Juana expresses the wish that the three Eucharistic feasts should be celebrated with especial solemnity, as they were during her lifetime. She prescribes the general way in which this is to be done, but has not much to say as regards music and decorations. For the feast of the Resurrection she asks particularly that four altars should be placed in the cloister next the church and that its walls should be hung with tapestries ("paños");[3] as we shall see, the same was also done for the other feasts.

[1] See plan of the convent complex, Fig. 7. As the church is not oriented and the liturgical points of the compass differ considerably from the natural ones, we have avoided using either and refer instead to "left" and "right". These terms are to be understood from the point of view of someone standing at the main entrance, not in the choir.

[2] This use of the tapestries is first mentioned in a publication of 1875 (*Rosell y Torres,* p. 531) and more fully, with a discussion of each, in 1881 *(Descripción)*; see also *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 250 (... "tapices que se cuelgan en el claustro exterior en la Octava del Corpus y alguna otra solemnidad"). Rubens's tapestries are also referred to as decorating the cloister in the 20th century literature concerning the feasts, quoted on p. 29, n. 19.

[3] Doc. 2.

A more interesting document is Juan Carrillo's description of the Octave of Corpus Christi as it was celebrated at the Descalzas Reales in 1615.[4] The father confessor gives an exact and vivid picture of the feast in all its brilliance and devotional fervour. The description must correspond closely to what Isabella knew in 1598, and little can have changed by the time Rubens's tapestries reached the convent thirty years later. The feasts continued to be celebrated as Juana had prescribed, and, if Carrillo is to be believed, they grew more splendid year by year.

It was Juana's wish that the church and cloister should be adorned on these occasions with richly dressed altars and finery of all kinds. The church was cleaned and hung with embroidered cloth so that all the walls were covered. Four altars were set up in addition to the three permanent ones, so that seven Masses could be said at once. These altars were adorned with silver and gilt candlesticks, crosses, figures of saints, a profusion of artificial flowers and white frontals of embroidered damask. Costly carpets were spread on the altar steps. The retable of the high altar was decorated from top to bottom with silken flowers, and a magnificent baldaquin of white brocade was erected above the monstrance exposed on the altar. The church was lit by more than two hundred white candles. For the procession four more altars, all similarly adorned, were set up in the cloister, one at each corner.

Carrillo tells us more of the adornment of the cloister, for which use was made of the celebrated tapestry series of *Charles V's Capture of Tunis.* Juana had inherited these from her father and, according to Carrillo, had bequeathed them to Philip II on condition that they should always be lent by the palace to the convent on feast days.[5] This series, woven for Charles V in 1548–54 after cartoons by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, was regarded as the finest and most valuable in the possession of the Spanish crown, and was used to celebrate the principal court festivities. The fact that it was also used in the Eucharistic feasts bears witness to the belief that nothing could be precious enough to do honour to the Holy Sacrament in the royal convent.

[4] *Carrillo,* f° 36^{r}–38^{r} (Doc. 3).

[5] *Carrillo,* f° 37^{v} (Doc. 3, pp. 423, 427, 428). For the series of *The Capture of Tunis* see A.F. Calvert, *The Spanish Royal Tapestries,* London, 1921, pp. VIII, 32–47; V. de Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la Corona de España,* Madrid, 1903, I, pp. 29–53, Pls. 56–65; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Vlaamse Wandtapijten van de XIVde tot de XVIIIde eeuw,* Brussels, 1960, pp. 221–230, 301.

The descriptions of the festivities in 1572 and 1616 are of course too early to provide any indication of how the Rubens tapestries were used, and we have no direct information on this point. We have been unable to find any written or graphic evidence of the way in which the tapestries were displayed in the convent. We know of no unpublished sources or archives that do more than simply mention the tapestries,[6] and publications of the 17th and 18th centuries do not afford much help either.

The earliest publication to mention the tapestries, as far as we can discover, is the biography of Sor Margarita de la Cruz published in 1636 by her confessor, the Franciscan Juan de Palma. He does not mention the festivities, but repeats the anecdote we have already quoted. Isabella's gift was received at the convent by her cousin and sister-in-law, who had at the time been blind for some years. As to the tapestries Palma says:

> "Embió estos años vltimos la señora Infanta D. Isabel su prima, a su A. [lteza] 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."[7]

Palma is the only author of the 17th or 18th century who tells us anything about the tapestries. Descriptions of the Descalzas Reales at this period either say nothing about the great religious celebrations or briefly mention their splendour without going into details.[8] Works referring to Rubens and his painting do not say much about the tapestries either. Only Palomino seems to have seen the tapestries themselves: he expressly mentions the "Tapiceria de los Triunfos de la Fe" and "los Cartones, para aquella célebre Tapiceria".[9]

[6] We could only find mention of the tapestries in Chifflet's notes, already quoted (Docs. 7, 8) and in Philip IV's requests to Leopold William to send to Spain the paintings made for the series of tapestries at the Descalzas (1648, 1649; see below pp. 149, 150, Docs. 14, 15).

[7] *Palma*, f° 168, 168^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 441, 442, 445).

[8] See extracts from Geronimo de Quintana (1629) and Antonio Ponz (1787), quoted on p. 29, *n.* 19.

[9] Doc. 24; the existence of the tapestries was well known to G.P. Bellori (who, however, bases his full description on the engravings: Doc. 19) and to Descamps (*Descamps, Vie*, I, p. 320; copied by *Michel*, 1771, p. 326). In other 18th-century publications we find only references to the large canvases or painted copies (*Mensaert*, I, p. 8; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 97; *Ponz*, 1787, I, pp. 271-272; *Cumberland, Anecdotes*, I, pp. 174–179).

As already stated, it is not until the end of the 19th century that we find any indication of how the Rubens tapestries were used, i.e. about 250 years after their arrival in the convent. The *Descripción* of 1881 describes seventeen of the twenty tapestries, including both large and small ones, as being displayed in the *claustro público* during the festivities of Corpus Christi and the *Santo Entierro.*

The passage in which Carrillo states that a series of tapestries was hung in the cloister—the only part of his account to which attention was paid—together with the present-day custom of displaying them in the *claustro público,* led to the conclusion that Isabella's series was intended for this cloister. Assuming too readily that tradition in the Descalzas Reales was stronger than time, and that the 19th century conformed to he customs of the 16th and 17th, Rosell y Torres, followed by Tormo, supposed that the Eucharist series replaced *The Capture of Tunis* in this cloister. [10] Tormo, however, did not believe this to be the case with all the tapestries, but only with the majority of them, the "large" compositions that he regarded as the main series. As regards the five tapestries of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (Nos. 1–5), he supposed that they were intended for the convent church. From Le Monnier's sketch (Fig. 94) he observed that these five appeared alongside each other in two rows. This arrangement, which was unusual for tapestries, made him think that *The Adoration of the Eucharist* might have been intended as a decoration for the retable of the high altar, which was divided horizontally (Figs. 16, 17). Tormo thought it quite likely that in addition to the cloister tapestries, a small supplementary series should have been made to adorn the altar. This seemed to him in line with the custom observed in other Madrid churches, whereby during part of Holy Week the whole retable of the high altar was covered by enormous hangings, either painted or plain, so as to conceal it from the eyes of the faithful. This tradition has long since disappeared, but some remarkable specimens of these hangings survive. [11]

Tormo's idea that the Eucharist series had a twofold destination—the "main series" for the *claustro público,* and a "supplementary series" as a velum for

[10] *Rosell y Torres,* p. 531; *Tormo,* I, p. 149.

[11] *Tormo,* III, pp. 21–23 (he mentions canvases by Villoldo and Sánchez Coello); as regards the retable and the interpretation of the Chicago sketch, see below, pp. 102–105.

the retable of the church altar—seemed plausible and has found general acceptance.[12] We are convinced, however, that there was no intention of providing a separate velum for the high altar, but that all the tapestries were alike intended for the convent church.

Palma, the earliest witness, uses the expression "para el templo", which we should probably take as meaning "to adorn the church" rather than "as a gift to the church". At all events, the church was bedecked with hangings during the festivals. This is confirmed by a passage in Carrillo, which has not been sufficiently noticed and which is more to the purpose than his account of the Tunis series. Describing the decoration of the church, he writes:

> "... se limpia toda la Iglesia, se laua el suelo, y se cuelgan todas las paredes con una colgadura bordada, hecha a medida de las mismas paredes..." [13]

Thus all the walls were covered with embroidered hangings, made to measure. This took place on other occasions besides the Eucharistic feasts—for instance, we find that it was done when Sor Margarita de la Cruz made her profession in 1585,[14] and several times on the occasion of funerals.[15] It is probable that the charter, and Carrilo, make special mention of the decoration of the cloister because it went without saying that the church itself would be adorned as brilliantly as possible, according to the nature of the solemnity.

However, our belief that all the Rubens tapestries were meant for the church is not based only on this tradition but on a study of the tapestries themselves. What ever wall *The Adoration of the Eucharist* was meant to adorn, the Chicago sketch (Fig. 95) leaves no room for doubt as to the interrelation of

[12] See *inter alia Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* p. 176; *Elbern,* p. 14; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 54; *Held, 1968,* p. 8; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 22.

[13] *Carrillo,* f° 36^{v} (Doc. 3, pp. 422, 426).

[14] Palma says that on this occasion the nuns surpassed their own reputation for gorgeous ceremonial, and in his account of the decorations he expressly mentions that the church walls were decorated with hangings (*Palma,* f° 83^{v}; Doc. 13, pp. 441, 444).

[15] When a member of the royal family died, the funeral service was held in the Descalzas church. A tumulus was erected and the church walls were hung with black velvet and damask, often with the escutcheon of the deceased. This ceremony was observed at the funeral of Isabella of Valois in 1568 (*López de Hoyos,* f° 48–50^{v}; Doc. 1, pp. 412–414, 417, 418), of the Empress Maria in 1603 (*Méndez Silva,* f° 50^{v}) and of Sor Margarita de la Cruz in 1633 (*Palma,* f° 276; Doc. 13, pp. 443, 446).

the five tapestries, which hung in two horizontal rows. Evidently, the "large" tapestries were designed to be hung in the same manner. [16]

It can in fact be shown that the eleven "large" tapestries agree in all respects with the four outside ones of *The Adoration of the Eucharist*. They are of equal height, and show the same peculiarity that two different orders of architecture are used for the borders. In five of them we find Tuscan pillars and in the other six the Salomonic (twisted) variety. In the "large" tapestries the Salomonic order was intended to appear above the Tuscan, as is shown by the perspective. Both in the four outside tapestries of the *Adoration* and in the "large" tapestries, we see that a different vanishing point was chosen for the respective types: this can be perceived from the vanishing lines of the architectonic elements. In the "Tuscan" type these lines converge within the composition itself, and the "floor" on which the columns stand can be seen (Figs. 107, 113, 119, 144, 160, 171, 190). In the type with the Salomonic columns this is not so: the vanishing lines run downwards so that the "floor" can no longer be seen, but more of the "ceiling" is in view (Figs. 100, 101, 132, 137, 149, 183, 199, 203). It is thus indisputable that the latter type were intended to be hung above the former. If two tapestries are hung one above the other, they reach to a height of 9.5 or 10 metres. The only part of the convent where this arrangement is possible is the church, where the walls are about 12 metres high up to the cornice (Fig. 9).

The peculiarity of the two architectural orders has been noticed by several critics who were under the impression that the tapestries were meant to hang side by side in the cloister. They even sought iconographical explanations for this, as though the choice of order depended on the subject of each tapestry. However, from the architectonic point of view it is unthinkable that two different orders should be used side by side. On the other hand it is quite normal to construct compositions of several tiers in which a graceful order surmounts a heavier one. [17]

[16] This has also been noticed recently by Charles Scribner III (C. Scribner, *Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries, The Art Bulletin*, LVII, 1975, pp. 519–528). Since my Chapters were finished at the time when his observations were published, I have not altered my original text. I have only included references to his article in the literature of the Catalogue Raisonné.

[17] See below, p. 175, n. 41.

In form and subject alike, the "large" tapestries are so closely connected with the five which constitute the *Adoration of the Eucharist* that they undoubtedly formed a single decorative whole and were intended to be hung in the same place. No part of the convent building was more worthy to be adorned with Eucharistic subjects than the church itself, the resting-place of the Body of Christ. It is significant that Elbern the author who went most deeply into the iconography of the series, is the only one who suspected a connection between the "large" tapestries and the *Adoration.* Originally, in his fullest publications, he supported Tormo's idea of the double destination, but afterwards he came to doubt this and to wonder if the series was not intended as a whole for the interior of the church. [18]

Tormo was wrong, in our opinion, to associate Rubens's work with the custom of veiling the Sacrament and the altar during Holy Week as a sign of mourning. The spirit of the series is quite different: it is a triumphant procession of the monstrance, a fitting accompaniment to Corpus Christi, the joyful feast in honour of the Eucharist. The Sacrament is not concealed, but displayed in all its glory.

We therefore believe that it was Isabella's intention that her precious gift should be used in the most appropriate place, namely the church itself, which played the most important part in the ceremonies. She was not concerned to displace *The Capture of Tunis,* but to carry out a more grandiose and significant plan. She replaced the embroidered hangings that covered each wall of the church, so that during the great festivals both the church and the cloister might be hung with magnificent Brussels tapestries.

In the Netherlands Isabella had many opportunities of admiring precious tapestries that were displayed annually at great feasts of the church. In Brussels, long famous for this work, costly specimens were to be seen in the churches of St. Gudula and Notre-Dame du Sablon (Zavelkerk). The Archduchess also showed a personal interest: when one of her ladies-in-waiting became a Poor Clare at Ghent, she had the church decorated with the best tapestries that were

[18] *Elbern, 1955,* p. 61; incomprehensibly, Elbern still maintains the view that the series was not created as a single whole but that the five tapestries of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* were a supplementary series.

to be found on the Count's Caſtle.[19] In 1620 she bought from Jan Raes a series of tapeſtries after cartoons by Raphael, depicting the *Acts of the Apoſtles:* these were presented to the Discalced Carmelite Nuns at Brussels for the adornment of their convent church.[20]

We may thus conclude that the Rubens tapeſtries were in fact intended to decorate the church of the Descalzas Reales. We cannot yet discuss the precise location of each, however, as we muſt firſt consider the evidence of Rubens's firſt sketches, the bozzetti. We shall therefore revert to this point later.

[19] *de Villermont,* II, p. 476.

[20] J. Houdoy, *Les tapisseries de haute-lisse, Hiſtoire de la fabrication lilloise, du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle, et Documents inédits concernant l'hiſtoire des tapisseries de Flandre,* Lille-Paris, 1871, p. 151: "1620. A jean Raes, maiſtre tapissier à Bruxelles, pour achat de XV pièces de tapisseries représentant *les actes des XII apoſtres,* pour servir en l'église des religieuses descalcées au dit Bruxelles, contenant VIII^e XXIX aunes et demie, au pris de XVI^l ..... XIII^mII^cLXXII^l".

IV. THE CHURCH OF THE DESCALZAS REALES

To get an idea of how the tapestry decoration was intended to look, we should take a closer view of the interior for which it was designed: the church of the Descalzas Reales, which the Infanta Juana had built between 1556 and 1564, over the spot where she was born.

This church, which Isabella knew from her childhood and for which she commissioned the tapestries, has been preserved as part of the complex of convent buildings. The ground plan and the general construction have not been altered, and the façade (Fig. 8) is exactly in its original form. The interior has, however, been much modified, especially by the modernization carried out around 1756 under the celebrated architect Diego de Villanueva.[1]

The church in its present aspect is thus less interesting from the point of view of architectural history, and descriptions of it are infrequent, even though it is one of the oldest surviving churches in Madrid and one of the few remaining monuments of the sixteenth century in this city. This has made our investigation considerably more difficult: we were obliged to study the interior ourselves, and for this reason we discuss it here at greater length than might perhaps be expected. Apart from the rough schema published by Tormo (Fig. 7) we could find no drawing of the plan or elevation, and in spite of the efforts of various authorities in Madrid it was impossible, for administrative reasons, to have the necessary measurements carried out. We had thus to be satisfied with an approximate drawing made by ourselves on the spot, to give at least some idea of the arrangement and dimensions of the interior (Figs. 9, 10).

As far as we could discover, no attempt has yet been made to ascertain what the 16th century interior looked like; we are obliged therefore to base ourselves on the present appearance of the church and on the full and very reliable description by Juan López de Hoyos.[2] In 1568, shortly after the building was completed, Isabella's mother, Elizabeth of Valois, was buried in the Descalzas

[1] *Tormo*, IV, p. 129; F. Chueca Goitia, *La arquitectura religiosa en el siglo XVIII*, *Archivo español de arte*, 1949, p. 292; G. Kubler and M. Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions (1500 to 1800)*, Harmondsworth, 2nd ed., 1969, p. 51.

[2] *López de Hoyos*, f° 42v–48 (Doc. 1); this author's information is trustworthy (as can be seen from his description of the façade, which is still in its original state), but is not always clearly expressed and often hard to interpret.

church, and in describing the ceremony the author devotes several pages to the building itself, which he considers to be remarkable and new in its conception.

We shall not enter into the discussion as to which architects may have been responsible for the work or for different parts of it,[3] but will observe that some of them were concerned in the building of the Escorial. The church there, although much more grandiose, shows points of resemblance to the modest church of the Descalzas, not only in its general plan but also in the decoration of the interior. This is in part still visibly the case, but is even more evident from the description by Juan López de Hoyos. It would appear that Doña Juana wished, with the help of the same architects, to create a much simplified version of the church that her brother was building during the same years as part of the unique complex of his Hieronymite monastery of St. Lawrence.

The church of the Descalzas is relatively small and is built on a very simple plan. Like the Escorial, it is a central structure with two elements added: the choir with the high altar, and at the opposite end a porch surmounted by the nuns' choir (*coro alto*). As one enters the main part of the building today, it appears as a low vaulted nave (Fig. 12). The enclosed nuns in the *coro alto* can see the high altar and watch the church services through a grille (Fig. 11).

It appears, however, from López de Hoyos' description that the old structure has not been altogether maintained. The single wide nave was formerly divided into three by two rows of columns (Fig. 9),[4] in the same way as at the Escorial. Only the beginnings of these columns are still visible against the inner side of the façade. The columns were no doubt removed for practical reasons, perhaps at the time of the 18th-century alterations, and the space converted into a single

[3] Among the names mentioned are Antonio Sillero, Juan Bautista de Toledo, Francisco Paciotto, Nicolas de Vergara and Gaspar Becerra (E. de Llaguna y Amirola & J.A. Ceán-Bermúdez, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración* ..., Madrid, 1829, II, pp. 81, 98; *Tormo*, IV, pp. 17–19; G. Kubler, *Francesco Paciotto, Arquitecto, Goya*, 1963, No. 56–57, pp. 88, 90, 94; E. Tormo, *Las Iglesias del antiguo Madrid*, 2nd ed., Valencia, 1972, pp. 127, 131.

[4] The columns are not only described by López de Hoyos ("Ay diez y seys columnas..."): *López de Hoyos*, f° 43^{v}; Doc. 1, pp. 410, 415), but also in the account of the Empress Maria's funeral: "Colgóse la Capilla de terciopelos, y damascos negros, como tambien los pilares de la Iglesia, timbrados con Escudos de Armas Imperiales" (*Méndez Silva*, f° 50^{v}).

wide nave. The *coro alto* is in its former place and the internal decoration with the Empress Maria's funeral monument is unchanged, but probably the floor of this area, together with the grille, was raised at the time of the rebuilding (Figs. 9, 10).[5]

López de Hoyos points out that the church itself, i.e. the central part, is very high, so that above the screen of the nuns' choir there is room for three windows which are the only source of light for the whole interior.[6] He probably does not mean that all three windows were in the wall of the *coro alto,* but is merely giving an idea of the height. The arrangement may have been originally as now: three round windows above the level of the cornice, one in the arch above the screen of the *coro alto* (Fig. 11) and one let into the barrel-vaulting on each side (Fig. 13).

The main altar was fairly high up (Fig. 9); this was customary at the time, and also enabled it to be easily seen from the nuns' choir. The chancel was a raised area approached by twelve steps, as is also the case at the Escorial. Under the steps was a crypt used as a sacristy, where the precious ceremonial vessels were kept.[7] The floor of the chancel has been considerably lowered, so that steps have had to be placed in front of all doors that opened on the previous level (Figs. 10, 14, 18). An original feature, also mentioned by López de Hoyos, is provided by two small doors to either side of the altar (Fig. 14) and, in a small passage behind, the hatch through which the nuns received Communion, and which opens on to the splendid reliquary chamber.[8]

There were three altars in the church, the high altar and two smaller ones in the side-aisles. The sculpture and painting for these were ordered by princess Juana from the celebrated Gaspar Becerra. However, the retable over the high altar, which was always regarded as a masterpiece and as one of the main features of the church (Figs. 16, 17) was destroyed by fire in 1862. At that time an 18th-century altar was brought from a Jesuit church and supplemented with 19th-century elements to fit into the architectural scheme (Fig. 14).[9] We

[5] This seems to be confirmed by the fact that one now has to go up several steps to reach the *coro alto* from the adjoining apartment.

[6] *López de Hoyos,* f° 44^{v} (Doc. 1, pp. 410, 415).

[7] *López de Hoyos,* f° 47 (Doc. 1, pp. 412, 417).

[8] *López de Hoyos,* f° 46 (Doc. 1, pp. 411, 416).

[9] *Tormo,* IV, pp. 44–48.

have descriptions of the original retable by López de Hoyos and later authors,[10] and also two pieces of graphic evidence: the original design by Gaspar Becerra (Fig. 16),[11] and a woodcut by J. Avrial, published in 1839 (Fig. 17).[12] It was a construction of wood or marble, with a predella and three tiers above it, each adorned with three scenes. Those in the middle tier (the *Assumption of the Virgin,* whereto the community was dedicated, the *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection*) were sculpted in alto relievo,[13] and the other tiers, depicting the life of the Virgin, were paintings on marble. It was exceptional in the iconography of Spanish retables to have the *Crucifixion* in the middle tier and not at the top, crowning the whole scene (Fig. 15). The figure of Christ in this *Crucifixion* was celebrated as miraculous: it had nodded "Yes" when the Archduchess Margarita had stood in the royal tribune and asked whether she should enter the Descalzas and become a bride of Christ instead of accepting Philip II's offer of marriage.[14]

For the reconstruction of Rubens's series it is important to have an idea of the original dimensions of the retable. The design by Becerra and the repro-

[10] *López de Hoyos,* f° 45, 45^{v} (Doc. 1, pp. 411, 416); J. Arfe de Villafañe, *De Varia Commensuracion para la Esculptura y Architectura,* Sevilla, 1585, in: F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes Literarias para la Historia del Arte Español,* I, Madrid, 1923, p. 274; *Ponz, 1787,* V, pp. 220, 221; E. de Llaguna y Amirola & J.A. Ceán-Bermúdez, *op. cit.,* II, p. 110; F. Fabre, *Madrid Artístico, El Altar Mayor de las Descalzas Reales,* in *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* IV, segunda serie, tomo 1, 1839, pp. 161, 162; *Rosell y Torres,* pp. 525, 528, 537–541; *Tormo,* IV, pp. 31, 36–42; E. Tormo, *Gaspar Becerra...,* *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de excursiones,* XX, 1 June 1912, p. 65; J.J. Martín González, *Tipología e iconografía del retablo español del Renacimiento, Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y de Arqueología de la Universidad de Valladolid,* XXX, 1964, p. 33, fig. 26; G. Kubler and M. Soria, *op. cit.,* p. 368, n. 40; J.J. Martín González, *Precisiones sobre Gaspar Becerra, Archivo español de arte,* XLII, 1969, pp. 335–339.

[11] Pen and brown ink wash, 870 : 550 mm., dated 1563; *Rosell y Torres,* pp. 539–540, fig. facing p. 525; A.M. de Barcia y Pavón, *Catálogo de la colección de Dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional,* Madrid, 1906, p. 16, No. 3; *Tormo,* IV, pp. 31, 36, 38, fig. 157.

[12] F. Fabre, *loc. cit.,* fig. p. 161; mentioned and reproduced by *Tormo,* IV, pp. 31, 36–38, fig. 158.

[13] Gaspar Becerra's larger and more elaborate retable in the cathedral at Astorga (Fig. 15) is a good example of these scenes in alto relievo: see G. Kubler and M. Soria, *op. cit.,* p. 141, fig. 76B.

[14] *Palma,* f° 54 (Doc. 13, pp. 440, 444), 57; E. Tormo, *Gaspar Becerra ..., loc. cit.,* pp. 243–246; *Tormo,* I, pp. 178, 182.

duction by Avrial differ from each other in several respects, owing to the changes in the final execution and also to Avrial's inaccuracies, but they agree as to the proportions of the whole and the subdivision of he area. Since the two drawings were made independantly of each other, we may take these proportions as a reliable basis.

As mentioned, the original high altar was not at the same level as the present one. The choir was about a metre higher than it now is, and about two metres above the level of the main part of the church (Figs. 9, 10).[15] The two small passages to either side of the altar (Fig. 14) have certainly not changed their position, and thus provide an indication of the original state of things as regards the rear wall. López de Hoyos tells us the position occupied by these doors in relation to the retable. He says that the latter is supported by two escutcheons, those of Doña Juana and her Consort, and that on either side of the escutcheons there is a door leading to the reliquary chamber.[16] Both the graphic documents show the coats of arms between the consoles, in the same place but in a different form (Figs. 16, 17); Avrial's reproduction agrees with López de Hoyos' description and probably shows them as they actually were, so that Becerra appears to have departed from his original design. From the 16h-century description we can be certain that the escutcheons were not above the doors or on the outer side of them : together with the consoles they supported the construction and were *between* the doors, probably level with their upper corners, while the construction extended some distance further, on each side, immediately above the doors themselves. We may thus infer that the lower edge of the retable was about 1.50 to 1.90 metres above the chancel floor (at its former level), and was about 6.50 metres wide. The whole wall is about 9.50 metres wide, but Becerra's construction cannot have been as large as this.[17] We are convinced that the retable was in fact only 6.50 metres wide

[15] See above, p. 57.

[16] *López de Hoyos,* f° 45, 46 (Doc. 1, pp. 411, 416).

[17] If it were, López de Hoyos' description would be incorrect; moreover, taking proportion into account, the construction would have been too high for the space available. If the retable was 9.50 metres wide it must have been about 18 metres high; but this is the height of the whole wall from the floor of the church proper (not the quire) to the ceiling.

and that its height and breadth fitted into the projecting arch of the altar wall, while its upper edge was level with the cornice of the church wall (Fig. 9).[18]

The two small side altars which Doña Juana had consecrated to the patrons of her husband and son, John the Baptist and St. Sebastian, have been preserved in renovated form. The original paintings of the two saints that adorned these altars, executed by Gaspar Becerra on black marble, are still in the church and are all that remains of his work for the Descalzas Reales.

The two side walls of the church (Figs. 13, 14, 18) have also been altered a good deal, and we have less information about them than about the former high altar. The ornaments to which the 16th-century author refers, pilasters and cornices in stucco imitating marble, have disappeared. It is especially difficult to discover to what extent the walls were interrupted by elements that would have prevented the hanging of tapestries, and of which account had to be taken in planning the decoration: either projections, or openings that had to be left clear. The two galleries and two organs that are now seen on either side (Fig. 13) are certainly later additions, which spoil the clear subdivision of the original simple architecture.

To either side of the altar, in the two side walls, was a grille of gilded metal with a small chapel behind. The chapels have been preserved but are put to a different purpose. The one on the right contained many important relics to which Doña Juana was particularly attached. When she died she was buried there, and it continues to be her memorial chapel (Fig. 18).[19] A life-size marble statue of the Infanta praying (Fig. 3) is probably the work of Pompeo Leoni, who executed the famous bronze groups of Charles V and Philip II and their respective families, to either side of the choir in the Escorial church. The left-hand chapel at the Descalzas (Fig. 14) is now used for the nuns' Communion.

The royal gallery was probably situated above one of these chapels, where there are now portraits of the Empress Maria (Fig. 14) and the Infanta Juana

[18] If the retable was 6.50 metres wide it would have been about 12 metres high, its top being about 14 metres above the floor of the quire. We may note that López de Hoyos gives measurements for the total height of the church ("over 65 feet [17.50 metres]": *López de Hoyos,* f° 44^{v}; Doc. 1, pp. 410, 415) and also for the height of the retable ("over 50 feet [14 metres]": *López de Hoyos,* f° 45; Doc. 1, pp. 411, 416), but it is not clear from what level the latter is reckoned.

[19] *López de Hoyos,* f° 47, 47^{v} (Doc. 1, pp. 412, 417); *Carrillo,* f° 60.

(Fig. 18). López de Hoyos does not mention a royal gallery, but we know from other sources that there was a gallery close to the altar, leading to the royal apartments. [20] This may have been on the left, where it is easier to imagine access to the rest of the convent.

On the left-hand side of the church there was in any case a confessional for the nuns and a door giving access to an octagonal pulpit. [21]

It is hard to say whether there was an organ attached to the wall at any point. López de Hoyos does not mention one, but we know that the organ was played in the church. The charter of 1572 laid down that Mass and vespers must be accompanied by organ music on feast days, and in the supplementary document of 1601 the King requested that an organist be attached to the convent. [22] Moreover, the famous composer Tomás Luis de Victoria was organist at the Descalzas for several years; [23] and Carrillo writes in 1616 that an organist was attached to the chapel. [24] We know nothing, however, about the size of the organ in the 17th century or where it was situated.

In each of the transepts, opposite each other, there was formerly a large door.

[20] *Palma,* f° 54 (Doc. 13, pp. 440, 444); *Méndez Silva,* f° 43^{v}. We cannot agree with Tormo's suggestion that the royal gallery was opposite the high altar, where in fact the *coro alto* is (*Tormo,* I, p. 178).

[21] *López de Hoyos,* f° 46^{v}, 47 (Doc. 1, pp. 412, 417).

[22] *Real Fundación de la Capilla y Monasterio de Religiosas Franciscas Descalzas de la Primera Regla de Santa Clara...,* Madrid, 1769, p. 53; see also *Carrillo,* f° 37^{v} (Doc. 3, pp. 423, 427).

[23] Victoria, who died in 1611, spent his last years in the chaplain's quarters in the Descalzas Reales and was buried in the convent. He composed music with organ accompaniment that was certainly performed in the Descalzas church: in 1600 he published a collection of Masses and other religious compositions, dedicated to Philip III with the hope that they might assist true devotion in the famous convent founded by the King's aunt, Doña Juana ("... in clarissimo hoc Templo Augustissimae Amitae tuae Joannae..."; F. Pedrell, *Thomae Ludovici Victoriae Abulensis Opera Omnia,* VIII, Leipzig, 1913, pp. LI, LII). We may also suppose that one of his most famous compositions, the Requiem for the Empress Maria, published in 1605 and dedicated to Maria's daughter Sor Margarita de la Cruz, was performed in the Descalzas church at the Empress's funeral in 1603. For Victoria's relations with the Descalzas see F. Pedrell, *op. cit.,* pp. LXVI–LXX, LXXIX; F. Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria Abulense. Biografía, bibliografía, significado estético de todas sus obras de arte polifónico-religioso,* Valencia, 1918, pp. 135–143, 174, 175, 201, 202; *Tormo,* IV, pp. 21, 22, 56, 57, 80; J.R. Milne, in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 5th ed., London, 1954, pp. 768–772, s.v. *Victoria.*

[24] *Carrillo,* f° 44.

The passage on the left, leading to the *claustro de la clausura,* is now blocked up, and Becerra's *St. John the Baptist* from the small altar has been placed where the opening was. On the opposite side there is less change. The *St. Sebastian* is in its original place above the altar, and the passage to the *claustro público* is still used. López de Hoyos writes that one of the doors led to a garden adjacent to Doña Juana's apartments, but it is not clear whether this was on the left or the right-hand side of he church.[25] It is hard to visualize a garden in the *claustro de la clausura,* a courtyard with a gallery, which already existed before the building was turned into a convent. It is more likely that the garden was on the other side, before the *claustro público* was built there (Fig. 9).[26]

The state of affairs described by López de Hoyos was presumably little altered by Rubens's time. The low-ceilinged area under the *coro alto,* with deep round niches on either side (Fig. 12), can have offered little opportunity of hanging tapestries. Rubens's decoration can only have been intended for the main part of the church, and account must be taken of the fact that the side walls were not symmetrical owing to the confessional, the pulpit and possibly an organ or a gallery on one side or the other.

It is clear, too, that various elements added in the 18th century, and the alterations to the portico and the *coro alto,* made it impossible to hang the tapestries as originally intended. It is hard to determine whether they were no longer in the church when the alterations were decided upon, or whether it was deemed necessary to modernize the church at the cost of its baroque tapestry ornamentation.

[25] *López de Hoyos,* f° 47v, 48 (Doc. 1, pp. 412, 417); López de Hoyos mentions this garden a second time in his description of the funeral of Elizabeth of Valois, when he indicates on which side of the church the seats for the royal family were placed, but here again his description is insufficiently clear (*López de Hoyos,* f° 50; Doc. 1, pp. 413, 418).

[26] It is thus possible that both the charter and Carrillo's account, where they speak of hanging the tapestries in the cloister, mean the lower part of the *claustro de la clausura* and not the *claustro público,* where the processions are held today. The *claustro de la clausura* must at some time have been used for processions, as there are altars in all four corners. However, its dimensions present a problem: the lower part is about 4.50 metres high, much lower than the *claustro público* (Fig. 21) and certainly too low to display properly the tapestries of *The Capture of Tunis,* which are about 5.25 metres high.

V. THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE SERIES

We are convinced that the Rubens tapestries were intended to cover the whole wall space of the Descalzas church on the occasion of the Eucharistic feasts, and that they were to be hung continuously in so far as architectural obstacles allowed, and without covering the porch beneath the nuns' choir (Figs. 9, 12). Since the walls measure about 12 metres up to the cornice, the tapestries had to be arranged in two horizontal rows. The weight of the woollen fabric precluded the manufacture of tapestries covering the whole height, as would have been possible with a lighter weave or with embroidered canvases.

All the "large" tapestries are nearly 5 metres high, and it may be surmised that the arrangement in two rows of equal height corresponded to a horizontal division in the architecture. The description of the church by López de Hoyos tells us that the walls were decorated with many divisions and pilasters,[1] but gives no further information from which a clear picture could be gained. We thus do not know whether the bottom row of tapestries was hung from a continuous projection. The upper row was presumably hung from the cornice or fastened immediately beneath it.

1. *General Appearance*

To form a proper idea of the decoration we must remember that the tapestries constituted an integral whole—not merely a sequence of individual scenes, but a single monumental composition built up round the spectator. The basic structure of this composition is formed by the two rows of architecture in the tapestry. These are Tuscan below and Corinthian above, with some composite elements, and are richly adorned with gold motifs. In the bottom row are tuscan columns, generally in pairs; they are rusticated and stand on a raised plinth. The architrave is in antique style, with metopes and triglyph decoration (Figs. 119, 160). Above this architrave is a broad cornice with a decoration of acanthus or vine tendrils (Figs. 132, 137, 199), interrupted by the projecting bases of the Salomonic columns of the upper row. These in turn support an architrave, the underside of which is decorated with caissons (Figs. 100, 101, 132, 137, 199, 203). This is a curious construction from the architectonic point

[1] *López de Hoyos*, f° 44^{v} (Doc. 1, pp. 410, 415).

of view, though is has features in common with Italian Renaissance architecture. We shall revert to this point.

In some instances there is a space between the architectural elements with a view beyond. Thus we see an upper region of heaven in which the angels sing, make music and hold up the monstrance, while King David plays the harp; and in the terrestrial sphere below, outside the architecture, ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries kneel and adore the monstrance, encouraged by angels. Between the other columns, however, the space is occupied by eleven large tapestries which prevent the spectator from seeing what is supposed to be beyond, whether a wall or an open space. Here and there the underside of the architrave can be seen above the tapestry, but there is no sign of a patch of sky or a landscape.

The tapestries between the columns are clearly of a "heavenly" character: they are held by cherubs who are flying up to hang them in their places. The manner in which this is done is somewhat negligent and varies from one bay to another. Four of the eleven tapestries are already in place (Figs. 132, 137, 171, 203), while the cherubs are still busy with the other seven. They go about their work in groups of two (Figs. 149, 183, 190), three (Figs. 119, 199) or four (Figs. 144, 160). Stout red cords with tassels on the end are fastened to rings in the "ceiling" (Figs. 132, 137, 183, 199), and some of them are also wound round the columns (Figs. 149, 160, 171, 203). To give a more festive appearance, garlands of fruit or flowers are occasionally added at the top (Figs. 119, 183, 190, 199); they are sometimes combined with a cartouche supposedly carved in relief in stone, giving the title of the tapestry in question (Figs. 144, 149, 160, 171, 203). In many cases objects and animals are seen in front of the frieze or sill at the bottom of the tapestry, illustrating the subject of the "tapestry" by their symbolic meaning.

The kneeling personages, the cherubs, the architecture, the tapestries and all the decorations belong to one and the same space and to a single system of lighting and perspective. This is clearly seen in the reproduction of the architecture. As we have already noticed, the vanishing lines make it possible to tell whether a tapestry belonged to the top or the bottom row. The angle from which the capitals and bases of the columns are seen likewise indicates whether the spectator is imagined as being to the left or right of the tapestry or directly in front of it. In addition the architecture of each tapestry is lighted centrally or from one side or the other, as shown by the shadows. All the

columns are clearly shaded on one side and cast shadows on the tapestries between them, as do the cherubs, garlands, tassels and the folded edges of the tapestries themselves.

Besides this "objective" reality there is also a second reality, that of the characters and events depicted on the tapestries between the columns. These do not belong to the same space as the kneeling mortals in the landscape and the heavenly figures in the clouds. The three female allegorical subjects—*The Succession of the Popes, Historiography* and *Charity Enlightening the World* (Nos. 18–20; Figs. 209, 214, 216)—likewise do not belong to the first, objective reality. In our view they are, so to speak, "paintings" rather than actual scenes visible through a break in the wall, and the egg-and-dart patterns bordering them are to be regarded as picture-frames.

However, the first reality (architecture, objects and personages) and the second (scenes on tapestries or paintings) are not everywhere sharply distinguished, and there are places where the two are made to overlap each other.

In the first place, the light falling on the architecture and on all the figures and objects of the first reality also falls at the same angle on the scenes depicted in the "tapestries". The cast shadows and modelling shadows of the figures therein are in every case occasioned by the same source of light as those of the architecture. As regards the viewpoint on which the perspective is based, it can be seen that the artist has resorted to a compromise. The characters in the upper row are not foreshortened as they would be if they were really behind the fictive architecture, but they are seen more from underneath than are the figures in the bottom row.

We must thus suppose that the "heavenly" tapestries that the cherubs are hanging in place are suited, not only by format but also by the incidence of light and perspective, to the positions they occupy in the Tuscan-Salomonic structure.

However, the two "realities" are sometimes intermingled in ways for which there is no logical explanation. When the scene includes an architectural décor, there is continuity between it and the framing architecture. [2] In one case there

[2] See *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 119), *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 144) and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Fig. 199). In the modello for *Abraham and Melchizedek*, now at Madrid (No. 7b; Fig. 121), it is not clear whether the large pitcher in the foreground is in front of the steps in the "tapestry" or rests on the altarlike decoration of the surrounding architecture.

is no logical or consistent way of interpreting what is shown, viz. in *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Fig. 199). At the bottom of the "tapestry" that the cherubs are suspending from the architrave is a capsized jar, the contents of which are spilling into a stone basin that belongs to the architecture. To the left of it, a figure is falling backwards out of the "tapestry" on to the frieze of the architecture, on which shadows are cast by his body and foot.

Elsewhere there are similar cases of overlapping, though they are less obvious and may be more capable of logical explanation. It sometimes looks as though the figures are in a real landscape extending behind the columns. At first sight this is so in *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190) and *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 171). On these panels the lower edge of the "tapestry" cannot be seen, and the sill or treshold at the bottom appears to belong to the same reality als the figures. Only the presence of the upper edge of the "tapestry" reminds us that the figures are actually in a world of their own. The effect has misled a critic into supposing that Rubens's scenes resemble the depiction of a stage set, the tapestry being interpreted as a landscape décor. [3]

There is also some ambiguity in the emblematic features above and below the tapestries. Formally these belong to the same space as the architecture, but their significance makes them part of the scene in the tapestry. Perhaps the idea is that these elements are introduced into the Tuscan-Salomonic structure by the cherubs (in order to illustrate the theme of the tapestry they are hanging up).

[3] "Renaissance painters in both Italy and Flanders were very fond of landscapes as background,... How cloths painted as landscape could be hung back of *tableaux vivants* set in a shallow stage framed by a proscenium we can see in several of Rubens' paintings. His portrait of Elijah, in the Louvre, and his series of Triumphs, in the Louvre, the Prado, the Boymans Museum of Rotterdam and elsewhere, all show a loose cloth spread under and back of the figures and looped over a cord or part of the proscenium above. I suspect that Rubens was borrowing directly from the street-shows that he saw and helped design." (G.R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre, Form and Convention in the Renaissance*, Chicago, 1944, p. 105). The composition of the series, with enclosing architecture, does indeed bear some resemblance to stages erected in the streets; see e.g. the stages for the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Matthias in Brussels in 1578, one of which is build with Salomonic columns (Fig. 22; J.B. Houwaert, *Sommare beschrijvinge vande triumphelijcke Incomst vanden doorluchtigen ende hooghgheboren Aerts-hertoge Matthias...*, Antwerp, 1579, p. 85).

2. *Explanation*

The above characteristics of the series as a whole are naturally based on iconographic as well as purely formal considerations, and it has been suggested that the device of the fictive tapestries may itself have a typological significance. In the present chapter we leave this out of account and confine ourselves to the formal aspects.

When Rubens accepted the commission to design tapestries for the Descalzas Reales he was faced with a different problem than that of painting a picture, or even a set of pictures, to decorate an interior. His task was to provide a complete decoration for walls that had to be covered from top to bottom. The problem was similar to that confronting a fresco painter, and it is not surprising that in several respects Rubens imitated the sixteenth-century wall-painting complexes that he had seen in Italy. Some elements in the Eucharist series that have been thought unique originate, in our opinion, directly from the tradition of fresco painting of the Italian Renaissance.

From the outset of the Italian Renaissance we find that an artist who has to paint a whole interior gives it structure by means of an architectural framework. This fictive architecture, painted on the walls or the ceiling, often conforms to existing architectural elements and is approximately correct in perspective from a particular standpoint. It serves to divide up the surface that has to be decorated, and the kind of reality that the elements of the decoration are supposed to possess is determined by their relationship to it. Either the scenes are represented as being viewed through openings in the architecture as though through a window, or else they are merely "objects", e.g. a painting, sculpture or tapestry affixed to the architecture. This has been fully discussed by Sven Sandström, who speaks not of degrees or kinds of reality but of "levels of unreality". [4]

It is understandable that the painters of great complexes should have adopted the device of working on different levels of reality or unreality. When the surface to be decorated is so large that the the architecture must be divided up and articulated in various ways, the question arises as to which reality the depicted elements belong to. If the scenes are all thought of as situated either in front of or behind the architecture, and as belonging to the same reality

[4] S. Sandström, *Levels of Unreality, Studies in Structure and Construction in Italian Mural Painting during the Renaissance*, Uppsala, 1963.

with it, it must follow that they are all thought of as simultaneous. In addition, problems of perspective arise as regards the scenes in the upper row. The introduction of a second order of reality enables a solution to be found to both problems.

The heyday of this device was reached in the first decades of the sixteenth century, in the work of Raphael and Giulio Romano. The complexes created by these artists harmoniously combine every sort of illusionistic element: architecture, pictures, tapestries, paintings affixed to the architecture, human figures drawing aside curtains, holding escutcheons and so on, festoons, baldachins, emblems, attributes etc. In these complicated works the iconographic programme naturally played as large a part as the solution of formal problems.

The intermingling of different realities, described above in relation to Rubens's work, is also frequent in that of his Italian predecessors. The spectator is then left in doubt as between two interpretations, neither of which can be logically followed through. Sandström called this "an effect of oscillation between two possible readings". [5]

A number of features that have been thought strange in Rubens's tapestry designs are due to the fact that he followed the Italian fresco tradition. Among these features are the use of architecture as a structuring element, the fact that Rubens himself designed the "borders" as well as the centre panels, and the adoption of different levels of reality, so that some scenes are represented as "real" and other as depicted in paintings or tapestries. As the significance of the framing element has not always been noticed in discussions of the Italian masters—many books illustrate the centre panels but not the "borders", as though the latter were merely accessory—critics have likewise failed in Rubens's case to perceive the logical and obvious character of the solution. [6]

[5] S. Sandström, *op. cit.*, p. 50. In the Netherlands this device had already been used in panel painting, where part of the subject sometimes overlaps the border (e.g. the sitter for a portrait rests a hand or an arm upon the frame), and it was frequent in 16th-century engraving, where a foot or one or other of the depicted objects projects over the lower edge with the inscription: e.g. in engravings after P. Bruegel (*Hollstein*, III, p. 297, No. 202, p. 308, No. 223) and F. Floris (C. van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570), Leven en Werken, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, No. 30) Brussels, 1975, II, figs. 155, 173, 209, 223, 270, 289, 290).

[6] Rooses could only see a breach of good taste in the "borders" of the Eucharist series: "Nothing is more contradictory to probability than the idea of representing his subjects

These elements borrowed from the art of fresco—architecture within tapestries and the use of fictive tapestries—will now be discussed in further detail.

a. Architecture and Sculpture within the Tapestries

Rubens's tapestries were certainly not the first to show the influence of fresco painting by using architectonic elements. In the 16th century we find illusionistic elements of wall-painting in Italian tapestry-work and in that of other countries under Italian influence. It was natural to resort to the illusionism of fresco painting when designing tapestries to decorate a specific interior.

One of the best-known instances is Raphael's design for the series of *The Acts of the Apostles*. These were intended to decorate part of the Sistine Chapel, beneath the frescoes by Perugino, Botticelli and other artists. The tapestries had to harmonize with the mural paintings and also the architecture of the chapel. They do not consist only of the scenes as we know them from the famous cartoons, but also comprise "borders" with a highly functional significance. The centre panel of each tapestry is represented as a picture in a porphyry-coloured frame. Around this are elements which must be thought of as parts of a decorated wall surface. Below is a border imitating a bronze-coloured bas-relief, and between the successive "pictures" scenes is one decorative "border" representing the painted surface of a wall.[7] This border appeared on one or both sides of the "picture" according to the order in which the tapestries were hung.

Another and perhaps even more striking example of an illusionistic fresco in a tapestry is in the series woven for Fontainebleau after designs by Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio (Fig. 24).[8] Here the scene as such has lost all

on fictitious tapestries supported above by angels ...: or the risky and illogical inspiration of making the action begin on the imaginary tapestry and end on *terra firma*. Fancy has here turned to unjustifiable arbitrariness and unbridled caprice. Rubens has transgressed not only the laws of his art but those of reason as well, and allowed himself to be drawn into bad taste and the *rococo* style." (*Rooses, Life*, II, p. 433).

[7] J. Shaerman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London, 1972, pp. 31, 32. The original borders of this series are no longer complete.

[8] Set of seven tapestries, woven ca. 1540–1550, six of which are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinssammlung*, Vienna, 1920, Nos. 155–160; Göbel, II (II), figs. 21, 24; Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, I, Brunswick, 1963, figs. 176–178).

independence, while the tapestry gives the effect of a rectangular fragment of richly decorated wall, the design varying considerably from one tapestry to another. The central scene is a "painting" surrounded by richly decorated architecture with cornices, statues, herms, putti and festoons. Above can even be seen, in perspective, the caissons and cross-beams of the ceiling.

The possibilities of working with fictive architecture are more limited in tapestry than in wall-painting. In the latter case the "architecture" can be situated anywhere on the surface to be decorated; with tapestries the choice is limited by the rectangular format of each panel, and the dimensions and proportions cannot be altered much. The shape of the "architecture" must also conform to that of the tapestry; the architectonic illusion is thus generally very simple, merely a column on either side framing the scene as in a doorway.

The device of framing columns occurs sporadically in Renaissance tapestry. There is an interesting example in Vermeyen's series of *The Capture of Tunis*: the first panel, *The Map of the Terrain,* shows a sculpted picture-frame and within it a Corinthian portico through which the landscape can be seen, while in the front a figure stands on a pedestal.[9] A series of *Metamorphoses* of about 1545 features an architectural framework with a base, Tuscan columns and an architrave.[10] It should also be noted that the framing portico is related to the decorative style of pergola tapestries.[11]

A second way in which fresco may influence tapestry is by the use of a border consisting of a variety of sculptural and architectural elements imitating stone. Examples of this, with all kinds of variants, are frequent in Italian and Italian-inspired tapestry. Fruit, animals etc. are used as decorative elements,[12] and the sculpture includes satyrs and pairs of herms.[13]

In some cases these accumulated elements are related to the subject of the panel and form a unity with it. Typical examples are the *History of Phaeton*

[9] G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,* Leiden, 1936, fig. 20; for this series see also p. 48 above, n. 5.

[10] *Göbel,* II (II), fig. 356; Dora Heinz, *op. cit.,* fig. 181; Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Arazzi Italiani del Cinquecento,* Milan, 1963, figs. pp. 50 (b), 51 (c).

[11] *Göbel,* I (II), figs. 104, 105, 156, 168, 274.

[12] *Göbel,* II (II), figs. 360–362, 375, 377, 390, 391, 403; Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *op. cit.,* figs. pp. 65, 68, 71, 80, 84, 85.

[13] *Göbel,* II (II), figs. 363, 364, 379, 380; Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *op. cit.,* figs. pp. 58–63; Dora Heinz, *op. cit.,* figs. 184–186.

series by Alessandro Allori [14] and two series of ca. 1560 in Como cathedral, *The Life of the Virgin* and *Types of the Eucharist*, both attributed to Arcimboldo. [15] In these, the borders are the same throughout each series, but there are also cases where they vary, e.g. the *Hunting Scenes* (Fig. 23) designed by J. Stradanus in about 1567 and woven at Florence between then and 1577. [16] This set has very wide borders consisting of a sculpted frame with scroll-work, cartouches and other decorations including features of hunting life—animals, huntsmen, hunting gear and plants; the selection differs according to the type of hunt depicted in each tapestry.

We find in Rubens both the portico-motif and th euse of emblems affixed to the architecture, and both these derive from the wall-painting tradition.

A remarkable example, closely related to Rubens, of borders with elements arranged in architectonic form is found in two sets designed by Peter Candido and woven at Munich by Hans van der Biest between 1604 and 1615: *The Months, the Seasons, Night and Day* (Fig. 27) and *The History of Otto von Wittelsbach*. The series of *The Months, The Seasons, Night and Day* features ivy-clad trees on either side, festooned escutcheons at the top and an inscribed cartouche below; these elements together form a portico through which one looks out into a landscape. [17] The panels of the Wittelsbach series are likewise framed by architectonic elements on either side. [18]

It is naturally hard to say how far Rubens followed these tapestry models directly and how far he was inspired by the architectonic fresco complexes. There is no doubt, however, that he chose the device of the framing columns because it offered such a convenient solution to the problems involved in a

[14] *Göbel*, II (II), fig. 392; Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *op. cit.*, fig. p. 87.

[15] See B. Geiger, *I dipinti ghiribizzosi di Giuseppe Arcimboldi, pittore illusionista del Cinquecento (1527–1593)*, Florence, 1954, pp. 23, 24, figs. 11–18; see also: *Göbel*, II (II), fig. 394; Dora Heinz, *op. cit.*, fig. 182; see also p. 194, n. 95.

[16] R. Kultzen, *Jagddarstellungen des Jan van der Straet auf Teppichen und Stichen*, Hamburg-berlin, 1970, pp. 11–20, figs. 5–9. See also: *Göbel*, II (II), fig. 388; Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *op. cit.*, figs. pp. 80–83; Dora Heinz, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV, fig. 189.

[17] In the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (*Göbel*, III (II), fig. 203; Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, *Wandteppiche für den Münchener Hof nach Entwürfen von Peter Candid*, Munich-Berlin, 1976, figs. 119–153).

[18] In the Residenzmuseum, Munich (*Göbel*, III (II), figs. 200–202; Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, *loc. cit.*, figs. 79–102).

double row of tapestries. Its use in the Eucharist series was a great success, and after him the portico arrangement became a standard feature of Flemish tapestry.

If the construction of the series in two rows is considered from the architectonic standpoint it is seen to be somewhat illogical and disproportionate, owing to the imposed measurements of the tapestries and the subdivision of the walls. None the less, Rubens may have been inspired by actual pieces of architecture, such as a rather bizarre one which he must have known: the *Facciata della rustica* (Fig. 44) of the Ducal Palace at Mantua, designed by Giulio Romano, and the similar façades of the *Cortile della Mostra* designed in imitation of Giulio Romano by Giovanni Battista Bertani. These façades form an elongated whole, the lower part being rusticated and the upper divided irregularly into bays by twisted columns supporting a classical architrave.[19]

b. The Fictive Tapestries

As we have noted, Rubens depicted his scenes in three ways: as external reality observed through a gap in the architecture, as tapestry suspended from the architecture, and as painting. These possibilities, as we saw, derived from the Italian fresco tradition. The usefulness of the principle of different orders of reality, both from an iconographic and a formal point of view, must have been especially clear to Rubens in the case of the Eucharist series. We are not discussing the iconography here, but will say a further word about the formal advantages.

If Rubens had chosen to represent everything as part of the same reality as the "architecture", this would have meant depicting all the scenes and characters as if they were actually present amidst or behind the architectural features. This was the solution he later adopted in the *Achilles* series, where the characters appear to be really present in a landscape behind a "border" consisting of a pair of herms. In this case the different scenes of a series appear to be happening in the same space and at the same time. This in itself creates no particular difficulty, and the convention was used in many other series of paintings and tapestries; but purely physical problems arise from the

[19] F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano,* New Haven, 1958, I, pp. 190, II, figs. 408, 409; G. Paccagnini, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Mantova,* Turin, 1969, figs. 105, 123.

fact that the Eucharist series consists of two rows of panels one above the other. If the people in the bottom row are in a landscape or other space behind the architectonic framework, where are the people in the upper row located? The problem does not affect the heavenly figures sitting in the clouds, but it is hard to relate the upper landscape to the lower, or to believe in the upper one's existence.

The greatest difficulty, however, would have been to choose a viewpoint and apply it consistently. In the fairly confined space of the church of the Descalzas Reales, the lower edge of the top row of tapestries is bound to be a long way above the spectator, so that the angle of vision is very low. Technically it was of course not impossible for Rubens to overcome this difficulty and give the impression that the figures above were really present. In his earlier designs for the ceilings of the Jesuit church at Antwerp he had with great skill represented Bible scenes and saints in a much more difficult perspective, as if they were seen from directly below through a gap in the ceiling, and in his later decorations for the Whitehall ceiling he similarly depicted the figures as though seen from underneath. However, he did not choose to do this in the Eucharist series. Most of the subjects are too complicated and extensive, with numerous figures at different distances from the observer. Many figures would have had to be pushed to the background, and in the upper row they would have been partially hidden from view by the parapet. In any case, a laboriously accurate representation of space and depth in this manner is out of keeping with the nature of tapestry, and the great difference of perspective between the two rows would have made a rather unpleasing effect. In addition, Rubens probably wanted each of the twenty tapestries to have an independence of its own. Like the Italian fresco-painters, he had either to depict reality or to have a "supporter" for the scenes between his illusionistic columns. He could have used "pictures" for this purpose, as was done in most cases of the kind, both in wall paintings and in tapestries : cf. the *Acts of the Apostles* and the Fontainebleau tapestries already mentioned. Instead, however, he chose "tapestries" for the eleven "large" panels of his series, and thus secured several advantages: an acceptable verisimilitude, an optimal degree of illusion and a harmonious use of line. There could have been no better way of achieving a *trompe-l'œil* effect, since tapestry (which in general is less suitable than oil paint for the reproduction of materials) is clearly unrivalled for the depiction of fictive tapestry.

In addition, this solution enabled Rubens to do justice to the specific characteristics of tapestry: the heightened effect of co-ordinated decorative elements, the preference for a well-filled compositional field and for keeping the action more or less in a single plane. The "tapestries" are suspended by the cherubs in different ways and thus give many opportunities of varying the forms and to create broad decorative "borders", all without much affect of depth. In the earlier tapestry designs, the *Decius Mus* and *Constantine* series, the panels were treated as paintings with many empty areas in the foreground, at the top and in the corners. The "tapestries" suspended within the architecture of the Eucharist series are in themselves of the same kind as the earlier ones: rather pictorial in character and with traditional decorative borders (Figs. 119, 132, 145, 183). The compositional field is already more completely filled, however, by the flying and hovering figures and the fluttering robes (Figs. 137, 149, 160, 171, 183, 199, 203). They are not completely unfolded and are not yet tidily in place (as mentioned, the cherubs are going about their job in a rather slapdash manner). Rubens avoided empty areas in the composition of the real tapestries by an adroit combination of the scenes with the framing elements: hanging draperies, festoons, cherubs, cartouches and portions of architecture.

In this way the figures of the scenes fill a larger part of the composition surface, as compared with the architecture, than would normally be expected. If the figures had belonged to the same reality as the architecture, they would necessarily have been smaller and there would have been an area, difficult to decorate, between their heads and the ceiling.

If the panels are examined closely it becomes clear that Rubens made conscious use of the device of fictive tapestries in order to solve the problem of "supporters". In the bottom row the problem was simple enough and it was not necessary to make the space acceptable by having visible supporters. Thus in *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 160), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 171) and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190) the borders of the "tapestries" cannot be seen, and we might think that the landscape in which the figures are placed belongs to the same reality as the background to *The Ecclesiastical* and *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (Figs. 107, 113) if we did not see the cherubs at the top engaged in hanging the "tapestries"; since they are there, it follows that the lower edges must have fallen behind the sill or treshold that forms part of the architecture.

In the top row, on the other hand, the illusion of the space in which the

figures are placed is intentionally destroyed by an unmistakable indication that we have to do with a tapestry and not an external "reality". The scenes of the top row that take place in a landscape are *The Gathering of the Manna* (Fig. 132), *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 137), *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 149) and *The Four Evangelists* (Fig. 183), and in each of these part of the lower border of the "tapestry" is seen folded over the stone threshold with the acanthus tendrils.

The idea of fictive tapestries was undoubtedly suggested to Rubens by Italian wall paintings, which often used this device. It was common for hangings to be depicted in these works, whether figural or purely decorative, either as a simple repeated element or part of a complicated whole.

The earliest examples are in the work of Raphael and Giulio Romano. Raphael often made use of a hanging or extended veil. The best-known example is in the Loggia di Psiche at the Villa Farnesina in Rome, where he painted in the middle of the vault two large canvases extended like an awning between bands of green foliage. Blue patches of sky can be seen at the edges where the canvas recedes, and on these the episodes of *The History of Psyche* are depicted, while lower on the vault "real" figures of gods can be seen hovering in the sky between the bands of greenery. [20]

Tapestries with borders can be seen in the wall-paintings designed by Giulio Romano in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. Here the events of Constantine's life are depicted on four great tapestries suspended from above and slightly sagging in places, while their fringed lower edges are clearly seen. [21] This famous decoration, which was known to Rubens, resembles his designs so closely that several authors have thought it must have been the source of his inspiration. [22]

It is hard to tell whether this was so. An article by Ursula Reinhardt shows that in the second half of the 16th century, when taste had evolved in the direction of more tapestry-like wall decoration, the device of painted "tap-

[20] L. Dussler, *Raphael, A Critical Catalogue of his Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries*, London-New York, 1971, figs. 158–160. Scenes depicted on a spread canvas are also found in the Stanza d'Eliodoro (*Ibid.*, figs. 131–134) and at Santa Maria della Pace in Rome, where the subject is *Four Sibyls* (*Ibid.*, fig. 154b).

[21] F. Hart, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, II, Pls. 57–60; L. Dussler, *op. cit.*, figs. 143, 144.

[22] F. Hartt, *Raphael and Giulio Romano, with Notes on the Raphael School*, *The Art Bulletin*, XXVI, 1944, p. 67, n. 6; *Jaffé*, 1969, p. 538.

estries" was much used in Rome in less famous decorative schemes, both in churches and in secular buildings.[23] In connection with Rubens, special interest attaches to the frescoes in St. John Lateran, which represent two rows of tapestries one above the other,[24] and to those by Bernardo Croce at Santa Susanna in Rome: four large "tapestries" are hung between twisted columns (Fig. 26),[25] which again suggests a possible source of Rubens's inspiration. The tradition continued into the 17th century.[26] To the examples cited by Ursula Reinhardt may be added an interesting 17th-century drawing in the Louvre : a unexecuted design by Giovanni Lanfranco for the decoration of a room behind the façade of St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 25).[27] This shows large tapestries hung between fluted columns; curiously, the tapestries to a large extent hide from view pictures hanging on the wall beneath them.

It is noteworthy that Rubens took over from the Roman frescoes the device of a fictive tapestry and introduced this into a real tapestry, so that there is in a sense a double illusion. We do not know of any precedent for this before Rubens's time; it was, however, much imitated after him, as will be seen in the next section.

3. *Imitation*

Several of the formal characteristics of the Eucharist series to which we have drawn attention were of importance in the further development of Flemish tapestry. Chief among these is the device of framing the scene in architectonic

[23] Ursula Reinhardt, *La tapisserie feinte, Un genre de décoration du Maniérisme romain au XVI^e siècle, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXXXIV, 1974, pp. 285–296.

[24] Ursula Reinhardt, *loc. cit.,* p. 291, fig. 6.

[25] Ursula Reinhardt, *loc. cit.,* p. 292, fig. 8; B.M. Apollonj Ghetti, *Santa Susanna* (*Le Chiese di Roma illustrate,* 85), Rome, 1965, pp. 63, 64, figs. 19–21.

[26] See [*Cat. Exh.*] *Builders and Humanists, The Renaissance Popes as the Patrons of the Arts,* University of St. Thomas Art Department, Houston, 1966, No. 31 (repr.).

[27] One of these 17th-century decorations with fictive tapestries has been connected with Rubens: the series of *The Life of Apollo* designed by Domenichino for the Villa Aldobrandini in Rome, now in the National Gallery, London (G. Heinz, *Studien über Jan van den Hoecke und die Malerei der Niederländer in Wien, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* LX, 1967, p. 136, n. 39; the series is reproduced in *National Gallery Acquisitions 1953–1962,* London, [1963], Nos. 6284–6291 (borders of some subjects omitted); cf. reproductions in Evelina Borea, *Domenichino,* Milan, 1965, Pl. XVI, figs. 49–53).

constructions, which recurs time and again in the years after Rubens. It has been considered an innovation on Rubens's part that he designed the scenes and borders of the Eucharist series as a single whole.[28] The former custom, which Rubens also followed with *The History of Decius Mus* and *The History of Constantine,* was for the artist to deliver his designs for the scenes without borders, like a picture without its frame. The weavers then added borders according to their own choice or the patron's wish, either using patterns already to hand or procuring new ones; wide possibilities of combination were thus open to them.[29]

As we have explained, the specific nature of Rubens's task led him to include the architectonic framework of the tapestries in his overall design. His problem was not merely to match a particular scene with its border but to harmonize the entire decoration of the church. It would be true to say that the tapestries of the Eucharist series have no borders in the traditional sense of the term, since all the elements, including the architecture, are part of the subject depicted. This is also the case with *The Acts of the Apostles* and the Fontainebleau tapestries discussed above. In our view Rubens's "invention" was largely determined by the practical problems of the series, though it also fits in well with the endeavour, visible in other works of his in the 1620s, to combine the different elements of a composition more closely together.

It would be an over-simplification to state that there was an evolution from designing tapestries without borders to designing them with borders. Rubens did design both together in the later series of *The History of Achilles,* and

[28] *Göbel,* I (1), p. 425 ("Typisch für die Rubensreihen ist in erster Linie die einheitliche Komposition, die Verschmelzung von Bild und Bordüre,... Schon die Kartons der Achillesreihe gehen von dem Rechteck der Bildfläche ab und lassen die Umrahmung willkürlich in die Mitteldarstellung eingreifen. Noch energischer wird das Prinzip, das die Bordüre ihres Rahmencharakters entkleidet, in der Triumphserie durchgeführt. Aus der ornamentalen Fassung wird ein mächtiges, architektonisch reich gegliedertes Tor... Die untere Bordüre fehlt überhaupt, eine schmale Leiste dient als Abschluß.").

[29] There is one apparent exception among the early sets designed by Rubens: in a cartoon for the *Decius Mus* series now at Vaduz, viz. that of *The Trophies,* a border appears in addition to the scene itself (*Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* p. 37). This border, however, does not belong organically to the subject but is a simple egg-and-dart motif such as is found in the border round the three small allegorical figures of the Eucharist series. In most photographs and reproductions the border in question is not shown.

there are several instances of artists under his influence doing the same; but this never became a general rule. Apart from specific commissions for a definite purpose, there was in fact no special point in designing borders with tapestries, if one considers the workshop practices of the 17th century and the way in which tapestries were ordered. The weavers seem to have preferred patterns without borders, so that they could choose the latter to suit changes of taste or the patron's wishes. Some later versions of the Eucharist series were woven with borders other then those originally designed by Rubens, [30] and this was also the case for many versions of the Achilles series. [31] In other tapestry sets, such as the *Hunting Scenes* [32] and the *Virtues,* [33] Rubens did not adhere to the "new" practice of supplying borders with the design. Some versions of the *Hunting Scenes* have nothing but a plain border like a picture-frame.

At the same time, many tapestry-designers influenced by Rubens imitated his decorative practice of enclosing the scene in an architectonic framework, and thus indirectly followed the precedents of 16th-century Italy. The idea of the architectonic border through which the scene is observed as if through a window was eagerly adopted by weavers and became standard practice, even when the tapestry was not designed with its border as a single whole. What had originated with Rubens as a functional form dictated by the task in hand developed, under his successors, into the classic scheme of a portico framework, which was so popular as to become almost universal from the mid-17th century to the end of the 18th. Although, as we have seen, this device was already used in Italian and Italian-influenced tapestries before Rubens, its popularity was no doubt due in great measure to the Eucharist series.

The most successful imitations are the tapestry designs of Jacob Jordaens. It is probably not the case, as was supposed in the 18th century, that Jordaens painted paper cartoons after the Eucharist series, [34] but he must have seen either the tapestries or Rubens's designs. In his *Scenes of Country Life* we find car-

[30] See e.g. the tapestries at Sarasota (Fig. 156) and Geneva (Fig. 142).

[31] See *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* pp. 72–73, figs. 1, 10, 20, 42, 43, 53, 60, 87.

[32] See p. 141, n. 29.

[33] See p. 142, n. 30.

[34] Doc. 25b; see also R. de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres,* 2nd ed., Paris, 1715, pp. 432, 433 ("On dit que Rubens,... pour qui il [Jordaens] travailloit, craignant qu'il ne le surpassât dans l'intelligence du coloris, l'occupa long-tems à faire en détrempe de grands patrons de Tapisseries pour le Roy d'Espagne, d'après les esquisses coloriées que Rubens en avait faits").

touches, festoons and other similar elements in addition to architecture.[35] There are also clear reminiscences of Rubens in a series of *Horses in Front of an Architectonic Construction,* which is only known in the form of preparatory drawings of about 1635. In these drawings the architectonic framework is asymmetrical, giving the patron a choice between richly decorated straight columns and twisted Salomonic ones.[36]

Clearly inspired by the Eucharist series are Jordaens's tapestries of *Proverbs* (ca. 1644), which not only have an architectonic border but in which the scene is depicted on a "tapestry" (Fig. 30).[37] The Eucharist series is also evidently the source of the architectonic borders of the series *Day, Night and the Twelve Months,* designed for Leopold William by Jan van den Hoecke in 1650 (Figs. 31, 32).[38] Did Van den Hoecke see Rubens's cartoons, painted on canvas, at the Palace in Brussels where they were kept by the Archduke? Certainly cartoons were still in the Palace in 1649, and some at a still later date. The Doric columns enclosing the scene, with triglyphs above and a plinth below, make a rather stiff impression and are less successful than Rubens's.

From the mid-17th century to the end of the 18th we find examples of the architectonic scheme with a column on either side surmounted by an architrave, forming a portico through which the scene is viewed. In addition to the general

[35] There has, it is true, been much argument as to whether these designs should be dated ca. 1625 or ca. 1635. In our opinion, however, the latter date is more probable. Apart from arguments based on Jordaens's style of drawing, two points are relevant. Firstly, the interpretation of the "documentary" evidence for an earlier date seems to us ill-founded and based on misunderstanding, and secondly it seems strange that Jordaens should have borrowed the idea of the architectonic borders direct from Italian art and elaborated them in this fashion. It seems much more likely that he was imitating the Eucharist series, in which Rubens certainly did not imitate Jordaens but in which, as we have seen, these elements were a natural solution of the artist's problem.

[36] R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings, (Monographs of the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde Eeuw",* v), Brussels, 1974, I, pp. 182–185, Nos. A84–A86, III, figs. 93–95.

[37] M. Rooses, *Jordaens' Leven en Werken,* Amsterdam-Antwerp, 1906, pp. 186–188, 192; R.-A. d'Hulst, *op. cit.,* I, Nos. A188, A190, A195, A200, figs. 205, 210, 215; the tapestries are at Hluboká (Bohemia) and Tarragona (Museo Diocesano).

[38] Günther Heinz also perceived a direct model in the Eucharist series: "Die Gliederung der Scheinarchitektur in der Eucharistie-Folge war für Van den Hoeckes architektonischen Aufbau, das Ambulatorium, in dem sich die Figuren bewegen, das direkte Vorbild" (G. Heinz, *Studien über Jan van den Hoecke und die Malerei in Wien, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* LX, 1967, p. 136).

imitation of Rubens's device of the architectonic border, a specific borrowing from the Eucharist series should be noted. The decorative Salomonic columns are found in innumerable subsequent tapestries, and were a very favoured type of framework in the second half of the 17th century. We find literal copies and indirect imitations of Rubens's Salomonic columns not only in Brussels, where numerous later versions of the Eucharist tapestries were still woven, but also in other centres. [39]

The most original element in Rubens's invention, that of a tapestry within a tapestry, was less often imitated: we have only found a few examples [40] besides Jordaens's *Proverbs* (Fig. 30), already mentioned. The tapestries within the tapestry is also seen in armour tapestries designed by David III Teniers in ca. 1680; the "tapestry" is held up by cherubs in front of a classical architectural setting (Fig. 29). [41] As Teniers certainly knew at least some of Rubens's cartoons for the Eucharist series—he made copies after them [42]—the connection is easily established.

Lastly it should be pointed out that the device of a tapestry suspended in an architectural setting was used effectively and significantly by Rubens on one or two later occasions. In the centrepiece of the *Stage of Welcome* of the

[39] See e.g. *The History of Theseus* by Jan Raes (*Göbel*, I (II), figs. 172, 319); sets of *The History of the Life of Man* by Jan Raes and Frans van den Hecke (*Göbel*, I (II), fig. 176; Paulina Junquera de Vega, *Un "pequeño patrón" de Antonio Sallaert y su traducción en tapices*, *Artes Textiles*, VIII, 1974, pp. 114 et *seqq.*, figs. 2–4); sets of *The Vicissitudes of Cupid* by Jan Raes and Frans van den Hecke (*Göbel*, I (II), fig. 175; Paulina Junquera de Vega, *loc. cit.*, figs. 5, 6); *The History of Diana* by Andries van den Dries (E. Duverger, *Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordaens...*, *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 126 *et seqq.*, figs. 3, 5–7); *The History of Aeneas* by M. Wauters ([*Cat. Exh.*] *Antwerpse Wandtapijten*, Sterckshof, Deurne, 1973, fig. 16); a version of Rubens's Achilles series by G. Van der Strecken (*Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, figs. 53, 60); a version of Rubens's Decius Mus series (G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *op. cit.*, figs. 156, 157); *Mars and Rhea Sylvia* by Frans De Moor (?) (G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *op. cit.*, fig. 153; J. Duverger, *Tapijtwerk van Frans, Cesar en Alexander De Moor of uit hun Omgeving*, *Artes Textiles*, VIII, 1974, pp. 123 *et seqq.*, fig. 3); *The History of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra* (G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *op. cit.*, figs. 60, 64, 67, 68); *Landscapes* (G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *op. cit.*, figs. 127–129; Mercedes Ferrero Viale, *Tapisseries flamandes inédites en Italie*, *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 47 *et seqq.*, figs. 8, 9).

[40] E.g. *The Triumph of Death* after Antoon Sallaert, woven probably by Frans van den Hecke (Fig. 28; *Göbel*, I (II), fig. 177).

[41] A specimen bearing the designer's signature and that of the weaver Jean Le Clerc (D. TENIERS.IVN PINXIT. 1680; I. LE.CLERC) was auctioned at Paris (Galliéra) on 26 November 1974, lot 131, repr. in colour.

[42] See below, pp. 232, 233.

Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi cherubs held up, like a curtain, a canvas depicting the arrival of the Cardinal Infante.[43] A second instance is the illustration to the *Thesis* of Charles de la Vieuville (1636), designed by Rubens but drawn by Abraham van Diepenbeeck.[44] The central motif, *The Contest between Neptune and Athene,* is depicted on a tapestry borne by putti in front of an architectural setting. This is appropriate, as the "tapestry" is that woven by Athene herself in her contest with Arachne.

[43] *Martin, Pompa,* figs. 2, 3.

[44] The drawing is in the Print Room at Antwerp (A.J.J. Delen, *Cabinet des Estampes de la ville d'Anvers, Catalogue des dessins anciens (Ecoles flamandes et hollandaises),* Brussels, 1938, p. 94, No. 337, Pl. LXIII).

VI. THE FIRST STAGE OF EXECUTION: THE BOZZETTI

1. *Function and Peculiarities of the Bozzetti*

The practical execution of the illusionistic wall decoration that we described in the previous chapter, was no easy task. Rubens had to design about twenty scenes, to be arranged in two rows (one above the other) in a church situated far from Antwerp, and the dimensions and proportions alone might give rise to problems enough. In addition, the technique of weaving required that these complex interrelated compositions should be executed in mirror-image. The general problems of designing a series were also particularly acute in this case: both the choice and execution of the unusual iconographic programme, and the harmonious combination of lines and colours. The proper form had to be sought for all the special features we have described, and a balance struck between the static architectonic elements and the lively animation of many of the scenes. Thus the series is in several respects more complex than other sets of tapestries designed by Rubens. The simple traditional "kamer" (a "room" of tapestries), consisting of about eight panels of equal height and with only two or three different breadth-measurements, presented much less difficulty.

In preparation for the actual-size canvases, to be painted by the studio, Rubens made two sets of sketches, the bozzetti and the modelli. The three painted stages of the Eucharist series are similar in their proportions but differ greatly in scale. The modelli are four times larger than the bozzetti, so that the "large" compositions were made about 16 cm. high (half an Antwerp foot) in the first version and about 60 cm. (two Antwerp feet) in the second, while the canvases were eight times larger again.

The modelli are similar, in their general character and technique, to Rubens's other sketches for paintings and tapestry designs. The bozzetti, on the other hand, are more remarkable, since, being the first designs, they were more conditioned by the specific problems of the Eucharist series.

There is no indication that the bozzetti were preceded by drawings on paper, and everything goes to show that they represent the first stage of Rubens's invention. The only known drawing that relates to the Eucharist series, on a sheet which also contains studies for other subjects (No. 13b; Fig. 173), is intermediate between the bozzetti and the modelli.

Only the lines that delimit the area of the main composition are traced in

black chalk. The scenes themselves are painted with a brush in oils directly on to the priming, without any preliminary drawing. We cannot agree with the description "grisaille sketches", which occurs in the literature.[1] The bozzetti for the Eucharist series resemble grisaille sketches in the predominance of white heightening touches, but they differ clearly in that the colours are everywhere indicated. They are more elaborate than the typical grisaille sketches for the ceilings of the Jesuit church, which give the composition in summary form and are really "grey on grey". Their technique is closest to that of the colourful bozzetti for the Marie de' Medici and the Henry IV series.

Clearly the first sketches for this complicated assignment were not intended merely as a design for each composition separately, but also for the series as a whole. We believe that for his purpose, which was very close to that of a fresco wall painting, Rubens began by making, so to speak, a maquette of the church interior: large panels, perhaps one for each wall, on which he painted several compositions. There are in fact indications that not only the five compositions of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* were originally represented on a single panel (the Chicago sketch; No. 1–5a; Fig. 95), but that the other subjects too were grouped in one way or another on larger panels.

The Eucharistic series has been too much regarded as a set of juxtaposed pieces and too little as an organic whole, so that the compositional and perhaps also the material interconnection of the bozzetti was lost to view. It has been suggested that the presence of the "borders" in these first sketches is only explicable on the ground that the work was to be shown to the person who commissioned it.[2] This, however, is a misunderstanding of the purpose of the bozzetti. It is not the case that the borders were unnecessary in a sketch for the painter's own use; on the contrary, they were essential at this stage. Rubens could not first work out the composition of the scenes and then put borders round them. He had to take as his point of departure the whole wall of the church and divide the space into its correct proportions, first establishing the fixed elements—the architecture with the correct optical characteristics, and then fitting in the scenes and combining them with the imaginative features in the "borders".

[1] Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 283; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31; *Elbern*, pp. 11, 28, 29, 31–34, 36–38; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 71, 73–76, 78–80, 82, 83, 85.

[2] *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108.

As the bozzetti are all reproduced on the same scale it follows that the panels with the "large" compositions are exactly half as high as the Chicago sketch, which contains two rows of tapestries. As regards six of the sketches at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge – *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11a; Fig. 150), *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12a; Fig. 161), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13a; Fig. 172), *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14a; Fig. 184), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15a; Fig. 191) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17a; Fig. 204) – it is quite clear that they too originally belonged to a panel of double height. On certain sides the columns and the cartouches come right to the edge of the panel because a piece has been sawn off, while on the other sides of the same works there is about half a centimetre of unpainted panel at the edge, so that these sides appear to be original. To prevent the parts of the composition that are cut off so closely from being concealed by the frame, the pieces have been somewhat enlarged by the addition of laths. The panels were not shortened haphazardly on particular sides: the compositions for the bottom row are cut off at the top (Figs. 161, 191), and those for the top row at the bottom (Figs. 184, 204).[3] On the cut-off sides the architraves and bases of the architectural features are represented as continuous; this can be seen more clearly in the corresponding tapestries, indicating that there must have been an adjacent composition.

Apart from the Chicago sketch and the six Cambridge ones mentioned above, we can only suppose by analogy that the remaining bozzetti were executed as part of a larger panel: the works themselves do not show this. Some have in fact disappeared, and the edges of the others do not afford any firm evidence.

The fact that the bozzetti for the Eucharist series were very probably painted in groups, several to a single panel, accounts for their small size. Why should Rubens otherwise have painted a set of sketches for these huge tapestries which are so much smaller than any other sketches for tapestries known to us, and are in fact among the smallest oil sketches he produced?

This solution was certainly not devised by Rubens expressly for the Eucharist series. We know of other instances, though not many, in which several related compositions were sketched on a single panel. One example are the sketches

[3] A clear example is *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 204). On the left and at the top the original edge of the panel can be seen; below and on the right, the panel has been cut off.

for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi,* where architectonic and decorative elements and painted scenes are all combined together (Fig. 45). More closely related to the Eucharist series is the overall design for the Whitehall ceiling: [4] this too consists of a large panel representing the whole of a decorated "wall" (in this case a ceiling), thus showing not only the individual compositions but also their arrangement. The degree of finish is not the same in the different parts of the Whitehall sketch. The borders, which were part of the ceiling itself and did not have to be painted, are not elaborated in the sketch unlike those of the Eucharist series, and the divisions are shown only by a line. Apart from this, two unidentified examples of juxtaposed sketches, attributed to Rubens, are recorded in 18th-century sales. [5]

It seems to us possible that other panels by Rubens were cut up in the same way as that containing the Cambridge sketches undoubtedly was. Sets of this kind probably lost their significance for later owners, who preferred to divide them up and thus have several small panels by Rubens. The Chicago sketch was never dismembered in this way because its subject-matter formed a connected whole, the *Adoration of the Eucharist* (Fig. 95), separately, the scenes would have lost their point, and they would have been very small. It is much harder to imagine the whole design for the decoration of some other church wall as forming a single unified composition. We may suppose that on the original large panels, as in the Chicago sketch, there were spaces where no tapestries were meant to be and where, instead, features of the church interior were schematically reproduced. These parts of the panel would have helped us greatly to reconstruct the arrangement of the tapestries in the church, but unfortunately they have disappeared as a result of the panel being cut up.

It has frequently been observed that the bozzetti of the Eucharist series are in the same direction as the tapestries themselves, and not in mirror-image as

[4] O. Millar, *The Whitehall Ceiling, The Burlington Magazine,* XCVIII, 1956, pp. 258–267, figs. pp. 256, 259, 260, 265; J.S. Held, *Rubens's Glynde Sketch and the Installation of the Whitehall Ceiling, The Burlington Magazine,* CXII, 1970, pp. 274–281.

[5] The collection of Jacob de Roore included a panel, ca. 13 : 46 cm., "een langwerpig stuk met vijf differente schetsjes door dito [Rubens]" (an oblong piece with five different sketches by the same [Rubens]), sold at The Hague, 4 September 1747, lot 5; bought by A. van Kinschot; sold with his collection, Rotterdam, 20 September 1756, lot 6. In 1785 we find in Canon Knyff's collection at Antwerp, together with the Chicago sketch, a second sketch attributed to Rubens with a very similar composition, likewise comprising several scenes, entitled "L'adoration de la Divinité sur un Autel": see further under Cat. No. 1–5a.

would be expected.[6] This is remarkable, since when Rubens designed a composition that had to be executed the other way round, as is the case with an engraving or a tapestry, he generally did so in mirror-image, making the figures left-handed. There are exceptions, but they are rare.[7]

It has been thought that this peculiarity of the bozzetti was due to the fact that they were intended to be shown to the Archduchess or her advisers, and were therefore so executed as to give a correct idea of the intended result.[8] But this cannot be the true explanation. The question of direction is of secondary importance in judging a composition, and many of Rubens's reversed designs were certainly used as "modelli". Moreover, the problem becomes more involved when one looks at the Chicago sketch, which itself is in mirror-image.

Why is it, then, that the bozzetti for the "large" tapestries of this series were made, exceptionally, in the same direction as the final work? There can be no question of an inadvertence, corrected by Rubens in *The Adoration of the Eucharist*. On the contrary, he was at pains to adopt the most efficient method possible, as will be clear if we consider the exceptional problems involved in designing these organically related compositions.

In the case of the Chicago sketch, a symmetrically divided surface with small, simple compositions and with the light imagined as radiating from the centre, it was possible to save time by working in mirror-image, and Rubens accordingly did so; but this was not possible in the case of the asymmetrically subdivided walls of the church. At first sight the difficulty may not be apparent, but it was not sufficient merely to convert motion into the opposite direction. The whole available area, which was of course related to the architectural features, had to be mentally reversed, so that north became south and east west. This made it extremely hard to deal with such problems as perspective, the incidence of light and the harmonious use of the wall space.

[6] *Tormo*, III, pp. 32–34; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Held, 1968*, p. 15.

[7] Examples of sketches that are not reversed are the schematic drawing for the title-page of H. Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana* (Antwerp, 1626) in the British Museum, London (H.F. Bouchery and F. Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Huis*, Antwerp-Utrecht, 1941, pp. 80, 129, fig. 62), and the sketch on paper for the title-page of B. Corderius, *Catena Sexaginta quinque graecorum patrum in S. Lucam* (Antwerp 1628) in Count A. Seilern's collection, London ([A. Seilern],*Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London*, London, 1955, I, p. 62, No. 33; II, Pl. LXXIV).

[8] *Tormo*, III, p. 34; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Elbern*, p. 12; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 52.

Rubens went to work in the only way possible, by sketching the whole area of each wall and subdividing them according to the way in which the tapestries would be hung. At the next stage, in the modelli, he could then reverse the direction and reproduce on a larger scale such features as the incidence of light, proportions and the angle of vision.

There are no documents indicating whether the bozzetti, the modelli or both were to be shown to Isabella or her agent for approval. The bozzetti might have been used to give a general idea, and the modelli to show each composition in more detail. It seems to us more probable, however, that only the modelli were used as samples, while the bozzetti were intended (as preliminary drawings) for Rubens's own use. The modelli, which give most of the details in their final form and are not very different from traditional paintings, would have given a much better idea of Rubens's invention.

As we have seen, there are two peculiarities of the bozzetti which made critics think that they were more than first sketches and must have been intended as "modelli": the presence of a border, and the fact that they are "the right way round"; but, as we have explained, these opinions are due to a misunderstanding of their function. A third argument that has been advanced in this connection is that some features of the iconography were afterwards altered: this seems to us more important, but not decisive. Rubens may have made alterations of his own accord, not necessarily as a result of comments on the bozzetti. Many important changes of both form and substance were made during the painting of the modelli, in which several pentimenti are to be found.

2. *History of the Bozzetti*

Whether or not the bozzetti were used to enable Isabella to judge the work, they evidently did not become her property, as several of them are found in Antwerp collections in the 17th and 18th century. Probably Rubens kept them and they remained in the studio until his death. [9]

[9] No oil sketches are listed in the inventory of the paintings left by Rubens, but without doubt a large number of his sketches were among *Vne tresgrande quantité des desseins des plus notables pieces, faictes par feu Mons. Rubens* in this inventory (J.M. Muller, *Oil-Sketches in Rubens's Collection, The Burlington Magazine*, CXVII, 1975, p. 374).

Together with several other Rubens sketches, including designs for the ceilings of the Jesuit church, we find six bozzetti for the Eucharist series in the estate of the Antwerp painter Victor Wolfvoet, who died on 23 October 1652. In the inventory of his possessions compiled on 24-26 October they are described as small sketches on panel in ebony frames with the following subjects: "angels in a boat", "an angel bringing bread and wine to Elijah", "Melchizek", "the Ark of the Covenant" and "an ox being sacrified".[10] These are to be identified respectively as *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21; Fig. 220), *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9a; Fig. 138), *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7a; Fig. 120), *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10a), *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8a; Fig. 133) and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (No. 16a).[11] An important confirmation of the correctness of this identification with the bozzetti of the Eucharist series is provided by the existence of copies of two of the bozzetti, *The Gathering of the Manna* and *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 123), executed by Victor Wolfvoet and now in the Mauritshuis at The Hague.[12] These are painted on copper in larger size without borders, and bear Wolfvoet's monogram.

The six bozzetti owned by Wolfvoet have not all remained together. Two of them, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant,* have disappeared, though the latter is known from a drawn copy (Fig. 145). Two others, *Elijah and the Angel* and *The Gathering of the Manna,* have always remained together: in the 19th century they were both very accurately reproduced in aquatint in actual size, probably by James Stuart (1791–1863).[13] In 1897 we find them in a Paris sale; by way of the art trade

[10] Doc. 16; a seventh sketch in Victor Wolfvoet's collection, not listed with the others – "A small work by Rubens, being a Caritas on panel in an ebony frame" (*Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 139, No. 106) – is, in our opinion, not connected with the Eucharist series. We do not think it can be identified with the modello for *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20b) as Burchard believed, or with the bozzetto for *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13a).

[11] Five of Wolfvoet's pieces were first connected with the bozzetti for the Eucharist series by Rooses (M. Rooses, *De Verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst,* I, 1903, p. 121; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1910, pp. 282, 283). *The Triumph of Hope* came to light much later, at a London sale in 1967, and was then identified with Wolfvoet's piece by Müller Hofstede: see Cat. No. 21.

[12] See under Cat. Nos. 7a ("Copy"), 8a ("Copy").

[13] They are signed "J. Stewart" and "printed by E. Brain"; copies are in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum; see under Cat. Nos. 8a ("Copy"), 9a ("Copy").

they became part of the Bonnat collection and so of the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne. The last two, *Abraham and Melchizedek* and *The Triumph of Hope,* came into the possession of the London dealer Samuel Woodburn, who sold them in 1825 to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich.

Thomas Kerrich had at that time six other bozzetti in his possession, acquired from the estate of the widow of the Rev. Edward Balme: [14] *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11a; Fig. 150), *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12a; Fig. 161), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13a; Fig. 172), *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14a; Fig. 184), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15a; Fig. 191) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17a; Fig. 204). Thomas Kerrich's son thus inherited eight bozzetti from the Eucharist series. He bequeathed seven of them (the Balme group and *Abraham and Melchizedek* from the Wolfvoet group) to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21; Fig. 220) remained in family ownership and was published for the first time in 1967, when it was sold in London.

The Chicago sketch (No. 1–5a; Fig. 95) remained in Antwerp in the 18th century, in the collections of Jan van Lancker and canon Knyff, sold respectively in 1769 and 1785.

3. *The Number of Bozzetti*

Rubens's first design, recorded in the bozzetti, probably consisted of 21 compositions. Nineteen can be indicated with certainty. First, the two groups of six bozzetti for the "large" tapestries: the Wolfvoet group, two of which have disappeared, and the Balme group, all of which are at Cambridge; at this stage there were still twelve "large" compositions, one more than in the tapestries, viz. *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21). Next, the five bozzetti of *The Adoration of the Eucharist,* which are still on a single panel in the Chicago sketch.

For the five smaller compositions the data are scarcer. Only the bozzetto for *Historiography* (No. 19a; Fig. 212) is known (it is at Tournai), but we were able to find a faithful reproduction of the bozzetto for *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20a) in a drawing in the printroom of the Herzog Anton

[14] They most probably came from Edward Balme's own collection, but this cannot be proved.

Ulrich-Museum at Brunswick, where it is copied on a sheet together with its pendant at Tournai (Fig. 213). We may suppose that there was also a bozzetto for the third allegory, *The Succession of the Popes* (No. 18a), though no reproduction or record of it is known. Whether there was also a twenty-first bozzetto, viz. for *King David Playing the Harp,* is harder to determine. There is no evidence of any, and this composition may thus have originated at the modello stage. None the less, by analogy with the twenty others we have assumed in the catalogue that there was also a bozzetto of this subject (No. 6a).

There are thus three compositions for which a bozzetto is not known in any reproduction: *The Succession of the Popes, King David Playing the Harp* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices.* The last, however, is documented, as it belonged to Victor Wolfvoet's estate.

4. *Authenticity*

All the works enumerated above have not always been regarded as sketches by Rubens's own hand. No one has called in question the Chicago and Bayonne bozzetti (Nos. 1–5a, 8a, 9a; Figs. 95, 133, 138), but this cannot be said of those at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, concerning which authors take different views (Nos. 11a, 12a, 13a, 14a, 15a, 17a; Figs. 150, 161, 172, 184, 191, 204).

Rooses makes no mention of bozzetti in the extensive description of the Eucharist series in Volume I of his *Œuvre;*[15] those at Cambridge had come into the Museum's possession in 1873, but he was not aware of them when this Volume was published. He regarded them originally as authentic sketches by Rubens,[16] and was confirmed in this opinion when he discovered the similar bozzetti for the two other compositions *The Gathering of the Manna* and *Elijah and the Angel* (Nos. 8a, 9a) in the Paris art trade.[17] Meanwhile Earp, in the Museum catalogue of 1902, had listed the bozzetti as being by Rubens.[18] Rooses, however, later changed his mind and wrote that they were not originals but copies after the engravings by Schelte a Bolswert.[19] It is hard to see how

[15] *Rooses,* I, pp. 53–78.

[16] *Rooses, Catalogus,* pp. 13–16, Nos. 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 72, 74; *Rooses,* V, p. 307.

[17] M. Rooses, *De Verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst,* 1903, I, p. 121; *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 428.

[18] *Earp,* pp. 171–173.

[19] M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1910, p. 283.

he reached this opinion, as the engravings are very different from the bozzetti; perhaps he was misled by his belief that the bozzetti were grisaille sketches.

The Cambridge bozzetti were also rejected by Van Puyvelde, who at first thought they were sketches for the engraver and afterwards uncritically adopted Rooses' view that they were copied from the engravings.[20] Tormo, however, refuted this error and established their authenticity.[21]

However, while the works are certainly not copies after the engravings but reflect Rubens's first ideas, there is still the question whether they are original sketches or copies of his original designs. Ludwig Burchard took the latter view, accepting only the Chicago and Bayonne sketches as original bozzetti by Rubens. The bozzetti for *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21) and *Historiography* (No. 19a) were not published until after his death and were unknown to him. He rejected the Cambridge sketches on stylistic grounds, believing them to be faithful, actual-size copies of a series of lost originals, one of which he thought he had recognized in a small panel *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12b; Fig. 162), formerly in the collection of G. Peltzer at Verviers and now in a Swedish private collection. It was shown to us in Antwerp and in our opinion it is not a work by Rubens: it lacks the quality of an authentic sketch and differs in both technique and execution from the unchallenged bozzetti at Chicago and Bayonne.

Many art historians have expressed reservations concerning Burchard's rejection of the Cambridge sketches, and his opinion was finally only shared by Elbern.[22] Haverkamp Begemann quoted Burchard's opinion, but himself thought that the sketches were by Rubens.[23] Jaffé several times defended the ascription to Rubens,[24] and Held also considers Burchard's view too extreme.[25]

For our part we see no reason to reject the Cambridge sketches, which do not in any way look like copies, and we accept them as original bozzetti by

[20] L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, pp. 76, 77, 79–84; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33.

[21] *Tormo*, III, pp. 31–33.

[22] In his first publications he only quotes Burchard's opinion (*Elbern*, under Nos. 1, 22, 25, 28), but afterwards explicitly rejects the Cambridge bozzetti (*Elbern, 1958*, p. 135, n. 24).

[23] *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108.

[24] *Jaffé, 1955*, p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; *Jaffé, 1969*, pp. 537, 538, n. 73.

[25] *Goris-Held*, p. 34, under No. 57; *Held, 1968*, p. 16.

Rubens. We should recall that the seven sketches cannot be considered a homogeneous group. One of them, *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7a; Fig. 120), was only added to the other six in the 19th century and is of the same origin as *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21; Fig. 220) and the Bayonne sketches (Nos. 8a, 9a; Figs. 133, 138). It is undoubtedly of the same quality as the undisputed sketches at Bayonne and Chicago. It is harder to judge the other six Cambridge sketches, as they are not in the best state of preservation. The paint, which was very thinly applied, has disappeared in places, leaving the wood visible. The colours have grown very dim and grey. The highlights, originally white, have turned to grey and make such a hard impression that the harmony of the sketch is disturbed. Only the darker parts have in general kept their shades better and can bear comparison with *Abraham and Melchizedek* and the Bayonne sketches. This is most noticeable in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17a; Fig. 204), where the light-coloured figure of Truth has been largely obliterated while the darker figures of the heretics below are better preserved.

It is the six less well preserved Cambridge sketches, those of the Balme group, that were somewhat clumsily sawn apart and enlarged. The fact that they were undoubtedly part of a larger panel is in our opinion also a strong argument for their authenticity. It could of course be argued that they are parts, not of the original maquette but of a copy. It is unlikely in itself that composite panels of this kind would have been copied in the same form, and it is unthinkable that the copyist would have imitated Rubens's cursory technique and all the details, including the black lines under the paint which mark out the composition.

In judging the bozzetti we must bear in mind that they are extremely small, in fact practically fragments, which gives them a special character. They give a summary indication of the composition, without details. The figures' heads are proportionately large; their features are indicated with little lines and dots, their limbs and movements are schematic, so that they are more like puppets than the heroic figures they were to become.

5. *The Illusionistic Elements in the Bozzetti*

The solution of the painter's task as a whole, an architectonic screen with simulated tapestries, is to a large extent already contained in the bozzetti, but

was not adhered to without modification. In the bozzetti the "tapestries" are hung in a more varied manner than is the case in the later stages. In adjacent compositions not only the architecture appears continuous, but the "tapestries" also: they look like a single long scene stretching uninterruptedly behind the columns, spanning several bays and made fast at the top from time to time. Elsewhere an independent narrower "tapestry" is seen (Fig. 191), no doubt in a place where the real tapestries did not meet. The extremities of these fictitious tapestries, to be expected at the end of a wall or where the panorama was broken by an architectural feature, can often be clearly seen. In some cases, e.g. in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 204), the tapestry hangs down at one side as though it were sagging, while at other times Rubens drapes the ends of the tapestries over the pillars, which are thus wholly or partly concealed: this is so in *The Gathering of the Manna* (Fig. 133), *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 138), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 172) and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 191). In the smallest compositions this was no doubt intended to prevent the heavy columns from overshadowing the subject of the "tapestry".

The more or less visible tapestry-effect, reproduced in this first stage, is thus related to the location of the compositions. We cannot agree, therefore, with Held's suggestion that the idea of the feigned tapestries came into being gradually as the bozzetti were painted, and that it is thus possible to establish a chronology of the bozzetti according to the elaborateness of the "tapestry" element. [26]

Did Rubens fear, on further consideration, that the variation he introduced into the bozzetti might, if executed on a monumental scale, produce a confused and not altogether successful effect? At all events the modelli show a more static conception of the whole, with architectonic elements prevailing. All the columns are visible except in one composition, *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 122). On each tapestry there is depicted a single "tapestry", the side-fringes of which can be seen in many cases. In this way the whole effect undoubtedly became more solemn and reposeful, which was probably necessary to give greater unity to this complicated structure with its large number of highly animated scenes.

[26] *Held, 1968*, p. 15.

VII. THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TAPESTRIES

1. *General Remarks* [1]

We have already given a general picture of the decoration of the church of the Descalzas Reales, but we have not yet tried to determine the arrangement of the tapestries in the church interior. The reconstruction of the way in which they were hung presents many problems, and we must review all the evidence that may help us to find the answer.

Although the architecture of the church itself has been considerably modified, we can to some extent reconstruct it as it originally was (Fig. 9), and we know the approximate dimensions. The series of tapestries preserved there is in all probability complete. However, we need more evidence before we can decide exactly how they were arranged.

A study of the iconography can give us some indications, but does not in itself solve the problem. The subjects of the tapestries are not parts of a consecutive story. The series is of an allegorical character, and particular scenes could equally well be placed alongside or opposite each other or in a vertical arrangement. As to the permanent furniture of the church, it contains no element that is directly connected with the iconography of the Rubens series: the three altars are dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, John the Baptist and St. Sebastian.

We must therefore examine the formal characteristics of the tapestries to see whether they throw light on the problem of arrangement. Some evidence is also furnished by the bozzetti, which is why we had first to discuss these in the previous chapter: their relative arrangement is to some extent known, and will have been the same as that of the tapestries. On the other hand, we can get little help from the modelli, which differ little from the tapestries, or the actual-size canvases which coincided almost exactly with them (and which for the most part are lost).

We have seen that the painter designed an illusionistic screen, united by architectonic elements into a single whole and with a consistent overall system of perspective and lighting. Thus each individual composition, whether at the bozzetto stage or in its finished state, can be regarded as a section of this screen, reflecting the technical devices used to bring about the illusion.

[1] An important article on this subject was published by C. Scribner after the completion of my Chapter; see p. 52, n. 16.

The tapestries are certainly not interchangeable within the general scheme, for no two of them show the same combination of features dependent on the mode of arrangement: dimensions, the angle of incidence of light and the perspective, taking account of the point from which the tapestry is viewed and whether it is in the top or the bottom row (these two being distinguished by different architectonic orders).[2]

For the five scenes of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (Nos. 1–5) this investigation is of less importance, as their respective positions are known from the Chicago sketch (Fig. 95). The whole sketch is treated frontally, and the outside scenes are both viewed and lighted from the centre. Only the middle scene, *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1; Fig. 96) shows how the light was supposed to fall on it, viz. from the right.

If we list the other tapestries according to the lighting and angle of vision, we arrive at the following result:

1. Seen from the right, lighted from the centre: *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 203), upper row; *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 160), lower row; these two are of the same width.
2. Seen from the right, lighted from the right: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 119), lower row; *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 137), upper row.
3. Seen from the right, lighted from the left: *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 171), lower row; *King David Playing the Harp* (Fig. 117), upper row.
4. Seen from the left, lighted from the left: *The Four Evangelists* (Fig. 183), upper row, and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190), lower row, both of the same dimensions; *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Fig. 199), upper row, and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 144), lower row, both of the same dimensions.
5. Seen from the left, lighted from the right: *The Gathering of the Manna* (Fig. 132), upper row.
6. *Seen* frontally, lighted from the left: *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 149), upper row.[3]

[2] See above, p. 52.

[3] In the corresponding modelli the angle of vision is the same, of course in reverse. However, in the modelli for *Elijah and the Angel* and *The Gathering of the Manna* (Nos. 8b, 9b; Figs 134, 139) it is not clear at first sight whether they are seen frontally or from the side, as the architecture is reproduced schematically and reworked by a later hand. The clumsy reproduction of vanishing lines (in *The Gathering of the Manna*) and the lions' heads to left and right above the capitals, suggesting symmetry and thus frontality, cannot be original.

