

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: PIETY, POLITICS, AND PATRONAGE:
ISABEL CLARA EUGENIA AND PETER
PAUL RUBENS'S *THE TRIUMPH OF THE
EUCHARIST* TAPESTRY SERIES

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Doctor of Philosophy, 2013

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This dissertation explores the circumstances that inspired the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, Princess of Spain, Archduchess of Austria, and Governess General of the Southern Netherlands to commission Peter Paul Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series for the Madrid convent of the Descalzas Reales. It traces the commission of the twenty large-scale tapestries that comprise the series to the aftermath of an important victory of the Infanta's army over the Dutch in the town of Breda. Relying on contemporary literature, studies of the Infanta's upbringing, and the tapestries themselves, it argues that the cycle was likely conceived as an ex-voto, or gift of thanks to God for the military triumph. In my discussion, I highlight previously unrecognized temporal and thematic connections between Isabel's many other gestures of thanks in the wake of the victory and *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series. I further show how Rubens

invested the tapestries with imagery and a conceptual conceit that celebrated the Eucharist in ways that symbolically evoked the triumph at Breda.

My study also explores the motivations behind Isabel's decision to give the series to the Descalzas Reales. It discusses how as an ex-voto, the tapestries implicitly credited her for the triumph and, thereby, affirmed her terrestrial authority. Drawing on the history of the convent and its use by the king of Spain as both a religious and political dynastic center, it shows that the series was not only a gift to the convent, but also a gift to the king, a man with whom the Infanta had developed a tense relationship over the question of her political autonomy. I argue that when Isabel presented the tapestries to the Descalzas Reales she intended them to assert her power and, moreover, compel its reciprocation. This interpretation relies on archival documents that show that Isabel frequently gave religious gifts to establish relationships of reciprocity; the simultaneously religious and political functions the convent served the Spanish royal family; as well as on the tapestries themselves.

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THE TRIUMPH OF THE EUCHARIST TAPESTRY SERIES

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2013

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Dedication

For My Parents

Acknowledgements

It is with great pleasure that I thank the numerous people that have helped me to research and write this dissertation. I am indebted to so many for their support and encouragement. I must start by expressing my gratitude to the University of Maryland and the Department of Art History and Archeology for its generous funding of my academic endeavors. A Graduate Student Summer Research Fellowship and the Jenny Rhee Travel Fellowship provided me the funds necessary to conduct critical archival, library, and museum research in Europe. The George Levitine Fellowship and the Anne G. Wylie Dissertation Fellowship supported the research and writing of this dissertation.

My research was also aided significantly by the invaluable assistance I received from the staff in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland, the National Gallery of Art Research Library, the Bibliothèque Municipale in Besançon, the Book Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art, the Archives Générales du Royaume and the Archives de l'État en Belgique in Brussels, as well as the sisters of the Monastère du Carmel in Brussels, the Zusters Karmelietessen in Antwerp, and the Discalced Clares of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales in Madrid.

I would also like to thank the following scholars who, in various ways, have stimulated my thinking about Isabel Clara Eugenia and Peter Paul Rubens: Koen Brossens, Denise Giannino, Quint Gregory, Fiona Healy, David Jaffé, Teresa Posada Kubissa, Susan Merriam, Ana García Sanz, Elizabeth Sutton, Yui Suzuki, Marjorie Venit, Amy Walsh, Maureen Warren, Betsy Wiesman, Anne Woollett, and, in particular Michael Zell, under whose direction I first began my exploration of the Infanta Isabel's

patronage of Rubens while a Master's student at Boston University. His advice and insights as I first began to think critically about patronage and gift theory have stayed with me, and I am indebted to him for his early guidance.

I am extremely grateful to the many friends and fellow art historians whose kindness and camaraderie helped see me through this project: Bethany Bohmer, Andrew and Suzy Eschelbacher, Madeline Gent, Lillian Gould, Jennifer Henel, Bridget Hoyt, Kate Kula, Lara Langer, Toby Mandel, Winnie Mays, Keely Orgeman, Brighton Payne, Henriette Rahusen, Lisa Sutcliffe, Stanton Thomas, Liz Tunick, and Lara Yeager-Crasselt. I am also thankful to thank Sofia Calzada Orihuela and Jake Shilling for their invaluable assistance translating the Spanish and Latin texts.

To my committee members, H. Perry Chapman, Anthony Colantuono, Jay Robert Dorfman, Meredith Gill, and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., who have given generously of their thoughts and advice, I owe an enormous debt of gratitude. In particular, I would like to thank Anthony Colantuono and Meredith Gill, who have guided me in my exploration of patronage and gift studies while at Maryland. Our many conversations have challenged and shaped my thinking about Isabel Clara Eugenia and *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series immensely.

Without question, I am the most deeply indebted to my advisor, Arthur Wheelock, who has shared so freely of his time and energy. His careful reading, thoughtful comments, and ever-ready editor's pen made this manuscript infinitely better, and the benefits that I have received from his kindness and generosity are immeasurable. I continued to be inspired by his love of Dutch and Flemish art, which is matched only be

his dedication to his students. I hope one day to reach the high standards that he has set as a scholar, teacher, curator, and friend.

Finally, I offer my most sincere gratitude to my family. To my sister, Brooke, for being the model of a smart, strong woman, to my brother, Jesse, for reminding me that laughter cures everything, to my husband, Jason, for his endless patience, love, and support: you have my eternal thanks. To my parents, James and Patricia Libby: unlike Rubens, there have been many undertakings that exceeded my confidence. In those times, you stood behind me with love and encouragement. You saw your dreams in my accomplishments and urged me onward. This dissertation is for you.

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Table of Contents

Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Figures.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
<i>The Triumph of the Eucharist in Literature</i>	9
Sources and Materials.....	14
a. Primary Documents.....	15
b. Iconography and Imagery.....	18
c. The Descalzas Reales.....	19
Chapter Outline.....	21
Chapter 1: Defining the Problem of Authority: Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Spanish Court.....	24
The Cession of the Netherlands and the Problem of Authority.....	25
Overview of the Act of Cession.....	30
Political Education and Courtly Apprenticeship Under Philip II.....	33
”The Most Beautiful, the Most Learned”: Public Perceptions of the Infanta Isabel....	39
Isabel, Albert, Philip III: Siblings, Cousins, Rivals.....	45
The Problem of Authority Under Philip III.....	47
The Problem of Authority Under Philip IV.....	54
Conclusion.....	64
Chapter 2: Negotiating the Problem of Authority: Isabel Clara Eugenia and Gift Giving.....	66
The Case of Denijs van Alsloot’s <i>Ommegang</i> Series.....	69
The Strategy of Gift-giving.....	78
The Tradition of Gift-giving at the Habsburg Court.....	80
”Presents Given by the Serene Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia to Various People and in Various Times”.....	86
Calvert’s Crucifixion.....	96
Conclusion.....	99
Chapter 3: Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Siege of Breda.....	101
The Siege of Breda.....	106
Ex-Voto for Breda.....	113
Vows in Theory and Practice.....	121
Patronage in the Wake of Breda.....	124

The Catholic Generalissima.....	136
Defending the Eucharist at the Siege of Breda	149
Conclusion	154
Chapter 4: The Vow Fulfilled: Peter Paul Rubens's <i>The Triumph of the Eucharist Series</i>	
Isabel Clara Eugenia and Peter Paul Rubens	156
Picturing the Counter-Reformation in <i>The Triumph of the Eucharist Series</i>	157
Transition, Transformation, Transubstantiation	161
Vision and Faith.....	171
The Search for Precedent.....	177
Rubens and Eucharistic Theology	179
Trompe l'Oeil and the Catholic Counter-Reformation.....	185
Conclusion	189
Chapter 5: Piety and Politics in <i>The Triumph of the Eucharist Series</i>	
The Convent of the Descalzas Reales, Center of Habsburg Piety and Power	196
The Matter of Spectator and Audience	198
The Tradition of Politics in Habsburg Piety	203
Politics and Diplomacy in <i>The Triumph of the Eucharist Series</i>	212
Tapestries and Diplomacy.....	222
Tapestries in the Habsburg Tradition.....	231
Anticipated Return	234
Conclusion	238
Conclusion	240
Conclusion	242
Appendices.....	250
Appendix A: "Presents faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenia a diverse personnes et en divers temps"	250
Appendix B: Letters between the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and Fray Domingo de Jesús María, Ana de San Bartolomé, and Béatrix de la Conception in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp	349
Appendix C: Letters between the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and Ana de Jésus in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites of Brussels	416
Appendix D: Dedication page of Hermannus Hudo, <i>Obsidio bredana armis Philippi III, auspiciis Isabellae ductu Ambr. Spinolae perfecta</i> (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1626).....	433
Bibliography	439
Images	470