The three small allegorical works (Figs. 209, 214, 216), which have no architectonic border, fall outside this classification. They seem to be lighted from the left and from above.

It is for the most part impossible to determine what viewpoint Rubens chose as the basis for this regularity. Probably the spectator was imagined to be in the centre of the church, and one wall was considered frontally as a whole, with the outside tapestries seen from the centre. It is harder to see how the incidence of light was determined, as there are different possibilities. Rubens may have taken account of the profusion of candles in the church [4] or of the daylight coming through the very high windows. It is also possible that he wished to show a divine light radiating from the monstrance, as it does in *The Adoration of the Eucharist*. None of these conjectures, however, explains why two, and only two, of the "large" tapestries—*The Triumph of Faith* and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*—are illuminated from the centre. May it be that Rubens chose for the overall effect a more elaborate combination of different sources of light?

2. *The "Large" Tapestries*

We are thus still without sufficient data to reconstruct the total effect by comparing the tapestries with the architecture of the church. However, there are some interesting clues as to the relative arrangement of the "large" tapestries. In the case of two tapestries hung one above the other, it must be that they are both seen and lighted from the same side. Probably, too, they would be of the same width, so as to align the columns on either side. On this basis we can list certain tapestries in pair with the certainty that they were placed one above the other, since they agree as to size, lighting and angle of vision. The result is: *The Four Evangelists* above *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Figs. 183, 190); *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* above *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Figs. 199, 144); and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* above *The Triumph of Faith* (Figs. 203, 160). In addition, since the last four of these

[4] Carrillo describes the lighting of the church during the octave of Corpus Christi. There were 200 candles in the church: on the seven altars, in five silver lamps ("lamparas"), in four stands for torches ("blandones") and in two chandeliers ("candeleros pendientes") hanging in the middle of the church, "with many dozens of white candles" (*Carrillo*, f° 37^{v}; Doc. 3, pp. 423, 427).

are all of the same dimensions, we may perhaps suppose that two of them were hung opposite the two others.

The above conspectus also points to a change in Rubens's scheme. The features observable in the tapestries also appear in the bozzetti except in the case of *Abraham and Melchizedek,* where he evidently departed from his original plan. In the final version, this work was given a different shape and assigned to the lower instead of the upper row. This is connected with another important change, the discarding of *The Triumph of Hope,* for which only a bozzetto is known.

Evidently *Abraham and Melchizedek* was transferred to the place that was to have been occupied by *The Triumph of Hope.* The bozzetto for *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21; Fig. 220) and the tapestry *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7; Fig. 119) have the same formal characteristics and, if reduced to a single scale, the same dimensions. They also share a peculiarity which is found in no other tapestry, viz. that on the right-hand side they are bounded by two columns, placed asymmetrically, while the "tapestry" is hung over them. This curious arrangement must have been due to practical difficulties connected with the available space on a particular wall. Evidently it was impossible in this case to hang two tapestries of the same width one above the other, and the pillars in the lower one had to be shifted towards the middle to preserve the vertical alignment. To prevent this solution appearing too clumsy, the pillars were more or less hidden behind the illusionistic tapestry. This is the only place where Rubens adhered to this solution which he employed systematically in the bozzetti.

On closer inspection we can identify a fourth pair of subjects that were certainly meant to hang one above the other, if only at the bozzetto stage: the square *Abraham and Melchizedek* certainly came above *The Triumph of Hope.* If these are aligned on the left, the columns are seen to fit.

The decision to replace *The Triumph of Hope* by *Abraham and Melchizedek* must have been taken after several modelli were painted, for there are two modelli for the latter work: the original square one (No. 7b; Fig. 121) with the characteristics of the bozzetto, and a second one in broad format (No. 7c; Fig. 122) corresponding to the bozzetto of *The Triumph of Hope.* However, no new scene was designed for the upper position.

The classification by characteristics, as set out earlier in this chapter, throws much less light on the arrangement of the tapestries within each row. *The*

Gathering of the Manna and *Elijah and the Angel* (Figs. 132, 137) seem, as it were, to be companion pieces that may have been meant to hang on the same wall with or without a space between. They are of equal width and, taken together, are viewed frontally; both are lighted from the right. The lower border in the bozzetti (Figs. 133, 138) is also noteworthy. The decorative cartouche is asymmetrical in both, as if it belonged to the two together and was afterwards sawn through. Were these compositions in the first stage in fact next to each other, perhaps reproduced as two "tapestries" on one piece of tapestry?

How these five pairs of compositions were disposed in relation to one another and to the two other works is much harder to determine, and the answer can only be hypothetical. We have seen that various features indicate whether a tapestry was meant to be in contact with the one next to it. The architectural elements are consistently reproduced, either continuing beyond the tapestry or not as the case may be, and in the bozzetti it can often be seen whether the illusionistic tapestries are separate or continuous.

The bozzetti give another useful indication: we can see which pieces may have belonged to a larger panel, and how far these large panels can be reconstructed to show the original arrangement in the church. We saw that the twelve bozzetti for the "large" tapestries belong, as regards their provenance, to two groups of six:

1. The Wolfvoet group: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7a), *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8a), *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9a), *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10a), *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (No. 16a) and *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21).

2. The Balme group: *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11a), *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12a), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13a), *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14a), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15a) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17a).

It is notable that the five pairs of works which we identified on formal grounds appear unbroken in these two groups. It may thus be that the compositions of the original large panels, though physically separated, remained together for a time, so that each group may represent the subjects that were intended to figure on one of the church walls.

This conclusion is highly conjectural.[5] However, if the Wolfvoet and the Balme group do represent the subjects of the tapestries on two walls respectively, this would be in accordance with what little we can deduce from the subjects themselves. It is reasonable from the iconographic point of view to suppose that one wall depicted themes of the Old Testament and the other those of the New, while *The Triumph of Hope* can be regarded as belonging to the Old.[6] If we assume this, we may also conjecture that the Old Testament scenes may have been placed on the liturgical "north" side (the left-hand wall of the church) and the New Testament ones on the "south".[7] The Wolfvoet group (with the four Old Testament subjects) in any case covers a smaller surface, which agrees with our information regarding the walls: there was probably less room for tapestries on the left because of the nuns' confessional, the pulpit and probably the royal gallery. Perhaps, too, the entrance to the *claustro de la clausura* had to be left free, if we suppose that the processions took place there.

The bozzetti of the Balme group are all preserved (in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge), and in many cases it is easy to see on which side one composition was adjoined by another. There are three elements enabling us to attempt a reconstruction of the original panel: the sawn-off edges, the lighting and perspective, which, as we saw, indicate which compositions were probably hung above which others, and finally the reproduction of architectonic elements and the "tapestries", showing whether or not two compositions were immediately adjacent to each other.[8] Taking account of all these factors we can suggest the following reconstruction. Above, from right to left (in the order of the "procession" formed): *The Four Evangelists, The Triumph of the Church, The Victory of Truth over Heresy;* below, *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (under *The Four Evangelists*), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (under *The Triumph of the Church,* but shifted to the left) and *The Triumph*

[5] In the first place we may assume, but cannot prove, that all twelve bozzetti were really part of larger panels. It should also be noted that the six bozzetti of the Wolfvoet group were subsequently disposed of in pairs corresponding exactly to those we have indicated, although by 1652 they had certainly been sawn into separate panels: they were apparently thus matched on the basis of similar dimensions and subjects.

[6] See below, p. 189.

[7] See below, p. 189.

[8] See above, pp. 85, 99.

of Faith (under *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*).[9] The weakest point in this reconstruction is the placing of *The Triumph of Divine Love*. This may have come under *The Triumph of the Church*, as suggested, since the latter work had no neighbour on the right and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* had none on the left, as is shown by the architectural elements in the tapestries and the extremities of the "tapestries" in the bozzetti. It is as though these tapestries came up against either side of an obstacle. None the less we repeat that this reconstruction is no more than a hypothesis.

As to the Wolfvoet group we have even fewer indications. Two subjects were altered in the tapestries, two bozzetti have disappeared, and the edges of the remainder provide no information. As we said, we can suppose that in the church two subjects of this group (*The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*) came exactly opposite two subjects of the Balme group (*The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and *The Triumph of Faith*).

3. *The Five Tapestries of "The Adoration of the Eucharist"*

The Chicago sketch (No. 1–5a; Fig. 95) gives us most information as to the manner in which the tapestries of the Eucharist Series were hung. It shows five tapestries (in reverse image) as they were actually intended to be, and thus enables us to determine their interrelation with certainty. In the upper row were *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1), and on either side a group of *Angels Playing Music* (Nos. 2, 3); in the lower, under these groups, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (on the left; No. 4) and *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (on the right; No. 5). This interesting sketch, however, also raises a number of problems.

The first critic to enquire into the purpose of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* was Tormo. He did not know the Chicago sketch but only the modified copy of it published by Rooses—the Le Monnier sketch (Fig. 94), in which the

[9] The original panel edge can be seen on the left of *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 161) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 204), while the other sides are cut off abruptly. *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 150) is cut off on either side, which suggests that it was between two other compositions, as is confirmed by the frontal view and the "tapestry" continuing on each side. The *Four Evangelists* (Fig. 184) is again cut off short on the left, while *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 191) was no doubt intended to come below it.

composition is in the "right" direction, without architectonic features and with the scenes slightly displaced in relation to one another. The arrangement in two rows led him to conclude that the tapestries were intended to decorate the wall over the high altar. The symmetrical composition, and above all the subject, strongly suggest that he was right: it represents the open end of the "building" through which the spectator beholds the centrally placed monstrance and the great ones of the earth kneeling in adoration before it. Tormo's conjecture seems to be confirmed by a fact he was unaware of, viz. that in the Chicago sketch, under the rectangular composition with the chalice and loaves, there is depicted what looks somewhat like an altar.

Some of Tormo's further conjectures and reconstructions, however, are unacceptable. He lacked the more precise data furnished by the Chicago sketch, and, as already mentioned, he did not realize that *The Adoration of the Eucharist* was meant to form an integral whole with the other tapestries in the church. He regarded it as an indepentdent decoration of the retable, serving the same purpose as the very large hangings which used to cover retables in other Madrid churches during the Holy Week. Consequently he supposed that there was a direct connection between the subdivision of Rubens's composition and that of Becerra's retable: a rectangle divided into nine smaller rectangles, making three rows of three scenes each (Figs. 16, 17). In the inaccurate Le Monnier sketch the group of *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* is displaced upwards, and this led Tormo to think that Rubens had intended three rows of tapestries: the hierarchies in adoration below, then the angels with their instruments, and finally, above in the centre, *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs*. He also believed that the Le Monnier sketch was not a complete reproduction of Rubens's idea but that other compositions should be added to it: at the top, to either side of *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs, King David Playing The Harp* (No. 6), and a lost counterpart, and at the bottom, between the groups of kneeling figures, *The Succession of the Popes* (No. 18).[10] This reconstruction, which is contradicted by the Chicago sketch, was rejected at an earlier date,[11] and is in fact unacceptable.

[10] *Tormo*, III, pp. 22, 23, 59. On an unnumbered folding-out sheet he gives a photographic reconstruction of the decoration of the altar wall with eight tapestries, as he believes it to have been intended; reproduced in *Held, 1968*, p. 13, fig. 9.

[11] *Held, 1968*, p. 8; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 22.

We believe that the three vertical rows of tapestry seen in the Chicago sketch (Fig. 95), which are each about 3.20 metres wide, do not correspond to the three vertical divisions of the retable (Figs. 16, 17), although these are also of equal width and it might seem natural to suppose a connection between them. If there were such a correspondence, the retable would have to be about 9.50 metres wide, which is not the case: we have worked out the approximate measurements of Becerra's work and find it to be much smaller, about 6.50 metres wide (Fig. 9).[12] If *The Adoration of the Eucharist* was intended to be placed on the wall over the high altar, the tapestries must have covered the whole wall without regard to the divisions of Becerra's work; they also covered the space to either side of the retable. For the simulated architecture to be reproduced as a whole it was necessary for the tapestries on the altar wall to be continuous with those on the side walls, and for all the compositions showing the same architectonic order to be at the same height. Probably all the tapestries of the upper row were fastened at the height of the cornice, so that those in the lower row touched the floor of the chancel and came to within two metres of the floor of the church proper.

Taking account of the dimensions of the retable as we suppose them to have been (Fig. 9) and with the reliable evidence of the Chicago sketch (Fig. 95), we may reconstruct the hanging of the five tapestries as follows. *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs,* suspended from the upper cornice of the retable, covers the surface with the sculpted *Crucifixion. The Angels Playing Music* and the *Hierarchies in Adoration* reach to the sides of the wall and to the ground, hiding the retable from view and covering the space to either side of it. The two lowest tapestries thus cover the two doors beside the altar.[13] The altar itself and the sculptured *Assumption of the Virgin* are uncovered in this reconstruction. Between these two, at the height of the predella and behind the tabernacle, there was at the bozzetto stage a rectangular section with the Eucharistic symbols of bread and wine, which was not executed in tapestry (or has been lost).

Any attempt at reconstruction in the light of the Chicago sketch, however,

[12] See above, pp. 59, 60.

[13] During the celebrations the right-hand door was no doubt used by the priest to administer Communion to the nuns in the reliquary chamber; but the tapestry, hanging loose over the doors (as was customary in tapestry decorations), could be moved aside.

comes up against the crux of identifying the large dark area in the middle. According to our reconstruction this corresponds to Becerra's alto-rilievo of the *Assumption*. In the sketch there appears to be a kind of grille with a dark space behind it, in which a baldaquin or drawn curtain is visible; in the middle is a lighter patch whose significance cannot be determined. Is it a monstrance or the face of a kneeling person? The dark area must in any case represent something that was not to be covered with tapestry during the festivities.

Tormo, who was ignorant of the Chicago sketch, thought the uncovered space in the middle must be for the purpose of exhibiting the empty tabernacle on Good Friday (the Procession of the *Santo Entierro*) and the monstrance during the octave of Corpus Christi. Later authors [14] have supposed that the sketch represents the high altar on Good Friday with a black curtain drawn aside to show the empty tabernacle, which according to Tormo was the custom. We must recall, however, that the tapestries were no doubt also used for the octave of Corpus Christi and must have been equally adapted for the purpose of displaying the monstrance with the Holy Sacrament. We think it possible, therefore, that the light patch in the central area represents a monstrance.

In any case it is certain that Becerra's retable was not provided permanently with anything in the nature of a grille. The graphic evidence does not show this, nor do any descriptions known to us from the 16th to the 19th century. As far as we can ascertain, no Spanish retable of the period was constructed with a section looking like a grille. [15] The tabernacle cannot have been so high up: Becerra's drawing shows a tabernacle below the retable (on the altar), which is perfectly in accordance with the 16th-century constructions.

Was the mysterious grille connected with some temporary arrangement during the festivities? Neither the hypothesis of the empty tabernacle nor that of the monstrance agrees with Carrillo's account of how the high altar was decorated for Corpus Christi, ten years before the date of Rubens's design. Carrillo says that the whole of the high altar, from top to bottom, was covered with silken flowers that the nuns spent all year making for this purpose. Over the centre of the high altar a baldaquin of white brocade, richly embroidered, was sus-

[14] *Goris-Held*, p. 34, No. 57; *Held, 1968*, pp. 8, 12; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 22.

[15] No such feature is mentioned in the typological study of Spanish retables of this period, with catalogue and schematic illustrations (J.J. Martín González, *Tipología e iconografía del retablo español del Renacimiento, Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y de Arqueología de la Universidad de Valladolid*, XXX, 1964, pp. 5-66).

pended above the monſtrance, which was displayed much lower down, "on a throne" of silver and gold branches, jewels, reliquaries, pearls and diamonds. Carrillo mentions that a new baldaquin was made in 1615.[16]

It is not clear how far this tradition of decoration played a part in Rubens's design. Is the baldaquin perhaps schematically reproduced, and is the "grille" a kind of frame attached to the retable from which the baldaquin was suspended?

Rubens, of course, did not paint the sketch in the Descalzas Reales with the altar an the retable before his eyes. If he was asked to leave a particular space open and not cover it with tapeſtry, the schematic indications he placed there in this design were not necessarily a reproduction of reality.

It may be noted that there is in fact a grille in the church, of about the same size and proportions as the one in the sketch: viz. the grille in front of the nuns' choir (the *coro alto*) opposite the high altar (Figs. 9, 10, 11). But it seems unlikely that the five tapeſtries in the Chicago sketch were intended for that wall of the church. If we examine how the tapeſtries might have been displayed upon it there is no difficulty as far as the breadth is concerned; but from the point of view of height they could not possibly have hung on this wall, supported as it was by the columns of the portico (Fig. 9).[17] In any case the subject of the tapeſtries, *The Adoration of the Euchariſt*, is a ſtrong argument againſt the idea that they were hung on the wall opposite the high altar. The kneeling figures would be looking up in adoration towards the grille of the nuns' choir, and would be turning their backs on the three altars in the church.

In our opinion the evidence is, on the whole, that *The Adoration of the Euchariſt* was definitely intended for the wall behind the high altar, though we cannot explain the dark area in the Chicago sketch.

It is hard to say which tapeſtries were used for the wall of the *coro alto*. To judge from the dimensions and the angle of vision, *Elijah and the Angel* and *The Gathering of the Manna* (Figs. 132, 137) would seem to be possi-

[16] *Carrillo*, f° 36v, 37 (Doc. 3, pp. 422, 426, 427).

[17] Even if we suppose that the grille of the *coro alto* was raised, this could never have been to such an extent that in the 17th century *The Monſtrance Held by Two Cherubs* could have been placed between the grille and the cornice. In any case the bottom row of tapeſtries would have hung very low, about 2 metres from the floor, which would have impeded the view of those in the portico.

bilities: there are no signs that other tapestries were meant to hang below these, and they have the appearance of being counterparts for the same wall. They may therefore have been intended to hang on either side of the nuns' choir; but it is more likely that they belonged to a side wall, like the other subjects in the Wolfvoet group of bozzetti. Moreover, the lighting would not agree with that of the altar wall. If we suppose that a single source of light was imagined for the tapestries of the altar and those of the *coro alto,* the latter would have to be illuminated from the left, since the altar wall is lighted from the right (the liturgical "south").

4. *The small tapestries*

It has been suggested that a number of smaller tapestries were also intended for the altar wall, to supplement the composition of the Chicago sketch. We cannot, however, agree with any of these hypotheses. As we have already mentioned, Tormo presumed without any evidence that *King David Playing the Harp* was supposed to be at the very top on one side, matched by a lost counterpart on the other, with *The Succession of the Popes* below. Junquera supposed that *King David Playing the Harp* was intended to take the place of the rectangular piece with the chalice and loaves (under the space with the "grille").[18] This, however, is impossible if only because of the dimensions, and in any case this tapestry is seen from the right and not frontally (Fig. 117).

King David Playing the Harp must probably have been placed above an obstacle, between two of the "large" tapestries: it is as broad as the square "large" tapestries are, but much less high. We find in it the same architecture with baroque volutes as in *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (Fig. 96), and there is also a window with the sky showing through. We may suppose that it was likewise intended to be hung at the very top, next the cornice. If *The Adoration of the Eucharist* was intended for the high altar, *King David Playing the Harp* was most probably on the left wall, since he could hardly have been turning his back to it. Possibly this musical scene was hung in front of an organ or near it, but this is not necessarily so, any more than for the music-making angels. The figure of David suits the iconography of a Euchar-

[18] *Junquera, 1969,* p. 22.

istic series, and, if the location was really determined by the subject, the king with his songs of praise might, for instance, have been placed near the royal gallery.

The three small allegories, which are closely linked iconographically, must be regarded as a unity and cannot, in our opinion, have been distributed over different walls. To judge from their shape it seems to us that they may have been meant to hang close together, with *The Succession of the Popes* between, so that all three tapestries filled the space of an arch. The background of the three appears continuous. We could then suppose that *Charity Enlightening the World* (Fig. 216) was on the left—the cave which appears in it being continuous with the rocky area on the right of *The Succession of the Popes* (Fig. 209) —while the open-air *Historiography* (Fig. 214) would be adjacent to the left side of the *Succession of the Popes.*

We originally supposed that these three compositions might have been placed high above the altar, in the arch over the cornice; but they can hardly have been juxtaposed with the pieces in the Chicago sketch. They are lighted from the left, and not from the right like *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs,* and moreover in the Chicago sketch the composition is clearly bounded by the heavy cornice.

Were the three small pieces hung near *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 149), to which they are closely related iconographically, or by the *coro alto,* where the light should logically come from the opposite side as compared with the position on the altar wall? The bozzetti for these pieces, like those of the Chicago sketch, are in reverse image (Figs. 212, 213), so they can hardly have belonged to the Balme or Wolfvoet groups; they probably belonged to a symmetrical composition, perhaps a panel intended as a sketch for the tapestry decoration of the *coro alto.*

5. *Conclusions*

In this chapter we have reviewed all the evidence that may throw light on the arrangement of the tapestries. The results are somewhat disappointing. Comparing the dimensions and divisions of the walls with the shapes of the tapestries and their various special features, we are still unable to reach a firm conclusion: several solutions are possible, but none is self-evident. Despite much measuring and comparison of the elements reduced to a single scale, as

far as the *coro alto* and the side walls are concerned we have not succeeded in placing any one tapestry with any degree of certainty. We can only conclude that *The Adoration of the Eucharist* was probably intended for the altar wall—though this too raises problems—and that the "large" tapestries were hung continuously on the other walls, their arrangement perhaps corresponding with the division of the bozzetti into the Wolfvoet and Balme groups.

All the tapestries in the upper row were probably suspended from the cornice above the church wall. The square pieces, about 5 metres across, would seem to fit well into the shallow transepts, which are about as broad as this (Figs. 9, 10, 13), but the arch above makes it impossible for two tapestries to have been hung vertically. Moreover the transepts could not have been shut off by the tapestries, because the two small side-altars that are still there were used during the celebrations and must have remained visible.

The failure to reach any firm conclusions is partly due to insoluble questions in regard to the former architecture: the church interior in Rubens's time cannot be exactly reconstructed. In addition, it is hard to see how this kind of tapestry decoration was carried out in practice. We do not know which parts of the walls were not supposed to be covered, and how the problem of the side walls in the Descalzas was solved, with their many corners (Figs. 9, 10). Did the tapestries follow the contour of the wall, corners and all, or were they hung across from one corner to another? We should not be too mathematically exact as regards the dimensions of the architecture and the tapestries. The latter, with their loose material, were ideal as a temporary decoration: their suppleness made it easy to adapt them to the existing architecture. They could be hung in front of a passage so as to serve as a door, and if necessary their folds could follow the line of the wall and bulge out over small irregularities, without spoiling the effect of the decoration as a whole.

VIII. THE "SMALL PATTERNS": THE MODELLI

1. *General*

After the bozzetti, which together formed a small maquette embodying his preliminary ideas, Rubens made a second series of oil sketches, one to each tapestry, all in reverse image and on a scale four times larger, so that the compositions were 60–70 cm. high instead of about 16 cm.

These sketches served a double purpose: to determine the final forms and colours and to serve as guidance to the studio painters, who then executed the compositions on the same scale as the tapestries themselves. Rubens's oil sketches correspond to what other tapestry designers usually executed in the form of drawings on paper: a small design called "het getekend patroon" ("drawn pattern") as opposed to "het geschilderd patroon" ("painted pattern"), or "het patroon in het klein" ("small pattern") opposed to "het patroon in het groot" ("large pattern").[1] The "oil painter" Rubens always made his "small patterns" for tapestres in oil on panel. This seems to be an innovation followed by some other seventeenth century masters to the Antwerp school, but never became a rule.[2]

[1] Most authors use the French terminology "petit patron" and "grand patron". A few examples from documents in Dutch can be cited: in 1679 "... den patroon van Jason ende Medea, int groot", "den patroon van Jason ende Medea, int cleyn" (*Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 302); in 1600, 1622 and 1644 "het getekend patroon" and "het patroon tekenen" is distinguished from "het geschilderd patroon" and "het patroon schilderen" (G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der Tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,* Leiden, 1936, I, p. 11, II, Docs. 154–156, 356, 577. The use of the words "patroon" or "karton" is unfortunately not discussed in: Lydia De Pauw-De Veen, *De Begrippen "Schilder", "Schilderij" en "Schilderen" in de Zeventiende Eeuw,* Brussels, 1969. Actual-size paintings and sketches could both be called "patronen". Haverkamp Begemann pointed out that "patroon" was used in the sense of "design" rather than "cartoon"; in 1653 sketches and paper cartoons of the Achilles series are called "den origineelen patroon... bestaende in acht schetsen ende negen grootte stucken pampieren" ("the original design... consisting of eight sketches and nine large works on paper"); see *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* p. 67, n. 2–4. On the meaning of "cartoni" and "designi" see J. Coolidge, *Louis XIII and Rubens, The Story of the Constantine Tapestries, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXVII, 1966, pp. 291, 292.

[2] We known "small patterns" in oil by Cornelis Schut (on panel) and by Jan van den Hoecke (on canvas), but one of the most important tapestry designers of the Antwerp School, Jacob Jordaens, used water-colour and body-colour on paper (R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings, (Monographs of the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde Eeuw*), Brussels, 1974, Nos. A78–A81, A84–A92, A108, A190); see also the discussion on the material used for the "large patterns", pp. 140–148.

In the present work we prefer to use the term "modello", which is generally applied to a particular kind of Rubens sketch, usually elaborate and intended for the double purpose mentioned above. In addition Rubens's modelli were often submitted for approval to the person who had commissioned the work. [3] Although we have no positive information, we may assume that this was done in the case of the Eucharist series. The modelli would be much more suited to this purpose than the bozzetti. A weaver or tapestry dealer could also use the "small pattern" to give customers who where thinking of ordering tapestries an idea of the "large pattern", i.e. the actual-size version. Whether the modelli of the Eucharist series were ever used in this way is difficult to say. As they were made for a specific series, it is improbable that this secondary function was envisaged or played part in determining the way in which they were made. [4]

Rubens undoubtedly painted modelli for each of the twenty tapestries of the series. For one subject, *Abraham and Melchizedek,* we know that he painted a second modello (No. 7c), having altered the scheme of the work, so that the total is at least twenty-one. We do not know if any more were painted; it is unlikely that he made more than one for any other subject, but it is possible that there was a modello for *The Triumph of Hope.* [5] Of the 21 modelli that certainly existed, not less than 19 have survived.

The two modelli that are probably lost both belong to the set of five compositions entitled *The Adoration of the Eucharist:* viz. *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1b) and *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 5b). [6] The two panels with *Angels Playing Music* (now joined to make one panel)

[3] For a concise description of the various kinds of Rubens sketches see *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954,* pp. 2, 3; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1964,* pp. 105–107; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch Openbaar Bezit,* s. l., 1968, pp. 14, 15.

[4] The modelli of *The History of Achilles,* which are larger (about 107 cm. high) and carefully finished, were very probably used for the purpose described; see *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* pp. 57, 61.

[5] However, as there is no confirmation whatever of the existence of such a piece, we have not included it in our catalogue.

[6] Copies of these subjects are probably based on the modelli (rather than on the large canvases): a drawn copy is known of *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* and an engraving can be related to the modello for *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (see Cat. Nos. 5b, 1b).

are at Potsdam (Nos. 2b, 3b; Fig. 102), and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* is in the Speed Museum at Louisville (No. 4b; Fig. 108).

The twelve modelli for the eleven "large" compositions are in various collections. Six are in the Prado at Madrid: the first version of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7b; Fig. 121), *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11b; Fig. 151), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13c; Fig. 174), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15c; Fig. 194), *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (No. 16b; Fig. 200) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17b; Fig. 206); one each in the museums at Washington (the second version of *Abraham and Melchizedek;* No. 7c; Fig. 122), Los Angeles (*The Gathering of the Manna;* No. 8b; Fig. 134), Bayonne (*Elijah and the Angel;* No. 9b; Fig. 139) and Brussels (*The Triumph of Faith;* No. 12c; Fig. 163); two are in private ownership: *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10b; Fig. 146) and *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14b; Fig. 185).

Three of the smaller pieces are in the Museums at Merion (*King David Playing the Harp;* No. 6b; Fig. 118), San Diego (*The Succession of the Popes;* No. 18b; Fig. 210) and Amherst (*Charity Enlightening the World;* No. 20b; Fig. 217); the present location of *Historiography* (No. 19b; Fig. 215) is unknown to us.

At this point we must pause to notice a Rubens sketch that has been mistakenly associated with the Eucharist series: the so-called *Sketch for a Triumph* (Fig. 33), now in the Bayonne museum.[7] The suggestion that it might be a study for this commission was put forward by Clare Stuart Wortley[8] and Müller Hofstede.[9] The angel (or genie) with an oil lamp, accompanying the two figures in Chinese dress (Jesuits or actual Chinese) in the same way as in *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 151), must indicate that this is a sketch for a religious allegory similar to those of the Eucharist series, but the affinity does not suffice to prove a direct connection. Some elements suggest the idea

[7] Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Inv. No. 995; panel, 33 : 45 cm.; *Musée Bonnat, Catalogue sommaire,* Paris, 1930, p. 156, No. 948 (as *Esquisse pour un Triomphe*); [*Cat. Exh.*] *Exposition d'œuvres de Pierre Paul Rubens appartenant au Musée Bonnat,* Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965, No. 16, Pl. II (as *Allégorie du Triomphe de la Religion*).

[8] This critic sees a resemblance between the bowing figures on the right of this panel and those in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Clare Stuart Wortley, *Rubens's Drawings of Chinese Costume, Old Master Drawings,* IX, 1934–35, pp. 46, 47, fig. 9).

[9] J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch,* N.F. 2, 1969, p. 234, n. 53.

of a Triumph—the advancing figures on the right, and the animated group in the middle—but the panel has not the dimensions of the bozzetti or the modelli for the Eucharist series, and there is no trace of any architectural "border". The figures, moreover, are right-handed, e.g. the man on the extreme left and the angel with the oil lamp; the composition is thus not in reverse image and the movement is from right to left. This rules out any connection with the *Triumphs* of the Eucharist series, in which (in the "right-handed" version) the movement is in the other direction, from left to right.

As we have already pointed out, the modelli, like the bozzetti and the tapestries, form a single whole and there is therefore no reason to assign a later date to the smaller ones. All the modelli must have been painted around 1626.

Rubens made numerous changes at this second stage, but we think it wrong to suppose that he did so at the request of those who had seen the bozzetti: all the changes may well have been due to his own judgement. They are mainly technical rather than substantive, a natural consequence of the progression from a preliminary sketch to a more elaborate one. However complete the bozzetti were, they are summary like drawings and not suitable to be transferred to compositions of nearly 5 metres high. As a model for the painting of the actual-size canvases it was necessary to provide much larger and more elaborate sketches—the modelli. At this stage all the figures had to be given body and a proper location in space, and the proportions adapted to the large size of the final composition. All details of the figures, the background and the framing elements had to be defined: much was added or altered by comparison with the bozzetti.

There were fewer alterations of content. The general character of the series was taken over from the bozzetti, except for the two general modifications we have mentioned. Firstly, in the modelli Rubens changed his mind as regards the way in which the "tapestries" are depicted, so that they no longer ran continuously behind several columns, and, except in a single case, no longer hung in front of the columns. Secondly, at some time during his work on the modelli he discarded *The Triumph of Hope* and moved *Abraham and Melchizedek* into its place. We shall deal elsewhere, in the Catalogue Raisonné, with the various less important iconographical changes (in the characters, the attributes and the emblematic elements of the borders).

The search for new, definitive forms must have taken place for the most part on the panel itself, without preliminary drawings on paper. We only know

one sheet by Rubens with studies for subjects belonging to this series: a drawing in the Hermitage, with various unconnected figure-studies. These comprise unidentified female nudes and studies for *The Triumph of Divine Love:* the standing *Caritas* with children and some detached figures of children, very sketchily executed (No. 13b; Fig. 173).

Apart from this sheet there is no indication that Rubens made drawings for the series, either designs preceding the modelli or subsequent studies of detail. Two drawings of complete compositions, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices,* were regarded as originals and thus as intermediate between the bozzetti and the modelli,[10] but in our opinion they are only copies of the modelli.

We also see no ground for Burchard's view that in the case of some compositions Rubens, before painting the modello, made another oil sketch about 25 cm. high, a larger and more elaborate bozzetto. A version of *The Defenders of the Eucharist* in a Swiss private collection was regarded by Burchard as an example of this, but in our opinion it has no claim to authenticity (No. 15b; Fig. 192).

The most important changes in the modelli, those connected with the transposition to a larger size and the definition of forms, were naturally made at the initial stage of work on the panels; but many other changes and corrections were made as the work proceeded, as the pentimenti clearly show.

The modelli show Rubens's customary technique. In one work, *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12c), it can be seen through the paint that some parts were first marked out in black chalk, including the main lines of the architecture and cartouches, and here and there the planning of the figures (Fig. 164). In others, including those in the Prado, these chalk marks were dispensed with and the first forms were directly executed in brown paint.

The modelli were worked out in considerable detail but as they had merely a preparatory function it was not necessary at his stage to work up the whole series to a uniform extent. Accordingly Rubens did not so: on close inspection it appears that no single modello was finished in every detail, and that some are much more finished than others. Certain parts, where the indication of colour or the reproduction of details was less important, are indicated summarily or left in the original brown outline.

[10] *Elbern, 1954–55,* pp. 12, 13; see under Cat. Nos. 10b, 16b ("Copies").

In a few cases, e.g. the architectonic border of *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (Fig. 108), the unfinished parts are still visible, but in most of the modelli they are not: they have been completed by another hand, as was often done with unfinished sketches to make them more saleable.

Rubens's economical method of working, with the over-painting that it involved, is clearly seen in the elements that are repeated several times, such as the architectonic borders. It was naturally essential to render the lines of the architecture in their right perspective, but it was unnecessary to repeat the details that were the same for every instance of a particular architectonic order.

In the six modelli showing the Tuscan order only one pillar is completely finished, with all details of the architrave and the parts below as they appear on the large canvases and the tapestries: this is in the final version of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 122). Only here do we find in full detail the gilded wreath that forms part of the base, the fluting in the lower half of the shaft, the pitting of the rustic work, the capital with its bands and rosettes, the egg-and-dart moulding and the beading on the cornice. The architecture shows least finish, on the other hand, in *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (Fig. 108), which is merely composed schematically in brown, and in *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 146). In *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 163) the pillar on the right is more finished than that on the left. The only Salomonic pillar in which the spiral fluting, the garlands and leaves, the putti gathering grapes and the elaborate capital are finished in full detail is on the left of *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 206). In the other pieces these bordering features show different degrees of finish, and in some cases they were retouched or completely overpainted by an unknown hand. [11]

Rubens applied the same economical method to some other recurrent features, such as the frieze with acanthus decoration at the bottom of certain pieces with Salomonic columns. This frieze is painted in detail in *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Fig. 200), while only some schematic volutes are to be seen in *The Gathering of the Manna* (Fig. 134) and *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 139). At the next stage, that of the canvases, the same elaborated form is used in all three compositions.

Rubens's economic method is also found in other designs for tapestries: the

[11] It is especially noticeable in *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 139) that the border cannot be original: the columns, capitals and other architectonic elements are very clumsily executed.

first set of oil sketches for *The History of Achilles*. These have survived in their original, partly unfinished condition and so provide interesting material for comparison. Here too the border (an architectural element with herms) is reproduced schematically, and some compositions are more finished than others. Many parts of *The Wrath of Achilles* have been left in brown, and *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* is almost entirely in brown, with colour indications here and there. [12]

Fortunately most of the modelli are well preserved as regards the most important feature, the composition itself. They are carefully executed, the colouring is subtly shaded and in general character they resemble finished pictures. Such pieces as *The Triumph of the Church* (Figs. 151, 152) and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Figs. 200, 201) are among Rubens's finest modelli. Those that are spoilt to a greater or lesser degree are the *Angels Playing Music* at Potsdam (Fig. 102) and three works in the Prado —the first version of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Figs. 121, 126), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Figs. 174–177) and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Figs. 194–196)—which have so strange an appearance that their authenticity has been questioned. [13]

The figures of the *Angels Playing Music,* especially their heads, are in some places crudely reproduced, as though the rosy colour had been added within Rubens's outline. Moreover, the two modelli were combined into one new composition, and in the process the whole border of columns and cartouches, together with some of the clouds and angel figures, were covered under a layer of paint.

The Triumph of Divine Love was also greatly retouched, e.g. the face of the Caritas figure and especially the cherubs, which were treated in the same way

[12] See *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* p. 132, figs. 62, 64, 66, 68; colour reproductions in R.-A. d'Hulst, *op. cit.,* figs. 11–14.

[13] The Potsdam panel was not accepted as an original by E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci,* Berlin, 1930, p. 36, No. 120. Opinions differ as to the panels in the Prado. The earliest catalogues refer to the six originals as "school of Rubens" (see P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura de S.M.,* Madrid, 1845, pp. 396–399), and are followed by *Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 377, and *Rosell y Torres,* p. 531. Later editions recognize them as original, except the French edition of 1913 (P. de Madrazo, *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée du Prado,* Madrid, 1913, pp. 342–346), wich also casts doubt on the genuineness of *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15C). As to the copies of the Prado, the opinions expressed in the catalogues are divergent.

as the angels in the Potsdam piece. These parts cannot be reconciled with the outline of the figures in brown or the subtle and skilful treatment of the rest of the work, e.g. the emblematic features below (Fig. 176), the cart, the lions (Fig. 177) and the pelican, which are comparable with the better preserved modelli in the Prado.

In the two pieces which, in our opinion, were largely unfinished, *Angels Playing Music* and *The Triumph of Divine Love,* inscriptions in a large running hand can be seen more or less clearly through the paint on the white priming of the upper zone. Those in the *Angels Playing Music* have been partly read with the aid of infra-red rays: on the left panel (No. 3b) *Musick der Eng...* and on the right panel (No. 2b; Fig. 106) *Half de grootte* and, below, *Engelen Musick.* In *The Triumph of Divine Love* can be read [...] *Caritatis* in the same hand in blue, scratched into the priming (Fig. 175).[14] These inscriptions, perhaps by Rubens himself, were clearly indications of the subjects to be painted on the prepared panels. We have not noticed inscriptions in the case of other modelli, but this may be because this paint is thicker, and they might be brought to light with he aid of infra-red rays.[15]

The retouching of the unfinished portions by an unknown hand was not the only treatment from which the modelli suffered. Other means were adopted to "improve" them. We have mentioned that the two modelli of *Angels Playing Music* were joined into a single panel. Another instance is *The Gathering of the Manna,* which was considerably enlarged and had a wreath of flowers painted over the border and partly over the figures (Fig. 135). When this addition was removed in 1938 part of the original paint went with it, so that the piece is rather badly damaged.

The six Prado originals were all enlarged to a height of ca. 85 to 87 cm. and to a breadth of either ca. 92 or ca. 106 cm. This was done by attaching pieces of panel to the top and bottom, and in some cases to the sides. These were painted to represent architectonic elements, in a clumsy manner and in layers of paint which contrast strongly with Rubens's flowing and more transparent work (Fig. 176). The three copies in the Prado (two versions of *The Four Evangelists* and one of *The Triumph of Faith*) were not enlarged as a

[14] The missing word, presumably *Triumphus,* cannot be read, as the figure of the flying angel is more thickly painted.

[15] *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12c) was examined with infra-red rays, but does not show any inscription (Fig. 164).

separate operation: the compositions were copied directly on to a larger panel with a wider border (Fig. 187).

Some of the modelli have suffered from excessive cleaning. This applies especially to two pieces in the Prado: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Figs. 121, 126) and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Figs. 194–196). It looks as if parts of these have been rubbed away and an attempt made to repair the damage with fine strokes of the brush. We were able to see that certain details had been obliterated: they appear on the cartoons and on engravings after the modelli, but only traces of them can still be seen on the modelli themselves.[16]

On the verso of three modelli the brands of Antwerp (hands) and the monogram of the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV) were found: on the two panels with *Angels Playing Music* (Nos. 2b, 3b) and on *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7c).[17]

2. *Provenance of the Modelli*

It is no easy matter to trace the pedigree of twenty-one modelli, which were dispersed at an early date and of which there are many copies. To clarify their history we must consider two groups, though the demarcation between them is not absolutely clear. The first comprises a number of modelli, especially small pieces, that were scattered in the eighteenth century through various collections in the Netherlands, France, England and Germany. Secondly, we know that ten of the eleven modelli for the "large" compositions found their way to Spain at an early date, including a group of eight panels that became part of the royal collections at the end of the seventeenth century.

a. *Outside Spain*

Let us first consider the modelli outside Spain. From the 18th century onwards sketches attributed to Rubens and depicting scenes of the Eucharist series appeared at sales in very large numbers.[18] The catalogues, however, are not

[16] This is the case, for instance, with the drapery of the cherub hovering above the pelican in *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Figs. 171, 174, 180, 181).

[17] For Michiel Vriendt and his panels used by Rubens see *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, pp. 45, 46.

[18] In the extracts from sales catalogues collected by Burchard we have found about 70 mentions before 1800 and another 50 from 1800 to 1825.

very informative: the details they give are summary and hard to interpret, e.g. such titles as "Triumph of the Church, of Faith, of Religion or of the Euchariſt" may each be applied to more than one composition. We muſt also bear in mind that there exiſt several copies of each composition, often of the same format and sometimes of fairly good quality. In many cases it is thus not clear which subject is in queſtion, and it is hardly ever clear whether the picture was an original or a copy, so that the links between one sale and another are very hard to eſtablish. The provenance of a particular work can only be inferred from these haphazard and incomplete data, and the result is always to some extent hypothetical. [19]

Certainly the originals, in our opinion, are the items in the Jacob de Roore sale at The Hague in 1747: *Hiſtoriography* (No. 19b) and *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6b). [20] The provenance of *Angels Playing Music* at Potsdam (Nos. 2b, 3b) is also eſtablished. The composite panel was in the Willem Lormier collection at The Hague, described by Hoet in 1752 and sold in 1763. Finally, as to *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10b) we know that it was ſtill in the Netherlands in 1637, when it was copied by Matthijs van den Bergh who worked at Antwerp and Alkmaar. [21] From the end of the 17th century to 1962 this piece remained in the collection of the Spencer family at Althorp.

In other cases it is much harder to be certain of the facts. *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20b) may have been sold at Paris in 1771 and 1780. It is also very likely that "Un pape qui fait l'ouverture de la Porte Sainte"—sold at Paris in 1767 with the collection of Jean de Julienne, bought there by Horion and again sold with this collection in Brussels in 1788—is identical with *The Ecclesiaſtical Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 4b). In this sale there were two other paintings of subjects from the Euchariſt series, though the

[19] A typical example is afforded by the five unidentifiable sketches sold as by Rubens at Amſterdam in 1749 in the collection of J.D. Pompe and Jan van Huysum: "Een ſtuk verbeeldende de Joodsche Godsdienſt, De Zegeningen van Melchizedek, Een ſtuk daar de Heidensche Godsdienſt verdreven wordt, Een ſtuk daar de tijd de waarheid ten Hemel voert, en De invoering of vaſtſtelling van de Chriſtelyke Godsdienſt" (G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijſt van Schilderijen...*, II, The Hague, 1752, pp. 274, 275); see also notes 61 and 62 below.

[20] To avoid repetition, we refer to the respective catalogue numbers for fuller details of the provenance of works mentioned in this chapter.

[21] For Matthijs van den Bergh and his copies after the series see below, p. 224, n. 2.

identification is less clear: a *Victory of Truth over Heresy*[22] which cannot be the original (in the Prado), and an *Abraham and Melchizedek* which may be identical with the Washington modello (No. 7c).

b. *The Modelli from the Spanish Royal Collections*

The nine panels now in the Prado are certainly from the Spanish royal collections. These comprise six originals (cited above) and three copies (*The Triumph of Faith* and two versions of *The Four Evangelists;* Fig. 187). As we shall see, there is also reason to think that other (authentic) panels have belonged to the king of Spain and afterwards disappeared from his collections.

It is generally supposed that the modelli of the Eucharist series, or at least those now in the Prado, were originally in the collection of the Archduchess Isabella.[23] This conclusion was based on the assumption that their provenance was linked with that of the large canvases for the series, which are known to have belonged to her and to have been afterwards sent to Spain: they were bequeathed by Isabella to the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, and were inherited after his death by Philip IV. In 1648 and again in 1649 Philip requested the Archduke Leopold William to send these canvases from the palace in Brussels to Spain.[24] The evidence also shows that Philip IV did not keep them for himself: six canvases were afterwards in the church of the convent of the Carmelite Nuns at Loeches, and Philip IV probably presented them to his prime minister Luis Méndez de Haro, Marques of Carpio, who owned the convent.[25]

Since some of the modelli also made their way to Spain, it has been supposed that they came from the palace in Brussels at the same time as the big canvases. It was even thought that Philip IV's letter of 1648 related to both the canvases and the modelli. The letter refers to fifteen large pictures and some smaller

[22] No. 106: "Pierre Paul Rubens. Le Temps qui fait triompher la Religion. Cette composition, fort riche et ingénieuse, est peinte sur une toile de 26 pouces de haut, sur 30 de large"; bought by Lebroque.

[23] There is no direct evidence to indicate whether the Eucharist modelli were in Isabella's collection or not. As De Maeyer pointed out, there is no contemporary inventory of her collection, and we are obliged to draw what conclusions we can from later inventories of collections that acquired items from her estate (*De Maeyer,* pp. 41, 42). By that time many pieces had disappeared and others had been added. No modelli of the Eucharist series are mentioned in these sources.

[24] Docs. 14, 15.

[25] For further details see below pp. 156, 157.

ones,[26] and the idea that these latter were the modelli was first put forward by Max Rooses, on the ground that the whole series consisted (as he thought) of only fifteen compositions.[27] This identification of the "smaller pieces" with the modelli in the Prado was assumed by P. de Madrazo in the Prado catalogues and by Tormo, Van Puyvelde and Elbern.[28] An important argument against this view was that the letter speaks of pieces "on canvas" which were "lying rolled up" (Quinze pinturas grandes y otras menores de lienzo pintadas al olio, ...que quedaron arrolladas"). De Maeyer recognized this, but held that these words did not relate to the smaller pieces.[29] His view seems to us far from certain, however, and we believe that there were more than fifteen canvases at the palace and no modelli.

On the assumption that King Philip IV sent for both the canvases and the modelli, it was further supposed that the latter were likewise presented by him to Luis Méndez de Haro, Marques of Carpio.[30] We know that Charles II acquired eight Eucharist sketches from the collection of Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Luis's son.[31] At first sight the pedigree "Isabella - Ferdinand - Philip IV - Luis del Carpio - Gaspar del Carpio - Charles II" seems plausible, but on closer inspection there is some doubt as to the provenance of the modelli before Gaspar del Carpio.

The fact that the modelli belonged to Gaspar del Carpio does not seem to us to prove that they came from the palace in Brussels, while there are some indications to the contrary. For one thing it should be recalled that some modelli were never completely finished by Rubens, which makes it unlikely

[26] Doc. 14 .

[27] *Rooses*, I, p. 74; *Rooses, Life*, II, p. 428.

[28] P. de Madrazo, *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée du Prado*, Madrid, 1913, p. 343; *Beroqui, 1918*, pp. 63, 64; P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1920, p. 335; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 7; *Tormo*, III, p. 12; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 31, 32; *Elbern*, p. 13; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 53; *Gaya Nuño, 1964*, p. 38; see also *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, p. 288.

[29] *De Maeyer*, p. 125, n. 1.

[30] P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1920, p. 335; *Beroqui, 1918*, p. 64; *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de los cuadros*, Madrid, 1949, p. 548; *Elbern*, p. 13; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 53; *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de las Pinturas*, Madrid, 1963, p. 588; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, p. 289.

[31] Docs. 21, 22.

that he would have intended them (as a part of the commission) for the Archducal court. It seems to us more probable that they remained for some time in Antwerp, in Rubens's studio [32] and afterwards possibly in the possession of persons interested in the manufacture and sale of tapestries. [33]

The view that the modelli remained in Antwerp for some time is strengthened by the number of painted copies and engravings after them. The finest and most important set of engravings, five sheets of the same size as the panels, made by Schelte a Bolswert and Nicolaas Lauwers, can be dated between 1648 and 1652. Some decades later this set was completed by four sheets of lesser quality depicting other subjects of the Eucharist series. [34] The subjects of the nine engravings are for the most part the same as the Prado panels; only *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7b) is missing, while the engravings include *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9b) and the second version of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7c). If these engravings were made straight from the original modelli, the latter must have been still in the Netherlands (probably in Antwerp) at mid-century.

The first certain owner of the eight "Spanish" modelli was Gaspar Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, seventh Marquis of Carpio and Heliche, third Count-Duke of Olivares, a passionate art collector and, according to Charles II, the most dangerous man of Spain. [35] In 1677 he was sent to Rome as Charles II's ambassador; he remained there till 1682, when he became viceroy of Naples, a post which he occupied until his death on 16 November 1687. During his ten years in Italy he enlarged his collection with numerous paintings, drawings, antique and contemporary sculpture, so that he can be regarded as one of the

[32] On the oil sketches in Rubens's studio at the time of his death, see above p. 88, n. 9.

[33] This is what happened to the modelli (larger and finished) of the Achilles series, which remained for a long time with a set of actual-size cartoons in the possession of art dealers and tapestry weavers (*Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* pp. 61, 62).

[34] See further the discussion on the engravings, pp. 213–216.

[35] Gaspar del Carpio (1629–1687) was the son of Luis Méndez de Haro, Philip IV's *privado;* for more details on his adventurous life see: Maria Elena Ghelli, *Il Viceré marchese del Carpio (1683–1687), Archivo Storico per le provincie napoletane,* LVIII, 1933, pp. 280–318; LIX, 1934, pp. 257–282; F. Nicolini, *Aspetti della Vita Italo-Spagnuola nel Cinque e Seicento,* Naples, 1934, pp. 284, 285; B. Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli, Scritti de Storia letteraria e politica,* XIX, Bari, 3rd ed., 1944, pp. 154, 157, 282, 378.

principal collectors of the second half of the century.[36] In 1683 a large number of paintings, books and other *objets d'art* were sent from Rome to his palace at Naples, and an inventory was made on this occasion (in 1682).[37] Before this, from 1679 onwards, he had begun to send part of his collection to Spain: first antique statues, and from 1686 pictures also. He continued to send both until he died in 1687.[38] Between November 1687 and February 1688 his daughter Catalina, who was his heir, had an inventory made of the pictures that had remained in Italy and were sent to Spain in 1688.[39] Owing to Carpio's many debts she could not keep the collection together. Carpio's paintings were brought to a property owned by the family in Madrid, the Jardín de San Joaquín; from 1690 to 1694 pictures and other works of art were sold there or given as payment to his creditors. For Carpio's debts towards the Crown, King Charles II accepted a lot of about forty pictures among which works by Bassano, Ribera, Rubens, Tintoretto, Titian, Van Dyck and Veronese.[40] The lot included eight panels with subjects of the Eucharist series, described as originals by

[36] According to *Berwick-Alba*, p. 20, Carpio possessed 1800 paintings at the time of his death. His collection of works by Velázquez has aroused special interest: see e.g. J.M. Pita Andrade, *Los cuadros de Velázquez y Mazo que poseyó el séptimo Marqués del Carpio, Archivo español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, pp. 223–236; Enriqueta Harris, *El Marqués del Carpio y sus cuadros de Velázquez, Archivo español de Arte*, XXX, 1957, pp. 136–139; N. MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Spanish School*, 2nd ed. revised by A. Braham, London, 1970, pp. 126, 127, n. 7, 128, n. 8.

[37] This inventory of 1682 was in the archives of the Duke of Alva, but was destroyed in a fire at the ducal palace in 1936 (J.M. Pita Andrade, *loc. cit.*, p. 225, n. 4); we have some information from *Berwick-Alba*, p. 20; the inventory of 385 folios mentioned 1162 paintings in his two palaces in Rome and many other works of art (sculpture, bronzes, fountains, tapestries) and books; the same publication gives a list of paintings in the inventory (*Berwick-Alba*, pp. 106–108), but it mentions only 402 titles an does not include the Rubens modelli. Nicolini quotes from another (Italian) source concerning the despatch of these items: "più di quattrocento pezzi di quadri di pennelli scelti"... (F. Nicolini, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 285).

[38] A manuscript in the Escorial contains lists of the despatched items, drawn up before a notary; published incompletely (list of about 130 paintings of the 600) by D. Sánchez de Rivera, *"Cuadros venidos a España...", Un manuscrito interesante, Arte Español*, XVII, 1929, pp. 518–521; see also A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Sobre la venida a España de las colecciones del Marqués del Carpio, Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXIII, 1960, pp. 293–295). In 1683 the cargoes were despatched in the Spanish *Armada;* in 1686 a consignment on an English vessel was lost; it included valuable antique sculpture and pictures by Velázquez, Titian and other Italian masters (*Ibid.*, p. 294).

[39] See below, n. 44 (e).

[40] *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953*, pp. 234–236; see also below, n. 44 (g).

Rubens and representing: *The Triumph of Faith, Abraham and Melchizedek, The Victory of Truth over Heresy, The Triumph of the Church, The Defenders of the Eucharist, The Four Evangelists, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and *The Triumph of Divine Love.*[41] The paintings brought to the Jardín de San Joaquín had been valued by the Court painter Claudio Coello and the painter José Donoso (who were paid for it in 1689).[42] The Eucharist panels were estimated at 5,500 reales (187,000 maravedis), except for *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices,* that was estimated at 2,000 reales (68,000 maravedis).

We have not been able to discover when Carpio acquired the modelli. The paintings brought together in Madrid were not only those purchased in Italy, but also those of Carpio's collection in Spain (in the palace at Loeches), including paintings inherited from his father Luis del Carpio (who inherited Olivares's collection).[43] We do not known if the modelli are mentioned in one of the inventories of Carpio's collections made during his lifetime.[44]

[41] Doc. 21; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 290; that the two paintings called in this inventory "El triunfo de la Fe" represented *The Triumph of Faith* and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* is ascertained by the titles of Claudio Coello's copies: "El triunfo de la Fe" and "El tiempo descubre la verdad", see below, n. 42.

[42] *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* p. 235; Claudio Coello died 20 April 1693; in his estate were copies by his hand of the eight Eucharist sketches (*Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* p. 200); see below, p. 224, n. 3.

[43] See *Marqués del Saltillo,, 1953,* p. 235; on Loeches, see pp. 156, 157.

[44] We were unable to see most of the original documents regarding Carpio's collection, and only fragments were published, chiefly on the subject of Carpio's paintings by Velázquez. We could trace the following documents:
(a) A very early inventory of 1651, containing 331 items (*Madrid, Archivo de la Casa de Alba,* Caja 221–2; fragments published by J.M. Pita Andrade, *loc. cit.* pp. 226–232);
(b) An inventory dated 1669 (formerly in the Archives of the Duke of Alva, lost in the fire of the Palacio de Liria in 1936; partly published by *Berwick-Alba,* p. 22;
(c) The inventory of 1682 of works of art sent to Naples (see note 37);
(d) Lists of the works sent to Spain, 1679–1687 (see note 38);
(e) Posthumous inventory of November 1687–February 1688 (*Madrid, Archivo de la Casa de Alba,* Caja 217–12; 94 folios in Italian; fragments published by J.M. Pita Andrade, *loc. cit.,* pp. 233, 234);
(f) Documents on the sale in the Jardín de San Joaquín (*Madrid, Archivo de la Casa de Alba,* Caja 221–2; fragments published by J.M. Pita Andrade, *loc. cit,* pp. 224, 225, 234–236);
(g) List of the works sold in the Jardín de San Joaquín (*Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos,* Protocolo 9893, f° 227–334; partly published in *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* pp. 235-240; see Doc. 21); fotocopy at the Rubenianum.

The same eight sketches acquired from Carpio's collection are mentioned in a list dated 10 August 1694 of works in the palace studio ("en las tres piezas del Obrador de los Pintores de Camera de Palacio") which had been entrusted to Luca Giordano, court painter to Charles II. [45]

In the 18th century panels of the Eucharist series are mentioned in the royal palaces on several occasions. In 1700 eight works are recorded in the Casa de Campo, in three separate apartments; five were transferred to the Buen Retiro (the subjects are not mentioned). [46] Three panels representing *The Triumph of Faith, The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and *The Four Evangelists* were among the pictures that were saved from the fire at the Old Royal Palace in Madrid in 1734 and transferred to the house of the Marquis of Bedmar. [47] Later these three were added to the five others at the Buen Retiro: an inventory of 1748 states that they belong to the same series as the five brought from the Casa de Campo. [48] In 1772 "six similar works" are recorded in the new palace at Madrid, in the passage leading to the *tribuna* and in the rooms behind. [49] These were still there in 1794 (four in the "pieza del Oratorio" and two in the

[45] Doc. 22.

[46] "Inventario de 1700 – Casa de Campo. Pieza que corresponde á la alcoba de S.M. Tres tablas del triunfo de la Iglesia, compañeras de las que van inventariadas, de mano de Rubens, tasadas en mil doscientos doblones" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 377); "Inventario de 1700. – Real Casa de Campo. Galería del jardín. Tres pinturas de tabla de vara en cuadro cada una, sin marco, originales de Rubens, del Triunfo de la fe, tasadas en cuatrocientos doblones cada una. Trasladadas al Retiro. Núm. 96. Pieza oscura que da á la escalera. Otras dos pinturas en tablas, compañeras de las antecedentes, de mano de Rubens, del mismo tamaño, tasadas en cuatrocientos doblones cada una. Están en el Retiro, al núm. 96" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 378).

[47] "Inventario de 1734. – Pinturas que se llevaron á la casa donde vivió el Marqués de Bedmar. Núm. 1.097. Tres tablas iguales, sin marco, de algo de más de vara en cuadro, la una de la Fe, la otra el Tiempo y la Verdad, y la otra de los cuatro Evangelistas, todas originales de Rubens" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 378).

[48] "Inventario de 1748. – Buen Retiro. Núm. 1.097. Tres tablas iguales de algo más de vara en cuadro, la una de la Fe, la otra el Tiempo y la Verdad, y la otra de los cuatro Evangelistas, todas originales de Rubens. Son iguales á las cinco que vinieron de la Casa real del Campo, donde consta su tasacion á cuatrocientos doblones cada una, y á este respecto importan las tres sententa y dos mil reales vellon" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 378).

[49] "Inventario de 1772. – Palacio nuevo, paso de tribuna y trascuartos. Núm. 966. Seis iguales de los diseños de Rubens sobre tablas, del triunfo del Sacramento, hecho para la tapicería, de más de vara de largo y vara de caida" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 378).

"dormitorio"), while in the same year a painting of *The Four Evangelists* was at the Buen Retiro. [50]

The summary descriptions and rough measurements in *varas* (Spanish yards) make it very difficult, however, to identify these paintings with ones that have survived to the present day. It seems to us an over-simplification to assume that the panels in the royal palaces in the 18th century are always those of the Carpio collection and are identical with the eight panels in the Prado (except for the second copy of *The Four Evangelists*). Beroqui, who knew from the above-mentioned document of 10 August 1694 that the modelli came from the Carpio collection, accepted this wholesale identification, [51] with the result that in several Prado catalogues eight panels are treated as authentic, [52] but we are not convinced that his view can be defended. It has occured to us that the eight works belonging to Carpio were probably all originals by Rubens, while copies (e.g. *The Triumph of Faith* and *The Four Evangelists*) were added to the royal collections during the 18th century. There is in fact reason to believe that the modelli that the kings of Spain possessed in the 17th and 18th centuries have not all remained in Spain to this day. In any case modelli of the Eucharist series were sent out of Spain by the English painter George

[50] "*Quarto del Principe. Pieza del Oratorio.* Núm. 966. Triunfos del Sacramento Diseños que hizo Rubens para una Tapiceria. Otros dos de este juego estan apuntados en el Dormitorio de S.A., alto 1ª vara, ancho mas de 1ª vara, 16000 [reales vellon]; *Dormitorio.* Núm. 966. Dos compañeros de los quatro que hai en la Pieza del Oratorio Diseños de Rubens, alto 1ª vara, ancho 1ª vara, y Qª., 8000 [reales vellon]" (*Catálogo de las Pinturas del Palacio de S.M. en Madrid,* [1794], British Museum, Egerton Ms. 440, fº 180, 180v; see also *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 378, 379). "Inventario de 1794. – Buen Retiro. Núm. 56. Una tabla con los Evangelistas, de Rubens, de una vara de ancho y tres cuartas de alto, con marco dorado, en mil doscientos reales" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 379); see also *Ponz, 1787,* 1, p. 271.

[51] Beroqui published his discovery as to the provenance of the modelli under "Rectifications et additions" in P. de Madrazo, *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée du Prado,* Madrid, 1913, p. 506; more fully in *Beroqui, 1918,* pp. 63–65; repeated in more or less the same terms in P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado,* Madrid, 1920, p. 335.

[52] However, the 1913 edition (p. 344) expresses doubt as to the genuineness of *The Triumph of Faith* (Inv. No. 1701); one version of *The Four Evangelists* (Inv. No. 1702; Fig. 187) is treated as doubtful in the catalogues up to that of 1933 (p. 147), but as the original in the catalogues of 1949 (pp. 550, 551), 1952 (pp. 562, 563) and 1963 (p. 591); the other version (Inv. No. 1709) is always treated as a copy.

Augustus Wallis, who travelled in Spain and Portugal from October 1807 to 1813, purchasing pictures and sending them to England on behalf of W. Buchanan. [53]

The panels we are concerned with were among the paintings that Wallis brought from Spain to England in September 1813, by a roundabout route through Germany and France. He took with him only part of a collection of some 50 pictures by famous masters, which Buchanan wished to have sold *en bloc* for 20,000 guineas: he was anxious to obtain this sum as quickly as possible, and offered shares of one-seventh each to the principal English collectors. [54] The offer, drawn up in October 1813, was entitled: "List of pictures..., several of which were in the royal palaces of Spain, especially the Escurial, The King's palace at Madrid, and the palace of the Prince of Peace [i.e. the statesman Godoy]." [55]

Buchanan complains in his *Memoirs of Painting* that little interest was shown in this exceptional offer: the collection could not be sold as a whole, though several works were disposed of separately. Not all the paintings on his list came to England; owing to the lack of interest there, some found their way to continental collections or even back to Spain. [56] Buchanan was able, however, to sell the panels that he calls "Six finished studies by Rubens, for his pictures painted for the Convent of Loeches"; [57] by the time his book appeared, in 1824, they had already been transferred to various collections.

It is very hard to identify the works from the Spanish royal collections which were brought to England on Buchanan's account. Buchanan provides one piece of evidence when he writes: "That of the Triumph of Religion is the best of these, the great picture of which is now at the gallery of the Louvre." [58] As the Louvre only possessed *Elijah and the Angel* and *The Triumph of Faith* (Nos. 9c, 12d), the reference must be to the latter. It is very likely that Buchanan's

[53] See details in the chapter "Mr. Buchanan's Importations from Spain" in *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 203–250. For Wallis, who was esteemed as a landscape painter, see Klaus Graf von Baudissin, *Georg August Wallis, Maler aus Schottland, 1768–1847,* (*Heidelberger Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen,* 7), Heidelberg, 1924.

[54] *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 237–241.

[55] *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, p. 242.

[56] *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 246–249.

[57] *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 245, 248.

[58] *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, p. 248.

Triumph of Faith was actually the original modello, now in Brussels (No. 12c; Fig. 163), for in 1814 this appeared in the sale of the Delahante collection in London: the catalogue gives a full description and adds: "This chef d'œuvre came from the royal palace of Madrid."

A second work that comes into question is also an original, the panel of *The Four Evangelists* that appeared with *The Triumph of Faith* at the Delahante sale and is now in the collection of Mrs Dent-Brocklehurst (No. 14b; Fig. 185). The catalogue of the sale does not mention its provenance, but six years later, in 1820, we find in a London sale a painting of *The Four Evangelists* which is stated to be from the Spanish royal collection and to be a sketch for the large painting belonging to the Duke of Grosvenor. We may suppose therefore that *The Four Evangelists* sold in 1814, that sold in 1820 and the sketch in the Dent-Brocklehurst collection are all the same work, and that it was probably brought on Buchanan's behalf from Spain to England. [59]

Despite Buchanan's alluring description there is little likelihood that the pieces sold by him included any originals other than these two sketches. The original modelli had either remained in Spain (six in the Prado and, as we shall see later, two in the Pastrana collection till the end of the 19th century) or were certainly no longer in Spain by 1800 (*Angels Playing Music* and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*). [60]

It could perhaps be supposed that it was not the originals of *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* and *Abraham and Melchizedek* that were in the collections of de Julienne (sold in Paris in 1767) and Horion (sold in Brussels in 1788), but that these originals were brought by Wallis from Spain to England. In any case the originals were in England at the beginning of the 19th century: the former (No. 4b) is recorded in 1815 in the Watkin Williams-Wynn collection, and the second (No. 7c) was sold in London in 1830.

[59] In any case this modello passed through Buchanan's hands later (for the second time ?): he probably bought it around 1839 and sold it in 1840 (see Cat. No. 14b). It can perhaps be inferred from the dimensions given in the Buen Retiro inventory of 1694 – "una vara de ancho y tres cuartas de alto" (about 63 : 84 cm) – that the work in question is an unenlarged panel and is therefore the original, not one of the Prado copies.

[60] We have in view here only the compositions with architectonic border, recognizable as parts of the series.

It is impossible to trace which copies may have been among the works collected for Buchanan. Soon after these were brought to England we find in London sales many pictures of subjects from the Eucharist series, but these were also to be found before 1813 and even in the previous century.[61] It is, however, worth mentioning a sketch that was sold twice in London, in 1818 and 1821, as part of the John Webb collection, under the title *Fathers of the Church*. Its provenance is given in 1818 as "an important Spanish collection"

[61] The following list, which is far from complete, may give an idea of the problem. The items, all listed as by Rubens, that cannot be identified include: London (Christie & Ansell), 16–17 March 1781, lot 80 ("The Return of the arc, a grand sketch"), bought by Bellamy; London (Christie & Ansell), 14–15 December 1781, lot 96 ("An emblematical representation of the Triumph of the Church"); London (Christie & Ansell), 26–27 April 1782, lot 104 ("The Triumph of the Church, a most capital performance"); London (Christie & Ansell), 31 January – 1 February 1783, lot 17 ("An allegorical representation of the triumph of the Church, very capital"); London (Christie & Ansell), 23–24 January 1784, lot 78 ("An allegorical representation of the Church, a most capital perfomance, out of the collection of the late Sir Richard Lyttleton"); London (Robins), 27 June 1808, lot 13 ("The Triumph of the Church"); Clement Bellamy, sold at London (Christie's), 19 June 1810, lot 75 ("The Four Evangelists, a grand and spirited sketch, in his best Time"); Gen. Crewe, sold at London (Farebrother), 28 June 1810, (lot 192: "An Ancient Sacrifice"; lot 193: "The Idolaters overcome by the Christian Faith"; lot 215: "The Four Evangelists"); London (Christie's), 31 May 1811, lot 9 ("The Triumph of Love – a spirited sketch"); London (Christie's), 10–11 January 1812, lot 97 ("A spirited sketch of Four Evangelists"); London (Phillips), 11 May 1815, lot 63 ("Charity seated in a car"); London (Phillips), 2–3 June 1815, lot 70 ("Triumph of Religion, engraved"); Benjamin West, sold at London (Christie's), 23–24 June 1820, lot 81 ("David's sacrifice on depositing the Ark in the temple. Fully coloured, on panel. 24 ½ x 32 in."); R. Cosway, sold at London (Stanley), 17 May 1821 (lot 35: "Triumph of Religion, etc. Four sketches"; lot 101: "Time discovering Truth"); Edward Balme, sold at London (Christie's), 1 March 1823, lot 79 ("David placing the Ark in the temple, from the collection of the late President of the Royal Academy, Mr. West"); London (G. Jones), 24–25 June 1824, lot 324 ("A noble Gallery picture, the Triumph of Religion"); Lady Holland, sold at London (Christie's), 22 April 1826, lot 78 ("The Triumph of the Romish Church"); Thomas Emmerson, sold at London (Phillips), 10 June 1831, lot 8 ("A finished study for the great picture of the Downfall of Paganism"); Philip Hill, sold at London (Foster), 23–24 June 1831, lot 31 ("The Triumph of Religion – an excellent copy from Rubens"); London (Foster), 23, 25 May 1832, lot 131 ("The Triumph of Religion, brilliant in colour"); Thomas Emmerson, sold at London (Phillips), 6–7 June 1834, lot 42 ("Triumph of Religion, allegorically represented"). See also next footnote, and copies mentioned in the catalogue under the modelli for *The Triumph of Faith*, *The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Cat. Nos. 12c, 14b, 15c).

and in 1821 as "the Escurial".[62] Burchard thought it must be an original, and identified it with Bührle's *Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15b; Fig. 192), which he took to be an original; but in our opinion this identification is not sufficiently proved.[63]

It should be noted that there are copies in the Prado of precisely the two pictures that were sold in London as part of the Delahante collection and were probably brought by Wallis from Spain, viz. *The Triumph of Faith* and *The Four Evangelists*. These copies (Fig. 187) are painted on a larger panel in a composition with the architectonic elements extended on all four sides, while it can be seen that the two originals outside the Prado were never enlarged in this way, as their architectural borders remain unaltered. We cannot tell when these copies were made and whether they took the place of the originals in the royal collection, or were added to them. If we suppose that the original *Triumph of Faith* and *The Four Evangelists* were among the eight pieces acquired by Charles II from the Carpio collection, it is still impossible to say whether the palace inventories refer to copies or originals, and therefore we cannot establish a pedigree for the latter.

c. *The Two Modelli from the Infantado Collection*

Two other modelli have a Spanish provenance, though we find no trace of them in the royal collections: *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8b; Fig. 134) and *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9b; Fig. 139). The latter is one of the subjects engraved at Antwerp between 1648 and 1652, and may at that time have been

[62] John Webb, sold at London (Phillips), 24–30 April 1818, lot 75 ("Rubens. The Doctors of the Church – a grand composition, the colour is rich and brilliant, the dignified and varied expression of the heads, and spirit of execution cannot be surpassed. This capital sketch formerly adorned a distinguished Collection in Spain."); John Webb, sold at London (Phillips), 30–31 May 1821, lot 173 ("Rubens. The Fathers of the Church – the famous sketch entirely by his own hand, from the Escurial."), bought by Edward Gray.

[63] We wondered whether the sketch in the John Webb collection might not be identical with the Dent-Brocklehurst modello of *The Four Evangelists*: in the second sale it was purchased by Edward Gray, and when the latter died in 1838 he had the modello for *The Four Evangelists* in his possession. However, in 1820 and 1831 there are other records of works sold that are more likely to be identical with the original. Neither can the picture owned by Webb have been *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (which is frequently referred to as "Fathers of the Church"), as this seems to have remained in the same collection from 1815 to 1965.

still in the Netherlands. In the 19th century we find both pieces in the collection of the Duke of Infantado together with many other works by Rubens, including sketches for the Torre de la Parada and the large panels of the Achilles series. In the inventory of this Infantado collection, which cannot be exactly dated (perhaps 1800 or shortly before), the sketches of the Eucharist series were unmistakably referred to as *Elijah and the Angel* by Rubens and *The Gathering of the Manna* with a floral surround by Breughel.[64] Although these sketches are not explicitly mentioned by Ponz and Ceán Bermúdez,[65] we may assume that in the 18th century they already belonged to the Infantado collection. It is difficult to trace how the ducal family acquired their works by Rubens. It has been supposed that they came from the Spanish royal collection, perhaps that of Philips IV, and may have been among the pictures presented by Charles II to the Duke of Benavente, a relative of the Infantados; but this theory has been disputed.[66] Certainly there is no specific evidence for it, and it seems to us more likely that the Duke of Infantado acquired his Rubens sketches, including those of the Eucharist series, from another source than the royal collections.

The two modelli in question remained in the possession of the Infantado family until the thirteenth Duke died in 1841. His estate was divided between his great-nephew the Duke of Osuna and his natural son the Duke of Pastrana,[67] each of whom acquired a number of Rubens sketches. Those of the

[64] *Sentenach y Cabañas,* p. 79. This speaks of the inventory as that of the Pastrana family's collection; but the reference is to the Duke of Infantado, who also bore this title, and not to the later Duke of Pastrana who, in 1841, inherited a number of sketches from the Infantado collection (see below). For the date of the Infantado inventory see: Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada,* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* IX), Brussels, 1971, pp. 70, 71, n. 123; see also *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles,* pp. 60, 61, 63, 64.

[65] "En casa del Duque de Infantado hay algunos asuntos fabulosos ejecutados por Rubens" (*Ponz, 1787,* V, p. 315); "Despues de haber publicado el primer tomo de este diccionario [1800] ... hemos visto la (colección) que posee ... el duque del Infantado, que contiene quarenta y seis bocetos originales de Rúbens en diferentes tamaños, cuyos asuntos pertenecen á la mitologia; doce quadros del proprio autor, tambien de fabulas, excepto algun otro; y el famoso de la familia del mismo Rúbens de su mano (J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España,* Madrid, IV, 1800, pp. 272, 273, n. 1).

[66] For a fuller discussion, in connection with the sketches for the Torre de la Parada, see Svetlana Alpers, *op. cit.,* pp. 68, 69.

[67] P. Lafond, *Histoire d'Achille par Rubens, Les Arts anciens en Flandre,* Bruges, 1909–1910, p. 126; Svetlana Alpers, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

Eucharist series fell to the Duke of Pastrana, who sold some of them before his death in 1888. The two modelli of the Eucharist series are not in the list, printed by his widow, of 290 paintings offered for sale,[68] so they were presumably no longer in the collection. The two Eucharist modelli were in any case separated and were probably sold to different purchasers. *The Gathering of the Manna* found its way via private collections in France, Belgium and the United States to the Los Angeles Museum. *Elijah and the Angel,* as well as some sketches for the Torre de la Parada, became property of the city of Bayonne via General Derrecagaix's collection.

[68] *Catalogue de la Galerie des Tableaux de S.E. la Duchesse douairière de Pastrana à Madrid,* Madrid, n.d.

IX. THE CARTOONS

1. *General*

On the basis of the modelli the compositions were next painted on canvas in Rubens's studio on a scale eight times as large, that of the tapestries themselves. These enormous pictures, 480–495 cm high and up to 700 cm wide, constituted the last stage of the work in Rubens's studio, which was Isabella's actual commission to the painter. They must clearly have taken a great deal of time to execute. As we have seen, there are two references to these paintings in Chifflet's notes which make it possible to date them. In May 1627 Rubens was busy with paintings for the Infanta and hoped to be able to finish them by September. In 1628 he received some pearls in return for the delivery of *"patrons"*, so that presumably by this date the canvases were finished. The weaving may have begun as early as December 1626, at which time we know that Jacob Geubels had accepted a commission from the Infanta.[1]

Only seven of these large canvases have survived. Four are at Sarasota: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7d; Figs. 128, 129), *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8c; Fig. 136), *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14c; Fig. 189) and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15d; Fig. 198); two are at the Valenciennes Museum: *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9c; Fig. 141) and *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12d; Fig. 166); one is in a private collection in London (*The Triumph of Divine Love;* No. 13d; Figs. 181, 182).

If the surviving canvases are compared with the tapestries it can be seen that they are completely alike except for a few unimportant details, e.g. in the borders. Clearly the tapestries are based on the canvases: whether directly or indirectly is a point we shall investigate further. We may thus assume that the paintings which have not survived were also exactly similar to the respective tapestries, of course in reverse direction.

It is thus possible by means of the tapestries to compare the big canvases with the modelli and to see what changes were made at the last painted stage. The secondary features that were not completed in the modelli, e.g. in the architectonic elements, are naturally painted in detail in the full-scale canvases. Other details, such as the borders of the "tapestries" and the ornamental motifs

[1] See chapter on dating and commission, p. 37; Docs. 5–7.

in the drapery of the figures, are more completely worked out. The divergences in the compositions themselves are of little importance. In some cases the principal figures are moved slightly,[2] minor ones are omitted from the background[3] or the folds of the drapery are altered.[4]

We do not know who it was in Rubens's studio that painted the big canvases: the documents say nothing about Rubens's own share in the work and do not name any of his collaborators.[5] Were these large paintings wholly or principally the work of his assistants? The only indication from the documents that may help us is the price paid by Isabella: Chifflet tells us that the cartoons cost 30,000 guilders.[6] This figure may be compared with the 60,000 "livres tournoys" that Rubens received for the twenty-four canvases of the Medici Gallery, which were his own work: according to our calculation, this represents a payment three times as high in proportion to the area covered.[7] While factors other than quality may have determined the difference in price, including the fact that Rubens was the Archduchess's court painter, the comparison indicates that the Eucharist canvases must without doubt have belonged to a much less expensive category than works by Rubens's own hand.

Examination of the surviving cartoons does not throw much more light on

[2] Comparing the modello with the final version: in *The Gathering of the Manna* the child is closer to the man bending down (Figs. 134, 136); in *The Triumph of Faith* the two angels drawing the car have moved closer to it, so that one of their wings touches the angel with the cross (Figs. 163, 166); in *The Triumph of Divine Love* the Caritas figure has been made larger and the car smaller, while other features have been moved slightly (Figs. 174, 181); in *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* the man with the torch is nearer the middle, and the struck-down figure is nearer the side (Figs. 199, 200); in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* the figure of Time is moved so that it no longer touches the foot of the man lying on the ground (Figs. 203, 206).

[3] In *The Triumph of the Church* two of the heads seen above the horse's neck and back have been deleted (Figs. 149, 151).

[4] E.g. in *The Triumph of Faith* (Figs. 163, 166) and *The Four Evangelists* (Figs. 183, 185).

[5] There is no reason at all to think that the canvases were painted by Antoon Sallaert of Brussels, as stated by an anonymous source in François Mols's notes (Doc. 30), though he may have made copies of them: see below, pp. 231, 232.

[6] Doc. 9.

[7] The paintings of the Medici series cover a total area of 200 sq. metres, those of the Eucharist series 420 sq. m.; 60,000 livres tournois is 48,000 guilders (C. and F. Noback, *Vollständiges Taschenbuch der Münz-, Maass- und Gewichts-Verhältnisse...*, Leipzig, 1850, I, pp. 47, 806, 807). Thus 48,000 guilders were paid for about 200 sq. m. and 30,000 guilders for about 420 sq.m., which represents respectively about 240 and 71 guilders per sq.m.

the question of Rubens's share in them. Of the whole series only seven canvases are known, and these have come to us in a somewhat impaired condition after an eventful history: they have been torn in places, cut down at each side, cleaned and retouched.

The seven canvases vary as regards their quality and state of preservation. The two at Valenciennes are rather dilapidated and give a poor impression: they are roughly painted, with a predominance of red shades. Little of Rubens's hand can be seen in them, and they are probably entirely the work of assistants.

The four paintings at Sarasota, which we only have studied from photographs, make a much better impression, as Rooses already observed in the 19th century.[8] Different opinions are expressed in the literature as to Rubens's share of the work. Waagen thought he had no part in them,[9] and Held was initially not impressed by them either.[10] More recent studies generally describe them as products of Rubens's studio, probably retouched by him.[11] Jaffé observed that Rubens's share must have been greater than was generally thought: in his opinion the retouches were numerous, and in addition Rubens at this stage made important changes here and there on the canvases themselves.[12]

A thorough restoration of the Sarasota paintings in the 1960s, necessitated by their poor condition, made it clear that they were definitely retouched by

[8] "Celles que possède le duc de Westminster sont les plus belles. Peintes avec beaucoup de fermeté, leur largeur ne dégénère pas en rudesse. Celles du Louvre, et spécialement *Elie au désert,* sont plus sauvagement brossées" (*Rooses,* I, p. 71).

[9] *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* II, p. 115; *Waagen, Treasurers,* II, p. 163–164: "In my opinion, however, it is doubtful whether he himself [Rubens] ever touched these great pictures. Though in his colossal figures he is often enough very deficient in regard to form, yet these are more clumsy, awkward and heavy than any that can be with certainty ascribed to him; the treatment is too spiritless, rude and mechanical; the colouring too uniformly brick-red and too little transparent for him. He even seems to have assigned this work to some of his inferior pupils, ...".

[10] He called them "enlarged repetitions", in which Rubens probably had no hand (*Goris-Held,* pp. 48, 49, 53, Nos. A36, A39, A74, A75).

[11] *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 85; *Elbern,* p. 13; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 53; *Held, 1968,* pp. 16, 18.

[12] M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Sketching in Paint, Art News,* LII, May 1953, pp. 37, 65; *Jaffé, 1969,* p. 538, n. 74; M. Jaffé, *Encyclopedia of World Art,* XII, 1966, col. 595, s.v. *Rubens.* We cannot accept this author's opinion that Rubens himself made important modifications to the canvases, such as the addition of a figure (M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Sketching in Paint, loc. cit.*); the example he cites, the woman looking upward in *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8c; Fig. 136), is incorrect, as this figure is already in the modello.

Rubens. Exhibited together in a special room of the Museum, they make a grandiose impression. Those who have seen them inform us that it is possible to recognize the work of several anonymous "hands" distinguished by their treatment of line and colour, and also portions that are certainly by Rubens himself: the heads and hands of some figures, many pentimenti and instances of heightening. [13]

2. *Function*

An important question regarding the large canvases of the Eucharist series is that of the function they performed in the execution of the tapestries. Did the weavers in their workshop use the canvases themselves or did they use "real" cartoons painted on paper? Some writers about the series take one view and some the other, without discussing the problem fully. [14] Those who doubted that the canvases were cartoons did so for two reasons: firstly the material they are made of (they are painted in oil on canvas, not in body-colour or water-colour on paper), and secondly the fact that they are preserved intact instead of being cut into strips.

There is no documentary evidence as to the use of the Eucharist canvases as cartoons. We know that in the 17th century they were called "patroon" (in Dutch) or "patron" (in French and Spanish), [15] but this does not help much: the term was used in the sense of "design" in general. [16]

Lacking information as to the cartoons of the Eucharist series, we must study what is known as to the material, appearance and use of the "large patterns" for tapestry in past centuries and especially in Rubens's time. The

[13] Information from E. Haverkamp Begemann and F. Baudouin.

[14] Held believes that the canvases themselves were used in the weavers' workshop (*Held, 1968*, p. 18); Haverkamp Begemann at first took the same view (*Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85) but afterwards doubted it (*Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9). Authors who state expressly that paper cartoons were painted in addition to the canvases are *Elbern*, p. 13, and L. Van Puyvelde, in [*Cat. exh.*] *Brussels, 1965*, p. 214.

[15] Chifflet's notes speak of "patrons de tapisserie" (Doc. 7) and "patrons" (Doc. 9); Philip IV's letters of "pinturas o patrones" (Doc. 14) and "patrones" (Doc. 15). An anonymous artist who copied the canvases when they were still in Rubens's studio at Antwerp calls them in the titles to this drawings "patroen" and "patrooen van tapisserii" (drawings in the Print Room, Copenhagen; see under Cat. Nos. 12d, 16c, "Copies").

[16] See p. 109, n. 1.

available data have never been systematically brought together, and to clarify the question requires a wider survey than might be expected in this study. Two questions arise: what do we know of weavers' technique as regards the use of cartoons, and what can we find out about the cartoons themselves, from documents and from the examples that have survived?

Let us first consider the data concerning the technique of weaving, so as to see what purpose the cartoons were intended to serve. The information on this point in the literature is sparse and often contradictory. Descriptions of the technique and the use of cartoons may be reduced to two categories.

In the first place there is an exposition so often repeated by the authors that we may describe it as "classic". It can be briefly summarized as follows. The use of the cartoon varies according to the weaving technique. With the high-warp method, the cartoon remains in a single piece and is erected behind the weavers, who are guided in their work by the lines in ink on the (vertical) warp-threads. With the low-warp method, the pattern is cut into strips and placed under the (horizontal) warp-threads, and the weavers work directly from it. This means that in high-warp tapestry the cartoon is reproduced in the same direction, and in low-warp tapestry in reverse image. In both techniques the weavers work on the back of the tapestry, but in high-warp they work parallel with the cartoon that is behind them, and they can look at the "right" side of the tapestry from time to time to make sure hat the completed portion agrees with the cartoon. In low-warp the cartoon is under the warp-threads and thus in reverse image compared to the right side of the tapestry. [17]

Such is the "classic" account of the use of cartoons in the two techniques. If we suppose that the Brussels weavers worked in this way in Rubens's time

[17] The information here summarized is derived from: G.L. Hunter, *Tapestries, their Origin, History and Renaissance,* New York-London-Toronto, 1912, pp. 240, 252; G. Fraunberger, *Die Wandteppichweberei,* Nuremberg, 1920, pp. 14, 37, 39, 42; G.L. Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries,* London-Philadelphia, 1925, p. 259, Pls. XIX, XIX[c]; G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der Tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Kunstnijverheid,* Leiden, 1936, I, pp. 8, 12; Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche,* I, Brunswick, 1963, p. 6; Geneviève Souchal, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *L'art de la tapisserie,* Musée d'Arras, Arras, 1967, pp. 8, 9; Rotraud Bauer in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Barocke Tapisserien aus dem Besitze des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien,* Schloss Halbturn, Halbturn, 1975, p. 14. A curious and in many ways unacceptable account of the technique is given in G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Tapestry, the most Expensive Industry of the XVth and XVIth Centuries; a renewed Research into Technic, Origin and Iconography,* The Hague-Brussels, 1969, pp. 14, 15.

the Eucharist canvases cannot have been cartoons, as they are neither in the right direction (for high-warp) nor cut into strips (for low-warp). But in our opinion it is certainly wrong to regard the method described as the only one that was used for tapestry-making. Closer investigation shows that the technique varied according to the century and also from one centre to another. The modern accounts do not make clear to which period and which workshops they refer, and on what sources they are based. There are in fact no documents of the 15th, 16th or 17th century that describe the matter with sufficient precision.

The first source (after centuries of activity) that gives us an idea of the weavers's technique consists of the plates drawn by Radel and published in 1771 with notes by him in the ninth volume of Plates annexed to the famous *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert. [18] These contain a detailed description of the high-warp and low-warp technique as then used in Paris. Göbel, to be on the safe side, used this very late source as a basis for his chapter on the technique of tapestry-weaving, and thus departed from the "classic" account. [19]

According to the *Encyclopédie* high-warp and low-warp do not differ much as far as the use of cartoons is concerned. The latter are left in a single piece and are set up behind the weavers, completely or partially unrolled (Figs. 35, 36). To weave a portion, the main lines of the cartoon are transferred to a *calque* (Fig. 37), a piece of transparent oiled paper or canvas, which is used differently in each technique: in high-warp the lines are again transferred with chalk to the warp-threads themselves, while in low-warp the *calque* is turned round and placed 20–30 cm under the warp. In either case the cartoon is reproduced in the right direction, as the weavers work parallel with the original cartoon set up behind them. [20]

[18] Radel, *Tapisserie de haute-lisse des Gobelins* and *Tapisserie de basse-lisse des Gobelins*, in *Recueil des Planches sur les sciences, les arts libéraux et les arts méchaniques avec leur explication*, IX, Paris, 1771, unpaginated (Plate volumes added to D. Diderot and J. d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres, ...*, Paris, I–XXVIII, 1751–1772).

[19] *Göbel*, I (1), pp. 1–56; he describes the use of cartoons in the same way as the annotated Plates of the *Encyclopédie*, for high-warp (*Göbel*, I (1), pp. 2, 5, 6) and low-warp (*Göbel*, I (1), pp. 8–10); see also [*Cat. Exh.*] *Les Gobelins, Trois Siècles de Tapisserie*, Mobilier National, Paris, 1966, pp. 89, 90.

[20] In the Plates to the *Encyclopédie* the cartoons can clearly be seen, partly unrolled against the wall behind the weavers (Figs. 35, 36; Radel, *Tapisserie de haute-lisse, loc. cit.*, Pls. I, II, fig. 2; Radel, *Tapisserie de basse-lisse, loc. cit.*, Pl. 1).

In describing the *calque* Radel also tells us that formerly a different procedure was sometimes used with low-warp: viz. "the painting" was cut up and the pieces used as *calques:* "... the *calque* is made on the original painting which was formerly cut into strips to guide the weaver in his work. Apart from the disadvantage of destroying the picture to make a single tapestry, there was also the drawback that the objects were reproduced in reverse direction: for example the light fell from the wrong side and the figures were left-handed... and a number of other absurdities in low-warp weaving as opposed to high-warp." [21] That the "painting" could only be used once is of course incorrect.

In the 19th century and in modern tapestry-weaving we find different types of cartoons and methods varying from one workshop to another. They are of little use for our purpose, however, as they are either based on the late 18th-century tradition or have been devised in modern times.

From this account of the data concerning technique it can be seen that they tell us very little with certainty as to the methods employed by Brussels workshops in the 17th century. Do the cartoons themselves enlighten us any further?

The famous cartoons of the 16th century series, Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* in the Victoria and Albert Museum and *The Capture of Tunis* by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna, are painted on paper in body-colour. From the seams that run vertically through the composition it is clear that they originally consisted of strips of about 1 metre, which in turn were formed by smaller sheets of paper stuck together.[22]

[21] "d, calque (est un trait fait à l'encre & autres masses au pinceau & rehaussé de blanc servant de conduite à l'ouvrier pour le dessein); le calque est fait sur le tableau original que l'on coupoit anciennement par bandes pour guider l'ouvrier dans son ouvrage; sans comprendre le désagrément qu'il y avoit de perdre le tableau pour faire une seule tapisserie, il y avoit encore celui de voir les objets de droite à gauche : comme par exemple, des ombres contraires, le service que les figures faisoient de leur main gauche,... & une quantité d'autres choses ridicules dans la basse lisse, qui en faisoient la différence de la haute..." (Radel, *Tapisserie de basse-lisse des Gobelins, loc. cit.* [note on Pl. II]; *Göbel,* I (II), p. 9).

[22] Shearman describes the Raphael cartoons as follows: "Each cartoon is constructed of a large number of sheets of tough paper, each c. 49 x 29 cm., glued together and overlapping. The original Cartoon appears to have been made of one thickness of paper only, which has been reinforced in some places by a further thickness at a later date ... The technique may be described as a kind of gouache or body-colour; the pigments – mainly mineral – are bound with an animal glue ... Obviously damage is particularly serious around edges, and along joins between the vertical strips ("slips",

These strips were without doubt placed under the loom by the weavers, and it is chiefly these famous series that have established the idea of the "cartoon" as a pattern painted on paper, which had to be utilizable in the form of strips. We can add that we know from documents that the cartoons made by Peter Candido about 1604 and 1611 for Flemish weavers were on paper and placed under the warp-threads.[23] The "classic" description of low warp is thus certainly correct for the technique used in the Flemish workshops in the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century.

On closer inspection, however, the position in Rubens's time and in the second half of the 17th century seems to have been somewhat different. The data are very scarce, but it is clear that two kinds of cartoons were used: water-colour (or body-colour) on paper, and oil on canvas.

We may suppose that the great majority of cartoons were still on paper, though very little has remained of them and the documents only occasionally speak expressly of the material: patterns "on paper" or "kept in rolls".[24] Jacob Jordaens, who produced many designs for tapestries, seems without

of widths varying around 1 metre), into which the Cartoons were cut for weaving..." (J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London, 1972, p. 209). Other tapestry cartoons of the 16th century in body-colour are *The Animals Going into the Arch of Noah* in the Royal Palace at Madrid (Paulina Junquera de Vega, *Les Séries de tapisseries de "Grotesques" et "l'Histoire de Noé" de la Couronne d'Espagne, Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 45, 1973, pp. 170–171, fig. 18) and *The Decapitation of St. Paul*, in the Town Hall at Brussels (Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Les tapisseries de l'Hôtel de Ville de Bruxelles*, Antwerp, 1944, pp. 23, 25, 43, No. 15, fig. X; G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Tapestry..., op. cit.*, p. 115, Pl. 109); the latter is composed of a large number of sheets of paper, irregularly shaped.

[23] Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, *Wandteppiche für den Münchener Hof nach Entwürfen von Peter Candid*, Munich-Berlin, 1976, pp. 27, 29, 31, 34, 43, 51, 82.

[24] Apart from those by Rubens and Jordaens, mentioned below, we have found the following examples in the literature. The firm of Fourment-Van Hecke in 1643 possessed, in addition to 58 rolls of painted patterns of *Hunting Scenes* (see below, n. 29), "Een rolle geplamuert pampier om geschildert te worden" (a roll of paper primed for painting upon) (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 113; *Denucé, Tapijtkunst*, p. 61). In 1701–1702, for the manufacture of a tapestry series of *The Four Continents* and *Allegorical Figures*, carried out over a period of seven months with intervals, a small number of rolls were sent from time to time from Antwerp for the Brussels weavers (*Denucé, Tapijtkunst*, p. 206). In the Northern Netherlands we hear of cartoons on paper in rolls painted in 1595–1604 for the series *Battles of the Zealanders against the Spaniards* (G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis..., op. cit.*, I, p. 244, II, Docs. 154–156), and of paper cartoons in 1644 (*Ibid.*, p. 263, Doc. 574).

exception to have supplied cartoons on paper: some complete patterns and some fragments on paper have survived,[25] and other paper cartoons are mentioned in documents.[26]

Both types are found among the actual-size paintings made after designs by Rubens. Only paper cartoons are mentioned for the series of *The History of Constantine*[27] and *The Life of Achilles*,[28] and there is no reason to suppose that there were any others. The same is probably true of other series that we know very little of: *Hunting Scenes* after sketches by Rubens,[29] and a series

[25] Some patterns and fragments belonging to the Louvre are in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris and in the Arras and Besançon Museums (Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Les cartons de Jordaens du Musée du Louvre et leurs traductions en tapisseries, Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLII, 1938, pp. 135–146; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings (Monographs of the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde Eeuw"*, V), Brussels, 1974, II, pp. 471–479, Nos. A413–A423, IV, figs. 436–446).

[26] On 5 July 1651 the Antwerp tapestry-dealer Frans de Smit sent to Hamburg as a specimen: "twee stucken papiere patroonen van Actiën van Peerden, geschildert van Jordaens, het eene groot acht rollen ende d'ander negen rollen tot ses hondert gulden elck stuck" (two paper patterns by Jordaens showing horses in action, one comprising eight rolls and the other nine, at 600 guilders apiece) (F. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 827; R.-A. d'Hulst, *op. cit.*, I, p. 84).

[27] The cartoons and modelli are mentioned in an inventory of the Gobelins manufactory in Paris, drawn up at the death of Frans van der Plancken in 1627: "Ensuict les desseins pintz à destrampe sur pappier... : Premièrement douze pièces de l'Histoire de Constantin, garnyes de leur bordure en pappier...; Item douze petitz desseings peintz en huille sur des planches de bois, de la main de Pierre Paul Rubens, représentant l'Histoire de Constantin,..." (J. Guiffrey, *Notes et Documents sur les origines de la Manufacture des Gobelins...*, in M. Fenaille, *Etat Général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1600–1900*, Paris, 1923, I, p. 46). The cartoons are mentioned again in 1661 in an inventory of the Manufacture du Faubourg St. Germain: "... douze pièces peintes en destrempe sur papier, d'après Rubens, représentant l'Histoire du Grand Constantin, ..." (*Ibid.*, p. 61). See also D. Dubon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, The History of Constantine the Great designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona*, London, 1964, pp. 9, 10.

[28] These were in the possession of the firm of Daniel Fourment, Peter Fourment and Peter van Hecke in 1643. In 1653 they were sold by Peter Fourment to Brussels tapestry-dealers together with Rubens's modelli (see *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, pp. 67–70, Nos. 1c, 2c, 3c, 4d, 5c, 6c, 7c, 8c).

[29] In 1643 the firm of Fourment and Van Hecke possessed "achtenvyftich rollen van geschilderde patroonen van een Jachte van beesten" (58 rolls of painted patterns of a chase) (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 113; *Denucé, Tapijtkunst*, p. 61). For details of this series see E. Duverger, *Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordaens in het bezit van het Antwerps Handelsvennootschap Fourment-Van Hecke, Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 139–148.

consisting of personifications of Virtues.[30] On the other hand we know of a case similar to the Eucharist series: for the *History of Decius Mus,* commissioned "by some Genoese noblemen", canvases were painted in oil in Rubens's studio (now in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein at Vaduz). We should mention that there were also paper cartoons of these two series,[31] but for the present we leave open the question of when and for what purpose they were made.

Rubens's series on canvas were not the only ones of their kind: other examples are known, though of somewhat later date, the middle and second half of the 17th century. Paintings on canvas, of the same format as the tapestries and corresponding to them in reverse, exist for a series of *The Twelve Months, Day and Night and The Four Elements,* made in about 1650 for the Archduke Leopold William: they were executed in large format, after modelli by Jan van den Hoecke, by that master and his assistants (Figs. 31, 32).[32]

[30] Two modelli of this series are known, to be dated ca. 1630: *Justitia* (Fig. 224) and *Abundantia;* panel, 63.7 : 45.8 cm.; formerly in the collection of the Earl of Malmesbury and now in the U.S. art trade (M. Jaffé, *Unpublished Drawings by Rubens in French Museums, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXVI, 1965, pp. 177, 180, n. 6, figs. 3, 4). In the 18th century these and two others (*Prudentia* and *Fortitudo*) were in the collection of Charles-Henry, comte de Hoym, ambassador of the king of Saxony and Poland in Paris. They are described in an inventory of this collection dated 1727 (J. Pichon, *Vie de Charles-Henry, comte de Hoym,* II, Paris, 1880, p. 64) and in the inventory drawn up at the Count's death (*Ibid.,* pp. 85, 86). We may suppose that paper cartoons after these pieces were in the possession of the Brussels weaver Frans van den Hecke in the mid-17th century; see below, pp. 243–246.

[31] It is known that cartoons of the Eucharist series were used in the workshops of Frans and Jan-Frans van den Hecke for the weaving of later tapestry series; most probably these were on paper. One paper cartoon representing *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration,* still existed in 1910, when it appeared in a sale in Vienna (Fig. 114); for details see under No. 5c. For the *Decius Mus* series there were paper cartoons, four of which were sold at London and Brussels in the 18th century: Ansell collection, London (Christie), 6–7 April 1773, lot 90; Brussels (Bertels), 20 January 1779, lots 19, 20; London (Christie), 2 June 1791, lots 77–80; see *Rooses,* III, p. 207.

[32] J. van den Hoecke was assisted by Pieter Thys, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Adriaan van Utrecht and Jan II Breughel. Leopold William possessed the "small patterns" (modelli in oil on canvas), the "large patterns" (on canvas) and a set of tapestries. In the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna there are a number of these modelli (about 61–66 cm. high; Inv. Nos. 2652 a, b, c, d; *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Verzeichnis der Gemälde,* Vienna, 1973, p. 87) seven large canvases (Inv. Nos. 1679, 1698, 1863, 3549–3553; *Ibid.,* p. 88) and a set of six tapestries (Inv. No. XLVII/1–6);

Also on canvas, but not in reverse direction are three paintings by Cornelis Schut corresponding to the tapestries of the series *The Seven Liberal Arts.*[33] There is also reason to believe that the paintings of Erasmus Quellin, *The Contest between the Della Torres and the Viscontis for the Possession of Milan,* formerly in the palace of the Count of Tour and Taxis at Brussels, present whereabouts unknown,[34] and those of David Teniers with scenes from the life of Don Juan José of Austria, in the Alcázar at Madrid in 1686,[35] were on canvas and that they served as actual cartoons for the corresponding tapestry series.

From the 18th century we can cite the example of the series of eight *Scenes from the Life of Christ,* whereof the large canvases, painted in reverse by Jan van Orley, and the tapestries, woven at Brussels by Frans van der Borght, are in the St. Salvator's church at Bruges.[36]

It is hard to suppose that such canvases by Rubens and other masters were commissioned separately, or that there was any special reason to make, in

see also L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung,* Vienna, 1920, Pls. 205–210; G. Heinz, *Studien über Jan van den Hoecke und die Malerei der Niederländer in Wien, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* LXIII, 1967, pp. 130–143; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Barocke Tapisserien aus dem Besitz des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien,* Schloss Halbturn, Halbturn, 1975, pp. 55–68.

33 These paintings, in rather bad condition, belong to the Rubenshuis at Antwerp: *Musica* (canvas, 262 : 320 cm.; Inv. No. S. 179), *Astrologia* (canvas, 256 : 231 cm.; Inv. No. S. 57) and *Geometria* (canvas, 264 : 236 cm.; Inv. No. S 184; prov.: sold at London (Christie's), 14 March 1975, lot 157, repr.). Much has been written about the various tapestries, including Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Recherches sur les tapisseries brugeoises des "Arts Libéraux", Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles,* XLV, 1941, pp. 141–153; J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de tapijtkunst te Brugge,* Brussels, 1954, pp. 44, 103–113, figs. XXXII–XXXVII; V. Vermeersch, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Schatten voor Brugge, Stedelijke Musea Brugge, Aanwinsten 1966–1972,* Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 1972, pp. 82–85, Nos. 70, 71.

34 T. Levin, *Handschriftliche Bemerkungen von Erasmus Quellinus, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* XXIII, 1888, p. 136; on the tapestries see L. Hager, in: *Thurn und Taxis-Studien,* III, 1963, pp. 1–39.

35 Y. Bottineau, *L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686, aspects de la cour d'Espagne au XVII^e siècle, Bulletin Hispanique,* LX, 1958, p. 175.

36 Designed by Jan van Orley; commissioned by Hendrik van Susteren, bishop of Bruges, for the no longer existing church of St. Donaas at Bruges. The paintings adorned the choir of this church, and on certain feasts the tapestries were hung over them (A. Couvez, *Inventaire des Objets d'Art qui ornent les Eglises et les établissements publics de la Flandre occidentale,* Bruges, 1852, pp. 221, 222; *Wauters,* pp. 273, 370, 371; *Göbel,* I (1), p. 400). Couvez gives the date 1720, Wauters and Göbel give 1731.

addition to cartoons on paper, a series of oil paintings in the same format as the tapestries and generally in reverse direction. The logical conclusion is therefore that these canvases were painted in the first place as patterns for the weavers, after which they could be used as paintings if desired. In our opinion, the canvases of the Eucharist series were similarly the actual cartoons. We do not believe that they were painted in addition to paper cartoons as a special commission from the Infanta for the decoration of her palace, or that they were executed simply as a model from which paper cartoons could be copied. If paper cartoons had really been needed for the *editio princeps* they could have been painted well enough from the small patterns, the modelli.

It is hard to determine the proportion of use as between paper and canvas in the 17th century. Probably cartoons on canvas were the exception, but more have survived as they were durable and of greater value. We cannot be sure, however, as very little of the whole production of cartoons has come down to us. We have mentioned all the surviving ones that are known to us, and the extent of the gap is clear when one considers how few cartoons after sketches by Rubens and Jordaens have remained, while as far as we know there are none by other masters who also worked for tapestry-weavers, such as David Teniers, Jan Boeckhorst, Justus van Egmont, Theodoor van Thulden, Jan Snellinck and Antoon Sallaert. Except for the canvases by Jan van Orley, mentioned above, we likewise have no cartoons by the several less well known Brussels cartoon painters of the 17th and 18th centuries, details of whom are given by Wauters. [37]

By the first half of the 18th century it was certainly more usual than in Rubens's time at Brussels to weave from oil paintings on canvas. We may refer to a remarkable source from this period: an anonymous author, probably a painter, who researched into Rubens's work and, between about 1725 and 1735, compiled a large number of notes which appear in the documentation of François Mols. This writer was also interested in the patterns for the Eucharist series—he does not call them "patronen" (patterns, cartoons) but "tapijten" (tapestries)—and asks himself whether they were done in water-colour or oils—thus showing that both forms of cartoons existed. It appears from his notes that he had obtained some information at Brussels and intended to make further enquiries there. He mentions "van orley", "victor", "baudewyn" and

[37] *Wauters*, pp. 234–280; he gives a list of about 30 Brussels cartoon painters.

"Coppens"—probably Jan van Orley, Victor Janssens, Frans or Adriaan-Frans Boudewijns and Augustin Coppens—all of whom painted cartoons at Brussels.[38]

There was probably not much information on Rubens's cartoons at that time, and many ideas about it were wrong or confused. "Baudewijn" possessed a fragment of a paper cartoon of the Eucharist series, an angel's head from *The Triumph of Divine Love,* and inferred that the whole of the palace series must have been painted on paper. Our anonymous source had his doubts of this, and intended to ask Van Orley. The confusion is understandable. There had been two series of cartoons at Brussels, and not much can have been known about either of them: the palace canvases had by that time all, or nearly all, disappeared and evidently not much was left of the paper series, as only a fragment was in circulation.

It is noteworthy that, according to the same source, the "court tapestries", i.e. the cartoons of the Eucharist series, were afterwards painted in water-colour by Jacob Jordaens, "because the method of weaving from oils was not yet known then." [39] We think the source was mistaken on this last point, but his words show that about 1725–30 weaving from cartoons in oil on canvas was less exceptional than in Rubens's time and that the technique had changed.

We have no information to confirm the idea that Jordaens painted cartoons on paper after the Eucharist series, as was thought in the 18th century. [40] The anonymous writer also says that Jordaens painted a great deal for Rubens, including "in water-colour". Whether he ever executed cartoons from sketches by Rubens is unknown.

If we combine the evidence of technique with what is known about the cartoons, it appears that there was a gradual change from the 16th to the 18th century towards leaving the cartoon in one piece and not working in reverse image. This was connected with an evolution in the relationship between tapestry and oil painting: the prestige of the latter increased and the former degenerated by degrees into a slavish dependence, so that in the end its function was merely to reproduce paintings as faithfully as possible. In 1771 the plates of the *Encyclopédie* refer not to "the cartoon" but to "the picture" (le tableau) to be reproduced in tapestry.

[38] Doc. 25a-c.
[39] Doc. 25b.
[40] Doc. 25 b; see p. 78, n. 34.

It is hard to say when it became the practice at Brussels to weave from whole cartoons, and how long the old and new methods existed side by side. We get the impression that painting on canvas was an innovation by the "oil painter" Rubens,[41] and that this new technique was then imitated in mid-century by several artists of the Antwerp school. We do not know if this initially created great difficulties for the Brussels weavers. The cartoons of the *Decius Mus* series of 1617, as far as we know the first tapestry patterns in oil ever made, were probably used, at least for the *editio princeps,* as the paper cartoons, in strips placed under the warp. Vertical seams run through the pictures, coarsily sawn together with small, visible stiches.[42] But we can assume that the weavers adapted their technique to the oil cartoons and used them a different way than the paper strips. Probably they used a similar method to that described in the *Encyclopédie* plates: they would have prepared *calques* and either transferred them to the warp-threads or placed them under the warp, the difference being that they did not, as in 18th-century Paris, reverse the *calques* so as to work in the right direction. The pattern on canvas was then probably not behind the weavers (to enable them to work in parallel) but in front or to one side.

The literature on tapestries, which, as we have said, pays little attention to the use of cartoons, has scarcely anything to say about the change from paper to canvas in the Brussels workshops. Only Göbel and Dora Heinz mention the problem, and that in a simplified manner. Göbel wonders whether the cartoons ceased to be cut up in the 17th century,[43] and Dora Heinz points out that an important change took place between the 16th and 17th centuries and is associated with Rubens's designs.[44] Both authors rightly agree that canvases could be true cartoons, used with *calques,* but their data are in-

[41] See the discussion on the material of the "small patterns", p. 109.

[42] For instance, *Decius Relating his Dream* consists of three vertical strips varying from about 82 to 98 cm., and two smaller ones at the edges; *The Death of Decius* consists of five vertical strips varying from about 82 to 101 cm. and two smaller ones at the edges.

[43] "Im übrigen scheint man bereits im 17. Jahrhundert die Originalkartons nicht mehr zerlegt zu haben. Sollten die in Ölfarbe durchgeführten Spiegelbildkartons der Decius-Mus-Folge in der Lichtensteingalerie zu Wien nicht den Bildwirkern als belehrende Vorlage gedient haben, während auf dem Rost des Gezeuges nur eine Pause lag?" (*Göbel,* I (1), p. 10).

complete. They do not mention the Eucharist series, and they seem unaware that paper cartoons continued to play the most important part throughout the 17th century.

In the 17th century, when both paper and canvas were in use, the choice between them was, we believe, related to the purpose of the patterns. Weavers and tapestry-dealers may have preferred paper because the loose pieces, kept in the form of rolls, made possible a variety of solutions to suit the commissions of "kamers" ("rooms" of tapestries) varying in length according to the wishes of the purchaser. Rubens's *Constantine* series was intended for the Paris workshops, and the *Achilles* series was most probably commissioned by the tapestry-dealer Daniel Fourment. [45]

The situation was quite different when the designs were paid for by royal or private persons who wanted a series of tapestries for themselves or as a gift, as in the case of the Eucharist series and those by Jan van den Hoecke and Jan van Orley, commissioned respectively by the Archduchess Isabella, the Archduke Leopold William and Bishop Hendrik van Susteren of Bruges. Patrons such as these generally wanted only a single set of tapestries, or a few of them, but certainly did not intend to leave the cartoons they had commissioned and paid for in the weavers' possession to be reproduced for other clients. It suited them better, therefore, to order cartoons on canvas and thus, for the same money, have real paintings as well as patterns for their tapestries. [46]

[44] "Die Ausführung wie auch die Verwendung der Kartons erfuhr im 17. Jahrhundert eine wesentliche Änderung, die mit den Entwürfen von Rubens in Zusammenhang steht. Noch die großen Kartons zur Tunisfolge nach Vermeyen... sind in Deckfarben auf Papier ausgeführt. Zur Erleichterung der Arbeit am Basselissestuhl wurden die Kartons in Streifen zerschnitten... Die erhaltenen Kartons zur Decius-Musfolge aus der Rubenswerkstatt... oder ähnlich die zu der Monats- und Tageszeitenfolge nach Jan van den Hoecke... dagegen sind in Ölfarben auf Leinwand ausgeführt, was eine derartige Verwendung im Wirkstuhl selbst ausschließt. Daß es sich dabei aber doch um Vorlagen zum Gebrauch der Wirker handelte, beweist die spiegelverkehrte Ausführung... Man kann daraus wohl schließen, daß diese in Originalgröße ausgeführten Ölkartons den Wirkern im Atelier während der Arbeit vor Augen waren, sie sich aber am Gezeuge selbst wohl mit Pausen oder Umrißzeichnungen begnügen mußten." (Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, I, Brunswick, 1963, pp. 7, 8).

[45] See p. 141, n.28.

[46] There is no evidence that in the case of the Decius Mus series the cartoons themselves were also commissioned by the "Genoese Noblemen", who commissioned the tapestries. At any rate, the canvases remained in Antwerp private collections until

It should be remembered that painting with oil on canvas and with water-colour or body-colour on paper were two different techniques, each with its own specialists, and the customer had to take account of this. If he wanted cartoons on canvas for his tapestries he could go to an oil painter who would draw or paint the designs, and in whose studio the cartoons too would be made. If paper cartoons were wanted, however, the designer, who was in 17th century Antwerp usually an oil painter, might not be able or prepared to supply them himself. We know that Jacob Jordaens made paper cartoons after his own tapestry designs; but he had been familiar with water-colour technique from his youth, and was in this respect an exception among the "great" painters of 17th-century Antwerp.[47] There is no evidence that Rubens ever supplied cartoons on paper, and it seems unlikely that the paper cartoons after his tapestry designs were made in his studio. We may suppose that if paper cartoons were wanted Rubens would confine himself to supplying a "small pattern" which the merchant or weaver could use as a modello to show the customer, leaving it to specialists to paint the cartoons in body-colour.

From all this we may conclude that there is no technical reason for doubting that the canvases of the Eucharist series were actual cartoons used by the weavers. The fact that they are on canvas and are still in one piece is not an argument to the contrary. We believe therefore that they were the true cartoons used by the weavers to make the *editio princeps* of the tapestries. Very probably *calques* or some other means were used to help the weavers to follow the outlines, but this does not alter the fact that the canvases painted in colour and in full detail were the actual cartoons and properly deserve this name.[48]

they were bought by the Prince of Liechtenstein, in 1696 (*Rooses*, III, pp. 204–206; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Peter Paul Rubens aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Liechtensteinische Kunstsammlungen, Vaduz, 1974, pp. 12, 13).

[47] Jordaens was inscribed in the Antwerp "Liggeren" (lists of the Guild of St. Luke) as a "waterschilder" (painter in watercolours): see R.-A. d'Hulst, *De tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van de XVII^e eeuwse kunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 23–26.

[48] We cannot agree with Elbern that only the directly used *calques* should be called cartoons. Of the canvases for the Eucharist series, this author writes: "Bei diesen Bildern handelt es sich nicht im strengen Sinne um 'Kartons', als die die Pausen anzusehen wären, die man in den Teppichwebereien von den Bildvorlagen anzufertigen pflegte. Daher werden die originalgroßen Bilder hier als LEINWÄNDE bezeichnet." (*Elbern, 1955*, p. 53).

Accordingly, we do not believe that a series of paper patterns was also made for the *editio princeps*. As for the paintings on paper that were later in the possession of the weavers Frans and Jan-Frans van den Hecke, we think they were made in Brussels either on some dealer's account or on the initiative of the weavers, who no longer had the originals of these interesting compositions and who probably preferred to work from paper. It does not seem unlikely that they should have got a cartoon painter to make actual-size copies of canvases at the Brussels palace. We have found an indication that this happened in one case: Frans van den Hecke possessed, in addition to the cartoons of the Eucharist series, a cartoon copied from *Mercury Leaving Antwerp*, a painting belonging to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, which was at the palace until destroyed by fire in 1731.[49]

From the conclusion that the canvases were cartoons for the tapestries and not a separate commission it follows that there must have been as many as there were tapestries of the Eucharist series, i.e. twenty.

3. *The History of the Cartoons*

a. *Brussels*

The history of the cartoons can be traced to a large extent, and seems to have been full of incident.

After the canvases had been used for the weaving, they were no doubt returned to the Archduchess Isabella who owned them. We do not know, however, when they were brought to her residence, the old Ducal Court or Coudenbergh Palace in Brussels, or what dispositions she made concerning them. The first we hear about them (after the short notes by Chifflet) is many years after Isabella's death, in the documents of 1648 and 1649 that we have already mentioned several times: viz. Philip IV's letters requesting Leopold William to send to Spain the "patterns" of the Eucharist series which were then rolled up in the Emperors' Gallery in the Brussels palace.[50]

At that time the whole set of twenty was probably still at the palace. This number is nowhere mentioned, however: the letter of 1648 speaks of fifteen

[49] See below, pp. 238, 249, 250. We shall revert to the paper cartoons in more detail in the chapter on later tapestry series, see pp. 237–239.

[50] Docs. 14, 15.

large paintings and some smaller ones. The explanation of this seems to be simple enough, since if we examine the dimensions of the tapestries we find that there are in fact fifteen large pieces, those measuring about 480 cm high with columns in the architectonic border (the eleven "large" compositions and the four outermost ones of *The Adoration of the Eucharist*) and some smaller ones (*The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs, King David Playing the Harp* and the three allegorical female figures). As already indicated, we do not believe that the expression "smaller paintings" is intended to refer to the modelli.

Philip IV's request for the paintings is understandable in the light of Isabella's provision in her will concerning her art collection. Except for some paintings which she bequeathed to the church of St. Gudula in Brussels, the collection was left to Philip's brother the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, who succeeded Isabella as governor of the Netherlands, with the proviso that the pictures hanging in the three galleries of the palace in Brussels should not be removed.[51] Ferdinand made Philip IV his universal legatee, so that when the former died in 1641 the King was able to dispose of the pictures in the Brussels palace, or at least some of them. Only after his death did Madrid concern itself with the execution of both wills, those of Isabella and Ferdinand.[52] By 1648 the pictures the King had asked for had probably arrived in Spain with the exception of the cartoons for the Eucharist series, which for one reason or another had stayed in Brussels. The letter of 1648 refers to them as items from Ferdinand's estate "which are still missing here".[53]

The request of 1648 was, however, not complied with, since in August 1649, a year and a half later, the King again wrote to Leopold William pressing him to send them.[54] Finally some of the canvases were sent to Spain, while others remained in Brussels. We have no documents to indicate when the paintings were sent, or how they came to be divided.

As regards subsequent events, we may first consider the pieces that remained in Brussels. Were they lying in the palace, rolled up or stored, for some years after 1649? An inventory of works of art in the palace, probably drawn up in

[51] Doc. 4; *De Maeyer*, pp. 36–38, Docs. 248, 269.
[52] *De Maeyer*, p. 37.
[53] Doc. 14.
[54] Doc. 15.

1659,[55] makes no mention of the Eucharist series. We do not hear of the canvases again until 1687, when the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin saw in the Great Gallery of the Brussels court "...six fine great paintings by Rubens, which are also made in tapestry".[56] This was connected with the Eucharist series by Rooses.[57] However, the inference that six scenes from the series were then on view in the Brussels palace[58] seems to us mistaken. An inventory of the court pictures, undated but according to De Maeyer drawn up between 1665 and 1698 (probably before 1692) speaks of only *four* pieces ("representing the Triumph of the Holy Church 16 feet high and in length respectively 25, 29, 25, 25 feet etc."). [59] These were probably those that Tessin saw. We can explain his mention of "six": the inventory lists, immediatly before the four Eucharist canvases, two paintings also "16 feet high" and belonging to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi: The Departure of Mercury* and *The Welcome to the Cardinal Infante.*[60] Tessin apparently failed to notice that the six large allegorical pieces did not all belong to the same series.

After Tessin it is again some time before we have any news of the pictures. Papebrochius in his *Annales Antverpienses* (ca. 1700) mentions the paintings of the Eucharist series in the Brussels palace,[61] but does not indicate their number, and we may wonder whether he really had direct information about them or only knew Lauwers's Eucharist engravings, which he expressly mentions.

About 1700, not long after Tessin saw them, the four paintings were removed from the Gallery and kept in an attic of the palace. We do not know exactly when this happened or why, but they were rediscovered in 1725, by which time it had been forgotten that they existed or were in the palace. Our information on this is contained in 18th-century notes among the writings on Rubens collected by François Mols. In the first place an anonymous note says that "The original "tapestries" (i.e. cartoons) by Rubens ... remained

[55] *De Maeyer*, pp. 436–448, Doc. 271.

[56] Doc. 20.

[57] M. Rooses, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp. 228, 283.

[58] Implicitly in M. Rooses and explicitly in *De Maeyer*, p. 124.

[59] Doc. 18; *De Maeyer*, pp. 454–460, Doc. 275, [Nos. 38–41]; for the dating see *Ibid.*, p. 40, n. 2.

[60] *De Maeyer*, p. 456, Doc. 275, Nos. 36, 37; see also *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 46–48, No. 2, n. 3; pp. 184–186, No. 47, n. 5.

[61] Doc. 23; he mentions *The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Faith* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices.*

for a long time rolled up in the attic of the palace, near the coals [?], and were later retouched by Van Orley..." [62] Then, in the same collection, there are copies of a newspaper report dated 21 May 1725, with an extensive account of the discovery. This states that when apartments were being prepared for the Graf von Daun, six paintings by Rubens were discovered in the attic above the court chapel, their subjects being *The Triumph of the Eucharist* and *The Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infante.* They had been hidden for over 25 years and were last seen at the time of "l'électeur de Bavière", i.e. Maximilian Emmanuel, governor-general of the Netherlands, who resided at Brussels from 1692 to 1708. [63] The canvases were in very poor condition and were restored by "un habile peintre"—according to Mols, Jan van Orley—after which they were once again hung in the palace, in "la grande gallerie de la Cour." [64] They did not remain there long, however, as on the night of 3–4 February 1731 they were burnt in the disastrous fire which destroyed the palace and many works of art bequeathed by generations of princes and governors. [65]

To discover the cause of the fire, the Archduchess Maria-Elisabeth had an extensive report (in German) drawn up; everyone was questioned who had been in the palace on the night of the fire, the interrogations lasting from March to September 1731. Rubens's cartoons are twice refered to in the report. Johan Riss, one of the palace cooks, described how he had seen the collapse

[62] Doc. 25c.

[63] Maximilian Emmanuel was appointed governor-general of the Netherlands by Charles II in December 1691, and made his Joyous Entry into Brussels on 26 March 1692: see Ch. Piot in *Biographie Nationale,* XIV, Brussels, 1897, cols. 162–170, s.v. *Maximilien-Emmanuel.*

[64] Doc. 26; we could not find the original text, but there are four copies of approximately the same tenor in François Mols's notes. The correct date is not 1727, as stated in two of the copies and followed by later authors (*Rooses,* I, p. 75; *De Maeyer,* pp. 124, 162, Doc. 278), but 1725, as given in the other two copies. The Graf von Daun, Prince of Thiano, took up residence in the palace at Brussels on 15 February 1725 as temporary governor of the Netherlands; the archduchess Maria Elisabeth replaced him as gorvernor in October of that year. Von Daun remained for a time in the Palace of the Princes of Orange and left Brussels in December 1725. For the Graf von Daun see *Neue Deutsche Biographie,* III, Berlin, 1957, pp. 529, 530.

[65] L.P. Gachard, *L'Incendie du palais royal de Bruxelles (3 février 1731), Bulletins de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 2e série,* XXXV, 1873, pp. 109–148; L. Hymans, *Bruxelles à travers les âges,* Brussels, I, 1882, p. 211; P. Saintenoy, *Les Arts et les Artistes à la Cour de Bruxelles,* III, (*Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts,* VI), Brussels, 1935, pp. 142–156.

of the Great Spanish Hall containing Rubens's paintings of *The Triumph of the Church.*[66] Nicolas-Emmanuel de Pery, a Brussels painter, had gone into the palace in the hope of saving Rubens's paintings, but when he got to the door of the Great Hall where the pictures hung he saw that they were already in flames.[67]

About a year after the disaster a court official drew up a list of the lost paintings: this mentioned "3 pièces du triomphe de l'église" as having been destroyed in the "Sale des empereurs".[68] Most probably "3" is a mistake for "4", and the reference is to the same canvases as those mentioned in the inventory dated between 1665 and 1698. This is confirmed by another source. In an unpublished note on Rubens's works, the Mechlin painter Gillis-Jozef Smeyers (1694-1771) says that in the church of the Discalced Carmelites at Brussels there are several copies of Rubens's patterns for the Eucharist series, which are of interest *four* originals were destroyed in the fire of 1731 and the whereabouts of the others is unknown.[69]

Which were the four cartoons that thus remained in Brussels until 1731? From the dimensions in the inventory quoted above (16 feet [442 cm.] high; three pieces of 25 feet [690 cm.] wide and one piece of 29 feet [800 cm.] wide)[70] we can infer that they belonged to the group of eleven "large" compositions. Seven of these are still in existence, so that the canvases lost in the fire must be the other four: *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10c), *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (No. 16c) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17c) of the same dimensions, and the very wide *Triumph of the Church* (No. 11c). We have a confirmation of the correctness

[66] Doc. 27a.

[67] Doc. 27b; Nicolas-Emmanuel de Pery, whose age is given in the report as about 21, belonged to the guild of Brussels painters from 1733–34; in 1743 he was privileged by the municipality as a painter of tapestry cartoons. Works of his are in the Town Hall at Louvain and in Mechlin cathedral (*Wauters,* p. 279; *Thieme-Becker,* XXVI, p. 460, s.v. *Pery*).

[68] Doc. 28.

[69] Doc. 29. Other 18th-century authors make the same remark, but do not mention the number of the burnt originals (*Mensaert,* I, pp. 7, 8; *Descamps, Voyage,* p. 97; *Michel, 1771,* p. 366; L'Abbé Mann, *Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique, civile et naturelle de la ville de Bruxelles et de ses environs,* Brussels, 1785, II, p. 68); see also A. Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles,* I, Brussels, 1855, p. 264.

[70] 1 Brussels foot = 27.6 cm.

of this identification: the copies of the cartoons made about 1673 by the Brussels painter David III Teniers represent these four subjects.[71]

We may conjecture whereabouts these paintings were hung before the fire that destroyed the palace. As we saw, in 1648 they were rolled up in the Emperors' Gallery ("Galeria de los Emperadores"); in 1673 they must have been displayed, as Teniers could copy them; in 1687 they were seen in a hall called the Great Gallery ("in der grossen Gallerei"); later they were hidden away, then rediscovered in an attic and hung in "la grande gallerie de la cour". In 1731 they were destroyed by fire in an apartment which is variously called the Spanish Hall ("der große Spanishe Saal"), the Great Hall (der große Saal") or the Emperors' Hall ("la Salle des Empereurs").[72] Later in the 18th century, chronicles of the history of Brussels tell us that the paintings were burnt in "la Grande Galerie" or "le beau Grand Sallon".[73] In any case, during the century that the paintings remained in the palace, they were located in two or three different places.

The nomenclature of the apartments of the former palace is hard to reconstruct. There are many engravings and paintings of the outside (Fig. 34)[74] but no exact plan from which we could form an idea of the interior.[75] Moreover, different names were apparently used for one and the same apartment, and it is not clear whether the references quoted above are to one of the palace picture-galleries.[76] Some authors think the canvases adorned the walls of the great throne-room built by Charles V to the left of the main entrance,

[71] See pp. 232, 233; and under Cat. Nos. 10c, 11c, 16c, 17c ("Copies").

[72] Docs. 27a–b, 28.

[73] J.-F. Foppens, *Chronique abrégée de la ville de Bruxelles* [ca. 1760] (*Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts,* Ms. II 4408), p. 209; J.-F. Foppens, *Chronique abrégée de la Ville de Brusselles* (*Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts,* Ms. 10281), p. 201; L'Abbé Mann, *op. cit.,* p. 219.

[74] Reproduced e.g. in L. Hymans, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 205–275, *passim;* P. Saintenoy, *op. cit.,* I–III, *passim.*

[75] The names given for the apartments in which the cartoons were located cannot be related with certainty to the summary plans of the palace that are known to us (P. Saintenoy, *op. cit.,* I, Pls. XV, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII; III, p. 17); nor do they appear in a list of the palace apartments drawn up between 1580 and 1620, accompanying a plan which has disappeared (P. Saintenoy, *op. cit.,* III, pp. 20–22).

[76] Isabella's testament refers to three galleries in the palace. The inventory dated probably 1659 mentions two: "la galeria grande" and "la galeria de los emperadores" (*De Maeyer,* pp. 436, 443, Doc. 271).

beyond the chapel and in line with it, which is referred to as "Magna Aula", "La Grande Salle" or "De Zaal" (Fig. 34).[77] It is quite possible that the four canvases that remained in 1731 were in fact hung there, and that this is where they were seen on the night of the fire by Johann Riss and Nicolas-Emmanuel de Pery; but the latters' accounts are not clear on the point. They describe their route through the palace to what they call the Great Hall or the Great Spanish Hall, where the pictures were,[78] but it is hard to follow the description and it is uncertain whether they mean the throne-room or not.

As already stated, we know even less about where the pictures were in Isabella's time, and it cannot be taken for granted that they were displayed in the throne-room. There is in fact no record whatever of the cartoons while they were in her possession, from ca. 1628 to her death in 1633.[79] We may suppose that she felt closely attached to the Eucharist series on account of its subject, but we have no evidence as to what she did with the twenty paintings from Rubens's studio, which she had owned for the last five years of her life, and can only guess as to what part they played in the adornment of the palace.[80] It seems impossible, however, that the series as a whole was ever displayed there, since the proportions and dimensions of the canvases would

[77] The names "De Zael" and "Magna Aula" appear in the legend of engravings (L. Hymans, *op. cit.*, reproductions between pp. 208 and 209, 216 and 217); "La Grande Salle" figures in the list of palace apartments dated between 1580 and 1620 (P. Saintenoy, *op. cit.*, III, p. 20). Authors who believe that the Rubens canvases were displayed in this hall are L. Hymans, *op. cit.*, I, p. 226; P. Saintenoy, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 25, 26; *de Villermont*, I, p. 417.

[78] Doc. 27a–b.

[79] Chifflet's notes do not refer to the canvases as an adornment of the palace, and they are not mentioned in the additions to Isabella's will in 1633.

[80] We cannot therefore accept as certain such remarks as the following, concerning the importance of the canvases in the palace: "... the canvases henceforth became the principal monumental feature in the decoration of the Brussels palace and a manifest illustration of the role played by the Court as a bulwark of Roman orthodoxy" (*De Maeyer*, p. 130). The authors who believe that the Eucharist series (of seven pieces) was specially painted for the palace are of course altogether wide of the mark, e.g.: "La série de tableaux dite *le Triomphe de l'Eglise* avait été peinte par Rubens pour le palais de Bruxelles... Sept pièces la composaient..." (*Wauters*, p. 241); "... la vaste décoration murale dont le génie de Rubens allait doter le Palais de Bruxelles...; sept pièces la composaient..." (P. Saintenoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26); "Dans l'immense salle édifiée par Charles-Quint,... les [sic] souverains firent placer la série de toiles de Rubens..." (*de Villermont*, I, p. 417).

not have suited any single apartment in the building.[81] We may perhaps suppose that Isabella hung some of them and that Ferdinand later removed them to make room for other paintings such as the large ones from his *Pompa Introitus*. Conceivably some of the canvases were hung in Isabella's time in the Emperors'Gallery and were later rolled up and kept there, but this seems unlikely. It must be recalled that under Isabella's will the works of art in the three picture-galleries were not to be removed from the palace, whereas Philip IV's request shows that the Rubens cartoons belonged to that part of the estate which fell to him by inheritance.[82]

b. *Loeches*

We have scarcely any information as to the transference of some of the cartoons to Spain. The only documents are Philip IV's letters of 1648 and 1649, requesting Leopold William to send them. It is not clear how many were sent or at what date. There must have been at least six, however, for six cartoons were in Spain in the first half of the 18th century, in the church of the convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns at Loeches.

Loeches, a small locality some 20 miles east of Madrid, was bought in 1633 by Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, the *privado* (favourite) of Philip IV. Olivares had the Carmelite convent of Loeches rebuilt and enlarged, and attached to it a building that could be used as a country seat. In 1640 the new construction was ready and the Holy Sacrament was installed in the church in the King's presence. The church building, however, was still incomplete when Olivares died in 1645, and the work was continued by his widow and his heirs.[83] As he had no descendants, Loeches and the rest of his possessions and titles passed to his nephew, Don Luis Méndez de Haro, Marqués del

[81] An idea of the space available in the destroyed palace is given by the newspaper report of 1725: four canvases of the Eucharist series and two of the *Pompa Introitus* covered the whole Great Gallery of the Court (Doc. 26).

[82] The execution of Isabella's will was supervised by the Council of Finance, which in 1659 gave a negative answer (which, it is true, was overridden) when Don Juan expressed the wish to have some pictures from one of the three galleries sent to Spain (*De Maeyer*, p. 38, Doc. 269[a], 269[b], 270).

[83] For details of the buildings at Loeches see G. Marañon, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares (La Pasión de mandar)*, Madrid, 6th ed., 1972, pp. 363–366, figs 31, 32, 71–76; María-Amelia López, *Alonso Carbonel y la Iglesia de Loeches, Archivo Español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, pp. 167–169 (with illustrations of the exterior and interior of the church, Pls. IV, V).

Carpio (1599-1661), who also succeeded in being appointed to his uncle's office of *privado*.

It is hard to say when and in what circumstances the six Eucharist paintings arrived at Loeches. Olivares cannot, as is often stated, have presented them to the church himself, as he fell out of favour with the King in 1643 and died in 1645, while the paintings were still in Brussels in 1649.[84] We may suppose that when Philip IV received them after 1649 he gave them direct to the church of Loeches or to Luis del Carpio, who had inherited the complex there.[85] He may even have sent for them from Brussels at the instance of his favourite, who perhaps wanted them as an ornament to the church. As we saw earlier, Luis del Carpio way have possessed several modelli of the Eucharist series, which later belonged to the estate of his son Gaspar.

The first mention of the canvases at Loeches is much later, in a publication by Antonio Palomino in 1724. This author had probably not seen them there himself; he does not mention their number, and the titles he gives are vague and certainly do not correspond to the actual canvases.[86] He probably relied

[84] The belief that the canvases were owned by Olivares recurs in different variations in several places. It is suggested that he ordered them from Rubens for the convent (*Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, p. 219; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 250), that Philip IV ordered them from Rubens and gave them to Olivares (*Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 138; G. Marañon, *op. cit.,* pp. 159, 366, 481; J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens,* London, 1950, pp. 12, 26, 35, 124, 125), or that the king had them sent from Brussels to give them to his *privado* (P. de Madrazo, *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée du Prado,* Madrid, 1913, p. 343). On the basis of these statements Justi described the disgraced *privado,* in exil at Loeches, contemplating "his" Rubenses and musing over the fall of greatness (C. Justi, *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert,* Bonn, 1888, II, p. 125; C. Justi, *Velazquez,* Zurich, 1933, p. 484). Ponz, one of the earliest sources, tells us only that the church was founded by Olivares and decorated with Philip IV's assistance: "... para cuyo adorno tambien se dice que contribuyeron las generosidades de aquel Soberano." (*Ponz, 1787,* I, p. 269).

[85] Rooses adopted the first hypothesis (*Rooses,* I, p. 74; *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 429); the second is found in: *Beroqui, 1918,* p. 64; P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado,* Madrid, 1920, p. 335; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 7; *Elbern,* p. 13; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 53.

[86] Palomino mentions the Loeches canvases in several of his publications, in each case with the incorrect title: "Quadros... de los Triunfos de la Nueva Ley de la Iglesia, y el Sacro Evangelio; abatido el Gentilismo, y todos los Ritos Antiguos...". The first reference is in his *Parnaso español* of 1724 (see Doc. 24); subsequent ones in A. Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *Las Vidas de los Pintores y Estatuarios eminentes Españoles,* London, 1742; A. Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *Las Ciudades, Iglesias y Conventos en España, Donde ay Obras de los Pintores y Estatuarios Eminentes Españoles, Puestos en Orden Alfabetico...,* London, 1746, p. 125 (1st ed., 1739).

for information either on the tapestries at the Descalzas which he knew or on engravings.[87] Later still, J.B. Descamps and J.F.M. Michel wrote without further details that there were *four* canvases in the church at "Lorches".[88]

A full description of the compositions was given in 1787 by Antonio de la Puente or Antonio Ponz,[89] thanks to which we know how they were arranged in the church. The two widest ones, *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12d) and *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7d), hung over the high altar, one above the other. In the choir, facing each other, were *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14c) on the right and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15d) on the left. The remaining two, *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9c) and *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8c), hung in the nave, also opposite each other.

During the Peninsular War the Eucharist paintings were removed from the church in obscure circumstances of which we learn something from Buchanan's *Memoirs of Painting*. In the summer of 1808 George August Wallis, at great risk to his life, went to the convent church at Loeches to see the Rubens paintings that he had read about in the accounts of travellers.[90]. Some time later, Buchanan tells us, Wallis managed to buy them on his behalf "for a small some of money", but when it came to taking them away the inhabitants objected and Wallis had to appeal to the occupying French troops for help. The paintings were then brought to Madrid under military escort.[91] In an other account of these events, written more than half a century later, we read that one of the carts broke an axle and tipped its precious load into a ditch: some of the canvases were apparently damaged and even torn.[92]

[87] Palomino, the 18th-century Spanish painter and critic admired these works by Rubens: he praises them in his *Parnaso español*, describing the composition as "en extremo caprichosa, y erudita" (Doc. 24). He drew inspiration from Rubens for one of his own most important works, a fresco of *The Triumph of the Church and the Apotheosis of the Dominican Order* in the church of the monastery of St. Stephen at Salamanca, of which he gives a full iconographical description in one of his books: see below p. 228, n. 22.

[88] *Descamps, Vie*, I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771*, p. 326.

[89] *Ponz, 1787*, I, pp. 269–273; followed by *Cumberland, Anecdotes*, pp. 174–179.

[90] *Buchanan, Memoirs*, II, p. 219.

[91] *Buchanan, Memoirs*, II, pp. 221–223.

[92] R. Morris, *The Guide to Eaton Hall*, London [1885?], p. 39; L. Willoughby, *Eaton Hall, the Cheshire Residence of His Grace the Duke of Westminster (Part II), The Connoisseur*, November 1907, p. 145.

As against Buchanan's story of a purchase, the Dukes of Alva, who at this time were heirs to the Olivares and Carpio possessions, claim that Wallis did not buy the pictures but that they were looted from the church by the French military.[93] However this may be, the pictures never reached Buchanan. In return for services rendered he allowed the French general Sébastiani to choose two—*Elijah and the Angel* and *The Triumph of Faith*—which were taken to Paris and found their way to the Louvre; they are now in the Valenciennes Museum (Nos. 9c, 12d).

In a letter of 3 September 1809 from Madrid, Wallis wrote to Buchanan that certain paintings, probably the four remaining cartoons, were packed and ready to be sent to England via Bayonne.[94] However, to Buchanan's great disappointment they were confiscated by the French authorities and came into the hands of Bourke, the Danish ambassador in Madrid, who had advanced money for the purchase. Bourke brought the four pictures to England, exhibited them for a time "in a large room in Piccadilly" and in 1818 sold them for £10,000 to Robert, Earl Grosvenor and first Marquess of Westminster.[95] They remained in the collection of his family, later the Dukes of Westminster, for over a century. For a time all four pictures were in Grosvenor House in London. One of them, *The Defenders of the Eucharist,* was lent from 1870 to 1881 to the South Kensington Museum, where it was displayed,[96] and was afterwards removed to Eaton Hall, the Duke's residence near Chester.[97] The three remaining canvases in Grosvenor House were auctioned when the ducal

[93] *Berwick-Alba,* pp. 85, 92, 93; Marañon also states that while the nuns had found shelter elswhere, the French troops plundered the convent and destroyed the very interesting archives (G. Marañon, *op. cit.,* p. 366).

[94] *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 232, 233, 381, 382.

[95] *Young, 1821,* pp. 19, 22, 23, 25; *Hazlitt, 1824,* pp. 32–36; *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 223, 224; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 138; *Passavant, Kunstreise,* p. 65; *Passavant, Tour,* I, pp. 149, 150; *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* II, p. 114; L. Douglas, *La Collection du Duc de Westminster à Grosvenor House, Les Arts,* No. 37, 1905, p. 3.

[96] The canvas was seen there by Rooses and Burckhardt, who noted that it was in poor condition (*Rooses,* I, p. 68: "... il est fort mal exposé, à une hauteur excessive et sous les rayons brûlants du soleil. Une large crevasse au milieu de la robe de St. Thomas d'Aquin prouve les dangers de l'emplacement actuel de l'œuvre."; J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens,* London, 1950, p. 126). The dates of the loan were given to me by Mr. C.M. Kauffmann, Assistant Keeper, Department of Prints and Drawings.

[97] Eaton Hall was built in 1867. *The Defenders of the Eucharist* is recorded there by R. Morris, *op. cit.,* pp. 39, 40; L. Willoughby, *loc. cit.,* p. 145.

collection was sold in 1924, but owing to their size no buyer was forthcoming and they were withdrawn. [98] In the spring of 1925 they were bought through an art dealer by the American circus proprietor John Ringling, who was collecting works for what became the John and Mable Ringling Museum at Sarasota, Florida. [99]

The seven surviving canvases and the four that were burnt at Brussels all belong to the series of eleven "large" compositions, about 480 cm. high. There is no trace of *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13d) at Brussels or Loeches; curiously enough, sale and exhibition catalogues give the provenance of this canvas as "Loeches", although the old literature never mentions more than six canvases and Buchanan expressly refers to six only. [100]

The history of the cartoons for the nine smaller tapestries is also very problematical. As we have seen, in 1648 they were most probably among the sets of canvases rolled up in the Emperors' Gallery in Brussels. There is no trace of what happened to them afterwards, whether they remained in Brussels or were sent to Spain.

[98] *In the Saleroom, The Connoisseur*, September 1924, p. 47.

[99] The date of the purchase was given to me by Mr. P. Tomory, custodian of the Sarasota Museum. John Ringling (1866–1936) began his collection in 1920; the Museum itself was constructed in 1927–1930.

[100] Some 19th-century writers mention nine paintings in the church, but this, we believe, is a mistake based on the number of engravings known to them (*Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 138–143; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, p. 114); Morris states that there were nine at Loeches and that the French removed seven (R. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

X. THE TAPESTRIES

In the previous chapters we have discussed in detail many aspects of the twenty tapestries commissioned by the Infanta Isabella and designed by Rubens for the church of the Descalzas Reales. We have examined the cultural and historical background, the use to which the tapestries were put, the question of their number and date, and the relevant paintings by Rubens and his studio. It is now time to consider the tapestries themselves.

Once the completed cartoons were brought to Brussels, the weaving began. This was a task of considerable dimensions: the twenty tapestries measure altogether about 800 square ells,[1] or three times the area of an ordinary "kamer" ("room" of tapestries).

The Brussels municipal archives were destroyed in the bombardment of 1695, and consequently we know very little about the activities of the city's weavers. As regards the Eucharist series, only the marks and signatures on nineteen of the tapestries give us any information about its production. We learn from them that this important commission was entrusted to two of the best-known workshops, those of Jan Raes and Jacob Geubels, who had collaborated on other occasions.[2] They, at all events, played the main part, as their names appear in full on the edges of the tapestries (Fig. 41). Jan Raes, who supplied the greater number—thirteen bear his name—was assisted to a considerable extent by two masters of whom very little is known, Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert: the latter, also called Jan Vervoet, was perhaps court tapestry-weaver to Albert and Isabella.[3] The marks of Fobert (Fig. 39) and Vervoert (Fig. 40) are found on nine of Raes's tapestries and on one by Raes and Geubels. Göbel knew these two marks but was unable to identify them correctly:[4] this was made possible after his time by the discovery among

[1] This figure is arrived at by reckoning the total surface of the surviving tapestries in square ells. Elbern, who believed that only the eleven "large" tapestries were part of the series, gave a figure of 630 square ells (*Elbern, 1955*, p. 62).

[2] *Wauters*, pp. 292, 294, 301.

[3] According to a declaration made in 1685 by the tapestry-weaver Vincent Zegers, his grandfather Jan Vervoert was "in sijnen leven... meester tapitsier van wijlen hunne hoocheden den hertoge Albertus ende Isabella van Glorieuse memorie..." (*Brussels, City Archives, XI^e Register ter Tresorye gehouden*, f° 243). See *Wauters*, p. 225; W.G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, revised ed., London, 1930, p. 398.

[4] Göbel gave Fobert's mark as "unidentified", and suggested that Vervoert's was the mark of Jan Aerts (*Göbel*, I (II), Pl. 16 (following p. 668)).

Pinchart's notes of an original 17th-century sheet (Fig. 38) giving the marks and names of twenty-five Brussels weavers,[5] including Fobert, Vervoert, Raes and Geubels. This document was studied by Marthe Crick-Kuntziger,[6] and as a result Tormo was able to recognize the marks of the two first-named on the tapestries at the Descalzas Reales.[7] Earlier authors gave an inaccurate account of the matter.[8]

To sum up, twelve or thirteen tapestries were woven by Jan Raes (largely in collaboration with Fobert and Vervoert), five or six by Jacob Geubels, and one by both workshops together (also with the aid of Fobert and Vervoert).[9]

As already mentioned, there are no documents showing when the work was begun and how long it took to complete. Since an ordinary "kamer" of 200–300 square ells took 8 or 9 months, the Eucharist series may well have taken a year or longer. Tapestries were sent to Madrid by the Infanta in August 1628. We believe that these were the whole series, and that the weavers had just finished their work at that date. It may be, as already mentioned, that Jacob

5 *Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts, Notes Pinchart,* II 1200, *carton* V.

6 Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Marques et signatures de tapissiers bruxellois,* offprint from *Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles,* XL, 1936, pp. 19, 20; cited by J. Duverger, *Brusselse legwerkers uit het begin der XVII^e eeuw en hun monogram, Wetenschap in Vlaanderen,* II, 1936–37, p. 98.

7 *Tormo, 1942,* p. 9.

8 Rooses, having seen from the anonymous *Descripción* that one of the tapestries is signed by Jan Raes, wrongly supposed that all of them were woven by him (*Descripción,* p. 7; *Rooses,* I, p. 72); Mesonero Romanos inferred from the signatures that the tapestries were by Raes and Geubels (*Mesonero Romanos,* p. 250).

9 The tapestries bear signatures and marks as follows. Signature of Jan Raes only: *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11) and *Charity Enlightening the World* (No. 20). Signature of Jan Raes and marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert: *Angels Playing Music* (No. 3), *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 5), *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8), *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10), *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12), *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13), *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15), and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (No. 16). Signatures of Jan Raes and Jacob Geubels and marks of Fobert and Vervoert: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7). Signature of Jan Raes and mark of Hans Vervoert: *The Succession of the Popes* (No. 18). Signature of Jacob Geubels: *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1), *Angels Playing Music* (No. 2), *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6) and *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9). Signature and mark of Jacob Geubels: *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 4). Mark of Jacob Geubels: *Historiography* (No. 19). In the case of *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17) the edges and marks have disappeared.

Geubels was referring to part of the series when he stated, in December 1626, that he had taken on a commission for the Infanta. [10]

As to the value, Chifflet says: "La tapisserie en valoit près de cent mille [florins]". [11] Was this a general estimate, or did he know exactly how much Isabella had paid the weavers? Does the figure include other costs, such as transport to Madrid? We may indeed wonder if Chifflet was mistaken, since the figure is extremely high. It comes to more than 100 guilders per square ell, whereas the price of other tapestries supplied to the court between 1600 and 1631 varies, according to quality, from 11 to 19 pounds per square ell, unless they contained gold and silver, when the figure rises to 44, 48 or a maximum of 75 pounds per square ell. [12] The tapestries of the Eucharist series are finely woven (8 or 9 warp-threads per cm.), but they do not contain any precious metals and the figure quoted by Chifflet is therefore inexplicable.

No doubt this series was one of the most important commissions executed in the Brussels workshops at this period. De Maeyer observes that the Infanta's order must have been a considerable help to the weavers, who were no longer so prosperous as in former centuries. [13] Possibly her desire to support the craft played some part in her choice of a gift to the Descalzas Reales, as well as in previous commissions. We know in any case that Isabella gave financial support to the weavers' guild during the time when the Eucharist series was being produced. [14]

[10] Doc. 5; see the discussion on the dating of the series, p. 37.

[11] Doc. 9.

[12] J. Houdoy, *Les tapisseries de haute-lisse, Histoire de la fabrication lilloise du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Lille–Paris, 1871, pp. 148–152. In 1620, some years before the Eucharist series was executed, the Archducal couple paid 13,272 pounds for a similar commission, a series of fifteen tapestries representing *The Acts of the Apostles* for the church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Brussels, measuring 829 1/2 square ells (J. Houdoy, *op. cit.*, p. 151; see also above, p. 54, n. 20). For a set of *The History of Constantine* Louis XIII paid 70 pounds per square ell (D. Dubon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, The History of Constantine the Great designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona*, London, 1964, p. 12).

[13] *De Maeyer*, p. 122.

[14] A petition by the weavers in 1626 met with a favourable response. By letters patent of 6 August 1626 they were to receive 3,125 guilders annually for three years, being interest at 6.25 % on a loan of 50,000 guilders to be contracted by them for the years 1627–29 inclusive. A copy of the petition, with the letters patent added as an apostil, is in Pinchart's notes (*Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts*, II 1200, *carton* IV); the

We hear little of the tapestries after they were despatched to Madrid. In the 17th century they are only mentioned by Palma, who says that Isabella's sister-in-law, Sor Margarita de la Cruz, received them on the convent's behalf.[15] Subsequently—we do not know when—the tapestries ceased to be used to decorate the convent church. They are next mentioned in 1881, when we learn that they were hung in the "claustro procesional" on special feasts. At present they are exhibited in the part of the convent that has been turned into a museum.

The tapestries have scarcely ever been outside the convent. As far as we can discover, the only exception is that twelve of them were shown at the great exhibition of Eucharistic art at Barcelona in 1952, on the occasion of the 35th international Eucharistic congress.[16] The convent escaped war and plundering throughout its history from the 16th century onwards,[17] and the tapestries therefore remained together. Although no longer used to decorate the convent church, they are the only tapestries designed by Rubens of which the *editio princeps* is still in the locality for which it was intended.

Although the tapestries have not entirely escaped damage owing to their use over the centuries, they are among the finest that we have of Rubens by virtue of their quality and well-preserved colours. They still form an impressive whole, with a rich golden sheen offset by blue and dark-red shades. Hanging in the small church on feast-days, with the many altars blazing with candles and with music playing as Carrillo has described it, they must have given an impression of unusual majesty.

originals are probably preserved (*Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience*). The item of expenditure of 3,125 *livres de gros* for 1628, the second year of the period, was published by J. Houdoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 152; see also *Wauters*, p. 213.

[15] *Palma*, f° 168, 168^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 441, 442, 445).

[16] *Trens, Exposición*, pp. 48, 49, 66; see also J. Milicua, *La exposición Nacional de Arte Eucarístico Antiguo de Barcelona, Archivo Español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, p. 306, Pl. II; J.K. Steppe, *Vlaamse Wandtapijten in Spanje, Recente Gebeurtenissn en Publicaties, Artes Textiles*, III, 1956, p. 32.

[17] The nuns of the Descalzas had to leave their convent for the first time in history during the period from 1931 to 1939. The works of art were at first left in place, as the authorities intended to turn the building into a museum. However, when part of the convent was damaged by a bomb the art treasures were all stored safely in the convent of the Incarnation. After the nationalist victory in the civil war the nuns resumed possession of the convent and works of art, none of which were lost (*Tormo*, IV, pp. 121, 122).

XI. ICONOGRAPHY

We have discussed at length what is known of the historical circumstances that led to the creation of the Eucharist series, the factors which determined the choice of theme and the decision to embody it in a series of tapestries. [1]

The tapestries were designed as an adornment to the great Eucharistic feasts, the principal events of the church year at the convent of the Descalzas Reales. The immediate occasion of the creation of the series is difficult to ascertain, but the subject was closely connected with the Habsburgs' devotion to the Eucharist, and more particularly that of the Infanta Isabella herself, who commissioned the tapestries. As we have pointed out, Isabella's love for the Eucharist was a matter of personal feeling as well as family tradition. It also corresponded to a political need: as champion of the Catholic faith it was her task to vindicate the truth and majesty of the Eucharistic miracle in opposition to the heretical trends that were making headway in her dominions. This was in line with a decree of the Council of Trent which recommended the holding of public processions during the Eucharistic feast, as a form of apologetics and a means of converting heretics. [2]

We shall not revert to the question why Rubens designed a series of compositions on the theme of the Eucharist, as it is sufficiently answered by the above considerations. We have, however, still to investigate the way in which the

[1] See above, pp. 23–34.

[2] "The holy Synod declares, moreover, that very piously and religiously was this custom [the procession of Corpus Christi] introduced into the Church, that this most sublime and venerable sacrament be, with special veneration and solemnity, celebrated every year on a certain day, and that a festival; and that it be borne reverently and with honour in processions through the streets and public places. For it is most just that there be certain appointed holy days whereon all Christians may, with a special and unusual demonstration, testify that their minds are grateful and thankful to their common Lord and Redeemer for so ineffable and truly divine a benefit, whereby the victory and triumph of His death are represented. And so indeed did it behove victorious truth to celebrate a triumph over falsehood and heresy, that thus her adversaries, at the sight of such splendour, and in the midst of so great joy of the universal Church, may either pine away, weakened and broken, or, touched with shame and confounded, at length repent." (*Canons and Decrees of the ... Council of Trent*, translated by J. Waterworth, London, 1888, p. 79; original Latin text in: *Concilium Tridentinum Diariorum Actorum Epistularum Tractatuum Nova Collectio, Tomus Septimus, Actorum Pars Quarta, Volumen Prius, Acta Concilii Iterum Tridentum Congregati a Massarello conscripta (1551–1552)*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1961, p. 202, Sessio tertia (XIII), Cap. 5).

programme was carried out. In the present chapter we are most concerned with the iconographic structure of the series as a whole, while in the catalogue we describe each composition separately and discuss the iconographic problems that it presents in isolation.

To describe and understand the series properly we must consider it as a whole, as the illustration of a single theme designed for a single church interior. In our discussion of the formal structure of the series (Chapter V) we were careful to keep in view the unity of the decoration, and in the iconographic context we must similarly bear in mind the overall picture represented by the tapestries hung in the church: a decoration depicting two levels of reality. It is a matter of some complexity to describe and explain the whole series and to relate it to its context. The difficulties are of various kinds.

Very few literary sources throw any light on the iconography of Rubens's Eucharist series. We have no contemporary description of the different compositions, such as exists for the *Pompa Introitus,*[3] and there is no trace even of a brief indication of the subjects, as for the decoration of the Jesuit church[4] or the Medici gallery.[5] The oldest sources only give a general title that does not help us much. Philippe Chifflet calls the series "figures et mistères de la Saint-Eucharistie".[6] Palma in 1636 refers to them as "Los triunfos de la Iglesia",[7] and in Philip IV's letters in 1648 and 1649 they are mentioned as "Tapiceria del triunfo de la Iglesia, historia del santissimo Sacramento" and "la Tapiceria ... que son del santissimo Sacramento".[8]

Not much help can be derived from the Latin titles of the large engravings published in about 1652 by Nicolaas Lauwers and afterwards by Conrad

[3] A full description of Rubens's decoration on that occasion is contained in C. Gevartius, *Pompa introitus honori Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi...,* Antwerp, 1642.

[4] In a letter annexed to the contract between Rubens and Father Tirinus (J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* I), Brussels, 1968, pp. 215–219).

[5] The choice of subjects to be depicted was discussed in correspondence: see J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *Rubens, La Galerie de Médicis au Palais du Luxembourg,* Milan-Paris, 1969, pp. 204 ff. There is also a short description of the subjects dating from about 1622: see J. Thuillier, *La "Galerie Médicis" de Rubens et sa genèse: un document inédit, Revue de l'Art,* No. 4, 1969, pp. 52–62.

[6] Doc. 9.

[7] *Palma,* f° 168^{v} (Doc. 13, pp. 442, 445).

[8] Docs. 14, 15.

Lauwers.[9] These are pompous verses, full of plays on words and based on an interpretation of the subjects which is certainly not that of the original programme.

The earliest art literature is equally unhelpful. Only Bellori and Palomino mention the Eucharist series in their accounts of Rubens's work, and they were acquainted only with the engravings, which do not reproduce the whole series. These authors found the iconography of the series interesting. "Because the inventions are most worthy of note" G.P. Bellori describes five of the subjects.[10] This description, published in 1672, is the earliest known to us, and is also the only one before the anonymous *Descripción* of 1881, but it does not provide a reliable basis for our study. Palomino, who so admired the invention of the Eucharist series that he embodied elements of it in his own painting (Fig. 85), emphasizes the erudition and ingenuity that it displays,[11] and in another place refers to it as one of the most important inventions in painting.[12]

So much for he sparse literary sources. Rubens, who may have feared that some of the highly complex allegories would not be fully understood, was himself at pains to indicate the subjects of certain tapestries. Thus, in *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 149) there is a cartouche at the top with the legend ECCLESIAE TRIVMPHVS; in *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 160) the cartouche reads FIDES CATHOLICA, and in *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 171) AMOR DIVINVS. Other inscriptions help to make the subject clear: in *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 144) there is a cartouche at the top with the tetragrammaton, and in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 203) a scroll reading HOC EST CORPVS MEVM. In *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Fig. 199) an abbreviated Latin inscription on the altar indicates that it is dedicated to Jupiter.

In the chapter on the modelli we saw that in certain panels inscriptions were scratched into the priming-coat, probably by Rubens himself, with a brief indication of the subject (Figs. 106, 175).[13]

The first question to be asked is how the iconographic programme of the

[9] See below, pp. 219–222.

[10] Doc. 19.

[11] Doc. 24

[12] A. Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica*, II, ed. Aguilar, Madrid, 1947, p. 649 (in the chapter dealing with the subjects, "Ideas o asuntos que se ofrecen en la pintura").

[13] See above, p. 116; Cat. Nos. 2b, 3b, 13c.

series was determined. Most authors take the view that Rubens could not have worked it out for himself. Mâle supposed that he was aided by a theologian from Alcalá or Salamanca, but does not indicate his reasons for thinking so;[14] in our view there are no grounds at all for the supposition. Elbern also thought that Rubens could not have devised the programme himself,[15] and suggested that it was the work of the Antwerp Jesuits, with whom Rubens was no doubt in contact.[16]

In our opinion these authors underrate Rubens's iconographic knowledge and powers of invention. He may have sought advice over some details, but the series as a whole seems to us to reflect his own inspiration. Its subject was not new or alien, and the task before him was to give artistic form to a truth with which his mind and soul were penetrated.

Whatever the position about details, the work as a whole seems to us unquestionably of Rubens's planning: it is not a distillation of theological knowledge, but the achievement of an artist commissioned to decorate a given space. Both Mâle and, to a less extent, Elbern regarded the series not as a structural whole but as a succession of self-contained subjects that might equally well have been illustrations in a devotional book. But what we find in the series is not the spirit of a theologian expounding, analysing and commenting, but the vision of a creative artist with a special talent for difficult and grandiose achievements of this kind.

It seems pointless, therefore, to attempt to derive the programme from some literary work of theology or devotion. It is hard to suppose hat, even if Rubens had wished to, he could have found in some tract or treatise of a didactic and expository kind a ready-made set of subjects for a series of tapestries intended to form a unified decorative system. A painter of the second rank might find it

[14] "Les sujets sont de telle sorte qu'on ne peut imaginer que Rubens, si bon catholique qu'on le suppose, les ait choisis lui-même et en ait ordonné le détail. Comme pour le plafond de l'église des Jésuites d'Anvers, il dut recevoir un canevas détaillé; on croit deviner la collaboration d'un théologien d'Alcala ou de Salamanque (*Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente,* p. 84); repeated by: W. Weisbach, *Trionfi,* Berlin, 1919, p. 150; M. Díaz Padrón, *Un nuevo Rubens en el Museo del Prado: "La inmaculada" del marqués de Leganés, Archivo Español de Arte,* XL, 1967, p. 13; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* p. 287.

[15] "Denn auf keinen Fall wird selbst der hochgebildete Rubens die umfassende und tief eindringende Thematik ... allein konzipiert haben" (*Elbern, 1955,* p. 59); see also *Elbern,* p. 15.

[16] *Elbern, 1955,* p. 60.

necessary to have recourse to a text in this way, but not an artist of Rubens's creative capacity. His programmes, whether they were religious or profane, could not be mere transcriptions of texts. He was a man of amazing knowledge and scholarship, who could draw on the existing literature and iconographic material, but used it for the creation of his own iconography. It should not be supposed, either, that Rubens's iconography was composed of a multitude of far-fetched elements from his eclectic knowledge. On the contrary, he always concentrates on what is fundamental. [17]

While, however, we should not expect to find in devotional literature any direct link with Rubens's programme, there are of course in contemporary books numerous parallel ideas which may help to elucidate his thought. An important work in this connection is the *Psalmodia Eucharistica* of Melchior Prieto, published at Madrid in 1622. [18] This work, a collection of antiphons with fourteen illustrations, each accompanied by an extensive *Explicatio* by the author, offers an example of a contemporary eucharistic "programme" in literary terms (Figs. 52, 59, 60, 66). The same may be said to greater or less degree of other unillustrated works. Critics have for instance been struck by the resemblance between Rubens's series and Lope de Vega's *Triumphos Divinos,* a poem on an epic scale which was published in 1625. [19] However, Lope de Vega's extended account of a triumphal procession can certainly not have furnished the patterns for the whole of Rubens's elaborate series. We shall consider below how far Rubens may have been indebted to the poet for part of his series, viz. the *Triumphs.*

The iconographical data that we possess concerning the decoration of the Convent of the Descalzas Reales are likewise not of much help in our inquiry. Among the numerous works of art in various parts of the convent complex, we have found none whose subject is directly linked with Rubens's series. Nor is there any link between the Eucharist series and the existing decoration of

[17] Evers rightly said: "... Es war für Rubens bezeichnend, daß er nie etwas Sonderbares und Ausgefallenes malte, sondern immer das Notwendige und Nächstliegende, dieses aber in so großer Form, daß sein Werk der Typus wurde für das allgemeine Bedürfnis" (H.G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens,* Munich, 1942, p. 44).

[18] M. Prieto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica,* Madrid, 1622; fully described and studied in E.M. Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia Eucaristica des Melchior Prieto von 1622* (*Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft,* 2nd series, Vol. 15), Münster, 1972 (cited hereinafter as *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucaristica*).

[19] For a fuller discussion see below, pp. 205–208.

the church itself, the high altar with its central theme of the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the side altars dedicated to St. Sebastian and St. John the Baptist. [20]

Modern iconographical literature has not been as helpful as might be expected: the study of particular religious themes tends to stop at the end of the Middle Ages, as if little of importance had been invented or expressed since then. The chief studies devoted to the iconography of the Holy Sacrament are Vloberg's monograph and the article by Lankheit in the *Reallexikon.* [21] Naturally, in Christian art there is a rich and varied iconography of the Eucharist, the kernel of the Catholic faith—the sacrifice of Christ perpetuated by the Church—and it is a subject presenting many aspects. The themes developed in art through the centuries, as the relevant literature tells us, are: the Last Supper (the institution of the Eucharist), the prefigurations in the Old Testament, certain passages in the lives of saints, representations of the Mass, eucharistic miracles, angels adoring the Eucharist, symbolic representations such as the Mystic Wine-Press, grapes and ears of corn, and depictions of the Seven Sacraments. However, the literature furnishes no direct clue as to Rubens's construction of the series as a whole.

As to the iconography of religious art of the seventeenth century in particular, the works by Mâle and Knipping [22] are undoubtedly very useful but do not afford much help in the direct study of Rubens's Eucharist series, as they contain only some general observations of minor importance. Elbern is the only scholar to have gone into the iconography of the series, concerning which he collected some interesting material. [23]

After reviewing all these possible sources of information, it appears that in many cases the only way to go about the task of interpreting the iconography of the series is to look for similar themes in other works by Rubens and his contemporaries and often by much earlier or later artists, where their signifi-

[20] See above, pp. 58, 60.

[21] M. Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art,* I–II, Grenoble-Paris, 1946 (hereinafter cited as *Vloberg*); K. Lankheit, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* VI, Stuttgart, 1968–1973, cols 154–254, s.v. *Eucharistie* (cited as *Lankheit*), with full bibliography. Apart from these two studies, the most useful for our purpose were: L. Font, *La Eucaristía, el tema eucarístico en el arte de España,* Barcelona, 1952; M. Trens, *La Eucaristía en el arte español,* Barcelona, 1952; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Eucharistia, deutsche eucharistische Kunst,* Residenzmuseum, Munich, 1960; *Vetter, Psalmodia eucaristica;* Inge Habig, *Die Eucharistische Allegorie im Spätbarock nördlich der Alpen,* Münster, 1973.

[22] *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente; Knipping,* I–II.

[23] Especially in *Elbern, 1958* and *Elbern, 1963.*

cance is sometimes clearer. We would emphasize that the instances quoted in this general chapter and also in the Catalogue Raisonné are to be regarded not as models drawn on by Rubens, but merely as expressions of related ideas that may help us to an explanation of his work.

As we have seen, the tapestries of the Eucharist series depict two levels of "reality". The first "reality" consists of a two-tiered architectural construction, beyond which the spectator perceives a view of the heavens in the upper tier and a terrestrial scene in the lower. Thus the edifice can be entered by human beings, but also opens upon the heavens. Tapestries are suspended by cherubs between most of the pillars, and are adorned with foliage and festoons. Certain emblematic elements at the bottom of the "tapestries" also form part of the first "reality". The second "reality" consists of the scenes depicted on the (fictitious) "tapestries".

As pointed out in an earlier chapter, the idea of this "architecture" hung with "tapestries" and the use of several levels of reality is connected with solutions of the formal problems confronting sixteenth-century Italian fresco painters.[24] We must, however, consider the question of the intrinsic significance of these elements. As will be seen, both the formal and substantive aspect are of great importance to the composition as a whole.

I. THE FIRST REALITY

a. *The "Architecture"*

Let us first examine the significance of the "building" itself. Its most striking feature is the row of columns of a special type surmounting those of the Tuscan order. The former have a composite Corinthian capital and a twisted shaft, divided into four sections by wreathes of acanthus leaves. The first and third sections are spirally fluted; the second and fourth are decorated with vine tendrils and grapes, with harvesting putti between (Figs. 100, 101, 132).

The model and prototype of these twisted columns with vine decoration consists in the twelve antique columns that stood, in two rows of six, before the Confessio of Old St. Peter's in Rome from the eighth to the sixteenth century. According to a late medieval belief, they came originally from Solomon's Temple. Eleven of them are still to be seen in different parts of the

[24] See above, pp. 67–69, 72, 75, 76.

new Basilica, including the *Colonna Santa* (Fig. 42) in the chapel containing Michelangelo's *Pietà* and eight others decorating the four balconies under the dome. [25]

It is not surprising that this oddly shaped column, supposedly of such auguſt origin and ſtanding close to the tomb of St. Peter, the central site of the Chriſtian Church, was a special object of intereſt to artiſts. As has often been pointed out, Jean Fouquet depicted the interior of Solomon's Temple with columns of this type, [26] and they appear in large number in *The Healing of the Paralytic* in the series of Raphael's cartoons of *The Acts of the Apoſtles.* [27] Raphael's pupil Giulio Romano was also much intereſted in the Salomonic column, as may be seen from his paintings and also his design for the *Facciata della Ruſtica* (Fig. 44) in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua. [28] In the Netherlands it became familiar in the sixteenth century through Raphael's cartoons and Vignola's treatise on the Orders, as well as from direct copies made after the columns in Rome itself, e.g. by Maarten van Heemskerck. [29]

Seventeenth and eighteenth century artiſts were ſtill more attracted by this column, whose animated shape harmonized well with the Baroque ideal. It is found in all sorts of variants of shape and significance in painting, sculpture and architecture, so that the twiſted column can be regarded as typical of Baroque ſtyle. Rubens used these twiſted columns on many occasions in

[25] See *inter alia:* Alice Baird, *La Colonna Santa, The Burlington Magazine,* XXIV, 1913, pp. 128–131, fig. A; A. Fuchs, *Die Spiralsäule in der Kunſtgeschichte, Weſtfalen, Hefte für Geschichte, Kunſt und Volkskunde,* XXIX, 1951, pp. 130, 131, 134, 136, figs. 19, 20. For details of the twelve columns in St. Peter's and the reconſtruction of their former location see J.B. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and its Twelve Spiral Columns, Journal of Roman Studies,* XLII, 1952, pp. 21–33, figs. 1, 2, Pls. I–VII. The legend that the *Colonna Santa* originated in Solomon's Temple is discussed in J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majeſty the Queen and the Tapeſtries for the Siſtine Chapel,* London, 1972, p. 56, n. 69; for the Salomonic column and its importance in later imitation see E. Forssman, *Säule und Ornament,* Stockholm, 1956, pp. 43, 44.

[26] K. Escher, *Die columnae vitineae im St. Peter in Rom im Werk eines franzöſiſchen Künſtlers, Monatshefte für Kunſtwissenschaft,* II, 1909, pp. 413–419; Alice Baird, *loc. cit.,* fig. p. 129(b); K.G. Perls, *Jean Fouquet,* London-Paris-New-York, 1940, figs. 21, 248, 249.

[27] J. Shearman, *op. cit.,* pp. 55–57, 80, 119, Pl. IV, fig. 12.

[28] For the use of twiſted columns by this maſter see F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano,* New Haven, 1958, I, pp. 190, 191, n. 16; see also p. 72, n. 19.

[29] A. Fuchs, *loc. cit.,* p. 138. See C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römiſchen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferſtichkabinett zu Berlin,* Berlin, 1916, II, fol. 10r, 18r.

paintings and other designs,[30] and his example was frequently imitated by the painters of his school. It may be noted that Rubens's columns seem to be based on the antique columns in St. Peter's (Figs. 42, 43) rather than on the version in Raphael's cartoon.[31]

The columns of the Temple of Solomon had an important symbolic significance. In medieval typology the Old Testament places of worship, the Temple and the Tabernacle which preceded it, were regarded as prefigurations of Christian churches.[32] Solomon's Temple was the "type" fulfilled in the antitype of the church *(ecclesia)*, itself a prefiguration of the Heavenly Jerusalem that is to come.[33] Accordingly, in some cases a clear attempt was made to

[30] For paintings in which Rubens depicted Salomonic columns see e.g. *K.d.K.*, pp. 1, 128, 175, 220, 227, 230, 237, 291, 335, 336, 370, 413, 423. A study drawing with Salomonic columns for an altar in the Jesuit church at Antwerp is in the Albertina at Vienna (G. Glück and F.M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928, p. 40, No. 130, repr.).

[31] The columns in the Eucharist series, at all events, are very similar to those in St. Peter's (though less to the *Colonna Santa*, which has an upper zone with tendrils but without putti). In particular, the decoration of the bases with ornamental bands shows a close resemblance to the columns in the church: see J.B. Ward Perkins, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III, 2–4. It is not clear whether Rubens, while in Rome, saw anything of the celebrated columns, which were moved from their position in front of the Confessio in two stages while the new church was being built, in 1507 and 1592.

[32] J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, pp. 4, 5, 102, 103, 107; P. Bloch, *Nachwirkungen des alten Bundes in der christlichen Kunst*, in *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein, Handbuch*, Cologne, 3rd ed. 1964, pp. 756, 758; F. Ohly, *Synagoge und Ecclesia, Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung*, in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia (Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln)*, IV, Berlin, 1966, pp. 350, 351, 359; P. Bloch, *Typologische Kunst*, in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia (Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln)*, VI, Berlin, 1969, p. 131; G. Bandmann in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, IV, col. 256, s.v. *Tempel von Jerusalem*.

[33] "Das Kirchengebäude wurde immer nur vom exegetischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, entweder als Verwirklichung eines des alttestamentlichen Typen, des Paradieses, der Arche, des heiligen Zeltes, des Salomonischen Tempels, oder als Hindeutung auf die Civitas sancta des apokalyptischen Sehers, und immer ohne Ausnahme lag diesen Deutungen der Hinblick auf die geistige Kirche, ... zu Grunde" ("The church building was always regarded purely from the exegetical point of view, either as the embodiment of one of the Old Testament types, such as Paradise, the Ark, the Tabernacle or the Temple of Solomon, or as an allusion to the Civitas sancta of the Apocalypse, and in every case without exception these interpretations were based on the reference to the spiritual church, ...) (J. Sauer, *op. cit.*, p. 5). See also C.H. Krinsky, *Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIII, 1970, p. 11, n. 47.

design churches after the pattern of the Temple, so as to reproduce the latter's architecture and internal furnishing. [34]

In the seventeenth century this idea was still alive, as we may see from Bernini's famous Ciborium in St. Peter's (ca. 1626) and from the use of eight of the "original" columns of the Salomonic Temple in the crossing of St. Peter's basilica, so that the central shrine of Christendom is designed as a new Temple of Solomon and also as the gateway to the Heavenly Jerusalem. [35]

Moreover, the decorative elements of the columns, the vine tendrils and grapes, were considered as eucharistic symbols. It is understandable that the columns became the preferred motif for altar decoration—alluding to the Eucharist as the Gateway to Heaven—and was used in the Baroque period for this purpose throughout Europe. [36]

Rubens's use of Salomonic columns in the Eucharist series is certainly related to this typological idea of "Temple – Ecclesia – Heavenly Jerusalem", but there is also a special significance in the fact that a row of Salomonic columns is superimposed on a row of the Tuscan order. This juxtaposition of the simplest and the richest order is too striking not to be of symbolic importance. The same arrangement was used subsequently by Rubens in the *Stage of Isabella* for the *Pompa Introitus*. [37] Gevartius's description of the stage does not give any explanation of its purpose; he merely notes that the two storeys

[34] For instance Aachen cathedral, built by the "new Solomon", Charlemagne. Several elements found frequently in medieval church furnishing, such as the seven-branched candlesticks, are also an expression of this idea (P. Bloch, *Typologische Kunst..., op. cit.*, p. 131). Features connected with Solomon's Temple have also been noted in the Sixtine Chapel (J. Shearman, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9). The use of Corinthian columns in St. Peter's at Rome and other important churches is part of the same symbolism: this order, being the most elaborate, was believed to have been used in the Temple, and Villalpando depicted it in his illustrations: see E. Forssman, *Dorisch..., op. cit.*, pp. 92–95. Representations of the Temple of Solomon are also referred to below: see under Cat. No. 10.

[35] H. Kauffmann, *Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, Die figürlichen Kompositionen*, Berlin, 1970, figs. 52–55; see also E. Forssman, *Dorisch, Jonisch, Korinthisch*, Stockholm, 1961, pp. 94, 95.

[36] For the popularity of the Salomonic column in altar constructions see A. Fuchs, *loc. cit.*, pp. 138–140, figs. 21, 22; R. Otero Túñez, *Las Primeras Columnas Salomónicas de España, Boletín de la Universidad Compostelana*, No. 63, 1955, pp. 335–344.

[37] *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 132–137, Nos. 34–34a, figs. 63–64.

are composed respectively of Tuscan and Composite columns,[38] and he refers several times to "columnas tortiles" without mentioning their Salomonic character.[39]

In an unpublished study of the *Pompa Introitus,* Elisabeth McGrath devotes a full discussion to the architectonic symbolism of the *Stage of Isabella.*[40] She points out that the construction follows the general aesthetic principle of the superposition of orders, with the heaviest below and the lightest above (ranging from Doric to Composite),[41] but that in this case the opposition of the two orders also has a symbolic significance: this is illustrated by the "moral" significance and symbolic connotations of the different orders as used in practice and expounded in Renaissance architectural theory,[42] of which Rubens was certainly aware. In the Stage of the *Pompa Introitus* the Salomonic columns symbolize the heavens into which Isabella was received after her death, while the rustic Tuscan order below stands for the terrestrial world and the idea of death. The author supports this with examples of other funeral monuments[43] and observes that Rubens used Salomonic columns on other occasions to suggest a heavenly sphere, viz. in his painting of *The Gonzagas Worshipping the Holy Trinity* and in the *Apotheosis of Buckingham.*[44]

It seems certain to us that the opposition of the two orders in the Eucharist series is an example of the same symbolism, and that Rubens used the formula ten years later in the *Pompa Introitus* to convey a similar though not an identical meaning.

In the Eucharist series the two orders are undoubtedly associated with heaven

[38] "Inferior Pegmatis pars, Thusci; superior, Compositi est operis" (C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Honori Serenessimi Principis Ferdinandi...,* Antwerp, 1642, p. 98).

[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 95, 98.

[40] J.E. McGrath, *Rubens' Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi and the Traditions of Civic Pageantry,* Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1971, pp. 111–123.

[41] J.E. McGrath, *op. cit.,* p. 114; see the chapter "Superposition und große Ordnung als architektonische Ausdrucksmittel" in E. Forssman, *Dorisch, Jonisch, Korinthisch,* Stockholm, 1961, pp. 32–49.

[42] J.E. McGrath, *op. cit.,* p. 115.

[43] *Ibid.,* pp. 119–122.

[44] "Certainly for Rubens the spiral pillars of Solomon would have been the ideal architectural expression of heaven and apotheosis, as we may confirm from their use both for the heavenly vision in his early painting of the *Gonzagas Adoring the Trinity* and for the heavenly temple in the Baroque *Apotheosis of Buckingham.*" (J.E. McGrath, *op. cit.,* p. 122).

and earth respectively: this is confirmed by the fact that the Salomonic (and "eucharistic") architecture opens on to heavenly scenes and the Tuscan on to earthly ones. Thus Rubens, in using the Salomonic order, is not concerned primarily with the Temple as a prefiguration of the Christian church, but rather as a type of the Heavenly Jerusalem which is to triumph on earth at the end of time and is already enthroned in heaven, and which can be reached by mankind by means of the Eucharist.

It is typical of the Counter-reformation that stress is laid on the close bond between heaven and earth; the walls of the church open to allow the faithful a direct view of paradise. Heaven comes closer to earth, not only in symbolic terms but as a matter of ocular experience. [45]

Entering the tapestry-hung church of the Descalzas Reales, the spectator finds himself in a sacred precinct: heaven is visible above his head as reality, and cherubs are seen flying down from it to earth. The church itself thus becomes a forecourt of paradise. Through the power of the Eucharist, depicted in the form of the monstrance with the Host, which occupies the centre of the vision, the believer is able to see and experience in advance the blessednes that he is destined to enjoy for ever.

The important feature is that Rubens did not simply plan a decoration of the church interior as it stood, but began by using the tapestries to create a new architectural interior, fraught with a symbolism of the highest importance for a Eucharistic series.

b. *The Adoration of the Eucharist*

Through the architecture we have described, with its heavenly and earthly storeys, the spectator sees the "reality": in the clouds the monstrance displayed by two cherubs, angels singing and playing instruments and king David playing the harp, and, on earth, the ecclesiastical an secular hierarchy kneeling in adoration.

It should be pointed out that for part of this representation, namely *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (depicted in five tapestries and shown in the Chicago sketch), Rubens relied, as to both substance and composition, on an old schema

[45] *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente,* pp. 22, 196–199; in the subsequent development of Baroque and especially Rococo, this idea leads to the representation of heaven on the church ceilings as the most important decoration of the building (see e.g. Inge Habig, *Die Eucharistische Allegorie im Spätbarock nördlich der Alpen,* Münster, 1973).

of which many variants are encountered in and after the Middle Ages. The basic idea is the adoration or glorification by the whole fellowship of the Church, of doctrines and objects of devotion such as the Holy Trinity, the Name of Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Blessed Sacrament, the Virgin or a particular Saint. The composition is always strictly symmetrical, depicting a joint act of adoration by the Church Triumphant, represented by angels or saints, and the Church Militant, represented by the supreme earthly dignitaries, the Pope and the Emperor.

There are many variants of this basic schema. In the most elaborate form, the Church Triumphant is represented in all its Glory by God and the fellowship of the saints, as in Dürer's *Allerheiligenbild* (or *Adoration of the Blessed Trinity*),[46] or compositions related to Jan Van Eyck's *Lamb of God*, such as *The Adoration of the Deity* in the well-known Mazarin tapestry.[47]

In the absence of literature concerning this iconographic schema, we give here some examples which closely resemble Rubens's composition in content and structure. A miniature in a sixteenth century kyriale in the convent of Guadalupe (Cáceres, Spain), depicts the Eucharist as the link between the Church Triumphant, represented by the Holy Trinity surrounded by saints in the clouds, and the Church Militant, represented by the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy kneeling before a monstrance held by two angels on an altar.[48]

In Flemish art there are several examples closely resembling one another: a painting by Maarten De Vos in St. James's church at Antwerp: *The Adoration (or Glorification) of the Name of Jesus* (Fig. 46); a drawing ascribed to Pieter

[46] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 838; *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna, 1973, p. 58, Pl. 124.

[47] *The Triumph of Christ*, the so-called Mazarin tapestry (Washington, National Gallery); see e.g. [*Cat. Exh.*] *Chefs-d'œuvre de la tapisserie du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1973–1974, No. 74 (repr.). Several sixteenth-century tapestries with a similar composition have been preserved, e.g. *The Glorification of Christ* in Brussels (Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles, Catalogue des tapisseries*, Brussels, 1959, p. 25, n. 8, Pl. 12; Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, I, Brunswick, 1963, p. 106, fig. 67).

[48] L. Font, *La Eucaristía, el tema eucharístico en el arte de España*, Barcelona, 1952, p. 131, fig. 79; M. Trens, *La Eucaristía en el arte español*, Barcelona, 1952, p. 242, fig. 171; a very similar miniature can be seen in a choir-book in the same monastery (photograph Mas No. C–83910); a similar subject is also depicted in a French engraving (E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1925, p. 103, fig. 51).

De Jode in the Ashmolean Museum of Art at Oxford: *The Adoration of the Holy Ghost* (Fig. 47);[49] and an engraving published by Adriaan Collaert: *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (Fig. 48).[50] All these three are divided into an earthly and a heavenly level: the Pope and Emperor kneel opposite each other with their respective retinues, looking up at the object of their devotion, which is surrounded by angels in the clouds.

Rubens's version of the theme seems to have been directly borrowed by a number of imitators. An example is the painting *The Ecclesiastical and Secular Hierarchies in Adoration of the Eucharist* (Fig. 49) in the Brussels Museum by an unidentified Flemish master, with the Pope and clergy on one side and, on the other, the Emperor Ferdinand II, Philip IV of Spain and the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand.[51]

The central feature of Rubens's Adoration scene is of course the monstrance with the consecrated Host. It is held aloft by two cherubs and radiating its light over the scene (Fig. 96).

In scenes of adoration and other eucharistic compositions the monstrance is very often held aloft in the clouds by angels (Figs. 48, 49, 56, 87). The monstrance surrounded and adored by angels is a traditional motif of Christian iconography. As enacters of the heavenly liturgy they worship God in all his Glory and pay special devotion to their heavenly food, the "bread of angels" *(panis angelorum)*.[52] The Counter-Reformation also attached apologetic sig-

[49] K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1938, p. 63, No. 146.

[50] *Knipping*, II, pp. 76, 87; around the central theme of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* are smaller scenes depicting *The Seven Sacraments, The Lamb of God, The Gathering of the Manna* and *The Last Supper;* the two hierarchies in adoration for the Eucharist are also depicted in the upper part of the title-page for: F. Costerus, *Sermoonen op alle de Epistelen van de Son-Daghen van den gheheelen Iare met twee Sermoon-Octaven, d'eerste Van t'H. Sacrament des Autaers...*, Antwerp, 1616.

[51] Inv. No. 468 (as by Theodoor van Thulden).

[52] This term for the Eucharist comes from Psalm 77(78) : 24–25, where manna is referred to as the bread of heaven or of angels ("Panem caeli dedit eis / Panem angelorum manducavit homo"), and was used by Thomas Aquinas in his Corpus Christi hymn ("...ecce panis angelorum"). Artists frequently represented angels in eternal adoration of the Host in the monstrance: see e.g. J. Molanus, *De Historia SS. Imaginum et picturarum...*, ed. by J.N. Paquot, Louvain, 1771, p. 494; *Knipping*, II, p. 79; *Vloberg*, II, pp. 236, 237, figs. on pp. 227, 242; K.-A. Wirth in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, V, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 435, figs. 80, 83, s.v. *Engel; Lankheit*, cols. 200, 203, 231, 232, figs. 10, 21, 42, 44, 51; Inge Habig, *Die Eucharistische Allegorie im Spätbarock nördlich der Alpen*, Münster, 1973, pp. 177–199, figs. 422–435.

nificance to the adoration of the Eucharist by angels, serving to justify against the Protestants the honour paid to the monstrance with the consecrated Host by the faithful on earth.

The Church Triumphant is represented by angels in the clouds, singing and playing instruments and expressing their adoration by gestures (Figs. 100, 101).

Music-making angels can be considered as the traditional representation of the celestial music or the celestial liturgy, the eternal praise of God.[53] We can cite for instance the music-making angels in the drawing attributed to De Jode (Fig. 47), the representations of *King David Playing the Harp and Music-making Angels* in an engraving after Candido (Fig. 50) and in a drawing by Rubens (Fig. 51). An interesting representation of celestial liturgy, *The Angels Praising God,* was engraved by Adriaan Collaert after Jan Stradanus, in *Encomium Musices* (Fig. 54),[54] illustrating a passage from *Job.*[55]

There are nine angels in each of Rubens's tapestries with *Angels Playing Music* (Figs. 100, 101): large, robust figures in front with musical instruments, behind them singing children, and at the top, furthest away from the spectator, more ethereal, radiant beings who do not play or sing but simply express adoration. It seems not unlikely that Rubens had in mind here the nine choirs of angels. The angels, pure spirits who praise God eternally, were traditionally imagined as arrayed in nine choirs around the divine throne. In the centre, closest to God himself, were the most ethereal, the seraphim and cherubim, while furthest away were the archangels and angels, the most "human", who occasionally appeared on earth and had dealings with mankind. The choirs are often depicted in painting, either in rows or in concentric circles (Figs. 47, 50, 54).[56]

[53] See R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel, Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters,* Berne-Munich, 1962; P. Fischer, *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th centuries,* Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 7–31.

[54] *Encomium Musices, Quod ex sacris litteris concinnabat Philip. Gallaeus. Iconibus exprimebat pictor celeberrimus Io. Stradanus. Versibus illustrabat doctissimus Io. Bochius, urbi Antverp. à Secretis,* Antwerp, s.d. (ca. 1600).

[55] Job 38 : 4–7.

[56] The nine choirs of angels are: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Princedoms, Powers, Archangels and Angels. See e.g. *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente,* p. 298; *Timmers,* pp. 342–345, Nos. 683–688; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 25–27; K.-A. Wirth, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* V, Stuttgart, 1967, cols. 555–601, s.v. *Engelchöre.*

Hammerstein, who devoted a study to the iconography of angelic music (unfortunately confined to the Middle Ages), pointed out that the higher orders are often depicted as singing only, while the lower perform on instruments.[57] Hammerstein's examples are well outside Rubens's sphere and were certainly not imitated by him, but we may wonder if he did not intend to convey the same idea by showing the nine choirs, each worshipping the Eucharist after its own manner: the least ethereal group play on instruments, while the purest spirits, who are closest to God and merge into the divine radiance, express their adoration in a more abstract manner.

As in the Adoration scenes we have cited (Figs. 46–49), Rubens represented the Church Militant by the earthly hierarchies. The left, the chief place (on the right of the Monstrance with the Host), is occupied by church dignitaries, the Pope and the ecclesiastical orders (Fig. 107). These figures seem, as far as we can discover, to be types rather than individuals, in contrast to the secular dignitaries on the right, in whom we can clearly recognize the Emperor and the other members of the House of Habsburg (Fig. 113). The Habsburgs are indeed appropriately depicted in an *Adoration of the Eucharist,* as they were at all times distinguished for their devotion to the divine mystery. This applies not only to Juana, Margarita and Isabella, whose devotion has been mentioned in a previous chapter, but to their forebears Count Rudolph of Habsburg and the Emperor Charles V. Among the kneeling princes we recognize the reigning Emperor Ferdinand II and, beside him, Philip IV, the King of Spain and patron of the Descalzas Reales together with his consort Isabella. The King and Queen were of course themselves present in the church during the festivities.

In Rubens's *Adoration of the Eucharist* the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant are joined in their act of worship. The composition represents the unity of the heavenly and earthly liturgy by the power of the Eucharist. In the Mass heaven and earth, the visible and the invisible become one. The faithful join their voices to those of the angels. This idea was so strong in the Middle Ages that in certain parts of the Mass there was an attempt to imitate angelic song, and for a long time purely vocal music was considered superior because it more closely resembled that of angels.[58]

[57] R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* p. 225, figs. 67, 68, 102.

[58] For details see R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 10, 22, 30–36, 140; see also P. Fischer, *op. cit.,* pp. 7 *et seqq.*

Rubens undoubtedly meant to express in his composition this traditional idea, the Eucharist as a link between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant. The tapestries were to be displayed during the Corpus Christi festival, when the church would resound with music and song blending with the angels' liturgy. The same idea is depicted in Prieto's *Psalmodia Eucharistica,* though in different forms. In one illustration (Fig. 52), we see on earth monks and angels next to each other sing praises to the Eucharist, guided by the Holy Church, and in heaven the celestials depicted in the clouds (at one side the nine choirs of angels and at the other side the saints).[59] Another illustration (Fig. 59) shows faithful with castanets and angels with musical instruments, all praising the Eucharist.[60]

It is thus of essential importance that Rubens's *Adoration of the Eucharist* is presented as reality, while the other scenes are depicted on simulated "tapestries". The miracle consists precisely in the fact that the Eucharist unites the faithful with heavenly things, as the separation between earth and heaven disappears. Rubens expressed this idea in a particularly ingenious way by extending the medieval schema in spatial terms, while combining it with an architecture that emphasizes both the division and the unity of the two spheres (the Salomonic columns resting on those of the Tuscan order). This architecture, moreover, extends along the other walls of the church and thus defines the area in which the spectator is located.

The scene of *King David Playing the Harp* (Fig. 117) is also situated in the heavens and belongs to the same reality as *The Adoration of the Eucharist.* The monarch is seen through "a window" in the upper storey of the architecture, sittting in the clouds and accompanied by singing angels. He is in the same heavenly space as the monstrance and the angels, and his music blends with that of the angelic choirs.

There are other instances in Netherlandish painting in which David playing the harp is juxtaposed with angels making music. Rubens must have seen the composition with this title by Pieter Candido, which was well-known from a print of about 1590 by Jan Sadeler (Fig. 50).[61] This, as indicated by an

[59] *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucaristica,* pp. 31–32, fig. 12.

[60] *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucaristica,* pp. 32–33, fig. 13.

[61] See O. Hirschmann, *Ein Gemälde Peter Candids im Haarlemer Museum, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft,* VIII, 1915, pp. 81–83; *Keuze uit de aanwinsten, Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum,* XXI, 1973, pp. 32, 37, fig. 18. This composition seems to have been

inscription above the engraving, is an illustration of Psalm 147 (148): "Juvenes et virgines, senes cum iunioribus, laudent nomen Domini". In a drawing by Rubens in the Louvre (Fig. 51) [62] we find several elements of Candido's composition: David playing the harp and singing psalms in an open landscape, and above, in the clouds, a group of music-making angels in a similar formation around a circle of light and choirs of angels with the tetragrammaton.

In the Eucharist series the angels making music around the monstrance seem again to be a variant on the upper half of Candido's composition, but instead of the divine symbol and the organ we have in the middle two angels with the monstrance. However, this formal resemblance should not distract our attention from the difference in the subject. In Candido's composition and in Rubens's earlier drawing the psalmist David is a mortal on earth, praising Yahve and joining his song to that of the angels. Here, however, he is not singing from the earthly Jerusalem but from the Heavenly City, and he and the angels are joined in worshipping not Yahve but the Eucharist. [63]

The idea of representing David with the harp in this series is significant in many respects. David had played and danced before the Ark of the Covenant when it was brought in triumph to Jerusalem, and had incurred his wife's

fairly frequent. Besides Jan Sadeler's engraving we have found references to: a painting in the Frans Hals Museum at Haarlem ([*Cat.*] *Frans Halsmuseum,* Haarlem, 1969, p. 68, No. 313; O. Hirschmann, *loc. cit.*); a painting on stone of the upper part of the composition in the Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste at Vienna (Inv. No. 409); two drawings of the whole composition, in the Uffizi Museum at Florence (IIa, Categoria No. 2354) and in the Rijksprentenkabinet at Amsterdam (See *Keuze uit de aanwinsten, loc. cit.*); drawing of the upper part in the University Library at Erlangen (Cat. 1929, No. 891); a relief carved in wood by Grinling Gibbons, ca. 1690 (sold at Sotheby's, London, 24 November 1963, lot 102, repr.); a silver relief by Christoph Lencker, formerly at Rügenwalde (P. Fischer, *op. cit.,* p. 24, fig. 23). Candido's angels, singing and playing instruments, are also repeated literally in a painting *Magnificat,* attributed to Otto van Veen or Jan Snellinck, in St. James's church at Antwerp.

[62] G. Glück and F.M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens,* Berlin, 1928, p. 32, No. 41, repr.; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949,* p. 11, No. 1007, Pl. XII.

[63] It is hard to say whether Rubens's treatment of the scene is connected with the text *Visio Pauli,* which contains a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem. There King David stands in the Heavenly City, playing the harp and singing so loudly that the foundations quake; when Christ returns, David and the twenty-four Elders are there with angels to sing his praises (R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 63, 64).

mockery by so doing.[64] As God's psalmiſt he prefigures the Chriſtian who joyfullly praises the Hoſt, more especially when he joins the triumphal procession of the monſtrance on Corpus Chriſti Day. It is natural, therefore, for David to be portrayed in the decoration of the church on that occasion.

The Counter-Reformation, moreover, saw David dancing before the Ark as a type of the Catholic faithful who sing hymns of joy to the Hoſt in the monſtrance despite the mockery of heretics. This is fully in accordance with the spirit in which the feaſt is described in the decrees of the Council of Trent.[65]

David, it muſt be remembered, was a king, and it was appropriate for a Chriſtian prince, a ruler of God's new chosen people, to identify with David. The emperor or the King of Spain, building churches and seated on the throne of wisdom, played the part of a second Solomon, and as a fighter againſt heresy and singer of praises to the Euchariſt he could also be regarded as a second David.[66] As we have seen, devotion to the Euchariſt was a tradition of the Habsburg family, who could thus identify pre-eminently with the King of Israel. As David had slain Goliath with Yahve's aid, so they would deſtroy the monſter of heresy, and as David sang before the Ark, so they adored the Holy Sacrament, the King of Kings, with humble songs of praise, regardless of the mockery of heretic onlookers. We found this idea expressly referred in Juan Carrillo's book on the convent of the Descalzas Reales, published in 1616. Here the author holds up to admiration the example of the Emperor Ferdinand I humbly joining in the Corpus Chriſti Procession, singing hymns and with a garland of flowers on his head, and compares him with King David singing and dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, "which was but a shadow and a figure of the Moſt Holy Sacrament".[67]

[64] See under Cat. No. 10.

[65] See above, n. 2.

[66] For the use of this theme in the Middle Ages see H. Steger, *David Rex et Propheta, König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter, nach Bilddarſtellungen des achten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Nuremberg, 1961.

[67] "Exemplo era eſte muy parecido a otro que nos dexò el Emperador Ferdinando, tio, y suegro deſta santa Emperatriz: el qual fue en vna procession del Corpus, cantando canciones al santissimo Sacramento, con vna guirnalda de flores en su cabeça, sin llevar otra cosa en ella con que resiſtir al sol. Oluidado del todo de la grandeza y Mageſtad de su Imperio, y acordandose solamente de venerar y respetar al Rey de los Reyes, y

The idea of David as the Catholic praiser of the Euchariſt is also expreſſed in the vignette on the title-page of Jooſt van den Vondel's *Altaergeheimenissen* ("Myſteries of the Altar"), published in 1645 (Fig. 53).[68] Here David is seen playing the harp and dancing among adders and dragons' heads, ſymbolizing heresy. Vondel, a catholic convert, compares himſelf *vis-à-vis* the Proteſtant readers of his poem—a long effuſion of paſſionate love for the Holy Sacrament —to the pſalmiſt David, unmoved by the jibes of the ignorant multitude.

It is appropriate that the royal ſinger ſhould be depicted in the church where the Spaniſh royal family came to adore the Euchariſt on feaſt-days. David, who once adored the God of the Old Teſtament with ſongs and muſic, is now preſent in heaven at the feaſt in honour of the Euchariſt. A king and a member of the Church Triumphant, he joins in worſhip with the Habsburg princes of the Church Militant.

c. *The "Tapeſtries"*

We now proceed to conſider the eleven tapeſtries ſuſpended by cherubs between the Salomonic and Tuſcan columns of Rubens's architectural conſtruction. In a previous chapter we mentioned the formal implications of Rubens's choice of tapeſtries as a "ſupporter" for the ſcenes of the ſecond "reality".[69] We may

Emperador de los cielos. Exemplo era eſte para conuencer aqui con el a todes los Reyes y Señores de la tierra ... / Lo qual si no es baſtante para conuencerles, como deuria de serlo, por ventura lo serà el ver eſte exemplo de humildad, en vno de los Emperadores de la tierra. Como lo puede ser tambien aquel que nos diò el rey Dauid, quando yua cantando y saltando con su inſtrumento en la mano, delante del arca del Teſtamento, que era sola vna sombra y figura del santissimo Sacramento; ..." ("This example was very similar to another left to us by the Emperor Ferdinand, uncle and father-in-law of that sainted Empress [Maria], who went in a Corpus Chriſti procession, ſinging hymns to the moſt holy Sacrament, with a garland of flowers on his head, and no other covering againſt the sun: forgetful of all the grandeur and majeſty of his empire, and concerned only to venerate and honour the King of Kings and Emperor of Heaven. This as an example to convince all the kings and lords of the earth... And if this be not ſufficient to convince them as it ſhould, perhaps they will be convinced by this example of humility in one of the Emperors of the earth. And that example, too, may ſuffice that King David gave us, when he went ſinging and dancing with an inſtrument in his hand before the Ark of the Covenant, which was but a shadow and a figure of the moſt holy Sacrament") (*Carrillo*, f° 177ᵛ, 178).

[68] [J. van den Vondel], *Altaergeheimenissen, ontvouwen in drie boecken door I.V.V.*, Cologne, 1645.

[69] See above, pp. 72–76.

suppose, however, that Rubens did not light upon this solution for purely formal reasons. [70]

We may take as our starting-point Elbern's theory that the tapestries, i.e. the actual woven ones, themselves have a typological meaning. In the belief that the Eucharist series comprised eleven tapestries, Elbern regarded these as forming a New Testament parallel to the Tabernacle of the Covenant in the Old Testament. He bases his view on a passage in *Exodus* prescribing the method of constructing the Tabernacle of the Covenant. Elbern suggested that Rubens had designed eleven tapestries ("Teppiche") as an analogy with the eleven "Teppiche" of goat's hair by which the tabernacle was decorated. [71] Some other critics followed Elbern's typological explanation. [72]

Müller Hofstede also believes that there is a parallel with the Tabernacle of the Old Covenant, but he holds that the antitype consists in the fictitious "tapestries" and not the real ones. He believes, in fact, that Rubens chose the formula of a "tapestry within a tapestry" precisely in order to suggest an analogy with the hangings of the Tabernacle. [73]

[70] As we have seen, on subsequent occasions when Rubens used the device of a fictitious tapestry it has a definite significance, e.g. the tapestry woven by Athena in her contest with Arachne. Rubens's imitators, on the other hand, used "tapestries" for purely decorative reasons; see above, pp. 80, 81.

[71] "Offenbar is ... sogar die Anzahl der Kompositionen von der Parallele des Neuen zum Alten Testament bestimmt. In Exodus 26,7 lesen wir: 'Mache Teppiche aus Ziegenhaar zu einem Zelt über der Wohnung. Dazu sollst du elf der Teppiche verwenden.' Die erwähnte Wohnung ist aus zehn Teppichen gemacht, das Zelt des Allerhöchsten hingegen aus elf. So stellen die Tapisserien des Eucharistiezyklus in ihrer Elfzahl eine neutestamentliche Parallele zur Stiftshütte des Alten Bundes dar: wie die Eucharistie das wahre Brot der Starken (Elias), das wahre Opfer des Bundes zwischen Gott und Menschen usw. ist, so ist das aus elf Teppichen für die Eucharistie errichtete Zelt das wahre 'tabernaculum altissimi'" (*Elbern, 1955*, p. 58); see also *Elbern, 1963*, p. 77.

[72] Bloch calls the tapestries of Rubens's Eucharist series simply "die elf Vorhänge der Stiftshütte" (the eleven curtains of the tabernacle) (P. Bloch, *Nachwirkungen des Alten Bundes in der christlichen Kunst*, in *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein, Handbuch*, Cologne, 3rd ed., 1964, p. 760); he repeats this in a later article: P. Bloch, *Typologische Kunst*, in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia (Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln)*, VI, Berlin, 1969, pp. 139–140). See also *Held, 1968*, p. 8.

[73] J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch*, N.F. 2, 1969, pp. 204, 205 ("Hierzu ist ... anzumerken, daß nicht die Tapisserien selbst den Anti-Typus zur Stiftshütte bilden, sondern diesen nur *darstellen*. Nur so kann das in allen Wandteppichen anzutreffende Motiv des 'Bildes im Bilde', der in den Gewirken dar-

We do not accept either of these views. In reply to Elbern it should be pointed out that the eleven "large" tapestries do not constitute the whole of the series, so the typological explanation he suggests cannot apply to it as a whole. Moreover, in the first design as we know it from the bozzetti, twelve and not eleven subjects were depicted in the fictitious tapestries, and these subjects were not clearly distributed among twelve separate tapestries; instead, the effect is of several longer tapestries spanning several columns. [74]

In any case, the identification of the hangings of the Tabernacle with Rubens's tapestries is not obvious. Elbern speaks of "Teppiche" in his quotation from *Exodus,* but in fact the hangings of the Tabernacle were quite different from tapestries as we understand the term. The construction of the Tabernacle involved a number of awnings and coverings, four layers of different materials being spread over the wooden framework. The first two coverings comprised respectively ten and eleven widths, fastened together with golden clasps and spread crosswise over the tabernacle. [75] The covering of goat's hair to which Elbern refers was the second of these. It seems to us improbable that Rubens had in mind this unadorned covering as a typological model for the Eucharist series.

gestellten Säulen mit ihren eingespannten Bildbehängen, befriedigend gedeutet werden... Der Sinn des Motivs ist sehr wahrscheinlich darin zu erblicken, daß Rubens die typologische, auf das Zelt der Stiftshütte bezogene Rolle eigens verdeutlichen wollte... Indem Rubens aber mit einer zweiten Realitätsebene operierte und in seinen Tapisserien noch einmal Bildbehänge mit figürlichen Szenen sichtbar werden ließ, akzentuierte er den Eucharistie-Zyklus vollends als eine Folge von dargestellten Teppichen, die zu den geschmückten Teppichen der Stiftshütte in Beziehung gesetzt sind.").

[47] See above, pp. 93, 94.