List of Figures

Figure 1: Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Defenders of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 500 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 2: Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Evangelists* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 495 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 3: Jacob Geubels, Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 600 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 4: Jacob Geubels after Peter Paul Rubens, *Elijah and the Angel* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 420 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 5: Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Gathering of the Manna* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 450 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 6: Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 480 x 655 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 7: Jan Raes after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of the Church* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 480 x 750 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 8: Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 650 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 9: Jan Raes, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Divine Love* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 480 x 480 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 10: Jacob Fobert and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Eucharist Overcoming Idolatry* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 670 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 11: Jacob Geubels, Jacob Fobert, and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Victory of Truth Over Heresy* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 470 x 670 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 12: Jacob Geubels after Peter Paul Rubens, *Angels Playing Music with Lute* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 495 x 320 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 13: Jan Raes after Peter Paul Rubens, *Angels Playing Music with Viola da Gamba*, from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 495 x 315 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 14: Jacob Geubels after Peter Paul Rubens, *Two Cherubs Holding the Monstrance Aloft*, from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 370 x 320 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 15: Jacob Geubels after Peter Paul Rubens, *King David Playing the Harp* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, Tapestry Series ca. 1628, wool and silk, 330 x 485 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 16: Jacob Geubels after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Adoration* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 330 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 17: Jan Raes after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Secular Hierarchy in Adoration* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 480 x 320 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 18: Jacob Geubels after Peter Paul Rubens *Historiography* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 260 x 200 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 19: Jan Raes after Peter Paul Rubens, *Charity Enlightening the World* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 270 x 200 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 20: Jan Raes and Hans Vervoert after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Succession of Popes* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1628, wool and silk, 490 x 250 cm, El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 21: Peter Paul Rubens, bozzetto: *The Adoration of the Eucharist* from *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series, ca. 1625, oil on panel, 31.5 x 32 cm, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 22: Church of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid: *coro alto* wall with grille separating nun's choir from nave.

Figure 23: Adriaen van de Venne, *Fishing for Souls*, 1614, oil on panel, 98 x 189 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 24: Manuscript note by Isabel Clara Eugenia on an enquiry by the *Junta de Gobierno*, 1597, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.

Figure 25: Medal of Philip II, Prince Philip (Philip III) and the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, ca. 1585, silver, 32 mm, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

Figure 26: Peter Paul Rubens and workshop, *Portrait of Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, Spanish Regent of the Low Countries, as a Nun*, 1625, oil on canvas, 115.6 x 88.6 cm, Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena.

Figure 27: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wedding Banquet Presided Over by the Archduke and Infanta*, ca. 1612, oil on canvas, 84 x 126 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 28: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Country Wedding*, ca. 1612, oil on canvas, 84 x 126 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 29: Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, *D. Isabella Clara Eugenia, Hispaniarum Infans &c.*, ca. 1626, engraving, 58.8 x 42.7 cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 30: Anonymous engraver after Joos de Momper the Younger, “Inauguration Outside the City” from Johannes Bochiuss’s *Historica Narratio Profectionis et Inaugurationis ... Alberti et Isabellae Austriae Archiducum* (Officina Plantiniana: Antwerp, 1602), Conway Library, University of London.

Figure 31: Denijs van Alsloot, *The Ommeganck in Brussels on 31 May 1615: The Triumph of Archduchess Isabella*, 1615, oil on canvas, 117 x 381 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 32: workshop of Antoon Sallaert, *The Infanta Isabele Shoots the Bird from the Grand Serment 15 May 1615*, oil on canvas, 180 x 340 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

Figure 32 detail: workshop of Antoon Sallaert, *The Infanta Isabele Shoots the Bird from the Grand Serment 15 May 1615*, oil on canvas, 180 x 340 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

Figure 33: *The Great Standard of Archduke Albert* from Erycius Puteanus and Jacques Francquart, *Pompa funebris optimi potentissimique principis Albert [...]* (J. Mommaert: Brussels, 1623), Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels.

Figure 34: Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Portrait of Isabel Clara Eugenia and Magdalena Ruiz*, ca. 1585/88, oil on canvas, 207 cm x 129 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 35: Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Portrait of Isabel Clara Eugenia*, ca. 1615, oil on canvas, 113 cm x 175,8 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 36: Tiziano Vecellio, *The Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg*, 1548, oil on canvas, 335 cm x 283 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 37: Anthonis Mor, *Philip II in Armor*, 1560, oil on canvas, 198 x 115 cm, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Figure 38: Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, *King Philip IV of Spain*, 1644 oil on canvas, 129.9 x 99.4 cm, The Frick Collection, New York.

Figure 39: Jacques Callot, *Siege of Breda*, 1625, collectively (6 sheets) 127 x 179 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 40: Cornelis Galle after Peter Paul Rubens, “title-page” from Herman Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana* (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1626).

Figure 41: Cornelis Galle after Peter Paul Rubens, “title-page” from François Tristan, *La Peinture de la Serneissime Princesse Isabelle Clare Eugenie* (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1634).

Figure 42: Raffaello Sanzio, *Wedding Banquet of Cupid and Psyche*, ca. 1517, fresco, Villa Farnesina, Rome.

Figure 43: “Mother of Beautiful Love” from Jean Terrier, *Portraits des S S Vertvs de la Vierge contemplees par feve S.A.S.M. Isabelle Clere Eveenie Infante D’Espagne* (Pin: Jean Vernier, 1635).

Figure 44: “Merchant’s Ship” from Jean Terrier, *Portraits des S S Vertvs de la Vierge contemplees par feve S.A.S.M. Isabelle Clere Eveenie Infante D’Espagne* (Pin: Jean Vernier, 1635).

Figure 45: “Army in Battle Order” from Jean Terrier, *Portraits des S S Vertvs de la Vierge contemplees par feve S.A.S.M. Isabelle Clere Eveenie Infante D’Espagne* (Pin: Jean Vernier, 1635).

Figure 46: Teodoro de Ardemans, plan of the Church of the Encarnación Monastery during the royal funeral, 1711.

Figure 47: unknown artist, drawing of the interior of the church of the La Sisle Monastery, Toldeo during the swearing in of King Felipe V, 1701.

Figure 48: *Constantine and Fausta with Crispus Riding a Chariot Drawn by Centaurs*, three-layered agate, 22.1 x 29.7 cm, Koninklijk Penningkabinet, Geldmuseum, Utrecht.

Figure 49: after Peter Paul Rubens, *Constantine and Fausta with Crispus Riding a Chariot Drawn by Centaurs*, 1623, engraving, 23 x 33 cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 50: *The Triumph of Licinius*, three-layered sardonyx, 6.8 x 8.4 cm, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 51: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Licinius*, 1622, black chalk, pen, and brown ink on white paper, washed, 18.9 x 24.9 cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 52: Peter Paul Rubens, bozzetto: *Decius Mus Consults the Oracle* from *The History of Decius Mus* Tapestry Series, 1617-18, oil on panel, 73.03 x 107.95 cm, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha.

Figure 53: Peter Paul Rubens, modello: *The Triumphant Entry of Constantine into Rome* from *The History of Constantine* Tapestry Series, 1622, oil on panel, 48.25 x 64.75 cm, Indianapolis Museum of Art.

Figure 54: Peter Paul Rubens, modello: *Sacrifice of Old Covenant* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on panel, 70.5 x 87.6 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 55: Peter Paul Rubens, modello: *Triumph of Divine Love* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on panel, 87 x 91 cm., Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 56: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Trinity Adorned by the Gonzaga Family*, 1604-1605, oil on canvas, 381 cm × 477 cm, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

Figure 57: Baldassare Croce, *Susanna and the Elders*, ca. 1598, fresco, Santa Susanna, Rome.

Figure 58: Cavaliere d'Arpino, *Christ in the Apse*, ca. 1600, fresco, San Giovanni in Laterno, Rome.

Figure 59: Giulio Romano after Raffaello Sanzio, *The Battle of the Milvian Bridge* from the Sala di Costantino, 1520-1524, fresco, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

Figure 60: workshop of Pieter Enghien van Aels after Raffaello Sanzio, *The Conversion of Saul* from *Acts of the Apostles* Tapestry Series, ca. 1516, Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 484 x 540 cm, Vatican Museums, Vatican City.

Figure 61: Andrea Mantegna, *Camera degli Sposi*, 1465-74, fresco, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

Figure 62: Baldassare Peruzzi, the *Sala delle Prospettive*, 1515-17, fresco, Villa Farnesina, Rome.

Figure 63: Lazzaro Tavarone and Orazio Cambiaso, *Hall of Battles*, ca. 1580s, fresco, approximately 55 m, San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Figure 64: Pellegrino Tibaldi, *The Gathering of the Manna*, 1586, fresco, San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Figure 65: Jacob Harrewyn after J. van Croes, *The Façade and Arch of Rubens's House*, 1684, engraving, 29.3 x 35.7 cm, Stedelijk Pretenkabinet, Antwerp.

Figure 66: Jacob Harrewyn after J. van Croes, *Rubens's House*, 1692, engraving, 33.8 x 43.3cm, Stedelijk Pretenkabinet, Antwerp.

Figure 66 detail: Jacob Harrewyn after J. van Croes, *Rubens's House*, 1692, engraving, 33.8 x 43.3cm, Stedelijk Pretenkabinet, Antwerp.