[75] Various awnings and coverings are mentioned in the Biblical directions for building the Tabernacle. The wooden structure is to be covered with four successive layers. "Moreover thou shalt make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: with cherubims of cunning work shalt thou make them." (Exodus, 26:1). "And thou shalt make curtains of goat's hair to be a covering upon the tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make." (26:7). "And thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering above of badgers' skins." (26:14). There is also a veil before the Holy of Holies and a hanging to cover the entrance: "Thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work: with cherubims shall it be made." (26:31–32). "And thou shalt make an hanging for the door of the tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework." (26:36).

As far as we can ascertain, there is no example of any artist ascribing a typological meaning to this covering, or to the first covering adorned with cherubim. The only part of the hangings of the tabernacle that figures in Christian iconography is the veil dividing the sanctuary from the Holy of Holies, which, like the first covering, was richly adorned with cherubim, and which was rent asunder at the death of Christ. [76]

Moreover, the fact that Rubens's tapestries were intended to be hung in two rows in the Descalzas Reales church makes it still less likely that they were related to the coverings of the Tabernacle, since Rubens can hardly have imagined the latter as a two-storey construction. Contemporary illustrations depict the Tabernacle of the Covenant either as a rectangular screen of cloths hanging between columns, open to the sky (and often seen from above, to show the Arch of the Covenant; Figs. 63, 64) or as a tent with a pointed roof (Fig. 67).

It seems to us that the main significance of the fictitious tapestries is to emphasize the difference between what they depict and what the spectator actually sees as "reality". The illustrations and prefigurations of the Eucharist are merely *depicted* on the "tapestries", while the Monstrance with the consecrated Host, the link between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant is real and belongs to the same space and reality als the faithful in the church of the Descalzas.

The fact that tapestries with Old Testament subjects conceal part of the reality (outside the building) may have a typological significance; this may symbolize the fact that what was concealed in the Old Testament was made manifest in the New: as St. Augustine put it, "In veteri testamento novum latet, in novo vetus patet". [77] For the other, allegorical and triumphal subjects, however, this explanation is of course less convincing.

The tapestries are certainly meant as a splendid decoration of the building in honour of the Host.

[76] Matthew 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45. The veils hung in front of the altars during Lent in medieval times were modelled on this pattern (J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, p. 172).

[77] *Timmers*, p. 332, No. 672.

d. *The Decoration of the Architecture*

Besides the angels directly concerned with worshipping the monstrance, there are cherubs (in fact small angels and not cherubim) whose function is to decorate the architecture. They suspend the "tapestries" betweeen the upper and lower columns and display festoons of fruit and foliage and inscribed cartouches. These beings have descended from the heavens in order to provide a suitable brilliant setting for divine service. It is part of the function of angels to concern themselves with earthly liturgy, and in particular to ensure that the adoration of the Holy Sacrament is fittingly performed.

The objects and animals which decorate the architecture at various places—chiefly in the centre, below or above the "tapestries" (Figs. 144, 149, 160, 171, 183, 190, 203) have an emblematic purpose, each in relation to its particular tapestry. In his descriptions Bellori uses the word *impresa.* [78]

2. THE SECOND LEVEL OF REALITY

The "first reality" as we have seen, comprises the actual subject of the series, viz. *The Adoration of the Eucharist by the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant.* To the "second reality" belong the scenes in the eleven large "tapestries" suspended in an architectural setting and the three smaller allegorical pieces that are probably to be regarded as paintings.

a. *The Scenes in the "Tapestries"*

General

As we have seen, most authors take the view that the eleven "large" tapestries, i.e. those in which "tapestries" are represented, comprise the complete Eucharist series or at all events originally formed a self-contained set, to which further tapestries were afterwards added. [79] Consequently these authors confined their

[78] *Bellori,* pp. 233, 234 (Doc. 19).
[79] See above, pp. 39–45.

iconographic discussion to the eleven panels in question. It appears, however, from the foregoing argument that these pieces do not comprise the central theme of the series, but are merely illustrations of it.

In contrast to the five tapestries comprising *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, whose interrelation is known to us from the Chicago sketch, we have not the same precise information as to the place occupied by the eleven "large" tapestries in the decoration of the church. However, some indications can be derived from the conclusions reached in an earlier chapter as to the placing of the tapestries. As we know, they were hung in two rows, those with Salomonic columns above and those with Tuscan columns below, and we were able to divide the subjects into two groups. The first group comprises *The Gathering of the Manna, Elijah and the Angel, Abraham and Melchizedek, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices, The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant;* at the bozzetti stage it also comprised *The Triumph of Hope.* The second group consists of *The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Divine Love, The Four Evangelists, The Defenders of the Eucharist, The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and *The Triumph of Faith.*

Taking account of the angle from which the light falls, we suggested that the first group, with the Old Testament subjects, may have been intended for the liturgical "north" side of the church and the second group, with the *Triumphs* for the "south" side. Rubens may well have known the medieval symbolism concerning different parts of the church building, and have followed the tradition of preferring the "northern" wall for Old Testament scenes and the "southern" for New Testament ones.[80] At the bozzetti stage *The Triumph of Hope* figured in the first group and *The Triumph of Faith* in the second, which might be an allusion to the respective roles of the Old Testament (the Testament of Hope) and the New (the Testament of Faith). However, it is also possible that the Old Testament subjects appeared on the "northern" wall, on account of the rightward movement of the compositions.

In each of the scenes of the eleven "tapestries" there is a definite rightward movement—not only in the Triumph scenes in which the procession goes from left to right, but also in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices,* and even in the Old Testament scenes. The

[80] For a full discussion of the symbolism of points of the compass see J. Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–95; see also *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente,* p. 338; *Réau,* I, pp. 70–72, 75.

figure of Melchizedek in *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 119), the woman with a basket on her head in *The Gathering of the Manna* (Fig. 132), the angel in *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 137), the procession in the background of *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 144) and the groups approaching the altar in the foreground—all these are clearly intended by Rubens to impart a unity of movement from left to right throughout the series.

If we imagine the tapestries hung in the church, we can thus see a clockwise movement in both the upper and the lower zone, proceeding round the church from the south side of the altar to the north side. In other words, the head of the procession is in the north-east corner. As stated above, this may provide a simple explanation for the fact that the "earliest" scenes are on the north side of the church.

From the point of view of theme the eleven "tapestries" may be divided in three groups:

(1) Four prefiguring scenes from the Old Testament (Nos. 7–10): *Abraham and Melchizedek, The Gathering of the Manna, Elijah and the Angel* and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant.*

(2) Five subdivisions of a triumphal procession: three scenes with triumphal cars (Nos. 11–13): *The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Faith* and *The Triumph of Divine Love;* and two scenes showing individuals advancing on foot, who may be considered as forming part of the same cortège (Nos. 14, 15): *The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist.*

(3) Two scenes related to the *Triumphs,* containing allegorical and historical elements and depicting a victory of the Eucharist (Nos. 16, 17): *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy.*

We would emphasize that this is only a thematic classification and is not necessarily connected with the order in which the tapestries were hung. We have also refrained from arranging the subjects in an iconographic order, as was done by Rooses and Mâle; they arranged the titles in an order suggesting

[81] The sequence implied in Rooses' description by such expressions as "ensuite...", "puis viennent les Evangélistes...", "enfin les princes terrestres..." etc. is: triumphs and victories, prefigurations, Evangelists, Church Fathers, popes and princes (*Rooses,* I, p. 71). Mâle likewise seems to take for granted that there is a sequence ("voici d'abord" ... "et voici maintenant.."), though his arrangement differs from Rooses': Old Testament, Evangelists and Defenders, Popes and Princes, and finally Triumphs (*Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente,* pp. 83–86).

the "thread" of a story (with the implication that the tapestries were in fact hung in his order).[81] The discussion of the iconographic classification of the eleven pieces proposed by a number of authors does not appear to us very profitable either.[82]

The Prefigurations

The prefigurations of the Eucharist are numerous and varied. Strictly speaking, they either prefigure the Last Supper (the institution of the Eucharist) or the Crucifixion (the consummation of the divine Sacrifice). They generally represent scenes in which a sacrifice is being performed, in which food and drink—especially bread and wine—is offered or received or a meal enjoyed communally, or in which God succours the Chosen People with nourishing food or drink. Lankheit gives a list of eighteen Eucharist types used by artists, and points out that others may occur in the context of a cycle.[83] Of these subjects, six are more frequent than the others: The Sacrifice of Abel, The Sacrifice of Abraham, Melchizedek Offering Abraham Bread and Wine, The Passover Meal, The Gathering of the Manna, and Elijah and the Angel. The reason for their popularity is clear, as these subjects are mentioned in the most important texts

[82] Subdivisions of the programme are discussed by *Elbern, 1955,* p. 55; E. Müller-Bochat, *Der allegorische Triumphzug, ein Motiv Petrarcas bei Lope de Vega und Rubens (Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Institut Köln,* XI), Krefeld, 1957, pp. 14–16; *Held, 1969,* p. 6; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch,* N.F. 2, 1969, p. 235, n. 61.

[83] *Lankheit,* cols. 165–183; see also *Knipping,* II, pp. 78, 80, 246, 247; *Vloberg,* I, pp. 27–42; *Timmers,* pp. 399–408; L. Font, *La Eucaristía, el tema eucarístico en el arte de España,* Barcelona, 1952, pp. XIII–XV; M. Trens, *La Eucaristía en el arte español,* Barcelona, 1952, pp. 9–40. Among the subjects depicted by artists are: Aaron's Burnt Offering, The Sacrifice of Abel, Abraham Sacrificing Isaac, The Ark of the Covenant, The Brazen Serpent, Elijah Visited by the Angel, The Banquet of Ahasuerus, The Sacrifice of Jephthah, Moses' spies with the cluster of grapes from the Promised Land, The Miracle of the Manna, Abraham and Melchizedek, Noah's Thank-Offering after the Flood, The Passover Meal, The Showbread, Moses Drawing Water from the Rock, Solomon's Sacrifice at the Consecration of the Temple, David Receiving the Showbread from Ahimelech, The Widow of Zarephath, Daniel in the Lions' Den (receiving food from the prophet Habakkuk), Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels; and, from the New Testament, The Feeding of the Five Thousand and The Marriage at Cana (transformation of the water into wine).

connected with the Eucharist: the Gospels, the Canon of the Mass,[84], the *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*—Thomas Aquinas's hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi,[85] Aquinas's *Summa Theologica,*[86] and also in illustrated typological works, the *Biblia Pauperum*[87] and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.*[88]

In the most important source, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* we find as prefigurations of the Last Super The Gathering of the Manna, The Passover Meal and The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek. Together with Elijah and the Angel, these three subjects are the most usual prefigurations of the Last Supper. They can be seen on the panels of many triptychs painted for chapels of the Holy Sacrament: the most famous is Dirk Bouts's *Polyptych of the Last Supper* in St. Peter's church at Louvain. The four "types" mentioned above are depicted on the insides of the panels, and we know from the documents that there were originally to have been two more on the outer sides, including a representation of the twelve Loaves of Proposition (the Show-

[84] The Canon of the Mass mentions the three principal sacrifices of the Old Testament: those of Abel and Abraham, and the offering of bread and wine to Abraham by Melchizedek. See *Timmers,* p. 399, No. 870; *Vloberg,* I, p. 35; *Lankheit,* cols. 163, 164.

[85] The *Lauda Sion* refers to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the Passover and the Gathering of the Manna: "In figuris praesignatur, / cum Isaac immolatur, / Agnus Paschae deputatur, / datur Manna patribus..." See *Timmers,* p. 402, No. 878; *Vloberg,* I, p. 41; *Lankheit,* col. 164.

[86] The *Summa Theologica* treats at length of the prefigurations of the Eucharist. It ranks the Paschal Lamb as the most important of these; less perfect, but still very important types are Abraham and Melchizedek, the Sacrifice of the Old Covenant (especially the annual Sacrifice of Atonement) and the Gathering of the Manna (*Summa Theologica,* III, q. 73, a. 6; see *Lankheit,* col. 164). Describing the effect of the Holy Sacrament, Aquinas refers to Elijah being strengthened with bread and wine by the angel (*Summa Theologica,* III, q. 79, a. 2).

[87] The thirteenth-century *Biblia Pauperum* mentions, as prefigurations of the Last Supper, Abraham and Melchizedek and the Gathering of the Manna (*Timmers,* p. 402, No. 879).

[88] The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* mentions, as prefigurations of the Last Supper, Abraham and Melchizedek, the Gathering of the Manna and the Passover. See e.g. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis, texte critique. Traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448). Les sources et l'influence iconographique principalement sur l'art alsacien du XIV^e siècle,* Leipzig, 1907–1909, I, pp. 35, 134, 135, 205, II, Pl. 31, 32, 131, 139; E. Breitenbach, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis, eine typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (*Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* Heft 272), Strasbourg, 1930, pp. 165–170; L. van Looveren in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* IV, col. 182, s.v. *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.*

bread).[89] Later triptychs of the Last Supper with panels depicting "types" of the Sacrament are very frequent: according to the number required, a choice was made between the three subjects from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and that of *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 58).[90] The same subjects are found in other forms of art, always in connection with the Holy Sacrament: e.g. in wall paintings,[91] in tabernacles,[92] sculpture,[93] embroidery[94] and tapestry.[95]

Typological thinking was still very much alive in the seventeenth century.[96] Typology was used by the Counter-Reformation to defend the Catholic views against protestant attacks. An interesting example is Joannes David's compendium of 50 figures of Christ's Passion (Fig. 67) and 50 figures of the Virgin (Fig. 68), published in 1618 and dedicated to the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.[97] A number of tracts were dealing with prefigurations and devoted to the defence of the Eucharist. We may recall Richéome's illustrated compen-

[89] W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule,* Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, pp. 88–96, No. 8, figs. 20–27, p. 240, Doc. 55. See also F. Baudouin, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Dieric Bouts,* Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels - Prinsenhof Museum, Delft, 1957–1958, pp. 44–55, Nos. 12–16; M. Smeyers in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Dirk Bouts en zijn Tijd,* St. Peter's church, Louvain, 1975, pp. 239–266, No. B/16 (with bibliography and list of sources of inspiration).

[90] The following *Last Supper* triptychs may be cited: Master of the St. Catherine Legend (Episcopal Seminary at Bruges): *Passover* and *Elijah in the Wilderness;* Pieter Claeissens (Our Lady of the Pottery, Bruges): *Abraham and Melchizedek, The Gathering of the Manna;* Pieter Pourbus (Triptych of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, Museum of St. Saviour's cathedral, Bruges): *Abraham and Melchizedek, Elijah and the Angel;* Ambrosius Francken (Triptych for the altar of the Holy Sacrament at St. George's church, now in the Antwerp Museum, Nos. 136–140); *Abraham and Melchizedek, Elijah and the Angel;* Michiel Coxcie (formerly church of St. Gudula, Brussels, now Royal Museum, No. 118): on the outer panels a continuous composition of *Elijah and the Angel;* ascribed to Michiel Coxcie (St. Gudula, Brussels) : *Abraham and Melchizedek* and *The Gathering of the Manna* (H. Velge, *La Collégiale des Saints Michel et Gudule à Bruxelles,* Brussels, 1925, p. 295, Pl. LXI; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Sint-Michielskathedraal – Kunst en Geschiedenis,* St. Michael's cathedral (formerly St. Gudula's church), Brussels, 1975, pp. 108, 109, No. 17, repr.; Jan Deys or Jan Denys (St. Elizabeth's orphanage, Culemborg near Utrecht): *The Gathering of the Manna, Elijah and the Angel, Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* (G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst,* IV, The Hague, 1941–42, pp. 585, 586; a drawing of two closed wings by Pieter Pietersz., in the art trade, comprising *The Gathering of the Manna* and *Abraham and Melchizedek,* was certainly intended for a *Last Supper* triptych.

[91] We know, for instance, that in the Blessed Sacrament chapel of the Antwerp cathedral, shortly before 1645, old paintings could still be seen with "Biblical figures symbolizing the mystery of the Eucharist" (F. Donnet, *Notice historique sur la Chapelle du T.S. Sacrement en l'Eglise cathédrale d'Anvers*, Lille-Bruges, 1887, p. 14). In the nineteenth century there were also long inscriptions "above the former choirmaster's stall" in the cathedral, treating in verse of Eucharistic subjects such as the Manna, Elijah, Moses, Aaron, Melchizedek, Abraham and David (... "Dat MOYSES eertyds dé dat Aaron toen verbeelde / MELCHISEDECH droegh op en DAVIDS harpe speelde / Was meer een schaduw van dees wonder offerhant..." (*Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen*, I, *Cathedrale Kerk*, Antwerp, 1856, p. 329).

[92] The third register of the Tabernacle of 1552 by Cornelis Floris de Vriendt, in St. Leonard's church at Zoutleeuw near St. Trond, depicts the *Last Supper* with *Abraham and Melchizedek* on the left and *The Gathering of the Manna* (R. Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration*, Berlin, 1913, p. 68, Pl. XXVII, figs. 1, 2, Pl. XXVIII, fig. 2). The same subjects can be seen in the Tabernacle of 1593 in St. James's church at Bruges: see I. Vandevivere and C. Perier-d'Ieteren, *Belgique Renaissante, Architecture, Art monumental*, Brussels, 1973, p. 86, Pl. 99.

[93] E.g. a set of alabaster sculptures by Jacques Dubroeucq from the former rood-screen of St. Waltrudis's church at Mons, including a statue of Melchizedek, a statue of Abraham and an oblong relief of *The Gathering of the Manna*. Among the fourteen medallions of Eucharistic subjects in white marble by Jean Del Cour in St. Martin's church at Liège is one of *The Gathering of the Manna*.

[94] *The Last Supper* and the three subjects from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Abraham and Melchizedek, The Pasch, The Gathering of the Manna)* are depicted on panels of Netherlands embroidery which were probably used for a baldachin held over the monstrance in Corpus Christi processions: see W. Stechow, *Four Netherlandish Embroidered Panels, Bulletin Allen Memorial Art Museum*, XXXII, No. 2, 1974–75, pp. 68–83.

[95] A set of four tapestries in Como cathedral, woven at Florence in 1595–96 after designs by G. Arcimboldo for the local Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, depicted *Abraham and Melchizedek, The Gathering of the Manna, The Sacrifice of Abraham*, and *Abel's Sacrifice and Death* (S. Monti, *Storia ed Arte nella Provincia ed antica Diocesi di Como*, Como, 1902, pp. 47, 54–62, figs. XLI–XLIV). Göbel connected this set with the Eucharist series on account of the choice of subjects (*Göbel*, II (I), pp. 387–388, (II), fig. 394).

[96] For the use and significance of typology in the seventeenth century see *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente*, pp. 335 ff.; *Knipping*, I, pp. 240 ff.; F. Ohly, *Synagoge und Ecclesia, Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung, loc. cit.*, p. 368; P. Bloch, *Typologische Kunst, loc. cit.*, pp. 139, 140.

[97] J. David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae: in quo Messis Myrrhae et Aromatum ex instrumentis ac mysteriis Passionis Christi colligenda, ut ei commoriamur, et Pancarpium Marianum, Septemplici Titulorum serie distinctum: ut in B. Virginis odorem curramus et Christus formetur in nobis*, Antwerp, 1618. In the first part (dedicated to Albert and Isabella) he illustrates and explains the "figures" of 50 elements of Christ's Passion: "Triginta Argentei", "Horror in Horto", "Angelica Confortatio", "Sudor Sanguineus", etc.; in the second part, the *Pancarpium Marianum* (dedicated to the Infanta Isabella) he illustrates and explains the "figures" of 50 honorific titles of the Holy Virgin: "Sancta Maria", "Sancta Dei Genitrix", "S. Virgo Virginum", "Mater Viventium", "Mater pulchrae Dilectionis", "Mater Sanctae Spei", etc.

dium of Euchariſtic *"figures"* (Figs. 63, 64),[98] the elements in Prieto's *Psalmodia Euchariſtica* (Figs. 59, 60), the apologetic writings of Robert Bellarmine[99] and Vondel's *Altaergeheimenissen.*[100]

In Rubens's work this form of thinking finds its cleareſt expression in the ceilings of the Jesuit church, where both type and antitype are depicted. Separate paintings of Old Teſtament subjects by Rubens and his contemporaries also certainly have a typological meaning, at all events in Catholic iconography. More specific prefigurations of the Euchariſt in Rubens's work are his paintings of *The Sacrifice of Isaac, The Gathering of the Manna, Abraham and Melchizedek* and *Daniel in the Lions' Den.*

Besides these Old Teſtament scenes we also find in Rubens and his contemporaries typological elements embodied in other religious compositions. Thus Elijah with the angel, and also Melchizedek, occur in Rubens's sketch *The Glorification of the Euchariſt* (Fig. 55; New York, Metropolitan Museum) for the loſt altarpiece of the Carmelite church at Antwerp.[101] A painting by Jan Boeckhorſt in St. Michael's church at Ghent (Fig. 56) shows three cherubs holding up a monſtrance, while below, adoring the Euchariſt, are Moses with a basket of manna, Melchizedek with bread and wine, Aaron with the showbread and Elijah fed by the raven.[102]

If we examine the prefigurations of the Euchariſt in the Descalzas tapeſtries we find that they are not, as for inſtance in the ceilings of the Jesuit church,

[98] L. Richéome (F. des Montaignes), *Tableaux Sacrez des figures myſtiques du très-auguſte sacrifice et sacrement de l'Euchariſtie,* Paris, 1601; later editions in 1609, 1613 and 1661. In the 1609 edition a long text accompanies each of fourteen engravings by L. Gaultier and C. de Mallery: "Le Paradis Terreſtre, & l'Arbre de la Vie", "Abel", "Melchisedec", "Abraham", "L'Agneau Paschal", "La Manne", "Les Pains de Proposition", "L'Oblation des Premices de la Pentecote", etc.

[99] Robertus Bellarminus, *Disputationes de controverſiis Chriſtianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos,* Ingolſtadt, 1581–1592.

[100] Vondel cites as prefigurations: Melchizedek, the Showbread, the Paschal Lamb, the quails in the wilderness, the Manna, the feeding of Elijah, the miraculous feeding by Elisha (2 Kings 4), Samson's Riddle and Gideon's Dream ([J. van den Vondel], *Altaergeheimenissen, ontvouwen in drie boecken,* Cologne, 1645, pp. 9–18). He was inspired by Bellarmine's writings: see B.H. Molkenboer, *De Bronnen der Altaergeheimenissen, De Katholiek,* 131, 1907, pp. 301–315, 379–393; 132, 1907, pp. 41–52, 130–158.

[101] For details see Jean de la Croix, *La Glorification de l'Euchariſtie de Rubens et les Carmes, Metropolitan Museum Journal,* 2, 1969, pp. 179–195.

[102] P. Kervyn de Volkaersbeke, *Les églises de Gand,* II, Ghent, 1858, pp. 76–77; *Lankheit,* col. 165, fig. 39.

arranged opposite their antitypes; moreover they do not compose a complete typological series, but are part of a complex whole including other compositions, especially allegories. The four Old Testament subjects are *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7; Fig. 119), *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8; Fig. 132), *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9; Fig. 137) and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (No. 10; Fig. 144). The first three, which are almost classic prefigurations of the Last Supper, are not associated here with the Last Supper itself, which does not occur in the series, but are "figures" of the central theme: the Host in the monstrance.

A similar combination of the monstrance and prefigurations occurs in a number of earlier works, for instance a tapestry of ca. 1525 in the cathedral of Chalon-sur-Saône,[103] and a French "catechism" engraving of 1622, published by J. Leclerc (Fig. 57);[104] this shows, around the monstrance on the altar, a variety of didactic figures and scenes, and below it four Old Testament prefigurations of the Last Supper: *Abraham and Melchizedek, The Passover, The Showbread* and *The Gathering of the Manna.*

Three of Rubens's compositions (*Abraham and Melchizedek, The Gathering of the Manna* and *Elijah and the Angel*) are thus highly traditional, but it is not immediatly clear on what grounds he chose his fourth Old Testament subject. One might have expected the fourth traditional scene, the Passover: a Jewish family standing at the table and eating the Paschal Lamb (Fig. 57). Instead we have a Temple scene (Fig. 144); the Ark of the Covenant is being carried in, and the high priest is sacrificing a lamb in the presence of a crowd with musicians and other sacrificial animals. In our discussion in the *Catalogue Raisonné* (No. 10) we suggest that this scene may represent a specific occurence, *The Consecration of the Temple by Solomon,* a subject rarely portrayed by artists.[105] Rubens may have chosen it because the joyful entry of the Ark into the Temple was paralleled by the feast of Corpus Christi in which the Ark of the New Covenant, the monstrance containing the Host, was

[103] *Exposition universelle de 1900, Les Beaux-Arts et les arts décoratifs,* Paris, 1900, p. 151, fig. 153; J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 291–292, n. 10, Pl. 126; Germaine Maillet, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art depuis le XVI^e siècle* in *Eucharistia, Encyclopédie populaire sur l'Eucharistie,* ed. M. Brillant, Paris, 1934, p. 880, repr. p. 875.

[104] Brussels, Royal Library, Print-Room, Inv. No. S.IV.86238.

[105] See below, under Cat. No. 10.

carried in triumph through the city. In addition, he may have preferred it for formal reasons. The Passover, being a static scene, would have been difficult to integrate into the series of eleven "tapestries" which, as we saw, form a picture of continuous movement. This view is reinforced by the fact that Rubens adapted other compositions to the same principle of movement. In *The Gathering of the Manna* (Fig. 132) this can be seen in the important figure of the woman advancing to the right like the figures in the Triumphs. A still clearer example is *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 137). In the Biblical story Elijah is lying down when the angel comes to bid him arise and continue his journey. In Rubens's tapestry, however, both figures are standing and form part of an onward movement like that of the Triumphs.

The Triumphs and Victories

The most impressive panels are no doubt the three depicting triumphal processions, so that the whole series has often been entitled *The Triumph of the Eucharist* or even *The Triumph of The Church.*

Much literature has been published concerning the Triumph as an idea and as an iconographic motif.[106] The origin of the idea in humanistic times lay in the triumphs of antiquity, more especially the liturgical solemnities which accompanied the return of victorious Roman generals to the City. Literature, sculpture and medals contribute to our knowledge of these festivities. The tradition was eagerly revived in the early Italian Renaissance, and was expressed in literature and the arts as well as in reality. The triumph was regarded as a sign of the highest earthly fame, and some princes paraded through their own cities in imitation of the victorious generals of ancient Rome.[107]

The most influential descriptions in imaginative literature were the *Triumph*

[106] The fullest account is W. Weisbach, *Trionfi,* Berlin, 1919; see also Didron, *Les Triomphes, Annales Archéologiques,* XIII, 1863, pp. 283–328, and XXIV, pp. 38–54, 145–160; E. Mâle, *L'art symbolique à la fin du Moyen âge, Les Triomphes, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne,* XIX, 1906, pp. 111–126; *Van Marle, Art profane,* II, pp. 111–144; O. Holl, in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* IV, cols. 359, 360, s.v. *Triumphzug;* Inge Habig, *Die Eucharistische Allegorie im Spätbarock nordlich der Alpen,* Münster, 1971, pp. 69–111.

[107] W. Weisbach, *op. cit.,* pp. 2–5; *Van Marle, Art profane,* II, p. 113.

of the Church in Dante's *Purgatorio*[108] and the *Trionfi* of Petrarch.[109] The latter series described the triumph of love over the most famous men and women, and chastity over love, of death over chastity, fame over death, time over fame, and eternity (or God) over time. After Petrarch, "Triumphs" of this kind were a popular literary genre for centuries: they became "the favourite motifs of humanist fantasy",[110] a vehicle for the celebration of all kinds of allegorical figures. Petrarch's *Trionfi* had a profound influence on the fine arts. Although he describes a triumphal car in the first *trionfo* of the series only, artists depicted the others in the same way in highly decorative scenes, especially in book illustration, painting and tapestry.[111]

The religious Triumphs are of most concern to us here. Connected with Petrarch's *Triumph of God,* and probably also with Savonarola's *Triumph of the Cross,* is the well-known woodcut of about 1510 after Titian, a grandiose composition in several blocks entitled *The Triumph of Christ* and depicting the whole history of man's salvation. Christ is seated in a triumphal car drawn by symbols of the four Evangelists, while the Church Fathers help to move the wheels. The procession is headed by Christ's predecessors on earth, beginning with Adam and Eve, and the rear is brought up by the Apostles, martyrs and other saints.[112]

This composition gave a further impulse to the theme of the religious triumph in the plastic arts in Italy and also in the Netherlands, where it was

[108] Dante celebrates the Triumph of Beatrice or of the Church in *Purg.* XXIX, XXX.

[109] For Petrarch's *Trionfi* see e.g. Didron, *loc. cit.; Van Marle, Art profane,* II, pp. 111–132; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic,* London-New York, 1969, pp. 60 ff. Panofsky refers to the *Trionfi* as "a text whose influence on the Renaissance had resulted in a kind of obsession affecting art as well as literature and public life" (*Ibid.,* p. 60).

[110] W. Weisbach, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[111] See below, n. 122.

[112] *Knipping,* I, p. 71; *Timmers,* p. 133, No. 236; F. Mauroner, *Le Incisioni di Tiziano,* Padua, 1943, pp. 29–37, No. 1, figs. 2–13; E. Panofsky, *op. cit.,* pp. 58 ff.; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Tizian und sein Kreis,* Holzschnitte, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1972, pp. 32–41, No. 1 (with complete reproduction, description of states and bibliography). Rubens certainly knew the engraving after Titian, as is shown by a drawing by Rubens of two Sibyls' heads from *The Triumph of Christ* (L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings,* Brussels, 1963, pp. 83–85, No. 49^{v}, repr.). The fact that they are copied from the engraving was noticed by Müller Hofstede (J. Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch,* XVII, 1965, p. 259, n. 1; J. Müller Hofstede, *Review, L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, Rubens Drawings, Master Drawings,* IV, 1966, p. 443).

chiefly know from the wodcut by Joost Lambertsz. published at Ghent in 1543. We may recall *The Triumph of Christ* at Weimar, ascribed to Bonifazio Veronese, which belongs to a series of Petrarch's *Trionfi*; [113] a drawing of the same subject attributed to the Master of the Egmont Albums (Fig. 81), [114] and the reliefs by Jan Terwen Aertsz. on the choir-stalls in the church at Dordrecht. [115]

In the Netherlands, however, preference was given at an early stage to Triumphs of a more didactic kind, in line with the somewhat austere allegories of the Rhetoricians. Abstract ideas, clad in allegorical forms, are seen in procession in triumphal cars, but the original idea of victory is to a large extent lost. We may cite as examples the drawings of religious processions attributed to Stradanus (Fig. 69) [116] and the series of paintings of religious

[113] Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Inv. No. G 83 a. Christ is seated in a chariot drawn by the symbols of the four Evangelists, the four Church Fathers propelling the wheels. In front are Old Testament figures including Adam and Eve, Noah and David; beside the chariot are a group of Holy Innocents, and behind it is a long procession of saints. Of this series of Petrarch's *Trionfi* there are also preserved: *The Triumph of Time* (Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Inv. No. G 83b), *The Triumph of Love* and *The Triumph of Chastity* (both in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna, Inv. Nos. 1517, 1521; Cat. 1973, p. 25, Pl. 6).

[114] Washington, National Gallery of Art (Alisa Mellon Bruce Fund), No. B-25,630; here too the chariot is drawn by the symbols of the Evangelists and the wheels are propelled by the Church Fathers.

[115] The wood carving by Jan Terwen Aertsz., dating from 1538–42, on the choir-stalls of the Grote Kerk at Dordrecht, and particularly the long bas-relief frieze, is often cited as one of the earliest representations of Triumphs in the Netherlands. The elaborate programme includes *The Triumph of Christ* (the *Salvator Mundi* standing in a chariot drawn by the Evangelist symbols, with the Virgin seated in front) and *The Triumph of the Church* (a triumphal car with the monstrance and a cartouche inscribed *Hoc enim est Corpus meum*). See D. Bierens de Haan, *Het Houtsnijwerk in Nederland tijdens de Gothiek en de Renaissance*, The Hague, 1921, pp. 119–126, Pls. 95–103; *Knipping*, I, pp. 72, 73; J.S. Witsen Elias, *Koorbanken, Koorhekken en Kansels (De Schoonheid van Ons Land)*, Amsterdam, 1946, pp. 44–52, figs. 116–146.

[116] Several similar allegorical religious triumphs are known from sixteenth-century Flemish drawings: *The Triumph of the Catholic Church*, four figures in a chariot drawn by horses, accompanied by Church Fathers (?) and cherubs with scrolls; versions in the Antwerp Print-Room (Inv. No. 1342), in the Budapest Museum (attributed to Jan Speckaert; Inv. No. 1373; see Teréz Gerszi, *Unbekannte Zeichnungen von Jan Speckaert, Oud-Holland*, LXXXIII, 1968, p. 175, fig. 17), and in the British Museum (Inv. No. Pp 3–209); also a chariot drawn by the Evangelist symbols and accompanied by Apostles, attributed to Jan Speckaert, in the Budapest Museum (Inv. No. 1474; Teréz Gerszi, *loc. cit.*, fig. 18). A very similar piece by another hand, depicting two figures inscribed as *"Scritura"* and *"Chiese"* on a chariot drawn by the four animals and accompanied by four apostles (Fig. 69), ascribed to Stradanus, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Inv. No. 69.173).

triumphs by Otto van Veen at Bamberg (Figs. 71–75).[117] The Triumph was used to give intellectual and didactic form to a variety of ideas, mostly of a moralizing kind: for instance the sets of engravings after Maarten De Vos, *The Three Estates* (Fig. 70),[118] and *The Triumph of the Five Senses*[119] and especially those designed by Maarten van Heemskerck and representing *The Triumph of Patience* (Fig. 80)[120] and *The Vicissitudes of the World* (Fig. 79).[121]

There are several reasons for the popularity of Triumphs in the arts. In the first place, the triumphal cars made it possible to build up complicated allegories in a lucid scheme. There were also formal advantages, as the genre

117 Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. Nos. 807–812. The set consists of six panels (75 to 76 cm. high and 106 cm. wide), formerly exhibited at Schleissheim and now at Bamberg; a lengthy inscription on parchment is pasted on each panel, and in the chase of several figures there is also an indication of whom or what they represent. The title of the whole is FVNDAMENTA ET PRINCIPIA FIDEI ET CATHOLICAE RELIGIONIS IN SEX TRIVMPHALES CVRRVS DISPARTITA. Otto van Veen is said to have had the intention to publish a set of engravings with these or similar subjects, under the title *Fundamenta et principia Christianae et Catholicae religionis in septem currus triumphales dispartita* (F.M. Haberditzl, *Die Lehrer des Rubens, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXVII, 1908, pp. 199, 226, 227); see also *Elbern, 1958*, pp. 126–128, figs. 50, 51. Copies of the same dimensions, without inscriptions, are in St. Bartholomew's church at Yvoir (province of Namur, Belgium).

118 Set of four prints engraved by Adriaan Collaert, representing: (1) *The Triumph of the Clergy* (seated beside *Veritas*, with *Fides* in front in the chariot); (2) *The Triumph of the Nobility* (seated beside *Sapientia*, with *Iustitia* in front); (3) *The Triumph of of the Three Estates united by Caritas* (the chariot drawn by *Fides* and *Spes*); Brussels, Royal Library, Print-Room, Inv. No. S III 36110, S. III 106149–59 f°; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 204, Nos. 461–464.

119 Five line engravings by an unknown engraver, depicting triumphal cars with a single figure in each, and a scene from the life of Christ in the background; Brussels, Royal Library, Print-Room, Inv. Nos. F 1051–1055 f°.

120 *Patientiae Triumphus*, engraved by Dirk Volkertz. Coornhert; eight scenes depicting the Triumph of *Patience* herself and of persons noted for this virtue (Brussels, Royal Library, Print-Room, Inv. Nos. S.I. 133–140 f°; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 230, Nos. 151–158; VIII, p. 240, Nos. 120–127.

121 Nine sheets engraved by Dirk Volkertz. Coornhert, entitled *Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanarum*, depicting respectively the Triumph of the World *(Terra)*, Wealth *(Opulentia)*, Pride *(Superbia)*, Envy *(Invidia)*, War *(Bellum)*, Poverty *(Inopia)*, Humility *(Humilitas)*, Peace *(Pax)* and finally *The Triumph of Christ;* Brussels, Royal Library, Print-Room, Inv. Nos. S. II. 29637–29645; *Hollstein*, IV, p. 230, Nos. 159–166; VIII, p. 240, Nos. 128–135. The drawings for these compositions are in the Royal Print-Room at Copenhagen: see J. Garff, *Tegninger af Maerten van Heemskerck*, Copenhagen, 1971, Nos. 63–71, repr.

was a convenient one for decorating large surfaces, and the frieze-like composition was ideal for big decorative complexes. It is natural therefore that Triumphs were frequently the subject of wall decorations and of tapestries, especially the latter. We may mention the sets of *Petrarch's Triumphs* [122] and, in the didactic tradition of the Netherlands, the *Triumphs of the Seven Deadly Sins* after designs by Pieter Coecke. [123]

Two series that show several points of resemblance to Rubens's Triumphs are *The Triumphs of the Cardinal and Theological Virtues,* woven at Brussels in the sixteenth century: one is in private ownership in Brussels (Figs. 77, 78) [124] and the other in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. [125]

A separate category is that of coins, medals and plaques depicting the triumphs of princes or abstract ideas. These are more directly related to the iconography of the numerous antique coins and gems representing the triumphs of army commanders and divinities.

Altogether the Triumph had a very rich tradition in the plastic arts. It should not be forgotten, too, that in Rubens's day the triumph, or rather the triumphal

[122] The best-known series after Petrarch is probably the one executed in France at the beginning of the sixteenth century, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinssammlung,* Vienna, 1920, Nos. 1–6, repr.). For other sets see G.T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,* Leiden, 1936, I, p. 233; A.F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of the Tapestries, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Textiles,* London, 1924, pp. 30 ff., Nos. 15–17, Pl. XVI; also *Van Marle, Art profane,* II, pp. 119–120.

[123] Sets preserved at Vienna and Madrid (L. Baldass, *op. cit.,* Nos. 39–45, repr.; *Van Marle, Art profane,* II, p. 142, figs. 165–167; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Vlaamse Wandtapijten van de XIVde tot de XVIIIde Eeuw,* Brussels, 1960, pp. 203–212, No. 23, repr.).

[124] See Marguerite Calberg, *Le triomphe des vertus chrétiennes, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art,* XXIX, 1960, pp. 3–36, figs. 1–8. This is a set of eight panels dating from ca. 1550–60, consisting of *Virtue Crowned* and the Triumphs of the three theological and four cardinal virtues: each Triumph also features several persons noted for the virtue in question. Some details agree with those in Rubens's compositions, especially *The Triumph of Divine Love* and *The Triumph of Hope* (see Cat. Nos. 13, 21). Two earlier tapestries that are very similar iconographically, *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 76) and *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 75), cannot now be traced; they are reproduced in A. Pinchart, *L'Histoire générale de la Tapisserie, Pays-Bas,* Paris [1880], fig. facing p. 116, and Marguerite Calberg, *loc. cit.,* figs. 10, 11.

[125] L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinssammlung,* Vienna, 1920, Nos. 46–52, repr.; *Van Marle, Art profane,* II, pp. 34, 141, figs. 59, 60, 164; *Knipping,* I, p. 73; Marguerite Calberg, *loc. cit.,* fig. 9. Only *The Triumph of Faith* and that of *Hope* are depicted as genuine triumphs, in a chariot and a boat respectively.

car, was not only an artistic and literary conception, but a practical reality. From the sixteenth century onwards triumphal chariots were a frequent sight in the streets of Netherlands cities, with themes inspired by the didactic trend that we have mentioned.

In the first place, many towns had an annual pageant or *ommegang* featuring Christian themes and elements of popular belief, local legends and ancient myths; these were displayed by means of triumphal cars on which appropriate scenes were represented. Several paintings and prints give a lively picture of these festivities. For Brussels we may mention the painting of the *Ommegang* of 1615 by Denijs van Alsloot, also called *The Triumph of Isabella* (Fig. 83),[126] and for Antwerp the woodcut by Jan-Christoffel Jegher after Antoon Sallaert (Fig. 84).[127]

Besides these annual celebrations there were pageants on special occasions of dynastic or political importance. We may recall the Triumphal Car commissioned by the Archduchess Isabella for the *Pompa Funebris* of her consort Albert at Brussels in 1622,[128] and the *Car of Calloo* designed by Rubens, which was paraded through Antwerp to celebrate two victories of the Spanish army in 1638.[129]

The religious orders, too, were not behindhand. On the initiative of the Jesuits and Augustinians in particular, who could draw on the talents of pupils of their schools, triumphs were designed to commemorate special subjects or events, and representations of saints and religious allegories were paraded through the streets. Examples are the celebrations of the canonization of St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Francis Xavier at Pont-à-Mousson in 1623 (Fig.

126 Canvas, 117 : 381 cm.; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 5928–1859 (C.M. Kaufmann, *Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue of Foreign Paintings, I. Before 1800*, London, 1973, pp. 5–7, No. 5, repr.); see also J. Laver, *Isabella's Triumph (May 31st, 1615), Denis van Alsloot*, London, 1947, repr.

127 *Hollstein*, IX, p. 194, No. 486 (incorrect description). An exemplar of this woodcut, composed of six blocks, is in the Rijksarchief at Antwerp: see [*Cat. Exh.*] *Ommegangen en Blijde Inkomsten te Antwerpen*, Folklore Museum, Antwerp, 1957, No. 63. Later representations of the Antwerp *Ommegang* are mentioned in A.J.J. Delen, *Iconographie van Antwerpen*, Brussels, 1930, Nos. 369–371, 376, 377, 396, 397, 412, 413.

128 J. Franquart and E. Puteanus, *Pompa Funebris optimi potentissimiq. principis Alberti Pii, archiducis Austriae...*, Brussels, 1623, Pl. No. 47.

129 *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 216–221, No. 56, figs. 112–114.

82).[130] There are also instances in Spain of triumphal cars being paraded through the streets, e.g. for the beatification of San Isidore at Madrid in 1620,[131] and of the canonization of five saints at Madrid in 1622.[132] Triumphs continued to be popular in the Southern Netherlands in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth. Several lengthy descriptions, some illustrated, give us an idea of these festivities (Fig. 86).[133]

130 [L. Perin and L. Wapy], *Sacra atque hilaria Mussipontana, ob relatos a Gregorio XV, autoritate apostolica, in ecclesiasticum sanctorum album et canonem Ignatium Loyolam et Franciscum Xaverium...*, Pont-à-Mousson, 1623; the engravings are attributed to Jean Appier, "dit Hanzelet"; see R.-A. Weigert, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des estampes, Inventaire du Fonds français, graveurs du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, I, 1939, pp. 47–49, Nos. 108–119.

131 J. Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de Solemnidades y Fiestas públicas en España*, Madrid, 1903, p. 204, No. 728; on the fifth day of these festivities there was a *máscara* with ten triumphal cars: "Primer carro, tirado por camellos, con el caballo Pegaso, una fuente, poetas, musas, etc.; 2° Los cuatro tiempos del año; 3° Tirado por palomas, con Venus y Cupido; 4° Vulcano; 5° Baco; 6° Ceres; 7° Neptuno; 8° El Santo; 9° Un gigante de 40 pies de alto; 10° Marte." The festivities were concluded by a poetic contest, directed by Lope de Vega.

132 J. Alenda y Mira, *op. cit.*, p. 211, Nos. 748–752; "El dia 23 Junio, por la tarde, se verificó el paseo triunfal, con ingeniosas inventiones ó alegorias que aludian al cielo y la tierra. En representación de ésta iban la America, Asia, Africa y Europa, en su respectivo magnifico carro, ... Siguia la alegoria del cielo, acompañada de los siete planetas, conducidos también en otros tantos lujosos y bien adornados carros."; see also *Relación de las fiestas que se han hecho en esta Corte en la canonización de cinco santos (1622)*, *Revue Hispanique*, 46, 1919, II, pp. 583–606.

133 We have the programme of the processions of the "Holy Blood of the Miracle" instituted by the Augustinian Fathers at Ghent. This consisted of two parts, the "procession of devotion" and a "procession of recreation". The latter was a popular entertainment varied by scenes of all kinds. In 1662 it comprised eight cars with allegorical scenes including The Holy Church Triumphing in the Most Holy Sacrament ("De H. Kercke door het alderheylighste Sacrament triumpherende"), a subject clearly influenced by Rubens (A. Keelhoff, *Geschiedenis van het Klooster der Eerw. Paters Eremijten Augustijnen te Gent*, Ghent, 1864, pp. 45–47); in 1687 there were nine triumphal cars (*Ibid.*, p. 47) and in 1698 ten, in a total programme of 91 items (*Ibid.*, pp. 59–70, giving the explanatory verses). We also have illustrations of several eighteenth-century festivities including triumphal cars: e.g. the seven hundredth anniversary of St. Macarius in Ghent (*Beschryvinge van het Zeven Honderdjaerig Jubile van den heyligen Macarius, bezonderen patroon tegen de Peste, Het welk geviert zal worden binnen de Stad van Gend...*, Ghent, 1767; including 25 cars); the four hundredth anniversary of the Holy Sacrament in Brussels (*Beschryving van de Ry-Bende ofte Cavalcade verciert met prael-wagens ... ter oorsaeke van het vierhonderd-jaerig Jubilé van het Alderheyligst Sacrament van Mirakel*, Brussels, 1770; five cars); and the thousandth anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Rombaut in Malines (*Prael-Treyn verrykt door Ry-Benden, Prael-wagens, zinnebeelden en andere Oppronkingen toegeschikt aen het Duyzendjaerig Jubilé van ... den heyligen Rumoldus...*, Malines, 1775).

Thus in the seventeenth century the triumphal car was not merely a notion inherited from antiquity but a living reality; it was, moreover, endowed with fresh significance by the Counter-Reformation. The Triumph satisfied the humanist love of expressing abstract ideas in antique guise, and the taste for what was decorative, rich and heroic; in addition it was an expression of the Counter-Reformation itself, with its confidence in the victory of the beleaguered Church over paganism, heresy and other enemies. The idea of contest and victory is omnipresent in the Counter-Reformation and finds expression in art in the many representations of Triumphs, both triumphal processions properly so called and other triumphal schemata.

In the Eucharist series Rubens depicted three scenes with triumphal cars (Nos. 11, 12, 13). The Church, the Catholic Faith and Divine Love are respectively the dominant figures; the first two are personified as women with the usual attributes while Divine Love is represented by *Caritas* with children. Originally, at the bozzetto stage, a *Triumph of Hope* (No. 21) was projected; this was no doubt intended as a Triumph like the others, more specially the maritime piece that traditionally occurs in Triumphs and other city decorations. [134]

As far as subject is concerned, *The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Nos. 14, 15) may also be ranked with the *Triumphs;* these personages are frequently met with in religious Triumphs from the sixteenth century onwards, and Rubens's figures can be imagined as advancing in front of or behind a triumphal car. This explains why they differ from the customary iconography of the Evangelists and the Church Fathers respectively. [135]

The question has often been raised as to the models which inspired Rubens's conception and execution of the religious Triumphs in the Eucharist series. However, since the idea of the Triumph was common property in the seventeenth century and since it was so often met with in real life as well as in literature and art, there seems no point in inquiring to what example Rubens was indebted. Clearly Rubens had a general interest in Triumphs with their humanist tradition. We know his copies after Mantegna and Giulio Romano, [136]

[134] See below, under Cat. No. 21.

[135] See below, under Cat. Nos. 14, 15.

[136] E.g. a painted copy of part of *The Triumph of Caesar* by Mantegna (London, National Gallery; *K.d.K.*, p. 310; G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Flemish School,* London, 1970, pp. 163–170, No. 278) and a drawing after Giulio Romano's *Triumph of Scipio* (J.G. van Gelder, *The Triumph of Scipio by Rubens, Duits Quarterly,* 8, 1965, pp. 1–20).

and that he designed other Triumphs besides those of the Eucharist series.[137]

Rubens's choice of Triumphs as a theme for his "tapestries" is explained by the very nature of the commission. The series was intended to decorate the church on the feast of Corpus Christi, which is itself the Triumph of the Holy Sacrament: the Host in the monstrance is borne through the streets like a prince in triumph, with the utmost splendour and among crowds kneeling in adoration. It was natural for Rubens to point the comparison between the Triumph of the Sacrament, the Christian King of Kings, and that of an antique conqueror.

The fact that the Corpus Christi procession was regarded as a Triumph is shown by an illustration in Prieto's *Psalmodia Eucharistica* (Fig. 66).[138] In a plate representing the feast of Corpus Christi, a richly adorned tabernacle with the Host is solemnly borne by clergy towards the altar; before them are musicians and boys dressed as angels, with garlands in their hair. In the background of this scene is a painting or tapestry showing a figure parading in a triumphal car. The inscription explains that this is *The Triumph of Joseph,*[139] who is thus clearly intended as a type of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

It thus seems to us that Rubens's *Triumphs* in the Eucharist series are to be understood in direct relation to the feast of Corpus Christi, and in this sense the many authors who interpret them—especially *The Triumph of the Church*—as one of the most characteristic depictions of the Counter-Reformation[140] overlook an important aspect.

We may at this point look more closely at Lope de Vega's *Triumphos Divinos,* a long religious poem published in 1625, about the time when the Eucharist

[137] *The Triumph of Henry IV,* whereof sketches and the large painting are known (*K.d.K.,* p. 317; Ingrid Jost, *Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens, Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* 1964, pp. 175–219, figs. 5, 12–14); *The Triumph of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand* on the rear face of the *Arch of Ferdinand* in the *Pompa Introitus* (*Martin, Pompa,* pp. 159, 160, No. 41, figs. 72–74); and the *Triumphal Car of Calloo* (*Ibid.,* pp. 217–219, No. 56, figs. 112–114).

[138] *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucaristica,* pp. 34–35, fig. 15.

[139] Genesis 41:43; Psalm 81 (80 in the Vulgate): 6.

[140] See e.g. *Knipping,* I, pp. 11–12; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 6; *De Maeyer,* p. 123; M. Sabbe, *Het Geestesleven te Antwerpen in Rubens' Tijd,* in *Rubens en zijne Eeuw,* Brussels, 1927, pp. 63, 64.

series was commissioned.[141] It has been maintained that Rubens must have drawn inspiration from this work in planning the series, and even that the whole idea of the series may have been due to Lope de Vega's poem. The Archduchess Isabella may well have read it, and it is natural to speculate as to whether it prompted her to commission Rubens's tapestries and played a part in inspiring the artist.

The poem, in five *cantos,* describes a long procession of eight triumphal cars accompanied by a crowd of figures. In involved metaphorical language Lope describes successively the cars of the Archangels, the Law of Nature, the Old Law with its written commandments, the New Law, Religion, the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Cross and the Host.[142] Before, after and between these cars are prophets, kings, judges, apostles, evangelists, saints, virgins, Fathers of the Church and so on, mostly identified by name, as well as a number of vanquished enemies. We are reminded of Petrarch's *Trionfi,* presented here in a "sanctified" version, and of course Titian's woodcut.

Müller-Bochat was the first to point out the relationship between Lope's and Rubens's programme, together with a number of detailed resemblances, and he

[141] Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, *Triunfos Divinos con otras rimas sacras,* Madrid, 1625. Below we are always referring to an eighteenth century edition: Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, *Triumphos Divinos con otras Rimas Sacras a la Excellentissima Señora Doña Ines de Zuñiga, Condesa de Olivares,* in: *Coleccion de las Obras Sueltas, asi en Prosa, como en Verso, de D. Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Habito de San Juan,* XIII, Madrid, 1777, pp. X–73.

[142] Canto I: "Entró un carro triumphal, en que venian los Capitanes de la gran victoria" ("There entered a triumphal car bearing the Captains of the great victory") (Lope de Vega, *op. cit.,* p. 9); Canto II: "El Triumpho de la Ley natural con los primeros Padres, y el de la Ley de Escritura con sus Juices, Reyes y Prophetas hasta el divino Bautista" ("The Triumph of the natural Law with the first Fathers, and that of the Law of Scripture with its Judges, Kings and Prophets as far as the divine Baptist") (*Ibid.,* p. 16); Canto III: "Triumpho de la Ley de Gracia con los apóstoles..., a que sigue el Triumpho de la Religion sagrada con sus primeros Fundadores" ("Triumph of the Law of Grace with the apostles... followed by the Triumph of holy Religion with its first Founders") (*Ibid.,* p. 31); Canto IV: "Prosigue el Triumpho de la Religion, y describe el de la Virginidad con la Emperatriz del Cielo..." ("Continues the Triumph of Religion, and describes that of Virginity with the Empress of Heaven") (*Ibid.,* p. 45); Canto V: "... Triumpho de la Cruz santissima, ... y ultimamente el del Pan del cielo, donde triumpha el Amor divino de Christo Sacramentado" ("... Triumph of the most holy Cross, ... and finally that of the Bread of heaven, in which triumphs the divine Love of Christ in the Sacrament") (*Ibid.,* p. 58).

concluded that Rubens's work was undoubtedly inspired by that of the Spanish poet. [143] This, however, does not seem to us to be at all proven.

As we have pointed out, the *Triumphs* are only part of Rubens's programme, and the latter in its entirety does not at all coincide with that of Lope's poem. Certainly there are some points of resemblance between Rubens's *Triumphs* and those described by Lope, in the form of the triumphal car and in particular details. However, Müller-Bochat took too little account of the fact that several traditional elements used by both artists were common property in the intellectual and artistic circles to which they both belonged. As Elbern pointed out, this considerably weakens the force of Müller-Bochat's argument. [144]

Let us review some of these common features. Lope describes the New Law as enthroned in a boat drawn by six white sea-horses and preceded by the Papal attributes of the tiara and keys. [145] In Rubens's *Triumph of the Church* the car is shaped like a ship drawn by four white horses, and the papal attributes can also be seen. This may at first seem a telling comparison, but the idea of the Church as a ship was so widespread that there is no need to assume any direct connection between the two works. [146]

The same applies to the fact that both Lope and Rubens represent a pelican on one of the triumphal cars. [147] This is the traditional attribute of Caritas, and is depicted on the front of Caritas's car in many earlier *Triumphs of the Virtues*. [148]

Several of Rubens's figures also occur in Lope's poem, such as the Church

[143] E. Müller-Bochat, *Der allegorische Triumphzug, ein Motiv Petrarcas bei Lope de Vega und Rubens* (*Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Instituts Köln*, XI), Krefeld, 1957. He writes: "Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß die Quelle dieses Auftrags und der aus ihm hervorgegangenen Werke des Peter Paul Rubens in den Lopeschen Triumphos Divinos zu sehen ist" (*Ibid.*, p. 14).

[144] "Es wird ... niemand bezweifelen, daß die "Triumphos" des Lope und der Eucharistiezyklus des Rubens in dem gleichen geistig-religiösen Boden verwurzelt sind, dem im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert so viele Triumphzyklen in Literatur und bildender Kunst entsprossen waren. Darüber hinaus ist beiden ein gegenreformatorisches Pathos gemeinsam..." (*Elbern, 1958*, p. 124). See also *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[145] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30; E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

[146] For the iconography of *The Ship of the Church* see below, under Cat. Nos. 11, 21.

[147] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 69; E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, p. 20. Rubens depicts a pelican on the chariot of *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 171).

[148] E.g. on the car in *The Triumph of Charity* in the sixteenth-century sets of tapestries in private ownership in Brussels, and a related series that cannot be located (Figs. 75, 77); see above, n. 124, and below, under Cat. No. 13.

Fathers in "copes of brocade and with golden mitres",[149] St. Norbert[150] and St. Thomas Aquinas, writing his famous hymn in a book.[151] But the poem contains such a multitude of characters—Müller-Bochat rightly calls it an "encyclopedia of spiritual education"[152]—that it would be indeed surprising if none of Rubens's figures occurred in it.

For the same reasons we naturally find in the poem characters and objects whom Rubens depicted in other scenes than the actual Triumphs: "the table (with the loaves of Proposition), the Ark of the Covenant, the golden (seven-branched) candlestick",[153] Luther and Calvin,[154] the Prophet Elijah,[155] and the Habsburgs, in particular Philip IV, who is urged at the end of the poem to continue to defend the Church with all his might.[156]

We cannot agree with Müller-Bochat and Elbern when they argue that the eleven great scenes on "tapestries" form a single triumphal cortège, of which the typological subjects are also part. They base this view on the Old Testament scenes in Lope's poem and on the fact that a prefiguration is depicted on one of the triumphal cars in the series of paintings by Otto van Veen, namely *The Sacrifice of Abraham.*[157] In our opinion, however, the typological scenes of the Eucharist series have their own independence and are to be regarded as illustrations of the central theme on the same footing as the Triumphs.

Neither the tradition of religious Triumphs in the plastic arts, nor such

[149] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 71; E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, p. 22; cf. the figures of the Church Fathers in *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190).

[150] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 47; E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, p. 22. St. Norbert figures in Rubens's *Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190).

[151] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70; E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 21, 28, n. 27a. In Rubens's *Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190) St. Thomas Aquinas holds his book under his arm.

[152] E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.

[153] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 21; these are depicted in Rubens's *Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 144).

[154] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Luther and Calvin are depicted in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 203).

[155] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[156] Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–73; E. Müller-Bochat, *loc. cit.*, p. 13. The conception of Philip IV as *miles christianus*, Defender of the Faith, is expressed by Rubens in the figure of the armour-clad prince kneeling in *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 5; Fig. 113).

[157] Inv. No. 812; *Elbern, 1958*, fig. 51; for the whole series see above, n. 117.

literary works as Lope's *Triumphos Divinos,* afford a clear explanation for the choice of the Church, Faith, Divine Love and (in the first stage) Hope as triumphant figures, and for the relation between them. We may wonder whether the original plan was to depict in this fashion the Church and the three theological virtues—Faith, Hope and Charity; but this view presents some difficulties. We decided, it will be recalled, that in *The Triumph of Divine Love* the theme was not Love as a virtue, but God's love for man expressed *par excellence* in the Sacrament.[158] Similarly, we concluded that *The Triumph of Hope* did not represent the virtue of hope but rather the Eucharist as a means of salvation.[159] The fact that Rubens subsequently dropped this theme from the series makes it unlikely that he intended to depict the three theological virtues.

The four *Triumphs* naturally have in common the fact that their subjects are presented in terms of the Eucharist. The Church triumphs through the Eucharist (she is seen holding up the monstrance), and the three theological virtues are themselves seen as an expression of the Eucharist.

Studying Rubens's *Triumphs,* it is clear that he brought new life into the old genre: these are not mere dry doctrinal summaries as in Otto van Veen. Rubens does not accumulate elements of an over-ingenious "catechism" but rather composes a poem, a profusion of decoration that conveys its message through the eyes and feelings rather than by explicit argument.

The compositions enjoyed considerable success. Rubens's version of *The Triumph of the Church* became the one customarily known to the faithful; both it and *The Triumph of Faith* were enormously popular, in the Netherlands and abroad.[160]

One of the most important aspects of Rubens's *Triumphs* is that they renew a direct link with the antique tradition. He included in them motifs derived from his own studies of antique art and from the works of Renaissance painters in the antique style. Representations of triumphs on coins and reliefs must have interested him especially. His concern to reproduce the original iconography as closely as possible is evident in all kinds of details, especially in *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 149). The Church, like a Roman *imperator,* is seated in a quadriga drawn by white horses; a Genius holds a crown above her head, and

158 See below, under Cat. No. 13.

159 See below, under Cat. No. 21.

160 See below, pp. 227–229.

the chariot is preceded by a standard-bearer with the labarum. The iconography of *Hope* and *Divine Love* is also blended with antique elements. Hope, with a blossoming branch in her hand, is the Roman *Spes*. In *The Triumph of Divine Love,* Caritas stands on Cybele's car drawn by lions, one of which is ridden by a small Cupid.

Close in significance to the *Triumphs,* especially *The Triumph of the Church,* are the two scenes depicting the victory of the Eucharist. In the first, the heathen priests offering blood-sacrifice are overcome by the power of the Eucharistic chalice, held forth by an angel. In the second, Truth vanquishes the heretics and their writings against the Real Presence: here Rubens uses the well-known motif of *Veritas Filia Temporis,* truth brought to light by time.

b. *The Three Allegorical Personifications*

The second level of reality comprises, in addition to the "tapestries", three allegorical female figures surrounded by a picture-frame with egg-and-dart motifs, and hence to be interpreted as "pictures". The identification of these figures presents several problems. We have sought to find solutions by comparison with identifiable figures in other works, and the results of our attempt are given in the Catalogue. [161]

The conclusions may be summed up as follows. The uppermost piece, depicting an old woman holding a string of medallions (No. 18; Fig. 209), is undoubtedly the *Successio Papalis,* the uninterrupted succession of the Popes. The young woman writing, looking round at a dove and with her foot on a cornerstone (No. 19; Fig. 214), can be interpreted in various ways: the most likely seems to us to be *Historiography,* with *Theology* as an alternative. The hardest to identify is the third scene, generally known as *Caritas* (No. 20; Fig. 216). Here we found there had been a shift of identity; at the bozzetto stage the woman symbolized something like *Universalitas,* while in the final tapestry she may be regarded as *Charity Enlightening the World.*

We may suppose that in Rubens's first sketch the three female figures were not "paintings" but were presented as actually in the clouds, in the same way as David playing the harp. This may be seen from the bozzetto of *Histori-*

[161] See under Cat. Nos. 18–20.

ography at Tournai (No. 19a; Fig. 212) and from the drawn copy after the bozzetto for the second small composition (Fig. 213). At the modello stage Rubens modified this treatment and placed the figures in a landscape.

Several questions arise here: do the three scenes form a single iconographic group, and, if so, what is its significance and relation to the remainder of the series? As the three pieces have a continuous background it seems probable that they were intended to hang side by side, with the largest, *The Succession of the Popes,* in the middle. [162]

Starting from *The Succession of the Popes,* the only subject that is unequivocally identified, we may surmise that the three pieces are iconographically related to the Church, and especially to the elaborate composition of *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11). The uninterrupted succession of the Popes was regarded by the Counter-Reformation as an argument for the apostolicity of the Roman Church. *The Succession of the Popes* is sometimes listed among the Marks or Notes of the True Church. They were defined as unity, holiness, catholicity (universality) and apostolicity (descent from the Apostles and government by their appointed successors). However, artistic representations do not always adhere to these particular four. Knipping, for instance, refers to a print by Richard Verstegheu which depicts, as Marks of the True Church and thus of Rome in contrast to Protestantism, *Antiquitas, Successio, Universalitas* and *Concordia.* [163] In a pamphlet the same Verstegheu gives as the Marks *Antiquitas, Successio,* το καθολικον and *Unitas,* and he illustrates *The Succession of the Popes* (Fig. 89) under the title *Imago Ecclesiae Catholicae.* [164] Otto Van Veen depicts in the Church's triumphal car *Successio, Vetustas* and *Universitas* (Fig. 74).

It seems possible that Rubens in turn gave his own interpretation of the Four Marks. *Caritas,* spreading light over the world, is probably connected with the spread of faith and hence the catholicity or universality of the Church, and here perhaps more especially with the Eucharist, which is a gift to all peoples. In the same way, the woman writing and looking behind her may perhaps be related to *Vetustas* or some similar idea.

[162] See p. 107.

[163] *Knipping,* II, p. 156.

[164] R. Verstegheu, *Speculum pro Christianis Seductis,* Antwerp, 1590 (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum).

It is, however, only a hypothesis that the three "paintings" are to be interpreted on these lines. Other possibilities are not excluded. L. Burchard thought that the three tapestries were perhaps intended to be hung close to the pulpit and were connected with sermon themes: the Papal succession, the spread of faith and the divine origin of doctrine. This problem admits no definite solution as we know nothing about the placing of these tapestries in the church.

XII. THE DIFFUSION OF THE COMPOSITIONS:

I. THE ENGRAVINGS

A remarkable feature of the Eucharist series is the way in which the compositions have been disseminated in the form of copies of all kinds—engravings, paintings and later versions of the tapestries. The "large" pieces, in particular the grandiose themes, both solemn and decorative, of *The Triumph of the Church* and *The Triumph of Faith,* were admired for their inventiveness and became especially popular.

Rubens's compositions were generally copied without alteration; the architectonic framework, which had no significance out of its context, was often omitted, or modified in later versions of the tapestries. There are also many instances of compositions by other masters that are clearly variations of Rubens's inventions.

It is natural that people should have had the idea of making engravings after Rubens's Eucharist series, in view of the interest of the subject and the fact that the compositions were in reverse image, so that they could serve as ready-made models for the engraver.

Most of the eleven "large" compositions—ten, as far as we have ascertained [1] —were disseminated in the form of very large line engravings. The finest and probably the oldest belong to a series of five published by Nicolaas Lauwers (1600–1652). Lauwers engraved one of these himself (*The Triumph of Faith,* Fig. 165) and the other four were done by Schelte a Bolswert (1581–1659): *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 153), *The Four Evangelists* (Fig. 186), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 197) and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Fig. 202). [2]

There can be no doubt that the compositions of the modelli were used for these engravings. This is clear from the dimensions—the sheets are of about

[1] We have checked the information in the literature against the prints we were able to see in the Printrooms at Amsterdam, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp and the collection of prints in the Rubenshuis at Antwerp, together with information from the Albertina at Vienna, the British Museum and the Teylers Museum at Haarlem. We have not investigated further, or concerned ourselves with possible different states of the prints in question.

[2] All prints mentioned in this chapter are listed in our catalogue under the heading "Copies" of the modelli, with dimensions and reference to *V.S.* These data are not repeated here.

the same format as the panels, 51 to 64 cm high and 50 to 102 cm wide—and also from similarities of detail. Where parts of the modelli were unfinished, e.g. the pillars of *The Four Evangelists,* this is also the case in the engravings (Figs. 185, 186). It is possible that very accurate copies were used as models, but we think it more likely that the engravers worked direct from the original modelli.

The engravings show the composition in the opposite direction to the modelli, i.e. the same way round as in the tapestries. Those in horizontal format, printed on two or four sheets of paper which were then stuck together, are among the largest 17th-century engravings after Rubens. They have Latin inscriptions at the bottom, the texts of which are given below: verses describing the subject, and a dedication.

The engravings probably owe their existence to the initiative of Pieter Hannecaert, an alderman of Antwerp and member of the cathedral Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament.[3] According to the inscriptions, the three largest pieces—*The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Faith* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*—were dedicated by Hannecaert to the Archduke Leopold William, governor of the Netherlands, while *The Four Evangelists* was dedicated to Hannecaert by the publisher Nicolaas Lauwers. The fifth engraving, *The Defenders of the Eucharist,* bears no dedication.

The dedications afford some evidence as to the date of this important series. Pieter Hannecaert is referred to in each of them as alderman of Antwerp, an office which he held in 1643 and again from 1648 until his death in 1655;[4]

[3] In 1631 Pieter Hannecaert and Andries Menkaerts were both "Masters" of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament: see F. Donnet, *Notice historique sur la Chapelle du T.S. Sacrement en l'Eglise cathédrale d'Anvers,* Lille-Bruges, 1887, p. 89. In that year Hannecaert also produced at his own expense the Golden Book of the confraternity, which is still in its possession. On the title-page is an illustration of *The Four Continents Worshipping the Lamb of God* with the inscription: CONFRATERNITATI SS. Eucharistiae SACRAMENTI In Ecclia Cath^{l} B. MARIAE virg. ANTVERPIAE, P. HANNECAERT Antvierp. Hunc Librum aere suo ornari curavit, et pio effectu dedicavit, ANNO M.DC.XXXI.

[4] *Antwerp City Archives, Privilegiekamer* 3272, *Genealogische Nota's L. Bisschops.* Donnet's genealogical notes (*Antwerp City Archives, Privilegiekamer* 3288) state that Hannecaert was alderman for the first time in 1645, and some authors repeat this (*Rooses,* I, p. 55; A. Rosenberg, *Die Rubensstecher, Geschichte der vervielfältigenden Künste,* ed. by C. von Lützow, Vienna, 1893, p. 73). Bisschops is right, however, as appears from a list of aldermen dated 1643 (*Antwerp City Archives, Privilegiekamer* 1342, f° 233 v°).

Leopold William became governor in 1647. Thus the beginning of 1648 can be taken as a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the engravings. A *terminus ante quem* can also be established. Rosenberg correctly inferred from two pieces of evidence that the engravings had been done by 1652.[5] In the first place it can be assumed that they were executed before Nicolaas Lauwers' death in 1652,[6] and secondly two of the series are mentioned on 21 March 1653 in a contract between a representative of the city of Ghent and the painter Erasmus Quellinus.[7] By this agreement the latter undertook to produce a working drawing of *The Archduke Leopold William's Conquests in Flanders* for a very large engraving on four sheets, to be executed by Schelte a Bolswert. The work was to be similar in quality to other large engravings by Bolswert, viz. *The Triumph of the Church* ("de triumphe van de heylighe kercke opden waghen met vier peerden") and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* ("den verworp van afgoederye").[8]

Finally, in the church at Damme near Bruges there are two large canvases copied from the engravings of *The Triumph of Faith* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices,* the second of which is dated 1653.[9] We may thus conclude that the series of five prints was exeuted between 1648 and 1652.[10]

This series was completed by line engravings of other compositions, which as far as we can discover were also five in number. They are very similar in conception, are likewise reproduced on the same scale (the format of the

5 A. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 131; M.D. Henkel, in *Thieme-Becker,* XXII, pp. 467–468, s.v. *Lauwers, Nicolaes.*

7 A. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

8 Doc. 17. The plates of this exceptionally large print (96 : 136 cm.) are in the Ghent City Archives (listed as *The Entry of Archduke Leopold William into Ghent* in *Hollstein,* III, p. 86, No. 291); see 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. 165–198; 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; E. De Busscher, in *Biographie Nationale,* II, Brussels, 1868, cols. 664–665, s.v. *Bolswert, Schelte van.*

9 See under Cat. No. 16b.

10 It is thus certainly wrong to suppose, as some writers have done, that Rubens himself had engravings made of his compositions lest they should otherwise be lost to sight in the convent (J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens,* London, 1950, p. 35; *Tormo,* III, p. 25; *Elbern,* p. 13; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 54).

panels) and are based on the modelli. They probably date from about ten years later, as appears from the names of the publishers and engravers. They are not accompanied by Latin verses or dedications.

Nicolaas Lauwers' son Coenraed (1632–ca. 1685) himself engraved and published *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 140). Gillis Hendrickx added to the series *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 125), engraved by Jacob Neeffs (1610–after 1660), and two engravings by Adriaan Lommelin (active 1654–77): *The Triumph of Divine Love* (Fig. 180) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (Fig. 208). By means of additions and alterations in the landscape, the latter work was made the same width as the others, i.e. 88–89 cm. These engravings are much inferior to the Bolswert-Lauwers series and are of more documentary than artistic value. As mentioned in the literature,[11] Lommelin probably engraved a third composition, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant.* We have not been able to find a copy of this, but in the collection of engravings in the Rubenshuis at Antwerp there is a large sheet of this composition, reproduced without the architectural border, and published by Gaspar Huberti (Fig. 147); the engraver's name before the word "sculpsit" is erased.[12] This is presumably a later edition of Lommelin's engraving.

There is no trace of a 17th-century engraving of *The Gathering of the Manna,* probably because the modello was enlarged at an early date and partly overpainted with a wreath of flowers, so that it was no longer recognizable as part of the series.

In the course of the 17th century many prints appeared on the market which were copied from those mentioned above, usually in the same format and with the same Latin verses. In the first place, three prints of inferior quality were published by Nicolaas Lauwers: *The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist,* engraved by Coenraad Lauwers, and *The Triumph of the Church,* by an unknown engraver. Two anonymous sheets were published by Gaspar Huberti (1619–1684), *Abraham and Melchizedek* (in large format) and *The Four Evangelists* (only half as high), and another anonymous one by Cornelis II Galle (1615–1678), *The Triumph of the Church.*

[11] *V.S.*, p. 6, No. 44; F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst,* Antwerp, 1940, p. 70, No. 399.

[12] Inv. No. P 840.

Rubens's compositions were engraved at Paris as well as at Antwerp. Nicolaas Lauwers' original plates, or some of them, probably found their way to Paris. In the case of two sheets by Bolswert, *The Defenders of the Eucharist* and *The Four Evangelists*, we have come across a reprinted version in which the publisher's name N. Lauwers is replaced by "à Paris chez I. Audran, graveur du Roy aux Gobelins".[13] The inscriptions are otherwise unchanged, and in *The Four Evangelists* the French publisher has not bothered to alter Lauwers' dedication to Hannecaert. As to the dating, Jean Audran (1667–1756) became "graveur du Roi" in 1707.

Copies after the five prints of the Bolswert-Lauwers series were sold from the address "a Paris chez Mariette rue St. Jacques aux Colonnes d'Hercules". They are in approximately the same format (67–68 cm high, 98–102 cm wide) and are accompanied by the same verses, but *The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist* are combined into a single sheet with eleven figures (Fig. 188), entitled "LA FOY DE L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE ATTESTÉE PAR SES QUATRE EVANGELISTES ET SES PRINCIPAUX DOCTEURS", so that the series is reduced to four sheets. The verses of the Bolswert-Lauwers series are reproduced on all these prints, but not the dedications. There were three generations of publishers named Mariette at the "Colonnes d'Hercule", and it is hard to say which one the above address refers to: Pierre II (1634–1716), Jean (1660–1742) or Pierre-Jean (1694–1774), who was chiefly known as a collector and author.[14]

The subjects published by Mariette (*The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Faith, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and the combined *Evangelists and Fathers of the Church*) were also engraved—whether earlier or later is hard to say—by François Ragot (1638–1670), and the last-named compositions, with the eleven figures, by N. Bonnart (1636–1718). Other individual

[13] These two engravings are respectively in the Rubenshuis at Antwerp and the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The editions are mentioned in A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon*, I, Vienna-Leipzig, 1906, p. 134, Nos. 69, 73.

[14] See *Thieme-Becker*, XXIV, p. 97, s.v. *Mariette*. For the house "aux Colonnes d'Hercule" see R.-A. Weigert, *Le Commerce de la gravure au XVII^e siècle en France, Les deux premiers Mariette et François Langlois, dit Ciartres, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, XLI, 1953, pp. 183–184; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Le Cabinet d'un Grand Amateur, P.J. Mariette, 1694–1774*, Louvre, Paris, 1967, p. 25 and *passim*.

sheets, which may have belonged to complete sets, were published in Paris by Etienne Picart le Romain (1632–1721) [15] and by a certain H. Jans. [16]

In addition to the line engravings some etchings are known. They are smaller and similar to the modelli but without architectural borders. An etching of *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 143) by the painter Willem Panneels (born ca. 1600, known to have been active as late as 1632) was published by Frans van den Wijngaerde (1614–1679). A print reproducing the composite panel with *Angels Playing Music* at Potsdam (Fig. 103) has been published and illustrated by many authors. We shall not go into the problem of its attribution—the name of Cornelis Schut has often been suggested— but it seems to us that another etching of one of the smaller pieces of *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, viz. *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* may be by the same hand. We have seen in Paris a copy of this etching (Fig. 97), which is of interest because the modello for this composition has disappeared. [17] We could find no copy, however, of a variant which, according to Voorhelm Schneevogt, represented two angels in the clouds holding a "sun". [18] A small etching of *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 193), ascribed to Romoldus Eynhoudts (1613–1679/80) is not based directly on the original modello, but agrees in every detail with the copy in Zurich (No. 15b; Fig. 192).

It was chiefly the large line engravings which gave a wide circulation to the Eucharist series and served as models for copies of all kinds, not only in panel and fresco painting but also in sculpture and applied art. It was also thanks

[15] A sheet in Paris depicting *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* bears the address "E. Picart le Romain. f. rue St. Jacques devant les Mathurins".

[16] A sheet in the Teylers Museum depicting *The Triumph of Faith*, without its architectural border, is inscribed: "A Paris chez H. Jans rue St. Jacques au dessus des Mathurains a la Licorne". This may be Hendrik Janssens, who is mentioned in Paris in 1682/86 and is not to be confused with the engraver Hans Janssen: see M.D. Henkel in *Thieme-Becker*, XVIII, p. 416, s.v. *Janssen, Hans.*

[17] Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Album *AA2.Rubens.*

[18] "Deux anges environnés de nuages, et tenant un soleil d'où sortent des rayons. Sans nom de peintre, gravé à l'eau-forte dans le goût d'Eynhoudts. 8 p. 8 l. de haut 5 p. 1 l. de large [235 : 138 mm.]" (*V.S.*, p. 69, No. 42). Under a subsequent number this author mentions the sheet we found: "Le même sujet. Au lieu d'un soleil, les deux anges portent le St. Sacrement" (*V.S.*, p. 69, No. 43).

to them that seventeenth century authors were able to form an idea of Rubens's compositions, when the tapeſtries and paintings were for the moſt part inaccessible.[19]

Inscriptions on the Prints Published by Nicolaas and Coenraed Lauwers.

(1) *The Triumph of the Church* (engraved by S. a Bolswert, published by N. Lauwers; Fig. 153).
In the cartouche above: ECCLESIA PER S. EVCHARISTIAM TRIVMPHANS.
Below:

Perge triumphatrix Ecclesia: quae tibi vincit
Hoſtibus à domitis Hoſtia nomen habet.
Haeresin, errones Chriſto duce subjicis; orbem
Clave sacra et clavo cuncta movente, regis.
Per septena tuas moderatur dona quadrigas
Spiritus, et dius qui iuga flectit Amor.
Sic superas, ut tot non sit satis una triumphis,
Sed caput exornet trina corona tuum.

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI LEOPOLDO GVILIELMO ARCHIDVCI AUSTRIAE, BELGARVM AC BVRGVNDIONVM PRO PHILIPPO III. REGE CATHOL. GVBERNATORI, SACROSANCTAE EVCHARISTIAE AVSTRIACO CVLTORI, SANCTAE ROM. CATHOL. ECCLESIAE PROPVGNATORI, DEBITI OBSEQVY ERGO PET. HANNEKART D.C.

Translation:
Go forth in triumph, O Church: the Hoſt that conquers for you takes its name from defeated enemies [pun on *hoſtia* and *hoſtis*]. With Chriſt as leader you subdue heretics and those who ſtray: you rule the world with the holy key and the helm that governs everything. The Spirit with its sevenfold gifts guides your chariot, and Divine Love holds the reins. Such is your victory that a single crown is not enough for your triumphs: a threefold one adorns your head.

(2) *The Triumph of Faith* (engraved and published by N. Lauwers; Fig. 165).
In the cartouche above: NOVAE LEGIS TRIVMPHVS.
Below:

[19] Bellori describes the eleven-figure composition of *The Evangeliſts and the Defenders of the Euchariſt* (Doc. 19); Papebrochius expressly mentions three engravings published by Lauwers: *The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Faith* and *The Euchariſt Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (Doc. 23).

Sic vehitur NOVA LEX; veterem lux dissipat umbram,
Crux praeit; et signis qui latet hisce, Deus.
His senium antiquum et sapientum dogmata cedunt,
Naturamque supra, myſtica dona volant.
Caeleſtes Genij pronâ pietate, quadrigis
Gaudent his famulas applicuisse manus.
Mortales igitur decet haec mijſteria prompte
Credere et ignito corde fovere fidem.

SEREN.^{mo} PRINCIPI, LEOPOLDO GVLIELMO, ARCHIDVCI AVSTRIAE, DVCI BVRGVNDIAE, BELGAR. ET BVRGVNDIONVM GVBERNATORI, ETC. ORTHODOXAE FIDEI ASSERTORI, HVNC NOVAE LEGIS DE PRISCA GENTILIVM SVPERSTITIONE AC DOGMATE TRIVMPHANTIS TYPUM LVB. MER. DEDICABAT PETR. HANNECART SENATOR ANTVERPIAN.

Translation:

Thus the New Law is borne along: light dispels the old darkness, the Cross goes before, and the God who is hidden beneath these signs. The decay of antiquity and the doctrines of sages give place to these; the myſtic gifts soar above nature. The heavenly Genii, prompt in their piety, rejoice that they have laid their serviceable hands to this chariot. It behoves you then, mortals, to believe readily in these myſteries and to foſter faith with ardent hearts.

(3) *The Four Evangeliſts* (engraved by S. a Bolswert, published by N. Lauwers; Fig. 186).

Below:

Si, quod duorum ab ore prodit teſtium,
Verum esse verbum prima VERITAS monet;
Quatuor-Virorum, qui DEI VERBUM docent,
Verum esse verba, terra clamat et mare.

Ornatissimo, amplissimoq. Viro D. PETRO HANNEKART Reipub. Antverp. Senatori, rerū artificiosarū admiratori ut prudentissimo, ita et inveſtigatori solertissimo, amico suo integerrimo, hanc quatuor Evangeliſtarū icone Nic. Lauwers amoris sui reciproci quale quale symbolii L.M.D.Q.

Translation:

If the primal Truth teaches that the evidence of two witnesses is true, then earth and sea alike proclaim that the truth is spoken by the four men who teach the word of God.

(4) *The Defenders of the Euchariſt* (engraved by S. a Bolswert, published by N. Lauwers; Fig. 197).

Above, in a scroll: HIC EST PANIS, QVI DE CAELO DESCENDIT; Ioan.

Below:

DOCTORUM aethereo quod dia Scientia prodit
Lumine; quotque libri tot sonuere tubae;
Quod ratio sic CLARA probat, summusque magiſter
SPIRITUS; HOC prompta tu quoque crede fide.

[No dedication]

Translation:

What the divine learning of the Doctors has brought into heavenly light—as many as there are books, so many trumpets have sounded. What is proved so clearly by reason and by the Spirit, our Supreme teacher, do thou also believe with ready faith. (*Clara* and *Summus Magiſter* are puns on St. Clare and St. Thomas Aquinas.)

(5) *The Euchariſt Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (engraved by S. a Bolswert, published by N. Lauwers; Fig. 202).

Below:

Cede DEO mala turba Deum; falsum ille Tonantem
Aras ille Jovis subruit, ille focos,
Ille popas myſtasque evertit et ethnica quicquid
Impieſtas fictae relligionis habet.
Tanta poteſt minimus specie, re maximus: orbis
Conditor exili qui latet orbe DEVS.

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI LEOPOLDO GVLIELMO ARCHIDVCI AVSTRIAE, DVCI BVRGVNDIAE, BELGAR. ET BVRGVNDIONVM GVBERNATORI, CHRISTIANAE PIETATIS ET INCRVENTI SACRIFICII CVLTORI AC PROPVGNATORI ACERRIMO PETR. HANNECART DEDICABAT.

Translation:

Yield to God, you evil crew of gods: he overthrows Jupiter and his thunderbolt, quenches his altar-fires, deſtroys his prieſts and sacrificers and the false religion of pagan impiety. Such is the power of what seems small but is greater than all things: the creator of the world, God hidden in a tiny circle [that of the Hoſt].

(6) *Elijah and the Angel* (engraved and published by C. Lauwers; Fig. 140). Below:

Hic pascitur ab Angelo, *mi lector, Magnum illud Prophetarum lumen* ELIAS THESBITES, *Coelicus ille divini honoris Zelotes Carmeli Ord.nis ac totius / Monastices Pater; Virginis* DEUM *parituræ Præco: Christi Præcursor Apostolus, ac Martijr futurus; quem Curru igneo mirabiliter euectū tanquam / Orbis oraculum gratiæ et naturæ miraculum viuum adhuc hodie terra possidet, Coelum expectat, Ecclesia colit, ac totus veneratur Orbis.*

Translation:

Here, Reader, you see Elijah the Tishbite fed by an angel—that great light of the Prophets, founder of the Carmelite Order and of all monasticism; herald of the Virgin Mother of God, forerunner of Christ, apostle and future martyr. In him, who was carried off by miracle in a fiery chariot, the world possesses an oracle of grace and the earth a living miracle of nature. Heaven welcomes him, the Church venerates him, the whole world pays honour to him.

XIII. THE DIFFUSION OF THE COMPOSITIONS:

II. PAINTED AND DRAWN COPIES

a. *After the Bozzetti*

Copies after the small schematic designs known as bozzetti are not very numerous. Some anonymous drawings are known, and two of these are interesting as they reproduce lost bozzetti: *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (Fig. 145) and *Charity Enlightening the World* (Fig. 213).

Some extant copies were painted as cabinet pieces on copper, and reproduce Rubens's compositions without the architectural elements but in more finished form: the anonymous *Adoration of the Eucharist* (Fig. 94) after the Chicago sketch, and two copies by the Antwerp painter Victor Wolfvoet after the bozzetti in his collection: *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 123) and *The Gathering of the Manna,* now in the Mauritshuis at The Hague.

Another copy attempts to conform completely to the bozzetto in its sketch-like character and in format: *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12b; Fig. 162).

b. *After the Modelli*

The position is quite different with the modelli: many of these were very often reproduced. Besides the 70 copies listed in our catalogue innumerable items occur in sale catalogues which cannot be identified but which probably for the most part also represent the modello composition.[1]

At Antwerp

Some very early copies after the modelli were probably made in Rubens's studio when he was working on the Eucharist series: these are drawings of detail (Fig. 158) and are now in the "Rubens-Cantoor" of the Copenhagen Printroom. Other drawings in this collection are copies after the cartoons, and are discussed below.

Rather early also are the drawings in black and red chalk after four modelli of *The Adoration of the Eucharist*; they show us the lost modello for *The*

[1] See e.g. p. 128, n. 61.

Secular Hierarchy in Adoration (Fig. 10) and the two panels of *The Angels Playing Music* before they were joined together into a single panel (Figs. 104, 105).

In the Northern (?) Netherlands

Two copies after the panels were made by Matthijs van den Bergh: a very close copy after *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (signed and dated 1637) and a drawing after *King David Playing the Harp* (Fig. 116).[2]

At Madrid

The group of eight modelli from the Spanish Royal collections were copied by the court painter Claudio Coello. In the inventory of his estate (1693) eight copies of his hand are recorded, to be identified respectively as representing: *The Triumph of the Church, The Victory of Truth over Heresy, The Triumph of Faith, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices, The Four Evangelists, The Defenders of the Eucharist, Abraham and Melchizedek* and *The Triumph of Divine Love.*[3]

c. *After the Engravings*

A great many copies of the modello composition are not based on Rubens's original panels but on the engravings. These sheets represent ten of the modelli in almost their actual size, and innumerable copies in every format

[2] Matthijs van den Bergh (1617–1687), the son of a steward of Rubens's, is said to have been his pupil; he later settled at Alkmaar. He seems to have been chiefly a painter of copies. Houbraken writes that "he was an accomplished draughtsman, and even in his old age drew incessantly from the life and from the best paintings that came his way. The imitation of others, however, spoilt him for undertaking or inventing anything of himself" (A. Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, II, Amsterdam, 1719, p. 16). See also E.W. Moes in *Thieme-Becker*, III, p. 402, s.v. *Bergh, Matthys van den.*

[3] "Rubens : Ocho tableros con los siguientes asuntos : 1. Triunfo de la Iglesia de vara de alto por cinco cuartas. 250 reales; 2. El tiempo descubre la verdad tres cuartas de alto por vara de ancho basado en lo mismo; 3. El Triunfo de la Fe vara de ancho y tres cuartas de alto, 200 reales; 4. El sacrificio al Becerro de oro, tres cuartas de alto 1 vara de ancho 200 rs; 5. Los Evangelistas media vara en cuadro en el mismo precio; 6. Los Doctores de la Iglesia del mismo tamaño y tasacion; 7. Los panes de la Proposicion igual a los anteriores; 8. El triunfo de la Caridad con idénticas caracteristicas." (*Marqués del Saltillo*, 1953, p. 200, Nos. 157–164; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, p. 289).

were made from them. These copies after prints are listed in our catalogue as copies after the modelli, since they are based ultimately on the same compositions and it is not always clear which the copyist was working from. The direction in which the copy is painted sometimes gives an indication, but not all prints are in reverse image: some are copies of older prints, and are therefore in the same direction as the modello.

It should be noted that a number of Eucharist copies have wrongly been regarded as copies after the cartoons for the sole reason that they are of large size, whereas it can be seen from details that they represent the modello composition and were actually copied from the engravings. It is understandable that prints, which were easy to obtain, should have been used by those who wished to paint large-scale canvases for a church or monastery and to have the benefit of Rubens's decorative and skilful inventions.

Examples of this are found in Belgium in St. John's church at Damme (two canvases, one dated 1653), in t. Peter's at Ghent (three, of which more below) and in the church of Gistel near Ostend. In St. Gillis at Bruges there were formerly two canvases from the Augustinian Monastery: *The Triumph of the Church* and *The Four Evangelists*, the figures life-size; according to a 19th century inventory they were painted after the prints by an Augustinian father or brother. [4]

The three copies at St. Peter's at Ghent, *The Triumph of the Church*, *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 167) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*, all about 300 cm high, are wrongly attributed to Theodoor Van Thulden. These works undoubtedly belonged to a group of four canvases sold at Brussels on 12 May 1777 together with other paintings that had belonged to Jesuit houses troughout the country. [5] The sale catalogue mentions four paintings, *The*

[4] A. Keelhoff, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des Ermites de Saint Augustin, à Bruges*, Bruges, 1869, pp. 109, 110 (quoting an inventory of 1828); A. Couvez, *Inventaire des objets d'art qui ornent les églises et les établissements publics de la Flandre Occidentale*, Bruges, 1852, p. 314, Nos. 28, 29; *Rooses*, I, p. 76. We see no foundation for Versyp's idea that these paintings may have been used as cartoons for the Bruges tapestry-weavers (J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschapen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, No. 8), Brussels, 1954, p. 45).

[5] The Jesuit order was suppressed in the Austrian Netherlands on 13 September 1773 and the works of art belonging to it were confiscated and collected for sale at Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent (Ch. Piot, *Les tableaux des collèges des Jésuites supprimés en Belgique, Bulletin de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts en Belgique*, 2nd series, XLVI, 1878, pp. 139–152).

Victory of Truth over Heresy, The Triumph of the Eucharist, The Triumph of Christianism and *Elijah and the Angel,* under the heading "Sujets du Triomphe de l'Eglise, dont les Originaux ont été brulés dans l'ancien Palais de Bruxelles & dans celui de l'Escurial en Espagne".[6] The paintings in this sale were collected from houses of the suppressed Jesuit order at Brussels, Louvain, Namur, Nivelles (Nijvel), Mechlin, Alost (Aalst) and Mons. We do not know from which of these the four copies in question came.[7] They were bought by Filips Spruyt,[8] and shortly afterwards they reappear at Ghent. In December 1779 Filips Spruyt sold the four paintings to St. Peter's Abbey.[9] In an inventory, drawn up by Spruyt in 1790, of publicly and privatly owned works of art at Ghent, the three "Triumphs" are listed as being in the Abbey Church.[10] During the French occupation the three copies were removed to the Ghent

[6] *Catalogue des tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons,* s.l., [1777], pp. 26, 27, Nos. 216–219.

[7] It is impossible for the copy of *The Triumph of Faith* to have come from the Jesuit church at Ypres, as stated in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937,* p. 76, under No. 72. No painting of a subject from the Eucharist series has ever been recorded there (D. Roggen and E. Dhanens, *De zeventiendeeuwse schilderijen van het Jezuietencollege te Ieper, Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde,* XII, 1949–50, pp. 129–196). Elbern suggests, without giving reasons, that the copies were from the Jesuit house at Brussels (*Elbern, 1955,* pp. 78, 82, 85).

[8] "216 a 219. – Reçu de Spruyt, La Somme de trente cinq florins, faisant f. 30 de change pour les tableaux dessignés cidessous, scavoir : 216. le temps qui découvre la verité; 217. le triomphe de l'Eucharistie; 218. le triomphe du Christianisme; 219. l'ange qui donne du Pain et ... (?) ... 35, –, –" (*Compte de produit de la vente de tableaux et estampes des ci devant Jesuites des Pais-Bas clos le 12 Juillet 1784. – Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes* 12074, f° 48).

[9] *Achats de tableaux par l'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre, Messager des sciences historiques,* 1876, pp. 211, 212; see also *Rooses,* I, p. 76; II, p. 204).

[10] E. Duverger, *Filip Spruyt en zijn inventaris van kunstwerken in openbaar en privaat bezit te Gent (ca. 1789–1791), Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde,* XIX, 1961–66, pp. 177, 178. The inventory says nothing of *Elijah and the Angel,* nor is there any later trace of it, so we may suppose that only three of the four copies bought from Spruyt were displayed in the church. Spruyt's inventory mentions a picture of this subject at St. Peter's church ("Elie recevant du pain de l'ange, auteur inconnu"; E. Duverger, *op. cit.,* p. 178). It seems unlikely, however, that Spruyt, who had sold the paintings to the church, should afterwards have forgotten that *Elijah and the Angel* was also a copy after Rubens.

Museum, but they returned to the church in November-December 1816[11] and are still there.[12]

Large-size copies after the prints were also widespread in foreign countries. The books mention three in the Iglesia de San Miguel at Valladolid, painted by Bartolomé Santos (about 1660) with the same inscriptions as the prints,[13] and a series of five copies in the Cathedral and the Palacio Arzobispal at Granada by José Risueño (about 1692), also with the same inscriptions.[14]

There must certainly be more in Spain and in the Latin American countries, where Flemish prints were much in demand for the purpose of painting canvases of moderate quality for churches and monasteries.

Especially the outstanding subjects with triumphal cars—*The Triumph of the Church* and *The Triumph of Faith*—were very popular. *The Triumph of the Church* was used, for instance, for a painting in a triumphal arch erected at Brussels for the festivities of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle (Fig. 159).[15] In addition to paintings, we have encountered these compositions in the form of a drawing in the memorial volume of the Eucharistic Brotherhood,[16] illus-

[11] Ch. Piot, *Rapport à Mr. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, pp. 427–432, Annexes CLVII-CLXI.

[12] The copies were also described by Kervyn de Volkaersbeke, who attributed *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and *The Triumph of Faith* to Van Thulden, and *The Triumph of the Church* to Erasmus Quellinus ([Ph.] Kervyn de Volkaersbeke, *Les Eglises de Gand*, II, Ghent, 1858, pp. 231, 232, 234, 235). He refers misleadingly to Lauwers's print after Rubens in his comment on a landscape of *Elijah in the Wilderness*, ascribed to Van Arthois: "Beau paysage, qui ornait également le réfectoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre. – Le même sujet a été gravé par Conrad Lauwers, d'après Rubens." (*Ibidem*, II, p. 249).

[13] The subjects are: *The Triumph of Faith*, *The Triumph of the Church* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*. See E. Valdivieso González, *La Pintura en Valladolid en el siglo XVII*, Valladolid, 1971, pp. 174, 175, Pls. XLII-XLIV.

[14] The subjects are: *The Triumph of the Church*, *The Triumph of Faith*, *The Four Evangelists* (rather a variant than a copy), *The Defenders of the Eucharist* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*; see D. Sánchez-Mesa Martín, *José Risueño, escultor y pintor granadino, 1665–1732*, Granada, 1972, pp. 247, 248, Nos. 117–121.

[15] P. De Cafmeyer, *Hooghweirdighe Historie van het Alder-Heylighste Sacrament van Mirakel*, ..., Brussels, 1720, Pl. XV.

[16] *The Triumph of Faith* is copied literally, but in a naive style, in the memorial volume of the "Broederschap van de Woendaeghsche Berechtinge" of St. Paul's church, Antwerp, where it can be seen on the page for the year 1722.

trations in devotional literature,[17] embroidery work,[18] small sculpture[19] and ceramics.[20] As we shall see, at the end of the 17th century the prints were actually used for the purpose of making new tapestry cartoons.[21]

Not only were Rubens's designs copied in the strict sense, but they provided inspiration for innumerable variants and individual scenes. Typical of these are *The Triumph of the Church and the Apotheosis of the Dominican Order*, a fresco painted in 1705 by Antonio Palomino for the monastery church of San Esteban at Salamanca (Fig. 85),[22] and variants of *The Triumph of the Church* which we find, with literally copied details, in frescoes and ceiling paintings in several German and Austrian churches.[23]

[17] E.g. a small illustration representing *The Triumph of the Church*, engraved by M. van der Gucht, reproduced twice in L. van der Lepe, *De Waere Kercke triumpherende over de Valsche*, Bruges, 1681, pp. 1, 718.

[18] Copes with embroidery after compositions of the Eucharist series are in the Royal Palace, Madrid. A fragment of *The Triumph of the Church*, executed in petit-point (79 : 64 cm), probably for the back of a chair, was sold at the Galerie Moderne in Brussels on 31 August 1971, lot 1187, repr.

[19] *The Triumph of the Church* is reproduced literally, though with some distortion, in ivory bas-relief on a tankard in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (Augsburg work, ca. 1760–1780): see J. Leeuwenberg and W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*, The Hague - Amsterdam, 1972, pp. 478, 479, No. 835, repr.). A variant of this composition, carved in bas-relief and attributed to Lucas Faydherbe, was sold at London (Christie's) on 30 April 1974, lot 104, repr.).

[20] One of the most remarkable "copies" of *The Triumph of the Church* is a large table decoration composed of separate figures in biscuit china, made in the 18th century (235 cm. long and ca. 45 cm. high): see J. von Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik in der Skulpturensammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1910, II, p. 16, repr.

[21] See below, p. 254.

[22] J.A. Gaya Nuño, *En el Centenario de Palomino, Exequias y elogio del barroco nacional, Goya, Revista de Arte*, 1954–55, p. 267; E. Aparicio Olmos, *Palomino: su arte y su tiempo (Cuadernos de Arte*, 16), Valencia, 1966, pp. 141–143, figs. 51, 52. Palomino himself gives a full iconographical description of the fresco in A. Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictorico y escala optica, Tomo segundo, Practica de la Pintura, ...*, Madrid, 1724 (ed. Aguilar, Madrid, 1947, pp. 724–731).

[23] On the influence of Rubens's Eucharist series in the iconography of late Baroque in German speaking countries (1680–1780), see Inge Habig, *Eucharistische Allegorie im Spätbarock nördlich der Alpen* (Diss.), Münster, 1973, pp. 47, 48, 81–97; adaptations of *The Triumph of the Church*, unquestionably based on Rubens prints include those by Carpoforo Tencalla (*Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern, III Stadt Passau*, revised by F. Mader, Munich, 1919, p. 53, Pls. II, IV; W. Kitlitschka, *Beiträge zur Erforschung der Tätigkeit Carpoforo Tencallas nördlich der Alpen, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXIII, 1970, p. 223, fig. 190; Inge Habig, *op. cit.*, p. 93, fig. 381); J.B. Bergmüller (A. Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche, Hauptmotive der Ecclesia im*

d. *After the Cartoons*

The large canvases were located in somewhat inaccessible places: first in the workshops of the Brussels weavers, then at the Brussels Palace (where they were not always on view) and finally at Loeches. Clearly there was much less opportunity to copy them than to copy prints and modelli. The few copies that were made of the cartoons are all the more interesting as several of the originals have not survived.

At Antwerp

Probably the oldest copies after the Eucharist series are the fifteen drawings in the "Rubens-Cantoor" in the Copenhagen Printroom, representing fragments of five compositions: *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices, The Triumph of Faith, The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Divine Love* and *Abraham and Melchizedek.*

It can be seen from certain details that some of these drawings are copied from the cartoon (Figs. 131, 170) and others from the modello (Fig. 158). This is confirmed by the inscriptions on some of them, in a curious and difficult hand, which refer either to the cartoon ("... wt die patroen vant geloof"; "... dit been compt naer Rubbens ende staet in een patrooen van tappiserii van iupiter") [24] or to the modello ("... geteekent naer rubbens schiel[derij] te weten de schedts vande triumphe van de ylich sacr[ament] ..."). [25] The drawing were thus evidently copied from paintings, whether cartoons or modelli, and not from study-drawings by Rubens, which are not known to exist.

Little is known with certainty concerning the drawings in the "Rubens-

Wandel der abendländischen Kunst, Regensburg, 1962, pp. 62, 63, fig. 39); Michael Christian Grabenberger (*Lankheit,* col. 235, fig. 40; Inge Habig, *op. cit.,* p. 90, fig. 381).

[24] "...from the cartoon of Faith; ...this leg is after Rubens and is found in a tapestry cartoon of Jupiter".

[25] "...drawn after Rubens's painting, i.e. the sketch of the triumph of the Holy Sacrament". In the Copenhagen Printroom there are details copied from the following: the cartoon of *The Triumph of Faith* (VI,13; VI,62), the modello of the same (VI,61); the cartoon of *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (VI,28), the modello of the same (V,46); the modello of *The Triumph of the Church* (VI,67; VII,82); the cartoon of *The Triumph of Divine Love* (I,70; I,71^{r}; I,71^{v}; VI,91); the cartoon of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (I,67; I,68; I,69; VI,59). More details, with the inscriptions, are to be found in our catalogue under the heading "Copies" of the respective originals.