Figure 67: Courtyard loggia, Rubenshuis, Antwerp.

Figure 68: Peter Paul Rubens, *Perseus and Andromeda*, 1620-21, oil on canvas transferred from panel, 99.5 x 139 cm, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Figure 69: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*, 1609-1610, oil on canvas, 460 x 340 cm, Antwerp Cathedral.

Figure 70: Anton Gheringh, *Interior of Saint Walburgis Church in Antwerp*, 1661, Sint-Pauluskirk, Antwerp.

Figure 71: Workshop of Willem Pannemaker after Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *The Review of the Troops* from *The Conquest of Tunis* Tapestry Series, 1546-54, gold, silver, silk, and wool, 525 x 712 cm, Palacio Real, Madrid.

Figure 72: Reliquary Room of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid.

Figure 73: Attributed to Juan Gomez de Mora, *Cross-section of the Interior of the Church of the Descalzas, Madrid*, graphite (?), pen and brown ink and wash, 21.1 x 31.5 cm, Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle.

Figure 74: Attributed to Juan Gomez de Mora, *Cross-section of the Interior of the Church of the Descalzas, Madrid: View of Coro Alto Wall*, pen and brown ink, 20.3 x 16.4 cm, Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle.

Figure 75: Attributed to Juan Gomez de Mora, *Cross-section of the Interior of the Church of the Descalzas, Madrid: View of Altar Wall*, pen and brown ink, 20.3 x 16.3 cm, Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle.

Figure 76: Attributed to Juan Gomez de Mora, *Floor Plan of the Interior of the Church of the Descalzas, Madrid*, graphite (?), pen and brown ink and wash, 20.3 x 31.5 cm, Windsor Library.

Figure 77: Reconstruction of the Church of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales: altar wall.

Figure 78: Reconstruction of the Church of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales: nave wall left.

Figure 79: Reconstruction of the Church of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales: nave wall right.

Figure 80: Reconstruction of the Church of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales: *coro alto* wall with royal tribune.

Figure 81: Peter Paul Rubens, modello: *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on panel, 86 x 91 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 82: Peter Paul Rubens, bozzetto: *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1625-1626, oil on panel, 15.6 x 15.6 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 83: Peter Paul Rubens, modello: *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on panel, 65.5 x 82.4 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Figure 84: Peter Paul Rubens, cartoon: *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on canvas, 445.1 x 570.9 cm, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.

Figure 85: Peter Paul Rubens, bozzetto: *The Defenders of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on panel, 15.8 x 16.5 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 86: Peter Paul Rubens, modello: *The Defenders of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on panel, 86.5 x 91 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 87: Peter Paul Rubens, cartoon: *The Defenders of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Tapestry Series, ca. 1626, oil on canvas, 434.3 x 444.5 cm, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.

Figure 88: Reconstruction of the Church of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales: Nave with Royal Tribune.

Figure 89: Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, *The Surrender of Breda*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 307 x 367 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Introduction

In a tightly crowded space enclosed by two large Tuscan columns, the six male and one female saint of this tapestry congregate under the radiant glow of the Holy Spirit as signified by a white dove (fig. 1). Bright yellow beams of light radiate from its outstretched wings and illuminate the faces of the holy figures. At the far left, St. Jerome, clothed in the red robes of a cardinal, immerses himself in an open book, possibly his Latin translation of the Bible. To his right stands St. Norbert, the eleventh-century German saint and founder of the Premonstratensian order. Beside him, gesturing towards the dove of the Holy Spirit is the twelfth-century theologian St. Thomas Aquinas, whose centrality to the Catholic faith led Pope Pius V to declare him a Doctor of the Church in 1567. The three other apostolic figures, resplendent in their miters and papal tiara, are Pope Gregory and the bishops Augustine (with the crosier) and Ambrose.¹

These holy men, all of whom translated, propagated, and codified Eucharistic doctrine in their teachings, exemplify piety and devotion to the Holy Sacrament. It is thus understandable that Peter Paul Rubens chose to depict them together in one composition in his magnificent large-scale tapestry series, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*. They were, indeed, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, the thematic essence of this panel. The female saint, who is dressed in an ashen habit and gazes outward with a proud and focused stare,

¹ These figures were first identified in Max Rooses, *Rubens*, trans. Harold Hannyngton Child (London: Duckworth & Co., 1904), II: 432. I consulted the English edition of Rooses's tome, which was published eighteen years after the original German edition.

is St. Clare of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order of Poor Clares. Since Clare's primary attribute is the consecrated host, the monstrance she holds indicates her identity.² Significantly, the saint possesses the facial features of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, Archduchess of Austria and Governess General of the Spanish Netherlands (1566-1633).³

While scholars have long acknowledged the Infanta's role as patron of Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle—a fact to which Rubens paid homage in *The Defenders of the Eucharist*—the actual circumstances of the commission are not well understood. Typically, scholars describe the series as a summation of Isabel's special fondness of El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales in Madrid,⁴ where the tapestries hung during the Eucharist feasts on Good Friday and Corpus Christi.⁵ Yet, aside from her affection for the convent, the commission also reflects other aspects of her personal and

² On images and the iconography of St. Clare, see Ana García Sanz and María Victoria Triviño, *Iconografía de Santa Clara en el Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1993).

³ A note on nomenclature: the Infanta is often called by her Anglicized name, *Isabella Clara Eugenia*. In this dissertation I will use the Spanish name given to her at her birth, *Isabel Clara Eugenia*. When she was born, the Infanta bore the formal title *la Serenísima Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia, Infanta mayor e hija primogénita de Sus Majestades los Reyes Católicos Don Felipe II y Doña Isabel de Valois*. Her parents, Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth of Valois, named her *Isabel* for her paternal great-great-grandmother Queen Isabel of Castile (1451-1504), “the Catholic queen,” her paternal grandmother Isabel of Portugal (1503-1539), and her mother, whose Hispanicized name was Isabel; *Clara* for St. Clare, on whose feast day she was born; and *Eugenia* for St. Eugene of Toldeo, the saint to whom Elizabeth believed they owed her successful pregnancy.

⁴ The institution's founding name was actually El Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Consolación. However, contemporary literature and the patrimonio nacional refer to it exclusively as El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, or the Descalzas Reales, for short.

⁵ Sanz and Triviño, *Iconografía de Santa Clara en el Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales*, 178; Nora de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard pt. 2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), I: 34; Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 426.

public life, in particular her deep devoutness and her political acumen, aspects that will be examined in this dissertation.

The origins of the commission probably date to 10 July 1625, when the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia visited the Antwerp studio of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640).⁶ For nearly two decades, Rubens had acted as the Infanta's court painter, though with special conditions that did not tether him to the court in Brussels.⁷ Since the death of her husband, Archduke Albert of Austria (1559-1621), Rubens was also her political and diplomatic advisor. On the occasion of her visit in July 1625, there is reason to believe the artist was serving in both these roles. The first contemporary account of the meeting notes that while she was there, "that matchless Painter drew her picture, crowned, in a most Maiesticall fashion, with a laurell of victory."⁸ The victory referred to in this document was that at Breda, where the Army of Flanders had just defeated the Dutch. Indeed, Isabel had just been to Breda before she visited Rubens.

Breda was the hereditary patrimony of the Prince of Orange, who had been leading a rebellion against the Spanish crown. In terms of the military significance of the

⁶ There are multiple references to this visit in historical documents, the first of which is Herman Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana*, published in 1626 (see Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, ed. D. M. Rogers, trans. CHG [London: Scholar Press, 1975], 149); Bellori also mentions the visit in his biography of Rubens in his *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni* of 1672 (see Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Giovan Pietro Bellori: The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], 204).

⁷ These conditions are outlined in L. R. Lind, "The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by His Nephew, Philip: A Translation," *Art Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1946): 38.

⁸ Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, ed. D. M. Rogers, trans. CHG, *English Recusant Literature, 1558-1640* (London: Scholar Press, 1975), 149.

victory, Breda was noteworthy because it was the location of an important Dutch garrison. Owing to its strategic position mid-way between Brussels and Amsterdam, Breda was largely believed to be the key to the north and thus its takeover promised to signal a turning point in Spain's war against the Dutch. The victory had great personal significance to the Infanta because, until then, little progress against the enemy had been made. Consequently, her political and martial reputation suffered. Thus, the victory also represented a significant personal triumph for Isabel.

While Isabel sat for the portrait that commemorated this victory, it is likely that she took the opportunity to discuss this important commission of a set of twenty large-scale tapestries depicting *The Triumph of the Eucharist*.⁹ According to Philippe Chifflet, her biographer, the Infanta paid Rubens 30,000 florins for the series and “some pearls.”¹⁰ Chifflet estimated that the series' value was closer to 100,000.¹¹ If his approximation is correct, the cost of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series—the 30,000 florins to

⁹ Victor Elbern was the first person to draw this connection, which is widely accepted by all scholars of the series. Victor H. Elbern, *Peter Paul Rubens: Triumph Der Eucharistie. Wandteppiche Aus Dem Kölner Dom* (Austellung: Villa Hügel, 1954), 10.

¹⁰ See Appendix A: Philippe Chifflet, “Papiers Pour La Vie De l'Infante Isabelle: Notes, Letters, Memoires... Rassembles Par Philippe Chifflet” MS 97 (Archives Municipale, Besançon, n.d.), 262 (fol. 190).

¹¹ “L'Infante envoya à Madrid aux déchaussées une tapisserie contenant les figure 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.” Philippe Chifflet, “Journal Historique Des Choses Mémorable Arrives En La Cour Des Pais-Bas Depuis l'An 1559 Jusques À l'An 1632 Inclus,” MS 96 (Archives Municipale, Besançon, n.d.), fol. 302v.

Rubens and the nearly 70,000, both astronomical sums for design and production¹²—

outstripped customary pricing by tenfold and roughly equaled the Infanta's monthly war

¹² Archival documentation relating to the cost of each of these facets of production are lacking for the seventeenth century. The Brussels tapestry hall that contained such records was struck by fire in 1690, which must have destroyed the many records. Eighteenth-century records have not fared much better. However, Koenraad Brosens's painstaking research on the joint venture dye works and tapestry workshop of Urbans Leyniers (1674-1747), his brother Daniel III (1669-1728), and Henrik II Reydam (1650-1719) during the early 1700s offers useful points of comparison (Koenraad Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670-1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674-1747)* [Paleis der Academiën, 2004]). As his study has shown, around 1715 the Leyniers-Reydam workshop employed forty to forty-seven tapestry weavers, half of whom would have been considered "skilled," to work on eighteen looms (a loom was always operated by three weavers (ibid., 46–48)). A reasonable design allowed weavers to produce 70 running centimeters per month, so that a tapestry with the width of 7 ells (1 ell was about .7 meters) took 7 months' work for these weavers. The average tapestry measured between 40 and 42.8 square ells. This pace of production meant that they sold a yearly average of three commissioned editions (series made from scratch, as opposed to already in inventory).

A tapestry producer typically shouldered all production costs. They paid wages, bought the wools and silks, and purchased the designs and cartoons from artists to be woven in the shop. The Leyniers-Reydam typically paid about 12 guilders per square ell for the designs for a set of history tapestries, a genre in which Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series falls. They spent 8,400 guilders in annual salary for their weavers and 300 guilders for their bookkeeper. They paid themselves 720 guilders annually. In sum, their total labor costs amounted to about 10,000 guilders yearly (On the workshop's pricing and costs, see ibid., 46). By comparison, around this same time a new coach cost 1,000 guilders and a pot of beer cost 0.1 guilders.

Depending on its size and complexity, a tapestry series at the Leyniers-Reydam workshop could range from 2,500 to 8,000 guilders. The workshop's records indicate that it usually sold three new commissions annually, or 7,500 to 24,000 guilders in sales. Subtracting its 10,000 guilder operating costs means that its average profit could range from -2,500 to 14,000 guilders. Since the workshop's records also show that it routinely operated a profit, they must also have sold many tapestries series also in inventory to account for any potential loss on those commissions priced at 2,500 guilders. Based on this scale, Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, which measures about 613.6 square ells (or 429.5 square meters), should have earned Rubens as the tapestry designer about 7,364 guilders. Its size meant that it should have taken 601 months on one loom or 34 months on eighteen looms, and cost 30,000 guilders in labor with -7,500 to 42,000 guilders in profit.

budget.¹³ Its value would make the cycle the largest and most expensive gift Isabel ever gave. In light of the timing of the commission, which occurred one week after Spanish and Flemish military forces defeated the Dutch in Breda, as well as its worth, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series was likely an ex-voto, or gift to God, in thanks for the victory.

From the Latin, *ex voto suscepto* (“from a vow made”), ex-votos are offerings to a saint or to God in gratitude for divine deliverance. And, as a gesture of thanks for celestial intervention, an ex-voto inherently acknowledges that God has bestowed his favor upon the giver. By presenting the tapestries to the Madrid convent as a mark of gratitude for the victory at Breda, Isabel would have implicitly declared herself as the supplicant who actively sought and received divine aid, and, consequently, enabled the victory of the Hispano-Flemish forces.

The Triumph of the Eucharist was not, of course, a typical commission. It was the special gift of the Princess of Spain, Archduchess of Austria, and Governor General of the Southern Netherlands, Isabel Clara Eugenia, to the royal convent of the Descalzas Reales. Its stature is reflected, in no small part, by the fact that the Infanta did not commission the series directly from a tapestry workshop, but instead approached Peter Paul Rubens, and rewarded him with 30,000 florins for his work—an award roughly four times what any other designer might have been paid. According to Chifflet, the Infanta spent another 70,000 florins on the series, since he describes her total expenditure at 100,000 florins. Given that a tapestry workshop could make up to 42,000 guilders profit in three years and that Rubens was paid four times the amount as a regular designer it is entirely possible that the Infanta also paid the producers of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series above the regular rate. Indeed, because the cycle was produced jointly by two of the great Brussels workshops—those of Jan Raes and Jacob Geubels—and assisted by two smaller entrepreneurs—Jacques Fobert and Hans Vervoort—it seems entirely plausible that the Infanta could have expended 70,000 florins on the weaving of the series.

¹³ On the Infanta’s war budget, see “Appendix K: The receipts of the military treasury of the Army of Flanders, 1567-1665” in Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries’ Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 259. On her recorded gifts, see Appendix A, 250-350 (fols. 185-248).

Asserting such a responsibility—that the military triumph over the Dutch was owed to her pious entreaty—would have been a provocative claim in light of the circumstances, but, particularly, also given her political situation. In 1598 Isabel’s father, King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598), had made her and her husband, Archduke Albert, sovereign regents of the Netherlands. Yet, the rules of primogeniture stipulated that Isabel could not rule as sovereign alone. Thus, when Albert died in 1621 she was demoted from regent to governor by the new king of Spain, her teenage nephew, Philip IV (1605-1665). Against this political backdrop, it seems evident that beyond being an ex-voto, the tapestries were also intended as a grand statement about her abilities as a ruler. Isabel commissioned the series for the church at the Descalzas Reales, where she knew the royal family visited on special feast days. The sheer scope of the series, which completely covered the interior walls, would have made Isabel’s assertion of herself as a defender of the faith unambiguous and visible to all in attendance, particularly Philip IV.

*

My dissertation focuses on the genesis of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* and examines how the series reflects the complicated, sometimes treacherous religious and political milieu in which Isabel lived. It also considers how the Infanta’s desires and ambitions are interwoven throughout the commission. As Dale Kent thoughtfully pointed out in her study of Cosimo de’ Medici, the patron is always deeply implicated in the authorship of a work of art. “The making of art appears as an intricate process,” she wrote, “neither an expression of the artist’s untrammelled inspiration nor some oft-

assumed vile compromise between the artist's creativity and patron's 'taste'."¹⁴ When placed within its total patronage context, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series proves to be an exceptional example of this dialogue between artist and patron.

Raised at the right hand Philip II of Spain, Isabel received a courtly education of the highest order. Through this royal upbringing and political apprenticeship, she was not only introduced to court culture and etiquette, but also to the theories of kingship and to the strategies that would help her negotiate the power of that station. In this ambiance she would have learned the culture of diplomatic gift giving. As art historians and anthropologists have duly noted, many gifts, both formal and personal, were often exchanges intended to draw the receiver into a relationship of obligatory reciprocation. Building on the pioneering work of the French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss, whose influential study of pre-modern societies, *Essai Sur le Don* (1925), described how gifts were never tokens of affection but rather exchanges intended to induce reciprocity, scholars have shown that when a receiver accepted a gift of art "he declared himself explicitly or implicitly obliged, meaning that he could be solicited, that in due course he was prepared to return the gesture with a service or a favor."¹⁵ Although

¹⁴ Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 6.

¹⁵ Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de Kunst van het Overleven in de Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1997), 137. The anthropological and also art historical literature on gift giving is vast. However, some of the more important art historical studies to take up the theory include Michael Zell, "The Gift Among Friends: Rembrandt's Art in the Network of His Patronal and Social Relations," in *Rethinking Rembrandt*, ed. Michael Zell and Alan Chong (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 173–93; Anthony Colantuono, "The Mute Diplomat: Theorizing the Role of Images in Seventeenth-Century Political Negotiations," in *The Diplomacy of Art*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Milan: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 2000), 51–76; Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, Ca. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (December

the Infanta Isabel made numerous donations out of charity and benevolence, in times of transition or turmoil she turned overwhelmingly to gifts to lubricate lines of communication, initiate specific discourses, or to aid in diplomatic endeavors. To that end, the large-scale gift of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series did not simply signal the Infanta's power and piety, but also compelled its recognition.

By situating Isabel's generosity within the framework of political and diplomatic advantage, the dissertation sheds new light on *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series. When placed within the context of the Infanta's biography, particularly in the context of the Siege of Breda, not only do the style, iconography, and function of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series come into focus, but also the motivations for its commission. Reappraising the cycle's genesis, I seek to demonstrate how the series served both as a profound gesture of piety and a powerful tool of political persuasion.