Cantoor", which number about 460. Falck supposed that they belonged to Willem Panneels and that most of them were by him.[26] According to a statement by Rubens, this master was in the latter's studio from 1624 to 1630 and was in charge of it during Rubens's absence from August 1628 to April 1630.[27] Panneels certainly did make copies after Rubens: he later etched a number of compositions, including the modello for *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 143). Rosenberg therefore supposed that he made drawings of the works in the studio during Rubens's absence,[28] and Falck drew the further conclusion that most of the Copenhagen drawings, and particularly those with the so-called "cypher" inscriptions (Figs. 131, 158, 170), were made by Panneels, while the remainder were by other pupils of Rubens.[29]

Are most of the drawings really by Panneels? Other names have been suggested;[30] we shall not go into the question here, but would point out that, contrary to Falck's theory, the drawings of the Eucharist series cannot have been made during Rubens's absence from the studio. If they were, we should have to suppose that after Rubens left for Spain in August 1628 there were not only modelli in the studio but also a number of cartoons that had not yet been sent to Brussels. This seems to us out of the question. We believe that the copies of the eucharist series must have been made before August 1628, probably in 1626 or 1627, when the large canvases were being painted from the modelli.

[26] G. Falck, *En Rubenselevs tegninger, Kunstmuseets Aarskrift,* 1918, pp. 64–77.

[27] M. Rooses, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool,* Antwerp – The Hague, 1879, pp. 489–490. Rubens's statement, made before a notary on 1 June 1630, that Panneels had worked for him, was published by: P. Génard, *Petrus Paulus Rubens en Willem Panneels, Rubens-Bulletijn,* I, 1882, pp. 220–223; M. Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres,* V, Antwerp, 1907, pp. 295–298.

[28] A. Rosenberg, *Die Rubensstecher, Geschichte der vervielfältigenden Künste,* ed. by C. von Lützow", Vienna, 1893, p. 153.

[29] Falck points out the correspondence of certain details in the drawings with Panneels's etchings (G. Falck, *loc. cit.,* pp. 68, 69).

[30] Oldenbourg is less certain than Falck of the attribution to Panneels: he sees various hands at work, including Soutman and perhaps Van Dyck (R. Oldenbourg, *Zeichnungen aus der Rubenswerkstatt im Kopenhagener Kupferstichkabinett,* in *Peter Paul Rubens, Sammlung der von Rudolf Oldenbourg veröffentlichten oder zur Veröffentlichung vorbereiteten Abhandlungen über den Meister,* ed. by W. Bode", Munich-Berlin, 1922, pp. 192–193). Held thinks that Panneels may have done most of the copies, and suggests that some may be by Willem van Haecht (J.S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings,* London, 1959, I, pp. 47, 48).

Two chalk drawings are to be found outside the Copenhagen Printroom. The first, in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, is a copy of the putto riding on a lion in the cartoon of *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13d). The second, previously in Weimar (Fig. 179),[31] comprises several figures of cherubs, from two Eucharist cartoons. The two cherubs on the left are from *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (No. 15d), where they are seen above left and above right. Except for the two small schematically drawn cherubs in the lower part of the drawing, which we cannot identify, all the other cherubs are copied after one or another of those in the group "dancing" above the head of *Caritas* of *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13d).

At Brussels

There must have been at least one set of full-sized copies on paper, used for the weaving of later tapestry series; we shall revert to this point. Except in the case of *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* we have not listed these paper cartoons in the catalogue as "Copies" of the cartoons, as we have no further information about them. A number of copies showing the cartoon composition were made at Brussels, and it is often hard to tell whether they are based on the original canvases from Rubens's studio or on these paper cartoons.

There are two small sketch-like pieces, perhaps copied from the canvases in the Palace, which we know only from a photograph and whose whereabouts are unknown: *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 154) and *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 169), formerly in the Cardon collection.[32] They probably came from the Horion collection, sold at Brussels in 1788, which included four small panels ascribed to Antoon Sallaert (1590–1657/58), copies after the canvases

[31] E. Michel, *Rubens, sa Vie, son Œuvre et son Temps*, Paris, 1900, repr. p. 353 (as belonging to *Collection de Weimar*); L. Hourticq, *Rubens*, Paris, 1924, p. 182, repr.; the Rubenianum possesses an old photography by P. Bijtebier of Brussels, marked on the back "Musée de Weimar". On enquiry, however, it appears that the piece is not in the Kunstsammlungen at Weimar. It was probably in the Grand Ducal collections there, part of which found their way to the Weimar museum while other works were sold privately.

[32] Panel, 33 : 57 cm., and panel, 33 : 48 cm.; whereabouts unknown; formerly in the C.L. Cardon collection, sold at Brussels, 27–30 June 1921, lots 100, 101. *The Triumph of the Church* is based on the cartoon composition, as can be seen e.g. from the heads visible above the horse's back, to either side of the seated angel: here, as in the tapestry, there are only two (behind the angel) and not four.

by Rubens that were destroyed in the fire at the Palace in Brussels.[33] The two sketches in question agree with the sale catalogue as regards subject and format and are in Sallaert's style, so they are doubtless by him. According to an anonymous source in François Mols's Notes, the original cartoons of the Eucharist series were painted by Sallaert and retouched by Rubens.[34] We do not believe, however, that Sallaert actually worked on the canvases in Rubens's studio. Possibly he had a hand in making the paper cartoons in the possession of Frans van den Hecke. He is known to have been very active as a designer and painter of tapestry patterns: in 1646 some representatives of the Brussels weavers, including Frans van den Hecke, declared that Sallaert had already executed more than 24 sets for them.[35] Several sets woven after his designs by Jan Raes and Frans van den Hecke are in the collection of the Patrimonio Nacional of Spain.[36]

We know copies by David III Teniers of the four Eucharist cartoons which were not sent to Spain, but remained in the Brussels Palace and were afterwards burnt there in 1731. These four copies belong to the Prado collections.[37] Two were given in deposit to the Museum at Pontevedra in 1883: *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 155) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy.*[38] The two others were lent to the University of Zaragoza in 1893: *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices.*[39] These works are

[33] J.B. Horion sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788, lot 114 ("Sallaert. Quatre Tableaux representant des esquisses de Tableaux qui ont été Brulés à la Cour de Bruxelles, dans le dernier incendie, sur B. H. 13; L. 21 pouc.").

[34] Doc. 25c.

[35] "...overmidts hy over de vierentwintich Caemers tappitseryen heeft geynventeert door syn eygen practycque, ende de patroonen daeraff geteeckent daervan de laetste wercken van dese tyt meest naer werden gemaeckt,..." (*Brussels City Archives, IIe Register ter Tresorye gehouden,* No. 1294, f° 231^{v}); see also *Wauters,* pp. 246–250.

[36] Paulina Junquera de Vega, *Un "pequeño patrón" de Antonio Sallaert y su traducción en tapices, Artes Textiles,* VIII, 1974, pp. 114–122; a drawing for one of the compositions, *The Triumph of Virtue,* is in the Antwerp Printroom (*Ibidem,* fig. 1).

[37] That they were copied from the cartoons can be seen from several details; in *The Triumph of the Church* no heads are visible between the rider and the horse's neck; in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* the foot of Time does not overlap that of the prostrate figure.

[38] F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *El Museo de Pontevedra (Bibliófilos Gallegos, colección "Obradoiro", II),* Santiago, 1950, p. 18; J. Filgueira Valverde, *Guía breve del Museo de Pontevedra,* Pontevedra, 1970, p. 18, repr. p. 19; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 417, 418, Nos. 2292, 2293.

[39] *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 418, Nos. 2294, 2295.

about 180 cm high, much smaller than the canvases from Rubens's studio. They are signed and two of them are dated 1673.[40] For unknown reasons Teniers framed *The Triumph of the Church* in Tuscan columns instead of the original Salomonic ones.

We know nothing of the purpose of these canvases, which found their way into the Spanish royal collections; possibly there is some connection with Teniers' visit to Spain.[41] Díaz Padrón traced their provenance. In 1746 the four paintings are mentioned in the collection of Queen Isabel Farnesio, the second wife of Philip V, in la Granja.[42] They were sold in 1770 and bought by a señor Figueroa, probably for the royal collections.

David III Teniers, who was known as a designer of tapestry cartoons, borrowed the motif of "tapestries" held up by cherubs in an architectural framework for tapestry designs of his own (Fig. 29).[43]

In the 17th century there were in the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels ten copies after the Eucharist series, as described in detail by Mensaert in 1763:

"Autour de cette Eglise on voit six grands tableaux, & deux à chaque côté de l'Autel, ce qui fait en tout dix, mais ce ne sont que des copies d'après *Rubens:* les originaux ayant péris le quatrième Février 1731, par les flammes qui consumerent le Palais du Prince à Bruxelles. Voici leurs représentations: en entrant à droite, le premier est la Manne qui tombe dans le désert. Le deu-

[40] *The Triumph of the Church* is signed and dated, under the column on the left: "David Teniers. Junior. Pinx. 1673"; the other painting in Pontevedra is also signed and dated, under the column on the right, but the inscription cannot be read beneath the darkened varnish. We have not seen the copies in Zaragoza; according to Díaz Padrón *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* is signed and dated 1673 (*Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* p. 418).

[41] Teniers was at the Spanish court about ten years earlier, from 1661 to 1663. See H. Vlieghe, *Het Portret van Karel II, koning van Spanje, als kind, door David III Teniers, Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten,* XI, Nos. 1–2, 1962, p. 123.

[42] Nos. 1141–1144: "Cuatro lienzos copiados por Teniers de originales de Rubens, los Santos Sacramentos de a seis pies y seis dedos de alto y diez y tres de ancho" (*Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 417).

[43] See above, p. 80, n. 41; on David III Teniers as a tapestry designer see: *Wauters,* p. 257; H. Vlieghe, *David Teniers II en David Teniers III als patroonschilders voor de tapijtweverijen, Artes Textiles,* V, 1959–1960, pp. 78–102; H. Vlieghe, in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek,* IV, Brussels, 1970, cols. 825–828, s.v. *Teniers, David III.*

xième l'Amour Divin. Le troisième les quatre Docteurs. Le quatrième le Triomphe de l'Eglise. Le cinquième la vieille Loi qui cède à la Nouvelle.

"A gauche en entrant, le premier représente le Prophète Elie & un Séraphin qui lui apporte du pain. Le deuxième le Grand Prêtre Melchisedech qui vient à la rencontre d'Abraham. Le troisième les quatre Evangélistes. Le quatrième le Triomphe de la Religion. Le cinquième une allégorie du tems. (La Religion & l'Hérésie)." [44]

Other 18th-century authors also mention these works, and point out their importance as the originals were destroyed in the Palace fire. [45] The copies in the church have now disappeared, so that it is not certain whether they represented the composition of the cartoons or of the modelli, but the former seems more probable; as we have seen, copies agreeing with the modelli were mostly made from prints. Among the subjects listed by Mensaert is *The Gathering of the Manna,* and we know of no print of this that could have been used. Moreover, Smeyers writes that the paintings in the Carmelite church were copied by a brother of the Order "after the original patterns of tapestries by Rubens". [46] Although the expression *"originaele patroonen"* is not always to be taken literally, it is possible in this case that the copies were made from the canvases in the Palace, before some of them were despatched to Loeches.

This series of ten copies disappeared a long time ago. The Discalced Carmelites were expelled in 1796, and their church was demolished in 1811. In that year the *Préfet du département de la Dyle* transferred six of the paint-

[44] *Mensaert,* pp. 7, 8. Of the ten subjects he enumerates, eight can be identified with certainty: *The Gathering of the Manna, The Triumph of Divine Love, The Defenders of the Eucharist, The Triumph of the Church, Elijah and the Angel, Abraham and Melchizedek, The Four Evangelists* and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy.* The identification of "La vieille Loi qui cède à la Nouvelle" and " Triomphe de la Religion" is more problematical, but they must correspond to two of the remaining subjects of Rubens's "large" compositions, viz. *The Triumph of Faith, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant.* The last of these was probably not among those in the Carmelite church in Brussels.

[45] Smeyers mentions the copies in his unpublished note on Rubens's works (Doc. 29); *Descamps, Voyage,* p. 97; *Description de la ville de Bruxelles, enrichie du plan de la ville et de perspectives,* Brussels, 1789, p. 9; see also A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles,* 1845, III, p. 392.

[46] Doc. 29.

ings to the village church of Gooik in Brabant; but Wauters himself could not find them there or discover what had happened to them. [47]

Were the Carmelite copies still in Belgian collections in the 19th century? There are two references during the century to a series of large copies. E. Soenens owned six "colossal paintings" which were exhibited at Ghent in 1837. A detailed description was given in a newspaper report, so that we know the titles, viz.: *The Triumph of Divine Love, The Defenders of the Eucharist, The Four Evangelists, The Gathering of the Manna, The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and *Abraham and Melchizedek.* [48]

In 1862 seven large paintings of subjects from the Eucharist series were found at the Labroue and Mertens printing works; [49] there apparently had been a set of ten, as there were three empty frames. Rooses tells us that the seven canvases were bought by Mera, Belgian consul at Marseilles. [50]

It is probably no longer possible to ascertain whether one of these sets came from the Carmelites.

The existence of two sets of Eucharist paintings on large scale in Brussels in the 18th century (the originals in the Royal Palace and the copies in the church of the Discalced Carmelites), led to some confusion. Critics who believed that *all* the paintings in the Palace were destroyed in the fire of 1731 have suggested different explanations for the existence of the paintings now in Valenciennes

[47] He mentions the following subjects: *"les Pères de l'Eglise, les quatre Evangélistes, le Triomphe de l'Eucharistie, Melchisédech offrant le pain à Abraham, la Manne dans le désert et les Hérétiques foudroyés"* (A. Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles*, I, Brussels, 1855, p. 264; see also *Rooses*, I, p. 67). Recent investigations on the matter did not bring a solution of the problem (see L. De Weerdt, *Over de verdwenen kopieën van doeken van Rubens uit de Parochiekerk van Gooik in de vorige eeuw, Het Oude Land van Edingen en het Omliggende*, II, 1974, pp. 188–194).

[48] *De Gazette van Gent*, 16 June 1837; published by E. Duverger, *De belangstelling voor P.P. Rubens in het Gentse in de eerste helft van de XIXe eeuw, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1968, pp. 258–260, Doc. IV.

[49] The seven subjects were: *"Le Triomphe de la Charité; Le Triomphe de la Loi Nouvelle; Le Triomphe du Christianisme; La Manne; Abraham et Melchisédech; Elie;* enfin *le Sacrifice*, cité plus haut [sc. of the Old Covenant]" ([H. Hymans], *Chronique, documents, faits divers, tableaux de Rubens, découverts à Bruxelles, Revue universelle des Arts*, XVI, 1862, pp. 212–214). See also *Bruxelles... Tableaux découverts chez MM. Labroue et Mertens, imprimeurs, à Bruxelles, Journal des Beaux-Arts*, IV, 1862, pp. 172, 173.

[50] *Rooses*, I, p. 67.

and Sarasota. Smith thought that it was not the originals that were destroyed but the Carmelite copies, which by some means had found their way to the Palace and which he thought might have been the paper cartoons for the weavers. [51] Hymans, on the other hand, thought all the originals were destroyed in the Palace and wondered if the paintings that were preserved were not those of the Carmelites [52]—a supposition that had led to confusion on the part of other writers. [53]

At Loeches

There was not much occasion to copy the four paintings in this small out-of-the-way place. Did copies after the originals ever hang in the church of the Discalced Carmelite nuns at Loeches? When J.C. Robinson, superintendant of the South Kensington Museum in London, visited Loeches in about 1865 he found a number of paintings which he believed to be copies of the lost originals, made in Madrid during the time when the originals were removed from the church. [54] It is hard to say whether this was so or not. A reliable travellers' guide, published both before and after 1865, states that the church is empty, [55] and to this day there is no trace of the copies.

[51] *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 143.

[52] L. Hymans, *Bruxelles à travers les âges,* Brussels, I, 1882, pp. 227, 399.

[53] In his *Œuvre* Rooses did not question the originality of the Palace cartoons, but in a later publication he took the view that the canvases which Tessin saw and which were burnt in 1731 were copies and not originals (M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1900, p. 283). Cécile Emond assumes without question that the surviving works are copies from the Brussels Carmelites (Cécile Emond, *L'Iconographie Carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux,* Brussels, 1961, I, pp. 64, 71, 72, 221, 222, 231, 232, 247, 248, 280).

[54] "In the church I found the great Rubens pictures had been replaced by copies hastily made in Madrid at the period when they were sent away" (J.C. Robinson, *The Early Works of Velazquez; III. The Altar-piece of Loeches, The Burlington Magazine,* XI, 1907, p. 319).

[55] R. Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain,* 1st ed., London, 1845, II, pp. 882, 883 (states only that the pictures were taken from the church by Buchanan); 3rd ed., London, 1855, II, p. 829 ("...The frames of the stolen pictures remain empty, *Hiatus maximé deflendus.* A copy of an Assumption hangs in an altar opposite the latticed tribune..."). Later editions describe the church without mentioning the pictures (8th ed., London, 1892, I, p. 163; 9th ed., London, 1898, I, p. 163).

XIV. THE DIFFUSION OF THE COMPOSITIONS:

III. THE PAPER CARTOONS AND LATER TAPESTRY SERIES

a. *The Paper Cartoons*

After the *editio princeps* for the Descalzas Reales a large number of tapestries depicting subjects of the Eucharist series, which were mostly of less good quality, were woven at Brussels.

These later versions cannot have been produced from the original cartoons on canvas, which remained Isabella's property and were kept at the Palace until some of them were sent to Spain. There must in addition have been a series of cartoons on paper. As already explained, we do not believe that such paper cartoons were made for the *editio princeps:* in our opinion they were produced on the initiative of weavers or art dealers who wanted to put new versions of the Eucharist series on the market.

We know of no later series produced by the weavers of the *editio princeps*— Jan Raes, Jacob Geubels, Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert. It therefore seems likely that the derived cartoons were not made directly after the production of Isabella's series, but some years later.

From the signed tapestries that have survived, and from certain documents, it can be deduced that patterns of subjects from the series were owned by one of the best-known Brussels workshops of the 17th century, that of Frans van den Hecke (traceable from 1614 to 1665) [1] and his son Jan-Frans van den Hecke (traceable from 1662 to 1700), [2] who between them supplied numerous versions throughout the second half of the century. When marks and signatures appear on later Eucharist tapestries, they are always those of the Van den Heckes. Frans used his monogram "F.V.H." (series at Cologne, Turin, Oncala and previously in the collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba) or his name in full (one tapestry at Geneva). Similarly Jan-Frans used the monogram "I.F.V.H." (series at Toledo and formerly in the collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba) or his full name (tapestries at Sarasota and formerly in the

[1] *Wauters,* pp. 306–309, *passim;* H. Göbel, *Das Brüsseler Wirkergeschlecht der van den Hecke, Der Cicerone,* XIV, 1922, pp. 17–22 (same text in *Göbel,* I, (1), pp. 355–358); B.C.K. in *Thieme-Becker,* XVI, p. 203, s.v. *Hecke, van den.*

[2] *Wauters,* pp. 309–312, *passim; H. Göbel, loc. cit.,* pp. 22–26 (same text in *Göbel,* I (1), pp. 358–360); B.C.K. in *Thieme-Becker,* XVI, pp. 203, 204, s.v. *Hecke, van den.*

Braquenié and Vayson collections and in Paris sales). Several unsigned tapestries after the same patterns can also be ascribed to the Van den Hecke workshop. There is one series (at Malta) by a different craftsman, Jodocus de Vos, but we shall see that this was made from other, later cartoons.

It is hard to ascertain whether Frans van den Hecke bought the cartoons he used or had them made for himself. He may have been tapestry weaver to the Brussels court, [3] and thus been able to have copies made from the canvases that remained at the Palace at least until 1649. There was in any case one cartoon in the Van den Hecke workshop that was copied after a painting in the Palace. We know a tapestry showing a fragment of *Mercury Leaving Antwerp* from the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (Fig. 228). [4]

Who produced the paper copies after the original cartoons from Rubens's studio? It may possibly have been Jacob Jordaens, of whom it was stated in ca. 1725–35 that he "afterwards copied the cartoons of the Court in water-colour". [5] More probably, however, it was a Brussels painter, perhaps Antoon Sallaert, who was very active as a cartoon painter and, according to the same 18th-century source, a hand in making the original cartoons on canvas. [6] Moreover, copies of the Eucharist series can be ascribed to him. [7]

As far as we know, little or nothing of the paper cartoons has survived to the present day. By the 18th century they seem to have been no longer used, and were no doubt lost or so worn as to be unserviceable. The anonymous source of ca. 1725–35 tells us that a fragment of a cartoon—an angel's head from "the cartoon in which the Virgin is led in a chariot by Angels" (evidently *The Triumph of Divine Love*)—was in the possession of "baudewijn" (i.e. probably a member of the painter family Boudewijns). [8] This fragment was painted on

[3] That Frans van den Hecke was court tapestry-weaver is stated by *Wauters*, p. 307; *Göbel*, I (1), p. 355; W.G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, revised ed., London, 1930, p. 382; B.C.K., *loc. cit.*, p. 203; *Elbern*, p. 17; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 63. However, we have not been able to confirm the information or to discover when the appointment was made. Göbel places it around 1660; was it in the time of Leopold William? The statement probably rests only on a document that was published by Van den Branden; it gave no date and can no longer be traced in the archives: see n. 10.

[4] See below, pp. 249, 250.

[5] Doc. 25b, see also p. 145.

[6] Doc. 25c; see also p. 232.

[7] See pp. 231, 232.

[8] Doc. 25c.

paper in water-colour. Otherwise little seems to have been known of the rest of the series at that time.

At the beginning of the present century one paper cartoon still existed, though in very poor condition—*The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (Fig. 114). It was sold at Vienna in 1910, after which all trace of it disappears. Luckily the catalogue of 1910 contains a good reproduction, and further details are given in a catalogue of 1815, which describes it as: "painted on paper and stuck in separate pieces on grey paper, so that either separate groups can be formed or the cartoon reassembled as a whole". [9]

b. *Series Recorded in the 17th and 18th Centuries*

Documents of the 17th and 18th centuries mention several series that cannot be identified with existing ones.

Documents in the Antwerp City Archives, which have been quoted more than once, mention the Brussels weavers Frans and Jan-Frans van den Hecke as supplying "kamers" ("rooms" of tapestries) of *The Triumph of the Church*. At an uncertain date the Antwerp dealers Frans de Smidt and Ascanio Martini ordered two "kamers" from Frans van den Hecke, one consisting of seven tapestries measuring 335 square ells and another of eight measuring 375 square ells. [10] On 7 june 1691 Jan-Frans van den Hecke undertook to deliver within six months to Louis de Lannoy, a dealer at Antwerp, a "room" of

[9] "Peinte sur papier et collée par parties détachées sur papier gris, de manière qu'on peut faire des groupes détachés ou réunir le tout ensemble"; see under Cat. No. 5c.

[10] Van den Branden writes: "Master Frans van den Hecke, tapestry-weaver to the Brussels court, produced two separate series for the Antwerp dealers Francisco de Smidt and Ascanio Martini, after 'den patroon van de Triumphe der Heylige Kercke, door Pietro Paulo Rubbens'. Each set comprised two 'kamers'; the first of seven pieces measuring 355 ells long and 7 1/2 ells high, the second of eight pieces measuring 375 ells long and 7 1/8 ells high. The work was interwoven with gold and silver and was paid for at 22 guilders the ell." (F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 554, n. 1). The original text has not been found in the Antwerp City Archives. Van den Branden is certainly mistaken in referring to "ells long": the original must have meant square ells. This series, known from documents, is mentioned in *Rooses*, I, p. 77; J. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17de eeuw te Antwerpen, De Firma Forchoudt (Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst*, 1), Antwerp, 1931, pp. 15, 16, n. 1; *Elbern*, p. 17; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 63.

tapeſtries representing "The Triumph of the Holy Church" made after Rubens's design.[11]

Cartoons in the Van den Hecke workshop are probably also referred to in 1699, when the Antwerp dealer Naulaerts informs potential cuſtomers that Rubens's patterns for *The Triumph of the Church* are among the moſt important ones on religious subjects, and that a set can be woven therefrom within 8–10 months at any time.[12] In addition, we find in Denucé's source publications that several tapeſtries of the series were on the Antwerp market between 1680 and 1703.[13]

Later tapeſtries of the Euchariſt series are also encountered outside the Netherlands. In 1673 a set of eight depicting *The Triumph of the Church* were sent to Spain for Graf Harrach,[14] and in 1744 a series of eight pieces was in the eſtate of the Archbishop of Bourges.[15]

These later series, which we encountered in the art trade, were probably for

[11] "Eene caemer Tapisserye Brussels werck representerende de triumphe vande Heylige Kercke in acht ſtucken naer den originelen patroon van D. Pedro Paulo Rubens, de figueren naer levens grootte..." (*Antwerp City Archives, Notarissen*, No. 2824, f° 237). The pieces were to be 53 ells long and 5 1/2 ells high, i.e. 291 1/2 square ells; they were to be of fine silk, and the price was 13 guilders per square ell. For details see F. Donnet, *Documents pour servir à l'hiſtoire des ateliers de tapisserie de Bruxelles, Audenarde, Anvers, etc.*, Brussels, 1898, pp. 29–30 (but the identification of these pieces with extant ones known to him is unacceptable). Also mentioned by *Göbel*, I (1), pp. 358, 359; B.C.K. in *Thieme-Becker*, XVI, p. 203, s.v. *Hecke, van den;* W.G. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 383; P. Saintenoy, *Les Arts et les Artiſtes à la Cour de Bruxelles*, III, (*Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, VI), Brussels, 1935, p. 26.

[12] "... connen altydt op 8 a 10 maenden gemaeckt woorden, als volght: Inden eerſten, *de Triumphe van de Heylige Kerck*, patroon van Pedro Paulo Rubbens..." (*Denucé, Tapijtkunſt*, p. 126).

[13] In 1680 a *Tapisseria del Trionfo della Chiesa*, comprising the following subjects: *Dove l'Angelo porta il pane a Elias, Il Trionfo de la Chiesa, La fede Catolica, Il Sacrificio, L'Amor divino* (*Denucé, Tapijtkunſt*, p. 381). In 1700 five pieces sold to Don Francisco Bernardo de Quiros, Spanish ambassador: *la Triumphe de la Sainte Eglise*, conſiſting of *Ecclesia Triumphans, Fides Catholica, Veritas, Amor Divinus* and *Elias* (*Denucé, Tapijtkunſt*, pp. 147, 148). In 1703 "5 ſtucken H. Kerk", sold by Nicolaas Naulaerts to "de Heren Mendez ende d'Acoſta" in 1685 (*Denucé, Tapijtkunſt*, p. 232). In 1707 a set of four entitled *de H. Kerck*, conſiſting of *de triumphe, Veritas, Amour divine* and *Elias* (*Denucé, Tapijtkunſt*, p. 335).

[14] "Triompho della Chiesa, disegno originale dal pittor Rubbens, in 8 pezze, large aunes 5 3/4, 7 1/4, 6 1/4, 10, 10, 10, 10, 11 et alte aunes 6, insieme aunes 421 1/2 à florini 14 l'aune (F. Menčik, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Tapezereisammlung aus dem Gräfl. Harrachschen Archive, Jahrbuch der kunſthiſtorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchſten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1911–12, p. XXXVIII, No. 20270; *Göbel*, I, p. 426).

the moſt part intended for noble and bourgeois homes. It was also natural, in view of the subjects, that they should be presented to churches or lent to them for temporary decoration. It was probably tapeſtries of the Euchariſt series that the Antwerp dealer Naulaerts hired out to the Cathedral in this way in, e.g., 1700 and 1702.[16]

Records of later tapeſtry series and individual pieces could no doubt also be found in inventories, contracts, dealers' correspondence and other archivalia, in the Netherlands and abroad. We have, however, confined ourselves to the published material and have not pursued our inveſtigations further.

c. *Series Recorded in the 19th Century, and Those Still Extant*

In the case of extant series we have also confined ourselves to the literature, and are aware that the liſt could be much extended. Many tapeſtries, especially individual pieces, might no doubt be discovered in churches and private collections or traced in sale catalogues. In our *Catalogue Raisonné* we have liſted for each tapeſtry in the Descalzas series, under the heading "Other versions", the later repetitions that we have found recorded in the literature. The accuracy of these references had of course to be checked, and in some cases it was found that the series in queſtion did not in fact exiſt.

Göbel, for inſtance, mentions a Euchariſt series in the Vatican and refers miſtakenly to a publication by Barbier de Montault. The latter indeed speaks of tapeſtries in the Vatican woven by Frans van den Hecke and depicting Triumphs, but they are Triumphs of the Virtues.[17]

[15] Inventory of the eſtate of Cardinal Léon Potier de Gesvres, archbishop of Bourges, dated 28 November 1744: *Le Triomphe de l'Eglise*, d'après les dessins de Rubens, haute lisse, à grands personnages, huit pièces, 3 [sic] aunes sur 3 aunes et demie ... 5000 l. (Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'hiſtoire de l'art (1700–1750)*, I, Paris, 1964, p. 746).

[16] "[10 octobris 1700]. Gehangen 2 ſtucken van de H. Kerck t' Ons Lieve Vrouwen voor een eerſte misse, par d'Hr Diependael"; ... 14 ditto [Mey 1702] Gehangen t'Onse Lieve Vrouwen voor het Venerabel 5 ſt[ucken] 6 d. *H. Kerck*" (*Denucé, Tapijtkunſt*, p. 131).

[17] *Göbel*, I (1), p. 356, referring to X. Barbier de Montault, *Inventaire descriptif des tapisseries de haute lisse conservées à Rome*, Arras, 1879; however, we have found in this source (*Ibid.*, p. 95), only a mention of "Triomphe de la Vertu" and "Suite du Triomphe" in the church of Saints John and Paul, both with the monogram of Frans van den Hecke. A somewhat confused account of tapeſtries in the Vatican executed by Frans van den Hecke and depicting *The Virtues* (including *Triumphs of Virtues*) is given in X. Barbier de Montault, *Rome Chrétienne, Tapisseries du Vatican, Annales archéologiques*, XV, 1855, pp. 300–303.

A series of tapestries, formerly in the possession of the Duque de Oñate in Madrid, are recorded by Wauters as comprising 22 pieces after Rubens, some of them signed by Frans van den Hecke; he does not mention the subjects.[18] They were mentioned as representing the Eucharist compositions,[19] but we do not know on what grounds.

It has often been stated that an almost complete series of Eucharist subjects is or was in the tapestry collection of the Royal Palace in Madrid.[20] The Spanish authorities, however, have repeatedly declared that they know of no such series in the Palace and have no reason to think there ever was one.[21] The mistake is probably due to confusion with the *editio princeps* in the Royal convent in Madrid, or with the modelli that were in the Palace in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Altogether we have established a list of sixty tapestries, including seven more or less important series of between three and nine pieces, the remainder being individual subjects. The number of versions that are known to exist varies a great deal from one composition to another. As in the case of the painted copies, those most often reproduced were the two large decorative pieces with triumphal chariots, *The Triumph of the Church* and *The Triumph of Faith.*

As far as we can ascertain, the Eucharist series was never repeated as a whole, and this is understandable. Purchasers naturally did not want a complete repetition of the decoration of the Descalzas church, but a "kamer" with which

[18] "On voit encore, à Madrid, chez M. le Comte d'Onate, une série de 22 tapisseries, d'après Rubens et signées *Frachois (sic) van den Hecke*" (*Wauters,* p. 308); cited by *Göbel,* I (1), p. 356.

[19] J.K. Steppe, *Vlaamse wandtapijten in Spanje, Recente gebeurtenissen en publicaties, Artes Textiles,* III, 1956, p. 60.

[20] *Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 377; cited by *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 427; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses,* p. 31; *Elbern,* p. 14; *Jaffé, 1956,* p. 133; J.K. Steppe, *loc. cit.,* p. 60; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 291, 293, 294.

[21] Rooses quotes Pedro de Madrazo as stating that the series never existed (*Rooses,* I, p. 77). In a letter of 26 September 1885 to Rooses, now in the Rubenianum at Antwerp, Madrazo wrote: "... il est bon que vous sachiez que le palais de Madrid ne possède, et n'a jamais possédé, aucune des tapisseries tissées à Bruxelles d'après ces chefs-d'œuvre. L'assertion de C. Villaamil... est complètement fausse. Je viens de passer en revue aux Archives de la Couronne, et avec la plus grande attention toutes les inventaires de tapisseries dressées depuis la mort de Philippe IV jusqu'à l'époque actuelle, et je vous garantis l'inexactitude de cette notice." Elbern was also informed that the series did not exist (*Elbern, 1955,* pp. 62, 63). Paulina Junquera, who is at present studying the tapestries in the Spanish royal collections, has personally assured us that Cruzada Villaamil's statement is incorrect.

to furnish their homes (or a decoration for an other religious building). We know of no second version of the five pieces comprising *The Adoration of the Eucharist,* and of the other small compositions we know only one example of *The Succession of the Popes* (Fig. 227) and of *King David Playing the Harp* (Fig. 225), both in a modified format.

The Eucharist compositions were adapted to customers' needs by the usual workshop practices: they were reduced in size or enlarged and, when necessary, combined with other figures (Figs. 221, 222). The architectural borders had to be made uniform, as one could hardly supply a set with some Tuscan and some Salomonic columns. As the surviving examples show, the decorative Salomonic columns were preferred to the severe Tuscan ones (Figs. 168, 221), or else completely new borders were chosen (Figs. 142, 156).

Most of the later tapestries are less high than the original set, the composition being cut off at the bottom, and it may be that at a certain time the cartoons themselves were cut down.[22] The actual compositions were as a rule not much altered. In some cases the monstrance held by the Church in *The Triumph of the Church* was replaced by a cross (tapestries at Frankfurt and Cologne).

(1) *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum:*

The three tapestries at Vienna are probably among the oldest of the later sets known to us. They date from before 1657: they were bought for the Emperor Ferdinand III (1637–57) by the court purveyor Gillis Gerobo, whose full name is woven into the borders together with the Brussels mark: "GILLIS. GEROBO.HOEFHANDL". Several coats of arms are seen on the tapestries: the Bohemian lion in the upper corners in front of the capitals, and the double eagle with the monogram "F III" in the upper middle portion in front of the cartouche. The weaver's name does not appear: it was probably removed and replaced by Gerobo's. We may assume, however, that the three pieces came from the Van den Hecke workshop, and, in view of the date, that they belong to the period of Frans van den Hecke.

22 Only the Vienna and the Turin and Rome series are approximately as high as the *editio princeps* (respectively 485 cm. and from 460 to 485 cm.); the others, as far as is known to us, vary between 378 and 420 cm.

In April 1743, when Maria Theresa was crowned Queen of Bohemia, the tapestries were in the "Prager Landstube". They were brought to Vienna from the Hradčany Castle in Prague in July 1877. [23]

These unusual pieces throw an interesting light on workshop practices. As very wide tapestries were required—two of them measure 920 cm each—the weavers combined different Eucharist cartoons and also added figures that did not belong to the series. *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 222) was enlarged by an Evangelist of the Eucharist series on the left and, on the right, a standing female figure holding a staff. In *The Triumph of Faith* (Fig. 221) we find on the left figures from *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* and on the right a personification of Fortitude. To either side of *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* are figures from *The Gathering of the Manna,* viz. Moses and the woman with a basket on her head.

The two female figures from outside the series agree with two Rubens modelli representing *Justice* (Fig. 224) and *Abundance,* which are clearly tapestry designs and were formerly in the collection of the Duke of Malmesbury. [24] Justice has been given a staff (Fig. 222), and Abundance holds a pillar instead of the horn of plenty (Fig. 221). It thus appears that at the middle of the century tapestry cartoons of these compositions by Rubens were in the possession of the workshop which also held the paper patterns for the Eucharist series, i.e. probably that of Frans van den Hecke. A tapestry showing *Justice* by herself (Fig. 223) can also be related to the Eucharist sets, particularly the series at Turin and Rome.

(2) *The Turin and Rome Series:*

A set of ten tapestries by Frans van den Hecke, depicting subjects from the Eucharist series and now dispersed among various collections in Turin and Rome, belonged originally to Charles Emmanuel II, Duke of Savoy (1634–1675). Four pieces bear his coat of arms, not woven but embroidered on the

[23] For this series see E. Ritter von Birk, *Inventar der im Besitze des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins (Fortsetzung und Schluss), Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* II, 1884, p. 216; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* IV, 1895, p. 207; *Elbern,* pp. 18, 30, 36, 37; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 63, 73, 83, 86.

[24] See p. 142, n. 30.

tapestry. Mercedes Viale Ferrero, who wrote at length about these pieces,[25] suggested that they might have been used in 1653 when the city of Turin was decorated to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the miracle of Corpus Domini.[26] She abandoned this hypothesis, however, on discovering that the date of the purchase was 1665, when Charles Emmanuel paid 75,000 guilders for four sets of Flemish tapestry, including two of the Eucharist series.[27] It may well be that special interest in the subject had been aroused by the Eucharistic celebrations.

How the series was originally composed is not clear, but it was evidently a combination of two sets. According to Mrs. Viale Ferrero there are at present ten pieces. Nine are in Turin: one in the Palazzo Carignano (*The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*), four in the Museo Civico (*The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant, The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Divine Love* and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*), and four more in the Palazzo Reale (*The Gathering of the Manna, Elijah and the Angel, The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist*).[28] In her second publication on this series Mrs. Viale Ferrero says that there is a tenth tapestry in the Quirinal at Rome;[29] we have not been able to discover its subject, but to judge from the other titles it may be one of the "large" pieces such as *The Triumph of Faith* or *Abraham and Melchizedek.*

There is also in the Museo Civico at Turin a small tapestry of upright format representing *Justice* (Fig. 224).[30] Viale Ferrero was in doubt as to where it belonged, but it seems to us that it may have been a "passtuk" (filling-in-piece") for one of the sets of the Eucharist series. The motifs of the upper and lower border are in any case borrowed from he cartoons for that series: they

[25] Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Tapisseries rubéniennes et jordaenesques à Turin, Artes Textiles,* III, 1956, pp. 67, 71–74, fig. 19 (repr. of *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices);* Mercedes Ferrero-Viale, *Essai de reconstitution idéale des collections de tapisserie ayant appartenu à la maison de Savoie au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle,* in *Het Herfsttij van de Vlaamse Tapijtkunst, Internationaal Colloquium 8–10 october 1959,* Brussels, 1959, pp. 278, 281, 292, 295, 299.

[26] Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Tapisseries..., loc. cit.,* pp. 72, 73.

[27] "Quatre grandes tapisseries de Flandres très fines, c'est à dire deux riches d'or *Histoire du Triomphe de l'Eglise* pour meubler les deux chambres de parade du Palais Royal, et autres deux..." (Mercedes Ferrero-Viale, *Essai..., loc. cit.,* pp. 278, 281).

[28] Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Tapisseries..., loc. cit.,* p. 71.

[29] Mercedes Ferrero-Viale, *Essai..., loc. cit.,* p. 281.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 281, fig. 5.

are, respectively, the angel's head with scroll and trumpets from *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190), and the pedestal, with claws and angel's heads on either side, from *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 119). The figure of *Justice* itself is also borrowed from Rubens: it agrees with one of the modelli formerly in the Duke of Malmesbury's collection (Fig. 224).[31] As we have seen, this figure was used to complete one of the Vienna tapestries (Fig. 222), and the pattern for it was probably owned by Frans van den Hecke.

(3) *Cologne, Cathedral:*

The Eucharist tapestries in Cologne Cathedral are mentioned repeatedly in the literature and have been thoroughly studied by Elbern.[32] They form a set of eight, much coarser in quality (Fig. 168) than the *editio princeps,* and were presented to the Chapter by Cardinal Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg (1629–1704). The archives do not appear to give the date of the presentation, but it must have been in 1687 or 1688—probably the beginning of 1688, shortly after Fürstenberg was made coadjutor to the Archbishop of Cologne. The Archbishop died later that year, and Fürstenberg attempted without success to obtain the office of Archbishop and Elector.[33]

The set of tapestries was certainly not made for the cathedral: it bears the monogram of Frans van den Hecke (traceable from 1614 to 1665), showing that it had existed for a considerable time before purchase. The tapestries, moreover, are ill adapted to the Gothic architecture of the building. They were used to decorate the choir, and during the 18th and part of the 19th century they were permanently in position, separating the choir from the ambulatory. They were hung so as to follow the contour of the pillars and fill the whole space between: a rather unhappy arrangement, the effect of which can be seen in old illustrations of the cathedral such as a drawing of 1795 by Joseph

[31] See p. 142, n. 30.

[32] *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln,* pp. 318–320, Nos. 1–8, figs. 252, 253; *Elbern,* pp. 19–24; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 44–50, 64–69; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 121–123. See also *Die Rubensteppiche im Langhaus, Kölner Domblatt,* XII-XIII, 1957, p. 160; survey of the older literature in *Elbern, 1955,* p. 88.

[33] For information about the Cardinal see *Elbern,* pp. 19–21; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 44, 45; as to the dating, see *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 44–46.

Michael Laporterie (Fig. 229) [34] and a print after a drawing by C. Wild. [35] The tapestries were admired by generations of visitors, but in course of time there was an increasing feeling that the cathedral should present a purely Gothic appearance, and in 1842 the baroque tapestries were removed. [36] For some time thereafter little attention was paid to them; they were used as carpets on festive occasions, and were later stored in one of the towers and forgotten. In 1925 they were rediscovered, carefully restored and lent to the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne, where they were on view until 1939. Subsequently they returned to the cathedral, and attracted attention as a result of the exhibition devoted to the Eucharist series, at the Villa Hügel in Essen. [37]

(4) *Oncala, Parish Church:*

Ten tapestries, including eight depicting subjects of the Eucharist series, were presented to the parish church of Oncala in the province of Soria (Old Castile) by Juan Francisco Ximenez del Rio, bishop of Segovia and later archbishop of Valencia, who was born at Oncala and built himself a palace there. From the dates of his life it can be inferred that the presentation took place towards the end of the 18th century, [38] so that the tapestries were no doubt acquired at second hand.

The literature tells us little about this series or even the exact subjects, except for *The Triumph of the Church*, which is reproduced by one author. [39] Prof. Steppe was kind enough to furnish some important information: all the

[34] In the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, Cologne, Inv. No. K.H. 143 (the tapestries represented do not really show the scenes of the Eucharist series); see: H. Rode, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Cologne, 1956*, pp. 50 51, No. 95a; H. Rode, *Ein Bild des vollendeten Kölner Domes aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, Beitrag zur Wertung der Kathedrale in der Frühromantik, Kölner Domblatt*, XII-XIII, 1957, pp. 114, 115, fig. 30.

[35] *Elbern*, p. 22, fig. 24; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 46, fig. 22. Elbern gives a plan of the cathedral indicating where the tapestries were hung (*Elbern, 1955*, fig. 21).

[36] *Elbern*, pp. 47, 48.

[37] *Essen, 1954–55*.

[38] Ximenez del Rio was bishop of Segovia from 1785, and archbishop of Valencia from 1796 until his death in 1800 (P.B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, Graz, 1957 (reprint of Regensburg, 1873–1886), p. 88).

[39] N. Rabal, *Soria (España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza y historia)* Barcelona, 1889, pp. 477–478; B. Taracena and J. Tudela, *Soria, Guia artística de Soria y su provincia*, Soria, 1928, pp. 239, 240, fig. p. 239 *(Triumph of the Church)*; *Ibid.*, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1968, p. 248; J.K. Steppe, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

tapestries bear the monogram "F.V.H." (Frans van den Hecke) and the subjects, according to the Professor's notes, are *Abraham and Melchizedek, The Gathering of the Manna, Elijah and the Angel, The Triumph of the Church, The Triumph of Faith, The Triumph of Divine Love, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and *The Triumph over the Old Law* (probably *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*).

(5) *Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire:*

The three tapestries at Geneva—*Abraham and Melchizedek, Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 142) and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*[40]—were probably specially commissioned. They have no architectural borders but are surrounded with a continuous flower-garland rather in the style of a picture-frame; above is an angel's head with wings, and below is a globe with a serpent twined round it, a motif from *The Triumph of the Church.* We see no reason to interpret these decorative elements as the arms of the dukes of Sforza, who are said to have been the first owners of the tapestries.

The pieces are probably all three from Frans van den Hecke's workshop; one, *Abraham and Melchizedek,* is marked in full F VANDENHECKE. However, as the borders have been restored this attribution is uncertain: Elbern doubts the authenticity of the signature and believes that the tapestries are by Jan-Frans van den Hecke, as the garland border, he maintains, points to a latter date.[41] It is hard to say if this is so. Elbern is certainly mistaken when he says that the tapestries may be identical with those from the Berwick and Alba collection,[42] as the latter were framed in Salomonic columns.

(6) *Formerly in the Collection of the Dukes of Berwick and Alba:*

Of a series of eleven tapestries sold at Paris in 1877 with the Berwick and Alba collection and purchased by Baron d'Erlanger, only one can be located at the present day: *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices,* in the possession of the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas in Brussels.

[40] *Göbel,* I, (1), p. 356; B.C.K. in *Thieme-Becker,* XVI, p. 203, s.v. *Hecke, van den, Frans I; Elbern,* pp. 17, 29, 32; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 63, 72, 73, 76.

[41] *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 63, 72, 73, 76.

[42] *Elbern, 1955,* p. 63.

We are fairly well informed as to the lost series, which is described in the catalogue of the Berwick and Alba sale. Baron Erlanger exhibited it in 1880 at the Exposition Nationale in Brussels, and it was afterwards described and partly illustrated in the book about this exhibition by Keuller and Wauters.[43] Some tapestries bore the monogram of Frans van den Hecke and others that of his son Jan-Frans van den Hecke.

The composition of the series was unusual. To judge from the description and other evidence it probably included two copies of *The Triumph of the Church* and one each of *The Gathering of the Manna, Elijah and the Angel, The Triumph of Faith, The Four Evangelists* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices.* Then came—an exceptional feature—two smaller pieces from the Eucharist series, *King David Playing the Harp* and *The Succession of the Popes.* These, however, were not reproduced in their original format and like the rest of this series, were framed in Salomonic columns, *King David Playing the Harp* (Fig. 225) was given a vertical format, the upper part being filled with a broad garland of flowers and fruit suspended from the architrave; *The Succession of the Popes* (Fig. 227) was completed with all kinds of elements, including Salomonic columns on either side and, at the top, an angel's head with a scroll and trumpets, a motif from *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (Fig. 190).

Finally the series contained two small allegorical female figures, unconnected with the Eucharist series, which are referred to in the Berwick and Alba catalogue as *La Force* (Fig. 226) and *L'Espérance grandit la Foi* (Fig. 228).[44] Both are framed in Salomonic columns like the rest of the series; they have a small cartouche at the top, and beneath it a cherub's head. The figure of Hope (Fig. 228) derives from *Antverpia* in the painting of *Mercury Leaving Antwerp* in *The Stage of Mercury* of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi;* this painting was for a long time at the Brussels Palace with those of the Eucharist series.[45]

[43] *Wauters,* pp. 307, 308; collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba, sold at Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lots 50–60; exh.: *Brussels, 1880,* Nos. 22, 24, 72, 79, 80, 112, 131, 138, 139, 145, 155; see *Keuller-Wauters,* pp. 21, 22, Pls. XLV-XLIX; mentioned several times subsequently: *Rooses,* I, pp. 77, 78; B.C.K. in *Thieme-Becker,* XVI, p. 203, *s.v. Hecke, van den, Frans* I; *Göbel,* I (1), pp. 356, 359; W.G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry,* revised ed., London, 1930, p. 382; *Elbern,* p. 17; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 63; J.K. Steppe, *loc. cit.,* p. 60.

[44] Sold at Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lots 58, 57; exh.: *Brussels, 1880,* Nos. 139, 138; see *Keuller-Wauters,* p. 22, Pl. XLIX (left and right); *Rooses,* I, p. 78, as *La Force (Fortitudo)* and *L'Espoir de répandre la Foi (Spes dilatandi Fidem).*

[45] *Martin Pompa,* pp. 184–187, No. 47, figs. 96, 97.

The tapestry reproduces literally, though in reverse, many features of this composition by Rubens: the half-sinking woman with one hand on her heart and the other raised to heaven, the oars and anchor at her feet, the sailor behind her, sleeping on an upturned boat, and the sea in the distance. As for *Fortitude* (Fig. 226), we do not know if this is of Rubens's invention. It may be identical with a lost modello by him which in the 18th century formed a series with the modelli of *Justice* (Fig. 224) and *Abundance* and was later in the Duke of Malmesbury's collection. [46]

(7) *Toledo, Cathedral:*

Toledo cathedral possesses ten tapestries of the Eucharist series, by Jan-Frans van den Hecke. According to Gudiol Ricart there were originally twelve, presented to the cathedral by Luis Manuel Fernández de Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo from 1678 to 1709. [47] The tapestries have always been used to decorate the streets of Toledo for the Corpus Christi procession, one of the most elaborate religious festivities in Spain. We have been unable to ascertain the subjects of all the tapestries. Two of them, *The Triumph of Divine Love* and *The Triumph of Faith,* were exhibited at Barcelona in 1929–30. [48] Others can be seen suspended on the outer wall of the cathedral in illustrations of the Corpus Christi procession in 1950. [49] Only those in the foreground are clear enough to be identified: they are *The Triumph of the Church* and *Abraham and Melchizedek.*

(8) *Formerly in the H. Braquenié Collection, Paris:*

In 1878 Wauters wrote: "MM. Braquenié possèdent une tenture appartenant à une exécution différente de la même série [Triomphe de l'Eglise]et portant en

[46] See above, p. 142, n. 30; J.P. Asselberghs suggested that both allegorical tapestries might be connected with these modelli (in an unpublished note for the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas concerning the tapestry in their possession, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices).*

[47] J. Gudiol Ricart, *La Catedral de Toledo (Los Monumentos cardinales de España,* II), Madrid, n.d., p. 135; dates from P.B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae,* Graz, 1957 (reprint of Regensburg, 1873–1886), p. 81.

[48] Exh.: *El Arte en España,* Palacio Nacional, Barcelona, 1929–30, No. 1672; see Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Les tapisseries flamandes à l'Exposition de Barcelone, Oud-Holland,* 1930, pp. 56, 58, fig. 4.

[49] J. Ortiz Echagüe, *España Mística,* 2nd ed., Madrid, 1950, figs. 219–223.

toutes lettres la signature JAN. FRANCOIS. VAN DEN HECKE. Elle représente *le Triomphe de la religion sur l'hérésie...*".[50] It is hard to tell which tapestry of the Eucharist series was owned by MM. Braquenié, a firm of weavers established in Paris and also at Mechlin; possibly it was *The Triumph of the Church*. Rooses, who quotes Wauters verbatim, refers to it as a *The Victory of Truth over Heresy*,[51] and this identification was repeated by Donnet and Elbern.[52] It appears, however, that H. Braquenié gave the work a different title. In a postscript to a letter of 5 January to Pinchart, to be found among the latter's notes, he wrote: "Je viens d'acheter une tapisserie de Bruxelles J.F. van den Hecke, représentant le triomphe de la Religion, comme une toile de Rubens qui est au Louvre".[53] This may suggest *The Triumph of Faith*. No subjets from the Eucharist series are mentioned in the sale of tapestries of H. Braquenié's collection (in 1897) or that of his widow (in 1902).[54]

(9) *Formerly in J. Vayson's Collection at Abbeville:*

Wauters, in 1878, writes in connection with the Eucharist series: "... il en existe une autre pièce à Abbeville, chez M[r] J. Vayson: *la Religion triomphant du paganisme*, pièce qui est d'autant plus curieuse qu'elle porte une double signature: P.P. RUBENS PINXIT et JAN FRANCISCUS VAN DEN HECKE FECIT..."[55] We do not know exactly what this subject was. Rooses recorded it as a version of *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices*,[56] but he was probably relying only on the title given by Wauters. Other authors clearly base themselves on Wauters and Rooses and supply no further information.[57]

[50] *Wauters*, pp. 309, 310.

[51] *Rooses*, I, p. 60, under No. 44.

[52] F. Donnet, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des ateliers de tapisserie de Bruxelles, Audenarde, Anvers, etc.*, Brussels, 1889, p. 30; *Elbern*, p. 35; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 79.

[53] *Royal Library, Brussels, Manuscripts*, notes by Pinchart.

[54] H. Braquenié sale, Paris (Drouot), 18 May 1897; veuve H. Braquenié sale, Paris (Drouot), 15–16 December 1902.

[55] *Wauters*, p. 310.

[56] *Rooses*, I, p. 55, under No. 41.

[57] Donnet, following Wauters, speaks of "Voyson" (F. Donnet, *op. cit.*, p. 30); Göbel paraphrases Wauters (*Göbel*, I (1), p. 359); Elbern mentions two tapestries in the "Voyson" collection, *The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* (*Elbern*, p. 33; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 77) and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (*Elbern*, p. 35; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 79).

(10) *Formerly in Michel Ferrié's Collection at Marseilles:*

Rooses mentions a tapestry series in the collection of Michel Ferrié at Marseilles, which according to him consisted of *The Triumph of Faith, The Triumph of the Church, Abraham and Melchizedek* and *The Triumph of Divine Love.*[58] He adds that the first three were executed by Jan-Frans van den Hecke. We do not know where Rooses got this information from, and we have been unable to ascertain anything more about this series; accordingly we have not included it in our catalogue.

(11) *Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum:*

This museum has two tapestries, *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 156) and *The Triumph of Faith,* bearing the full names of the designer and weaver: "P.P. RVBBENS PINXIT" ... "JOANNES FRANCISCUS VAN DEN HECKE FECIT". They were sold in Paris in 1928, as can be seen from the reproductions in the sale catalogue. They are easy to recognize, as the composition is not flanked by Salomonic columns but by a long festoon of flowers and fruit with three putti on each side. We see little basis, however, for the provenance given in the Sarasota catalogue: "Voyson (sic), Abbéville; Michel Ferrié, Marseilles, 1877; sold at the *Galerie Georges Petit,* Paris, May 1902.".[59] It is true that in the former Vayson collection at Abbeville we also find the remarkable double "signature", but Jan-Frans van den Hecke may have used this more than once, and moreover only one tapestry is recorded at Abbeville. Of the Ferrié collection we know nothing. The statement that the tapestries were sold at Paris in 1902 is probably based only on a passage in Göbel, who says that two tapestries with the full signature of Jan-Frans van den Hecke were sold by Georges Petit in Paris on 12–13 May 1902.[60] We have been unable to find a catalogue of this sale, and can therefore say nothing further about these tapestries.[61]

[58] *Rooses,* I, pp. 57 (under No. 42), 59 (under No. 43), 61 (under No. 45), 63 (under No. 46); Elbern adopts Rooses' data (*Elbern,* pp. 72, 83, 84, 86; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 29, 36, 37, 39).

[59] *Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* pp. 185–187, under Nos. 215, 216.

[60] *Göbel,* I (1), p. 359.

[61] We have been unable to trace a sale catalogue of this date by this firm. There was a sale by Drouot on the date in question, but the tapestries do not appear in the catalogue.

(12) *Valletta, St. John's Cathedral:*

A word should be said of a series of tapestries entitled *The New Testament* in St. John's cathedral, Valletta, the former conventual church of the Knights of Malta.[62] This series is highly spoken of in the literature, and we have full information as to its origin. Ramon Perellos y Rocafull, who became grand master of the Order in 1697, provided a set of tapestries as the "gioia" or "jewel" which it was customary for high dignitaries to bestow on the church on the occasion of their appointment. The production of the tapestries was entrusted to Mattia Preti, painter and knight of he order (1613–1699),[63] who designed a series appropriate to the architecture of the church. The tapestries were woven at Brussels by Jodocus de Vos. Work began in 1697, and by 1701 the tapestries were ready to be hung in the church.

The series consists of 29 pieces: 14 horizontal scenes from the New Testament or on allegorical subjects, 14 very narrow pieces depicting Christ, the Virgin and the Apostles, and a portrait of Perellos. The large scenes were not of Preti's invention, but borrowed from Rubens and other masters. Eleven of them are based on compositions by Rubens, and six are from the Eucharist series: *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 157), *The Triumph of Faith, The Triumph of Divine Love, The Four Evangelists, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifices* and *The Victory of Truth over Heresy.* The other five compositions by Rubens are *The Annunciation* (Leganes collection, now in the

[62] See, inter alia: A. Darcel,*Rapport sur les tapisseries de l'église de S. Jean de Malte,* Malta, 1881; F.V. Inglott, *The Flemish Tapestries of the Church of the Grand Masters,* Malta, 1893; J. Guiffrey, *Les Tapisseries de Malte, L'Eglise Saint-Jean, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 3rd series, XXXII, 1904, pp. 304–310; *Göbel,* I (1), pp. 391, 392; Elisabeth W. Schermerhorn, *Malta of the Knights (1536–1798),* London, 1929, p. 249; R. Paribeni, *Malta (Italia Artistica,* No. 101), Bergamo, 1930, p. 96, figs. pp. 81, 83–87; H.P. Scicluna, *The Church of St. John in Valletta, its History, Architecture and Monuments,* Rome, 1955, pp. 189–195, figs. 264–278; Madeleine Jarry, *Les Tentures du Nouveau Testament de l'Eglise Saint-Jean à Malte, Jardin des Arts,* 1958, pp. 329–338, figs.; Madeleine Jarry, *'New Testament' Tapestries in St. John's, Malta: 'Triumphs' after Rubens, The Burlington Magazine,* CII, 1960, pp. 149–152, figs. 8, 10–13; Madeleine Jarry, *La Tapisserie, des origines à nos jours,* Paris, 1968, p. 189, figs. pp. 188, 190; E. Sammut, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *The Order of St. John in Malta, with an exhibition of paintings by Mattia Preti, Painter and Knight,* The Palace and the Museum of St. John's Co-Cathedral, Valleta, 1970, p. 60.

[63] F. Baumgart in *Thieme-Becker,* XXVII, 1933, p. 385, s.v. *Preti, Mattia;* J.A. Cauchi and W. Vitzthum, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *The Order of St. John... (op. cit.),* pp. 74–92, 316–333.

Rubenshuis at Antwerp), *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (Rouen Museum). *The Adoration of the Magi* (Lyons Museum), *The Raising of the Cross* (Antwerp cathedral) and *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* (St. Paul's, Antwerp). One of the remaining subjects, *The Last Supper,* was borrowed from Nicolas Poussin.

The tapestries are still displayed in St. John's cathedral on special feasts, including Corpus Christi (Fig. 230). The whole series are hung at the same height, under the cornices: they are well clear of the ground, so that access to the side chapels is left free. The narrow grisaille pieces cover the pillars, in line with the broad engaged columns which support the barrel-vault; the broad tapestries adjoin them and fill the space in between. Parts of the tapestries are designed to merge with the architecture: the top represents an architectonic frieze, and the Apostles are depicted in grisaille as though sculpted.

It is wrong to think, as some writers have done, that the Valletta tapestries were woven, even in part, from original Rubens cartoons. Jodocus de Vos did not even use the paper cartoons after which the Van den Heckes had made so many versions. All the Eucharist compositions derive from engravings, as is shown by several details. For instance, in *The Triumph of the Church* (Fig. 157) the woman leading a horse in the foreground is holding a sword as in the engravings (Fig. 153). *The Triumph of Faith* and *The Triumph of Divine Love* are in reverse as compared with the other subjects. Evidently new cartoons were made, probably in Preti's workshop, expressly for the purpose of Perellos's commission.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

1. THE MONSTRANCE HELD BY TWO CHERUBS: TAPESTRY (Fig. 96)

Wool and silk, approximately 370 : 320 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAQ GEVBELS*.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 250; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 297, repr.; *Tormo*, III, p. 58, repr.; *Trens, Exposición*, p. 49; *Held, 1968*, p. 8; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 30, repr.

Through an opening in the rich architectural frame we see a golden monstrance held by two cherubs floating in the air. The one on the left has brown hair and a yellow loincloth, the blond angel on the right is draped in a blue cloth. The former looks down at the spectator, the latter gazes ecstatically at the monstrance. The monstrance is adorned with pillars, capitals, a cartouche, cherubs' heads and, at the top, a pelican piercing its breast. The Host, seen through the glass, is bathed in light from above.

The architecture framing the cherubs is seen from a very low viewpoint. It consists of baroque elements: on either side are pilasters with palmetto decoration, incurving volutes and composite Corinthian capitals. These elements are also found in *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6; Fig. 117). The two pilasters are linked at the bottom by a balustrade; the opening between them is closed at the top by a semicircular sculpted arch, crowned by the sculpted head of a cherub. 'Lifelike' festoons of foliage and fruit (including grapes, apples, pears and pomegranates) hang on rings from the cornice above. Some of the decorative elements on the grey-brown stone are gilded: the egg-and-dart pattern at the top of the capitals, the leaf motif on the volutes and the rectangular frame on the base at the left. Evidently through a mistake of the weavers', this frame does not appear on the base at the other side.)

This tapestry with the monstrance held by cherubs formed the centre not only of the decoration of the altar wall, composed by several tapestries as seen in the Chicago sketch (No. 1–5a; Fig. 95), but also of the whole decoration of the church.

1-5a. THE ADORATION OF THE EUCHARIST: BOZZETTO (Fig. 95)

Oil on panel; 31.5 : 31.5 cm.

Chicago, Art Institute. Inv. No. 37.1012.

PROVENANCE: Jan van Lancker, sale, Antwerp, 23 May 1769, lot 72 ("Rubens. Un Sanctuaire, Esquisse, au milieu de 4 petites pièces jointes ensembles. Bois. H. 13 po., L. 12 po."); Canon P.A.J. Knyff, sale, Antwerp, 18 July 1785, lot 74 ("Rubens. Un autel enrichi d'ornemens et de colonnes, sur lequel est représentée l'Adoration de l'Eucharistie; à droite on voit le Pape à genoux, qui offre de l'encens, il est accompagné des Diâcres, de Prêtres & de beaucoup d'autres figures; à gauche sont l'Empereur, un Roi, des Princes, & plusieurs autres personnes, qui adorent le Saint Sacrement, au-dessus duquel on aperçoit un grand nombre d'Anges qui jouent des instrumens. Dans cette belle esquisse bien terminée & bien coloriée, l'on remarque beaucoup de finesse & de vérité. H. 11 ½ po. L. 11 ¾ po."), purchased by Gireau, Brussels; Dowdeswell, Paris (1914); ? Durlacher Brothers, London; Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson, Chicago.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 94; the composition in reverse, in an open scenery, without architectural elements), whereabouts unknown; copper, 49 : 36 cm.; prov.: Abbé Le Monnier, Paris (1899); lit.: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1900, pp. 180–184; *Rooses, Life,* II, pp. 432, 433, repr. facing p. 428; G. Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis,* Vienna, 1933, p. 207 (as *Frans Francken the Younger*); *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 13, 14, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 21, 22, repr.; *Goris-Held,* p. 34, under No. 57 (as belonging to the Musée de Cluny, Paris); *Held, 1968,* pp. 8, 18, fig. 8.
* Painting

LITERATURE: *Valentiner,* p. 167, No. 126; *Goris-Held,* pp. 34, 35, No. 57; *Larsen,* p. 218, No. 74; *Paintings at the Art Institute of Chicago,* Cleveland-New York, 1961, pp. 407, 408; *Held, 1968,* pp. 12–15, fig. 10; J. Maxon, *The Art Institute of Chicago,* New York, 1970, pp. 45, 46 (repr.); *Scribner, 1975,* p. 519, fig. 4.

This bozzetto is very well preserved. It is painted for the most part in light yellow tones, heightened with pastel-like colours. Various lines in black chalk can be seen; these were made on the priming coat to indicate the main divisions of the composition.

We have referred several times in our exposé to this panel, which is one of the most remarkable pieces of the series. It provides essential clues to many problems, such as the original appearance of the bozzetti and the way the tapestries were hung in two rows, one above another.

The Chicago sketch shows more than the design of a single composition or even a number of tapestries: it gives the picture of a whole wall of the church,

including parts of the architecture of the Descalzas Reales itself, though these are schematic and not wholly accurate in detail. The other bozzetti no doubt resembled this one, with several compositions on a single panel. The reason why, unlike them, the Chicago bozzetto was not cut up is probably that it consisted of closely connected scenes with a single theme, the *Adoration of the Eucharist,* whereas the designs for the other walls of the church represented separate subjects.

We have concluded that the present sketch was a design for the altar wall of the church. This hypothesis was put forward by Tormo, but we have rejected his idea that the present composition was intended only to cover part of Becerra's retable over the high altar (Fig. 16), the rest of it being covered by other tapestries. Instead we proposed a new reconstruction according to which the five tapestries depicting the *Adoration of the Eucharist* covered the whole width of the wall and not only the retable. We also disagree with Tormo's suggestion that this *Adoration of the Eucharist* was designed separately as a *velum* to cover the retable on Good Friday. On the contrary, as we have seen, it forms an integral part of the Eucharist series. We have been unable to interpret the dark area in the centre of the sketch, where an unidentifiable shape is seen behind a sort of grille. [1]

Unlike the other bozzetti of the Eucharist series, but like the subsequent modelli and cartoons, this bozzetto was painted in reverse image. It was possible to do so owing to the strict symmetry of the composition. For the other walls, where there is no symmetry in the design, it would have been insuperably difficult to work in this way.

This sketch shows part of the architectonic construction designed by Rubens as a basis for his decoration, i.e. the part that was not concealed by tapestries hanging between the columns. The spectator has a view here of the "reality" beyond: heaven in the upper zone, this world in the lower. Apart from the five compositions here shown, *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 6) is the only one of the series that belongs to the same "reality".

The unidentified dark patch is enclosed by a two-tier architectural arrangement, with Tuscan columns below and Salomonic ones above. At the top, a cornice surmounts the whole design. The opening above the dark area is crowned by a semicircular arch on which is an angel with outspread arms and wings; below is a balustrade. The architraves are decorated with angels' heads, festoons and cartouches.

Between the Salomonic columns is a heavenly sphere of clouds and light, peopled by larger and smaller angels. The central feature of the composition, and no doubt of the whole decoration of the church, is the monstrance supported by two cherubs and radiating light in all directions. A crowd of angels, grouped in a semicircle round about, worship the Eucharist with prayers and music. The large angels in the foreground play on various instruments: on the left is a viola da gamba and a lute, on the right a lute and a trombone. Smaller angels on both sides sing from hymn-books, while beyond and above them other angels, whose figures are blurred in the light, express their adoration by attitude and gesture.

The lower scenes have a this-worldly setting, with a landscape in the distance. Various persons kneel in the foreground, their eyes and faces raised in adoration towards the monstrance. Those on the left are secular dignitaries, those on the right ecclesiastics. In the tapestry, in which the direction is reversed, the church hierarchy occupies the position of greater honour on the spectator's left, i.e. on the "Gospel side" of the altar and on Christ's right hand.

The secular dignitaries consist of the Holy Roman emperor, seen from behind, wearing an ample cloak and recognizable by his crown and sword and the imperial orb. Next is the king of Spain, with his crown and sceptre on a cushion beside him, then the queen and a woman in a religious habit. The other characters, who are hard to identify, include a man in armour holding a standard (white cross on a red field). We shall revert to the question of the identity of these personages when we discuss the tapestry (No. 5), on which they are clearer and more individualized and are also somewhat differently represented. It would seem that in the bozzetto Rubens indicated them schematically and was not yet concerned with portraiture. When he made the first sketch he may not have known exactly what the King looked like: Philip IV came to the throne only in 1621, and Rubens did not know him personally. Philip appears in the sketch as a lad, younger than in the final composition (Fig. 113), and in a costume that was fashionable in the time of Philip III. We shall say more of this in discussing the modello (No. 5b).

The church dignitaries kneel on the right: nearest the spectator is the Pope, swinging a censer with both hands. His tiara is beside him on a cushion on the ground, and a man behind him holds aloft the papal crosier. Among those kneeling beyond are a cardinal and a Dominican. As in the case of the secular hierarchy, the earthly scene is linked with the heavenly one by an soaring angel

pointing upward to the divine Mystery. The compositions in the lower zone, like those in the upper, are highly symmetrical. The two angels in the inner corners are almost identical in posture. On the outer side there is in each case a man holding a standard. The only departure from symmetry is that the Emperor is seen with his back to us, but in the modello this is altered and the symmetry enhanced. The whole composition, in an upper and a lower tier and with the two sides closely matching each other, conforms to a traditional schema of which innumerable examples could be given. [2]

Beneath the central area which was not to be covered by tapestry is a rectangular panel, evidently intended to be woven, with a symbolic representation of the Eucharist. Hanging from the corners is a large festoon, probably of grapes and ears of corn, with loaves and a chalice below. The simple "frame" of this panel recalls the egg-and-dart borders of the three small allegorical figures (Nos. 18–20; Figs. 209, 214, 216). We know of no tapestry reproducing this composition, and it is an open question whether Rubens kept or discarded it; nor do we know whether he made for the series other designs of this nature.

The Chicago sketch has only been known to art historians for a few decades. Max Rooses only knew a copy painted on copper, a photograph of which was sent to him by the then owner, Abbé Le Monnier in Paris (Fig. 94). [3] In this copy the panel was transformed into a cabinet piece and its composition much altered. The direction is reversed, so that the church hierarchy occupy the place of honour, and the angels are right-handed. The inexplicable dark area was omitted, and the figures on either side moved closer together. This displacement makes the copy an untrustworthy document, and was the cause of misunderstanding as to how the tapestries were hung.

It is noteworthy that at the sale of the Knyff collection (Antwerp, 1785) there figured immediately after the present bozzetto another sketch attributed to Rubens and apparently connected with it. It was the same height as *The Adoration of the Eucharist*, but somewhat narrower. The subject was given as "l'Adoration de la Divinité", and the figures were stated to be the same as those in the preceding sketch. [4] If the second one was really by Rubens it may have been a rejected design for the altar wall. However, possibly it was a modified copy by another hand after Rubens's own design.

[1] See above, pp. 103, 104.

[2] Discussed in the Chapter "Iconography", pp. 176–178.

[3] Correspondence by Le Monnier is preserved in the Documentation of Max Rooses, Rubenianum.

[4] P.A.J. Knyff collection, sold at Antwerp, 18 July 1785, lot 75 ("Par le Même [P.P. Rubens]. L'Adoration de la Divinité sur un Autel d'une autre ordonnance que le précédent, & d'une même composition de figures & d'un même mérite. Haut 11 ½ po. large 9 ½. B[ois] [31:25.7 cm]"). Burchard suggested that this may be identical with a panel in the Mols collection, sold at Antwerp on 28 ff. August 1769, lot 9 ("Une gloire céleste, au bas, en terre, nombre de Saints et de Saintes, Esquisse, par P.P. Rubens, haut 11 p. large de 9 p. 3 lign. B[ois]").

1b. THE MONSTRANCE HELD BY TWO CHERUBS: MODELLO

Oil on panel; approximately 50 : 45 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Etching, without the architectural frame, 160 : 245 mm. (Fig. 97; *V.S.*, p. 69, No. 42).

The modello for this tapestry has not survived and is not mentioned in old inventories or sale catalogues. We may suppose, however, that it is reproduced in an anonymous etching of which there is a copy in the Printroom of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fig. 97). This shows the two angels in a semi-oval border, without the architectural frame that must have appeared in the original modello. It seems to us that this etching might be by the same hand as the better-known etching reproducing the panel in Potsdam which combines the modelli for *Angels Playing Music* (Fig. 103).[1]

Alternatively, the Paris etching might be based not on the modello but on the cartoon for this composition, which is also lost. This seems less probable, however. Apart from the analogy with the etching of *Angels Playing Music,* which is certainly copied after the modelli, in certain respects the etching of *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* is closer to the Chicago sketch (Fig. 95) than to the tapestry (Fig. 96). Firstly, in the tapestry the architecture is heavier and the arch-shaped opening through which the cherubs can be seen is narrower, so that their wings are partly hidden. In the etching, the proportions of the arch are about the same as in the bozzetto. Minor differences from the tapestry are that the monstrance in the etching is crowned with an angel's head, an orb and a cross, and that the position of the cherubs' feet is altered. For these reasons we may assume that the etching of *The Monstrance Held by two Cherubs* is a true reproduction of the lost modello.

[1] Hecquet describes both etchings as "gravé à l'eau forte dans le goût de Remoldus", and lists them successively (R. Hecquet, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Paris, 1751, p. 31, Nos. 134, 135). Basan, who took these data from Hecquet ("Gravé dans le goût de Remoldus Eynhouedts"), accidentally confused the height and width of the etching of *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Paris, 1767, pp. 48, 49, Nos. 21, 22), and was followed in this by Voorhelm Schneevoogt (*V.S.*, p. 69, Nos. 41, 42): apparently they had not themselves seen the etching. That of *Angels Playing Music* was later unconvincingly attributed to Cornelis Schut (see No. 1-2b).

1c. THE MONSTRANCE HELD BY TWO CHERUBS: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 370 : 320 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

COPIES: (1) Painting, without the architectural frame and with variations, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Dr. Magnan, Paris, sale, Paris, 13–15 May 1839, lot 59; (2) Engraving, after (1), by J.J. van den Bergh (Fig. 98; *V.S.*, p. 69, No. 43).

None of the cartoons of the five tapestries that compose *The Adoration of the Eucharist* have been preserved, and nothing is known of the one here in question, though there are several paintings of two cherubs with a monstrance that may be connected with it.

A picture sold in Paris in 1839 in the collection of Dr. Magnan, formerly physician to the king of France, is decribed in the catalogue as follows: "RUBENS (PIERRE-PAUL). Dans une gloire céleste deux Anges supportent un ostensoir et l'exposent à l'adoration des fidèles. L'original de l'ostensoir existe à Sainte-Gudule, cathédrale de Bruxelles. Ce précieux petit tableau est très rare par sa dimension; il est d'une belle qualité de cet habile maître".[1] Besides this description we have an engraving of the picture by J.J. Van den Bergh (Fig. 98).[2] The link with Rubens's composition is clear, but there are some important differences. In the first place, the architectonic framing is replaced by a wreath of clouds. Secondly, the painting in the Magnan collection depicts a particular monstrance, the one with a mantle and three crowns, which contains the relic of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle in St. Gudula's church at Brussels.[3] However, in Magnan's picture it is more slender than in reality,

which may indicate that the painter took Rubens's monstrance as a model and added the mantle and crowns to transform it into the monstrance of St. Gudula. The monstrance in the painting resembles the one in the tapestry at the Descalzas more than that in the Chicago sketch or in the etching which, we believe, represents the lost modello. From this it may be inferred that, small though it is, the Magnan painting is based on the lost cartoon. Another reason for thinking so is that the proportions of the painting agree with those of the tapestry and therefore of the cartoon, and that the position of the cherubs' legs is the same as in the tapestry. We may even wonder if the picture was not originally even more like the cartoon, having been subsequently overpainted to resemble the St. Gudula monstrance.

In addition to the Magnan painting, which in many respects agrees with the tapestry, we have found two small works showing a variant of the composition in question. Both represent *The Monstrance of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, Borne by Cherubs:* one, painted on marble by David Teniers, is in Berlin (Fig. 99) [4], and the other, attributed to David Teniers, is in Brodick Castle (on the Island of Arran, Scotland). [5]

In view of their subject we may suppose that both the Magnan picture and the other two small works were painted at Brussels, and it seems clear that they must be connected with Rubens's compositions which lay to hand in the Brussels tapestry workshops—either the original cartoons on canvas or, more probably, the paper cartoons.

According to Rooses there was also a painting by Rubens's studio on a similar subject at Valladolid. He writes: "Le Musée de Valladolid (n° 554) renferme un tableau où l'on voit, dans le haut, deux anges tenant l'Eucharistie. A droite et à gauche, d'autres anges, grands et petits, chantent et font de la musique. Le tableau attribué à Rubens est de l'école du maître." [6] We have been unable to obtain a reproduction of this work.

[1] See under "Copies" (1); the measurements of this work are not given in the sale catalogue.

[2] This is probably Ignatius-Joseph van den Berghe, an engraver born at Antwerp in 1752; he worked in London and Paris, and died in Paris in 1824 (H. Hymans in *Thieme-Becker,* III, p. 405, s.v. *Berghe, Ignatius Jos.*).

[3] This famous reliquary was lost at the end of the 18th century; several copies are preserved in the church (P. Lefèvre, *Offrandes princières faites en l'honneur d'une relique eucharistique à Bruxelles au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art,* XLI, 1972, pp. 77–79, fig. 1; [*Cat. Exh.*], *Sint-Michiels-*

kathedraal – Kunst en Geschiedenis, St. Michael's cathedral (formerly St. Gudula's church), Brussels, 1975, pp. 219, 220, repr.).

[4] Staatliche Museen, No. 866A. White marble, 45 : 27 cm. (H. Posse, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums,* II, *Die Germanischen Länder,* Berlin, 1911, p. 375, repr.).

[5] Property of the National Trust for Scotland, Edinburgh.

[6] *Rooses,* II, p. 208.

2. ANGELS PLAYING MUSIC: TAPESTRY (Fig. 100)

Wool and silk; approximately 495 : 320 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAQ GEVBELS.*

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* p. 9, No. 7; *Rooses,* I, p. 70, under No. 54; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 296, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 57, repr.; *Trens, Exposición,* p. 66; *Held, 1968,* p. 8, fig. 3 left; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30.

* Tapestry

Between the Salomonic columns, nine angels are seen in the clouds. Two of them look towards the spectator, the others gaze at the monstrance in the adjoining tapestry. All of them worship the Eucharist with music, song and gesture. In the foreground, an angel in a blue garment, with a wreath of flowers in his hair, is sitting cross-legged and tuning a lute. Behind him, three angels are blowing lustily on a trombone, a horn and a recorder. Two small angels, standing upright, sing from a hymn-book, and in the upper background three more cherubs express their adoration by attitude and gesture.

Below in the centre, between the bases of the Salomonic columns, is a socle with a garland of fruit, flanked by two horns containing fruit.

2a. See above, No. 1–5a.

2b. ANGELS PLAYING MUSIC: MODELLO (Figs. 102, 106)

Oil on panel; 65 : 42 cm.; cut down at the left and joined with its pendant, No. 3b (original size approximately 65 : 46 cm.; together with its pendant 65 : 82 cm.). – *Verso* : the brands of Antwerp and the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV).

Potsdam, Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. No. I. 7745

PROVENANCE: Willem Lormier, sale, The Hague, 4 July 1763, lot 216 ("P.P. Rubens, Een Glorie van Engelen, br. 2 v. 7 en een half d., h. 2 v. 2 d., P.[aneel]"), purchased by Monnier for the collection of Frederick II, the Great, King op Prussia.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 105), without the architectural frame, Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Inv. No. 16429; black and red chalk, 492 : 307 mm.; lit.: G.C. Sciolla, *I disegni fiamminghi della Biblioteca Reale di Torino, Commentari,* XXIV, 1973, pp. 44, 45, 49, n. 30, fig. 13 (as *Jan Cossiers*); (2) Etching, after joined panels with additions (Fig. 103; *V.S.,* p. 69, No. 40, as *in the manner of R. Eynhoudts; Rooses,* II, p. 207; *Evers, 1943,* pp. 203, 204, fig. 219; *Held, 1968,* p. 22, n. 37).

EXHIBITED : *Ausstellung von Werken der niederländischen Kunst des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts,* Berlin, 1890, No. 240.

LITERATURE: G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van Schilderijen...,* II, The Hague, 1752, p. 436; M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der königlichen Bildergallerie und des Kabinets im Sans-Souci,* Potsdam, 1764, p. 87, No. 92; P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen... Dienende tot een vervolg of Derde Deel op de Twee Deelen der uitgegeeve Cataloguen door wylen de Heer Gerard Hoet, ...,* The Hague, 1770, p. 328, No. 218; M. Oesterreich, *Description des Tableaux de la Galerie Royale et du Cabinet de Sans-Souci,* Potsdam, 1771, p. 85, No. 98; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 110, No. 371; *Rooses,* II, p. 208; Elisabeth Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci,* Berlin, 1930, p. 36, No. 120; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 66, under No. 5; *Evers, 1943,* pp. 203, 204; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 68, under No. 5; *Goris-Held,* p. 34, under No. 57; *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci,* Potsdam, 1964, No. 88; *Held, 1968,* pp. 16, 22, n. 37, fig. 13; G. Eckardt, *Peter Paul Rubens,* Berlin, 1969, p. 34, colour repr.; J.S. Held, *On the Date and Function of Some Allegorical Sketches by Rubens, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXVIII, 1975, p. 233, Pl. 42b; G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci,* Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1975, pp. 64, 65, No. 116, repr.

The modello for this tapestry has come down to us in a drastically modified form, having been combined into a single panel with its pendant, the modello for the companion scene of *Angels Playing Music* (intended to hang on the other side of *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs*). The two original panels have been cut down on the inner side so as to bring the two groups of angels closer together. All the framing elements of the two modelli—the columns, architraves and cartouches—have been overpainted; they

can, however, be seen in part with the naked eye, especially at the sides and the lower edge. The figures that were partly concealed by columns in the original modelli have been completed. At the top, in the centre, a triangle radiating light has been added, so that the angels form a circle round the symbol of the Holy Trinity.

These alterations were made at an early date. An etching (Fig. 103) showing the combined panel in this form was executed in the 17th century in the Southern Netherlands, probably at Antwerp, though the author and the exact date are not certain. Hecquet, Basan and Voorhelm-Schneevoogt describe it as "in the style of Remoldus Eynhoudts";[1] it was later ascribed to Cornelis Schut, but this seems unacceptable.[2]

In 1752 the modelli, combined on a single panel, were in the collection of Willem Lormier at The Hague, described by Hoet. At the sale of this collection in 1763 the panel was bought by Frederick II of Prussia for his new gallery at Sanssouci.

The etching mentioned above is not the oldest copy after the modelli for *Angels Playing Music*. Two drawings in the Biblioteca Reale at Turin (Figs. 104, 105) were certainly made from the modelli before they were joined together. The drawings show only the figures and not the architectural borders, but the figures are not completed as they are in the Potsdam panel.[3]

Parts of the combined modelli at Potsdam were painted very thinly by Rubens. As in *The Triumph of Divine Love* in the Prado (No. 13c) it is possible to read inscriptions lettered on the priming: *Musick der Eng...* on the left panel, and on the other *Half de grootte* and *Engelen Musick* (Fig. 106). The references to the subject are clear; "Half de grootte" ("half as large") may possibly refer to the narrow shape of the panel.

The modelli show some changes as compared with the bozzetto. The angel figures have become proportionately larger, and fill most of the area of the composition. A fourth musician, blowing a horn, has been added to the group. The attitude of the angel with the lute is different: and his hand is on the tuning-keys instead of the strings. Similar though less pronounced changes can be seen in the other musicians.

The overpainting deprived the Potsdam panel of much of its character, and the connection with the Eucharist is less clear in the composite picture of angels musically worshipping the Trinity. Elisabeth Henschel-Simon attributed the work to a pupil of Rubens and dated it about 1630: she described it

as possibly a continuation of the Eucharist series, "Entwurf zu einem Wandteppich, der vielleicht als Fortsetzung der Rubenschen Folge 'Triumph der Eucharistie' geplant war." [4]

Evers, on the other hand, connected the panel with two drawings by Rubens in the Louvre in which angels sing and make music: *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* and *King David Playing the Harp* (Fig. 51). He regarded the Potsdam sketch as a further stage of the design for the same commission (whatever it was) as the two drawings, and therefore classed it as an early work by Rubens. Van Puyvelde thought it was a model for Rubens's picture over the high altar of Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome.

1 R. Hecquet, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens,* Paris, 1751, p. 31, No. 134; F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens,* Paris, 1767, p. 48, No. 2.

2 The attribution to Schut may be due to confusion with a circular etching by him representing the Trinity in the clouds surrounded by angels (A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon,* II, Vienna-Leipzig, 1910, p. 593, No. 17).

3 There are two similar drawn copies, also without architectonic borders, of *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (see "Copies" under Nos. 4b, 5b). They are alike in measurements and technique but are in reverse direction (Figs. 109, 110). It is not clear from the photographs, however, whether they are by the same hand. It seems unlikely that there is a connection between the Eucharist series and a drawing in the sale of the T'Sas collection at Brussels (18 ff. July 1768, lot 923), described as "P.P. Rubens. Un concert d'Anges de quatre figures creon noire et rouge rehaussé de blanc & lavé au bistre tres finis. Haut 11 p. Larg. 7 p. 6 l.". True, the T'Sas collection contained two drawn copies after the modelli for *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (see below No. 4b) and *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* (see below No. 5b), but the description quoted is too vague to justify any conclusion as to the *Angels Playing Music.*

4 *Loc. cit.*: this author evidently supposes that the tapestries composing *The Adoration of the Eucharist* were added to the series subsequently.

2c. ANGELS PLAYING MUSIC: CARTOON

Oil on canvas, approximately 495 : 320 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* I, p. 70, No. 54.

The cartoon of this composition has not survived, and no explicit references to it are known. It was probably among the fifteen large canvases and some smaller ones of the Eucharist series that were still in the Palace at Brussels in 1648.

From a comparison of the tapestry and the modello it can be seen that only some minor alterations were made in the cartoon: e.g. the garment of the angel with the lute, which was white in the modello, was changed to blue.

3. ANGELS PLAYING MUSIC: TAPESTRY (Fig. 101)

Wool and silk; approximately 495 : 315 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES F.;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

EXHIBITED: ? *Barcelona, 1952.*

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* pp. 9, 10, No. 8; *Rooses,* I, p. 70, under No. 55; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 296, 297, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 57, 58, repr.; (?)*Trens, Exposición,* p. 66; *Held, 1968,* p. 8, fig. 3 right; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30, repr.

This tapestry, like its pendant (No. 2; Fig. 100), depicts nine angels worshipping the Eucharist with music, song and gesture. The angel in the foreground plays a viola da gamba.[1] Another, with his back to us, plucks at a lute, and a third, of whom only the head is seen, plays a violin. To their left are three small angels singing hymns from a book, while three more angels, above, gaze adoringly at the monstrance.

The heavenly scene appears between two Salomonic columns. The composition is completed at the base by a socle with horns of plenty and fruit. The tapestry is in many respects symmetrical with No. 2.

[1] The weavers have not reproduced this instrument quite correctly, as there are six tuning-keys at the top but only four strings.

3a. See above, No. 1–5a.

3b. ANGELS PLAYING MUSIC: MODELLO (Fig. 102)

Oil on panel; 65 : 40 cm.; cut down at the right and joined with its pendant, No. 2b (original size approximately 65 : 46 cm.; together with its pendant 65 : 82 cm.). – *Verso* : the brands of Antwerp and of the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV).

Potsdam, Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. No. I.7745.

PROVENANCE: see above, No. 2b.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 104), without the architectural frame, Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Inv. No. 16430; black and red chalk, 507 : 302 mm.; lit.: G.C. Sciolla, *I disegni fiamminghi della Biblioteca Reale di Torino, Commentari,* XXIV, 1973, pp. 44, 45, 49, n. 30, fig. 12 (as *Jan Cossiers*); (2) Etching (Fig. 103), after joined panels, see above, under No. 2b.

LITERATURE: see above, No. 2b.

As explained above under No. 2b, the original modello was combined with its pendant in the 17th century to form a single panel, now at Potsdam. The present composition is the left half. As with its counterpart, the inside edge has been cut down and the original design has been considerably altered by overpainting and the completion of figures.

Although the composition of the bozzetto was preserved in its main lines, Rubens made several changes in the modello. The hands of the angels with the viola and the lute are different, and a violin-player has been added. The small singing angels are sitting and not standing. As in the counterpart, the figures in the modello are larger in proportion to the architecture.

3c. ANGELS PLAYING MUSIC: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 495 : 315 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* I, p. 70, No. 55.

This cartoon has also not come down to us. A comparison of the modello and the tapestry shows that it cannot have varied appreciably from the former.

4. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY IN ADORATION: TAPESTRY (Fig. 107)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 330 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAQ GEVBELS;* to the right, the mark of Jacob Geubels.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* p. 13, No. 12 ("los cuatro doctores de la Iglesia latina"); *Rooses,* I, pp. 68, 69, under No. 51; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 294, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 55, repr.; *Held, 1968,* pp. 8, 18, fig. 4 left; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30, repr.

The bottom row of tapestries intended for the altar wall of the church represents a landscape, seen between Tuscan columns, with ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries—the former on the left, the latter on the right—adoring the Eucharist. A bishop kneels in the left foreground of the left-hand tapestry, partly hidden by the column: he wears a richly decorated cope with embroidered scenes, probably from the lives of the Apostles. Next him is the Pope in a white surplice with a mozzetta over it; on his head he wears the furtrimmed Papal cap known as a *camauro.* The tiara is on a cushion close by. Next the Pope is a cardinal holding his tasselled hat, and finally a Dominican. Behind the four kneeling figures is a man with a crozier, another with the Papal cross and a third of whom only the head can be seen. They are ecclesiastics but are otherwise hard to identify. All the figures look up towards heaven, where two hovering cherubs point to the miracle of the Eucharist.

Unlike the companion piece, in which actual rulers are portrayed, the tapestry with the church dignitaries probably does not represent particular individuals. In any case the kneeling Pope cannot be Urban VIII, who was reigning at the time. With his full beard he looks like a Biblical figure (perhaps Rubens had St. Peter in mind) rather than the aristocrat of the Barberini family whose portrait is found in a book-illustration by Rubens.[1] The other figures also do not look like individuals, but rather recall the types used for saints in Rubens's other paintings. The man with the aquiline nose and the double chin, on the left behind the Pope, recurs identically in another work by Rubens.[2]

There can be no doubt as to the generic identification of the figures: they represent different degrees and branches of the hierarchy, and it is incorrect to identify them with the Fathers of the Church[3] or other saints.

[1] For *Maphaei S.R.E. Card. Barberini nunc Urbani PP. VIII Poemata*, Antwerp, 1634; repr. in H.F. Bouchery and F. Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Huis*, Antwerp-Utrecht, 1941, fig. 69.

[2] *Study of Two Heads* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*Goris-Held*, p. 31, No. 33, fig. 29).

[3] Rooses referred to this composition as the four Latin Fathers of the Church with St. Dominic and other saints (*Rooses, Life*, II, p. 432; M. Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p. 181). As late as 1965, when the modello was sold at Sotheby's (see below under No. 4b), it was described in the catalogue as "The Fathers of the Church".

4a. See above, No. 1–5a.

4b. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY IN ADORATION: MODELLO (Fig. 108)

Oil on panel; 66.5 : 46.5 cm.

Louisville, The J.B. Speed Art Museum. No. 66.16.

PROVENANCE: ? Jean de Julienne, sale, Paris, 30 March 1767, *et seqq.* lot 99 ("Pierre Paul Rubens..., un Pape qui fait l'ouverture de la Porte Sainte: on compte sept figures qui se groupent ensemble; deux anges sont sur des nuées. Il eſt peint sur bois, & porte 24 pouces de haut, sur 16 pouces 9 lignes de large"), bought by Horion; ? J.B. Horion, sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788, lot 19 ("Un Tableau représentant les quatre Docteurs de l'Eglise; sur bois H. 24 x L. 17 pouces"), bought by "De Bruyn from London"; ? sale (Bryan ?), London (Chriſtie's), 11 June 1808, lot 15; Watkin Williams-Wynn, Wynnſtay, where already mentioned in 1815; Lt.-Col. Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 June 1965, lot 10; presented to the J.B. Speed Art Gallery by Mrs. George W. Norton and Mrs. Leonard T. Davidson.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; paper paſted on canvas, 63 : 47 cm.; prov.: Richard Larsen, Brussels (1934); shown to Ludwig Burchard at Berlin, 1935; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 4 September 1937, lot 1415/2 (as *Rubens*); (2) Drawing, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; black and red chalk, 535 : 340 mm.; prov.: Gaſton von Mallman, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 13-14 June 1918, lot 213 (repr.); lit.: *Der Kunſtmarkt, Verſteigerungen, Der Cicerone*, 1918, p. 177, repr.; (3) Drawing (Fig. 109), in reverse and without the architectural frame, Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, Collection of Mrs. Peter Somervell (Fettercain House); black and red chalk; (4) Drawing, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with (2) or (3); black and red chalk, heightened with white and washed in brown, appr. 535 : 340 mm.; prov.: F. T'Sas, sale, Brussels, 18 July 1768 *et seqq.*, lot 822 ("P.P. Rubens. Le Pape & autres Princes de l'Eglise a genoux aussi avec une gloire de deux Anges composé de neuf figures en tout dessigné et lavé de meme que le precedent [*The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration*] dont il fait le pendant. H. 20 po. 1 li. L. 12 po. 9 li.").

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Rubens, Rembrandt, Vandyke and other Artists of the Flemish and Dutch Schools,* British Institution, London, 1815, No. 6 ("The Doctors of the Church"); *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters,* British Institution, London, 1847, No. 125; *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters,* Royal Academy, London, 1882, No. 221.

LITERATURE: *Bibliografía, Archivo Español de Arte,* XXXVIII, 1965, p. 368, Pl. II-1; *La Chronique des Arts, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXIX, 1967, p. 76, fig. 279; *Held,* 1968, pp. 2, 8, 16, 18, 20, 22, n. 38, fig. 1; J.F. Martin, *J.B. Speed Art Museum Handbook,* Louisville, 1973, p. 131.

In this modello the architectonic border is reproduced very schematically, in a few brown lines over the priming-coat, without the ornamental details that were worked out at the cartoon stage. Unlike several other modelli, this one is intact and in good condition. The unfinished areas have not been painted over by a different hand.

The modello shows some changes from the bozzetto. The Pope is no longer bare-headed and is not swinging a censer. The figure between the Pope and the cardinal is omitted, and the hovering angel is replaced by two cherubs.

The sketch sold with the de Julienne and Horion collection (see "Provenance" above) cannot be certainly identified with this original: it is mentioned by Smith and Rooses, who do not connect it with the Eucharist series. [1]

[1] *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 185, No. 644 (as *The Pope causing the Holy Gate to be opened*); *Rooses,* II, p. 199.

4c. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY IN ADORATION: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 490 : 330 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

The cartoon, which has not survived, contained no alterations of importance. The Dominican's hand was fully visible, whereas in the modello it was partly concealed by the column.

5. THE SECULAR HIERARCHY IN ADORATION: TAPESTRY (Fig. 113)

Wool and silk; approximately 480 : 320 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES. F.*; to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* pp. 11–13, No. 11; *Rooses,* I, p. 70, under No. 53; *Mesonero Romanos,* pp. 250, 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 294–296,repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 55–57, repr.; *Trens, Exposición,* p. 66; *Held, 1968,* pp. 8, 18, fig. 4 right; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30, repr.

This tapestry, depicting wordly rulers, was placed opposite *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* (No. 4; Fig. 107) and can be regarded as a pendant to it. The rulers look upwards at the monstrance (in the tapestry *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs;* No. 1), their gaze being directed by two hovering cherubs. Behind the princes are two armoured men with standards.

In the foreground, with his right knee on a cushion, is the Holy Roman Emperor, the highest secular authority of Christendom. He wears an ample cloak lined with ermine and embroidered on the back with the Habsburg arms and the double eagle. Beside him on a cushion are the crown, sceptre and Imperial orb. He holds a rosary in his left hand. This is certainly a portrait of Ferdinand II, who reigned from 1619 to 1637 and was thus on the throne, when the tapestry series was created. Rubens probably drew his profile from a medal (Fig. 111): many of these are known, and closely resemble the tapestry.[1] In a later portrait design by Rubens—viz. a sketch for the statue in the Portico of the Emperors erected at Antwerp for the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infante in 1635—Ferdinand II is shown in a different pose, frontally and full-length.[2]

Behind the Emperor are three figures, the first two being King Philip IV and his consort Isabella of Bourbon. The King wears a cuirass, striped trunk-hose and high boots with spurs. Round his shoulders is a wide gilded cloak, the hem adorned with pearls and precious stones, and over it the chain of the Golden Fleece. His crown lies on the cushion on which he is kneeling. As Tormo observed, the King's costume is old-fashioned: the type of breeches he is wearing dates from the reign of Philip III. We shall revert to this under No. 5b.

The Queen wears a white silk dress with pearls and precious ſtones and a high pleated ruff trimmed with lace. She has a small crown on the top of her head, heavy pearl earrings, and ſtrings of pearls and jewels on her bosom and round her waiſt. Her features are quite similar to those in Velázquez' portraits of her (Fig. 112),[3] and there is no reason to doubt the identification.[4]

The representation of the Emperor and the King as generals in armour with swords and spurs is due to their function as *milites chriſtiani* and champions of the Catholic faith. Rubens here follows a well-known manner of depicting members of the Church Militant in a poſture of worship.[5]

It is natural that in this series, created in the Catholic Spanish Netherlands, the secular hierarchy should be exemplified by members of the house of Habsburg. The Spanish and Auſtrian Habsburgs, united by ſtrong family ties, regarded themselves as lords of the Catholic Weſt and defenders of the true faith againſt Proteſtantism. In practice the Emperors' position was often dubious in this reſpect, but Ferdinand II was in fact a determined enemy of the Proteſtant heresy. In addition to being champions of Catholicism, the Habsburgs were noted for their ardent devotion to the Holy Sacrament. This lends especial point to the depiction of the chief member of the dynaſty kneeling in adoration before the monſtrance.[6]

The identification of the remaining figures presents some problems. Who is the woman in a Franciscan habit, kneeling beside the King and Queen? The literature identifies her as Rubens's patron, the Archduchess Isabella.[7] It may indeed be that the intention is to depict ſucceſſive degrees of the hierarchy—imperial, royal and viceregal, with Isabella in the Poor Clare's habit that she wore after her husband's death—but there are reasons for doubting that this is she. The facial resemblance to Isabella, especially Rubens's portraits of her, is not very convincing (we can compare the woman in the tapeſtry with the figure of St. Clare in *The Defenders of the Euchariſt* [No. 15; Fig. 190], whose features are certainly those of Isabella). And are we to suppose that the pious and humble Archduchess caused herself to be depicted twice in the series of tapeſtries she presented to the convent in Madrid ?

If the woman is not Isabella, who can she be ? She muſt be a Habsburg, and it seems to us that she may be Sor Margarita de la Cruz, "the Infanta of the Descalzas" and ſiſter of the Archduke Albert. Isabella knew Margarita well from her girlhood in Madrid, and remained in correspondence with her ſiſter-in-law after the latter took the veil at the Descalzas. When Isabella sent

the Eucharist tapestries to the convent, in about 1628, it was Margarita herself who received them.[8] Although she was a nun, it is not extraordinary that she should figure in the tapestry with the Emperor and the royal couple. Herself an Emperor's daughter, she was superior in rank to other noble ladies, and to her family she remained first and foremost a Habsburg princess.[9]

The two figures at the back with the Austrian and Habsburg banners do not seem to be portraits. It is not clear whether they are meant to be secular dignitaries, vassals of the King and defenders of the faith in his service, or whether they are merely standard-bearers with the heraldic devices of their masters. The suggestion that they are the patron saints of the main characters or of the Habsburgs in general seems to us unacceptable: we cannot recognize any particular saints in these bearded, armoured figures.

1 See e.g. *Porträtmedaillen des Erzhauses Österreich von Kaiser Friedrich III. bis Kaiser Franz II. aus der Medaillensammlung des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* ed. by K. Domanig, Vienna, 1896, Pl. XXIV, Nos. 174, 175.

2 See *Martin, Pompa,* pp. 128–132, Nos. 33, 33b, fig. 52.

3 See J. López-Rey, *Velázquez' Work and World,* London, 1968, pp. 69–71, Pl. 69.

4 There is no ground for L. Burchard's supposition that the woman beside the King may be his sister, Maria of Hungary (who in 1629 married Ferdinand of Hungary, afterwards Emperor Ferdinand III). The Infanta Maria was blonde, as may be seen e.g. in the portrait Velázquez painted of her in 1630 (J. López-Rey, *op. cit.,* pp. 56, 58, Pl. 67).

5 Discussed in the Chapter "Iconography", pp. 177–180.

6 Cf. an anonymous later painting (Fig. 49), now at Brussels, showing opposite the church hierarchy the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand kneeling in adoration of the Eucharist (see p. 178).

7 *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 433; *Tormo,* III, p. 22; *Goris-Held,* p. 34.

8 For Sor Margarita de la Cruz see above, pp. 25–27, 33, 34, 37, 58.

9 It should be stated that there is no resemblance between the nun in the tapestry and the rather unflattering portraits of Margarita copied after Rubens (Fig. 5). However, Rubens did not meet Margarita until after the date of the Eucharist series, and he may have followed a less lifelike portrait.

5a. See above, No. 1–5a.