The Triumph of the Eucharist in Literature

Peter Paul Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series celebrates the wonder and sanctity of the Holy Sacrament through twenty tapestries, eleven of which measure nearly 5 meters tall and 5 to 7 meters wide and show scenes depicting prophets and protectors of the Eucharist (figs. 1 and 2), Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist (figs. 3-6), and processional wagons and victories of the Eucharist (figs. 7-11). Nine

2001): 598–625; Genevieve Warwick, "Gift Exchange and Art Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta's Drawing Albums," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 630–46; Alexander Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 647–68.

smaller tapestries, roughly half as large, illustrate angels holding the Eucharist aloft or making music (figs. 12-14), lay and clerical figures in adoration of the Eucharist (figs. 15-17), and allegorical female figures related to the Catholic Church (figs. 18-20). Rubens composed the scenes to feature over life-size figures set in shallow architectural frames so that these images of Eucharistic triumph would be forcefully evident to the viewers. He utilized vivid colors to enhance the visual impact of the textiles and designed the ensemble to hang edge-to-edge in two tiers throughout the Descalzas Reales. When they hung in the church, they would have visually and physically transformed the interior with their iconographically complex, symbolically rich, and aesthetically stunning imagery that celebrated one of the most fundamental ideals of the Counter-Reformation: the eternal victory of the Holy Sacrament (fig. 21).

Dramatic and innovative, the tapestries quickly earned widespread fame, and by the mid-1600s, there existed printed, painted, and even woven copies in the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere.¹⁶ *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series is today widely recognized as the most important cycle of religious tapestries produced during the first half of the seventeenth century, and scholars have enthusiastically celebrated Rubens's unrestrained creativity in its conception. Yet, little discussion exists about Isabel's role and the "why" of the commission, let alone its political undertones.

¹⁶ Charles Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist: Tapestries Designed by Rubens* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 27; de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, 213–54; Leo van Puyvelde, *The Sketches of Rubens*, trans. Eveline Winkworth (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1947), 33.

In 1886 Max Rooses was one of the first scholars to discuss the Infanta's patronage of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, but only spilled ink parsing out the artist's working process, iconography, and praising, above all, the

magnificence of [Rubens's] compositions: the mighty breadth with which he has inspired men and animals; the sureness and boldness with which he has given them life; the powerful movement which approached violence but never reaches it; the vivacious air which never degenerates into wildness.¹⁷

In 1917 Elías Tormo y Monza, an academician of the Royal Spanish Academy of History, wrote the first monograph on the convent of the Descalzas Reales, which included the first dedicated study of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series. In his discussion, Tormo described the tapestries in painstaking detail, poured over their likely original installation in the convent, and, like Rooses, delighted in Rubens's artistic invention. Similarly, he also allocated only a few biographical pages to the Infanta that reveal nothing substantial of her involvement in the series.¹⁸

Nearly four decades later, the German art historian Victor Elbern organized an exhibition of tapestries after *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series in Cologne. In the accompanying catalogue he offered the first comprehensive *catalogue raisonné* of the series.¹⁹ It brought together information on the cycle found in larger studies on Rubens, and presented, for the first time, a consolidated account of its iconography as well as the

¹⁷ Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 433.

¹⁸ Elías Tormo y Monzó, *En las Descalzas Reales: Estudios Históricos, Iconográficos y Artísticos* (Madrid: Blass, 1917), 9–11.

¹⁹ Elbern, *Peter Paul Rubens: Triumph Der Eucharistie. Wandteppiche Aus Dem Kölner Dom*.

distribution of its constituent bozzetti and modelli. Yet, like Tormo and Rooses before him, Elbern devoted only a brief paragraph to the Infanta's patronage. He first noted the coincidence that the commission originated shortly after the Dutch surrender at Breda, which, importantly, inspired Julius Held in 1968 to suggest that the series was an ex-voto for the victory.²⁰ Neither Elbern nor Held, however, pursued the significance of the link. Elbern's publication aimed to offer the first focused account of the series and Held's suggestion was only a passing observation in his treatment of the cycle. His interest lay in the series' oil sketches, which he used to reconstruct Rubens's working process.

In the nearly forty years since Elbern first postulated that a connection existed between the cycle and the victory of the Hispano-Flemish forces at Breda, no scholar has investigated seriously whether the surviving evidence supports the idea, nor what the repercussions of considering the series in this fashion might be. In 1978 the Centrum Rubenianum published its second volume of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* (a series of illustrated *catalogue raisonnés* devoted to the art of Rubens based on the material assembled by the late Rubens scholar, Ludwig Burchard). This volume was dedicated to *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series and authored by Nora de Poorter. The two-volume study is an indispensable, systematic investigation of each aspect of the artwork. However, she did not add new insight to the question of the commission. "Were the tapestries a special gift to [her cousin, who lived at the convent] Margarita, or did Isabella, on joining the Third Order, wish it present left this key matter untreated in the convent with a princely dowry surpassing all other gifts?" De Poorter wondered. "Was

²⁰ Julius Held, "Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville," *J.B. Speed Art Museum Bulletin* 25 (1968): 6.

[it] the result of a vow or an expression of gratitude to God for some particular event,” she continued, ultimately concluding that it could never be determined “with certainty.”²¹

Charles Scribner III similarly acknowledged Elbern’s hypothesis in his monograph, *The Triumph of the Eucharist: Tapestries Designed by Rubens* (1982), and noted that the Infanta would surely have considered the triumph over “the rebel forces” to be an appropriate cause for thanksgiving, particularly, as he notes, given that the word “Eucharist” is derived from the Greek word meaning “thanksgiving.”²² He concluded: “how better to express the thanks than by commissioning a tapestry cycle proclaiming the power and triumph of the Eucharist?”²³ However, Scribner did not probe the issue in his study and concentrated on Rubens’s textual and visual sources.

The lack of inquiry into the question of patronage may result from scholars’ desire to explore the complex iconographic issues that are important to this series as well as the uncertainty surrounding the installation of the series in the convent. However, it is also noteworthy that the wave of patronage studies that emerged after Francis Haskell’s seminal *Painters and Patrons* (1960) has not had much of an impact on Rubens studies—a field largely dominated by investigations of the artist’s history paintings, working process, or artistic influences.²⁴ Although several exceptions exist, including Deborah

²¹ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 34.

²² Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 18–19.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The sources are too extensive to name. However, a comprehensive bibliography on Rubens’s history paintings, process, and influences as well as his early work, paintings of saints, landscape, allegory, genre, drawings, oil sketches, and more, may be found in Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 319–24.

Marrow's dissertation on Rubens's *The Life of Marie de' Medici* cycle and Alejandro Vergara's *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (1999),²⁵ even Vergara, who devoted a section to Isabel Clara Eugenia's commission of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle, remained silent on the motivations for this remarkable act of patronage.²⁶

Sources and Materials

To retrieve the genesis and original function of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series, this dissertation draws on a variety of sources: the biography of the Infanta Isabel, her correspondence with ecclesiasts in Antwerp, Brussels, and Rome as well as the personal notes and writings of her private confessor and court chaplain, eye-witness accounts of the siege of Breda, the interior space of the Descalzas Reales, and, of course, the preparatory works and tapestries themselves. It pays special attention to the important role of the royal convent in Madrid for the Habsburg dynasty, and assesses the reason she chose to commission the series for it, rather than the many other, local convents she typically patronized. In so doing, the dissertation evaluates the full historical, political, and visual context of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series.

²⁵ Deborah Marrow, *The Art Patronage of Maria de' Medici*, Studies in Baroque Art History 4 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982).

²⁶ See Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 42–45.

a. Primary Documents

The Infanta Isabel was raised at the right hand of her father, King Philip II of Spain, and thus received a political and courtly education *par excellence*. However this apprenticeship bred feelings of bitterness and resentment with Isabel's younger brother, Philip III (1578-1621), and led to an ever-tense political relationship between the siblings after the coronation of the prince as king in 1598. These tensions negatively impacted the authority and freedom that Isabel needed to rule effectively in the Southern Netherlands, and were further compounded when her husband, Archduke Albert, died in 1621 and Philip IV, who continued the policies of his father, demoted her to Governess General.

Such tensions are visible in the Infanta's personal correspondence with the prioresses and nuns of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp and Brussels and also with the head of the Catholic mission in Rome at that time, Fray Domingo de Jesús María. These letters evince her deeply pious persona and the degree to which she believed unwaveringly that her prayers would help her persevere in the face of such adversity. These epistolary records have never been used in the context of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* nor analyzed with reference to the Siege of Breda. I have relied heavily on such documents, as they provide a more intimate sense of Isabel's feelings about martial, political, and spiritual matters while also offering compelling evidence about her motivations behind the commission of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series.