5b. THE SECULAR HIERARCHY IN ADORATION: MODELLO

Oil on panel; approximately 66.5 : 46.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 110), in reverse and without the architectural frame, Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, Collection of Mrs. Peter Somervell (Fettercain House); black and red chalk; (2) Drawing, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with (1); black and red chalk, heightened with white body-colour, and washed in brown, appr. 540 : 330 mm.; prov.: F. T'Sas, sale, Brussels, 18 July 1768 *et seqq.*, lot 821 ("P.P. Rubens. Un Empereur, Prince & Princesses a genoux regardans vers le Ciel ou il y a une gloire de deux Anges derriere les Princesses se voient deux hommes de bout avec armure aiant chaque un drapeau a la main, ce dessein composé de huit figures en tout eſt tres delicatement designé au creon rouge & noir lavé avec du biſtre & rehaussé de blanc faisant l'effet d'un tableau. H. 20 po. 2 li. x L. 12 po. 4 li"); (3) Drawing, with some variations, 's Hertogenbosch, Library of the Provinciaal Genootschap voor Kunſten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant; brown ink and grey wash, heightened with white body-colour, on blue paper, 285 : 360 mm.; prov.: Van Parys, sale, Amſterdam (F. Muller), 11–12 January 1878, lot 348.

LITERATURE: *Held, 1968*, p. 10.

This modello has not survived, but there is a drawn copy of it and also one of its pendant, the modello of *The Ecclesiaſtical Hierarchy in Adoration;* both are in a British private collection (Figs 109, 110).[1] They show the compositions without the architectonic border and, curiously, in reverse image. They are very truſtworthy in all details, to judge from a comparison of the drawn copy with the surviving modello of *The Ecclesiaſtical Hierarchy in Adoration* (Fig. 108), to which it conforms exactly.

We can infer from the drawing that the composition of the loſt modello was similar to that of the tapeſtry except for a few details.

The portraits at the modello ſtage are more finished than in the schematic bozzetto. It muſt have been a problem for Rubens to depict the Spanish royal couple, whom he had never seen and who would have plenty of opportunity to view the tapeſtries in the church of the Descalzas Reales of which they were the patrons. He presumably made use of older portraits in the Netherlands.[2] There is naturally no connection with the portraits of Philip and his consort which Rubens painted a little later during his second visit to Spain (1628-29). If we compare the bozzetto, modello and tapeſtry (Figs. 95, 110, 113) we can see that he gradually "improved" the likenesses of the royal couple.

As already noted (No. 1–5a), the bozzetto represents the King as a youth dressed anachroniſtically in the ſtyle of Philip III, or of Philip IV in about

1620. There are in fact Spanish portraits of Philip IV as a young man which agree in many respects with the bozzetto: the trunk-hose with loose "panes", the wide pleated ruff and the very short hair.[3] However, by the time Rubens designed the Eucharist series the fashion at the Spanish court had completely altered. Philip IV himself had ordained in 1623 that the large ruff should be replaced by the *golilla,* a simple starched collar without any adornment.[4] Knee-breeches became longer and narrower, and hair was worn longer. Examples of the new fashion can be seen in portraits of the King by Spanish masters from 1623, and in the portraits painted by Rubens on his second visit to Spain.[5]

It appears from the drawn copy of the modello under discussion that Rubens made only one change at this stage. The King still looks younger than he should, and still wears the old-fashioned hose, but instead of a high ruff he wears the *golilla.* Only at the cartoon stage do we find a correct likeness of the King with his narrow head, heavy chin, slight moustache and curly hair falling partly over his ears.

Isabella of Bourbon also changed at different stages of the design. In the modello she still wears a fairly narrow ruff as in the bozzetto, and her face has little individuality. In the cartoon (No. 5c) she has a much higher pleated ruff and individualized features that agree with portraits by Velázquez (Fig. 112).

[1] See above, under "Copies" (1); No. 4, under "Copies" (3).

[2] There were certainly portraits in the Netherlands of Philip IV and his consort, who became King and Queen in 1621. In the early 1620s portraits for official institutions were painted after models to be found in the Netherlands, e.g. by Gaspar de Crayer in 1621. See H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres (Monographies du "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde Eeuw",* IV), Brussels, 1972, pp. 251, 252, Nos. A247 – A250; pp. 303, 304, Docs. 23, 25).

[3] See e.g. the painting of 1619-20 by Villandrando in the Prado (J. López-Rey, *Velázquez' Work and World,* London, 1968, Pl. 38; B. Reade, *The Dominance of Spain (1550-1660), (Costume of the Western World*: III. *The Tudors to Louis XIII,* ed. by J. Laver), London-Sydney-Toronto-Bombay, 1951, Pl. 47).

[4] B. Reade, *op. cit.,* pp. 10, 11.

[5] See e.g. the portraits of Philip IV by Velázquez and his school (J. López-Rey, *op. cit.,* Pls. 45, 48, 98, 99); B. Reade, *op. cit.,* Pls. 46, 56). On his second visit to Spain (1628-29) Rubens painted two prototype portraits of Philip IV of which different versions are known, one three-quarter length with the King wearing a dark doublet (López-Rey, *op. cit.,* Pl. 36; *K.d.K.,* p. 306), and one showing him armed, on horseback (López-Rey, *op. cit.,* Pl. 119). The new fashion is correctly shown by Rubens in the full-length portraits of Philip III and Philip IV on the front face of the Arch of Philip in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (*Martin, Pompa,* figs. 28, 29).

5c. THE SECULAR HIERARCHY IN ADORATION: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 480 : 320 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 114), whereabouts unknown; paper, pasted on canvas, 437 : 292 cm. (apparently cut down at the four sides and originally appr. 480 : 320 cm.); prov.: Charles Spruyt, sale, Ghent, 3 October 1815 *et seqq.*, lot 119; Pérignon, Paris, (1830); Paul Mersch, sale, Vienna (Stöckl), 5 April 1910, lot 105 (repr.); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 255, 256, No. 867; *Rooses*, V, p. 308.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, pp. 69, 70, No. 53.

We have no information concerning the original cartoon of this composition on canvas. It did not, however, differ significantly from the modello.

It is interesting that a paper version of the cartoon, on the same scale, survived for a considerable time. As explained above, several paper cartoons were painted not for the purpose of the *editio princeps* but in order that the weavers might execute subjects of the Eucharist series for other patrons.[1] The paper cartoon for *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* was sold at Ghent in 1815 with the Spruyt collection and was in the art trade in Vienna in 1910, since when it has disappeared. From the Spruyt catalogue it appears that it consisted of pieces stuck together: "Peinte sur papier et collée par parties détachées sur papier gris, de manière qu'on peut faire des groupes détachés ou réunir le tout ensemble. Hauteur totale 166 l., 188 p.". In the introduction to the catalogue of the Vienna sale L.W. Abels points out its resemblance to the San Ildefonso altarpiece and urges that in view of its connection with the Habsburgs it should be bought by the Vienna Museum. He states that the cartoon had a varied history and was even for a time in America.[2]

[1] See above, pp. 148, 149.

[2] "Dieses Werk ist demnach bei uns heimatberechtigt, und es wäre zu hoffen, dass die Leitung des Hofmuseums... dieses... Opus des Meisters erwerben und den langjährigen Irrfahrten des Bildes ein Ende bereiten werde; sind doch diese wichtigen Habsburger-Porträts 1815 in Gent (Sammlung van Sprungh [sic]), 1827 in Paris (S. Pérignon), später für kurze Zeit sogar in Amerika nachweisbar !..." (L.W. Abels in Cat. sale Vienna (Stöckl), 5-6 April 1910, p. 7).

6. KING DAVID PLAYING THE HARP: TAPESTRY (Fig. 117)

Wool and silk; approximately 330 : 485 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *JAQ GEVBELS.*

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSION: Jan-Frans van den Hecke (Fig. 225), whereabouts unknown (with Salomonic columns); 400 : 345 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 55; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880,* No. 145; lit.: *Wauters,* p. 309, No. 2; *Keuller-Wauters,* pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLVIII; *Rooses,* I, pp. 77, 78 (as not belonging to the Eucharist series).

LITERATURE: *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 297, 298, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 59, repr.; *Held, 1968,* p. 8; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30.

Through an opening in the architecture the royal musician is seen seated on clouds. He wears a long brocaded mantle lined with ermine, and on his head is a laurel wreath. His crown is on a cloud beside him. Five angels are singing by way of accompaniment: three behind him, reading from a single score, and two in front holding a scroll with musical notes, while one of them beats time.

The architecture framing the "window" through which David is seen is very similar to that of *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (Fig. 96): the same pilasters with a palmette and an intricate volute design, and a composite capital ornamented with heads and clusters of fruit.

The celestial scene of David playing the harp belongs to the same "reality" as those in the upper row of *The Adoration of the Eucharist,* viz. *The Monstrance Held by Two Cherubs* (No. 1) and *Angels Playing Music* (Nos. 2, 3). The tapestry must evidently have occupied a place in the church on a level with these, probably to the left of the altar wall, as David would then be looking at the monstrance. It cannot, as Tormo suggested in his reconstruction, have formed part of a single composition decorating the altar-wall, along with the five tapestries of *The Adoration of the Eucharist* (Nos. 1–5). Its place may have been close to the organ or to the royal tribune.

We have already discussed the significance of the scene[1] and pointed out its iconographical connection with *Angels Playing Music,* also the fact that David prefigures the King of Spain as a devout worshipper of the Eucharist.

The composition of Rubens's tapestry bears a remarkable resemblance to a

painting by Hendrik Terbrugghen, dated 1628, in the National Museum in Warsaw (Fig. 115).[2] In both cases David, playing the harp, is in the centre of a horizontal composition with singing angels on either side. However, Terbrugghen places the scene indoors and his David is an old man. Probably both Rubens and Terbrugghen had before them an earlier (Italian?) model.

[1] See above, pp. 181–184.

[2] Other versions of this composition are known; see: B. Nicolson, *Hendrik Terbrugghen*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 108, 109, No. A 77, Pl. 96b.

6a. KING DAVID PLAYING THE HARP: BOZZETTO

Oil on panel; approximately 11 : 16 cm.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

By analogy with the other subjects we may assume that Rubens executed this one at the bozzetto stage also.

6b. KING DAVID PLAYING THE HARP: MODELLO (Fig. 118)

Oil on panel; 45 : 66 cm.

Merion, Barnes Foundation. No. 812.

PROVENANCE: Jacob de Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747, lot 35 ("Een Heemel, waar in de Koninglyke Propheet David op de Harp speelt, met zingende Engelen, door dito [P.P. Rubens], h. 1 v. 5 en een half d., br. 2 v. 1 d."), purchased by David Ietswaart; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, Cassel; removed from this gallery by the French in 1806; Bruni, sale, Paris, 25 July 1825, lot 130; Galerie Trotti, Paris; purchased in 1926 by the Barnes Foundation from L.C. Hodebert, Galerie Barbazanges, Paris.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 116), without the architectural frame, by Matthijs van den Bergh, Yale University Art Gallery, "Library Transfer" No. 1961.61.33; pen and brown ink, 192 : 268 mm.; below on the left, signed *v bergh;* prov.: Sir John Percival, first Earl of Egmont (1683–1748), Enmore Castle, Somerset; presented by an anonymous donor to the library in 1957; lit.: E. Haverkamp-Begemann and A.-M. Logan, *European Drawings and Watercolors in the Yale University Art Gallery, 1500–1900,* New Haven-London, 1970, p. 188, No. 342, Pl. 232.

LITERATURE: G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van Schilderijen...*, II, The Hague, 1752, p. 203, No. 35; S. Causid, *Verzeichnis der Hochfürstlich-Hessischen Gemählde-Sammlung in Cassel*, Cassel, 1783, p. 207, No. 68; *Rooses*, I, p. 147, under No. 119; *Goris-Held*, p. 32, No. 40; *Held, 1968*, p. 8, fig. 5.

The modello corresponds to the final composition, apart from some secondary elements. One of the wings of the blond angel next the harp is differently shaped, and the drapery does not swirl up behind him as in the final version. The pomegranate motif does not yet appear on David's mantle.

The drawing by Matthijs van den Bergh in the Yale University Art Gallery (Fig. 116), listed above under "Copy", shows the composition without architectonic framing. We do not agree with Haverkamp Begemann's supposition that the drawing is based on an unknown earlier sketch by Rubens of the composition only.[1]

[1] E. Haverkamp Begemann and A.-M. Logan, *loc. cit.* As argued in the introductory chapters, there is no reason to suppose that Rubens at any stage made sketches for the Eucharist series without the architectonic framing, which is an essential part of the composition.

6c. KING DAVID PLAYING THE HARP: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 330 : 485 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

As in the case of the other smaller pieces, nothing is known of a cartoon for this tapestry.

7. ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK: TAPESTRY (Fig. 119)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 600 cm.; above, the mark of Brussels and *IAQ. GEVBELS;* below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES. F;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral, 413 : 652 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Antwerp, 1930*, No. 27; *Essen, 1954–55*, No. 1 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956*, No. 82 (repr.); lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln*, pp. 318, 320, No. 6; *Elbern*, pp. 19–24, 28, 29, fig. 1; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 44–50, 64–69, 71, 72, fig. 23; *Elbern, 1958*, pp. 121, 123; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. MF 4370; 378 : 483 cm.; prov. and lit.: see p. 248.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción*, p. 17, No. 16; *Rooses*, I, pp. 62, 63, under No. 46; *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 251; *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 122–124, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 42–45, repr.; *Trens, Exposición*, p. 66; *Elbern*, p. 29; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 71; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 24, repr.

This scene depicts the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek, described in the Bible as follows: "And the king of Sodom went out to meet [Abraham] after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale. And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth: And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And [Abraham] gave him tithes of all." [1]

Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine to the most high God was understandably regarded by theologians as a figure of the Eucharist, and the priest-king of Jerusalem as a type of the priesthood of the new, unbloody sacrifice. Melchizedek prefigures Christ, the royal high priest of the New Covenant; his offering is mentioned in the Canon of the Mass and is decribed in medieval writings as a prefiguration of the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist. In painting it became one of the most frequently depicted types of the Last Supper (Figs. 57, 58). [2]

Rubens shows Abraham and Melchizedek meeting at the gates of a city, a temple or a palace; each of them is accompanied by a numerous suite, so that the scene comprises about twenty figures. Melchizedek steps forward on the left: he wears a priestly robe with a royal ermine cloak over it. On his head is the papal camauro (a fur-trimmed red cap), with a laurel wreath around it. He bends towards Abraham, who advances up the two steps leading to the gate, and hands him two loaves. Abraham is in armour with a general's short cloak over it. Two priests stand behind Melchizedek, and a boy holds up his

train. Two other boys distribute loaves to Abraham's followers. A half-naked man brings forward a basket full of loaves, and two others drag huge gilded wine-jars. Abraham is accompanied by warriors with helmets and lances, and by a youth holding his horse.

All this is represented on a tapestry displayed by three cherubs. The way in which the architectonic border is reproduced is exceptional for this series. On the left, as in the other tapestries, one column is to be seen, but on the right the "tapestry" is held by a cherub in front of two columns, which for the most part are concealed: only parts of the capitals are visible, and the projecting part of the architrave at the top. This arrangement also occurs in the bozzetto of *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21; Fig. 220), of which no tapestry was woven. As we saw earlier, there is a connection between the two compositions: *The Triumph of Hope* was discarded and replaced by *Abraham and Melchizedek.* [3]

The decorations of the architecture at the top and bottom are centred with regard to the columns but are not symmetrical in relation to the tapestry as a whole. At the top, festoons of various fruits (maize, melon, pomegranate, peaches, grapes etc.) hang on large rings suspended from lions' heads. Below is an altar-like base with, on either side, a cherub's head and a festoon of foliage hanging from a ring.

Several features resemble Rubens's earlier presentations of the same subject: the composition of the painting in the Caen Museum [4] (reproduced with variants in the engraving by Witdoeck) [5] and that of the picture for the ceiling of the Jesuit church at Antwerp, a sketch of which is in the Louvre. [6] The men with their backs to us carrying jars, the man with the basket on his shoulders, and the two boys' heads between Abraham and Melchizedek, are from the Caen composition. Abraham's pose, holding two loaves and leaning forward as he climbs the steps, are from the composition for the Jesuit church. These reminiscences are even clearer in the modello in the Prado (No. 7b), which is seen more from below.

Although the scene was previously often depicted in a landscape, in all the versions mentioned Rubens used an architectural setting with Melchizedek emerging from a city gate, temple or palace. In the design for the Jesuit church, in Witdoeck's engraving and in the various designs for the Eucharist series the architecture consists of heavy rusticated columns. It is curious that here in the final version part of the architecture is unfinished: approximately above Abraham's head, the beginning of an uncompleted arch is visible. This

peculiarity is found in the second modello, the cartoon and the tapestry, but not in the bozzetto and the first modello. Did Rubens originally plan to include an arch against the background of this composition, as in the one at Caen and in the print by Witdoeck ? We can offer no explanation, in any case, as to why it was left uncompleted. Possibly there was some iconographic intention, e.g. the imperfection of the old sacrifice as compared with the Eucharist; but we can trace no other representation of Abraham and Melchizedek with this curious feature.

1 Genesis 14:17-20.
2 See above, pp. 191–193.
3 See above, p. 98.
4 *K.d.K.*, p. 110.
5 *Rooses*, I, Pl. 27 facing p. 92.
6 J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, I), Brussels, 1968, p. 79, No. 7b, fig. 43.

7a. ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK: BOZZETTO (Fig. 120)

Oil on panel; 15.5 : 15.5 cm.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 231.

PROVENANCE: Victor Wolfvoet, Antwerp (1612–23 October 1652); Inventory of his estate, 24–26 October 1652: "No. 426. Een ander schetsken van als voore [i.e. by Rubens] van Melchisedech op panneel in gelyck lystken"; Samuel Woodburn, London; purchased from the latter by the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, 29 September 1825; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

COPY: Painting by Victor Wolfvoet (Fig. 123), The Hague, Mauritshuis, No. 267; copper, 37.5 : 27.5 cm.; lit.: *Elbern*, p. 28; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 71; *Beknopte Catalogus van de schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken en miniaturen, Mauritshuis*, The Hague, 1968, p. 160, No. 267.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927*, No. 332.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus*, p. 15, No. 67; *Rooses*, V, p. 307; *Earp*, p. 172, No. I. 231, repr.; *Rooses, Life*, II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, pp. 282, 283 (as *after Rubens*); *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 150; L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 84, under No. 82 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31 (as

after Rubens); *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 22–25, 122, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 31–34, 43, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 28; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 71; *Jaffé, 1955*, p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; *Elbern, 1958*, p. 135, n. 24, fig. 53 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison*, pp. 105, No. 231, pp. 106, 107, Pl. 52; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16, fig. 12; *Jaffé 1969*, pp. 537, 538, n. 73; *Scribner, 1975*, pp. 524, 525, fig. 9.

The composition of the scene of Abraham and Melchizedek underwent drastic changes from one stage to another. As we have explained, in Rubens's original plan it was assigned to a different place from the one it finally occupied: it was to be in an upper row (hence the Salomonic columns) and was intended for a narrower, more or less square space. This accounts for the main differences between the first stage and the tapestry: the bozzetto is proportionately much narrower and shows a much simpler and symmetrical composition framed in Salomonic columns.

Melchizedek emerges from a building with heavy banded columns; he bends towards Abraham and hands him a loaf, holding a second one in his other hand. Between the two figures are great wine-jars. Melchizedek is accompanied by two men with a basket of loaves, and a boy holds up the train of his long cloak. Abraham is seen frontally, more in the manner of the Caen painting;[1] he is represented as an elderly warrior with a grey beard and a helmet. Behind him is a group of warriors with lances and an escutcheon.

All this is depicted on a tapestry fastened to the middle of the architrave and decorated with festoons. At the bottom is an ornamental base or stand with an angel's head and festoons on either side.

Lines in black chalk delimiting the composition can be clearly seen under the thin layer of paint.

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 92).

[1] *K.d.K.*, p. 10.

7b. ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK: MODELLO (Figs. 121, 126)

Oil on panel; 86 : 91 cm.; enlarged at the four sides (original size 65 : 68 cm.).

Madrid, Prado. No. 1696.

PROVENANCE: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy

of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; ? Buen Retiro, 1748; ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; deposited at the Prado, as part of the Spanish Royal Collections.

COPIES: (1) Painting, without the architectural frame, and with some changes, Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, No. 226; copper, 51 : 74 cm.; lit.: *Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* p. 199, No. 226 (as *perhaps by Frans Francken III*); (2) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (3) Drawing, without the architectural frame, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. 14162; pen and brown ink and brown wash, 362 : 413 mm.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 82.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 377, 378, No. 41; *Rooses,* I, p. 63, under No. 46; V, p. 307; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 31–33, No. 8; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 122, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 43, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 33, 34, No. 8; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* pp. 234, 235; *Elbern,* p. 28, fig. 2; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 71, fig. 24; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 134, 135; *Scribner, 1975,* pp. 520, 524, 525, fig. 10; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 287–291, No. 1696, Pl. 187.

When painting this modello, Rubens hat not yet changed his mind about the placing of the tapestry. The proportions of the scene are the same, with the "tapestry" hung symmetrically as in the bozzetto, and it is still framed by Salomonic columns. Some important changes have been made, however. Abraham and Melchizedek are both in profile, while Melchizedek is at the top of a few steps, up which Abraham advances towards him. The tapestry was to be hung in an upper row, and the steps in this version are clearly seen from below. In this respect the scene is more like the bozzetto of the same subject for the Antwerp Jesuit church. Abraham, who is receiving two loaves, is bare-headed. Beside him is a boy holding his helmet. Behind them, another youth holds Abraham's white horse (of which only the head and forefeet are seen) by the bridle. Several elements from this modello were taken over for the extended composition of the second modello (No. 7c) and the final tapestry.

Above, in the centre, the "tapestry" is held up by a cherub hanging over a festoon of fruit: he is looking down and holds the tapestry over his shoulder. At the sides nothing is seen of the "tapestry", which extends behind the columns, and its lower edge is not visible either. The architecture of the border is, so to speak, continued in the steps that form part of the actual scene: the

two architectures interpenetrate each other. In the centre of the threshold below is an altar-like stand with ball-and-claw feet, a scallop motif in front and cherub's heads on either side. Further to left and right are festoons of leaves, attached to rings at the outer sides. An unusual motif is provided by the birds above the festoons, which look like swans with outspread wings. We do not know what symbolic meaning they may have had. In the later stages they were discarded.

This modello has not come down to us in very good condition. Like the other modelli in the Prado, it was later enlarged and the architectural elements were extended. To give it the same format as the other pieces, it was made broader and extended on all four sides: the Salomonic columns were doubled, and folds of the "tapestry" can now be seen between them.

The central scene itself has probably suffered damage: the paint was evidently applied thinly, and the surface appears worn. At various places attempts have been made to touch up the colours and make the lines more distinct. This can be seen in the features of several figures; Abraham's profile has been carefully delineated with black crayon (Fig. 126).

7c. ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK: MODELLO (Figs. 122, 124, 127)

Oil on panel; 66 : 82,5 cm. – *Verso:* the brands of Antwerp and the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV).

Washington, National Gallery of Art. No. 1506.

PROVENANCE: ? Jean de Julienne, sale, Paris, 30 March 1767 *et seqq.*, lot 98 ("Pierre Paul Rubens. Un tableau fait avec facilité, coloré vigoureusement, & qui a des beautés préférables à beaucoup d'autres de ce Maître: il représente Archimelec donnant des pains de proposition à David. Cette composition est de 20 figures, sur une toile de 24 pouces de haut, sur 30 de large".), bought by Horion; ? J.B. Horion, sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788, lot 20 ("Un Tableau représentant Abimelec, sujet très-connu, sur B. qui se trouve en estampe, gravée par Witdoock. H. 24 x L. 30 ½ pouces".); ? Simon McGillivray, sale, London (Christie's), 6–7 May 1825, lot 25 ("Rubens, Abraham on his return from Conquest, offering Tythes to Melchisedeck; a sketch of the great Picture in the Earl of Grosvenor's collection, painted with force and spirit".), bought by G. Dyson; J.G. Dyson, sale, London, 18 june 1825, lot 14, bought by Crawford; Lady Stepney, sale, London (Christie's), 1 May 1830, lot 93, bought in; Lady Stuart, sale, London (Christie's), 15 May 1841, lot 73 ("Rubens. Melchizedek giving bread and wine to Abraham and his Soldiers. Composition of about 18 figures. Finished for

the large picture in the coll. of the Earl of Grosvenor. Collection of M. Julienne. Smith's Catal. p. 184".); bought by Nieuwenhuys and sold by him to Sir Thomas Baring; Sir Thomas Baring (1772–1848), sale, London (Christie's), 3 June 1848, lot 121, bought by Nieuwenhuys for Mr. Thomas Baring (1800–1873), the latter's son; bequeathed by him to his nephew Thomas George Baring, 1st Earl of Northbrook (1826–1904); Lord Northbrook, Bramdean, Alresford (1925); P. and D. Colnaghi, London, 1930; Walter J. Stoye, Oxford, sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 July 1958, lot 44 (repr.), purchased by Carstairs Gallery, New York; presented in 1958 to the Washington Art Gallery by Syma Busiel.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, transferred from canvas, 51 : 62 cm.; prov.: Count Sandor Andrassy, Budapest, sale, New York (Kende), 24-25 February 1950, lot 294 (repr.); E. Wolf, New York (1951–52); Mrs. I.S., New York (1952); exh.: ? *Exposition belge d'Art ancien et moderne,* Société hongroise des Beaux-Arts, Budapest, 1927, No. 14; lit.: *Larsen,* pp. 172, 174, 218, No. 73, fig. 117 (as *Rubens*); *Elbern,* p. 28; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 71; (2) Painting, Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection, No. 661; panel, 64 : 82 cm.; prov. unknown; lit.: W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of the John G. Johnson Collection, Flemish and Dutch Paintings,* II, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 163, No. 661; W.R. Valentiner, *Aus der niederländischen Kunst,* Berlin, 1914, pp. 158, 203, No. 23; *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of Paintings,* Philadelphia, 1941, p. 36, No. 661; *Valentiner,* p. 163, under No. 95; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, under No. 8; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33, under No. 8; *Goris-Held,* p. 49, No. A. 37; *Elbern,* p. 28; *Larsen,* p. 174; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 71; L. Van Puyvelde, *Projets de Rubens et de Van Dyck pour les tapissiers, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LVII, 1961, pp. 146, 147, repr. (wrongly as in the National Gallery of Art, Washington); (3) Painting, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 : 72 cm.; prov.: Franz Janicki, Finispong, Sweden (1960); (4) Painting, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown, inscribed with monogram *TvT*; prov.: private collection, Wassenaar; (5) Drawing, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; water-colour and body-colour, 305 : 400 mm.; prov.: P. Geismar, sale, Paris (Drouot), 15 November 1928, lot 76 (repr.; as *J. Jordaens*); (6) Engraving, with a column added, by J. Neeffs, edited by Gillis Hendrickx, 635 : 875 mm. (Fig. 125; *V.S.,* p. 4, No. 23); (7) Engraving, edited by G. Huberti (not in *V.S.*). (8) (9)

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters,* British Institution, London, 1841, No. 69; New Gallery, London, 1898, No. 123; *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Flemish and British Schools, Including a Selection from the Works of Sir Peter Paul Rubens,* New Gallery, London, 1899–1900, No. 141; *Exhibition of Examples of Flemish and Belgian Schools,* Guildhall, London, 1906, No. 116; *Paintings by Old Masters,* Colnaghi's, London, 1934, No. 12 (repr.); *Exhibition of 17th Century Art in Europe,* Royal Academy, London, 1938, No. 106 (repr.); *Flemish Art, 1300–1700,* Royal Academy, London, 1953–54, No. 205.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 142, under No. 504, 185, No. 641; IX, p. 323, No. 288; *Waagen, Treasures,* II, p. 182; *Rooses,* I, p. 63, No. 46 bis; W.H. J. Weale and J.P. Richter, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to the Earl of Northbrook,* London, 1889, p. 63, No. 87; *K.d.K.,* p. 467; A. Blunt,*The Royal Academy Exhibition of Seventeenth Century Art, Part I, Apollo,* XXVII, 1938, pp. 6, 8, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, under No. 8; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33, under No. 8; G. Gepts, *Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, Leverancier van Rubens, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen,* 1954–60, pp. 85, 86; *Elbern,* p. 28; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 71; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 134–136, fig. 54; L. Van Puyvelde, *Projets de Rubens et de Van Dyck pour les tapissiers, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LVII, 1961, pp. 146, 147, 149, fig. 3 (wrongly as in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967,* pp. 106, 107; *Scribner, 1975,* pp. 520, 524, 525, fig. 11.

In this second modello the composition was adapted to the new position intended for the tapestry; this entailed other changes of importance. In the first place, as for all tapestries of the bottom row, the columns are Tuscan instead of Salomonic. Secondly, the angle of vision has changed: the steps are seen from above instead of from below. Thirdly, it was necessary to make the composition much wider.

We have explained our reasons for believing that *Abraham and Melchizedek* was transferred to the place originally intended for *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21). The Washington modello presents a specific peculiarity which it shares with the composition of *The Triumph of Hope,* viz. the asymmetry of the border, with one column on the right and two on the left. The tapestry hangs in the centre between the columns in the same way as in the first modello—it is held by a cherub at the top, hanging between the festoons—and the cartouche and festoons at the bottom are also very similar; but the "tapestry" is much wider and is draped by two cherubs over the two columns on the left. It no longer falls behind the threshold, which is now partly covered by the broad, fringed ornamental border of the tapestry. The group of figures is enlarged after the manner of the final tapestry, with more warriors behind Abraham and, in front, two half-naked men, one of whom faces the spectator. There is no longer a jar on the architectonic base in the foreground.

Together with these changes of form, the colours were altered in several cases. The horse is no longer white but brown; Melchizedek's sleeves are no longer white, but dark blue-green.

Several pentimenti are visible. Between the two men with jars in the fore-

ground can be seen clearly enough the shape of a great vase, with a curled ear facing left, under the paint of Melchizedek's white undergarment and his foot (Fig. 124). Did it originally stand here, or did the man hold it in some way? The landscape above the figure of Abraham originally continued to the right, where the architecture now is.

Comparing the modello with the tapestry, we find that part of it is missing on the right. In the tapestry more of the architecture can be seen, and so can the whole fringed border of the "tapestry". Was a strip sawn off the modello? If so, this must have happened at a very early date, for 17th-century copies after the modello show the composition cut down in the same way.

There is some uncertainty as to the provenance of the Washington sketch. It can be traced in various British collections in the 19th century, but it is less clear where it was in the 18th. Smith, who first described it—it was then in Lady Stuart's collection—identified it with a sketch sold in 1767 with the collection of Jean de Julienne.[1] The catalogue of the Jean de Julienne sale, and that of the J.B. Horion sale in 1788, describe a sketch which may be identical with the Washington modello, and all publications have since repeated that the latter is from the Julienne collection; but this is not absolutely certain, and it seems to us that Smith may have been mistaken. The measurements agree pretty well with those of the Washington panel, but several copies with about the same measurements are known: the sketch in the Julienne collection may have been one of these, or it may have been an *Abraham and Melchizedek* by Rubens which had nothing to do with the Eucharist series. The modello was sold in 1825 and 1830, but the catalogues of these sales do not include the Julienne collection in its pedigree.[2]

It is possible that the Washington modello was still in Spain in the 18th century and was brought to England at the beginning of the 19th. Several publications—all, it is true, dating from after 1900—state that it probably came from the "Palazzo Nuovo" *(sic)* in Madrid.[3] This is no doubt based on Smith's general statement that the sketches for nine tapestries of the Eucharist series were formerly in the "Palazzo Nuovo".[4] This use of an Italian designation for the Palace suggests that Smith in his turn derived the information from J.F.M. Michel.[5]

[1] *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 184, No. 641.

[2] It is interesting in this connection, though it does not solve our problem, that Antoine Watteau made a drawing, after Rubens's composition, of the head of Melchizedek

wearing the cap (Fig. 130; whereabouts unknown: see under No. 7d, "Copies" (11)). Watteau was a friend of Jean de Julienne (ca. 1709), and could therefore have copied the head after the sketch in Julienne's collection. On closer inspection, however, it does not seem that Watteau's drawing of the head can be based on the schematic version in the Washington modello. It more closely resembles the cartoon (Fig. 129): see e.g. the suggestion of fur round the cap, the rounder and broader face and the somewhat different glance. Since it is unlikely that Watteau ever saw the cartoon, which was in Loeches at that time, we must suppose that he worked from a copy after it, of which there are several. This copy may or may not have been the painting owned by his friend de Julienne.

[3] W.H.J. Weale and J.P. Richter, *loc. cit.*: "said to have come from the Palazzo Nuovo at Madrid"; repeated in the Catalogues of the exhibitions in London in 1938 and 1953-54 (see "Exhibited").

[4] *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 142.

[5] *Michel, 1771,* p. 366.

7d. ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK: CARTOON (Figs. 128, 129)

Oil on canvas; 427 : 579 cm.; cut down at the four sides (original size approximately 490 : 600 cm.).

Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. No. 212.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns (after 1649); removed from there ca. 1808 by G. Wallis, on behalf of W. Buchanan; purchased by Bourke, Danish plenipotentiary at Madrid and sold by him in 1818 to Robert, Earl Grosvenor, 1st Marquess of Westminster (1767–1845), Grosvenor House, London; Duke of Westminster, sale, London (Christie's), 4 July 1924, lot 63 (repr.; withdrawn); purchased from the Duke's estate by John Ringling, spring 1925.

COPIES: (1) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; ? transferred in 1811 to the Parish Church of Gooik; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Ed. Soenens, Ghent; lit.: see p. 235; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera, Marseilles; lit.: see p. 235; (4) Painting, without the architectural frame, and without the three figures and the horse at the left, whereabouts unknown; panel, 68 : 82 cm.; prov.: M. van Gelder, Uccle (Brussels); exh.: *L'art belge au XVIIe siècle,* Museum, Brussels, 1910, No. 374; (5) ? Painting, lost; prov.: Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns; lit.: see p. 236; (6) Drawing after the garment of Melchizedek (Fig. 131), Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 59; red chalk, 338 : 252 mm.; inscribed on the left: *dit oerste cleedt moet wesen van goeuwen laken met bloem oft sonder*

bloem ende die voeiiering moet wesen van bont die mouwen met dit rocxken van blaeu ende het onderſte wit, ende op siin hooft een root muedtsken met eenen lauwerier craens opp; see pp. 229, 230; (7) Drawing after the figure of an arch-prieſt, his head covered with a hood, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunſt, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 67; red chalk, 273 : 232 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (8) Drawing after the shoulder and arm of the man bearing a vase, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunſt, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 68; red chalk, 215 : 207 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (9) Drawing after a fragment of the horse, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunſt, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 69; red chalk, 425 : 311 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (10) Drawing after the head of the boy at the right, whereabouts unknown; red and black chalk and wash, heightened with white body-colour, 278 : 321 mm.; prov.: van Diemen and C°, The Hague; Tobias Chriſt, sale, Berne (Gutekunſt and Klipſtein), 5 June 1959, lot 172 (repr.); exh.: *Ausſtellung von Kunſtwerken des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts aus Basler Privatbesitz,* Kunſtverein Basel, Basle, 1928, No. 150; (11) Drawing by A. Watteau (Fig. 130), after the head of the prieſt, whereabouts unknown; red and black chalk, 135 : 127 mm.; prov.: F.L. Berry, sale, London (Chriſtie's), 12 June 1936, lot 86; W.J. Stoye, Oxford, sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 July 1958, lot 44a; lit.: K.T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau, Catalogue complet de son œuvre dessiné,* 1, Paris, 1957, p. 42, No. 274, repr. (12)

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie,* I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771,* p. 326; *Cumberland, Anecdotes,* I, p. 176; *Ponz, 1787,* I, p. 270; *Young, 1821,* p. 19. No. 60, Pl. 19; *Hazlitt, 1823,* pp. 33, 34; *Hazlitt, 1824,* pp. 115, 117; *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 219-224, 232, 233, 381, 382; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 141, 142, No. 504; IX, p. 297, No. 193; *Passavant, Kunſtreise,* p. 65; *Passavant, Tour,* I, pp. 49, 50; *Waagen, Kunſtwerke,* II, p. 114; *Waagen, Treasures,* II, p. 163; E. Véron and F. Dekeyser, *Le Triomphe de la Religion, L'Art,* VIII, 1882 (1), pp. 100, 174, 175, repr.; *Rooses,* I, pp. 62, 63, No. 46; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 286; E. Dillon, *Rubens,* London, 1909, p. 237, Pl. CCCI; *K.d.K.,* p. 295; *Berwick-Alba,* p. 85; *In the Saleroom, The Connoisseur,* September 1924, p. 47; *Tormo,* III, pp. 44, 45; *Valentiner,* p. 163, No. 95; *Goris-Held,* pp. 48, 49, No. A. 36 (as *School of Rubens*); *Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* p. 179, No. 212, repr.; *Elbern,* p. 28; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 71; *Gaya Nuño, 1964,* p. 39, No. 101; *Scribner, 1975,* p. 524, fig. 12.

A few small changes were made in the cartoon as compared with the second modello. The sword at Abraham's side has a different hilt (a large curved one). Some details are different from both the modello and the tapeſtry. The lance in front of Abraham's knee does not reach as far as the mouth of the jar. The putto on the left inclines his head to the right inſtead of the left. We believe that this laſt alteration was not made originally but is due to overpainting on one of the occasions when the cartoon was reſtored.

For some time, when only the Prado modello and not the later one was known, it was thought that the present work might be by Rubens's own hand, as it varied so much from the modello.[1] The existence of the modified second modello invalidates this argument, and there is nothing in the quality of the execution to justify the belief that Rubens painted the cartoon himself.

[1] *Elbern*, p. 13; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 53. The catalogue of the Museum states that several parts of the picture are clearly autograph, including the head of Melchizedek (*Suida, Cat. Sarasota, loc. cit.*).

8. THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA: TAPESTRY (Fig. 132)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 415 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES. F.;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Palazzo Reale; 460 : 415 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; also M. Viale, *Tapestries*, London-New York-Sydney-Toronto, 1969, p. 94, No. 41, repr. (detail); (2) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral; 408 : 415 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Essen, 1954-55*, No. 8 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956*, No. 83; lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln*, pp. 318, 320, No. 8; *Elbern*, pp. 19–24, 30, 31, fig. 5; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 44–50, 64–69, 74, 75, fig. 27; *Elbern, 1958*, pp. 121-123; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (4) Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 410 : 425 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 56; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880*, No. 22; lit.: *Wauters*, p. 308, No. 5; *Keuller-Wauters*, pp. 21, 22; *Rooses*, I, p. 64, under No. 47; *Elbern*, pp. 17, 31; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 63, 74.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción*, p. 3, No. 1; *Rooses*, I, p. 64, under No. 47; *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 251; *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 126, 127, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 46, 47, repr.; *Trens, Exposición*, p. 66; *Elbern*, p. 31; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 74; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 29.

This tapestry depicts one of the most important prefigurations of the Eucharist: the Heavenly Bread sent by Yahveh to feed the Israelites during their wandering in the desert (Figs. 48, 57, 59).[1] Moses, identified by the rays of light above his head, is dressed in a red cloak; he holds a staff in his right hand and

raises the other to heaven in a gesture of appeal or thanksgiving. The manna, falling from a cloudy sky, resembles thick white raindrops; the Israelites are busy collecting it in sacks or baskets or in the folds of their garments.

The "tapestry" on which this takes place is held up at the top by a red cord running through a ring fastened to a lion's head; at the bottom the broad fringed border of the "tapestry" conceals a stone threshold.

In the confined space available Rubens depicted this scene in a simple and symmetrical form with only a few figures. Although the whole Jewish people was involved in the episode he did not attempt to depict a crowded landscape with tents in the background, as was frequently the custom. Even Aaron, the high priest, who is usually shown beside Moses, can hardly be seen: he is probably the man with the white beard, whose head alone is visible.

The stately woman in a golden dress, seen walking away from us, with a basket on her head and holding a child by the hand, has often been described as a borrowing from Raphael. There is certainly a likeness between her and the women in the *Healing of the Lame Man* in Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* [2], and also the woman with a jug on her head in the *Incendio del Borgo* [3], but it does not follow, that Rubens took the motif direct from Raphael. Similar figures were frequent in representations of this subject before Rubens. In the larger Manna scenes of 16th-century Netherlandish masters, the figure serves a double purpose, representing the Biblical motif of the woman with a jar on her head [4] and also that of a mother with children, which is probably to be seen as a Caritas symbol appropriate to the Eucharistic theme. [5] Did Rubens similarly intend the Caritas motif in his simplified version? It is noteworthy that the child in his picture closely resembles the infant holding Caritas by the hand in *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13; Fig. 171).

Elbern remarked that this composition agrees in many points with a drawing in the Louvre attributed to Rubens, where a woman bends forward as a basket is placed on her head. [6]

It is understandable that the passage from Exodus was regarded as one of the most important prefigurations of the Eucharist. The manna, the miraculous food that the Lord caused to rain from heaven to sustain the Jews during their passage through the wilderness, symbolizes the heavenly bread of the New Covenant that nourishes mankind on its journey to salvation. The term "heavenly bread" or "angels' food" that is used for manna in the Bible [7] was also adopted to describe the Eucharist. Christ himself referred to manna as a

type of that which was to come.[8] In medieval illustrated typological literature it was one of the standard prefigurations of the *Last Supper;* in plastic art the parallel was sometimes emphasized by depicting the manna as a rain of Hosts.[9]

[1] Exod. 16:14-18.

[2] J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel,* London, 1972, fig. 12; L. Dussler, *Raphael, A Critical Catalogue of his Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries,* London-New York, 1971, fig. 175.

[3] L. Dussler, *op. cit.,* fig. 139.

[4] See e.g. the drawing by Jan Stradanus (O. Benesch, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, II. Die Zeichnungen der niederländischen Schulen,* Vienna, 1928, p. 21, No. 156, Pl. 42); also paintings by Maarten de Vos at Munich, Pommersfelden, and coll. E. Schapiro, London.

[5] For hidden Caritas symbols see H.R. Bookmaker, *"Charity" in seventeenth century art, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* XXIII, 1972, pp. 61-66. *The Gathering of the Manna* and *Caritas* are expressly connected in the two alabaster reliefs from Mechlin framing a single tabernacle, sold at London (Christie's), 30 April 1974, lot 163, repr.

[6] *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949,* p. 22, No. 1038 (see *Elbern, 1958,* p. 136).

[7] Psalm 78 (77): 24-25; Wisdom of Solomon 16:20.

[8] John 6:31-32, 48-50.

[9] See e.g. *Vloberg,* I, fig. p. 40; [*Cat. Exh.*] *Eucharistia, deutsche eucharistische Kunst,* Residenzmuseum, Munich, 1960, pp. 69, 70, Nos. 27, 28, figs. 36, 37.

8a. THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA: BOZZETTO (Fig. 133)

Oil on panel; 15.5 : 13 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat. Inv. No. 456 (P).

PROVENANCE: Victor Wolfvoet, Antwerp (1612 - 23 October 1652); Inventory of his estate, 24–26 October 1652: "No. 428. Noch een ander schetsken mede van als voore [i.e. by Rubens] daer het hemels broot regent oick in gelyck lystken"; E. Monteaux, sale, Paris (Drouot), 20–21 December 1897, lot 256 (repr.); F. Kleinberger, Paris (c. 1901); purchased by Léon Bonnat, Bayonne (Paris, 1833-1922), who donated the work to the city of Bayonne.

COPIES: (1) Painting by Victor Wolfvoet, The Hague, Mauritshuis, No. 268; copper, 37.5 : 27.5 cm.; lit.: *Elbern,* p. 31; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 74; *Beknopte Catalogus van de schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken en miniaturen, Mauritshuis,* The Hague, 1968, p. 160, No. 268; (2) Aquatint by James S. Stewart (1791–1863) printed by E. Brain (*V.S.,* p. 5, No. 32).

EXHIBITED: *Exposition d'œuvres de Rubens appartenant au Musée Bonnat*, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965, No. 20 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, *De Verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst*, II, 1903 (1), p. 121; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 282; *Musée Bonnat, Catalogue sommaire*, Paris, 1930, p. 156, No. 950; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 150; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31, No. 7; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33, No. 7; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, pp. 85, 86, under No. 73; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9, fig. 7; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 31, fig. 6; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 74, fig. 28; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16.

The right-hand half of the final composition is here fixed in its main lines, but there are considerable differences on the left. Moses, now in the middle distance, holds his staff in his upraised left hand. In the foreground a kneeling woman is gathering manna, and a man, bent forward, is filling a basket with it.

As regards the architectonic framing and the way the "tapestry" is hung, Rubens has not yet found the final solution. One of the columns is wholly concealed by the tapestry except for its base, and the whole lower edge of the tapestry falls behind the stone threshold; the latter is decorated with an asymmetrical motif of volutes and a cartouche. It is noteworthy that this bozzetto is very similar to that of *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9a; Fig. 138) as regards the framing elements and the fastening of the tapestry.

The sketch is very colourful and is well preserved in comparison with those at Cambridge, though some wear is visible in parts, especially in the centre. The paint is very thinly applied, and the black chalk lines delimiting the composition can be seen on either side of it.

8b. THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA: MODELLO (Fig. 134)

Oil on panel; 65 : 53 cm. (after removal of later additions).

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. No. M. 69.20.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Infantado up to the thirteenth Duke, who died in 1841 "Otra también en tabla, de vara y media de alto y poco más de vara de ancho, con marco dorado y labrado, que representa "A Moisés y al pueblo de Dios cuando cogía el maná", colocado en una orla de flores, de mano de Bruglieus, en... 14.000 reales vellón"; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79); inherited by his natural son, the Duke of Pastrana, Madrid (+1888); Emile Pacully, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 4 May 1903, lot 29 (repr.), purchased by Graat; apparently bought back by the owner and kept through his lifetime; Pacully, sale,

Paris (Drouot), 5 July 1938, lot 28 (repr.), purchased by the art-dealer Guy Stein, Paris; purchased from him by Baron Robert Gendebien, Brussels, 1938; Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York; presented by Frances and Armand Hammer to the Museum in 1969.

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of a Collection of Old Masters, the Property of M. Emile Pacully, of Paris,* The Dowdeswell Galleries, London, 1901, No. 8; *Rotterdam, 1953–54,* No. 73 (repr.); *Bordeaux, 1954,* No. 80; *Brussels, 1965,* No. 225; *The Armand Hammer Collection,* Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis (Tennessee), 1969, No. 3 (repr.); *The Armand Hammer Collection,* Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1970, No. 3 (repr.); *The Armand Hammer Collection,* Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, Royal Academy of Arts, London and National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 1972, No. 3 (repr.); *A Decade of Collecting,* Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1975, No. 65 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* I, p. 73; P. Leprieur, *Ecoles du Nord,* in *Collection Pacully,* Paris, [1900], p. 14, Pl. [26]; P. Leprieur and M. Rooses, in: *Collection Emile Pacully, Tableaux anciens et modernes... dont la vente aura lieu Galerie Georges Petit...,* Paris, [1903], pp. 40, 41, 62, 63, No. 29, repr.; M. Rooses, *De Verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst,* II, 1903 (I), pp. 121, 122; V. Josz, *La Collection Pacully, Les Arts,* II, No. 16, April 1903, pp. 35, 36, repr.; *The Pacully Collection, The Connoisseur,* May 1903, pp. 258, 259, repr.; *Sentenach y Cabañas,* pp. 78, 79; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, No. 7; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33, No. 7; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* pp. 85, 86, No. 73, fig. 63; *Haverkamp Begeman, 1954,* pp. 9, 11, repr.; *Elbern,* p. 31; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 74, fig. 29; *Rubens Modello, Bulletin of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, (Annual Report 1968–1969)* XIX, 1968, pp. 12, 13, repr.; *La Chronique des Arts, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXXIV, December 1969, p. 4; *La Chronique des Arts, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXXV, February 1970, p. 58, No. 275, repr.

At this stage Rubens adopted the definitive composition, which is more symmetrical than that of the bozzetto. Both columns are visible, and opposite the woman with a basket on her head is the imposing figure of Moses. The figures are larger and nearer to the foreground: they fill a greater part of the area of the composition and are more monumental in character.

As in the case of *Elijah and the Angel* (Fig. 139), the "tapestry" in this modello is suspended from three lions' heads with rings, while in the final composition only the middle one (attached to the architrave) was retained.

The present modello has not come down to us in good condition. At some period it was enlarged on all four sides to form a panel measuring 120 : 88 cm.; the architectonic border and part of the scene itself were overpainted at this

time with an oval "stone" cartouche decorated with cherubs and with garlands of flowers and fruit (Fig. 135). The modello in this condition was long believed to be a joint work by Rubens and Jan Breughel. Rooses, however, correctly pointed out that the border of garlands must be apocryphal, and he suggested that the additions were the work of the flower-painter Pieter Gysels (born 1621, admitted as Master in 1649/50). When L. Burchard saw the picture in 1930 it was still in the same condition and was covered by thick yellow varnish. In 1938, after it was sold, it was stripped of additions, cleaned and restored to its original form. It is not free from damage, however. The traces of overpainting can still be seen and part of the original paint has clearly been rubbed off: this applies to the parts of the architectural border that were overpainted, and also to the central scene.

The framing elements of the modello, including the architecture and the lower edge of the "tapestry", were indicated by Rubens in schematic form, with only a few details.

8c. THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA: CARTOON (Fig. 136)

Oil on canvas; 487 : 414 cm.

Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. No. 211.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns (after 1649); removed from there c. 1808 by G. Wallis, on behalf of W. Buchanan; purchased by Bourke, Danish plenipotentiary at Madrid and sold by him to Robert, Earl Grosvenor, 1st Marquess of Westminster (1767–1845), Grosvenor House, London; Duke of Westminster, sale, London (Christie's), 4 July 1924, lot 62 (repr.; withdrawn); purchased from the Duke's estate by John Ringling, spring 1925.

COPIES: (1) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; ? transferred in 1811 to the Parish Church of Gooik; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Ed. Soenens, Ghent; lit.: see p. 235; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera, Marseilles; lit.: see p. 235; (4) ? Painting, lost; prov.: Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns; lit.: see p. 236; (5) Drawing, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 20.210; brown ink and wash, 159 : 148 mm.; prov.: Baron Louis-Auguste de Schwiter, sale, Paris (Drouot), 20–21 April 1883, lot 122 (repr.); lit.: P. Leroi, *Après avoir lu M. Frederick Wedmore, L'Art,* XXXIII, 1883 (II), p. 36, repr.; *Rooses,* I, p. 64, under No. 47, Pl. 16 (as

Rubens); v, p. 143, No. 1342 (as *Rubens*); M. Rooses, in *Collection Emile Pacully, Tableaux anciens et modernes... dont la vente aura lieu Galerie Georges Petit...*, Paris, [1903], p. 62, repr.; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949*, p. 37, No. 1127; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55*, No. 11 (repr.); (6) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; red and black chalk, heightened with white, 380 : 310 mm.; prov.: Charles Haviland, Paris, sale, Paris (Drouot), 14–15 December 1922, lot 28.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771*, p. 326; *Cumberland, Anecdotes*, I, p. 178; *Ponz, 1787*, I, pp. 271, 272; *Young, 1821*, p. 22, No. 65, Pl. 22; *Hazlitt, 1823*, pp. 33, 34; *Hazlitt, 1824*, pp. 115, 117; *Buchanan, Memoirs*, II, pp. 219–224, 232, 233, 381, 382; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 140, No. 500; *Passavant, Kunstreise*, p. 65; *Passavant, Tour*, I, pp. 149, 150; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, p. 113; *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p. 163; E. Véron and F. Dekeyser, *Le Triomphe de la Religion, L'Art*, VIII, 1882 (1), pp. 100, 175, repr. p. 177; *Rooses*, I, p. 64, No. 47; *Berwick-Alba*, p. 92; *In the Saleroom, The Connoisseur*, September 1924, p. 47; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 126; *Tormo*, III, p. 47; *Valentiner*, p. 163, No. 94; *Goris-Held*, p. 49, No. A.39; *Suida, Cat. Sarasota*, p. 177, No. 211, repr.; M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Sketching in Paint, Art News*, LII, 1953, pp. 37, 65, repr.; *Elbern*, p. 31; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 74; *Gaya Nuño, 1964*, p. 38, No. 100.

As compared to the modello the figures have been moved somewhat closer together, as can be seen from some details. The foot of the kneeling youth is now partly behind that of Moses, and his hand is behind the child's foot. The upheld dress of the woman in the background nearly touches the arm of the other woman on whose head a basket is being set. The hanging tassel on the right, which in the modello came close to Moses's hand, now lies obliquely in the fold of the "tapestry". In the final tapestry it was omitted altogether.

Jaffé cites this cartoon as an exemple to show that the Sarasota canvases were retouched by Rubens. He believes that the figure of the woman holding out her skirt was added by Rubens himself at the cartoon stage, but in fact she occurs in the modello.

9. ELIJAH AND THE ANGEL: TAPESTRY (Fig. 137)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 420 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAQ GEVBELS*.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Palazzo Reale; 460 : 360 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral; 410 : 387

cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55*, No. 12 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956*, No. 84; lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln*, pp. 318, 319, No. 2; *Elbern*, pp. 19–24, 32, fig. 8; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 44–50, 64–69, 75, 76, fig. 30; *Elbern, 1958*, pp. 121–123; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (4) Frans van den Hecke (Fig. 142), Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. 4371; 378 : 285 cm.; prov. and lit.: see p. 248; (5) Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 400 : 385 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 60 (repr.; "St. Jean dans le désert nourri par les anges"); Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880*, No. 112; lit.: *Wauters*, p. 308, No. 7; *Keuller-Wauters*, pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLVII; *Rooses*, I, p. 66, No. 49; *Elbern*, pp. 17, 32; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 63, 76.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción*, pp. 7, 8, No. 5 ("Nuestro Señor Jesucristo en el desierto"); *Rooses*, I, p. 66, under No. 49; *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 251; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 127, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 47, 48, repr.; *Trens, Exposición*, p. 66; *Elbern*, p. 32, fig. 12; Elbern, *1955*, p. 76, fig. 34; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 29; *Scribner, 1975*, fig. 1.

The Prophet Elijah, barefooted, in a camel-hair garment and a broad white cloak, turns towards the angel, who advances with a loaf of bread and a large glass of water. The scene is a landscape, viewed from a low angle. Elijah stands in front of a rocky wall, and behind the angel is an extensive landscape with trees.

The "tapestry" on which this scene is depicted is attached by two thick cords with tassels to the columns above the capitals, and also to the ring held in a lion's mouth in the centre of the architrave. At the bottom, part of the "tapestry" with its ornamental border and fringes hangs over the stone threshold between the columns, which is decorated with acanthus tendrils.

The story of Elijah being given food and drink by an angel in the wilderness is an important prefiguration of the Eucharist. The Prophet had fled to escape the wrath of Jezebel and, being near to exhaustion, lay down under a juniper tree and prayed for death; he then went to sleep. However, as the Bible relates: "An angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat. And he looked, and, behold, there was a cake baken on the coals [*subcinericius panis*], and a cruse of water at his head. And he did eat and drink, and laid him down again. And the angel of the Lord came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat; because the journey is to great for thee. And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strenght of that meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God." [1]

The fact that the Prophet was sustained by heavenly food and drink made this episode a popular type of the Eucharist and of the Last Supper. It does not appear in the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,* but it occurs in some versions of the *Biblia Pauperum,* and also in the *Last Supper* polyptych of Dirk Bouts. [2] In the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas it is expressly cited as a type of the Eucharist: the food that enabled Elijah to travel for forty days and nights without a break prefigures the celestial nourishment that gives man the strength to attain salvation. [3] St. Thomas also introduced this parallel into the Office of Corpus Christi.

Rubens diverges from the Biblical account and from traditional iconography by representing the Prophet standing. As a rule we see him being awakened by the angel, and either still lying on the ground (Fig. 58) or half-risen to his feet. [4] No doubt Rubens here depicted him standing so as to conform to the other scenes in which the figures are shown in triumphal procession: it would have broken the unity to have a single scene with the protagonist lying down. At all events, it seems to us that the deviation from custom and from the Biblical text is a matter of form and not of substance. We have found no instance of it in the work of Rubens's followers.

The Carmelites, who regarded Elijah as their founder, showed an interest in Rubens's composition. In the caption to the engraving by Coenraad Lauwers (Fig. 140), Elijah is called "founder of the Carmelite Order and of all monasticism", and in later times painted copies of this subject are found in Carmelite convents. It is certainly wrong, however, to regard Rubens's composition in the Eucharist series as belonging to the typical Carmelite iconography, as was done by Cécile Emond. [5]

In Carmelite iconography Elijah wears either a Carmelite habit or a similar dress with a long gown and cloak. [6] Rubens depicts him more as the Bible does: an unkempt, exhausted figure, with a cloak round his shoulders and nothing beneath it but a frayed camel-hair loincloth. This presentation of the Prophet as a half-naked fugitive no doubt came as a shock to the Carmelites. At the Convent at Loeches they were startled by the Prophet's dress, [7] and in the "Carmelite" engraving after Rubens's modello Elias was provided with a sort of camel-hair shirt (Fig. 140).

[1] 1 Kings 19:4-9.

[2] See above, pp. 192, 193; see also: Leonie von Wilckens and K.-A. Wirth, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* IV, Stuttgart, 1958, cols. 1397-1398, s.v. *Elia; Lankheit,* col. 172.

[3] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Part III, Qu. 79, Art. 2, Resp. ad 1.

[4] Elijah is represented standing when the angel with the bread and water is merely shown as an attribute of the Prophet, e.g. in Rubens's sketch for the Carmelite altarpiece at Antwerp (Fig. 55); see P. Jean de la Croix, *La Glorification de l'Eucharistie de Rubens et les Carmes, Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 2, 1969, pp. 178–195, fig. 1).

[5] Cécile Emond, *L'Iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Brussels, 1961, 1, pp. 64, 71, 72, 221, 222, 232, 248, 280; For Elijah and the Carmelites, see Cécile Emond, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 12 ff.; P. Jean de la Croix, *loc. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.

[6] See illustrations in Cécile Emond, *op. cit.*, II, passim. On Elijah's dress, see: Leonie von Wilckens and K.-A. Wirth, *loc. cit.*, cols. 1403-1404; E. Lucchese Palli and L. Hoffscholte, in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, I, col. 607, s.v. *Elias*.

[7] See below, discussion of the cartoon, No. 9c.

9a. ELIJAH AND THE ANGEL: BOZZETTO (Fig. 138)

Oil on panel; 15.5 : 13 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat. Inv. No. 547 (P).

PROVENANCE: Victor Wolfvoet, Antwerp (1612 – 23 October 1652); Inventory of his estate, 24–26 October 1652: "No. 425. Noch een schetsken van Rubens daer den Engel by Elias compt met broot ende wyn op panneel in ebbenhoute lystken"; E. Monteaux sale, Paris (Drouot), 20–21 December 1897, lot 255; F. Kleinberger, Paris (c. 1901); purchased by Léon Bonnat, Bayonne (Paris, 1833–1922), who donated the work to the city of Bayonne.

COPY: Aquatint by James S. Stewart (1791–1863), 152 : 128 mm. (*Rooses*, I, p. 66).

EXHIBITED: *Exposition d'œuvres de Rubens appartenant au Musée Bonnat*, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965, No. 21 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, *De Verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst*, II, 1903 (1), p. 121; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 282; *Musée Bonnat, Catalogue sommaire*, Paris, 1930, p. 156, No. 951; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 150; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31, No. 9; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33, No. 9; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 32, fig. 9; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 75, fig. 31; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16.

The poses of the two figures are almost the same as in the later stages of the composition. There are some minor differences e.g. in Elijah's cloak, which in

the bozzetto is less wide and is blue-grey in colour, and in the angel's dress, which is a short tunic.

Iconographically the bozzetto presents an interesting element that is not in the modello: two ravens hovering in the air, one with a piece of bread in its beak. These belong to an earlier episode in Elijah's life, when he hid by the brook Cherith and was miraculously fed by ravens which "brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and he drank of the brook." [1] The feeding of Elijah by ravens is also regarded as a type of the Eucharist, [2] but we do not know what Rubens's reason was for combining the two miracles in a single picture. [3]

The framing elements differ more widely from the later stage of the composition. In the bozzetto the "tapestry" covers the whole of the right-hand column and falls entirely behind the stone threshold: as in the other narrow pieces, it was evidently Rubens's intention not to allow the subjects to be too much cramped by the columns. The decoration at the bottom, with a cartouche and what may be a horn of plenty, is unsymmetrical, as though only one half of it were reproduced. It was probably connected in one way or another with the similar elements in the bozzetto of *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8a; Fig. 133).

Under the thinly applied paint one can clearly see the black chalk lines on the priming, delineating the composition between the columns.

[1] 1 Kings 17:3-6.

[2] After the Middle Ages the feeding of Elijah by ravens was less often used as a figure of the Eucharist (*Lankheit*, cols. 171, 172), but it occurs in 16th and 17th century painting as a form of landscape staffage and also in Carmelite cycles depicting Elijah's life; on this theme, see e.g.: Leonie von Wilckens and K.-A. Wirth, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, IV, Stuttgart, 1958, cols. 1396-97, s.v. *Elia*, figs. 9, 10; E. Lucchesi Palli and L. Hoffscholte, in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, I, col. 609, s.v. *Elias*.

[3] The two miracles are also combined in Jan Boeckhorst's painting *The Glorification of the Eucharist* in St. Michael's church at Ghent (Fig. 56): Elijah holds a jug of water and some bread in his hand, while a raven comes flying with more bread.

9b. ELIJAH AND THE ANGEL: MODELLO (Fig. 139)

Oil on panel; 66 : 54.5 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE: Dukes of Infantado, up to the thirteenth Duke, who died in 1841 ("Otra pintura en tabla, de tres cuartas de alto y poco más de vara de ancho, con marco

dorado y labrado, que representa "Quando el Angel trajo el pan y vino al Profeta Elías", original de dicho Pablo Rubens, en tres mil reales... 3000 reales vellón"; *Sentenach y Cabañas,* p. 79; inherited by his natural son, the Duke of Pastrana, Madrid (+ 1888); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833–1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the Municipality of Bayonne, January 1921.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 64 : 59 cm.; prov.: Stözi, sale, Zurich, 5 December 1924, lot 115 (as *A. van Dyck*); sale, Zurich (Sweri), 12 November 1926, lot 39 (as *A. van Dyck*); sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 10 december 1928, lot 17 (repr.; as *A. van Dyck*); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 27–28 August 1929, lot 49 (as *attributed to A. van Dyck*); (2) Painting, without architectonic frame, whereabouts unknown; panel, 51 : 42 cm.; prov.: Braz, Leningrad; sale, Paris (Charpentier), 12 May 1938, lot 27 (repr.), purchased by M. Lacroix; art-dealer F. Stern-Drey, Brussels (1938); sale, Paris (Drouot), 22 December 1964, lot 42 (repr.); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 44.5 : 30.5 cm.; prov.: P.W.T. Leatham, London; sale, London (Christie's), 20 October 1972, lot 86 (bought by Brod Gallery); (4) Painting, formerly Ghent, St. Peter's Abbey; canvas, appr. 309 : 211 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 225–227; (5) Engraving by C. Lauwers, edited by C. Lauwers, 650 : 520 mm. (Fig. 140; *V.S.*, p. 8, No. 65); (6) Etching, without the architectonic frame, by W. Panneels, edited by F. van den Wijngaerde, 144 : 113 mm. (Fig. 143; *V.S.*, p. 8, No. 66). (7) (8)

LITERATURE: *Sentenach y Cabañas,* pp. 78, 79; *Elbern,* p. 32, fig. 10 (wrongly as in the Museum, Pau); *Elbern, 1955,* p. 75, fig. 32; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 29.

The two figures appear almost exactly as in the bozzetto, but are considerably larger in proportion and occupy more of the picture surface on account of the fluttering cloak and the spread of the angel's wings. The raven, denoting the other occasion on which Elijah was miraculously fed, has disappeared. The column which in the bozzetto was partly concealed behind the "tapestry" is now visible. As in the modello for *The Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8b), the "tapestry" is attached by lion's heads to three cartouches: only one tassel can be seen, on the left.

Many pentimenti are to be seen, e.g. very clearly around Elijah's feet and over the angel's head, where there was evidently a form bearing a close relation to the bozzetto. The fluttering part of the angel's dress was originally higher and more to the left, covering the lower feathers and the tip of the wing.

The framing elements were, as usual, left in a very summary state: the columns, the stone threshold and the top and bottom edges of the tapestry.

It is not clear whether the threshold was intended to be decorated with acanthus tendrils or an asymmetrical cartouche with a cornucopia. Parts of the composition were later clumsily touched up by an unknown hand, as can be seen especially in the cartouche and capitals.

Elbern and Junquera mistakenly locate this modello in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Pau, where it has never been. The error is apparently due to an incorrect statement by the *Archives photographiques* in Paris.

9c. ELIJAH AND THE ANGEL: CARTOON (Fig. 141)

Oil on canvas; 471 : 413 cm.; cut down below and at the right (original size approximately 490 : 420 cm.).

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns, Loeches (after 1649); removed from there c. 1808 by G. Wallis, on behalf of W. Buchanan, and given to the French general Sebastiani; transported to Paris and exhibited in the Musée Central des Arts; deposited by the Louvre (Inv. No. 2076) in the Museum at Valenciennes in 1957.

COPIES: (1) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera, Marseilles; lit.: see p. 235; (3) ? Painting, lost; prov.: Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns; lit.: see p. 236.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie,* I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771,* p. 326; *Cumberland, Anecdotes,* I, pp. 178–179; *Ponz, 1787,* I, p. 271; *Notice des Tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée Royal,* Paris, 1820, No. 588; *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 219-223; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 114, No. 386, p. 142, No. 505; *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* III, pp. 558, 559; *Rooses,* I, p. 66, No. 49; E. Véron and F. Dekeyser, *Le Triomphe de la Religion, L'Art,* VIII, 1882 (1), p. 100; M. Rooses, *De oude Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Meesters in den Louvre en in de National Gallery,* Amsterdam, [1902], pp. 89–90; L. Demonts, *Ecoles Flamande, Hollandaise, Allemande et Anglaise, Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des Peintures exposées dans les Galeries,* III, Paris, 1922, p. 11, No. 2076; *Berwick-Alba,* p. 93; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 127; *Tormo,* III, pp. 48, 49; *Elbern,* p. 32, fig. 11; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 76, fig. 33; C. Souviron, *Rubens et les maîtres anversois au Musée de Valenciennes, La revue française de l'élite européenne,* No. 103, 1958, p. 30, repr.; *Gaya Nuño, 1964,* p. 40, No. 105.

Apart from the fact that all the details were worked up—e.g. the columns, the plants in the landscape, the acanthus decoration below and the borders of the "tapestry"—the cartoon differs little from the modello. The fastening of the "tapestry" at the top has taken on its final form: two red cords with tassels, and only one lion's head holding a ring.

Ponz and Cumberland, who saw the painting in the convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns at Loeches, noticed that Elijah was not dressed in a habit and cloak as was usual in Carmelite iconography.[1] We have discussed this point in connection with the tapestry (No. 9).

[1] "La vestidura del Profeta es bizarra" (*Ponz, loc. cit.*); "... as the painter has neglected to dress the Prophet in the habit of a Carmelite, the holy Fathers (*sic*), who claim him as the founder of their order, are not a little scandalized by the omission." (*Cumberland, Anecdotes,* I, p. 178).

10. THE SACRIFICE OF THE OLD COVENANT: TAPESTRY (Fig. 144)

Wool and silk; approximately 480 : 655 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES.F;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke (?), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. VC8 (with figures added from *The Gathering of the Manna,* No. 8); 485 : 830 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 243, 244; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Museo Civico; 460 : 480 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral; 396 : 650 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55,* No. 4 (repr.); *Monumenta Judaica,* Stadtmuseum, Cologne, 1963–64, No. A. 31; lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln,* pp. 318, 319, No. 5; *Elbern,* pp. 19–24, 29, 30, fig. 3; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 44–50, 64–69, 72–73, fig. 25; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 121–123; (4) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (5) Probably Frans van den Hecke, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. MF. 4369; 378 : 483 cm.; prov. and lit.: see p. 248.

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* p. 16, No. 15; *Rooses,* I, p. 65, under No. 48; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 121, 122, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 41, 42, repr.; N. Beets, *Het Offer van het Oude Verbond, Oud-Holland,* LXIX, 1954, p. 39, fig. 5; *Elbern,* p. 30; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 73; *Junquera, 1969,* pp. 24, 29, repr.

The foreground depicts an Old Testament sacrifice. The high priest, wearing a

red ephod and a breaſtplate with twelve precious ſtones (representing the Twelve Tribes) ſtands by a richly decorated golden altar on which a lamb lies and a fire of branches has been lit. Raising his left hand to invoke Yahveh, he holds in his right a knife with which he is about to cut the animal's throat. A servant kneels in front of the altar with a basin to catch the blood. The twelve loaves of showbread are on a table in the immediate foreground; like the altar, the table is gilded all over, and its foot is in the shape of a griffin.

Between the table and the altar is a man with a lamb under his arm, and various figures are approaching the altar with animals for sacrifice. Two men, one with a lamb under his arm, are on the ſteps leading to the altar, accompanied by two boys with great burning torches. A half-naked old man, followed by a woman and child, comes forward with another lamb; in the very front are two naked children with a pair of pigeons.

In the background is the golden Ark of the Covenant, surmounted by the Cherubim with outſtretched wings. It is carried by four men with ſtaves, accompanied by musicians and surrounded by a crowd of worshippers on their knees.

The whole scene is represented on a tapeſtry suspended between Tuscan columns by four small angels. In the centre at the top is a cartouche with the tetragram, the name of Yahveh in Hebrew letters, and to either side of it are feſtoons of all kinds of crops. The lower edge of the illuſioniſtic tapeſtry is not visible: it is as though the figures were behind a ſtone parapet, though this is actually part of the architectonic border. The "parapet" is adorned in the middle by a small altar-like table with claw-and-ball feet, on which ſtands a burning oil lamp. To either side of it is a horn of plenty, one containing ears of corn and maize and the other grapes.

There is no doubt that the Old Teſtament scene in this series is intended typologically, but the exact interpretation presents some problems. It is not a ſtraightforward prefigurement of the Euchariſt of the usual type. In a series containing *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7), the *Gathering of the Manna* (No. 8) and *Elijah and the Angel* (No. 9) we should rather have expected a representation of the Paſchal feaſt, as in Dirk Bouts's well-known polyptych of the *Laſt Supper* and in numerous other examples (Fig. 57). Perhaps, however, Rubens avoided the Paſchal subject with figures ſtanding around a table as being too ſtatic for the general concept of his series with its animated and heroic atmosphere.

Rubens may have chosen to solve the problem by a scene different from, but directly connected with the Passover as traditionally depicted. This view was held by Knipping, who thought the scene represented the Paschal lamb together with "everything in the rites of the Jewish temple that prefigured the sacrifice of the New Law." [1] He probably meant by this that the tapestry depicts not the Paschal meal but the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb in the Temple. In this feast, which preceded the meal itself, the Jews brought lambs in great number to the forecourt of the Temple to be slaughtered and sacrificed. Although the tapestry indeed shows lambs being sacrificed, we do not agree with Knipping's interpretation. On closer inspection the matter appears to be more complicated.

A first question to be asked is whether Rubens intended to depict *The Sacrifice of the Covenant* in general, as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of the New Law, or a particular Old Testament occurrence.

The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant is very seldom depicted as a general subject, although it is treated in theological literature as an important prefiguration of the Eucharist. St. Thomas Aquinas speaks of the Paschal lamb as the most important prefiguration, ranking before the offering of Melchizedek, the Manna and "the sacrifices of the Old Covenant, in particular the annual sacrifice of atonement". [2] In Prieto's *Psalmodia Eucharistica* the sacrifices of the Old and New Law are depicted in a single scene (Fig. 60). An ox is being sacrificed on an altar in the forecourt of Solomon's temple, and behind it we see Christians adoring an altar with a monstrance, while in a second court a burnt-offering is taking place. [3]

Not only is the sacrifice of the Old Covenant regarded, as a whole, as prefiguring that of the New, but various adjuncts of Old Testament worship are related to the Eucharist, such as the Ark of the Covenant and the "loaves of proposition" prefiguring the bread of the Last Supper. The Ark—a chest kept in the Holy of Holies and regarded as the throne of God "who dwelleth between the cherubim"—was the central object of Jewish worship and is clearly analogous to the Tabernacle containing the monstrance with the consecrated Host in which Christ is truly present, and which occupies the place of supreme honour in every church. Rubens's portrayal of the Ark is evidently intended typologically, and he has made this clear in an unusual way by placing on top of the Ark a basket of manna, the heavenly bread of the Old Testament. When the Israelites gathered the manna they were told to fill a golden pot with it and place it in the Ark together with Aaron's rod and the Tables of the Law. The manna was

thus inside the Ark, and except in paintings showing *The Gathering of the Manna* we have found no representation of the vessel containing it.

The implements of Old Testament worship were very frequently represented, not only as part of an episode but separately for their typological significance. Thus the showbread was originally depicted on one of the outer panels of Dirk Bouts's polyptych of *The Last Supper*.[4] Seventeenth-century examples include a scene with the sacrificial beast on the altar, the Ark and the showbread, in the "catechism" engraving published by Jean Leclerc in 1622 (Fig. 57).[5] Similarly in literary works both the sacrifice of the Old Law and the implements of worship are treated as prefiguring the Eucharist. Bellarmine refers in this way to the showbread and the "Blood of the Testament".[6] In Richéome's book with illustrations and a discussion of many prefigurations of the New Testament we find, *inter alia*, "Les Pains de Proposition" (Fig. 63), "L'Oblation des Prémices de la Pentecôte" and "Le Sacrifice Propitiatoire" (Fig. 64).[7]

In Rubens's Eucharist series, however, the Ark is not depicted in the Holy of Holies, as it usually was when treated by itself as a prefiguration, but is being carried in a procession. What actual event does this represent? We do not agree with Tormo and Elbern that the tapestry depicts two separate scenes, the sacrifice and the procession with the Ark. It appears to us that only one event is represented, and the question is which.

Several interpretations are possible, as the Ark was transported with great solemnity on more than one occasion. The most important of these in the Old Testament are David's fetching of the Ark to Jerusalem (in two stages) and, later, the consecration of Solomon's Temple, when the Ark was installed in the Holy of Holies.

David fetched the Ark from the house of Abinadab at Gibeah: it was set on an ox-cart and the procession was accompanied by music and dancing. The journey was interrupted for three months, while the Ark remained at the house of Obed-Edom. David then returned and it was brought to Jerusalem on the shoulders of Levites. During this procession David in gladness danced before the Ark, dressed in a linen ephod, and was mocked by his wife Michal, Saul's daughter.[8]

The present scene bears no resemblance to the first part of the Ark's journey. Some authors have related it to the second part, and described the composition as "David bringing the Ark from the house of Obed-Edom to Jerusalem";[9] but the objection to this is that it does not show David dancing, which is

traditionally part of the scene. We think it more likely therefore that the subject is that of the consecration of Solomon's Temple and the installation of the Ark there. It was after David's death that his son Solomon built the Temple as a worthy abode for the Ark which had till then been housed in the Tabernacle as prescribed by Moses. The Bible describes the feast of consecration as follows:

"And all the elders of Israel came, and the Levites took up the ark. And they brought up the ark, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle, these did the priests and the Levites bring up. Also King Solomon, and all the congregation of Israel, that were assembled unto him before the ark, sacrificed sheep and oxen, which could not be told nor numbered for multitude. And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord unto his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims." [10]

"Then the king and all the people offered sacrifices before the Lord. And king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep: so the king and all the people dedicated the house of God. And the priests waited on their offices: the Levites also with instruments of music of the Lord, which David the king had made to praise the Lord, because his mercy endureth for ever, when David praised by their ministry; and the priests sounded trumpets before them, and all Israel stood... Also at the same time Solomon kept the feast seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation,... And in the eighth day they made a solemn assembly: for they kept the dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven days." [11]

It may be that these were the events that Rubens intended to depict. The foreground would then represent the sacrifice, and the background the introduction of the Ark into the Temple. A question that arises is whether the architecture (with imposing columns, and at the back an apse decorated with palmettes) can have been intended by Rubens as that of the Temple of Solomon. Various conceptions of the building were current. We do not find in Rubens the sixteenth-century idea of the Temple as a circular building with a large dome, or the notion of it as a basilical church; [12] but we do find points of resemblance to the reconstruction of the Temple by the Spanish Jesuit and architect Juan Bautista Villalpando, who depicted the Temple in plates accompanying the commentary on Ezechiel's vision which he published together with Jeronimo del Prado between 1594 and 1604. [13] Rubens is known to have had a copy of

this book.[14] With his critical mind and archeological interests he would probably not have accepted Villalpando's reconstruction *in toto,* based as it is on a "hermetic" interpretation of the prophet's vision, but the book may nevertheless have influenced his idea of the Temple. There is a clear resemblance to Villalpando's account in Rubens's depiction of the Holy of Holies. The Bible describes this as a square area, carved round about with figures of cherubim and palm trees. In Villalpando's plate (Fig. 61) it is barrel-vaulted and the floor, walls and vault are decorated with gilt rosettes and palmettes set in diamond-shaped compartments.[15] Rubens has placed at the back of his picture a gilded apse, decorated with palmettes, which can be shut off by a curtain. This undoubtedly represents the Holy of Holies, towards which the bearers are carrying the Ark.

The altar on which sacrifice is being offered is unmistakably borrowed from Villalpando (Fig. 62). The winged sejant lions in the corners are also seen in Villalpando's representation of the altar of incense in the Temple, as is the cherub's head in a garland of fruit, which Villalpando represents as a detachable part of the altar.[16] The same winged lions, festoons and a cherub's head appear in his depiction of the great bronze altar of holocaust in a forecourt of the Temple.[17]

We have not been able to relate the other instruments of worship in Rubens's tapestry, as far as form is concerned, to any particular models. We have already mentioned the unusual depiction of the Ark with a basket of manna on top. Equally curious is Rubens's version of the table with the showbread. As a rule this is simple in form, with straight square legs, but here it rests on a griffin. In the bozzetto its legs end in volutes and claws.

We may conclude that Rubens very probably intended to represent the Temple of Solomon, and this confirms our opinion that the scene is that of its consecration. We also believe that Solomon is depicted in the figure of an old man with a white beard, in the centre of the composition, advancing towards the altar. He is dressed in red and wears a red fur-trimmed cap resembling the papal *camauro.* He is clearly an important and venerable personage: two boys precede him with torches, while a third aids him to walk. We do not know, however, why Rubens has dressed him in papal attire. In support of our hypothesis we may observe that in the bozzetto (Fig. 145) there was only one person kneeling before the altar, with a sacrificial lamb in his arms; this too was probably Solomon.

Representations of *Solomon Consecrating the Temple* are rare. Lankheit refers to it as a prefiguration of the Eucharist but only cites one late example of its typological use, an eighteenth-century German fresco.[18] We may add to this the *apparato* or temporary decoration erected in the Gesù church in 1650 for the Forty Hours' devotion to the Blessed Sacrament: in this decoration, known from an engraving by Carlo Rainaldi,[19] *The Sacrifice of Solomon* figures as a type of the Eucharist. In Netherlandish art the theme is very uncommon and is only found as an episode in cycles depicting the life of Solomon, without typological significance. There is, for example, a print after Maarten van Heemskerck (Fig. 65)[20] and a Brussels tapestry of ca. 1660.[21]

The eight-day feast of the consecration of Solomon's Temple might well have been chosen as prefiguring the Octave of Corpus Christi. An essential role would thus be played by the Ark with the basket of manna, borne on the Levites's shoulders and accompanied by music. This, we believe, is meant to typify the Corpus Christi procession in which a priest displays the Host in a monstrance, and which is the *raison d'être* of the whole tapestry series. This would explain the emphasis on the manna, the heavenly bread prefiguring the Eucharist and the triumphal procession of the consecrated Host.

We should mention that a different interpretation of the subject occurs in the 17th century. A title beneath the engraving edited by G. Huberti (Fig. 147)[22] reads: "SAMUEL ARCA REDUCTA FECIT IN MASPHATH ISRALITIS IUSTITIAM ET PLACUIT DEO – Regum 1 cap. 7 vers. 2:3". According to this, the composition represents Samuel slaughtering a lamb in the sanctuary at Mizpeh (Masphath) to celebrate the rescue of the Ark from the Philistines.[23] We naturally do not know whether the author of the inscription was correctly informed. If his interpretation is right, the old man in the centre is Samuel and not Solomon. The two horns at the bottom are the only feature which might seem to support the identification with Samuel: the horn was regarded as an attribute of his, alluding to his anointing of Saul and David as king.[24] We know no other example of a painting representing the Sacrifice of Samuel.[25]

Even if the scene is not that of the consecration of the Temple, the typological relation to the feast of Corpus Christi is clear. Possibly the scene is simply that of the annual commemoration of the consecration, when the Ark of the Covenant was probably paraded about the city—and even more direct parallel with the Corpus Christi procession. But the existence of this custom is not quite proved, nor do we know whether Rubens had any notion of it. On the whole,

therefore, we regard the subject as most likely to be *Solomon's consecration of the Temple.*

1 *Knipping,* I, p. 247.

2 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* Part III, Qu. 73, Art. VI.

3 *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucaristica,* pp. 28, 29, fig. 9.

4 W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule,* Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, p. 240, Doc. 55.

5 Copy in the Printroom of the Royal Library, Brussels, Inv. No. S.IV.86283.

6 R. Bellarminus, *De Controversiis christianae fidei, Adversus huius temporis Haereticos,* III, Venice, 1603.

7 L. Richéome, *Tableaux Sacrez des figures mystiques du tres-auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie,* Paris, 1609, pp. 225-248, 251-296, 319-346, figs. on pp. 224, 250, 318.

8 2 Samuel 6: 1-23; 1 Chronicles 13:7-13, 15:1-29.

9 Smith believes that the scene represents "David with the Elders of Israel offering sacrifice on the removal of the Ark from the house of Obed – Edom", but that Rubens has incorrectly placed it in the Temple (*Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 278, 279, No. 937). Rooses is not certain of this identification (*Rooses,* I, p. 65). It is also proposed by: *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* II, p. 542; W. Bürger, *Trésors d'Art en Angleterre,* Paris, 3rd ed., 1865, p. 197; A. Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre,* Paris, 1867, p. 268; N. Beets, *loc. cit.,* p. 31; and in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Exhibition of Pictures from the Althorp Collection,* Agnew's, London, 1947, No. 15.

10 2 Chronicles 5:4-7; cf. 1 Kings 8:3-6.

11 2 Chronicles 7:4-9; cf. 1 Kings 8:62-64.

12 For the iconography of the Temple in Jerusalem see e.g. C.H. Krinsky, *Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXIII, 1970, pp. 1–19; G. Bandmann, in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* IV, cols. 255-260, s.v. *Tempel von Jerusalem;* A.P. de Mirimonde, *A propos d'une gravure publiée par Christophe Plantin et d'un tableau flamand du Musée de Gray : Le Temple de Jérusalem, Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen,* 1975, pp. 213-243.

13 H. Prado and J.B. Villalpando, *In Ezechielem explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani...,* Rome, I-III, 1596-1604; see further R. Taylor, *Hermetism and Mystical Architecture in the Society of Jesus,* in *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution,* ed. by R. Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffé, New York, 1972, pp. 63–97, figs. 42a–43b.

14 See M. Rooses, *Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus* (IV), *Rubens-Bulletijn,* II, 1883, p. 190.

15 H. Prado and J.B. Villalpando, *op. cit.,* II, Pl. VIII.

16 *Ibid.,* repr. p. 335. A literal copy of Villalpando's altar of incense can be found in a work by Victor Honoré Janssens, *The Angel Appearing to Zacharias* (Munich, Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No. 7387).

17 *Ibid.,* repr. p. 388.

18 A series of frescoes by W.A. Heindl, executed in 1734 at Spital am Pyhrn (Upper Austria), comprises *The Paschal Meal, The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek, Abraham's Sacrifice* and *Solomon Sacrificing at the Consecration of the Temple* (*Lank-*

heit, col. 180; E. Guldan, *Wolfgang Andreas Heindl, Vienna-Munich,* 1970, p. 161, figs. 56–59). Pigler gives some 18th-century examples of the theme in Naples churches (A. Pigler, *Barockthemen,* I, Berlin, 1956, p. 164, repr. p. 165; A. Pigler, *Barockthemen,* Budapest, 1974, I, p. 167, III, fig. 64) and by the French painter Jean Restout (A. Pigler, *op. cit.,* 1974, p. 167; A.P. de Mirimonde, *loc. cit.,* p. 228, fig. 12). Réau does not mention it. See also G. Bandmann, *loc. cit.,* col. 259, fig. 4.

[19] See P. Bjurström, *Baroque Theater and the Jesuits,* in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution,* ed. by R. Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffé, New York, 1972, p. 106, fig. 55; M.S. Weil, *The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXVII, 1974, p. 243, fig. 54a.

[20] *Hollstein,* VIII, p. 248, No. 607; A.P. de Mirimonde, *loc. cit.,* p. 223, fig. 6.

[21] *Göbel,* I (II), fig. 334; A. Pigler, *op. cit.,* I, p. 164.

[22] See under No. 10b, "Copies" (12); copy in the Rubens House, Antwerp.

[23] I Samuel 7.

[24] *Réau,* II (I), p. 250.

[25] Réau only mentions a few medieval instances of the subject (*Réau,* II (I), p. 251). The *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* and the *Lexikon christl. Ikon.* do not mention it in the articles dealing with the Ark of the Covenant.

10a. THE SACRIFICE OF THE OLD COVENANT: BOZZETTO

Oil on panel; approximately 16 : 21.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Victor Wolfvoet, Antwerp (1612 – 23 October 1652); Inventory of his estate, 24–26 October 1652: "No. 427. Noch een ander schetsken oick van als voore [i.e. by Rubens] van darcke des Verbonts oick in gelyck lystken".

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 145), whereabouts unknown; chalk, 150 : 187 mm.: prov.: André de Hevesy, Paris, (1930).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1910, p. 282; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 150.

The bozzetto for this subject, which was part of the group of small panels in Victor Wolfvoet's collection, is lost. However, there is an exact and detailed representation of it in a chalk drawing to the same scale, formerly in a private collection in Paris.

The border is the same as in the tapestry; so is the general composition, with the sacrifice in the foreground and the procession behind. The former scene is, however, much simpler: only two figures are at the altar, a high priest

wearing a mitre and holding a basin to catch the animal's blood, and a man kneeling with a lamb in his arms. As indicated in the discussion of the tapestry, this is probably King Solomon.

In the copy after the bozzetto the Ark is depicted rather unusually. It is crowned by two pairs of angels: first two smaller ones, their wings unfolded and stretching forwards, and above them two larger ones holding the basket of manna. It seems to us unlikely that this is a liberty of the copyist. Possibly it reflects a change of mind on Rubens's part: he may have begun with two large angels hovering above the Ark and holding up the basket of manna, as a parallel to the cherubs with the monstrance on another tapestry (No. 1). This would emphasize the typology of the Ark: the manna is heavenly bread, as the Sacrament is the bread of angels, given to men that they may live. However, there is no Biblical warrant for the angels above the Ark, and this may be why Rubens reverted to the cherubim with outstretched wings as we see them in the modello, leaving the basket of manna on the Ark as the only survival of his original idea. The latter motif, as we have already mentioned, was equally unusual.

10b. THE SACRIFICE OF THE OLD COVENANT: MODELLO (Fig. 146)

Oil on panel; 70 : 86 cm. (small strip added at the top).

Topsfield, Mass., Collection of William A. Coolidge.

PROVENANCE: ? The Electors Palatine; Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland (1641–1702), Althorp; thence by descent the Earls of Spencer, Althorp, up to the 7th Earl of Spencer (1892–1975), who sold it in 1962.

COPIES: (1) Painting, without the architectonic frame, by Matthijs van den Bergh; Essen, Villa Hügel, coll. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Inv. No. KH 417; panel, 57 : 81 cm.; signed and dated 1637; prov.: ? Lord Northwick, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, sale, Cheltenham (Phillips), 26 July – 30 August 1859, lot 1508 ("David with the Elders of Israel, offering sacrifice on the removal of the ark from the house of Obededom"); Olantigh Jowers, Kent; exh.: *Museum Folkwang zeigt in Villa Hügel Kunstwerke aus Kirchen-, Museums- und Privatbesitz,* Villa Hügel, Essen, 1953, No. 4d; *Essen, 1954–55,* No. 6; *Aus der Gemäldesammlung der Familie Krupp,* Villa Hügel, Essen, 1965, No. 77; lit.: *Art Union,* London, 1846, p. 255; *Rooses,* I, p. 149; *Elbern,* p. 30, No. 6, repr. facing p. 3; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 73; (2) Painting, Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University Collection, Inv. No. P. 74.577; panel, 64 : 95 cm.;

prov.: Lady Benthall, sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 March 1972, lot 10; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 66 : 98.5 cm.; prov.: Julius Mulisch, Konstanz; exh.: *Ausstellung alter Kunst im Kurfürstlichen Schloss aus dem Besitz rheinhessischer, mainzer und ehemals kurmainzer Familien,* Mayence, 1925, No. 262 (repr.); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 128 : 156 cm.; prov.: P. Rivault, Paris (1899); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, measurements unknown; prov.: A. Bessener, Basle; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Allessandro Savorgnan, Venice (1699); lit.: C.-A. Levi, *Le Collezioni Veneziane d'Arte e d'Antichità dal Secolo XIV ai nostri Giorni,* II, Venice, 1900, p. 87, No. 133 ("Un quadro di un sacrificio dove portano l'Arca del Testamento di q.te cinque in c.a soaza dorata copia del Rubens"); (7) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; brown ink, 285 : 385 mm.; prov.: ? Sale, Amsterdam, 23 November 1767 *et seqq.,* lot 187 ("Een fraaye Ordinantie, verbeeldende een Offerhande, fix met de pen, en gewassen met Oostind. Inkt, door P.P. Rubbens"); ? Michiel van den Berg, sale, Rotterdam, 19 June 1786 *et seqq.,* lot 14 ("Een heidensche Offerhande, zynde een schets van P.P. Rubbens"); J. W. Barchman Wuytiers, sale, Utrecht, 17 September 1792, lot 28 ("Een Offerhande. Veelen brengen hun offer. De Hoogepriester staat voor het Outaar gereed een Lam te verdeelen; buiten den Tempel geschiedt eene ommegang met de Arke, onder het geschal der Trompetten enz. Een rijke ordonnantie, die meesterlijk met de pen en warmen inkt behandeld is, hoog 11 breed 14 ¾ duim door P.P. Rubbens".); P.C. Hasselaar, sale, Amsterdam, 28 November 1797 *et seqq.,* lot 1; Dutch private collection (1954); lit.: N. Beets, *Het Offer van het Oude Verbond door Rubens, Oud-Holland,* LXIX, 1954, pp. 31–42 (as *Rubens*); *Elbern,* p. 30, fig. 4; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 73; *Jaffé, 1956,* p. 133; (8) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; prov.: P. Crozat, sale, Paris, 10 April – 13 May 1741, lot 820 ("Quatre, *idem* [desseins de Rubens], dont une allégorie sur les Sacrifices de l'ancienne alliance; Dessein fait pour des tapisseries, dont les cartons sont en Espagne,..."); lit.: *Rooses,* V, p. 143; (9) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; 408 : 640 mm.; prov.: John Duke of Argyll, sale, London (Phillips), 21–23 May 1798, lot 309 ("... a capital design, in colours, on a brown ground, heightened"); (10) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; red chalk; prov.: C.M. Metz, sale, London, 4 May 1801, lot 23; (11) Engraving by A. Lommelin (*V.S.,* p. 6, No. 44, as *Sacrifice de Samuel*); (12) Engraving (by Lommelin ?), without the architectural frame, edited by Gaspar Huberti, 640 : 895 mm. (Fig. 147; not in *V.S.*). (13) (14) (15)

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1854, No. 37; *The Art Treasures of the United Kingdom,* Manchester, 1857, No. 575; *A Loan Exhibition of Sketches and Studies by Peter Paul Rubens,* The Dowdeswell Galleries, London, 1912, No. 4; *Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Old Masters on behalf of Lord Haig's Appeal for Ex-Service Men,* Agnew's, London, 1924, No. 13; *Exhibition of Pictures from the Althorp Collection,* Agnew's, London, 1947, No. 15; *Art Treasures Centenary, European Old Masters,* City of Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester, 1957, No. 89; *Rubens: A Variety of Interests, In Honour of Ruth S. Magurn,* Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, No. 25.

LITERATURE: P. Toynbee, *Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats etc..., The Walpole Society*, XVI, 1927–28, p. 31; T.F. Dibdin, *Aedes Althorpianae, or an account of the Mansion, Books and Pictures at Althorp, the Residence of George John, Earl of Spencer, K.G.*, London, 1822, I, p. 15; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 278, 279, No. 937, p. 291, No. 1008; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, p. 542; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p. 458; W. Bürger, *Trésors d'Art en Angleterre*, Paris, 3rd ed., 1865, p. 197; A. Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1867, p. 268; *Rooses*, I, p. 65, No. 48bis; *Rooses, Catalogus*, p. 15, No. 69; *K.d.K.*, pp. 294, 467; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1940, p. 31, No. 6; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33, No. 6; *Elbern*, p. 30; *Elbern*, 1955, p. 73, fig. 26; *Scribner*, 1975, pp. 524, 525, fig. 6; K.J. Garlick, *A Catalogue of Pictures at Althorp, The Walpole Society*, XLV, 1974–1976, pp. xiii, 100, 107, 117.

The composition in the bozzetto was enriched by several figures at the modello stage, especially the sacrifice scene in the foreground. Apart from some lesser details it agrees entirely with that in the final tapestry. The motif of the Ark brought into the Temple and accompanied by an adoring multitude is scarcely altered, but loses some of its prominence owing to the larger number of figures in the foreground.

The modello of this animated, colourful scene is in good condition. The architectural border is painted schematically and very thinly in brown over the ochre-coloured foundation, but the rest of the piece is fully worked up in colour. Here and there, e.g. in the decorative motifs in the lower centre traces of an under-drawing in black chalk can be seen.[1]

The pedigree of this piece goes back to the collection of Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland (1640–1702), who was ambasssador in Madrid (1671), Paris (1672) and Cologne (1673) and bought many works on the Continent to adorn his home at Althorp.[2] According to the catalogues of two exhibitions at which the panel was shown, it came from the collection of the Elector Palatine,[3] but we have not been able to discover the ground for this statement. The modello remained at Althorp for nearly two centuries and was admired there by Horace Walpole in 1704.[4] It is mentioned in the inventories of the collection in 1746, 1750 and 1802.[5]

Many other pieces with this title are recorded in sales, but it is hard to be sure if the subject is really the same, and as there are so many copies of about the same measurements it is difficult to identify the pieces mentioned with extant ones.[6]

[1] I am indebted to Mrs Anne-Marie Logan for information concerning this modello, which I know only from photographs.

[2] See: T. Seecombe, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by S. Lee, XVIII, London, 1909, pp. 776-785, *s.v. Spencer.*

[3] *London, 1947, loc. cit.; Manchester, 1957, loc. cit.*

[4] "Althorpe:... Several good pictures in the lower apartment, ... Jewish Sacrifice by Rubens." (P. Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, p. 31).

[5] 1746: "[The Green Room] – No. 230 A sacrafice by Rubens" (K.J. Garlick, *op. cit.*, p. 100); 1750: "[Great Parlour] – The Wisemen offering. A Sketch by Reubens" (*Ibidem*, p. 107); 1802: "[Drawing Room] – Sketch of a Jewish Sacrifice, Rubens" (*Ibidem*, p. 117).

[6] The following, all attributed to Rubens, may be cited in chronological order: P.J. Snyers, sale, Antwerp, 23 May 1758, lot 5 ("Een Sacrefice, alwaar de Arke des Verbonds ingebragt woord in den Tempel, met verscheide Figuuren, op paneel, door denzelven [P.P. Rubens], hoog 22 ½, breet 31 ½ duimen"); sale, London (Christie's), 16-17 March 1781, lot 80 ("The return of the arc, a grand sketch"), bought by Bellamy; General Crewe, sale, London (Farebrother), 28 June 1810, lot 192 ("An Ancient Sacrifice"); Benjamin West, sale, London (Christie's), 23 June 1820, lot 81 ("David's sacrifice on depositing the ark in the temple. Finely coloured, on panel, 24 ½ x 32 in."); Edward Balme, sale, London (Christie's), 1 March 1823, lot 79 ("David placing the Ark in the Temple, from the collection of the late president of the Royal Academy, Mr. West"), bought by Dyson; J.B. van Lancker, sale, Antwerp, 18 August 1835, lot 91 ("Sacrifice à l'entrée de l'arche"); Mrs. Barnard, sale, London (Christie's), 12 June 1925, lot 140; sale, London (Sotheby's), 22 February 1967, lot 163; sale, London (Knight, Frank and Rutley), 14 March 1968, lot 170.

10c. THE SACRIFICE OF THE OLD COVENANT: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 480 : 655 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

PROVENANCE: First in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

COPIES: (1) Painting by David III Teniers, Zaragoza, University; canvas, 180 : 285 cm.; prov.: see pp. 232, 233; deposit of the Prado (1893); lit. *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, pp. 289, 418, No. 2295, Pl. 285; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera, Marseilles; lit.: see p. 235.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, pp. 64, 65, No. 48; *Elbern*, p. 30; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 73.

To judge from the tapestry, the lost cartoon cannot have differed appreciably from the modello. The unfinished parts were worked up, and ornamentation added to the drapery and architecture. The boys assisting in the sacrifice no longer have wreaths in their hair, the youth in the foreground has a piece of drapery over his shoulder and arm, and the figures visible below and beyond the Ark have been modified.

11. THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH: TAPESTRY (Figs. 148, 149)

Wool and silk; approximately 480 : 750 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES.F.*

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke ? (Fig. 222), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. CV8 (with a figure added from *The Four Evangelists*, No. 14); 485 : 920 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 243, 244; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Museo Civico; 470 : 785 cm.; prov. and lit.: pp. 244-246; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral; 407 : 724 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55*, No. 28 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956*, No. 88; lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln*, pp. 318, 319, No. 3; *Elbern*, pp. 19–24, 37, 38, fig. 19; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 44–50, 64–69, 84, 85, fig. 45; *Elbern, 1958*, pp. 121-123; (4) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (5) Frans van den Hecke, Frankfurt-am-Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Inv. No. 12074; 408 : 720 cm.; lit.: *Elbern*, pp. 17, 37; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 63, 86; (6) Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 420 : 735 cm.; prov.: sale, Paris (G. Petit), 30 May 1919, lot 29 (repr.); (7) Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 410 : 740 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 50; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880*, No. 72; lit.: *Wauters*, p. 307, No. 1; *Keuller-Wauters*, pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLV; *Rooses*, I, p. 59, under No. 43; *Elbern*, pp. 17, 37; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 63, 85; (8) Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 420 : 755 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 54; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880*, No. 24; lit.: *Wauters*, p. 308, No. 4; *Keuller-Wauters*, pp. 21, 22; (9) Jan-Frans van den Hecke (Fig. 156), Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, No. 216; 415 : 750 cm.; prov.: sale, Paris (G. Petit), 22 May 1928, lot 171 (repr.); lit.: *Suida, Cat. Sarasota*, p. 187, No. 216, repr.; *Elbern*, p. 37; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 86; (10) Jodocus De Vos (Fig. 157), after the engraving, Valletta (Malta), St. John's Cathedral; appr. 670 cm. wide; prov. and lit.: see pp. 253, 254.

LITERATURE: *Descripción*, pp. 4, 5, No. 2; *Rooses*, I, p. 59, under No. 43; *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 251; *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 119, 120, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 39, 40, repr.; *Elbern*, p. 37; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 85; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Vlaamse Wandtapijten van de XIVde tot de XVIIde eeuw*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 263–270, repr.; *Junquera, 1969*, pp. 29, 30, repr.

This tapestry, the largest of the series, shows an imposing and colourful procession advancing from left to right. The place of honour in the triumphal car is occupied by a stately female figure, the Church, in liturgical vestments: alb, stole and cope. An angel holds the papal tiara above her head, while

another angel adjuſts the folds of her ample cloak. This personification in liturgical attire with papal attributes is a traditional way of representing the Church, as seen e.g. in Filips Galle's *Prosopographia*[1] or Rubens's title-page for the *Generale Kerckelycke Hiſtorie* by Baronius, Spondanus and Rosweydus (Fig. 90)[2] and Van Diepenbeeck's title-page for *Kerckelycke Hiſtorie van de Gheheele Werelt* by C. Hazart (Fig. 93). The Church holds a monſtrance in both hands, which she extends in front of her. The triumphal car is drawn by four white horses: three women hold them by the bridle, while another woman goes before with the labarum. An angel in a short tunic, on the horse neareſt the ſpectator, holds the papal emblem of the golden umbrella, with the gold and silver keys placed crosswise againſt it. A naked cherub sits on the front of the chariot, holding the reins and urging the horses on with a small whip. The dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above his head, in token that the Spirit guides the Church. Above the horses are two angels blowing trumpets and the figure of Victory with palm and laurel. Behind the horses are two heads of laurelled figures accompanying the procession, one of them holding up an olive branch. At the very top three cherubs gaze reverently at the monſtrance. Enemies of the Church are crushed beneath the wheels of the car, and captives in chains are led on by a woman with an oil lamp.