My study also employs the writings of the Infanta's personal confessor, Philippe Chifflet, a man whose documentation of the series constitutes virtually all that is known about the commission. For decades, scholars have referenced his *Papiers pour la vie de l'Infante Isabelle*—a series of notes, letters, and memoirs he assembled after the

Infanta's death that were to provide the basis for her biography. His note from January 1628 that "some pearls were given to Peter Paul Rubens for the tapestry patterns for the Franciscan nuns in Madrid" is one of only two of his known references to Rubens's work on the series.²⁷ In the other, which is undated, Chifflet elaborates by describing how

the Infanta sent to the Descalzas in Madrid a set of tapestries containing the figures and mysteries of the Holy Eucharist, the patterns for which were done by Rubens, and cost thirty thousand florins. The set of tapestries is worth nearly one hundred thousand.²⁸

Although these references have been the touchstone for scholars to address Rubens's involvement in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, they have been taken out of context. My dissertation looks to the broader framework in which those references appear, a subsection of Chifflet's *Papiers* called *Presentes faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps*, which places Rubens's tapestries within the Infanta's history of gift giving. The list of gifts indicates that throughout her life, and particularly in difficult moments, the Infanta Isabel presented, donated, and gifted at least 350,000 florins worth of sculpture, paintings, relics, jewels, liturgical objects, and more to prince, prelates, and priests alike.²⁹

The documents underscore how *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series belonged to a long history of strategic religious gifts. Although Chifflet's documents do not describe

²⁷ See above, n. 10.

²⁸ See above, n. 11.

²⁹ A full discussion of Chifflet's *Presentes faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps* will follow in Chapter 2.

the circumstances under which the Infanta gave these gifts, they do note the recipient, the date, and the gift's worth, which reveals how the peak of the Infanta Isabel's spending on gifts occurred in 1621, and specifically in the aftermaths of the year's two key events: the expiration of the Twelve Year's Truce, and her demotion from sovereign to governor.

Chifflet's notes about the Infanta's gift-giving complement the other major primary source I utilize in this dissertation, Herman Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* (1626). Originally published in Latin but immediately translated into English (twice), Spanish, French, and Italian, *Obsidio Bredana* was Hugo's eyewitness account of the Breda confrontation, which he wrote within months of the siege's end. The account, which describes every detail of the nine-month assault down to soldiers' clothing and meals, reveals that the gifts that emerged in the wake of Breda were ex-votos, or gifts of thanks to God, for the victory. This aspect of the Infanta's post-siege behavior has never before received attention, but critically sets the groundwork for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, which was also commissioned in the immediate aftermath of the triumph.

The examination of the *Obsidio Bredana* shows that for Isabel Clara Eugenia, and indeed all members of the Habsburg dynasty, the spiritual and martial spheres were one and the same. Analysis of this text also builds on the work of Cordula van Wyhe (née Schumann), who has revealed how the Infanta considered herself to be a Catholic *generalissima* in the face of religious heterodoxy. Hugo's text and Isabel's letters underscore how the Siege of Breda constituted not only a rebellion of the Dutch against their Spanish lords, but also a rejection of the Catholic faith by Protestant heretics, and, more specifically, the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

b. Iconography and Imagery

While these primary sources will frame the discussion leading up to *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, the imagery of the series itself will also testify to the Siege of Breda as the cycle's point of origin. At their most basic level, the tapestries illustrate images of the doctrinal defenses of sacrifice and of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist while also broadly referencing the Church triumphant. Close scrutiny of the compositions, however, also underscores that the struggles and triumphs they picture routinely occur against a backdrop of Protestant heresy. De Poorter and Scribner, whose analyses of the cycle's iconographic program are vital to this discussion, have pointed out how Protestant values, reformers, and doctrines reoccur through the series, illuminating the fact that although *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series does not actually picture the battlefield, the struggle against heresy is ever-present in the cycle's iconography.

Beyond the iconography, I also reconsider the conceptual program Rubens designed for eleven of the twenty tapestries in which the narrative scenes appear on tapestries hanging from architectural surrounds. In other words, he created tapestries within the tapestries. Scholars have long considered this tapestry within tapestry conceit to reflect Rubens's interest in trompe l'oeil Italian mural painting that pictures narratives hanging from trompe l'oeil tapestries.³⁰ Rubens took great pains to suggest that the

³⁰ Peter C. Sutton, "'Sacrifice of the Old Covenant,' from the Coolidge Collection," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 1 (1989): 17–18; Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 125–39; De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, 67–81; Charles Scribner III, "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 4 (December 1975): 526, n. 33; Elbern, *Peter Paul Rubens: Triumph Der Eucharistie. Wandteppiche Aus Dem Kölner Dom*, 15–16.

architecture and tapestries within the tapestries were “real,” as did those trompe l’oeil Italian painters, so that when the cycle hung in the convent church, the native architecture was replaced by the architectural schema in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series. However, unlike those artists, Rubens allowed his narrative figures to breach their pictorial field into the “real” space of the convent, as signified by the architectural surrounds. In so doing, he took the concept of trompe l’oeil illusionism to new, theologically rhetorical heights. By encouraging the viewer to meditate on the idea of transformation, he evoked the very foundation of the Eucharistic experience.

c. The Descalzas Reales

When considering Rubens’s imagery in the context of the Infanta’s biography, her tradition of gift giving, and the Siege of Breda, the commission of this tapestry series for the Descalzas Reales has powerful political as well as religious implications. During the seventeenth century, the Descalzas Reales was one of the most important foundations through which Habsburgs propagated their piety in Madrid. Once Philip II declared Madrid the official location of the court in 1561, Habsburg devotional activities in the capital city primarily occurred at the Descalzas Reales. It was where the king made additions to the liturgical calendar; announced the canonization of Spanish saints, and hosted public devotions (such as *autos-da-fé*); and celebrated feasts that involved dynamic, visible processions, including the Forty Hours Devotion, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and, above all, Good Friday and Corpus Christi.

Because the Crown’s legitimacy and authority rested on its spirituality, or, at least, perceived spirituality, the Descalzas Reales was the public platform not only for the

Spanish monarchy's religious program, but its political agenda.³¹ It was where the king would have met with any important visitors to Spain. Whether prince, ambassador, diplomat, or any other foreign dignitary, all visitors would have gone to the Descalzas Reales, where they were meant to understand, in no uncertain terms, the connection between religion and power.

The Infanta Isabel presented Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series to the Descalzas Reales because she was keenly aware of this role the convent played. She understood its participation in the public celebrations and private receptions, and thus how it became the primary stage in Madrid for the Spanish Habsburgs to shape and affirm their political and religious identity. During the Eucharist celebrations of Good Friday and Corpus Christi when *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series hung, the royal family and their special guests and entourage were the only non-ecclesiastical witnesses to the events. Moreover, because the Poor Clares were a cloistered Order, they beheld the Eucharistic services through the grille set into the *coro alto* (fig. 22). Thus, even though the nuns of the Descalzas Reales were the recipients of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, the king and his entourage would have viewed the works without obstruction. In this way, the very placement of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series within the Descalzas Reales speaks to its political function.

³¹ See John Huxtable Elliott, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?," in *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of H. G. Koenigsberger*, ed. Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 11.

Chapter Outline

My investigation begins with a historical contextualization of the Infanta Isabel's courtly upbringing and political career. It will discuss her education and political apprenticeship, the understanding of which is integral to appreciating the tense political relationship she developed with her brother, Philip III, and later her nephew, Philip IV. Such tensions weakened the authority and freedom Isabel needed to rule effectively and explain, in part, why the victory at Breda was so important to her.

Isabel's strategic use of gift giving to cope with the adverse situations that resulted from these relationships will be explored in Chapter 2. This chapter will examine archival documents compiled after Isabel's death by Philippe Chifflet that record the numerous gifts of various sizes and values the Infanta presented to a wide range of individuals dating back as her childhood. Crosses, relics, and rosaries appear time and again in the lists of presents given by Isabel, painting the picture of a generous and exceptionally pious individual. While many of these objects were given to family members, many more were sent to ambassadors, diplomats, and princes. Representative of the Infanta's piety though they may have been, the objects, once contextualized, emerge as part of a complicated *quid pro quo* matrix in which a gift given anticipates a favor returned. This chapter thus establishes how the circumstances and context of gifts is a necessary component of understanding both the object and its genesis. In so doing, it sets the stage for the largest and most expensive the Infanta Isabel ever gave, Peter Paul Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry cycle.

Chapter 3 addresses the genesis of the series by focusing on the contemporaneous martial event that immediately preceded the commission, the Siege of Breda. It shows

how Isabel routinely described conflicts with the Dutch as wars of religion, and, moreover, how she prayed to the Eucharist for success during this particular encounter. Using her letters of correspondence and Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana*, it shows how all her celebratory gestures in the battle's wake were articulated as gifts of thanks to God for his intervention and also how all those gifts were gifts with Eucharistic connections. It thus argues that Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series was conceived as an ex-voto for the victory of the Siege of Breda.

In Chapter 4, I explore the ways in which Rubens invested *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series with imagery and a conceptual conceit that celebrated the Eucharist in the most persuasive way possible. I draw on previous iconographic studies but also revise interpretations regarding Rubens's use of trompe l'oeil illusionism as betraying the painter's love of Italian prototypes and suggests that it instead served the complex theologically rhetorical purpose of inspiring viewers to contemplate the meaning of the Eucharist. In this way, the chapter demonstrates Rubens's deep engagement with the theological underpinnings of Isabel's commission.

Chapter 5 considers the political implications of the gift of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, and, more specifically, how it expressed the Infanta's desire for more power and greater autonomy to Philip IV. This chapter reexamines Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series through the lens of the siege to show that while the cycle overtly celebrates the Holy Sacrament, its imagery symbolically recalls the battle through its definitively Counter-Reformationist iconography. The series, thus, not only celebrated the glory of the Eucharist, but also reminded the viewer of the epic battle fought to safeguard its doctrine. This chapter also addresses the role of the Descalzas Reales in

seventeenth-century Madrid, both spiritually and politically. It will show how the political message inherent in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series was unambiguously designed for the King of Spain, not for the nuns of the convent.

Building on the political background, this final chapter concludes with an examination of the ways in which *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series fits within longstanding diplomatic traditions and how it attempted to compel the king of Spain into a relationship of reciprocity. With such political, biographical, and artistic threads of the series thus woven together, Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry cycle emerges as an even more powerful tool of piety and politics than has been previously understood.

Chapter 1: Defining the Problem of Authority: Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Spanish Court

Although everything passes through my hands, the final resolution lies in Spain.
Isabel Clara Eugenia, 1627³²

On 14 July 1621, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia was demoted from the role of sovereign regent to the post of Governess General of the Southern Netherlands. Her husband, the Archduke Albert of Austria had died the day before, and the laws of inheritance that outlined her tenure in the Netherlands denied her the ability to rule as a widow. The new king of Spain, her nephew Philip IV, who had the power to ameliorate her situation, moreover, had developed a stressed relationship with the Infanta and was unsupportive of her plight.

Groomed by her father, King Philip II, Isabel had received a courtly education in statecraft that introduced her both to theories of kingship and to strategies that would help her negotiate the power of her station. The great lengths to which Philip II went to train his daughter, however, created tensions with his son and grandson, the next two kings of Spain, who disapproved of her empowerment. This chapter addresses Isabel Clara Eugenia's political apprenticeship and courtly upbringing as well as the tumultuous

³² Isabel Clara Eugenia to Padre Domingo de Jesús María, "Holy Wednesday" 1627. See Appendix B: Letters between the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and Fray Domingo de Jesús María, head the Catholic Mission in Rome, Ana de San Bartolomé, Prioress of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp, 1611-1626, and Béatrix de la Conception, Prioress of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp, 1626-1646 in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp, doc. 12, 401, 408.

political times she faced during her sovereignty and widowhood, particularly in the early 1620s. It thus sets the stage for one of the major strategies she employed to reaffirm her political presence in the Netherlands and Spain: gift giving.

The Cession of the Netherlands and the Problem of Authority

When, on 6 June 1598, King Philip II of Spain publically ceded the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands and the Franche-Comté of Burgundy to his daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia with the Act of Cession, it was not without stipulations. Philip II had less than three months to live and although he was the monarch of an empire that also included Spain and Portugal, the kingdoms of Naples, Aragon, and Sicily, territories in “New Spain” that spanned from California to Florida to South America, land in the Philippines, and various other Pacific Islands, it was the future of the Netherlands that preoccupied him. The Netherlands, which Philip II’s father, Charles V, had officially unified in 1549,³³ was the most dynamic and strategically located territory in the Spanish Habsburg Empire.³⁴ From its court in Brussels, the king received correspondence from

³³ The edict of unification was called the “Pragmatic Sanction” of 1549 and ensured the perpetual rule of Habsburgs in the region.

³⁴ The question of Spanish “empire” is a difficult one that the preeminent Spanish historians John Huxtable Elliott and Henry Kamen have cogently explored in John Huxtable Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48–71 and Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth & National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); As they have argued, “Spain” is today used as a catchall that stands in for a broad geopolitical concept, so that that word, as applied to the early modern period, refers not to an entity, but to a relationship between the various kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere. People spoke of Spain as early as the Middle Ages and there existed certain nationalism or loyalty to patria by the sixteenth

northern Europe, the Holy Roman Empire, and Rome; from its ports, he ruled global maritime trade; and from its borders, he maintained a defensive military position against his rivals in France and England.

Despite the centrality of the Netherlands to the success of the Spanish monarchy, its provinces were the most politically unstable areas in the empire. Philip II's authority there had been challenged for nearly three decades, since a crowd of Protestant rioters invaded and defaced the chapel of the Sint-Laurensklooste in the Flemish town of Steenvoorde in 1566.³⁵ The riot incited a wave of anti-Catholic and anti-Habsburg rioting that swept through the Netherlands in the ensuing months as likeminded iconoclasts removed or destroyed any paintings, sculptures, stained glass windows, clerical vestments, liturgical vessels, and any other chapel, church, monastery, convent, or hospital property that lay in their path.

In truth, unrest in the northern provinces of the Netherlands had been mounting long before the 1566 rioting. The crumbling authority of the Catholic Church to Lutheran, Anabaptist, but above all, Calvinist reform dated to Philip's childhood, and

century, when Esteban de Garibay composed the first modern history of the country *Forty Books of the Compendium of Chronicles and Universal History of all the Realms of Spain* (1571). Nevertheless, Spain was more of a community of territories and nations that joined together in the person of a single king, than a united realm in and of itself. Thus, while Philip II is called the "king of Spain" there was, in fact, no such thing as the kingdom of Spain. To that end, "empire" has become an easy word with which to define what was, as B.J. García García and A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño have written, a "monarchy of nations." Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio and Bernardo García García, eds., *La Monarquía de Las Naciones. Patria, Nación y Naturaleza En La Monarquía de España* (Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2004).

³⁵ The rioters may have targeted the Sint-Laurensklooste specifically due to the importance of St. Lawrence to their king. See Peter J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 103–104.

gained serious momentum in the years following his residence in the Netherlands from 1548-1551. The marriage of one of his most trusted lords William I, Prince of Orange, to Anne of Saxony, niece of the leading Lutheran prince of Germany, in 1561, signaled a weakening of Spain's religious grip on its northern nobles, who were already frustrated by the monarchy's centralized authority and treatment of religious heterodoxy. The gradual encroachments of Spain's power on local privileges in the Netherlands regarding the control of new bishoprics, the establishment of Spanish garrisons, and the treatment of heretics led to widespread disenchantment with Spanish authority. Then, in 1564 William I gave a rousing speech to the Council of State in which he demanded freedom of religion and the abolition of the Spanish Inquisition.³⁶ Although William was, at that time, a Catholic (he converted to Calvinism in 1573), he felt that any sort of religious persecution was unjust.

Most historians concur that the question of religion was actually less significant than that of political authority for William I and the Dutch nobles.³⁷ However, they understood that religious orthodoxy ensured the health of the Catholic monarchy, and, consequently, that religious strife would threaten the unity of the vast Habsburg Empire. The wave of anti-Habsburg activism that ensued soon after William's speech indeed endangered Spain's global position, and by 1579 seven of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands had officially rebelled against their Spanish king, pitting north against south

³⁶ Koenraad Wolter Swart, *William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London: The Historical Association, 1978), 11.

³⁷ On the question of economic versus religious interests in the Netherlands, see Rafael Valladares, "Decid Adios a Flandes: La Monarquía Hispánica Y El Problema de Los Países Bajos," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Tournhout: Brepols, 1998), 47–54.

in what would become known as the Eighty Years' War.³⁸ The Act of Cession in 1598 that gave the Netherlands and Franche-Comté to Isabel Clara Eugenia, thus, included conditions that sought to ensure the continuity of the Habsburg dynasty as well as the supremacy of the Catholic Church in the patrimonial lands.³⁹ The transfer of dominion depended upon the marriage of Isabel to her cousin, the Archduke Albert.

Albert, the fifth son of Emperor Maximilian II (1527-1576) and Philip II's sister Empress María (1528-1603) was raised largely at the Spanish court, where from early on he ingratiated himself to Philip II.⁴⁰ He was studious, diligent, and extremely religious—so much so that it later earned him the nickname “the Pious.” In sum, he was an ideal political apprentice. Philip understood that as the youngest son of the Emperor, Albert had little chance of advancing to the highest imperial offices, and so the king set his sights on the archiepiscopal seat of Toledo for his nephew, the revenue from which was second only to that of the Holy See.⁴¹ The position became available in 1576, but Albert, who was only sixteen, was judged too young. The king instead appointed Gaspar de Quiroga, bishop of Cuenca, believing that the sexagenarian would soon vacate the seat.

³⁸ For a cogent analysis of the collapse of Habsburg authority in the north, see Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 127–54.

³⁹ Victor Brants, *Receuil Des Ordonnances Des Pays-Bas. Règne d'Albert et Isabelle, 1597-1621* (Brussels: J. Goemaere, 1909), I: 7–11.