Several features of the scene are borrowed from Roman triumphs, or rather the representations of them which Rubens had seen in antique reliefs or Renaissance compositions in antique ſtyle: the figure leading the procession with the labarum, the team of four horses, the crown held over the victor's head, the captives herded along behind.[3] Clearly Rubens in this composition was guided by the idea of an antique triumph and departed to a considerable extent from the didactic pattern that we find e.g. in the religious triumphs of Otto van Veen (Figs. 71–74).[4] The latter presents allegorical scenes in the spirit of the Chambers of Rhetoric, while Rubens shows us a genuinely triumphal figure and interweaves Chriſtian iconography with antique elements.

It seems possible that the shell-like shape of the chariot with a kind of prow in front is meant to recall the image of the Church as a ship, which occurs repeatedly in literature and the plaſtic arts. The *Triumph of the Church* was traditionally represented as a ship with the community of the faithful on board, ſteered by Chriſt or the Pope through the dangers of the sea to a safe haven.[5] The shape of the car is somewhat more reminiscent of a ship in the bozzetto than in the final tapeſtry.[6]

The identity of the female figures accompanying the triumphal car and leading the horses is not immediately clear. The women holding the horses by the bridle are generally regarded as Virtues. To judge by the attributes, the woman with the lion's skin over her head and with a staff in her hand may be *Fortitudo* or perhaps *Constantia*. Bellori, who gives the earliest description of the subject (published in 1672 and based on the print),[7] calls her "Fortezza" The woman in the foreground he calls "Giustitia", on the ground that she holds a flaming sword in her hand. She does so in the engraving (Fig. 153) and in several copies made after it, though not in the tapestry or the modello. We shall discuss this further when we come to the modello, but would point out here that the sword cannot be relied on to identify the figure. The third female figure, in the centre, has no attribute.

Are the three women in fact Virtues? There is no reason to assume, as is done in the literature, that they represent the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity.[8] Can they be the cardinal virtues? If the figure with the lion's skin is really Fortitude, we should expect then to find Justice, Temperance and Prudence. Assuming that Rubens chose to represent these not by attributes but in a more indirect way, we might perhaps recognize Temperance in the woman pulling down the head of one of the horses or the one in the foreground holding a horse by the bridle. Prudence is less easy to identify (the woman in the centre 'looking forward'?), and Justice is not apparent in any of the figures.

However, Rubens need not necessarily have intended to portray the four cardinal virtues. In a somewhat analogous case, *The Ship of the Coming-of-Age of Louis XIII* in the Medici cycle, we find personifications of Fortitude, Piety, Justice, Concord and Prudence or Temperance,[9] the virtues judged appropriate for the allegory in question. In that instance, one of the figures is clearly personified by action and not by attribute, namely Prudence or Temperance, who is shortening sail.

It seems logical enough that the Church's car should be guided by virtues that determine its course. Virtues are found in other representations of *The Triumph of the Church*. In Dante's description virtues dance around the church's triumphal car, the theological virtues on the right and the cardinal ones on the left.[10] Virtues also occur in triumphal scenes inspired by Rubens's composition: thus the theological virtues can be seen in *The Triumph of St. Norbert* in the Premonstratensian abbey at Averbode (Faith and Hope)[11] and in *The*

Triumph of the Church in Our Lady's church at Scherpenheuvel (Montaigu) (Hope and Charity),[12] and the cardinal virtues in *The Triumph of Louis XIII* by Frans II Francken.[13] Palomino's great fresco in the monastery church of San Esteban at Salamanca, *The Triumph of the Church and the Apotheosis of the Dominican Order* (Fig. 85), also inspired by Rubens, shows both the theological and the cardinal virtues seated in the Church's chariot: the figures have their traditional attributes and are also fully described by Palomino himself in *El Museo Pictórico,* published in 1724.[14]

In Palomino's composition Charity, the principal virtue, guides the horses. In Rubens's the cherub on the front of the car (Fig. 148) can also be interpreted as a small Amor, suggesting that it is divine love that holds the reins. This idea is found in other Triumphs, e.g. the *Triumph of Peace* after Maarten van Heemskerck (Fig. 79) and the painting with the same subject by Pieter Claeissens, where Charity is the driver.[15] The inscription in Bolswert's engraving after Rubens speaks similarly of Divine Love holding the reins.[16]

To return to the female figures leading the horses in Rubens's composition, we may conclude that their identification as Virtues is acceptable although we do not know precisely which they are meant to be. From the interpretations by Bellori, Palomino and the painters who clearly represent the classic virtues in their own variants, it is evident that in the 17th and 18th centuries people had no idea of other possible virtues that might be intended here. It is noteworthy that the earliest text we have that relates to this composition—not a description like Bellori's, but a poem with an implicit interpretation—gives the figures another meaning: the Latin verse in the caption to the engraving by Schelte a Bolswert (ca. 1652) runs: "Per septena tuas moderatur dona quadrigis Spiritus" (The Spirit with its sevenfold gifts guides your chariot).[17] This suggests that the female figures represent the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, viz. Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety and the Fear of the Lord.[18] The attributes of these Gifts fit in with those of the Virtues, but they cannot be distinguished directly in Rubens's composition except perhaps for Fortitude, which may have the same attributes as the virtue of that name. Nor is it clear exactly which figures make up the seven.

The figures in the left half of the tapestry present similar problems of identification. Those crushed beneath the chariot-wheels of course represent Evil and the Church's triumph over it. Only one of these has any clear attributes: the old woman with snakes in her hair and a burning torch beside her on the

ground. This is Envy or Discord, as we find in Galle's *Prosopographia;*[19] it may, however, denote a particular form of Discord, namely Heresy. The other figures have no attributes. Tormo identifies the man whose head is seen in front of the wheels as Anger *(Furia),* on the supposition that the torch belongs to him and not, as we think, to Envy. The dark man crushed under the wheel was identified by Bellori as the Devil; Tormo calls him Hatred, as his face is distorted by rage and pain.[20]

Of the two men led captive behind the chariot, the one with ass's ears is generally identified as Ignorance. This very common symbol of folly occurs in another representation of Ignorance by Rubens in *The Benefits of the Regency* in the Medici series.[21] The blindfolded and groping man beside him represents Blindness.

Irving Lavin in a recent study suggests that these figures do not merely signify Ignorance and Blindness in general but that Rubens intended a further meaning. He recalls that in Caravaggio's *St. Matthew,* formerly at Berlin, this unlettered and ignorant Evangelist is portrayed with the features of Socrates, whom the oracle declared to be the wisest man in Greece because he knew that he knew nothing. Accordingly Lavin suggests that Rubens's figure with ass's ears represents Socrates and stands for the pagan world (the Gentiles). The blindfolded man ("a dark, Semitic-looking individual") would then represent the Jews, as it was customary to show the Synagogue blindfolded in contrast to the Church. The two figures together would thus symbolize the *ecclesia ex circumcisione* and the *ecclesia ex gentibus,* both superseded by the Christian Church.[22]

We agree with the general idea that Rubens may have intended to depict the blindness of Jewry and the ignorance of Heathendom as being conquered by the Church, but it seems rather strange that he should have represented pagan ignorance with the features of Socrates, and we do not know whether the equation between Socrates and Ignorance was part of Rubens's mental furniture. We therefore leave the question open, but we should point out that in another composition of the Eucharist series Socrates can be recognized with more certainty, viz. in one of the captive figures in *The Triumph of Faith* (No. 12; Fig. 160).

The tapestry depicting the *Triumph of the Church* has the usual architectonic "border", this time with Salomonic columns. Above, in front of the tapestry, is a cartouche inscribed ECCLESIÆ TRIVMPHVS. The stone threshold or parapet with acanthus decoration, seen in other compositions below the "tapestry", is

in this case wholly concealed by it. There appears, however, from under the tapestry a globe encircled by a snake, with a palm-branch on the left and a rudder on the right. These symbols may be read with confidence as signifying the victorious Church's conquest (palm and oak-crown) and eternal (snake) domination (rudder) over the world (globe). It is certainly wrong to interpret the snake either as Christ or, as has been supposed, as evil or temptation. Bellori gives the right interpretation, referring to the whole as an "impresa": "l'impresa dell'Eterna monarchia della Chiesa il globo del mondo circondato dal serpente che si morde la coda, e col timone per lo suo perpetuo reggimento."[23]

This sums up the meaning of the whole scene. The Church is depicted in a war-chariot, advancing to her final triumph, crushing her enemies and leading Ignorance and Blindness towards the light, so as to rule the world for ever. Rubens expressed in this way the central idea of the Counter-Reformation, that of the ultimate and final victory of the Catholic Church over the world.

The composition became extremely well-known as a synthesis of dominant ideas expressed in an ingenious and highly decorative form. Of the various subjects of the Eucharist series, it was the most popular and the most frequently imitated. Time without number it was repeated literally in tapestries, paintings and prints—see the long list of "Copies" above—and in addition the theme recurred in a great many more or less free variants, as discussed in an earlier chapter.[24]

1 *Knipping*, II, p. 144, fig. 98; copy in Brussels, Royal Library, Print Room, Inv. No. S IV 2875.

2 *Evers, 1943*, pp. 180, 181, fig. 96.

3 See e.g. the Triumphs of Giulio Romano and Salviati (W. Weisbach, *Trionfi*, Berlin, 1919, figs. 14, 16, 17).

4 See above, p. 200, n. 117.

5 Discussed more fully under *The Triumph of Hope* (No. 21); see also Van Veen's *Triumph* (Fig. 74).

6 Rubens expressly gave the form of a ship to the *Triumphal Car of Calloo*, made to celebrate a naval victory; it was furnished with all kinds of maritime devices (*Martin, Pompa*, pp. 216-221, Nos. 56-56a, figs. 112-114).

7 *Bellori*, p. 234 (Doc. 19).

8 *Suida, Cat. Sarasota, loc. cit.; Elbern, loc. cit.; Elbern, 1955, loc. cit.* Smith calls the figures "Justice, Mercy and Truth" (*Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 139, No. 496).

9 *K.d.K.*, p. 258; in a drawing for this composition in the Louvre the figure in question is marked "Prudenza", but an early description speaks of "la Tempérance" (*J. Thuillier, La "Galerie de Médicis" de Rubens et sa genèse: un document inédit,*

Revue de l'Art, No. 4, 1969, p. 62, figs., 30, 31).

10 Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIX, 121-150.

11 [*Cat. Exh.*] *Sint Norbertus in de Brabantse Kunst*, Abbey, Averbode, 1971, p. 30, No. 17.

12 Photograph Brussels, A.C.L., No. 1833 A.

13 Prudence guides the horses (A.P. de Mirimonde, *Frans II Francken et Louis XIII: l'Allégorie pour la prise de La Rochelle*, *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1967, pp. 124, 125, fig. 5).

14 See above, p. 228, n. 22.

15 H. Pauwels, *Groeningemuseum, Catalogus*, Bruges, 1960, pp. 89-91, No. 61, repr.

16 "... et dius qui juga flectit Amor" (see above, p. 219).

17 See above, p. 219.

18 For the iconography of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit see *Knipping*, I, p. 164; *Timmers*, pp. 171-174, Nos. 337-343; S. Seeliger, in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, II, cols. 71-73, s.v. *Gaben des Geistes*.

19 Copy at Brussels, Royal Library, Print Room, Inv. No. S IV 2903.

20 *Tormo, loc. cit;* his identification is followed by Elbern and d'Hulst *(loc. cit.)*.

21 *K.d.K.*, p. 257.

22 I. Lavin, *Divine Inspiration in Caravaggio's Two "St. Matthews"*, *The Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1974, pp. 78, 79, figs. 25, 26.

23 *Bellori, loc. cit.*

24 See above, p. 228, n. 22, 23.

11a. THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH: BOZZETTO (Fig. 150)

Oil on panel; 16.5 : 24.8 cm.; enlarged at the right and below (original size 16.1 : 24.4 cm.).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 228.

PROVENANCE: ? The Rev. Edward Balme; bequeathed by Mrs. Balme to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927*, No. 328.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus*, p. 14, No. 61; *Rooses*, V, p. 307; *Earp*, p. 171, No. I.228, repr.; *Rooses, Life*, II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 283 (as *after Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 80, under No. 77 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31 (as *after Rubens*); *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 22–25, 120, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 31–34, 40, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*,

p. 9; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 37; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 85; *Jaffé, 1955*, p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; *Elbern, 1958*, p. 135, n. 24 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison*, pp. 103, 104, No. 228, pp. 106, 107, Pl. 50; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16; *Jaffé, 1969*, pp. 537, 538, n. 73.

In the bozzetto the composition appears in its main lines as in the final tapestry, though in a somewhat simpler form. The "tapestry" is not held up by cherubs at the top, and instead of the cartouche in the centre there is a console with an angel's head. Some of the figures accompanying the triumphal car are also missing from the bozzetto, including the woman in front with the labarum; only two women hold the horses by the bridle. The two women behind the car are missing, as are the cherubs hovering above the monstrance. There are differences of detail such as the pose of the horses' feet and of certain figures, including the chained captives and those crushed beneath the wheels: one of the latter holds a scroll, no doubt of heretical texts.

Below, in the centre, is an emblem quite different from that in the tapestry, viz. a globe flanked by two couchant lions. A laurel wreath around the globe symbolizes the Church's conquest of the world. We have not been able to discover the significance of the lions.

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 92).

11b. THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH: MODELLO (Figs. 151, 152)

Oil on panel; 86 : 106 cm.; enlarged at the four sides (original size 62 : 98.5 cm.).

Madrid, Prado. No. 1698.

PROVENANCE: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; deposited at the Prado, as part of the Spanish Royal Collections.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, J.H. Wade Collection, No. 16.1037; canvas, 72 : 105 cm.; prov.: Madrazzi, Madrid; Thiers, Paris; Duchesse de Bauffrembert; E. Warneck; Durand Ruel Gallery; J. H. Wade; lit.: W.R. Valentiner, *Aus der niederländischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, p. 204, No. 25; *The Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, April 1926, p. 77; *Valentiner*, p. 164, No. 98; *Goris-Held*, p. 53, No. A. 76; (2) Painting, without the columns, whereabouts unknown; panel, 53.5 : 77

cm.; prov.: Hugo Engel, Vienna (1930); Swiss art-market, summer 1937; shown to L. Burchard in Paris, 12 July 1937; (3) Painting, without the columns, whereabouts unknown; panel, 50 : 70 cm., inscribed *T.a.T. 1645;* prov.: F. Kleinberger, Paris; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 10 May 1916, lot 86 (repr.); A.-B. Antikkompaniet, Stockholm (Cat. 1917–18, p. 37, No. 98, repr.); sale, London (Christie's), 8 July 1927, lot 87, purchased by Pearson; Ernst Elliot, Stockholm (before 1929); Dr. H.B. Hultzoren, Råsunda; Mrs. Fasth, Stockholm (1951); Stig Oseen, Stockholm (? 1954); Rogers, Stockholm (1970); exh.: *Utställning av en samling äldre målningar,* Museum, Malmö, 1926, No. 46 (repr.); lit.: *Elbern,* p. 37; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 85; (4) Painting, without the architectural frame, Fullerton, Norton Simon Foundation; panel, transferred to canvas, 54.5 : 91 cm.; prov.: Duke Philibert of Pistoia; Duveen Bros, New York, (still there in 1959); (5) Painting, without the architectural frame, Ghent, St. Peter's Church; canvas, 300 : 431 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 225–227; (6) Painting, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 54.6 : 90.2 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 27 November 1959, lot 20; (7) Painting, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 33 : 46 cm.; prov.: Barbier, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 12 June 1912, lot 158 (repr.); (8) Painting, in reverse, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 90 : 136 cm.; prov.: sale, Munich (Neumeister–Weinmüller), 3–4 May 1972, lot 1117 (repr.); (9) Painting, Gistel, Our Lady"s Church; canvas, 165 : 265 cm.; (10) Painting, without the architectural frame and in reverse, Mollem, St. Stephen's Church; (11) Painting, without the architectural frame and in reverse, Wassenaar, private collection (1963); copper, 59 : 86 cm.; prov.: A.A. Wyckenham; sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 16 December 1933, lot 124 (repr.); (12) Painting by Bartolomé Santos, without the architectural frame and in reverse, Valladolid, Iglesia de San Miguel; canvas; lit.: E. Valdivieso González, *La Pintura en Valladolid en el Siglo XVII,* Valladolid, 1971, pp. 174, 175, fig. XLIII; (13) Painting, a partial copy with variants, whereabouts unknown; panel, 42 : 58.5 cm.; prov.: Thieme, Leipzig; Michel-Mainz, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 27 February 1917, lot 37 (repr.; as a design for a triumphal entry); Julius Böhler, Munich; purchased from the latter in 1917 by Karl Bergsten, Stockholm; lit.: K. Madsen, in: *Catalogue de la Collection de M. & de Mme. Karl Bergsten,* Stockholm, 1925, No. 38, repr.; (14) Painting by José Risueño, Granada, Cathedral; canvas, about 200 : 350 cm.; lit.: D. Sánchez-Mesa Martín, *José Risueño,* Granada, 1972, pp. 249, 250, No. 119; (15) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (16) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 49.5 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: J. van Lancker, sale, Antwerp, 23 May 1769, lot 11; (17) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 260 : 440 cm.; prov.: Bruges, Convent of the Augustines; Bruges, St. Gillis Church; lit.: see p. 225; (18) Painting, Düsseldorf, Theresienhospital; canvas, 134 : 197 cm.; prov.: Düsseldorf, Convent of the Carmelite Nuns; lit.: *Elbern, 1958,* p. 130; (19) Painting, private collection, Düsseldorf; canvas, 120 : 208 cm.; lit.: *Elbern, 1958,* p. 139; (20) Painting, Genova, Palazzo Reale; copper, 110 : 127 cm.; lit.: *Elbern, 1963,* p. 80; P. Torriti, *Il Palazzo Reale de Genova e la sua Galleria,* Genova, 1963, p. 68; (21) Drawing, without the columns, whereabouts

unknown; water-colour, heightened with body-colour, 500 : 750 mm.; prov.: Henri Lacroix, sale, Paris (Drouot), 18–23 March 1901, lot 340 (repr.); ? Larsen, London (1931); lit.: *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 82, under No. 56 (wrongly as a copy after *The Victory of Truth over Heresy,* No. 17b); *Haverkamp-Begemann, 1953,* p. 87, under No. 75; *Elbern,* p. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78; *Elbern, 1958,* p. 139; (22) Drawing after the right half of the painting, whereabouts unknown; brown ink and wash; prov.: Santee Landweer, Amsterdam (as *T. van Thulden);* (23) Drawing, without the architectural frame, with variations and in reverse, whereabouts unknown; 250 : 500 mm.; prov.: H. Garven, Munich (1959); (24) Drawing after a part of the horse in the foreground (Fig. 158), Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 82; pen over a first draft in black chalk, 194 : 199 mm.; inscribed, below on the right: *dit peerdeken hebbe ick geteekent naer rubbens schiel... te weten de schedts vande triumphe van de ylich sacr... ende dit vrauken oock die leeit het selve peerdeken;* see pp. 229, 230; (25) Drawing after the drapery of the angel conducting the horse in the foreground, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 67; red chalk and ink, 157 : 161 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (26) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, edited by N. Lauwers, 635 : 1020 mm. (Fig. 153; *V.S.,* p. 66, No. 20); (27) Engraving, edited by N. Lauwers (*V.S.,* p. 67, No. 21); (28) Engraving, edited by G. Hendrickx, 477 : 712 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 67, No. 22); (29) Engraving by F. Ragot, 649 : 1020 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 67, No. 23); (30) Engraving, without the architectural frame, edited by C. Galle, 204 : 301 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 67, No. 24); (31) Engraving by C. Vermeulen, 520 : 720 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 67, No. 25); (32) Engraving, edited by Mariette, 675 : 1025 mm. (not in *V.S.*). (33) (34) (35) (36) (37)

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 77; *Geneva, 1939,* No. 147.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 139, No. 496; IX, p. 296, No. 189; *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 377, 378, No. 43; J. Rousseau, *L'Œuvre de Rubens en Espagne, L'Art,* 1878, I, p. 203; *Rooses,* I, p. 58, under No. 43; V, p. 307 (as *after Rubens*); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 284; E. Dillon, *Rubens,* London, 1909, pl. CCCV; *Beroqui, 1918,* pp. 64, 65; *K.d.K.,* p. 293; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 30–33, No. 3, pp. 81, 82, No. 55, repr.; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 120, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 40, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 32–34, No. 3, pp. 83, 84, No. 55, repr.; L. Font, *La Eucaristía, el tema Eucarístico en el Arte de España,* Barcelona, 1952, p. 139, fig. 123; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* pp. 234, 235; *Elbern,* p. 37, fig. 20; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 85, fig. 47; I. Lavin, *Divine Inspiration in Caravaggio's Two "St. Matthews", The Art Bulletin,* LVI, 1974, pp. 78, 79, figs. 25, 26; *Scribner, 1975,* p. 520, fig. 2; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 287–290, 292, 293, No. 1698, Pl. 188.

Rubens elaborated the modello for *The Triumph of the Church* with great care: the triumphal car, the horses, the human figures and even such details as the garlands of fruit at the top are depicted with accuracy. Only less important

parts are unfinished, viz. architectural elements that were worked out in detail elsewhere and did not need to be repeated here. The inscription in the cartouche is also missing. The piece is in good condition and can be regarded as one of the finest modelli of the series.

As we have already pointed out, the prints by Bolswert and other engravers are based on the modelli.[1] It is noteworthy that in these prints, and thus on a number of painted copies after them, the woman leading a horse in the foreground is holding a sword (Fig. 153). This sword does not appear in the modello or in the tapestry, where the woman's fist is clenched. That Rubens intended the woman to appear thus, striding forward with clenched fist, may be seen from another sketch of his that shows many points of similarity to *The Triumph of the Church,* viz. *The Triumph of Henry IV* in the Wallace Collection, London.[2] In that sketch a similar figure appears in the same attitude, without a sword. The sword was thus probably introduced by the engraver, who did not understand the gesture or else wished to identify the woman as personifying Justice.

[1] See above, pp. 213, 214.

[2] Ingrid Jost, *Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* XV, 1964, pp. 201-204, fig. 12.

11c. THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 480 : 750 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

PROVENANCE: First in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 154), probably by A. Sallaert, whereabouts unknown; panel, 33 : 57 cm.; prov.: J.B. Horion, sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788, part of lot 114 ("Sallaert. Quatre Tableaux représentant des esquisses de tableaux qui ont été brulés à la Cour de Bruxelles, dans le dernier incendie, sur B., H. 13, L. 21 pouc."); C.L. Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27–30 June 1921, lot 100; exh.: *L'art belge au XVIIe siècle,* Museum, Brussels, 1910, No. 294; (2) Painting (with Tuscan columns) by David III Teniers (Fig. 155), Pontevedra, Museum; canvas, 180 : 330 cm., signed and dated *David Teniers. Junior. Pinx. 1673*; prov.: see pp. 232, 233; deposit of the Prado, Madrid, 1883; lit.: *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 417, 418, No. 2293, Pl. 285; (3) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced

Carmelites; ? transferred in 1811 to the Parish Church of Gooik; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (4) Drawing, attributed to Raphael Mengs or his circle, whereabouts unknown; coloured chalk, appr. 310 : 490 mm.; prov.: sale, Munich (Karl and Faber), 17 May 1966, lot 149 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 149, No. 496; *Rooses,* I, pp. 58, 59, No. 43; *Elbern,* p. 37; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 85.

The cartoon has not survived, but the tapestry and several copies give us an idea of it. Some unimportant changes were made as compared with the modello; only two women walk alongside the chariot behind the horses. The folds of the drapery of the woman in front are somewhat different, as are the fruit clusters at the top. The decoration of the columns and the borders of the "tapestry" were of course fully worked out in the cartoon.

12. THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH: TAPESTRY (Fig. 160)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 650 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES. F;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke ? (Fig. 221), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. CV8 (with figures added from *The Victory of Truth over Heresy,* No. 17); 485 : 920 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 243, 244; (2) Frans van den Hecke (Fig. 168), Cologne, Cathedral; 414 : 643 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55,* No. 25 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956,* No. 86; lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln,* pp. 318, 319, No. 4; *Elbern,* pp. 19–24, 35, fig. 17; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 44–50, 64–69, 82, 83, fig. 41; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 121–123; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (4) Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 420 : 655 cm.; prov.: sale, Paris (G. Petit), 30 May 1919, lot 28; (5) ? Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 420 : 650 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 52; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880,* No. 80; lit.: *Wauters,* p. 308, No. 3; *Keuller-Wauters,* pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLVI; *Rooses,* I, p. 57, under No. 42; *Elbern,* pp. 17, 36; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 63, 83; (6) Jan-Frans van den Hecke, Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, No. 215; 415 : 630 cm.; prov.: sale, Paris (G. Petit), 22 May 1928, lot 172 (repr.); lit.: *Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* p. 185, No. 215, repr.; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 83; (7) Jan-Frans van den Hecke, Toledo, Cathedral; prov.: presented to the cathedral by Luis Manuel Fernández Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo (1678–1709); exh.: *El Arte en España,* Palacio Nacional, Barcelona, 1929–30, No. 1672;

lit.: M. Crick-Kuntziger, *Les Tapisseries flamandes à l'exposition de Barcelone, Oud-Holland,* XLVII, 1930, pp. 56, 58, fig. 4; (8) Combination of different fragments (column, chariot, angels, drapery), Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal, Inv. No. 510; 381 : 284 cm.; (9) Jodocus de Vos (after the engraving), Valletta (Malta), S. John's Cathedral; appr. 670 cm. wide; prov. and lit.: see pp. 253, 254.

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* pp. 17–19, No. 17; *Rooses,* I, p. 57, under No. 42; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 250; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 118, 119, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 38, 39, repr.; *Elbern,* p. 36; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 82; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 29.

A triumphal procession advances across a landscape. A two-wheeled chariot is drawn along by two angels who hold down the shafts with both hands, and is pushed from behind by two cherubs. On the chariot stands the figure of Faith, a young woman in a loose garment of antique type with a wide fluttering veil, an aureole round her head and the chalice and Host in her outstretched hand. Also on the chariot, half-kneeling, is an angel holding a large cross in his arms. Between the two figures is a large terrestrial globe.

More angels hover above the procession. Two cherubs with the Crown of Thorns and the Nails fly on before it, accompanying the Cross with the Instruments of the Passion. Two large angels fly along behind: one holds a torch and looks down at a group of captives following the chariot, whom Faith is leading out of darkness into light.

All this is depicted on a tapestry suspended by cherubs from the architrave. At the top, in the centre of the tapestry, two other cherubs are affixing a cartouche inscribed "FIDES CATHOLICA" and adorned with two floral festoons. The bottom edge of the "tapestry" is completely hidden by the threshold between the two columns, so that it appears as if the group was in an actual landscape, visible through the columns. Below, in front of the balustrade, is an emblematic ornamentation which we shall discuss further.

The inscription "FIDES CATHOLICA" in the cartouche indicates the general theme: the triumph of the universal faith, established for all mankind and spreading over the whole world. The details of the allegory, however, are less easy to make out, and the plan is somewhat unusual. It is not simply a triumphal car moving forward and scattering or crushing its enemies or leading them captive, as in *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11; Fig. 149). The allegory must be interpreted differently.

It contains three main features: the *Arma Christi* carried by the angels in

front and symbolizing the Passion and Redemption; the group of captives following behind, and the figure of Faith on the chariot in the middle. The traditional attributes of Faith are used here in a significant way. The globe beside her stands for Catholicity, universality and world-wide domination. Her head is surrounded by beams of light; Faith is a beacon in the darkness of man's fallen nature, and draws the sinful and ignorant towards herself. In her outstretched hand she holds the chalice, which for centuries has been the attribute of personifications of Faith, the Church or Religion. She extends it towards the *Arma Christi,* emphasizing belief in redemption by Christ's death on the cross and in the daily renewal of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist.

Faith's attitude may seem incongruous for a conqueror in a triumphal chariot: she appears almost to smile on the vanquished to whom she brings light and salvation, and the angels and cherubs also look at them with sympathy.

What or whom do the captive figures represent? The only one that can certainly be identified is the many-breasted woman, who is undoubtedly Nature; [1] as to the others we can only conjecture. The old man leaning on a stick may be recognized as Socrates, with his bald forehead, deep-set eyes and short thick nose, but it is not clear whether he stands for Socrates only or philosophy in general. The man with the book and astrolabe does not seem to be any particular figure of antiquity, and may be a personification of the exact sciences. [2] Originally, in the bozzetto, he had a book and a caduceus, the attribute of Mercury and also of Rhetoric. As to the man with the laurel wreath, he may be an individual poet or a personification of Poetry. The swarthy man still in darkness and stretching out a hand towards the light is still harder to identify. He wears a kind of Arabian headdress and looks like a Moor: many have taken him to be an African or Indian, representing the peoples of distant lands.

The meaning and interrelation of the figures is thus not very clear at first sight, and there are no similar figures in Rubens's work that might provide a clue. [3] Critics have suggested more or less precise identifications of the various figures [4] but do not offer any explanation of the group as a whole. Tormo thought the four figures represented the Sciences, Philosophy, Poetry and Nature, [5] and this is probably near the mark: philosophy, science, nature and poetry (divine inspiration) are the means by which man attains to a certain form of truth and a certain conception of divinity, independent of the latter's self-revelation. In the relation of these sources of knowledge to Faith we may

see a development of the Thomist theory which, following Aristotelian principles, makes a sharp distinction between Faith (theology) and Knowledge (philosophy): St. Thomas Aquinas emphasizes the purely natural character of human knowledge in philosophy, while the revealed mysteries of theology are not contrary to reason, but above it.

We may then sum up the scene as follows. The figure of Faith with its attributes expresses the central dogma that the New Covenant is sealed by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, perpetuated and renewed daily in the Eucharist. The triumphal procession signifies that science and philosophy, which constitute man's natural knowledge, are powerless and must ultimately surrender to Faith, which leads them out of darkness into light. The emphasis is on Faith as a necessary means of redemption.

In recent literature somewhat superficial accounts of this subject have been given, and its overall significance has not been clearly brought out. Seventeenth-century commentaries, viz. the caption to the engraving and Bellori's description (based on the engraving) do not seem altogether correct either. The Latin verses accompanying the print cover some of the points of our interpretation,[6] but the emphasis is slightly altered. Instead of "FIDES CATHOLICA" the cartouche reads "NOVÆ LEGIS TRIUMPHUS": not the triumph of Faith, but that of the New Covenant. This implies that it is not Faith but rather its content, the Mysterium Fidei, which is a means to salvation. In the same way the captives are seen, wrongly in our view, as representing superseded dogmas (the Old Law).[7] We have argued, on the other hand, that the theme is not the triumph of faith over old dogmas but its triumph over nature and human knowledge. The fact that some of the figures look like those of antiquity is due to the language of humanistic allegory and does not signify, in our opinion, that Faith is triumphing over antique culture.

The emblematic device below comprises several elements: a large scallop in the centre, and in it an altar with a heart in flames. This no doubt signifies the importance of Charity next to Faith, and reminds us that Faith is of no value without Charity. To either side of the scallop are two sphinxes, symmetrically posed: hybrid creatures with a woman's head and breasts, wings, lion's feet and a winding fish's tail. The purpose of this antique motif in a religious allegory is not clear; Tormo thought it symbolized the blindness of antiquity.[8] We suggest that Rubens may have intended to give the animals a significance similar to that of the sphinx in antiquity, viz. to make them rep-

resent the Divine Mystery. In the present context this may be equated with the Mysterium Fidei, the mystery of faith surpassing human reason.

[1] See e.g. *Knipping*, I, pp. 45, 46, fig. 26; *de Tervarent*, cols. 170, 171, s.v. *Femme aux nombreuses mamelles*.

[2] The astrolabe traditionally denotes Astronomy or Astrology: see *de Tervarent*, cols. 358-362, s.v. *sphère*. We have also encountered it as an attribute of *Physica* depicted with *Metaphysica* and *Logica* on the title-page for: Roderico de Arriaga, *Cursus Philosophicus*, Antwerp, 1632.

[3] Some similar elements in a quite different context can, however, be seen in Rubens's design for the title-page of S. Petrasancta, *De Symbolis Heroicis Libri IX*, Antwerp, 1634 (*Evers, 1943*, fig. 109). As stated in the book itself, the design represents *Ingenium* deriving material from *Natura* and *Ars* for the purpose of writing the *Symbola Heroica*. Nature appears in the same form as in *The Triumph of Faith*, while Art is represented like Mercury, with the caduceus in one hand and paint-brushes in the other.

[4] After Bellori, who thought the two figures in the foreground were Adam and Eve (*Bellori*, p. 232; Doc. 19), Smith described the group as "Philosophy, Astronomy, Nature, Asia and Africa" (*Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 139, 140, No. 498). Others discerned Archimedes and Socrates among the figures (*Descripción*, p. 18), or "profane Science and the two forms of Philosophy, the Stoic and the Epicurean (*Rooses*, I, p. 56).

[5] *Tormo*, III, p. 38; and similar identifications by *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 86 (Astronomy, Philosophy, Nature and Poetry) and *Elbern*, p. 35 (Science or astronomy, worldly wisdom or philosophy, poetry or nature).

[6] The verses refer to the "mystic gifts that soar above nature" and urge the reader to "believe readily in these mysteries and foster faith with ardent heart": see above, p. 220.

[7] This is implied by references to the old doctrines giving place to new and to "light dispelling the old darkness" *(loc. cit.)*.

[8] "Dos esfinges de la antigua ceguedad" (*Tormo*, III, p. 38).

12a THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH: BOZZETTO (Fig. 161)

Oil on panel; 16.5 : 22 cm.; enlarged at the right and above (original size 16.2 : 21.5 cm.).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 243.

PROVENANCE: ? The Rev. Edward Balme; bequeathed by Mrs. Balme to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 162), Sweden, Private collection; see below, No. 12b.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927*, No. 327.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus*, p. 13, No. 59; *Rooses*, V, p. 307; *Earp*, p. 173, No. I. 243; *Rooses, Life*, II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 283 (as *after Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 77, under No. 72 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31 (as *after Rubens*); *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 22–25, 118, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 31–34, 38, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, pp. 85, 86, under No. 74; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 36; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 82; *Jaffé, 1955*, p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; *Elbern, 1958*, p. 135, n. 24 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison*, p. 106, No. 243, p. 107, Pl. 54; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16; *Jaffé, 1969*, pp. 537, 538, n. 73; *Scribner, 1975*, fig. 8.

The bozzetto gives the subject of the tapestry in a simplified form, an important difference being the absence of the cherubs with Instruments of the Passion. The work of redemption is represented only by the angel standing on the chariot and holding a large cross. Hovering in front of the chariot are two cherubs with trumpets. These were not used in the modello, but they occur in another composition of this series, *The Triumph of the Church* (No. 11; Fig. 149).

As in the tapestry, the chariot is moved forward by two angels in front and two behind. However, in the bozzetto the two front ones are not on either side of the pole but are between two shafts that are joined together by a crossbeam in front. This seems better than the final solution from a practical point of view, but the latter was probably chosen for aesthetic reasons.

There are also other differences. The two angels hovering behind the chariot in the tapestry do not appear in the bozzetto. Faith does not simply rest one hand on her hip, but holds in it two ropes by which the captives are drawn along. The man walking close behind the chariot is beardless and holds a caduceus instead of the astrolabe. The ropes are tied round his wrists, and the old man beside him has his hands bound behind his back. In the tapestry it is only the figure of Nature that appears to be bound. The border of the bozzetto is less elaborate. There are only two cherubs at the top; these were transferred to the modello without being reversed.

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 92).

12b. THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH: BOZZETTO (Fig. 162)

Oil on panel; 16.5 : 21 cm.

Sweden, private collection.

PROVENANCE: ? Sale, Brussels, 18 July 1740 *et seqq.*, lot 78 ("Den Zegenpraal van de H. Kercke, eene schets van Rubens; hoogh 7 d., breed 8 d."); ? sale, Paris, 21–22 April 1775, lot 22 ("Du même [P.P. Rubens]. Une esquisse représentant un sujet allégorique au triomphe de la Religion; largeur 7 pouces 6 lignes, hauteur 6 pouces, sur bois".); ? de Nogaret, sale, Paris, 23 February 1778 *et seqq.*, lot 108 ("Rubens. Esquisse du Triomphe de la Religion, connu par la grande estampe. B. 8 pouces sur 6 de haut"); ? de Nogaret, sale, Paris, 18 March 1782 *et seqq.*, lot 40 ("P.P. Rubens. Une esquisse représentant le Triomphe de la Religion; composition de onze figures. Hauteur 6 pouces, largeur 7 pouces 6 lignes. Bois"); coll. J.J. Chapuis, Brussels; Julius Böhler, Munich; Mrs. Altschuhl, Berlin; sold by her to Peter Kronthal, London (1940); sold in 1941 by William Hallsborough Ltd., London, to Gaston Peltzer, Verviers, Belgium; Sweden, Art Market (1974); sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), 23–26 April 1975, lot 187, repr.

LITERATURE: *Elbern*, p. 36; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 82; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, p. 99, under No. 18; *Die Weltkunst*, XLV, 15 March 1975, p. 450.

* Painting

As mentioned in the chapter on the bozzetti,[1] L. Burchard did not believe in the authenticity of the set of sketches at Cambridge; he thought the only surviving bozzetti were the Chicago sketch, the two at Bayonne and the present one, which he regarded as an original. He wrote in favour of its authenticity on several occasions, e.g. in 1940 to the then owner, Peter Kronthal: "... In my opinion the sketch is in Rubens' own hand, and in a good state of preservation. On the photograph you send me one sees the alterations (pentimenti) made by Rubens in the course of his work, for instance, in the leg of the angel between the shafts of the chariot, nearest the spectator." In 1949 he wrote to Gaston Peltzer: "... Votre esquisse est à mon avis une œuvre originale de la main de Rubens peinte en plein feu d'inspiration. Ce qui parle indubitablement pour l'authenticité sont les changements que Rubens a introduits au cours du travail. L'altération la plus évidente concerne le premier des deux anges qui tirent le char. Celui qui est placé le plus proche du spectateur avait d'abord le pied plus allongé, et Rubens a changé la position de ce pied en améliorant la forme sensiblement."

In our judgment the quality of the sketch, which was shown to us for an opinion in 1975, is too poor for it to be ascribed to Rubens. We believe it to be a copy, in sketch-technique, after the one at Cambridge. What Burchard took for a pentimento of Rubens's seems to us to be a correction by the copyist. The Cambridge panel (Fig. 161) is much more finely executed, with subtler effects of shading, and, as explained elsewhere, there are other reasons for believing in its authenticity. [2]

The origin of the Peltzer sketch presents some problems. It bears on the reverse side the oval red wax seal of the J.J. Chapuis collection (two pointing hands, and around them the words "Collection – J.J. Chapuis"), but it was not in the sale of this collection at Brussels on 4 December 1865. [3] The identification with sketches of the same dimensions in 18th-century sales (listed above) is not quite certain. Only the related subject and the similar format suggest that the piece might be the same one.

[1] See above, p. 92.

[2] See above, pp. 92, 93.

[3] There is no mention of *The Triumph of Faith* in the catalogue of this sale or in an article about it (A. Siret, *Vente de la Collection J.J. Chapuis, Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature*, VII, 1865, pp. 181-184). There was in the sale a work listed as by Rubens and entitled "Le Triomphe de la Religion" (lot 342), but this is the panel with *The Cord of St. Francis*, now in the John G. Johnson collection at Philadelphia.

12c. THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH: MODELLO (Figs. 163, 164)

Oil on panel; 63 : 89 cm.

Brussels, Royal Museum. Inv. No. 7442.

PROVENANCE: Possibly identical rather than the copy in the Prado, with one of the works belonging to Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples 1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1 August 1694); ? Casa de Campo, 1700; a painting, probably with this subject, was saved from the fire of the Madrid Palace in 1734, and brought to the house of the Marques of Bedmar (Inv. No. 1097: "Tres tablas iguales, la una de la Fe..., todas originales de Rubens") and in the Buen Retiro, in 1748 (Inv. No. 1097); ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; in September 1813 brought to England from Spain, possibly from the Royal Palaces, by G.A. Wallis on behalf of William Buchanan (placed at Buchanan's disposal by unknown parties to be sold in one lot with about fifty other pictures); A. Delahante, sale, London (Phillips), 2–3 June 1814,

lot 76 ("Rubens, The Triumph of Faith,... Christianity is represented by an animated young female, exultingly drawn in a car by celestial beings... She bears with her in the car the inspiring cause and object of her triumph – the cross and the globe, borne by an angel... This chef d'œuvre came from the royal palace of Madrid".), purchased by Hill; ? sale, London (Phillips), 2–3 June 1815, lot 70; John Clerk, Lord Eldin (1757–1832), sale, Edinburgh, 14–29 March 1833, lot 173 (repr.); Lord Francis Gray, fifteenth Lord Gray of Gray (1765–1842), Kinfauns Castle, Perthshire; ? Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (1818–1878); Asscher, Koetser and Welker, London, 1925–26; ? Féral, Paris; Emile Tournay-Solvay, Boitsfort (Brussels); bequeathed by him to the Museum; after his death, in 1958, held in usufruct by his widow, until 1973.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Madrid, Prado, No. 1701; panel, 86 : 91 cm.; prov.: deposited at the Prado as part of the Spanish Royal Collections; exh.: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 72 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 377, 378, No. 46; *Rooses,* I, p. 57, under No. 42; V, p. 307; *Beroqui, 1918,* pp. 64, 65; A. Scharf, *The Exhibition of Rubens's Sketches, The Burlington Magazine,* LXXI, 1937, p. 188; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 118 (as *Rubens*); *Tormo,* III, p. 39 (as *Rubens*); L. Font, *La Eucaristia, el tema Eucaristico en el Arte de España,* Barcelona, 1952, p. 139, fig. 124; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 30–33, No. 2; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 32, 34, No. 2; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 86, under No. 74; *Elbern,* p. 36; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 82; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* p. 328, No. 1701, Pl. 206; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 66 : 92 cm.; prov.: purchased in London by Mellaert, 1924; Dr. Schieffer, Amsterdam; A.J. van Woerkum, Voorburg (December 1934); presented from Rotterdam to F. Rothmann, London, April 1936; according to Ludwig Burchard, identical with a panel presented to Sotheby's, 28 July 1958; ? private collection, Wuppertal; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 37 : 56 cm.; prov.: Fontaine-Flament, Lille; sale, Paris (G. Petit), 10 June 1904, lot 69; (4) Painting, in reverse, Damme, Our Lady's Church; canvas, 288 : 400 cm.; lit.: L. Devliegher, *Damme, Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen,* V, Tielt-Utrecht, 1971, p. 96, fig. 169; (5) Painting (fig. 167), without the architectural frame, Ghent, St. Peter's Church, canvas, 300 : 431 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 225–227; (6) Painting by Bartolomé Santos, Valladolid, Iglesia de San Miguel; canvas; lit.: E. Valdivieso González, *La Pintura en Valladolid en el Siglo XVII,* Valladolid, 1971, pp. 174, 175, fig. XLIV; (7) Painting, Genova, Palazzo Reale; copper, 110 : 127 cm.; lit.: *Elbern, 1963,* p. 80; P. Torriti, *Il Palazzo Reale di Genova e la sua Galleria,* Genova, 1963; (8) Painting, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 100 : 110 cm.; prov.: Mlle Bowen, Paris; (9) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see pp. 224, n. 3; (10) Painting by José Risueño, Granada, Cathedral; lit.: D. Sánchez-Mesa Martín, *José Risueño,* Granada, 1972, p. 251, No. 121; (11) Drawing, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5507; black chalk, heightened with white, 365 : 517 mm.; prov.: Count Karl Cobentzl (1712–1770), from whom it was purchased by Catherine II in 1768; lit.: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1910, p. 202; F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst,* Antwerp, 1940, p. 68, under

No. 379; *Elbern*, p. 36; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 83; (12) Drawing, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; brown ink, 195 : 240 mm.; prov.: Sir Charles Holmes; Henry Oppenheimer, sale, London (Christie's), 10 July 1936 *et seqq.*, lot 308 b; sale, London (Sotheby's), 1 August 1951, lot 53, purchased by Leo Franklyn; ? sale, London (Christie's), 23 November 1956, lot 90; sale, Heidelberg (H. Tenner), 6–9 April 1960, lot 3018 (repr.); lit.: *Elbern, 1956*, p. 138; *Die Weltkunst*, XXX, No. 7, 1 April 1960, p. 17, repr.; (13) Drawing after the drapery of one of the angels pushing on the chariot, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 61; red chalk, 158 : 261 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (14) Engraving by N. Lauwers, edited by N. Lauwers, 640 : 895 mm. (Fig. 165; *V.S.*, p. 66, No. 16); (15) Engraving by F. Ragot, 642 : 990 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 66, No. 17); (16) Engraving, edited by J. Mariette, 680 : 980 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 66, No. 18); (17) Engraving with variations and without the architectural frame, edited by H. Jans, 429 : 550 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 66, No. 19). (18) (19)

EXHIBITED: *Old Masters*, Royal Academy, London, 1870, No. 5; *L'exposition belge d'Art Ancien et moderne*, Société hongroise des Beaux-Arts, Budapest, 1927, No. 16; *Antwerp, 1930*, No. 253; *Rubens et son temps*, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1936, No. 68; *Brussels, 1937*, No. 73; *Rotterdam, 1953–54*, No. 74 (repr.); *Brussels, 1965*, No. 224 (repr.); *Een Halve Eeuw Mecenaat*, Royal Museum, Brussels, 1967–68, p. 124 (not numbered); *Het Legaat Tournay-Solvay*, Royal Museum, Brussels, 1973, No. 15.

LITERATURE: *Buchanan, Memoirs*, II, pp. 245, 248; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 139, No. 497; IX, p. 296, No. 190; *The Old Masters at the Royal Academy, reprinted (privately) from the Pall Mall Gazette*, London, 1870, p. 24; W. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, II, London, 1891, p. 643, No. 2; A. Scharf, *The Exhibition of Rubens's Sketches at Brussels, The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p. 188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31, under No. 2; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 118, repr.; *Tormo*, III, p. 39, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 32, under No. 2; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 86, No. 74, fig. 66; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953*, pp. 234, 235; *Elbern*, p. 36; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 82; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, pp. 15, 99, No. 18, fig. 37; W. Laureyssens, in [*Cat. Exh.*] *Het Legaat Tournay-Solvay*, Royal Museum, Brussels, 1973, p. 31, No. 15, repr.; *Scribner, 1975*, p. 524, fig. 7.

The modello is in good condition, without additions and overpaintings as in the versions at the Prado. The architectonic elements are not fully worked up, and the column on the left is less finished than that on the right. Through the thin layers of paint in these areas one can clearly see in different places very schematic under-drawing in black chalk (Fig. 164).[1]

Except for a few details changed or added at the cartoon stage, the whole composition appeared in the modello as it was finally executed in the tapestry.

If the pedigree we have given is correct, the Brussels modello cannot be identical with a panel which was sold in 1739 with the Joseph Sansot collection at Brussels [2] and which L. Burchard sought to connect with it.

[1] A search with infra-red rays for possible inscriptions under the paint, as in *Angels Playing Music* (Nos. 2b, 3b; Fig. 106) or *The Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13c; Fig. 175), revealed nothing.

[2] Coll. Joseph Sansot, sold at Brussels, 20 July 1739, lot 115 ("Le Triomphe de l'Eglise, par Rubbens, H. 2p. L. 3p. 2po. [= 55 : 87.7 cm.]). There are two catalogues; one with name and date (F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques*, I, The Hague, 1938, No. 505) and an anonymous, undated one (F. Lugt, *op. cit.*, No. 1418). See also G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van schilderijen...*, I, The Hague, 1752, p. 592, lot 52 (but with different measurements: h. 7 *voet*, br. 5 *voet* 2 *duim*).

12d. THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH: CARTOON (Fig. 166)

Oil on canvas; 481 : 595 cm.; cut down at the left and at the right (original size approximately 481 : 650 cm.).

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns (after 1649); removed from there c. 1808 by G. Wallis, on behalf of W. Buchanan, and given to the French General Sebastiani; transported to Paris and exhibited in the Musée Central des Arts; deposited by the Louvre (Inv. No. 2083) in the Museum at Valenciennes in 1957.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 169), probably by A. Sallaert, whereabouts unknown; panel, appr. 33 : 48 cm.; prov.: J.B. Horion, sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788, part of lot 114 ("Sallaert. Quatre Tableaux représentant des esquisses de tableaux qui ont été brulés à la Cour de Bruxelles, dans le dernier incendie, sur B. H. 13; L. 21 pouc."); C.L. Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27–30 June 1921, lot 101; May, Paris; (2) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera, Marseilles; lit.: see p. 235; (4) Painting, without the architectural frame, Bertil Winberg, Helsingborg (Sweden); canvas, 116 : 167 cm.; prov.: Jacoby, sale, Brussels (Giroux), 12 November 1928, lot 191 (repr.); lit.: [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 76, No. 72; (5) Painting, with only one column (at the right) and a book instead of a chalice, M. Weinstein, Antwerp (1967); canvas,

109 : 221 cm. (after restauration); (6) Painting, a fragment showing the five figures behind de chariot, Dr. Berger, Pittem; canvas, 124 : 175 cm.; prov.: private collection, Ghent (1931); lit.: *Petite Chronique artistique, supplément à la revue Gand Artistique,* X, 1931, No. 1, p. 1, repr.; (7) ? Painting, lost; prov.: Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns; lit.: see p. 236; (8) Drawing (Fig. 170) after the drapery of one of the angels pushing on the chariot, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 62; red chalk, 296 : 217 mm.; inscribed below: *dit is den anderen engele voock wt die patroen vant geloof;* see pp. 229, 230; (9) Drawing after the right foot of the old man following the chariot and that of the angel on the chariot, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 13 (left and centre); red and black chalk, 232 : 336 mm.; inscribed below on the left: *dese voet van boven tot achter te wtterſten vanden hiel is wat te dick, want eenen voet die moet van die hoelte boven den hiel tot het wtterſte vande teenen eens soe lanck siin als hij van boven den voet tot het wtterſte van achter den hiel dick is,* and below on the right: *dese siin goed van treeck;* see pp. 229, 230. (10)

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie,* I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771,* p. 326; *Cumberland, Anecdotes,* I, pp. 175, 176; *Ponz, 1787,* I, pp. 269, 270; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée Royal,* Paris, 1816, No. 545; *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 219–223; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 114, 115, No. 387, pp. 139, 140, No. 498; *Waagen, Kunſtwerke,* III, pp. 558, 559; E. Véron and F. Dekeyser, *Le Triomphe de la Religion, L'Art,* VIII, 1882 (1), pp. 100, 173, repr. (engraving by Ch. de Billy); *Rooses,* I, pp. 56, 57, No. 42; M. Rooses, *De oude Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Meeſters in den Louvre en in de National Gallery,* Amsterdam, [1902], pp. 89, 90; L. Demonts, *Ecoles Flamande, Hollandaise, Allemande et Anglaise, Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des Peintures exposées dans les Galeries,* III, Paris, 1922, pp. 4, 5, No. 2083; *Berwick-Alba,* p. 93; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 118, 119; *Tormo,* III, p. 39; *Vloberg,* II, p. 233; J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens,* London, 1950, pp. 125, 126; *Elbern,* p. 36, fig. 18; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 82, fig. 42; C. Souviron, *Rubens et les maîtres anversois au Musée de Valenciennes, La revue française de l'élite européenne,* No. 103, 1958, p. 30, repr.; *Gaya Nuño, 1964,* pp. 39, 40, No. 104.

The cartoon shows very little change from the modello, apart from the usual completions and the working-up of the architectonic border, the inscription in the cartouche at the top, the finishing of the plants and other background details. Among minor changes are: the foot of the cherub flying before the Cross is no longer partly hidden, more can be seen of the swarthy man walking behind the chariot, and the expression of the angel holding the Cross is different.

13. THE TRIUMPH OF DIVINE LOVE: TAPESTRY (Fig. 171)

Wool and silk; approximately 480 : 480 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels (in reverse) and *IAN. RAES. F* (in reverse); to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Museo Civico; 460 : 490 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral, 407 : 477 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Antwerp, 1930*, No. 28; *Essen, 1954–55*, No. 31 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956*, No. 87; lit.: *Elbern*, pp. 19–24, 38, 39; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 44–50, 64–69, 83, 84, fig. 43; *Elbern, 1958*, pp. 121–123; (3) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (4) Jan-Frans van den Hecke, Toledo, Cathedral; prov.: presented to the cathedral by Luis Manuel Fernández Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo (1678–1709); exh.: *El Arte en España*, Palacio Nacional, Barcelona, 1929–30, No. 1672; lit.: M. Crick-Kuntziger, *Les Tapisseries flamandes à l'exposition de Barcelone, Oud-Holland*, XLVII, 1930, pp. 56, 58; (5) Ghent, Museum voor Sierkunst; 433 : 480 cm.; prov.: sale, Brussels (Galerie Moderne), 26–27 June 1972, lot 1238, repr.; (6) Jodocus de Vos (after the engraving), Valletta (Malta), St. John's Cathedral; appr. 670 cm. wide; prov. and lit.: see pp. 253, 254. (7)

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción*, pp. 14, 15, No. 14; *Rooses*, I, p. 61, under No. 45; *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 250; *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 117, 118, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 37, 38, repr.; *Trens, Exposición*, p. 66; *Elbern*, p. 39; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 84; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 29, repr.

On a small golden two-wheeled chariot, similar to a Roman triumphal car and drawn by two lions, stands the figure of *Caritas*, a woman in a red robe and a blue cloak.[1] She holds a child to her breast with her left arm and kisses it. Beside her are two other children, holding her hand as if to seek protection. On the front of the chariot, partially hidden by the woman, is a pelican piercing its breast to feed its young. A putto astride one of the lions turns half round, holding the lion's mane in one hand and an arrow in the other. Above the head of *Caritas* is a group of cherubs hand in hand as if in a round dance; the foremost of them holds a torch. Eleven can be seen, but probably there is supposed to be one hidden behind the *Caritas* figure. Two naked boys walk behind the chariot. The taller of them, who is winged, raises aloft a heart in

flames and has a bow in his other hand. The other youth threatens with a burning torch two snakes intertwined on the ground. The scene is set in a landscape, with hills and trees in the distance; on the horizon is a town on the shore of a lake or sea.

The "tapestry" on which all this is depicted hangs between Tuscan columns. It is attached to the architrave at the top with a cartouche, and to the columns on either side with a stout cord. Behind the cartouche are two burning torches, and the architrave is adorned by a festoon of laurel branches bound with a ribbon.

Below is an elaborate emblematic decoration (Fig. 176): in the centre a cartouche of architectonic scrollwork, in front of it a blazing heart pierced by two arrows, the whole encircled by a wreath of roses. To either side is a large beribboned horn with a white dove perched on it and with flames issuing from its mouth.

The identification of the subject of the tapestry presents no problem, as several contemporary titles are known. The cartouche at the top reads AMOR DIVINUS; we do not know if it did so in the modello, as the centre of the cartouche has been overpainted. However, in the space outside it the word *Caritatis* can be read through the paint with the naked eye (Fig. 175), and the full inscription was probably *Triumphus Caritatis*. In Rubens's drawing of studies for this composition (No. 13b; Fig. 173) the word *Caritas* appears over the head of the female figure. Lommelin's engraving after the modello, made in the second half of the 17th century, bears the title AMORIS DIVINI TRIUMPHUS (Fig. 180).

The concepts of *Caritas* and *Amor Divinus* require some explanation. *Caritas* (Charity) is reckoned as the highest Christian virtue, the next being Faith and Hope; it is the mother and queen of the virtues and is ultimately identified with God himself and with the Eucharist.[2] It has a complex connotation, including the reciprocal love between God and man and also man's love for his fellow-creatures.

The inscription *Amor Divinus* on the tapestry and the engraving indicate that the theme is God's love for man and vice versa rather than man's love for his neighbour. The theme of *Caritas* is interpreted, moreover, in a specifically Eucharistic sense. Both the mother-figure and the pelican nourishing its young with its own blood signify the love of God who, in the Eucharist, gives his own body as food for men. The pelican, which became metaphorically an attribute

of Charity as a theological virtue, is here used in its primary Eucharistic significance, representing God's love for man and Christ's sacrifice on the cross. [3]

Thus Rubens's *Triumph of Divine Love* does not correspond exactly with earlier representations of *The Triumph of Charity* as we encounter them in series where Charity is portrayed along with the other theological and cardinal virtues. A typical example of the latter kind is seen in the 16th-century series of tapestries belonging to the *Société Nationale de Crédit à l'Industrie* in Brussels (Fig. 77): *Caritas* sits in her triumphal car accompanied by persons who were noted for their charity and crushing her enemies under the wheels, in accordance with the classic schema derived from Petrarch's *Trionfi.* [4] This retinue is not present in Rubens's version. He must, however, have been acquainted with a similar *Triumph of Caritas,* as he borrowed the motif of the pelican at the front of the chariot (Figs. 70, 75, 77). [5]

It was probably Rubens's invention to have the chariot drawn by lions. In antiquity this was an attribute of Cybele, the *Magna Mater* and goddess of fecundity. [6] A chariot with lions figures in *The Meeting at Lyons* in the Medici series, where it stands for the city itself, as Rubens expressly stated; [7] but in the present case there is no doubt a parallel between Cybele, mother of the Gods and type of fruitfulness, and the Charity which nourishes all mankind.

The lions enabled Rubens to bring in another classical motif, that of the wild beast subdued by the power of Love. It is frequent in emblematic literature for Amor to ride on a tamed lion (Fig. 178), [8] or to be borne along in triumph, like a Roman general, on a chariot drawn by lions. [9] The victory of all-compelling love over violence is symbolized by the child commanding the king of beasts. The same motif is used in *The Meeting at Lyons,* where the Cupids astride the two animals carry torches in honour of the wedding of Marie de' Medici to Henry IV.

It is less clear whether, in *The Triumph of Divine Love,* any connection is intended with medieval ideas of the lion symbolizing divine mercy [10] or love of one's neighbour. [11]

Various emblematic motifs, belonging to the iconography of love, especially profane love, are scattered about the composition, including the burning torches that once belonged to Venus and Cupid and were afterwards associated with Charity and in particular *Caritas Dei.* Torches can be seen beside the cartouche at the top, in the hands of the amoretti in the round dance and of the smaller of the two boys following the chariot. These, like the cherub

astride the lion, are clearly Christianized Cupid-figures, as shown by the torch, the blazing heart and the bow and arrow. The Christianized Cupid was common in devout literature in Rubens's day: in particular *Amor Divinus,* a chubby infant piercing with arrows the heart of his beloved *Anima,* the soul. [12] The flaming heart was also popular in the emblematic literature of the Counter-Reformation. We see it here in the hand of the boy following the chariot and also in the cartouche below (Fig. 176), where it is pierced by the arrows of divine love.

The amoretti dancing in a ring above the figure of Charity are also found in Rubens in a secular context: a round dance of eight Cupids figures in *The Exchange of Princesses* in the Medici series. [13]

The cornucopia with fire issuing from it, a motif related to the torch of Venus, already symbolized Divine Love at the time of the Italian Renaissance. [14] Two of these appear beside the cartouche at the bottom of Rubens's composition; they are enlaced by a broad ribbon tied in bows, yet another symbol of love. The doves are the birds of Venus and represent loving couples, and the roses are Venus's flower. The form of the cornucopia is repeated in the chariot-pole. The wheels are adorned with love-emblems of all kinds, including a seraph's head with arrows and flames; the felloe is decorated with hearts.

The only discordant emblems are the intertwined snakes: they probably represent hatred, envy and similar obstacles to love, rather than sin as supposed by Tormo and Elbern.

[1] The dress is red in the modello and also in the cartoon, described below; in the tapestry it is more of an orange colour, but this is probably due to fading.

[2] For *Caritas* and its iconography see E. Wind, *Charity, the Case History of a Pattern, Journal of the Warburg Institute,* I, 1937-38, pp. 322-330; R. Freyham, *The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XI, 1948, pp. 68-86; Maria Wellershoff-von Thadden in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* III, Stuttgart, 1954, cols. 343–356, s.v. *Caritas;* M. Boskovits and M. Wellershoff in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* I, cols. 349–352, s.v. *Caritas.*

[3] For the iconography of the pelican see e.g. *Knipping,* I, pp. 16-17, 29, 32, 80; *de Tervarent,* cols. 302-303; *Timmers,* pp. 144, 146, Nos. 269-275; p. 301, No. 624; p. 403, No. 882; *Réau,* I, pp. 94-96.

[4] See above, pp. 198, 201; Marguerite Calberg, *loc. cit.,* pp. 13, 15, figs. 4, 11. A seated *Caritas*-figure with three children appears next to *Fides* in a chariot in one of the religious *Triumphs* in the series by Otto van Veen.

[5] See above, p. 207.

[6] *De Tervarent,* I, cols. 85, 86, s.v. *Char traîné par des Lions;* Charlotte Steinbrucker

and H.M. von Erffa, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III, Stuttgart, 1954, cols. 895–899, s.v. *Cybele;* see also Margarete Bieber, *The Statue of Cybele in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1968, figs. 8, 11, Coin Pl. 1.

[7] *K.d.K.*, p. 249; in a letter to Pierre Dupuy dated 29 November 1626 Rubens stated that the allusion was to Lyons and not Cybele (M. Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres*, IV, Antwerp, 1904, p. 4).

[8] Heinsius illustrates Cupid riding a tamed lion with the motto *Omnia vincit Amor* (A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 386); see also *Knipping*, I, pp. 64 ff.; *de Tervarent*, col. 243, s.v. *Lion;* L. Freund, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, Stuttgart, 1937, col. 642, s.v. *Amor, Amoretten.*

[9] A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 385.

[10] *Réau*, I, p. 93.

[11] *De Tervarent*, col. 247.

[12] *Knipping*, I, pp. 66 ff. Cf., e.g., the series of emblems on the theme of divine love, *Amoris divini emblemata*, after designs by Otto van Veen, published in 1615 and dedicated to the Archduchess Isabella (*Knipping*, I, p. 67; *De Maeyer*, p. 80).

[13] *K.d.K.*, p. 256.

[14] See works cited in n. 2.

13a. THE TRIUMPH OF DIVINE LOVE: BOZZETTO (Fig. 172)

Oil on panel; 16.3 : 16.6 cm.; enlarged at the four sides (original size: 15.6 : 16 cm.).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 230.

PROVENANCE: ? The Rev. Edward Balme; bequeathed by Mrs. Balme to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927*, No. 326.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus*, p. 14, No. 65; *Rooses*, V, p. 307; *Earp*, pp. 171, 172, No. I. 230, repr.; *Rooses, Life*, II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 283 (as *after Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 81, under No. 78 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31 (as *after Rubens*); *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 22–25, 117, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 31–34, 37, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 38; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 83; *Jaffé, 1955*, p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; *Elbern, 1958*, p. 135, n. 24 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison*, p. 104, No. 230, pp. 106, 107, Pl. 52; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16; *Jaffé, 1969*, pp. 537, 538, n. 73.

All the iconographic and formal elements of the main composition are already present in this sketch: only some unimportant details were to be altered. The framing elements, as in other cases, were changed considerably. In the bozzetto the tapestry is fastened at the top without a cartouche and is held at the right-hand corner by a cherub so that it hangs down the column on that side. The only architectonic feature at the bottom is a kind of plinth, with schematic indications of what appear to be festoons.

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 92).

13b. FEMALE NUDES AND CHARITY WITH CHILDREN: DRAWING (Fig. 173)

Red and black chalk, slightly washed with the brush and brown ink; pasted over with several strips; 339 : 445 mm. Inscribed by Rubens in red chalk, above on the right, *Caritas;* inscribed in pencil, below on the left, *5487* and below on the right, *XII 25*.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 5513 *recto.*

PROVENANCE: Count Karl Cobentzl (1712–1770); purchased from him by Catherine II in 1768.

EXHIBITED: *Drawings and Prints from the Flemish School* (Russ.), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1932; *Rubens and his School in Drawings and Prints* (Russ.), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 18 (repr.); *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens,* Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1956, No. 101b; *Mästarteckningar från Eremitaget Leningrad,* National Museum, Stockholm, 1963, No. 52; *Drawings by Rubens from the Museums of the U.S.S.R.* (Russ.), Hermitage, Leningrad – Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1965, No. 20; *Zeventiende-eeuwse Hollandse en Vlaamse Tekeningen uit de Hermitage te Leningrad en uit het Museum Poesjkin te Moskou,* Royal Library, Brussels – Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam – Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1972–1973, No. 86 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Dobroklonsky, *Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Eremitage, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* LXVI, 1930–31, pp. 35, 36, repr. p. 34; M. Dobroklonsky, *Drawings by Rubens* (Russ.), Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, p. 21, No. 21, fig. XX; M. Dobroklonsky, *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Drawings of the Flemish School in the Hermitage* (Russ.), Moscow, 1955, p. 129, No. 635; *Elbern, 1958,* p. 138; L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings,* Brussels, 1963, pp. 220–223, No. 142, Pl. 142 recto; J. Kusnetzov, *Drawings by Rubens from the Museums of the U.S.S.R.* (Russ.), Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, pp. 22, 23, No. 20; J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1),* Brussels, 1968, p. 125, under No. 19a.

This sheet contains the only known preliminary drawings for the Eucharist series: on one side are studies of women and children and on the other *St. Athanasius,* a composition for one of the ceiling pictures in the Jesuit church at Antwerp. Besides various female nudes—Diana, Venus, the three Graces, a Nymph etc.—that can be related to particular mythological paintings,[1] we find on the right-hand side a number of studies that were undoubtedly used for *The Triumph of Divine Love.*

On the extreme right is a woman standing in profile with a baby on her arm and holding a small boy by the hand. Above the figure, Rubens has written the word *Caritas.* Two or three children are represented very schematically at her feet: the lines criss-cross in such a way that it is hard to tell which number is intended. Further to the left this group, now consisting clearly of two children, is repeated *de face.*

In the vague lines below these figures can be discerned another infant, either standing and reaching up towards Caritas or perhaps flying horizontally (if the sheet be turned through a quarter of a circle).

It is not immediately clear to what stage of Rubens's composition this drawing belongs. Did it precede the bozzetto, or was it intermediate between that and the modello? It may argue for the former supposition that the Caritas group is much the same in both sketches, whereas the drawing is in many ways different from both. In the drawing *Caritas* has one boy beside her, instead of two as in the bozzetto; in the bozzetto she has the pelican at her feet, in the drawing a group of children. Nevertheless, we think the drawing must have come between the bozzetto and the modello, and that Rubens used it to try out variations which he subsequently retained only in part. He kept the pelican and the two children from the bozzetto, but changed the smallest infant in accordance with the drawing: apart from the pose of its head, the child in the modello corresponds to the small boy in the lower centre of the drawing, with one foot in front of the other and with an arm round the child next to him.

It may be wondered if the sheet with its loose, improvised studies was not drawn from life: it appears more animated than either the bozzetto or the modello. The woman wears a contemporary skirt with a broad hem instead of an antique robe and the children seem more natural.

[1] See L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *loc. cit.*

13c. THE TRIUMPH OF DIVINE LOVE: MODELLO (Figs. 174–177)

Oil on panel; 86 : 91 cm.; enlarged at the four sides (original size 65 : 66 cm.).

Madrid, Prado. No. 1700.

PROVENANCE: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; ? Buen Retiro, 1748; ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; deposited at the Prado, as part of the Spanish Royal Collections.

COPIES: (1) Painting, showing a fragment (the two lions with the putto, and the chariot with the pelican, in a landscape), whereabouts unknown; panel, 33.5 : 47 cm.; prov.: J. van Lancker, sale, Anterp, 23 May 1769, lot 172 ("Rubens. Un char attelé de 2 lions, où Cupidon est assis. Bois. H. 12 po. L. 17 po."); Canon P.A.J. Knyff, sale, Antwerp, 18 July 1785, lot 410 ("Rubens. Un char d'or de l'Amour, attelé de deux lions; ce Dieu, sur un des Animaux. Sur le char, le Pélican, qui nourrit ses petits. Paysage au fond. H. 111 ½ po. L. 161 ½ po."); bought by the Antwerp dealers Pilaer and Beeckmans; see letter to Thomas Harvey, of Norwich, 26 July 1785; they offer the sketch, 9 August 1785, to Thomas Harvey for 8 guineas (documents in the Rembrandt House, Amsterdam); sale, London (Sotheby's), 10 December 1975, lot 51, repr.; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 31 May 1811, lot 9 ("Rubens. The Triumph of Love – a spirited sketch"); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 32 : 46.5 cm.; prov.: sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 3 December 1955, lot 2135; (4) Painting after the engraving, Stuttgart, private collection; 75 : 110 cm.; (5)Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (6) Drawing, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre; black and red chalk and brown wash, 382 : 405 mm.; lit.: *Rooses,* I, p. 61; V, p. 143; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949,* p. 42, No. 1150; *Elbern,* p. 39, fig. 23; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 84; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55,* No. 34; (7) Engraving by A. Lommelin, edited by G. Hendrickx, 635 : 890 mm. (Fig. 180, *V.S.,* p. 67, No. 26). (8)

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 78; *Geneva, 1939,* No. 149.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 377, 378, No. 45; *Rooses,* I, p. 61, under No. 45 (as *after Rubens*); V, p. 307; *K.d.K.,* ed. Rosenberg, p. 285; E. Dillon, *Rubens,* London, 1909, p. 198, Pl. CCCVI; *K.d.K.,* p. 296; *Beroqui, 1918,* pp. 64, 65; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 30, 32, 33, No. 1; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 32, 34, No. 1; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* pp. 234, 235; *Elbern,* p. 38, fig. 22; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 84, fig. 44; *Elbern, 1963,* p. 80; *Scribner, 1975,* p. 520, fig. 3; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 287–290, 294, 295, No. 1700, Pl. 189.

The modello differs from the bozzetto only in unimportant details. The chariot with the lions is more in the foreground, so that the whole scene appears closer to the spectator; the two figures following the chariot are also nearer to it.

Several small changes were made in the pose and gestures of the cherubs and children. The smallest child near *Caritas* now appears as in the drawing discussed above (No. 13b).

Rubens also made some changes while executing the modello, as can be seen here and there through the thinly applied paint. The cherub astride the lion originally held the arrow in his outstretched right hand, at the level of the head of the rearmost lion (Fig. 177). The child on Caritas's arm shows several pentimenti, e.g. in its feet.

A curious correction can be plainly seen in the figure of the boy threatening the serpents. In the bozzetto he held the torch in his left hand. In the modello, as the direction is reversed, this becomes the right hand, and Rubens originally painted it accordingly. He then changed his mind and made the boy hold out the torch with his left arm. In so doing, however, he merely changed the arms by joining them differently to the trunk, so that in the modello the boy has a right hand on his left arm. This was only rectified in the tapestry (Fig. 171).

The modello is in places very thinly painted. Much of the priming can be seen almost everywhere, particularly in the cartouche at the bottom (Fig. 176), the lions (Fig. 177), the chariot and the tapestry at the top. These are the parts which are best preserved. Elsewhere colours seem to have been applied by an unknown hand, e.g. the crimson-pink of the cherubs and the blue and red of the cloak, which are clumsily painted in over the original underpainting in brown.

13d. THE TRIUMPH OF DIVINE LOVE: CARTOON (Figs. 181, 182)

Oil on canvas; 389 : 482 cm.; cut down at the top and bottom, originally approximately 480 : 480 cm.

London, Ross Galleries.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; ? Brought to Spain, after 1649; ? sale, London (Phillips), 11 May 1815, lot 63

("Rubens, Charity seated in a car"); sale, London (Christie's), 8 July 1822, lot 17 ("Purchased in Spain, by an Amateur: Rubens. The Triumph of Charity, companion picture to the Triumph of Religion. This picture, of extra gallery size, is reported to have been expressly painted for the Conde Duque de Olivarez and was deposited by him in the Convent of Loeches, near Madrid"), bought by Taylor; Joshua Taylor, sale, London (Forster), 25 July 1835, lot 104, purchased by Pennel; sold by him to Cave, sale, London (Phillips), 1841; St. James's Gallery of Paintings, London (? 1845); acquired by William John Bankes by 1844; from then on in the same British private collection; sale, London (Christie's), 2 April 1976, lot 23 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *Rubens's grand picture The Triumph of Charity,* The Gallery, No. 28, Leicester Square, London, 1818.

COPIES: (1) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Ed. Soenens, Ghent; lit.: see p. 235; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera, Marseilles; lit.: see p. 235; (4) Drawing (Fig. 179) of eight cherubs, the greater part of them copied from the here discussed painting, whereabouts unknown; chalk, measurements unknown; prov.: ? Collection of the Grand Dukes of Sachsen-Weimar; lit.: see p. 231, n. 31; (5) Drawing after the two lions, led by the putto, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, Inv. No. 54: 87; red chalk, 235 : 245 mm.; prov.: Johan Goll van Franckenstein, sale, Amsterdam, 1 July 1833 *et seqq.*, lot 34 ("Kupido. Zittende op een der leeuwen voor een wagen gespannen. Als voren [rood krijt], door P.P. Ruubens"), bought by Geykema; della Faille, sale, Amsterdam (F. Müller), 19 January 1904, lot 319; H. Valkema-Blouw, sale, Amsterdam (F. Müller), 2–3 March 1954, lot 399; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55,* No. 35; lit.: *Elbern,* p. 39, No. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 84, repr. on cover; (6) Drawing after the two angels walking beside the chariot, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 70; black and red chalk, 254 : 196 mm.; inscribed, above the heads "meysken" and "knechtken" see pp. 229, 230; (7) Drawing after the putto riding a lion, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 71; ink, red and black chalk, 348 : 204 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (8) Drawing after a cherub flying towards the left, *verso* of (7); (9) Drawing after the foremost of the two lions, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 91; yellow water-colour and black chalk, 168 : 296 mm.; see pp. 229, 230.

LITERATURE: *Rubens's grand Picture, The Triumph of Charity, Now Exhibiting at The Gallery, No. 28, Leicester Square (East Side),* London, 1818, pp. 3–8; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 138, 139, No. 495; IX, p. 296, No. 188; *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* II, p. 114; *Catalogue Raisonné of the St. James's Gallery of Paintings, consisting chiefly of choice selections from the Great Spanish and Italian Masters, No. 58, Pall*

Mall, opposite Marlborough House, London, [1845 ?], pp. 9–11, No. 1; *Rooses*, I, pp. 60, 61, No. 45; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 118; *Tormo*, III, p. 38; J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens*, London, 1950, p. 126; *Elbern*, p. 39; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 84.

The departures from the modello are unimportant. The figures are somewhat larger in relation to the total space, so that they are closer together and are somewhat altered in consequence: we have seen this in other tapestries of the series. The change is clearest with regard to the chariot, which is much smaller than before: the wheel only comes up to the level of the hand of the boy with the torch. There is no longer room for the pelican at the front of the chariot: it is now perched beside Caritas and is partly concealed by her.

The provenance of this canvas is somewhat obscure. The cartoon of *The Triumph of Divine Love* is the only one of the "large" compositions that is unrecorded in the 18th century. The cartoon of this subject was certainly not among those destroyed in the fire at the Brussels Palace in 1731, nor does the subject occur in the fairly full descriptions of the paintings that hung in the church at Loeches. It first makes its appearance in London at the sales of 1822 and 1835 mentioned above under "Provenance". Two publications of the time describe a large canvas which is most probably the same: viz. an anonymous pamphlet published when the work was exhibited in 1818, and an undated catalogue of the St. James's Gallery which may have been published in 1845. They do not give the owners' names. Both publications give a full and laudatory account of the work. The sale catalogues of 1822 and 1835 expressly say that it is from the convent at Loeches.[1] As mentioned earlier, we have not found it in 18th-century descriptions of the convent church. Did it perhaps hang in the convent itself ? It cannot have been brought to England by Buchanan in the same way as the other canvases from Loeches, as he refers expressly to *four* paintings from the church (i.e. those now at Sarasota). There is no way of being certain whether the painting really came from Loeches or whether it was assumed to have done so by analogy with those fetched by Buchanan.

The most characteristic features of this composition, the small children and the lions, appealed to Rubens's pupils and imitators, there are many drawings embodying details from the cartoon. Such copies were probably made when the work was still in Rubens's studio. Besides the four sheets in the "Rubens-Cantoor" in Copenhagen and the one at Amsterdam, the drawing previously in Weimar (Fig. 179) should be mentioned.

As in the case of the other subjects, there was a cartoon of *The Triumph of Divine Love* in water-colour on paper, copied after the canvas. A fragment of it is mentioned in the 18th century in the notes by François Mols collected in the *Analecta Rubeniana,* where an anonymus author tells us that "Baudewyns possessed a study of an angel's face looking down at the spectator, from the tapestry in which the Virgin is led in a chariot by angels, and it was painted in water-colour on paper". [2]

[1] "... This grand work came out of the Dominican Convent at Loeches, near Madrid. It was painted by order of Philip the Fourth of Spain, being one of a series expressly executed for that Convent, which was founded in 1623, by the Conde Duque de Olivarez, then Prime Minister to the Spanish Monarch..." (*Catalogue Raisonné of the St. James's Gallery, loc. cit.*).

[2] Doc. 25c.

14. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS: TAPESTRY (Fig. 183)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 500 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES.F;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Palazzo Reale; 460 : 470 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; (2) Jan-Frans van den Hecke, whereabouts unknown; 400 : 400 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 53; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880,* No. 155; lit.: *Wauters,* p. 309, No. 1; *Keuller-Wauters,* pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLVIII; *Rooses,* I, p. 67, under No. 50; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 63, 80; (3) Jodocus de Vos (after the engraving), Valletta (Malta), St. John's Cathedral; appr. 670 cm. wide; prov. and lit.: see pp. 253, 254. (4)

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* pp. 5, 6, No. 3; *Rooses,* I, p. 67, under No. 50; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 128, 129, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 48–50, repr.; *Trens, Exposición,* p. 66; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 80; *Junquéra, 1969,* p. 30.

The Evangelists are seen walking across a landscape. They are barefooted, dressed in long wide cloaks and accompanied by their symbols: the ox and the lion ahead of them, the angel and the eagle hovering above. St. Matthew and St. Mark each hold a book under their arm, and St. John, looking up at the

eagle, holds a chalice and snake in his hand. As the youngest of the four, he is depicted clean-shaven.

Rubens brought variety into the scene by presenting the Evangelists from different angles: John is seen *de face,* Matthew in profile, Mark from behind and Luke again *de face.* The angel with outstretched wings and fluttering drapery divides the composition in two and constitutes its centre from the formal point of view as well as that of significance: personifying divine inspiration, he points with one hand to the sky and with the other towards Matthew's book, attracting the attention of Mark, Luke and the lion.

It could easily be forgotten that the whole scene is represented on a tapestry—the cherubs might be thought of as spreading a baldaquin above the heads of the holy figures—if it were not that some cast shadows are seen on the "tapestry", e.g. above the ox's head and next the column beside St. John. At the sides the edges of the "tapestry" cannot be seen, and it looks as if the group were disappearing behind the column: the lion is already partly behind it. Below, there is a subtle transition from the landscape to the tapestry border, so that it is not clear whether the Evangelists are walking on the ground or on a carpet.

Below the "tapestry", in the middle of the threshold between the bases of the pillars, is an ornamental scallop flanked by two volute motifs, a horn of plenty and a dolphin. These symbolize earth and water, to indicate that the Evangelists have spread the Word over the entire globe.

The depiction of the Evangelists walking in a landscape is a departure from the usual iconography. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards they are regularly portrayed together in Netherlandish art, but are shown indoors, sitting round a table and studying books.[1] Rubens followed this scheme in earlier paintings, e.g. a large one at Potsdam.[2] Despite the difference of décor, the present composition has many points in common with that at Potsdam. Here too the angel descending from heaven and pointing towards St. Matthew forms the centre of the composition, while St. John looking up at the eagle, is at a distance from the other three apostles, who are struck by the angelic apparition. Vlieghe has suggested, in connection with the Potsdam picture, that this arrangement of the figures was intended to mark the distinction between the three Synoptics and St. John, whose Gospel is later than theirs and is in many respects different in character.[3]

The fact that the Evangelists are shown in motion, and not statically as in

the sixteenth-century scheme, is explained by the function of this subject within the series as a whole. The Evangelists are part of the solemn, heroic procession formed by the triumphal car of the Church and that of Faith. The Evangelists are often found in earlier representations of religious triumphs, where, however, they appear under the guise of their symbols. In many cases, e.g. the well-known woodcut of *The Triumph of Christ* after Titian, the Angel, the Ox, the Eagle and the Lion have the important duty of impelling forward the Chariot of Christ, Faith or the Church (Figs. 69, 72, 76).[4] This is connected with the Old Testament theme of the chariot of Aminadab (with the medieval notion of the Evangelists as its four wheels), Dante's description of the Church's triumphal car, and Petrarch's in his *Trionfi*.[5]

In the present context the Evangelists have a special significance as witnesses of the institution of the Eucharist; it is they who recorded the Last Supper and the words of consecration. As the caption to Bolswert's engraving after the modello puts it: "If the primal Truth teaches that the evidence of two witnesses is true, then earth and sea alike proclaim that the truth is spoken by the four man who teach the word of God."[6]

The connection between the Evangelists and the Eucharist is still clearer in a painting derived from the Bolswert engraving: *The Eucharist and the Four Evangelists* by José Risueño (1667–1721), in the Archbishop's Palace at Granada.[7] This shows the Evangelists standing and writing in books; the angel points with one hand to St. Matthew's book and with the other to the chalice with the Host, hovering in mid-air over a sea of cherubs' heads.

[1] E.g. in works by Frans Floris, Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer and Hendrik Goltzius. See *Knipping*, II, p. 196, fig. 135; P. Bloch, Ursula Nilgen and Else Förster in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, VI, Stuttgart, 1970, cols. 498, 499, s.v. *Evangelisten*; C. van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570), Leven en werken (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, No. 30), Brussels, 1975, I, pp. 213–214, 404, Nos. S 64, P 39, II, figs. 192, 303–305.

[2] H. Vlieghe, *Saints I (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, VIII), Brussels, 1972, pp. 70-73, Nos. 54, 55, figs. 96, 97.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 71, under No. 54.

[4] See above, pp. 198, 199, 204.

[5] See Ursula Nilgen in *Reallexikon ... op. cit.*, cols. 551, 552, s.v. *Evangelistensymbole*; J. Seibert, in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, I, col. 112, s.v. *Aminadab*.

[6] See above, p. 220.

[7] M. Trens, *La eucaristía en el Arte español*, Barcelona, 1952, pp. 233, 235, fig. 166. The connection with Rubens's composition is clear from the inscription below Risueño's picture, which is copied literally from the engraving. See also p. 227, n. 14.

14a. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS: BOZZETTO (Fig. 184)

Oil on panel; 16.3 : 16.7 cm.; enlarged at the left and below (originally 15.9 : 16.3 cm.).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 242.

PROVENANCE: ? The Rev. Edward Balme; bequeathed by Mrs. Balme to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927,* No. 330.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus,* p. 15, No. 72; *Rooses,* V, p. 307; *Earp,* p. 173, No. I. 242, repr.: *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1910, p. 283 (as *after Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937,* p. 82, under No. 79 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31 (as *after Rubens*); *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 22–23, 128, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 31–34, 49, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954,* p. 9; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 52, 79; *Jaffé, 1955,* p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956,* p. 133; *Elbern, 1958,* p. 135, n. 24 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison,* pp. 106, 107, No. 242, Pl. 53; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967,* p. 108; *Held, 1968,* pp. 13, 15, 16; *Jaffé, 1969,* pp. 537, 538, n. 73.

The group of the four Evangelists walking along and accompanied by their symbols is seen in the bozzetto as in the final version. There are one or two differences: Matthew is here seen in the centre, and the angel occupies a less important position. Of the actual figures of the Evangelists, only John was later altered: in the bozzetto he holds the chalice in his left hand and points with the right, and he wears the cloak over his left shoulder.

As often, the border at the top and bottom is not yet in its definitive form. The "tapestry" is fastened at the two outer corners, leaving uncovered a projecting part of the architrave; on this is a small angel's head represented, with festoons hanging from it. The cartouche below is different in shape, but the dolphin and horn of plenty are already there.

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 92).

14b. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS: MODELLO (Fig. 185)

Oil on panel; 64 : 68 cm.

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

PROVENANCE: Possibly identical with one of the works belonging to Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691 by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; a painting with this subject was saved from the fire of the Madrid Palace in 1734, and brought to the house of the Marques of Bedmar (Inv. No. 1097: "Tres tablas iguales, ... la otra de los cuatro Evangelistas, todas originales de Rubens") and in the Buen Retiro, in 1748 (Inv. No. 1097) and in 1794 (Inv. No. 56: "Una tabla con los Evangelistas, de Rubens, de una vara de ancho y tres cuartas de alto, ..."); ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; in September 1813 brought to England from Spain, possibly from the Royal Palaces, by G.A. Wallis on behalf of William Buchanan (placed at Buchanan's disposal by unknown parties, to be sold in one lot with about fifty other pictures; Alexis Delahante, sale, London (Phillips), 2–3 June 1814, lot 67 ("The Four Evangelists, – a finished sketch for the grand picture in the Grosvenor Gallery"), purchased by Pinnell; Edward Gray, Harringay House, Hornsey; after his death, in 1838, probably sold *privately* with other pictures of his collection to William Buchanan; sold by Buchanan in 1840 to James Morrison, London; Charles Morrison, 1900; Archibald Morrison, Basildon Park, 1914; Simon A. Morrison, London.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 187), with two Salomonic columns at either side, Madrid, Prado, No. 1702; panel, 86 : 91 cm.; prov.: deposited at the Prado as part of the Spanish Royal Collections; exh.: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 79 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 379, No. 47; *Rooses,* I, p. 66; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 287 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.,* p. 298; *Scharf, Exhibition,* p. 188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 31–33, under No. 10; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 128 (as *Rubens*); *Tormo,* III, p. 49 (as *Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 33–35, under No. 10; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 79; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* p. 329, No. 1702, Pl. 207; (2) Painting, with a Tuscan column at either side, Madrid, Prado, No. 1709; panel, 86 : 91 cm.; prov.: Spanish Royal Collections; exh.: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 80 (as *Rubens*); lit.: A. Scharf, *The Exhibition of Rubens's Sketches at Brussels, The Burlington Magazine,* LXXI, 1937, p. 188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, under No. 10; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 128 (as *Rubens*); *Tormo,* III, p. 49 (as *Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33, under No. 10; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 79; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* p. 331, No. 1709, Pl. 208; (3) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown, canvas, 263 : 247 cm.; prov.: Bruges, Convent of the Augustines; Bruges, St. Gillis church; lit.: see p. 225; (5) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, edited by N. Lauwers, 510 : 480 mm. (Fig. 186; *V.S.,* p. 62, No. 461); also edited by J. Audran; (6) Engraving by C. Lauwers, edited by N. Lauwers, 500 : 483 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 62, No. 463); (7) Engraving, edited by Clem. de Jonghe, Amsterdam, 510 : 412 mm. (not in *V.S.*); (8) Engraving, without the columns, edited by G. Huberti, 280 : 195 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 62, No. 462); (9) Engraving, together with *The Defenders of the Eucharist,* by F. Ragot, 633 : 983 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 65, No. 10); (10) Engraving, together with *The Defenders of the Eucharist,* edited by N.

Bonnart, 546 : 723 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 65, No. 8); (11) Engraving, together with *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, edited by Mariette, 670 : 975 mm. (Fig. 188; *V.S.*, p. 65, No. 9).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Flemish and British Schools, Including a Selection from the Works of Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, The New Gallery, London, 1899–1900, No. 123; *IIIrd National Loan Exhibition, Pictures from the Basildon Park and Fonthill Collections*, Grosvenor Gallery, London, 1914-1915, No. 16.

LITERATURE: *Buchanan, Memoirs*, II, p. 248; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 141, No. 503; IX, p. 297, No. 192 (wrongly as "Triumph of the Christian Faith over Idolatry and Paganism"); *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p. 261; IV, pp. 109, 110; *Rooses*, I, p. 67, No. 50 bis; E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909, p. 234; *Old Masters at the Grosvenor Gallery, The Connoisseur*, XLI, 1915, p. 50; *Mitteilungen aus ausländischen Kunstzeitschriften, Kunstchronik*, N. F. XXVI, 1914–15, No. 33, col. 423; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31, No. 10; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 130, repr.; *Tormo*, III, p. 51, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33, No. 10; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953*, pp. 234, 235; *Jaffé, 1969*, pp. 537, 538, No. 72, fig. 12.

The modello shows virtually no change except for the figure of St. John, who now holds the chalice in his left hand (i.e. the right hand in the final tapestry) and places the other on his breast; the cloak also is on the other shoulder. Probably John was originally depicted on the panel in a manner still more like the bozzetto: this may be inferred from some pentimenti at the level of Matthew's head, which perhaps cover the earlier representation of John's hand and of the chalice.

More important changes were made in the border at the modello stage. The stiffness of the scene was lightened by adding the two cherubs who hold up the "tapestry"; the latter hangs loosely in the upper corners, so that the resulting space is decoratively filled. The cartouche below received its final form at this stage.

In contrast to some other modelli, the architectonic elements which Rubens left unfinished were not afterwards retouched by another hand. However, although the piece as a whole was considerably worked up by Rubens and is in good condition, it did not escape later intervention. Part of the centre, probably damaged, was restored and repainted without regard to all the original details: this is a broad area extending below Mark's book, under Matthew's arm and over John's chest. The paint here is thicker and somewhat awkwardly applied, and the folds of the drapery are not quite like those in the

cartoon (Fig. 189), the engraving by Bolswert (Fig. 186) and the Prado copies (Fig. 187). L. Burchard wrongly concluded from this that the engraving and the two copies in the Prado were not based on the modello but on the cartoon. The engraving is in fact based on the modello and shows it as it originally was.

We have discussed the provenance of this panel at length in the context of the other modelli.[1] While the account given here is very likely correct, it is no more than a hypothesis. We can only go back with certainty to Edward Gray's collection, prior to which the pedigree is based on a number of assumptions. One of these is that the piece is identical with that sold in London in 1820 and said to have belonged to the King of Spain. A second assumption is that the piece was brought from Spain to England by Buchanan, and a third that it really belonged to the Spanish royal collections, was originally part of the group now in the Prado and came, with the rest of that group, from the collection of the Marqués de Carpio.

[1] See above, pp. 124–129.

14c. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS: CARTOON (Fig. 189)

Oil on canvas; 427 : 442 cm.; cut down at the four sides (original size approximately 490 : 500 cm.).

Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. No. 213.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns (after 1649); removed from there c. 1808 by G. Wallis, on behalf of W. Buchanan; purchased by Bourke, Danish plenipotentiary at Madrid, sold by him to Robert, Earl Grosvenor, 1st Marquess of Westminster (1767-1845), Grosvenor House, London; Duke of Westminster, sale, London (Christie's), 4 July 1924, lot 61 (withdrawn); purchased from the Duke's estate by John Ringling, spring 1925.

COPIES: (1) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; ? transferred in 1811 to the Parish Church of Gooik; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Ed. Soenens, Ghent; lit.: see p. 235; (3) ? Painting, lost; prov.: Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns; lit.: see p. 236. (4)

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie,* I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771,* p. 326; *Cumberland, Anecdotes,* I, pp. 175–177; *Ponz, 1787,* I, p. 271; *Young, 1821,* p. 23, No. 68, Pl. 23; *Hazlitt, 1823,*

pp. 33, 34; *Hazlitt, 1824,* pp. 115, 117; *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 219–224, 232, 233, 381, 382; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 141, No. 502; *Passavant, Kunstreise,* p. 65; *Passavant, Tour,* I, pp. 149, 150; *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* II, p. 114; *Waagen, Treasures,* II, p. 163; E. Véron and F. Dekeyser, *Le Triomphe de la Religion, L'Art,* VIII, 1882 (1), pp. 100, 174, repr. p. 173; *Rooses,* I, pp. 66, 67, No. 50; *Berwick-Alba,* p. 92; *In the Saleroom, The Connoisseur,* September, 1924, p. 47; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 128, 129; *Tormo,* III, p. 49; *Valentiner,* p. 163, No. 96; *Goris-Held,* p. 53, No. A.74; *Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* p. 181, No. 213, repr.; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 79; *Gaya Nuño, 1964,* p. 39, No. 102; *Jaffé, 1969,* p. 538, n. 74; *Scribner, 1975,* p. 524, fig. 5.

The cartoon followed the modello closely. The unfinished parts, the architecture and tapestry borders, were of course completed in detail, and the landscape background was fully worked out.

A few details are different: Matthew is older, with grey hair and a grey beard. One or two pentimenti can be seen: St. John's hair and that of St. Luke have been partially painted out so as to appear less luxuriant.

15. THE DEFENDERS OF THE EUCHARIST: TAPESTRY (Fig. 190)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 495 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES. F;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

ANOTHER VERSION: Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Palazzo Reale; 485 : 500 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* pp. 10, 11, No. 9; *Rooses,* I, pp. 68, 69, under No. 51; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 129–131, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 50, 51, repr.; *Trens, Exposición,* p. 66; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 81; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30, repr.

Seven saints, including the four Latin Doctors of the Church, are seen proceeding across a landscape. In front are St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great. All three wear rich copes embroidered with themes including God the Father, the Resurrection and Christ blessing the World. One of the bishops has a crosier, both wear mitres and St. Gregory wears the papal tiara and carries

a crosier. Behind him is St. Clare, holding a monstrance in both hands. She is followed by St. Thomas Aquinas, with a book under his arm; round his neck is a gold chain with a blazing sun. Behind him is a monk in a white habit, probably St. Norbert, and last comes St. Jerome, the fourth Doctor of the Church, dressed as a cardinal and engrossed in a large volume.

In the centre a dove hovers in the clouds, radiating light over the Saints' heads. Two cherubs at the top unfold the "tapestry" and make it fast to the architrave. The side and lower borders of the tapestry cannot be seen, so that the cherubs appear to be holding a baldaquin over the Saints, while the landscape in which they are walking seems to continue behind the architecture. However, at the top of the "tapestry" can be seen shadows cast by the cherubs and by a sprig of cherries and a vine tendril hanging from the festoons.

At the top and bottom are emblematic figures. Above, the head of an angel blowing two trumpets with a scroll around them indicates that the Fathers' writings have reached to the ends of the earth. Below are inkpots and quill pens, an oil lamp and open books. These symbols no doubt inspired the author of the inscription below the Bolswert engraving: "As many as there are books, so many trumpets have sounded." [1]

All the saints shown here have in common the fact that they are specially venerated as defenders of the Eucharist. This applies first and foremost to the four Doctors of the Church, who formulated the doctrine of transsubstantiation and defended it against heretics. Their role as champions of the Church's tradition against her enemies was naturally emphasized by the Counter-Reformation. This fact, and their status as expounders of Eucharist doctrine, fully justifies their presence, but Rubens had other reasons for including them in the series. Like the Evangelists, the Doctors are represented as taking part in the triumphal procession of the Church and of Faith. Rubens here followed an existing tradition. The Doctors were seen in earlier representations of *The Triumph of Christ* or *The Triumph of the Church,* in which they either moved the four wheels of the chariot (Fig. 81)—a theme made popular by the well-known woodcut after Titian [2]—or advanced alongside it as in the series of religious *Triumphs* by Otto van Veen (Figs. 71, 74). [3]

In the present series, however, Rubens chose to depict the Doctors in a separate scene with other saints, and to combine it with another traditional theme, that of the Eucharistic *Disputa* as he had painted it for the Dominican church at Antwerp.[4] Elements of the *Disputa* in the present composition are the

elevation of the monstrance (which here figures as an attribute of St. Clare), the dove radiating light on the whole scene as a symbol of divine inspiration, and St. Thomas's gesture, as of someone arguing a case.

Apart from dress the Doctors of the Church have no special distinguishing attributes. St. Jerome, for instance, is not accompanied by his lion. He is absorbed in a book, no doubt his Latin translation of the Bible—the Vulgate, proclaimed by the Council of Trent as the authentic version on which all commentaries must be based.

A special place is occupied by St. Thomas Aquinas, known as the Doctor Angelicus—the scholar who assembled in his *Summa Theologica* all that was known about the Eucharist, and who reputedly composed the Office of Corpus Christi including the hymns *Pange lingua* and *Lauda Sion*. On this account he was so closely associated with the Eucharist that he was often given a monstrance or a chalice and Host as attributes.[5] A philosopher and poet as well as defender of the Eucharist, he discomfited the heretics and, in the period of the Counter-Reformation he continued to be especially venerated as a defender of orthodoxy against heresy. The *Summa* was invoked at the Council of Trent to vindicate the true faith against heretical attacks, and in 1567 the Pope announced that the Church would henceforth pay the same honour to St. Thomas as to the four original Doctors; from then on he was often represented in their company (Fig. 87).[6]

The book St. Thomas is holding may be the *Summa* or the Office of Corpus Christi. With uplifted hand he appears to be making a point and draws the attention of two of the Doctors, who turn round towards him.

Next to St. Thomas is St. Clare,[7] the disciple of St. Francis. She has a monstrance as her attribute because of her veneration for the Eucharist and because, when abbess of the convent of San Damiano at Assisi, she put to flight a band of Saracen marauders by advancing towards them with a monstrance in her hand. She is certain of her place in the present set of tapestries, woven as it was to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi in the church of a Franciscan community.

There is no doubt that Rubens here represented St. Clare with the features of Isabella Clara Eugenia, his patroness, who was herself a Franciscan tertiary, who numbered St. Clare among her own patron saints and, like her, had a great devotion to the Eucharist. St. Clare may also be shown here with the monstrance as a reminder of the divine power of the consecrated Host against heresy.

The identification of the monk in a white habit between St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Jerome is made difficult by the absence of any specific attribute. He appears, however, to be a Premonstratensian, and we believe him to be St. Norbert, the founder of this Order, who championed the Holy Sacrament against the followers of heretic Tanchelm in Antwerp.[8] Like St. Clare, he is traditionally depicted with a monstrance; possibly Rubens showed him here without any attribute because St. Clare, with her monstrance, already figured in the scene.

Rubens seems in fact to have been in some uncertainty as to the attributes of this saint, whoever it was: in the bozzetto he holds a staff, and in the final version it looks as if he was holding an object with both hands under the folds of his cloak. Rooses thought the intention was to suggest that the concealed object was a monstrance.

The saint's facial type goes to confirm the identification as St. Norbert: the same round, clean-shaven countenance is found in other portraits of him, e.g. Rubens's sketch for a statue above the high altar of St. Michael's abbey.[9] Other identifications have been proposed, however. Some authors thought the figure was St. Bonaventure (a Franciscan), following Bellori, who only knew the print and therefore did not realize that the habit was a white one.[10] J.S. Held thought it might be St. Albert, the second reformer of the Carmelites and the patron of Isabella's husband, the Archduke.[11]

It may seem strange that Rubens should have included St. Norbert, so closely associated with Antwerp, in a tapestry series intended for Madrid. However, St. Norbert was by no means only a local figure: he occurs in non-Netherlandish programmes, e.g. among the saints following the Chariot of the Catholic Faith in the *Triunfos Divinos* of Lope de Vega, published in 1625.[12] At the same time one may wonder why, given the number of Eucharistic saints, Rubens chose St. Norbert in preference to others and made him so hard to recognize with certainty.

1 See above, p. 221.

2 See above, p. 198, n. 112.

3 In one of Van Veen's *Triumphs* (Inv. No. 807) St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas are represented and in another panel (Inv. No. 810) St. Ambrose and St. Jerome. On Van Veen's series see p. 200, n. 117.

4 H. Vlieghe, *Saints I* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, VIII), Brussels, 1972, pp. 73–78, No. 56, fig. 99.

5 *Knipping*, I, pp. 216, 217. St. Thomas is seen with a monstrance in the sketch by

Abraham van Diepenbeeck in Count Seilern's collection (A. Seilern, *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London*, London, 1955, p. 71, No. 42, Pl. LXXXIX); see also B.H. Molkenboer, *De H. Thomas van Aquino in de Schilderkunst*, in *S. Thomas van Aquino, Bijdragen over zijn Tijd, zijn Leer en zijn Verheerlijking door de Kunst*, published by A.W. Van Winckel, S.Th.L. and F. Van Goethem, Ghent-Louvain, 1927, Pl. III.

6 *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente*, pp. 471, 472; *Réau*, III (III), p. 1278. Zurbarán's *Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas* (1631) shows him standing, with the four Doctors sitting round about; he has a book in one hand and raises the other to heaven, in a gesture somewhat reminiscent of Rubens's piece (B.H. Molkenboer, *op. cit.*, Pl. 103; M. Soria, *The Paintings of Zurbarán*, London, 1953, p. 142, No. 41, fig. 27). St. Thomas as Doctor Angelicus, with angel's wings, is also shown debating with Church Fathers about the Eucharist, while two angels hold a monstrance overhead, in an engraving after Abraham Bloemaert (Fig. 87; *V.S.*, p. 68, No. 30): he holds a book open at the lines "Tantum ergo..." from the hymn *Pange Lingua* in the Office of Corpus Christi. There is a variant of this composition showing a monstrance on an altar in the background, while angels above hold a book in their hands: see *Knipping*, II, fig. 55. Other variants are a painting by Abraham Bloemaert sold at Sotheby's, London, 6 December 1972, lot 23 (repr.), and a drawing in the de Grez collection at the Royal Museum, Brussels, Inv. No. 377.

7 The figure of St. Clare has been wrongly identified with St. Julienne de Cornillon, a native of Liège who strove all her life for the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi, see *Vloberg*, II, pp. 262, 263; H.B. Molkenboer, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

8 See S. Schoutens, *Geschiedenis van den Eerdienst van het Allerheiligste Sacrament des Altaars in België*, Antwerp, 3rd ed., 1903, pp. 60 ff.; Tanchelm is probaly depicted in *The Victory of Truth over Heresy* (No. 17).

9 *Goris-Held*, pp. 35, 36, No. 63, Pl. 50.

10 *Bellori*, p. 235 (Doc. 19); *Cumberland, Anecdotes*, I, p. 177; *Descripción, loc. cit.*

11 *Goris-Held*, p. 53, under No. A. 75; see also *Gerson-Goodison*, p. 105, under No. 241.

12 See above, p. 208.

15a. THE DEFENDERS OF THE EUCHARIST: BOZZETTO (Fig. 191)

Oil on panel; 16.8 : 16.8 cm.; enlarged at the right, below and above (original size 16 : 16.4 cm.).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 241.

PROVENANCE: ? The Rev. Edward Balme; bequeathed by Mrs. Balme to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1927, No. 329.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus,* p. 16, No. 74; *Rooses,* V, p. 307; *Earp,* pp. 172, 173, No. I. 241, repr.; *Rooses, Life,* II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn,* V, 1910, p. 283 (as *after Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937,* p. 83, under No. 81 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31 (as *after Rubens*); *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 22–25, 130, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 31–34, 51, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954,* p. 9; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 52, 80; *Jaffé, 1955,* p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956,* p. 133; *Elbern, 1958,* p. 135, n. 24 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison,* p. 105, No. 241, pp. 106, 107, Pl. 53; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967,* p. 108; *Held, 1968,* pp. 13, 15, 16; *Jaffé, 1969,* pp. 537, 538, n. 73.

As regards the procession of seven saints, Rubens deviated little in later stages from the composition adopted in de bozzetto. As far as the figures are concerned, there are only two differences of detail: St. Norbert holds a crosier in his right hand, and St. Clare is in profile (suggesting perhaps that it was not Rubens's original intention to give her the features of Isabella).

The differences in the surrounding parts are much greater. The "tapestry" and festoons are hung from the architrave by two cherubs, but in such a way that the columns are concealed except for a small section below on the left. At the bottom is a projecting pedestal with a curled motif on either side, very similar to the dolphin and cornucopia at the bottom of *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14; Fig. 183). It should also be noticed that the two cherubs in the upper corners were transferred to the modello without being reversed.

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 91).

15b. THE DEFENDERS OF THE EUCHARIST (Fig. 192)

Oil on panel; 24.5 : 34.5 cm.

Zurich, Mrs. H. Anda - Bührle.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Wicklow, Shelton Abbey, County Arcklow (Ireland), sale, 1950; ? Prof. Hans Halbar, Oxford; C. Marshall Spink, London (1950); sold by D. Arthur Kaufmann to Emil G. Bührle, Zurich (1890–1956).

COPY: Etching, attributed to R. Eynhoudts (Fig. 193; 305 : 340 mm.; *V.S.*, p. 65, No. 7).

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke flämischer Malerei,* Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, 1955, No. 84.

LITERATURE: *Gerson-Goodison,* p. 105, under No. 241; *Jaffé, 1955,* p. 405; *Elbern, 1958,* p. 138.

In this panel the figures of the modello in the Prado (No. 15c; Fig. 194) are exactly reproduced except for some minor changes, e.g. St. Clare holds the monstrance at an obliquer angle. However, the panel from Bührle's collection is entirely without the architectonic border.

Ludwig Burchard regarded this as a preliminary study by Rubens's hand for the panel in the Prado, and thus as a link between the bozzetto and the modello.[1] He was presumably convinced of the authenticity of this "second bozzetto" by the pedigree which he thought he had reconstructed. He identified it with a sketch that was sold twice, in 1818 and 1821, with the John Webb collection as an original work by Rubens entitled *The Fathers of the Church*; according to the sales catalogues this came from "a distinguished collection in Spain" and from "the Escurial".[2] Smith says that Webb's piece was a sketch for the painting *The Defenders of the Eucharist* in the Duke of Grosvenor's collection (this is the cartoon now at Sarasota). Although the Bührle sketch comes from Britain, we do not see sufficient reason to follow Burchard and identify it with that from the Webb collection. To begin with, the 1818 and 1821 catalogues do not give any measurements. As we have argued elsewhere,[3] Webb's piece is more likely to have been the modello for *The Four Evangelists* (No. 14b)—in which case Smith got the title wrong—or else to have been unconnected with the Eucharist series. At the beginning of the 19th century there were numerous small pictures in circulation in England that were alleged to be, but cannot all have been, authentic sketches for the Eucharist series.[4] In this very confused situation it is impossible to reach any firm conclusions. The pedigree proposed by Burchard for the present panel cannot in any case be taken as evidence that it is by Rubens's own hand.

Moreover, on stylistic grounds we do not think it can be ascribed to Rubens: the quality is too inferior. Nor do we see what purpose it would have served, in the creation of the series, to paint an intermediate version between the bozzetto and the modello, in the same direction as the latter and without the architectonic border. Jaffé was likewise of the opinion that the Bührle panel could not be authentic.[5] We believe it to be a copy after the modello at Madrid.

It should be pointed out finally that there is an etching (Fig. 193) that was undoubtedly made from this panel: it is on the same scale,[6] and all the details

are similar. Wether the panel was painted as a model for the etcher is not so clear. The fact that it is coloured perhaps suggest that it was not. On stylistic grounds Voorhelm Schneevoogt and Hollstein ascribed the etching to Remoldus Eynhoudts (1613–1680).[7] It is hard to say whether the panel is also by him: he was a painter as well as an etcher, but his paintings are completely unknown.[8]

[1] Letter from L. Burchard to C. Marshall Spink, London, 4 December 1950 (copy in Burchard's documentation).
[2] See above, p. 129, n. 62.
[3] See above, p. 129, n. 63.
[4] See above, p. 128, n. 61.
[5] *Jaffé, 1955, loc. cit.*
[6] The etching is somewhat taller, as blank strips have been added at the top and bottom.
[7] *V.S., loc. cit.; Hollstein,* VI, p. 206.
[8] *Thieme-Becker,* XI, p. 140, s.v. *Eynhoudts.*

15c. THE DEFENDERS OF THE EUCHARIST: MODELLO (Figs. 194–196)

Oil on panel; 86 : 91 cm.; enlarged at the four sides (original size 65 : 68 cm.).

Madrid, Prado. No. 1695.

PROVENANCE: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; ? Buen Retiro, 1748; ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; deposited at the Prado, as part of the Spanish Royal Collections.

COPIES: (1) Painting, without the architectural frame, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 : 61 cm.; prov.: F.A. Szarvasy, sale, London (Christie's), 10 December 1948, lot 49; sale, London (Christie's), 17 November 1950, lot 39; lit.: *Gerson-Goodison,* p. 105, under No. 241; (2) Painting, without the architectural frame (Fig. 192); see above, No. 15b; (3) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (4) Painting by José Risueño, Granada, Palacio Arzobispal; canvas, 230 : 250 cm.; lit.: D. Sánchez-Mesa Martín, *José Risueño,* Granada, 1972, pp. 247, 248, No. 117, Pl. 55; (5) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, edited by N. Lauwers, 515 : 490 mm. (Fig. 197; *V.S.,* p. 65, No. 5) also edited by J. Audran; (6) Engraving by C. Lauwers, edited by N. Lauwers, 490 : 480 mm. (*V.S.,* p. 65, No. 6); (7) Etching, without the architectural frame, attributed to R. Eynhoudts, 305 : 340 mm. (Fig. 193; *V.S.,* p. 65,

No. 7); (8) Engraving, together with *The Four Evangelists*, by F. Ragot, 633 : 983 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 65, No. 10); (9) Engraving, together with *The Four Evangelists*, edited by N. Bonnart, 546 : 723 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 65, No. 8); (10) Engraving, together with *The Four Evangelists*, edited by Mariette, 670 : 975 mm. (Fig. 188; *V.S.*, p. 65, No. 9).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937*, No. 81.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 377, 378, No. 40; *Rooses*, I, p. 69, under No. 51 (as *after Rubens*); V, p. 307; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 288; E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909, pl. CCCIII; *Beroqui, 1918*, pp. 63–65; *K.d.K.*, p. 299; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, pp. 31–33, No. 11; *Tormo, 1942*, p. 130, repr.; *Tormo*, III, p. 51, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 33, 34, No. 11; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953*, pp. 234, 235; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 80; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, pp. 286–290, No. 1695, Pl. 187.

In the modello Rubens made one important change from the bozzetto: the "tapestry" on which the Defenders of the Eucharist are depicted is spread behind the columns instead of in front of them. The procession thus seems to be on the far side of the columns, and the first and last figures are partly hidden by them.

Little change was made in the decoration at the top. It is curious that Rubens did not trouble to reverse the direction of the two cherubs above as he did with the rest of the composition, but left them as in the bozzetto. At the bottom we find the emblematic books and oil lamp, but not the writing materials that appear in the cartoon and tapestry. The figures differ little from the bozzetto: St. Clare is seen *de face* instead of in profile, and St. Norbert no longer has a staff in his hand.

The piece is not well preserved. It has been considerably enlarged on all four sides with rather crudely painted architectonic features, thus spoiling the balance between architecture and composition, and Rubens's original work has also suffered. One has the impression that the paint was rather thinly laid on and was subsequently rubbed away, after which someone tried to repair the damage with little dots and dashes of colour. This can be seen e.g. in the faces of St. Clare and St. Gregory (Figs. 195,196). The heads of St. Norbert and the cherubs are also retouched, and in the ornamental areas at the top and bottom little of the original has remained.

Thanks to this extensive reworking the original character of the modello has been largely lost. For instance, the faces of St. Clare and St. Gregory are flat

and expressionless; this was not so originally, as may be seen from Bolswert's engraving (Fig. 197).

15d. THE DEFENDERS OF THE EUCHARIST: CARTOON (Fig. 198)

Oil on canvas; 427 : 442 cm.; cut down at the four sides (original size approximately 490 : 495 cm.).

Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. No. 214.

PROVENANCE: Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns, Loeches (after 1649); removed from there c. 1808 by G. Wallis, on behalf of W. Buchanan; purchased by Bourke, Danish plenipotentiary at Madrid, and sold by him to Robert, Earl Grosvenor, 1st Marquess of Westminster (1767–1845), Grosvenor House, London; given on loan by the Duke of Westminster to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1870–1881; transferred to Eaton Hall (Cheshire); purchased from the Duke of Westminster's estate by John Ringling, spring 1925.

COPIES: (1) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; ? transferred in 1811 to the Parish Church of Gooik; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Ed. Soenens, Ghent; lit.: see p. 235; (3) ? Painting, lost; prov.: Loeches, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns; lit.: see p. 236; (4) Drawing of two cherubs (Fig. 179), on the left of a sheet with studies of several cherubs, whereabouts unknown; chalk, measurements unknown; prov.: ? Collection of the Grand Dukes of Sachsen-Weimar; lit.: see p. 231, n. 31.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie,* I, p. 320; *Michel, 1771,* p. 326; *Cumberland, Anecdotes,* I, p. 177; *Ponz, 1787,* I, p. 271; *Young, 1821,* p. 25, No. 73, Pl. 25; *Hazlitt, 1823,* pp. 33, 34; *Hazlitt, 1824,* pp. 115, 117; *Buchanan, Memoirs,* II, pp. 219–224, 232, 233, 381, 382; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 140, 141, No. 501; *Passavant, Kunstreise,* p. 65; *Passavant, Tour,* I, pp. 149, 150; *Waagen, Kunstwerke,* II, pp. 113, 114; *Waagen, Treasures* II, p. 163; E. Véron and F. Dekeyser, *Le Triomphe de la Religion, L'Art,* VIII, 1882 (1), pp. 100, 174; R. Morris, *The Guide to Eaton Hall,* London, [1885 ?] pp. 39, 40; *Rooses,* I, pp. 67–69, No. 51; L. Willoughby, *Eaton Hall, the Cheshire Residence of His Grace the Duke of Westminster, (Part II), The Connoisseur,* November 1907, p. 145; *Berwick-Alba,* p. 92; *In the Saleroom, The Connoisseur,* September 1924, p. 47; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 130; *Tormo,* III, p. 51; *Valentiner,* p. 613, No. 97; *Goris-Held,* p. 53, No. A.75; *Suida, Cat. Sarasota,* p. 181, No. 214, repr.; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 80; *Gaya Nuño, 1964,* p. 39, No. 103; *Sribner, 1975,* pp. 519, 524, fig. 5.

The cartoon shows no important changes from the modello. The cords and tassels of St. Jerome's hat can now be seen, whereas in the modello the tassels were hidden under his cloak. St. Gregory's pectoral jewel is more elaborate in form, and St. Thomas's book has been provided with a bookmark. As in the other cartoons, the drapery is in general more fully worked up.

The cartoon has evidently been considerably restored. Rooses, who saw it in the South Kensington Museum, remarked on its poor condition: "... il est fort mal exposé, à une hauteur excessive et sous les rayons brûlants du soleil. Une large crevasse au milieu de la robe de St. Thomas d'Aquin prouve les dangers de l'emplacement actuel de l'œuvre".[1]

[1] *Rooses*, I, p. 68.

16. THE EUCHARIST OVERCOMING PAGAN SACRIFICES: TAPESTRY (Fig. 199)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 670 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES.F;* to the right, the marks of Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Palazzo Carignano; 460 : 720 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Oncala, Parish Church; prov. and lit.: see pp. 247, 248; (3) Frans van de Hecke, Brussels, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas; 410 : 655 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 51; Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880*, No. 79; lit.: *Wauters*, p. 308, No. 2; *Keuller-Wauters*, pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLVI; *Rooses*, I, p. 55, under No. 41; *Elbern*, pp. 17, 33; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 63, 77; *De Vlaamse Wandtapijten van de Wawelburcht te Krakau, Kunstschat van Koning Sigismund II Augustus Jagello*, ed. by J. Szablowski, Antwerp, 1972, repr. pp. 426, 427; (4) Frans van den Hecke (?), Dessau, Schloss Mosigkau; (5) Jodocus de Vos (after the engraving), Valletta (Malta), St. John's Cathedral; appr. 670 cm. wide; prov. and lit.: see pp. 253, 254.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción*, pp. 6, 7, No. 4; *Rooses*, I, p. 55, under No. 41; *Mesonero Romanos*, p. 250; *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 120, 121, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 40, 41, repr.; *Trens, Exposición*, p. 48; *Elbern*, p. 33, fig. 12; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 77; *Junquera, 1969*, p. 30, repr.

The scene of the Eucharist overcoming pagan sacrifices is depicted in a Roman temple. An angel, bathed in light, holds forth in one hand a chalice with a radiant Host, while with the other he grasps the thunderbolt of divine vengeance. In this way he prevents the sacrifice of an ox to Jupiter. The altar and implements of sacrifice are overturned; priests, musicians and acolytes are struck down or put to flight.

On the right, in the upper part of the temple, a libation is being poured out and grains of corn offered by torchlight to a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus.[1] A basket of produce is also brought forward. This part of the temple is wrapped in darkness, and the scene is not directly affected by the main action.

Various aspects of the interrupted sacrifice agree with details from antique illustrations and descriptions and thus testify to Rubens's archeological interests. The altar with the eagle and the inscription "IOVI OPT. MAX SACRVM" belongs to a known type of which Rubens may have seen examples. Certainly he used antique friezes as a model for the depiction of various implements. During his stay at Rome he made a drawing of a frieze of this kind, which was engraved by Cornelis Galle for Philip Rubens's book *Electorum libri duo.*[2] Direct borrowings from antique friezes are the *infula* or fillet round the horns of the sacrificial animal, the *urceus* or ewer for the wine with which the beast is purified and consecrated, the *patera* or bowl, the *culter* or *secespita* (sacrificial knife), the *sacena* (axe) and the *acerra* or incense-box. The figures also correspond to those seen in antique reliefs: the priest leading the animal to sacrifice, with part of his gown folded over his head, and the *victimarii* or assistants, including the *popa* who fells the victim with an axe and the *cultrarius* who pierces it with a knife. These, being slaves or freedmen, wear only the girdle or apron known as a *limus*. The moment depicted is probably that at which the *popa* was about to bring his axe down on the victim's neck, while the *cultrarius* held its head down by the horns. Rubens may have seen this in antique reliefs also,[3] and he no doubt knew that bulls, especially white ones, were the favourite offering to Jupiter.[4] Several elements of this scene also occur in an earlier tapestry design by Rubens, *The Marriage of Constantine,*[5] which shows a victim similarly surrounded by temple attendants with the same equipment.

The present tapestry depicts two main forms of antique sacrifice, the blood-offering and the *libatio* of corn and wine. The scene is in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, no doubt to indicate that it is here, in the centre

of the world, that Christianity and the Eucharist triumphed over pagandom and its sacrifices.

Rubens makes more use here of *trompe-l'œil* effects than in his other compositions. The discomfiture of the heathen is depicted on a tapestry suspended by three cherubs between Salomonic columns. The tapestry extends behind the columns on either side and is not fully spread out at the top. The most remarkable part is at the foot, however: the stone threshold with acanthus leaves and the marble basin with the rams' heads belongs to the framing architecture and is also part of the composition of the "tapestry"; the wine flows from the overturned *urceus* into the basin, and the foot and part of the garment of the man with the lyre protrude over the threshold and cast a shadow on it. The figures appear to be standing on this lower edge, and the impression is also given that the Salomonic columns are part of the temple architecture. [6]

[1] Many copies of this well-known statue exist, e.g. in the Vatican Museum: see W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, II, Berlin, 1908, pp. 519-520, No. 326, Pl. 73; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., I, Tübingen, 1963, pp. 130-131, No. 176.

[2] Philippus Rubens, *Electorum Libri Duo, In quibus antiqui Ritus, Emendationes, Censurae*, Antwerp, 1608, Pl. pag. 74. The frieze copied by Rubens shows the closest resemblance, among those which have survived, to that in the temple of Vespasianus in Rome: see D.E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture, An introduction to the commemorative and decorative sculpture of the Roman Empire down to the death of Constantine*, New York, 1971, p. 94, No. 63, fig. 63; Similar objects are depicted in other extant friezes: see e.g. H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome, The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 261-263, Nos. 100, 104, Pl. 61.

[3] For examples of antique reliefs in which a *victimarius* holds down the ox's head for the sacrificial blow, see e.g. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, I, Paris, 1909, p. 95, No. 34.2, and p. 237, No. 2.

[4] For sacrifices in classical antiquity, their personnel and implements, see L. Ziehen in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and G. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XVII, Stuttgart, 1939, cols. 579–627, s.v. *Opfer;* Renate von Schaewen, *Römische Opfergeräte, ihre Verwendung im Kultus und in der Kunst* (*Archäologische Studien*, I), Berlin, 1940, pp. 15-37, 50-53; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1970, pp. 943-945, s.v. *Sacrifice.*

[5] D. Dubon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, The History of Constantine the Great designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona*, London, 1964, figs. 2, 57.

[6] See pp. 65, 66.

16a. THE EUCHARIST OVERCOMING PAGAN SACRIFICES: BOZZETTO

Oil on panel; approximately 16 : 21.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Victor Wolfvoet, Antwerp (1612 – 23 October 1652); Inventory of his estate, 24–26 October 1652: "No. 429. Alnoch een ander schetsken insgelyckx van als voore [i.e. by Rubens] daer men den osch op offert mede in ebbe lystken".

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 282, No. 41 bis; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 150.

The bozzetto of this composition has not survived and we know of no reproduction, copy or exact description of it. Like the other bozzetti, it no doubt differed somewhat from the modello and tapestry.

Originally it was probably on a panel with, and above, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, which has also disappeared; both pieces were in Victor Wolfvoet's collection in 1652.

16b. THE EUCHARIST OVERCOMING PAGAN SACRIFICES: MODELLO (Figs. 200, 201)

Oil on panel; 86 : 106 cm.; enlarged at four sides (original size 64 : 90.5 cm.).

Madrid, Prado, No. 1699.

PROVENANCE: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain; mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; ? Buen Retiro, 1748; ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; deposited at the Prado, as part of the Spanish Royal Collections.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Mme Henri Heugel, Paris; panel, 65 : 93 cm.; prov.: C. Sedelmeyer, Paris (1900); exh.: *Antwerp, 1930*, No. 246 (as *Rubens*); *Chefs d'Œuvre des Collections parisiennes*, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1950, No. 66 (repr.; as *Rubens*); *Rotterdam, 1953–54*, No. 77 (repr.; as *Rubens*); *Bordeaux, 1954*, No. 79 (repr.); lit.: *The Sixth Hundred of Paintings, belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery*, Paris, 1900, p. 44, No. 34, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, pp. 31, under No. 4, 82, under No. 56; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 32, under No. 4, 84, under No. 56; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, pp. 87, 88, No. 77, fig. 65; C. Norris, *Rubens' Sketches at Rotterdam, The Connoisseur*, June 1954, p. 28; *Elbern*, p. 33; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 77; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown, panel, 71 : 100 cm.; prov.: Robinson, London;

lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 55, 56, No. 41 bis; L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 78, under No. 74; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 82, under No. 56; *Haverkamp Begeman, 1953*, p. 88, under No. 77; *Elbern*, p. 33; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 77; (3) Painting with variations by J. Jordaens, destroyed by fire 1945; paper pasted on canvas, 68 : 95 cm.; prov.: purchased in 1920 in the Berlin art trade for the Staatliche Museen, Berlin; lit.: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich Museum und Deutschen Museum*, Berlin, 1931, No. 1876; *Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin, 1933, p. 35, repr.; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 77; M. Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei*, Munich, 1965, p. 17; (4) Painting, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, No. GK I 2386; panel, 54 : 85.5 cm.; prov.: mentioned in Schloss Charlottenburg in 1773; lit.: M. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam, et de Charlottenbourg*, Potsdam, 1773, No. 566; *Elbern, 1958*, p. 137; (5) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (6) Painting by José Risueño, Granada, Cathedral; lit.: D. Sánchez Mesa Martín, *José Risueño*, Granada, 1972, p. 250, No. 120; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 64 : 90 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 July 1952, lot 119; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 61 : 79 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 December 1976, lot 104; (9) Painting, Valence, Museum; panel, 71 : 99 cm.; lit.: *Elbern, 1963*, p. 80; (10) Painting, in reverse, Damme, Our Lady's Church; canvas, 289 : 403 cm., dated "Anno 1653"; lit.: L. Devliegher, *Damme, Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen*, V, Tielt - Utrecht, 1971, p. 96, fig. 168; (11) Painting by Bartolomé Santos, Valladolid, Iglesia de San Miguel; canvas; lit.: E. Valdivieso González, *La Pintura en Valladolid en el Siglo XVII*, Valladolid, 1971, pp. 174, 175, fig. XLII; (12) Drawing, without the architectural frame, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, "Rubens No. 4"; brown ink with traces of colour, 243 : 398 mm.; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55*, No. 19; lit.: P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, *Een schets van Rubens voor de Zegepraal der Eucharistie over de Afgoderij*, *Oud-Holland*, XXIII, 1905, pp. 105–107 (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 88, under No. 77; N. Beets, *Het Offer van het Oude Verbond*, *Oud-Holland*, LXIX, 1954, p. 38 (as *Rubens*); *Elbern*, p. 33, fig. 14; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 77, fig. 36; (13) Drawing after the upper part of the body of the male figure in the centre, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. V, 46; red chalk and red-brown ink, 186 : 207 mm.; see pp. 229, 230; (14) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, edited by N. Lauwers, 640 : 900 mm. (Fig. 202; *V.S.*, p. 65, No. 13); (15) Engraving by F. Ragot, 652 : 1010 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 66, No. 14); (16) Engraving, edited by Picart Le Romain, 520 : 720 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 66, No. 15); (17) Engraving, with two columns at each side, edited by Mariette, 665 : 1010 mm. (not in *V.S.*). (18) (19)

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937*, No. 74; *Geneva, 1939*, No. 148.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 377, 378, No. 44; *Rooses*, I, p. 55, under No. 41; V, p. 307; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 282; E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909, pl. CCCVII;

Beroqui, 1918, pp. 64, 65; *K.d.K.,* p. 292; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 31–33, No. 4, p. 82, No. 56, repr.; *Tormo, 1942,* p. 121, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 41, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 32–34, No. 4, 84, No. 56, repr.; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 88, No. 77; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* pp. 234, 235; *Elbern,* p. 33, fig. 13; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 76, fig. 35; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 287–290, 293, 294, No. 1699, Pl. 189; *Scribner, 1975,* p. 524, fig. 6.

This is one of the finest and best preserved modelli of the series (Fig. 201): it is not entirely free of retouching by another hand, but the additions only affect areas of minor importance. The central portion with the figures was completely finished from the outset, and only the architectonic elements around the sides were touched up later. This probably happened when the panel was enlarged on all four sides to make it the same size as the other pieces in the Spanish royal collections: the architectonic framing was then extended on to the added strips of panel.

L. Burchard correctly observed that the central figure of the composition, the half-naked slaughterer holding his arm over his head in terror, is inspired by the Gaul in the well-known antique statuary group *The Gaul and his Wife* in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome.[1] It also resembles Adam in Rubens's *Expulsion from Paradise,* a sketch prepared (but not used) for one of the ceiling paintings for the Jesuit church at Antwerp.[2]

[1] Repr. in Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age,* New York, 1955, figs. 281-283.

[2] J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* 1), Brussels, 1968, pp. 187–189, No. 40(1)a, fig. 198.

16c. THE EUCHARIST OVERCOMING PAGAN SACRIFICES: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 490 : 670 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

PROVENANCE: First in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

COPIES: (1) Painting by David III Teniers, Zaragoza, University; canvas, 180 : 285 cm., signed and dated 1673; prov.: see pp. 232, 233; deposit from the Prado, 1893; lit.: *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 418, No. 2294, Pl. 285; (2) ? Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (3) Painting whereabouts unknown; prov.: Labroue and Mertens, Brussels (1862); Mera,

Marseilles, lit.: see p. 235; (4) Drawing after the leg of the male figure in the centre, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VI, 28; red chalk and ink, 340 : 164 mm.; inscribed: *dit been compt naer rubbens ende staet in een patrooen van tappiserii van iupiter;* see pp. 229, 230.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 140, No. 499; *Rooses,* I, pp. 54, 55, No. 41; *Elbern,* p. 33; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 77.

Although the cartoon of this composition is lost, we can see from the tapestry that it made some changes from the modello: for instance, the arm of the cherub on the left is no longer fully visible. The most important change is that the whole group of figures in the foreground is somewhat displaced in relation to the architecture. The fallen musician is closer to the column on the left, so that the lyre is more upright, and the man behind him with a torch is closer to the cowering attendants. On the right there is more space between the actors and the Salomonic column, so that its capital no longer overlaps the statue of Jupiter.

17. THE VICTORY OF TRUTH OVER HERESY: TAPESTRY (Fig. 203)

Wool and silk; approximately 470 : 670 cm.; marks and signature are lost.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSIONS: (1) Frans van den Hecke, Turin, Museo Civico; 475 : 495 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 244–246; (2) Frans van den Hecke, Cologne, Cathedral; 412 : 513 cm.; prov.: see pp. 246, 247; exh.: *Essen, 1954–55,* No. 22 (repr.); *Cologne, 1956,* No. 85; lit.: *Clemen, Der Dom zu Köln,* pp. 318, 320, No. 7; *Elbern,* pp. 19–24, 34, 35, fig. 15; *Elbern, 1955,* pp. 44–50, 64–69, 78, 79, fig. 37; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 121-123; (3) Jodocus de Vos (after the engraving), Valletta (Malta), St. John's Cathedral; appr. 670 cm. wide; prov. and lit.: see pp. 253, 254.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* pp. 8, 9, No. 6; *Rooses,* I, p. 60, under No. 44; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 124–126; *Tormo,* III, pp. 45, 46, repr.; *Trens, Exposición,* p. 66; *Elbern,* p. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78; *Junquera, 1969,* p. 30.

Time, a winged old man with a scythe, leads Truth towards the light. Truth, in a shining white garment, faces the spectator and points to a scroll with the

text "HOC EST CORPUS MEUM". Both figures hover in a patch of radiance above a slain monſter and proſtrate heretics. Two half-naked men, and two winged monſters breathing fire, flee in terror. Two other figures with books and scrolls follow Truth, ſtepping over a man on the ground.

The "tapeſtry" on which all this is depicted is attached at the top to a very broad rocaille cartouche, adorned with feſtoons of fruit, to which the above-mentioned scroll is faſtened. The sides of the "tapeſtry" are made faſt to the columns. At the bottom it falls partly over a fierce-looking couchant lion with a dying fox in its claws.

The general sense of the picture is clear: it signifies the triumph of Truth over Heresy, and in particular the victory of the Euchariſtic dogma, expressed by the words "Hoc eſt corpus meum", over the heretics who apposed it. This is one of the moſt typical ideas of the Counter-Reformation, which in its militant optimism regarded the victory over heresy as certain. The victory of truth, or of the church, over heresy was a major theme of the period, both in polemics and in the plaſtic arts. [1]

The figures of Truth and Time have their traditional and classical attributes: Time (Chronos) is a greybeard with wings and a scythe, and Truth is a half-naked figure in a plain white robe: in this picture she has an aureole round her head with the word "VERITAS" inscribed in it. The combination of the two figures, with Time bringing Truth to light ("Veritas Filia Temporis") also has an extensive iconography; [2] Rubens had already used it in a different (secular) form in the Medici series. [3]

Not all the figures detected and dispersed by Truth can be identified. Calvin can be clearly seen, with his narrow face and pointed beard, and the full-faced Luther in a monk's habit. Calvin holds a book in front of him and a quill pen in his right hand. Luther lies proſtrate on the ground, a scroll close to his outſtretched hand.

The half-naked man in the foreground, falling over backwards with a monſtrance slipping out of his grasp, is probably Tanchelm or Tanchelin, a twelfth-century heretic who had many followers in the Netherlands: he preached againſt the Mass as an "abomination" and was addicted "to the worſt debauchery". [4] He was particularly well known at Antwerp because his heresy continued to flourish there after his death until it was ſtamped out by St. Norbert. Innumerable depictions of Tanchelm are known in connection with the iconography of the Saint. In these he is shown in a rich robe, with a chalice

or Host in his hand, being trampled underfoot by St. Norbert: Rubens himself portrayed him thus, in pseudo-medieval costume and with a beard, in a sketch for a statue over the high altar of the church of St. Michael's Abbey. [5]

We have not been able to identify the other heretics who are seen discomfited in Rubens's composition. [6]

The identification of the fleeing figures on the right also presents problems. Rooses thought these half-naked men personified evil passions, [7] but it seems to us more likely that they are types of heretics or enemies of the Faith. The man with the turban is perhaps a Mahometan. The dark-faced man with the dagger has collected Hosts in a flap of his garment, whence some of them are falling out. He is evidently a profaner of the Host and has stolen them from a church. Does the dagger mean that he intends to stab them ? There may be a connection with the story of the Jews at Brussels who stole consecrated Hosts and profaned them in this manner. [8] In that case we may have here a Mahometan and a Jew, stigmatized as an enemy of the Host and "murderer of Christ".

The significance of the overturned antique altar with its sacrificial fire is not clear, nor is that of the man with a hammer and the woman and child beside him. In the tapestry the latter figures look like statues, and it may be thought that they represent the Virgin and Child, while he man is an iconoclast. In the modello (Fig. 206) it seems to be a living woman whom the man is dragging by the hair, but no better explanation is at present forthcoming.

We also cannot explain the group on the other side, or identify the bald man in archaic (medieval?) dress, apparently dead on the ground, or the two men with long beards stepping over him. They carry books and scrolls, suggesting that they are writers or theologians: probably they are champions of Eucharistic dogma, since they are stepping on a prostrate figure and pursuing Truth. It is also possible that they are repentant heretics and that there is a connection between the whole representation and the following words from the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent : "And so indeed did it behove victorious truth to celebrate a triumph over falsehood and heresy, *that thus her adversaries, ... may either pine away, weakened and broken, or, touched with shame and confound, at length repent*". [9] We cannot agree with earlier suggestions that the two figures represent St. Mark and St. Matthew [10] or the Old and the New Testament. [11]

Below, in the centre, half-hidden by the "tapestry" with its figures, is a

couchant lion with a dying fox in its claws. The fox, which is sometimes a symbol of Satan,[12] here clearly represents Heresy.[13]

1 See L. Kaute in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, II, col. 219, s.v. *Häresie.*

2 F. Saxl, *Veritas Filia Temporis, Philosophy and History,* in *Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer,* Oxford, 1936, pp. 197-222; see also *Van Marle, Art Profane,* II, pp. 170-173; *Knipping,* I, pp. 48-50; *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente,* pp. 383-385; *de Tervarent,* cols. 165-167, s.v. *Femme nue ...,* and cols. 402 ff., s.v. *Vieillard ailé.*

3 *K.d.K.*, p. 263.

4 S. Schoutens, *Geschiedenis van den Eerdienst van het Allerheiligste Sacrament des Altaars in België,* 3rd ed., Antwerp, 1903, pp. 60 ff.

5 *Goris-Held,* pp. 35, 36, No. 63, Pl. 50.

6 Besides Luther and Calvin, noted heretics who denied the Real Presence in the Eucharist were Bérenger de Tours (998-1088), John Huss (1369?-1415) and Martin Bucer (1491-1551). It is hard to say whether any of these are intended. We have found no clues in a book on 16th century heresies, with portraits, published in a Dutch translation at the end of the 17th century (F. Remond, *Opgang, Voortgang en nedergang der ketteryen deser eeuwe, ... Verciert met Schoone Copere Platen ende Af-beeltsels van de Hooft-Ketters ende andere Persoonen die in dien tijdt gheleeft hebben,* Antwerp, 1690).

7 "le Mensonge et la Rébellion, ou d'autres mauvaises passions analogues" *(Rooses, loc. cit.).*

8 See above, p. 31, n. 23.

9 See above, p. 165, n. 2.

10 *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné, loc. cit.*

11 *Tormo, 1942, loc. cit.; Tormo,* III, *loc. cit.*

12 P. Gerlach in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.*, II, cols 63 ff., s.v. *Fuchs.*

13 "The foxes represent heretics. They are so called because of their wickedness, as they seek at all times to ensnare the souls of the faithful by deceit and trickery, all which is nothing but pretence" (C. Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des Verstands...,* Amsterdam, 1644, p. 148).

17a. THE VICTORY OF TRUTH OVER HERESY: BOZZETTO (Fig. 204)

Oil on panel; 16.5 : 21.6 cm.; enlarged at the right and below (originally 16.2 : 21.3 cm.).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 229.

PROVENANCE: ? The Rev. Edward Balme; bequeathed by Mrs. Balme to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1873.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 205), London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, Inv. No. R. 1409; brown ink and wash, slightly coloured, over a

first draft in red chalk, 152 : 204 mm.; lit.: A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists... in the British Museum*, II, London, 1923, No. 19, fig. II (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 87, under No. 75; N. Beets, *Het Offer van het Oude Verbond, Oud-Holland*, LXIX, 1954, pp. 37, 38, fig. 4 (as *Rubens*); *Elbern*, p. 34; *Elbern, 1955*, p. 78; *Gerson-Goodison*, p. 104, under No. 229.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927*, No. 331.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Catalogus*, p. 14, No. 63; *Rooses*, V, p. 307; *Earp*, p. 171, No. I. 229, repr.; *Rooses, Life*, II, p. 428; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 283 (as *after Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Brussels, 1937*, p. 79, under No. 75 (as *after Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940*, p. 31 (as *after Rubens*); *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 22–25, 125, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 31–34, 46, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 33 (as *after Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 85; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1954*, p. 9; *Elbern*, pp. 12, 34; *Elbern, 1955*, pp. 52, 78; *Jaffé, 1955*, p. 405; *Jaffé, 1956*, p. 133; *Elbern, 1958*, p. 135, n. 24 (as *after Rubens*); *Gerson-Goodison*, p. 104, No 229, pp. 106, 107, Pl. 51; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1967*, p. 108; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 15, 16; *Jaffé, 1969*, pp. 537, 538, n. 73; *Scribner, 1975*, p. 524, fig. 8.

The bozzetto presents the scene in a simpler form. There is no figure of Time, and we only see Truth trampling on the monster of Heresy and pointing to the scroll with the words HOC EST CORPUS MEUM. This is not hung on the festoons as in the tapestry, but is part of the main scene: it is held up by one or two cherubs, and is much broader than in the tapestry.

The prostrate figures also differ appreciably, e.g. the man being trampled on on the left is half-naked, and the fleeing man has a snake in his hand instead of a dagger. The two figures on the extreme right are hard to distinguish.

Under the "tapestry" there is a scallop with a griffin on either side.

The thinly painted parts of this small sketch are much abraded. The figure in the centre is partly worn away; the cherub on the right holding the scroll can scarcely be distinguished. These features can be seen more clearly in the drawn copy in the British Museum (Fig. 205).

L. Burchard regarded this panel as a copy of a lost original (see p. 92).

17b. THE VICTORY OF TRUTH OVER HERESY: MODELLO (Figs. 206, 207)

Oil on panel; 86 : 91 cm.; enlarged above and below (original size 64.5 : 91 cm.).

Madrid, Prado. No. 1697.

PROVENANCE: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Carpio y Heliche, viceroy of Naples (1629–1687); purchased from the latter's estate, between 1689 and 1691, by Charles II, King of Spain, mentioned in the apartments of the court painters at the Madrid Palace, 1694; ? Casa de Campo, 1700; saved from the fire of the Madrid Palace in 1734, and brought to the house of the Marques of Bedmar (Inv. No. 1097: "Tres tablas iguales..., la otra el Tiempo y la Verdad..., todas originales de Rubens"); Buen Retiro, Inv. 1748, No. 1097; ? Royal Palace, Madrid, 1772; deposited at the Prado as part of the Spanish Royal Collections.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 76 : 91.5 cm.; prov.: Lord Saye and Sele, "at Belvidere"; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 259, No. 877, p. 325, No. 294; *Elbern,* p. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78; (2) Painting, Mme Henri Heugel, Paris; panel, 65 : 93 cm.; prov.: C. Sedelmeyer, Paris (1900); exh.: *Antwerp, 1930,* No. 245; *Chefs-d'œuvre des collections parisiennes,* Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1950, No. 67; *Rotterdam, 1953–54,* No. 75 (repr.); *Bordeaux, 1954,* No. 79; lit.: *The Sixth Hundred of Paintings belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery,* Paris, 1900, p. 43, No. 33; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, under No. 5; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33, under No. 5; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 87, No. 75; C. Norris, *Rubens's Sketches at Rotterdam, The Connoisseur,* June 1954, p. 28; *Elbern,* p. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 73.5 : 93 cm.; prov.: A.L. Nicholson, London; Paul Cassirer, Amsterdam (1937); exh.: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 76 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, under No. 51; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 34; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 36 : 46 cm.; prov.: ? G. Rothan, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 29–30 May 1890, lot 94; Otlet, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 19 December 1902, lot 46 (repr.); W. Trübner, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 4–5 June 1918, lot 282 (repr.); J. Böhler, Munich; purchased from the latter by Meirowsky, Berlin, 1938; Léon Salavin, Paris (c. 1951–54); exh.: *Rotterdam, 1953–54,* No. 76 (not on view, withheld in depôt); lit.: L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* Paris-Brussels, 1952, p. 212, No. 167, repr. facing p. 186 (as *Rubens*); (5) Painting (without the architectural frame), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No. 990; canvas, 58 : 80 cm.; lit.: *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden,* Dresden-Berlin, 1930, p. 180, No. 990; (6) Painting, Ghent, St. Peter's Church; canvas, 300 : 425 cm.; prov. and lit.: see pp. 225–227; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 73.5 : 94 cm.; prov.: Sir Culling Eardley; Col. S.E. Freemantle, sale, London (Christie's), 14 June 1929, lot 37; lit.: *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953,* p. 87, under No. 75; *Elbern,* p. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78; (8) Painting, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, No. GK I 2263; panel, 53 : 83 cm.; prov.: mentioned in Schloss Charlottenburg in 1773; lit.: M. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam, et de Charlottenbourg,* Potsdam, 1773, No. 583; *Elbern, 1958,* pp. 137, 138; (9) Painting by Claudio Coello, whereabouts unknown; prov. and lit.: see p. 224, n. 3; (10) Drawing, after the lion, the fox and a column, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 20.203; 251 : 391 mm.; prov.: collection of Louis XIV, King of France; lit.: *Rooses,* V, p. 240,

No. 1457 (as related to the Achilles series); *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949,* p. 20, No. 1033; Pl. XXXII (as *Rubens*); (11) Engraving by A. Lommelin, edited by G. Hendrickx, 630 : 890 mm. (Fig. 208; *V.S.*, p. 67, No. 27). (12) (13)

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937,* No. 75; *Geneva, 1939,* No. 146.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 377, 378, No. 42; *Rooses,* I, p. 60, under No. 44; V, p. 307; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 283; E. Dillon, *Rubens,* London, 1909, Pl. CCCIV; *Beroqui, 1918,* pp. 64, 65; *K.d.K.,* p. 297; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* pp. 31–33, No. 5; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 125, 126, repr.; *Tormo,* III, p. 46, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* pp. 33, 34, No. 5; *Marqués del Saltillo, 1953,* pp. 234, 235; *Elbern,* p. 34, fig. 16; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78, fig. 38; *Scribner, 1975,* p. 524, fig. 7; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 287–290, 291, No. 1697, Pl. 188.

At the modello stage the composition took on its definitive form as seen in the tapestry. The figure of Time vindicating Truth is now present, and also the emblem of the lion killing the fox.

As already noted, it is difficult in the modello to interpret the woman and child, whom the man is attacking with a hammer, as a sculptural group. The gesture of the man grasping the woman by the hair was misunderstood by the engraver who worked from the modello, and who transformed the man's hand into a hat with ribbons (Fig. 208).

This modello is one of the best preserved of the series (Fig. 207). Apart from additions at the top and bottom it was not altered by a later hand, as Rubens himself had worked it up to a great extent in the first place. Even the columns are elaborated further than in most pieces, especially the one on the left, with tendrils and putti, which is worked out almost completely.

17c. THE VICTORY OF TRUTH OVER HERESY: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 470 : 670 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

PROVENANCE: First in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

COPIES: (1) Painting by David III Teniers, Pontevedra, Museum; canvas, 184 : 288 cm., signed and dated (illisible); prov.: see pp. 232, 233; deposit of the Prado, Madrid, 1883; lit.: *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo,* pp. 289, 417, No. 2292, Pl. 285; (2) Painting, presumably lost; prov.: Brussels, Church of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites;

? transferred in 1811 to the Parish Church of Gooik; lit.: see pp. 233–235; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Ed. Soenens, Ghent; lit.: see p. 235.

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* I, pp. 59, 60, No. 44; *Elbern,* p. 35; *Elbern, 1955,* p. 78.

The cartoon has not survived, but we can see from the tapestry that it showed some changes from the modello. The figures of Time and Truth were moved slightly to the right, so that the foot of Time no longer overlaps that of the Tanchelm figure. The monster's twisted tail can now be seen between Truth and the fleeing man. Calvin's book is larger. There are also changes in the drapery here and there.

18. THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES: TAPESTRY (Fig. 209)

Wool and silk; approximately 490 : 250 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES.F;* to the right, the mark of Hans Vervoert.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

OTHER VERSION: Jan-Frans van den Hecke (Fig. 227), whereabouts unknown (with Salomonic columns); 440 : 360 cm.; prov.: Duke of Berwick and Alba, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–20 April 1877, lot 59 (as "L'Eglise"); Baron Erlanger, Paris; exh.: *Brussels, 1880,* No. 131; lit.: *Wauters,* p. 308, No. 6 (as "L'Eglise"); *Keuller-Wauters,* pp. 21, 22, Pl. XLIX; *Rooses,* I, p. 69, under No. 52 (as "Le Dogme de l'Eucharistie confirmé par les Papes").

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* p. 14, No. 13; *Rooses,* I, p. 69, under No. 52 (as "Le Dogme de l'Eucharistie confirmé par les Papes"); *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 299–301, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 24, 60, 61, repr.; *Held, 1968,* p. 8; *Junquera, 1969,* pp. 23, 30.

The three smaller tapestries of the series (Nos. 18–20), comprising allegorical female figures and framed in an egg-and-dart decoration, have common features that distinguish them from the others. Some authors have wrongly concluded from this that they were not originally part of the series but came into being at a later date. We have refuted this view in an earlier chapter. [1]

These three pieces belong together as regards both form and content. It is probable, though not quite certain, that they were hung together on festive occasions in the church. In any case Tormo cannot have been right in thinking

that the largeſt of them, *The Succession of the Popes*, was intended to decorate the retable.[2]

This tapeſtry shows an old woman sitting on a rock and facing the ſpectator. A "Genius" hovering in the air extends to her a cord bearing portrait medals of the Popes; she passes it through both hands, and the paid-out portion is caught up by three naked putti at her feet. The Genius holds in his hand a snake biting its tail.

The sequence of medals enables us to identify the old woman as a personification of the *Successio Papalis*, the uninterrupted succession of the Popes. The theme was treated elsewhere by Rubens, e.g. in a very similar manner in the title-page of *De Kerckelycke Hiſtorie* by Dionysius Mudzaert, published in 1622 (Fig. 88):[3] here the woman ſtands holding the cord, with a child beside her and another child holding the serpent above her head. In another title-page engraving designed by Rubens, in Luitprandus's *Opera* published in 1640 (Fig. 91), the aged woman is seen attaching the ſtring of portraits to a tree-trunk.[4]

In all these cases there is no doubt as to the identity of the woman with the series of portraits. A similar figure occurs in the series of religious *Triumphs* by Otto van Veen (Fig. 74). In the chariot of the Catholic Church are three emblematic figures whose names are inſcribed on the panel: *Univerſitas* (a woman in a very wide cloak, borne by angels), *Vetuſtas* (an old woman with a veil over her head) and *Succeſſio*, a young woman pointing to the Church and holding a long feſtoon of Papal medallions which trails on to the ground beside the chariot.[5]

The concept of *Succeſſio Papalis* is closely connected with the Catholic church and its triumph over Proteſtant heresy. To the defenders of the Roman faith the uninterrupted succession of the Popes was a ſtrong proof that the Catholic Church was the only true one, while the Proteſtants denied that the Popes possessed the true apoſtolic succession. This bone of contention between the Reformation and Counter-Reformation is illuſtrated by numerous pamphlets and polemic engravings. In a typical inſtance, the True Church is opposed to the "Synagogue of Heresy" (Proteſtantism) in a print of 1585 by Richard Verſteghen. The marks of the *Ecclesia Catholica* are *Antiquitas, Succeſſio, Univerſalitas* and *Concordia;* while the *Heretica Synagoga* is marked by *Novitas, Intruſio, Particularitas* and *Diſcordia.*[6] In another pamphlet by Richard Verſteghen, *Speculum pro Chriſtianis ſeductis,*[7] the four marks of the

True Church are: *Antiquitas, Successio,* το καθολικον and *Unitas.* In both pamphlets by Verſteghen *Successio* is depicted by a long line of figures representing the Popes (Fig. 89).[8]

The serpent with its tail in its mouth, which occurs in the *Successio* tapeſtry and the Mudzaert title-page, is a received symbol of Eternity: the animal forms a circle and feeds upon itself.[9] It is found also as an attribute of Time and Saturn (Chronos). Rubens used it on several occasions, e.g. in allegorical title-pages; in one case he himself explained its significance in a letter.[10] It occurs as an attribute of Time (an old man with a beard) in *The Benefits of the Regency* in the Medici series[11] and on the front face of the Arch of Philip in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi.* Commenting on the latter, Gevartius tells us that Time with the snake biting its tail is not an emblem of deſtruction and dissolution but symbolizes "the perpetual and unbroken succession of the auguſt House of Auſtria".[12]

It is clear, therefore, that both in the present tapeſtry and in the Mudzaert title-page (Fig. 88) Rubens used the serpent as an attribute of the *Successio Papalis* to signify "the perpetual and unbroken succession" of the Vicars of Chriſt.

Rubens's two representations of the *Successio Papalis* have another point in common, the fact that the ſtring of medallions is held by one or more children. In the Mudzaert title-page this seems easy to explain: the child ſtands for the uninterrupted link between the old woman's paſt and its own future. That there are three children in the tapeſtry inſtead of one is probably due chiefly to the fact that there was more space to be filled.

The elements of the title-page composition are given more life in the tapeſtry. Inſtead of the *Successio* figure simply holding the ſtring of medallions, as she also does in Van Veen's picture (Fig. 74), the scene is animated by the genius of Eternity who entruſts her with the task of paying out the endless chain. There is a closer reminiscence here of the idea of the thread denoting life or time, e.g. in the myth of the Fates who spin man's life, measure it and cut it short.

We cannot accept Tormo's interpretation of the tapeſtry, viz. that the cord is that of St. Francis and that the piece is an *Allegory of Franciscan Asceticism and its Reward.*[13] Tormo ſuggeſts that the matron is running the cord through her fingers like a rosary, while the young angel proclaims her reward in heaven. He cannot explain the portraits of Popes and prelates, however, except by ſuggeſting that they may be Popes who were Franciscan Tertiaries.

It should finally be noted that Panofsky's identification of the modello at San Diego (see below, No. 18b) as an *Allegory of Eternity* cannot be applied to the tapestry without further question, as there is an important difference between the two works: the medallions with Popes' heads that are the most significant feature of the *Successio* in the tapestry are missing in the modello, where their place is taken by roses (Fig. 210). We shall revert to this in discussing the modello.

1 See above, pp. 42–45.

2 See above, p. 102.

3 D. Mudzaert, *De Kerckelycke Historie van de Gheboorte onses Heeren Iesu Christi tot het tegenwoordich Iaer M.DCXXII, Inhoudende den Oorspronck, het Veruolgh ende den tegenwoordighen Standt der H.R. Kercke: de Successie der Pausen, den opganck ende val der Ketteren...*, Antwerp, 1622; see *Evers, 1943*, fig. 93.

4 *Luitprandi Subdiaconi Toletani Ticinensis Diaconi Tandem Cremonensis Episcopi Opera quae extant*, Antwerp, 1640; see *Evers, 1943*, fig. 127.

5 Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No. 810 (on Van Veen's series see p. 200, n. 117); these three figures – *Successio* with the medals, *Vetustas* and *Universitas* with her wide cloak – also appear, without the identifying inscription, seated in another chariot in the same series (Inv. No. 811).

6 E. Marcks, *Das Zeitalter der religiösen Umwalzung, Reformation und Gegenreformation, 1500-1660*, in *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte*, ed. by W. Goetz, Berlin, 1930, figs. on pp. 272, 273.

7 R. Versteghen, *Speculum Pro Christianis Seductis*, Antwerp, 1590; only one copy is known, in the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.

8 Knipping enumerates three ways of expressing *The Succession of the Popes:* firstly a series of Popes, secondly a procession, and thirdly the woman with medallions. The example he gives of the last type, viz. the illustration in Hazart's *Triomph der Pausen*, is a copy after the Mudzaert title-page mentioned above (*Knipping*, II, pp. 171, 172).

9 See e.g. E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1955, p. 154, n. 28; *de Tervarent*, II, cols. 346-349, s.v. *Serpent en forme de cercle;* A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1967, cols. 652-657.

10 Referring to the snake worn by *Politica* as a necklace on the title-page designed by him for Frederik de Marselaer's *Legatus*, Rubens says in a letter that it represents *Aeternitas* (*Rooses*, V, pp. 98, 99). The symbol also figures among the emblematic elements surrounding the portrait of Olivares illustrating Luitprandus's *Opera* (see H.F. Bouchery and F. Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Huis*, Antwerp-Utrecht, 1941, fig. 95), and below the pedestal on which Julius Caesar is seated on the title-page of H. Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (*Evers, 1943*, fig. 125).

11 *K.d.K.*, p. 257.

12 C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus honori Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi...*, Antwerp, 1642, p. 26; *Martin, Pompa*, p. 70, fig. 16.

13 *Törmo*, III, p. 60.

18a. THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES: BOZZETTO

Oil on panel; approximately 17 : 8.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

The bozzetto in question is not known to exist, and we therefore cannot tell whether it depicted the *Successio Papalis* or corresponded to the modello (see below), which shows the same composition as the tapestry but differs from it in symbolism.

18b. THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES: MODELLO (Fig. 210)

Oil on panel; 66 : 34 cm.

San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery.

PROVENANCE: According to Smith *(loc. cit.)* "in the possession of a printseller for sale, 1835"; Count Wladimir Bariatinsky, St. Petersburg; sale of works of art from the Soviet-Union, with the Stroganoff Collection, Berlin (Lepke), 12 May 1931, lot 73 (repr.), purchased by Blumenreich and Benedict, Berlin; Van Diemen and C°, Berlin, sale, Berlin (Graupe), 25 January 1935, lot 51 (repr.; as *Allegorie auf die Geschichte der Päpste*); ? C. Bareiss, Salach (1938); F. Stern, New York (1942); Jacob Heimann, New York (1946); ? Zinser, New York (1947); presented in 1947 to the Fine Arts Gallery at San Diego by Anne and Amy Putnam.

EXHIBITED: *Rubenstentoonstelling,* J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1933 (not mentioned in the catalogue); *Masterpieces of Art,* New York World's Fair, New York, 1940, No. 64; *Peter Paul Rubens,* Schaeffer and Brandt, Inc., New York, 1942, No. 25 (as *Allegory of Eternity*); *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck,* Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, 1946, No. 36 (repr.; as *Allegory of Time*); *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections,* The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. – The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956, No. 46 (as *Allegory of Eternity*).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* IX, p. 319, No. 271 (as *The Origin and Destination of Man*); G.F. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserl. Ermitage zu St. Petersburg nebst Bemerkungen über andere dortige Kunstsammlungen,* Munich, 1864, p. 436 (as *Verschiedene Kinder*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 98 (as *Enfants*); H. Möhle, *Versteigerungen, Berlin, Kunstchronik und Kunstliteratur, Beilage zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* LXV, 1931–32, p. 10, repr. (as *Parze*); *Art News and Notes,*

Apollo XIII, 1931, p. 268, repr. p. 269 (as *Garland of Roses*); C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam, The Burlington Magazine,* LXI, 1933, p. 230, pl. 1b; ? *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1940,* p. 31, No. 12; *Valentiner,* p. 167, No. 127; ? *Van Puyvelde, Sketches,* p. 33, No. 12; Julia Gethman Andrews, *A Catalogue of European Paintings,* San Diego, 1947, p. 113, repr.; *Goris-Held,* p. 35, No. 59, pl. 52 (as *Allegory of Eternity ?*); *Larsen,* p. 219, No. 100; *The Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, Catalogue,* San Diego, 1960, pp. 38, 43, repr.; *Held, 1968,* p. 8, fig. 6; J.S. Held, *Some Rubens Drawings – Unknown or Neglected, Master Drawings,* XII, 1974, p. 258, n. 11.

The modello shows, in reverse, the composition as it was later executed in the tapestry, with the important exception that the cord held by the old woman and children is not decorated with the heads of Popes but with roses. [1] This presents an iconographical problem to which different solutions have been advanced. The matter is not simplified by the fact that for a long time the connection between the tapestry and the sketch was not perceived, and most authors described one or the other but not both. Smith, who wrote about the modello only, entitled it "The Origin and Destination of Man". In Waagen's account of Prince Bariatinsky's collection it is referred to as *Several Children.* Rooses took over this description but was unable to connect the sketch with the tapestry, which he called *"Le Dogme de l'Eucharistie confirmé par les Papes".* In 1931 the panel was sold at Berlin under the meaningless title of *The Rosary.* [2] H. Möhle thought it represented one of the Fates with the thread of life, and that it was one of Rubens's sketches for the Henry IV cycle.

Only when the sketch was exhibited by J. Goudstikker at Amsterdam in 1933 did its connection with the tapestry at the Descalzas become generally realized. [3] L. Burchard knew of the connection and the fact that the tapestry included the motif of the Popes's heads. By comparing the sketch with the similar design for the title-page of Mudzaert's *Kerckelycke Historie* of 1622, discussed under No. 18 above, he was able to give an approximate explanation of the former. He interpreted the old woman as *Kerckelycke Historie (The History of the Church),* and entitled the sketch *An Allegory of Papal History.* [4]

Panofsky gave a full account of the modello at San Diego and came to the conclusion that the old woman was a symbol of Eternity. Ripa indeed describes *Aeternitas* as an old woman in a veil, having as her attribute a snake coiled in a circle. According to Panofsky the string of roses represents human life, and the three children stand for the past, present and future: this, he suggests, explains why there are no roses on the lowest part of the thread (the past),

while the upper part runs on towards Eternity and the *genius* of Eternity, i.e. Time.[5]

This explanation of course takes no account of the fact that the allegory is not self-contained but is part of the Eucharist series. The interpretation of the three children also seems to us rather far-fetched. It is true, however, that the idea of Eternity is unmistakably present in the sketch and that it also alludes to the transience of human life. Emblem books mention as interrelated symbols the rose and the snake biting its tail, illustrating the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul (Fig. 211).[6]

The sketch presents a curious problem in that its composition agrees with the final tapestry but its subject does not. The tapestry undoubtedly represents the *Succession of the Popes,* while the modello makes no allusion to the Popes at all. Two explanations may be tentatively suggested. The first is that Rubens originally intended an allegory of eternity in relation to the Church or the Eucharist: this he executed in the modello (and perhaps the bozzetto also), but later he decided to deal more specifically with the succession of the Popes. A rather similar change of subject took place in another of the three allegorical pieces, where the bozzetto depicted *Universalitas* and the final version *Caritas:* see below, Nos. 20, 20a. This explanation, however, is not wholly satisfactory.

As an alternative it may be suggested that Rubens intended a *Successio Papalis* from the outset but omitted to include the medallions at the modello stage, or did so only in a schematic fashion, and later himself painted in the roses instead. However, there is nothing in the San Diego sketch to suggest that it was painted in two stages.

1 Another difference is that the snake's head and tail cannot be discerned, so that it looks like a plain ring in the Genius's hand. This, however, does not seem to affect the significance of the attribute, discussed under No. 18 above.

2 "A Garland of Roses", *Art News, loc. cit.*

3 C. Norris, *loc. cit.*

4 Manuscript note, used in the catalogue of the Van Diemen sale, 1935.

5 Panofsky's interpretation was published in the catalogue of the Rubens exhibition held by Schaeffer and Brandt, New York, 1942, and again in the catalogue of the exhibition of Rubens's drawings and oil sketches at Cambridge, Mass., and New York in 1956 (*loc. cit.*).

6 The two symbols are treated jointly in the books by Bartolomeus Anulus (Barthélemy Aneau), Gabriel Rollenhagen and Sebastián de Covarrubias (A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts,* Stuttgart, 1974, col. 654). Anulus's version speaks of a snake biting its tail and coiled around

a rose-branch on which are two buds and two fading roses. The poet says that his father's name is Anulus (ring) and his mother's Rosa: the ring stands for the snake and for eternity, the rose (which blooms and withers on the same day) for the transience of life. He has adopted the double symbol, he explains, because he consists of a mortal body and an immortal soul.

18c. THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 490 : 250 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

As explained in the description of the modello, important changes must have taken place at the cartoon stage, when the roses were replaced by the medallions with the heads of Popes.

19. HISTORIOGRAPHY: TAPESTRY (Fig. 214)

Wool and silk; approximately 260 : 200 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels; to the right, the mark of Jacob Geubels.

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

EXHIBITED: *Barcelona, 1952* (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Tormo, 1942*, pp. 16, 301, repr.; *Tormo*, III, pp. 24, 62, repr.; *Junquera, 1969*, pp. 23, 30.

A young woman, seated on a chair, is writing in a large book held on one knee; she looks over her shoulder at a dove. Her right foot rests on a square stone. A cherub beside her holds an inkstand.

Among Ripa's various representations of *History* is one which describes her as a winged female dressed in white, writing in a book supported on the shoulders of Saturn; she looks behind her, and her left foot is placed on a square stone.[1] The woman in the present tapestry answers this description to a sufficient extent, though she has no wings and Saturn (Chronos) is absent.

The identification with *History*, or rather *Historiography*, is supported by the fact that a similar figure is found in engraved title-pages of some works of history or with historical bearing. On the title-page of Mudzaert's *Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 88; mentioned above under No. 18), opposite the personification of the *Successio Papalis*, is a woman standing with averted head, pointing to a book inscribed *Veritas Vincit*. Her foot rests not on a cube or square stone but on three volumes of Scripture entitled *Lex, Prophetae* and *Gratia*. An angel above her holds a burning torch and points upward to a figure representing the Church, or to the dove. The torch probably symbolizes the light of truth, and the composition as a whole stands for History, and in particular church history.

In other cases we find a seated woman with a book and a torch, whom there is good reason for identifying as Historiography. In Rubens's title-page for Haraeus's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae* (1623) History is shown with a book on her knee, holding a terrestrial globe and a torch. Cherubs display to her an unfolded scroll, and two others stand beside her with the attributes of fame (a trumpet) and time or eternity (a serpent biting its tail).[2] Definitely a personification of History, in our opinion, is the figure on the title-page of Luitprandus's *Opera* (Fig. 91; mentioned above under No. 18): a woman writing in a book and holding a torch, with a phoenix perched on a globe. Besides these designs of Rubens's we may also quote the title-page of the January volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* (Fig. 92).[3] It should be noted, however, that the motif of the torch and globe as it occurs in these book-titles does not appear in the present tapestry but in its pendant, the third allegorical composition (No. 20).

Both the bozzetto and the later versions of the present work include the religious motifs of the dove and the cherub with the inkstand. The dove represents the Holy Spirit imparting heavenly inspiration to the writer, as it does in numerous pictures of Evangelists, Fathers of the Church and saints.[4] Church Fathers and Doctors especially are shown writing at the dictation of the Spirit,[5] e.g. Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas.[6] The cherub with the inkstand is related to the angel usually portrayed with St. Matthew the Evangelist.

Although there are reasons for thinking that Rubens's scene is a personification of ecclesiastical history, this is not the only possibility. Books and writing may symbolize various arts, sciences and related ideas, such as Grammar,

Aſtrology, Poetry, the Muses, Philosophy, Theology, Religion, Fame, Juſtice, Wisdom, Prudence, Truth and Eloquence. [7]

According to Ripa, Hiſtory places one foot on a square ſtone to signify that she muſt always take a firm ſtand and not be influenced by any party. [8] However, a square ſtone or cube may have a more general meaning. G. de Tervarent ſtates, with examples, that it can denote anything in the human mind that is ſtable and serves as a base, such as Virtue, Truth, Knowledge and Doctrine. The cube is the antithesis of Fortune's ball. [9] Rubens gave a significance of this kind to the square base on which *Politica* ſtands in the title-page for Frederik de Marselaer's *Legatus*: as he himself wrote, it symbolizes ſtable government. [10] The square ſtone in the present tapeſtry may represent Truth, in which case the woman ſtands for Hiſtoriography, or, e.g., Doctrine, in which case she can perhaps be identified as Theology, writing under divine inspiration and basing herself on the true doctrine.

The allegory of Theology, however, is seldom depicted, and its iconography is somewhat variable. [11] An important early example is Raphael's *Theology* on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura: a woman with a wreath of flowers in her hair, holding a book in one hand and pointing down with the other. [12] Ripa describes Theology as a woman with to faces, one looking towards heaven and the other towards the earth, and with a wheel as her attribute. [13] Rubens depicted her with a wheel in his title-page for the *Biblia Sacra* published in 1617: she is there seen ſtanding on a square pedeſtal, with a burning torch in each hand, and a triangular diadem, while the Dove hovers above her head. The wheel is behind her; she has two oil lamps, and a number of books at her feet. [14] The fact that both the dove and the diadem figure in this scene and also in the bozzetto for the present tapeſtry perhaps goes to support the hypothesis that the latter's subject is Theology.

To sum up, there is no absolute certainty as to the subject, and authors have expressed different views. The modello is often entitled "Inspiration". [15] Tormo thought the principal figure was an allegory of the divine sciences, and called the tapeſtry *Holy Wisdom Inspired by God.* [16] Müller Hofſtede proposed the title *Theology* (*Gottesgelehrtheit*), [17] and Burchard suggeſted various possibilities such as *Church Hiſtory, Inspiration* and *Divine Revelation.*

[1] C. Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des Verſtands...*, Amſterdam, 1644, pp. 200, 201.

[2] F. Haraeus, *Annales Ducum seu Principum Brabantiae Totiusque Belgii*, Antwerp, 1623 (*Evers, 1943*, fig. 91).

[3] *Acta Sanctorum, Quotquot toto orbe coluntur..., Januarius,* I, Antwerp, 1643. History is represented by the woman with a pen in her hand, looking round at a book held up to her by cherubs. She is accompanied by *Eruditio* (with the motto *"antiqua reduco"*), who rescues the past from oblivion, and *Veritas* (with the motto *"obscura revelo"*), who discovers secrets and reflects light in a mirror.

[4] W. Braunfels in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* II, col. 228, s.v. *Heiliger Geist.*

[5] G. Jászai in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* II, col. 345, s.v. *Inspiration.*

[6] *Réau,* III (III), pp. 611, 1278.

[7] *De Tervarent,* II, cols. 248-252, s.v. *Livre.*

[8] He explains that "her foot rests on a square stone, because History must always stand fast and not allow herself to be bought or subjugated by one party or another, by lies or by self-seeking." (C. Ripa, *op. cit.,* p. 201).

[9] "La vertu, la vérité, la science, tout ce qui dans l'esprit de l'homme est solide, peut servir de base" (*de Tervarent,* I, cols. 136, 137, s.v. *cube*).

[10] "...forma quadrata stabilitatem Imperii designans" (*Rooses,* V, pp. 98, 99).

[11] For the depiction of Theology see *Van Marle, Art Profane,* II, p. 264; *Knipping,* I, p. 48; *Timmers,* p. 740, Nos. 1711-1712.

[12] Depicted in the ceiling over the *Disputa* in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican; see L. Dussler, *Raphael, A Critical Catalogue of his Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries,* London-New York, 1971, fig. 120. For the iconography of this figure see also E.H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images (Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,* II), London-New York, 1972, pp. 85 ff, figs. 68, 69.

[13] "For just as the wheel touches the earth only with its lower edge, yet still moves constantly onward, in the same way a true theologian must direct his mind towards knowledge in such a way as to proceed steadily and avoid confusion" (C. Ripa, *op. cit.,* p. 175).

[14] *Biblia Sacra,* Tournai, 1617 (*Evers, 1943,* fig. 78); a seated woman with the same attributes occurs in the title-page, designed by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, for M. Boudewyns, *Ventilabrum Medico-Theologicum,* Antwerp, 1666.

[15] *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 910; Catalogues of the sales Wells (1848) and Hess (1931), see under No. 19b, "Provenance".

[16] "Figura alegórica de las ciencias divinales" and "La sabiduría sagrada divinamente inspirada" (*Tormo,* III, p. 62); this title was taken over by *Junquera, 1969, loc. cit.,* and also by Held, who calls it *Sacred Wisdom* (*Held,* 1968, p. 8) or *Sacred Science* (*Ibid.,* fig. 11).

[17] J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch,* N.F. 2, 1969, p. 204, fig. 14.

19a. HISTORIOGRAPHY: BOZZETTO (Fig. 212)

Oil on panel; 8.6 : 6.8 cm.

Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts. No. 519.

PROVENANCE: Verbelen, Brussels; purchased from the latter in 1841.

COPY: Right half of a drawing (Fig. 213), Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; brown ink, reinforced with red chalk, 97 : 175 mm.

LITERATURE: *Held, 1968,* p. 13, fig. 11; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch,* N.F. 2, 1969, p. 204; [L. Pion and I. Pion-Leblanc],*Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tournai. Catalogue des Peintures et Sculptures,* Tournai, 1971, p. 78, No. 519.

The bozzetto, which was discovered and published by J.S. Held, differs considerably from the modello. The woman is seen de face and looking straight forward. She writes on a scroll of paper, the end of which is held by a cherub beside her. Another difference is that in the bozzetto the scene is situated in the clouds.

19b. HISTORIOGRAPHY: MODELLO (Fig. 215)

Oil on panel; 36 : 28.5 cm. (at some time enlarged to 44.5 : 36.5 cm., but restored to its original dimensions in 1928).

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Jacob de Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747, lot 47 ("Een schryvende Santinne daar een Kind den inkt vast houd, door dito [P.P. Rubbens], h. 17 d., br. 14 d."), purchased by De Groot; De Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 11, purchased by Abels; Chrétien-François Prévost, sale, Brussels, 20 July 1775, lot 1 ("Rubens, La Religion. Une Sybille la représente assise dans un fauteuil ayant sur ses genoux un livre dans lequel elle écrit ce que le St. Esprit, descendu des cieux dans une gloire rayonnée, lui inspire. Un ange la fixant avec attention tient l'écritoire. Panneau H. 16 po., L. 13 po."); ? sale, Paris, 7 March 1785, lot 95; William Wells, Redleaf, sale, London (Christie's), 12 May 1848 *et seqq.*, lot 64, bought by Lord Monteagle; James Marshall, Atkinson Ground, sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 May 1928, lot 125, purchased by P. and D. Colnaghi; Leo Blumenreich, Berlin (1929); Fritz Hess, Berlin, sale, Lucerne (Cassirer and Fischer), 1 September 1931, lot 12 (repr.), withdrawn.

COPY: Drawing, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; black chalk on brown paper, 323 : 248 mm.

LITERATURE: G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van Schilderijen...,* II, The Hague, 1752, p. 204, No. 47; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 269, 270, No. 910; *Held, 1968,*

pp. 8, 13; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch,* N.F. 2, 1969, p. 204, fig. 14.

In the modello Rubens made some basic changes in the composition. The woman is now in profile, with one leg crossed over the other. [1]

[1] Müller Hofstede (*loc. cit.*) believed that this motif was borrowed from Michelangelo's Erythraean Sibyl.

19c. HISTORIOGRAPHY: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 260 : 200 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

Nothing is known of the cartoon. As there is practically no difference between the composition of the modello and that of the tapestry, we may assume that the cartoon resembled the modello in all respects.

20. CHARITY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD: TAPESTRY (Fig. 216)

Wool and silk; approximately 270 : 200 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels and *IAN. RAES.F.*

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales.

LITERATURE: *Descripción,* p. 11, No. 10; *Rooses,* I, p. 61; *Mesonero Romanos,* p. 251; *Tormo, 1942,* pp. 16, 301, repr.; *Tormo,* III, pp. 24, 63, repr.; *Held, 1968,* p. 8; *Junquera, 1969,* pp. 23, 30.

In this third allegorical scene a young woman sits in front of a dark rocky wall, suckling a child that lies on its back in her lap. She holds a burning torch over a globe beside her. Two naked boys seek protection at her feet. The motif of the woman surrounded by children recalls *Caritas* as she is frequently represented, but the globe presents difficulties. Tormo thought the scene was an

Allegory of Charity Enlightened by Dogma,[1] while Burchard wrote of the modello that the torch symbolized the enlightenment of pre-Christian Caritas by the institution of the Eucharist.[2] Neither interpretation seems to us very convincing.

The torch illuminating the world undoubtedly symbolizes the bringing or spreading of the light of truth, by which may be intended e.g. the truth of History or Faith. The torch and globe have this significance in the two title-pages designed by Rubens which we mentioned above (No. 19); the *Annales Ducum Brabantiæ* of F. Haraeus and the *Opera* of Luitprandus (Fig. 91). In both these cases they are attributes of a personification of Historiography.

The connection with *Caritas* is harder to establish. However, from ancient times fire was used as an attribute of love, and it came to denote either profane love or Caritas; in the Italian Renaissance it frequently symbolized *Caritas Dei.*[3] At that period, instead of a torch we find a horn of plenty or a chalice, a vase or a bowl containing flames. Later motifs are a blazing heart or a figure whose head is surmounted or surrounded by flames.[4] A burning torch is, however, used several times to symbolize love in Rubens's *Triumph of Divine Love* (No. 13; Fig. 171).

The composition of the tapestry differs considerably from that of the bozzetto as we know it from the drawn copy in Brunswick (Fig. 213). The latter shows a woman sitting in the clouds, holding a torch in one hand and resting the other on a globe in her lap. There are no children in the scene, but a cherub with an oil lamp flies towards the woman from behind. The theme is thus not *Caritas,* but the spreading of light throughout the world. This is even clearer in the bozzetto than in the tapestry. The cherub lighting his lamp by the torch in order to carry enlightenment far and wide is a well-known motif of which many unmistakable examples could be given. Rubens's title-page of 1623 for the *Generale Kerckelijcke Historie* of Baronius, Spondanus and Rosweydus (Fig. 90) shows cherubs lighting oil lamps and torches from a large torch held by the seated figure of the Church, so as to bring light to heretics and pagans.[5]

Exactly the same motif occurs in a later title-page designed by Abraham van Diepenbeeck for the *Kerckelyke Historie van de Gheheele Werelt* by Cornelis Hazart (Fig. 93),[6] where cherubs carry the light of the true Church and the true Faith to all peoples of the world. This is made clear by the inscription on the title-page: "Waerachtigh Licht twelck verlicht alle menschen Io. 1", "Wij

hebben all ontfanghen van syne volheyt Io. 1", and "Gaat snelle Engelen tot t'verwoeſt volck Is. 24".[7]

It is difficult to be certain of the symbolic meaning of either the bozzetto or the tapeſtry. It seems possible that the three allegorical scenes of the series (Nos. 18–20) have to do with the marks or characteriſtics of the True Church. As we saw, the *Successio Papalis* is one of these and occurs in other programmes with the same meaning.[8] The woman in the bozzetto may, it seems to us, denote *Universalitas* or some similar idea: inſtead of the all-enfolding cloak that we find in Otto Van Veen (Fig. 74), the universality and unity of the Church are depicted, in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, by the metaphor of the spreading of light.

In the modello and the tapeſtry the idea of universality is clearly expressed by the globe, but the meaning of the scene has shifted. We may suppose that Rubens made the woman a symbol of Caritas giving suck on account of the association with the Euchariſt as spiritual food. The spreading of the true Faith also means the spreading throughout the world of *Caritas Dei,* the Euchariſt and the means of salvation.

The image of the world set on fire by faith is frequent in the Counter-Reformation. St. Ignatius Loyola told his followers to "set fire to the world", and according to Mâle his command relates to both Faith and Caritas.[9] There is probably a direct allusion to this in the title-page, designed by Abraham van Diepenbeeck, of the Centenary Yearbook of the Jesuit Province of the Netherlands, where a woman, representing the *Societas Jesu,* holds a globe over a burning altar; Knipping describes this as a figure of the teaching of Chriſt which is to inflame the whole earth (cf. Luke 12:49).[10]

1 "Alegoría de la Caridad iluminada por el Dogma" (*Tormo, 1942,* p. 301); adopted in *Junquera, 1969, loc. cit.*

2 Letter from Burchard to T.P. Grange, 23 November 1956: "Your sketch... represents *Charity* with three children seated next to a globe and holding with her left hand a flaming torch which illuminates the darkness, thus pointing to the dogma that pre-Chriſtian charity has been enlightened by the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt."

3 M. Boskovits - M. Wellershoff in *Lexikon chriſtl. Ikon.,* cols. 350–351, fig. 1, s.v. *Caritas.*

4 *Ibid.,* col. 352. Ripa indicates both possibilities: "hebbende boven op 't hoofd een brandende vlamme Viers" (C. Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldingen des Verſtands...,* Amſterdam, 1643, p. 292); "houdende in de rechter hand een brandend herte" (*Ibid.,* p. 293). *Caritas* has a blazing fire above her head in Wierix's engraving after Jacob de Backer's *Triumph of the New Law.*

[5] C. Baronius, H. Spondanus and H. Rosweydus, *Generale Kerckelycke Hiſtorie van de Gheboorte onses H. Iesu Chriſti tot het Iaer M.DC.XXIV*, Antwerp, 1623; *Evers, 1943*, fig. 96.

[6] C. Hazart, *Kerckelycke Hiſtorie van de gheheele Werelt Naemelyck vande voorgaende ende Teghenwoordige Eeuwe*, Antwerp, 1667.

[7] The first two quotations are from John 1:9 ("That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world") and 1:16 ("of his fullness have all we received"). I have not been able to trace the third.

[8] For the marks of the True Church see *Knipping*, I, pp. 156, 157.

[9] *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente*, p. 442.

[10] *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerſte eeuwe der Societeyt Iesu*, Antwerp, 1640; see *Knipping*, II, pp. 142, 143, n. 1. This composition was copied and used several times around portraits of Popes in C. Hazart, *Triomph der Pausen van Roomen...*, Antwerp, I-III, 1678-81; reproduction in *Knipping*, II, p. 142, fig. 96.

20a. THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE WORLD: BOZZETTO

Oil on panel; approximately 8.6 : 6.8 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably loſt.

COPY: Left half of a drawing (Fig. 213), Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; brown ink, partly reinforced with red chalk, 97 : 175 mm.

The bozzetto for the tapeſtry which we have called *Charity Enlightening the World* has not survived, but is reproduced in a drawn copy at Brunswick (Fig. 213) together with its pendant, *Hiſtoriography* (No. 19a). As explained in the discussion of the tapeſtry, the bozzetto differs from it in important reſpects. The sketch shows a woman seated in the clouds, holding a torch and reſting her other hand on a globe on her knee. A cherub flies up to behind her with an oil lamp. We have discussed the symbolism under No. 20. The main idea is that of universality, a mark of the True Church, and of the enlightenment of the whole world. Cherubs with oil lamps are found in similar allegorical compositions by Rubens and Abraham van Diepenbeeck (Figs. 90, 93).

20b. CHARITY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD: MODELLO (Fig. 217)

Oil on panel; 36.8 : 29.4 cm.

Amherſt, Amherſt College.

PROVENANCE: ? François Boucher, sale, Paris, 18 February 1771, *et seqq.*, lot 14 ("Un autre Tableau sur bois de 15 pouces 6 lignes, sur 11 pouces 6 lignes: il repréſente

une femme & trois enfants, par *Jacques Jordaens*"); ? Tronchin, sale, Paris, 12 January 1780, lot 32; Le Brun, sale, Paris, 11 April 1791, lot 78 ("P.P. Rubens. La Fécondité représentée par une femme, et trois enfants éclairés au flambeau. Le tableau vient de la vente de F. Boucher, n° 14 – Hauteur 15 pouces 6 lignes; largeur 11 pouces 6 lignes. Bois".); Brian, sale, Paris, 12 December 1808, lot 104 ("Rubens. Une belle Femme, tenant un Flambeau de la main gauche, ayant sur ses genoux un Enfant auquel elle sourit; deux autres Enfants sont auprès d'elle. Une brillante couleur, un effet piquant se font remarquer dans cette production. Haut 12 po. Larg. 8. Bois"); Count Louis d'Ursel, Oostkamp, Belgium (1956); T.P. Grange, London (1956); Thomas Agnew and Sons, London (1960); purchased from them in 1961 by Amherst College.

COPY: Painting, Walter C. Koerner, Vancouver (Canada); panel, 25.4 : 20.3 cm.

EXHIBITED: Mount Holyoke College, 1965 (not numbered); Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., 1966 (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Held, 1968*, pp. 8, 21, n. 24, fig. 7.

The modello corresponds to the tapestry in all respects. Rubens left space around the composition for the "framing", a design of beads and egg-and-dart ornamentation, which is not worked out in detail in the sketch.

There exists more than one version of this composition which lays claim to authenticity, and this raises problems of identification, especially as we know them only from photographs or illustrations. Two panels are known for certain: the one at Amherst, and a smaller one in a private collection in Canada. In 1927 a panel was in the Bergsten collection at Stockholm and was reproduced in the catalogue; its dimensions were given as 32.5 : 24 cm.[1] It is not quite clear whether this was a third panel or is identical with the Amherst one, to which the reproduction bears a strong resemblance. There are some variations of detail, but these may be due to "restoration" (especially over-painting) of the panel. The existence of several versions makes it difficult to ascertain the provenance of the Amherst panel; it can be traced with certainty only as far back as Count d'Ursel's collection. The 18th and 19th century references quoted above seem compatible with the subject of *Charity Enlightening the World*, but it is of course impossible to be certain which version is referred to.

In 1956 the modello was presented to L. Burchard, and he established the connection between the panel, then in a Belgian private collection, and the tapestry at the Descalzas. He wrongly supposed, however, that the three "personifications"—*The Succession of the Popes, Charity Enlightening the*

World and *Historiography*—were not part of the original series, and in consequence he assigned the sketches to too late a date in relation to these compositions.

[1] K. Madsen, in: *Catalogue de la Collection de M. & Mme Karl Bergsten*, Stockholm, 1925, No. 41, repr., as *Ecole de Rubens (Théodore van Thulden ?)*.

20c. CHARITY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD: CARTOON

Oil on canvas; approximately 270 : 200 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Palace, Brussels, first in the possession of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

The cartoon has not survived, but it must have been an exact reproduction of the modello to the scale of the tapestry, as there are no differences between the latter.

21. THE TRIUMPH OF HOPE: BOZZETTO (Fig. 220)

Oil on panel; 16.2 : 20.3 cm.

New York, Richard L. Feigen & C°.

PROVENANCE: Victor Wolfvoet, Antwerp (1612 – 23 October 1652); Inventory of his estate, 24–26 October 1652: "No. 424. Een schetsken van Rubens daer engelkens in een schipken varen op panneel in ebben lystken"; Samuel Woodburn, London, purchased from the latter by the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, 29 September 1825; the Rev. R.E. Kerrich, the latter's son; Albert Hartshorne, grandson of the Rev. Thomas Kerrich; bequeathed by him in 1910 to his cousin, Mrs. Wyatt; Oliver E.P. Wyatt, the latter's son, sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 April 1967, lot 13 (repr.), purchased by Weitzner; David Koetser, Zurich (c. 1968); Brod Gallery, London; Dr. A.B. Ashby, London, who lent it to the Ferens Art Gallery, Kingston-upon-Hull; Dr. Michael Ashby, London, Sale, London (Sotheby's), 11 December 1974, lot 29, repr.

LITERATURE: *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 150; *Held, 1968*, pp. 13, 21, n. 31; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch*, N.F. 2, 1969, pp. 202–205, fig. 13; J. Thuiller en J. Foucart, *Rubens, La Galerie Médicis au Palais du Luxembourg*, Milan-Paris, 1969, p. 90; *Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions, The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, p. 353; *Scribner, 1975*, p. 524, n. 18, p. 525.

A ship is sailing away at an oblique angle in a greenish, billowing sea. It is rowed by large angels (who, strangely enough, are facing the prow and not the stern), while smaller ones are busy with the sails. On the poop is a winged female figure, with one hand on the tiller and a cluster of flowering branches in the other. She is dressed in white and her head is encircled by a golden nimbus.

The scene is depicted on a "tapestry" hung asymmetrically in a Tuscan architectural setting, and fastened to the architrave more or less centrally between the columns. One column can be seen on the left; on the right there are two, hidden for the most part by the "tapestry", so that only the capitals and bases are seen.

This subject does not appear in the final tapestry series. As we have explained, Rubens altered his programme at the modello stage and substituted for this scene *Abraham and Melchizedek.*[1] This could be deduced from the exact similarity of the asymmetrical "framing" elements, from the second modello for *Abraham and Melchizedek* onwards (No. 7c). Of the present subject, only the bozzetto is known.

The small sketch, which we were able to examine shortly before it was sold in London in December 1974, has been preserved in good condition: this applies both to the architectonic framing with its "golden" highlights and to the composition itself. The edges have, however, been reworked so as to enlarge the panel somewhat. A strip measuring 10–11 mm has been added on the right, where the composition (the folds of the "tapestry") has been extended with thickly applied paint. The remaining edges, which were originally unpainted, have also been covered with dark paint, and on these three sides small strips of wood, 3–4 mm in breadth, have been attached to the panel beneath the frame.[2]

The meaning of the allegory in the panel is not altogether clear. In 1652, when the inventory of Victor Wolfsvoet's pictures was compiled, no title was given to the present work and it was simply described as "angels in a boat".[3] In the two sales in which it has appeared in recent years it was entitled *The Triumph of Hope,* which agrees with the mention in the handwritten inventory of Thomas Kerrich's collection.

Critics have proposed different interpretations. Held was not quite convinced by the identification of the subject in the catalogues, and wondered whether "the winged and haloed figure" was really that of Hope.[4] Müller Hofstede

accepted the title *The Triumph of Hope,* quoting various earlier representations of Hope and symbols in emblematic literature,[5] particularly the boat, the woman's wings and the branches in her outstretched hand. We shall discuss these points in detail, but while they are interesting and correct as far as they go, each of the attributes is capable of a different interpretation and we do not think the matter can be regarded as proven. It should also be remarked that Hope's traditional attribute, the anchor, is nowhere to be seen.

To begin with, the fact that the woman is winged does not give us much to go on. Wings suggest what is fleeting or elusive: they are found as attributes of Fortune, Time, Victory, Peace, Memory, and also of Hope because it does not remain with man constantly but periodically vanishes.[6]

The branches in the woman's hand are of more value for identification. The plant is one with small pointed flowers, which to all appearances are lilies. The lily is the traditional attribute of Mary, virginity, chastity and purity,[7] but is not found as a symbol of Hope in Netherlandish painting. In Italian art, however, Hope is represented with a flowering branch[8] which in some cases is certainly a lily.[9] Moreover, the lily is expressly mentioned as an attribute of Hope by Ripa. He explains that all flowers give promise of fruit and do not disappoint our hopes, and that the lily, being the fairest flower, must naturally afford more hope than any other.[10]

The present figure of Hope may be related to a humanistic representation which was used by Rubens himself (Fig. 218) and previously by Otto Van Veen, based on the figure of *Spes* on Roman imperial coins: a woman advancing, holding a sprig in one hand and lifting the corner of her dress with the other (to denote that Hope is transient or in haste).[11] In antiquity Hope did not signify a virtue but rather the expectation of a benifit, especially that of public prosperity (*Spes publica* or *Spes Felicitatis Orbis*). This explains why it figures on coins struck by Roman emperors at the beginning of their reign (Fig. 219).[12]

However, the fact that the present figure is winged and holds lilies in her hand is a departure from the classical representation of *Spes* in other works by Rubens. He may have chosen to depict actual blossoms in this case because the Eucharist represented the realisation of man's hope of felicity.

The ship was often regarded as a symbol of Hope, as it conveys mariners to a safe haven. In the late medieval "new iconography" a ship was depicted over the head of personifications of Hope,[13] and other examples can be found

in emblem-books.[14] However, a ship may have other related meanings. In Rubens we find it, *inter alia,* as an attribute carried under the arm of *Felicitas;*[15] other artists used it to accompany the figure of Confidence or, more frequently, Fortune.[16]

The ship as we find it in the bozzetto, i.e. not as an attribute but as an actual vessel with a crew on board, is also a very frequent symbol, expressing the idea of a community being steered to a safe haven by a trusted helmsman—the helm being the symbol of government. A familiar theme is that of the Ship of State, with the monarch at the helm, and its counterpart the Ship of the Church. Rubens's painting in the Medici series, *The Majority of Louis XIII,* shows the young king at the helm of a vessel representing France.[17] *The ship of the Church,* or the Barque of Peter, appears in innumerable variants; the steersman is Christ, St. Peter or the Pope,[18] and the faithful are carried to the port of salvation across a sea infested by dangers and enemies. This theme was already known in the Middle Ages and was revived in the polemics of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

However, the theme of the *Ship of the Church* does not occur in Rubens's Eucharist series, though it is found in other cycles of this kind and can be given a specifically Eucharistic meaning: the ship is then depicted as carrying the Sacrament on board, symbolizing the Church's function as mediatrix of the Eucharist.[19] In Rubens's series the Church is allegorized in a different manner, in *The Triumph of the Church* (No.11; Fig. 149).[20]

In our opinion the ship in the present composition belongs to another tradition. As we saw, the winged female at the helm represents Hope, and we believe the scene to be connected with the other *Triumphs* of personifications in the series: those of the Church, Faith and Divine Love. These are all depicted on triumphal cars, and the present scene would thus be their maritime counterpart.

These Triumph scenes are in line with the customary *Triumphs of Virtues,* and if the motif of a triumphal chariot is used it is natural for a maritime variant to be chosen in the case of Hope, which is already associated with a ship. Examples of this can be found in older sets of *Triumphs of the Virtues.* In two 16th-century tapestry series with this title, the *Triumph of Hope* is presented in maritime terms. The first of these is a set dated ca. 1550–1560, in the possession of the *Société Nationale de Crédit à l'Industrie* in Brussels (Fig. 78).[21] It shows all the Virtues in triumphal cars except Hope, who rides

in an amphibious chariot with large wheels, drawn by men wading through shallow water: further out to sea are various ships, some in a storm and others nearing port. The second example, a series in the Vienna Museum dating from ca. 1550, shows a greater variety of forms, but here also Hope is seen riding in a kind of amphibious vehicle. [22]

It should be recalled that in actual "triumphs" and festive or solemn processions of the period both chariots and ships were used as vehicles for allegorical scenes of all kinds. [23] At the funeral ceremony for Charles V in Brussels in 1558 a large ship figured in the procession with personifications of Faith, Hope and Charity. [24] This became a popular feature and was repeated in subsequent processions through the streets of Brussels; in 1615 it appeared as *Our Lady's Chariot* in *The Triumph of Isabella,* reproduced in detail in the painting by Denijs van Alsloot (Fig. 83). [25] A ship rowed by cherubs occured in a procession held at Pont-à-Mousson to celebrate the canonization of Ignatius Loyola. [26] The motif of the ship and of "sea-pieces" in general was a constant feature of religious and secular festivities and urban decorations.

The bozzetto shows no details of the shields on the sides of the ship, and their significance is hard to make out. They resemble those on the ship in *The Majority of Louis XIII* in the Medici series, which are decorated with emblems identifying the four rowers as Fortitude, Religion, Justice and Concord. [27] An engraving by Cornelis Galle shows Christ and the Church in a ship with four shields on the side, on which are depicted the Church Fathers. [28]

It may also be wondered whether special significance attaches to the large lantern on the prow. This cannot be regarded as merely "realistic" or derived from contemporary seamanship: 17th-century vessels were often equipped with large lanterns, but they were always placed at the stern above the taffrail. [29] Held suggested a vague connection with the monstrance, [30] and Müller Hofstede pointed out an emblem of a lighted lantern signifying Faith. [31] Lanterns are very rare in the many representations of ships in emblem literature [32] and in the maritime allegories mentioned above. There is one in Prieto's *Psalmodia Eucharistica,* in its proper place at the stern, with a scroll quoting from John 8:12 ("I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life") [33] Other examples can be found in 18th-century German engravings. [34]

It is natural that in allegories in which a ship represents the Church and in which every piece of equipment has some symbolic meaning, though not always

the same, the lantern should be used to typify the light of Chriſt or, which comes to the same thing, the monſtrance with the Hoſt. A ship's lantern is identified with the Hoſt in two Autos Sacramentales: *El triunfo de la Iglesia* by Lope de Vega [35] and *La nave del Mercador* by Calderón de la Barca, performed in 1674. [36] We regard it as certain, therefore, that the lantern in Rubens's composition is an emblem of salvation, representing the Hoſt or the light of Chriſt.

To sum up, we may conclude as follows. The scene in the bozzetto is a *Triumph* like those of Faith and Divine Love, bearing points of resemblance to traditional series of the Virtues but differing basically from them, *inter alia* by reason of its Euchariſtic theme. Curiously, Rubens departed from the centuries-old cuſtom of representing Hope with an anchor and chose to imitate the figure of *Spes* on ancient Roman coins. It is uncertain whether Rubens in the Euchariſt series intended to refer to the ancient concepts of *Spes Felicitatis Orbis* and *Spes Publica.* If he did, the allusion would be to the hope of prosperity and happiness held out, not by a worldly ruler, but by the Church and the Euchariſt: the Hope of well-being for all mankind, putting to sea in a vessel manned by celeſtial Spirits and guided by the Light of Chriſt.

1 See above, p. 98.

2 The present owner has had the bozzetto reſtored and ſtripped of later additions.

3 Doc. 16.

4 *Held, 1968,* p. 13.

5 J. Müller Hofſtede, *loc. cit.,* pp. 202, 203.

6 *De Tervarent,* I, cols. 9-15, s.v. *Ailes* (with other significations). Beham's engraving, cited by Müller Hofſtede as an inſtance of Hope with wings (J. Müller Hofſtede, *loc. cit.,* p. 203), is certainly not the only example: see also *Van Marle, Art profane,* II, fig. 47.

7 For these meanings, and others not relevant here, see M. Pfiſter-Burkhalter in *Lexikon chriſtl. Ikon.,* III, cols. 100-102, s.v. *Lilie; De Tervarent,* II, col. 248, s.v. *Lis.*

8 *Timmers,* p. 530, No. 1182; Müller Hofſtede points out that in J. Camerarius's emblem-book a flowering branch (Aaron's rod) is liſted as ſignifying *Truſt in God* (A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunſt des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts,* Stuttgart, 1967, cols. 313, 314).

9 See e.g. *Speranza* by Giovanni Francesco Gessi, with anchor and a spray of lilies (C.C. Malvasia, *Le pitture di Bologna 1686, Riſtampa anaſtatica,* Bologna, 1969, No. 136/4).

10 C. Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des Verſtands,* Amſterdam, 1644, p. 205; Ripa gives a variant in a second description (*Ibid.,* p. 206); see also M. Evans in *Lexikon chriſtl. Ikon.,* IV, cols. 376, 377, s.v. *Tugenden.*

11 "She bears an opening flower and catches up her skirt as if in haſte" (*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2nd ed., Oxford, 1970, p. 1009, s.v. *Spes*). In Rubens's *Stage of Welcome*

for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* we see, in the centre at the top, *Spes* holding a flower or a sprig (Fig. 218; *Martin, Pompa,* pp. 37, 43, under Nos. 1, 1a, Figs. 2, 3); Gevartius in his description of the Stage speaks of a "thyrsus succrescentis herbae (stalk of a growing plant) and explains that this derives from the representation of Hope on Roman coins, which he illustrates in the book (Fig. 219; C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi...,* Antwerp, 1642, fig. on p. 16; see also an unpublished thesis by J.E. McGrath, *Rubens' Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi and the Traditions of Civic Pageantry,* Ph. D. Thesis, University of London, 1971, pp. 42, 129, 149). Other examples of the classic *Spes* in Rubens's works are the figure in his painting for the *Stage of Isabella* (*Martin, Pompa,* fig. 66) and on the title-page for B. Corderius, *Opera S. Dionysii Aeropagitae,* Antwerp, 1634 (*Evers, 1943,* fig. 107). Otto Van Veen had used it e.g. in his *Quinti Horati Flacci Emblemata,* Antwerp, 1607, figs. 47, 165.

12 See e.g. Laura Breglia, *Roman Imperial Coins, their Art and Technique,* London, 1968, p. 100, No. 34; p. 102, No. 35.

13 The same iconography is found in two examples which Müller Hofstede connected with the bozzetto: an illumination in a manuscript of Aristotle dated ca. 1470, and the often-cited engraving by Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, dated 1545. In both cases Hope has the further attributes of a spade, birds in a cage, and a bee-hive: J. Müller-Hofstede, *loc. cit.,* p. 202; repr. in I. Bergström, *The Iconological Origins of Spes by Pieter Brueghel the Elder, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* VII, 1956, pp. 53-63, figs. 2, 3, 5; see also E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France, Etude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses sources d'inspiration,* Paris, 1925, pp. 311 ff., fig. 172.

14 Alciatus illustrates a ship with the title "Spes Proxima": see A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *op. cit.,* col. 1462.

15 On the front face of the Arch of the Mint in the decorations for the *Pompa Introitus* (*Martin, Pompa,* figs. 99, 102).

16 See *de Tervarent,* II, cols. 282, 283, s.v. *Navire;* illustrations of Fortuna with a ship as attribute in *Van Marle, Art profane,* figs. 210, 226.

17 J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *op. cit.,* p. 90, Pl. XLII. In the Emblemata we find a ship symbolizing the State and government (A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *op. cit.,* cols. 1453, 1454, 1461) and the helm with the same significance (*Ibid.,* col. 1474).

18 The iconography of *The Ship of the Church* is fully treated and documented in: E.M. Vetter, *Sant peters schifflin, Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein,* IX, 1969, pp. 7-34; G. Llompart, *La nave de la Iglesia y su derrotero en la iconografía de los siglos XVI y XVII, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft,* XXV, 1970, pp. 309-335; *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucaristica,* pp. 108-171. See also *Knipping,* II, pp. 150-154; U. Weber in *Lexikon christl. Ikon.,* IV, cols. 61-67, s.v. *Schiff.*

19 The Eucharistic ship is also found in the interesting illustrations to Prieto's *Psalmodia Eucharistica,* published in 1622, in which Christ is seen distributing the Hosts: see E.M. Vetter, *Sant peters schifflin, loc. cit.,* pp. 31, 32, fig. 20; G. Llompart, *loc. cit.,* p. 335, fig 14; *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucarística,* pp. 22-25, 170, fig. 6. The Eucharistic significance of the ship is also found in literature in some Autos Sacramentales: see *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucarística,* pp. 125, 126.

20 As mentioned in the discussion of that work the triumphal car represented in it somewhat resembles a ship, and Rubens may have chosen this way of illustrating *The Ship of the Church.*

[21] Marguerite Calberg, *Le Triomphe des vertus chrétiennes, Suite de huit tapisseries de Bruxelles du XVI^e siècle, Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Hiſtoire de l'Art,* XXIX, 1960, pp. 9-13, fig. 3.

[22] Marguerite Calberg, *loc. cit.,* fig. 9; for reproductions of the whole series see L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinssammlung,* Vienna, 1920, fasc. III, Nos. 46-52.

[23] G. Llompart, *op. cit.,* p. 312.

[24] G. Llompart, *op. cit.,* p. 333.

[25] J. Laver, *Isabella's Triumph (May 31ſt, 1615), Denis van Alsloot,* London, 1947, p. 22 and facing illuſtration.

[26] [L. Perin and L. Wapy], *Sacra atque Hilaria Mussipontana, ..., op. cit.,* p. 23 (on this book, see pp. 202, 203, n. 130.

[27] J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *op. cit.,* p. 90, Pl. XLII.

[28] See *Knipping,* II, fig. 106; E.M. Vetter, *Sant peters schifflin..., loc. cit.,* fig. 21; *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucariſtica,* fig. 89.

[29] J. van Beylen, *Schepen van de Nederlanden van de late Middeleeuwen tot het einde van de 17de eeuw,* Amſterdam, 1970, p. 215.

[30] *Held, 1968,* p. 13.

[31] J. Müller Hofſtede, *loc. cit.,* p. 203; see A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *op. cit.,* col. 1370 (not reproduced).

[32] A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *op. cit.,* cols. 1453-1470.

[33] The words quoted are: "Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris" (see *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucariſtica,* p. 24, fig. 6).

[34] E.M. Vetter, *Sant peters schifflin..., loc. cit.,* fig. 23.

[35] In *El triunfo de la Iglesia* St. Thomas says to the Church:

"Será tu carro triunfal
una nave; irá en la gavia
Criſto; será tu fanal
la hoſtia..."

(G. Llompart, *loc. cit.,* p. 320, n. 26).

[36] In the ſtage directions for this Auto, Calderón says: "El primer carro ha de ser una nave rica y hermosa...; el farol ha de ser un caliz grande con su hoſtia, y en su proa un serafín" (G. Llompart, *loc. cit.,* p. 334; *Vetter, Psalmodia Eucariſtica,* p. 126).