⁴⁰ For the Archduke Albert's biography, I have relied on Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

Quiroga lived much longer than Philip II had expected, however, and Albert never assumed the post.

To clear the way for the archdiocese that would, ultimately, elude the Archduke, Philip II ensured that Albert became a Cardinal. In 1577, Pope Gregory XIII announced the appointment, and in less than a decade Philip II made him viceroy of Portugal. Within a year Albert became the country's papal legate and two years after that, its inquisitor-general of the Inquisition. By 1586, the Archduke Albert possessed a "spiritual jurisdiction," to borrow a term from Luc Duerloo, generally reserved for the Papacy.⁴² When Philip II's health began to fail in the early 1590s, he recalled Albert to Spain to take over a number of his duties, including the morning audiences, the afternoon meetings of the *junta de gobierno* (the king's privy council), and the guidance of Prince Philip III in the art of governance.

Pious, princely, and politically experienced, in 1598 Albert became the king's choice for governor of the Netherlands and consort to his eldest daughter. Unfortunately, Philip II would not live long enough to witness the marriage. He died on 13 September 1598, seven months before the nuptials occurred in mid-April 1599. Nevertheless, he felt assured that with Albert's deep loyalty to church and crown, Spain's interests in the Netherlands would be maintained. Further, as Isabel's first cousin, Albert ensured that the provinces of the Netherlands, regardless of the fact that seven were actively revolting against the monarchy, would remain a Habsburg possession.

⁴² Ibid., 26.

Overview of the Act of Cession

Of the eleven clauses that outlined the transfer of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté to the Infanta Isabel, certain conditions were ambiguous or vague. The third clause, for example, stated that in the event that Albert died before her, Philip III was “to take care of” his sister. Most clauses, however, made highly specific stipulations of a dynastic or religious nature. The transfer enjoined that the domains be inherited according to the rules of primogeniture and that if Albert and Isabel produced only a daughter, she would either marry the king of Spain or someone of his consent. Other articles specified that only Catholic princes could inherit the land; that the Archdukes pledge their fidelity to the Catholic Church and condemn as heretics any member of their family who refused; that the ceded territories return to the Spanish crown in the event that the Archdukes remained childless or if Albert were to die before his wife; and that every new Spanish king approve the cession upon his ascension to the throne.

Philip II delivered the orders of the cession to the court in Madrid on 6 May 1598, and also sent them to the kingdoms of Naples, Castile, Aragon, Sicily, and Portugal. That same day he also sent a letter to his son, the heir to the crown, Prince Philip III, titled *Secret Clauses Related to the Cession of the Low Countries* in which he outlined various conditions without which the cession should not go forward.⁴³ In the letter of secret clauses, Philip II required that the monarchy maintain strategic citadels in Antwerp, Ghent, Cambrai, and anywhere else that would be advantageous to “conquer the

⁴³ Brants, *Receuil Des Ordonnances Des Pays-Bas. Règne d’Albert et Isabelle, 1597-1621*, I: 12–13.

rebels.”⁴⁴ He also enjoined that those citadels be staffed by Castilians, governors, and other officials chosen by the king, who could install or remove them at his will; that these officials be paid by the kingdom; and that they be required to swear allegiance to His Majesty and not the Archdukes. The king was also expected to retain control of the Army of Flanders, to appoint its commander, who would answer only to him, and to establish a garrison in the Netherlands, the officer of which he would appoint and finance.

Such an arrangement within a Habsburg land was unusual. By the fifteenth century the makeup of the Spanish Monarchy was a constellation of independent nations that recognized the authority of the ruler of Spain.⁴⁵ In law, custom, culture, and language, however, each of these nations maintained an autonomous existence. Although they were subject to certain institutions established by the *patrimonio real*, for example, the Inquisition, the various nations of the so-called Habsburg Empire—the kingdoms of Portugal, Sicily, and Aragon—each had their own laws, tax structures, language, coinage, and administration.⁴⁶

When the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands collectively became a sovereign realm under the Archdukes Albert and Isabel following the Act of Cession, the stipulations were somewhat different from traditional practices. Like in other Habsburg territories Albert and Isabel could mint their own coinage, publish their own laws, and receive and appoint ambassadors. Yet, the conditions of the Act of Cession paired with the Secret Clauses ensured that the Archdukes relied on Spain for military defense and

⁴⁴ Ibid., I: 12.

⁴⁵ See above, n. 34.

⁴⁶ Kamen, *Imagining Spain*, 18.

financial support, and also that they had to follow Spain's policies regarding political, martial, or religious matters.

Modern historians have debated the question of the Archdukes' sovereignty extensively. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Belgian historian Victor Brants argued that despite these contractual subordinations, the Archducal court was, in reality, a total sovereignty: "Belgium during this period was once again a true and separate State, actively exercising in international law the prerogatives of sovereignty, despite the superficial ties with the Empire, for which no one had great regard."⁴⁷ Joseph Lefèvre and later Charles H. Carter proposed an entirely different analysis that saw the archducal regime as deeply dependent on the Spain. Lefèvre called Albert "neither a foreign sovereign nor a simple governor"⁴⁸ and Carter concurred that while the Archduke had limited powers on the foreign scale, he was largely autonomous in civil matters.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, their arguments emphasized the Archdukes' heavy reliance upon their Spanish monarch. Most recently, Luc Duerloo has offered the most nuanced explanation of the issue. In his biography of the Archduke Albert, he explains that in the early modern era autonomy was a relative matter. Particularly within the complicated network of the

⁴⁷ Victor Brants, "L'Autonomie Internationale de Belgique Sous les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1598-1621)," in *Annales Internationales d'Histoire: Histoire Générale et Diplomatique* (Maçon: A. Colin, 1901), 180.

⁴⁸ Joseph Lefèvre, "Les Ambassadeurs d'Espagne À Bruxelles Sous Le Règne de l'Archiduc Albert, 1598-1621," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 2 (1923): 80; See also Joseph Lefèvre, "Le Ministère Espagnol de l'Archiduc Albert," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale D'archéologie de Belgique* 1 (1924): 202–24.

⁴⁹ Charles Howard Carter, *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs, 1598-1625* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Charles Howard Carter, "Belgian 'Autonomy' under the Archdukes, 1598-1621," *The Journal of Modern History* 36, no. 3 (1964): 245–59.

Habsburg Empire, in which questions of religion and defense were intricately bound to the larger notion of dynastic solidarity, independence, as understood in contemporary terms, would not have existed in the political arena of the Archdukes Albert and Isabel.⁵⁰

Yet, the Act of Cession made it impossible for the Archdukes to take control of the problem that vexed their new realm: war. Spain determined the policies and resources required to support the conflict, and it maintained control over the conditions that could conclude it. To that end, it was difficult for other European courts to take archducal authority seriously. It also made even more difficult the ideological war with the Dutch, who parodied Albert and Isabel as a part of the Catholic rank and file, as in, for example, Adriaen van de Venne's *Fishing for Souls*, which depicts the Archdukes as being part of a spiritually inept entourage that attempts to "catch souls" with enticements rather than through the word of the Lord (fig. 23).

Political Education and Courtly Apprenticeship Under Philip II

Particularly problematic for the Archdukes was that the Act of Cession divested Isabel's younger brother, Philip III, of part of his territorial inheritance, thereby placing additional strain on an already fragile relationship. From early on, Philip II seemed to favor Isabel over her younger brother. Twelve years Prince Philip's senior, she lived at the right hand of their father for the majority of her life, and by the time of Philip II's death she was his closest confidant. Although Prince Philip was heir to the Spanish

⁵⁰ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 7–8.

crown, the king had already lost three sons by the time he was born. Philip II, thus, may have chosen not to develop a relationship with his son until he was assured the boy would survive childhood. However, he may also have simply preferred his daughter. Stories from the prince's tutors paint the picture of an academically average boy who possessed disappointing intellectual curiosity, poor health, and who was "very childish in many things."⁵¹ Isabel, on the other hand, excelled in her studies. She knew Latin, French, and Portuguese. She was exceptionally pious, having learned to read by studying the Bible, the lives of saints, and prayer books. She loved to dance, play music, and, unnecessarily for a royal, she even learned to cook.⁵² From her childhood friend, Ana von Dietrichstein, we also know that she was an accomplished writer and correspondent, and from the dedication of Luis Gálvez de Montalvo's *El pastor de Filida* (1582), we know that her love of poetry and theater was so great that she started a literary group to read and perform works.⁵³ By all accounts, Philip II was not only aware of his daughter's interests, but in tight control of her education. Having lost Isabel's mother, Elizabeth of Valois, when the Infanta was only two years old, Philip II became the overseer of his daughter's instruction, supervising court-appointed tutors, and all other aspects of her upbringing.

⁵¹ Quoted in Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 305.

⁵² Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela's Personal Possessions," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 65.

⁵³ Santiago Martínez Hernández, "'Enlightened Queen, Clear Cynthia, Beauteous Moon': The Political and Courtly Apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 29–31.

When Philip II was acting as King of Portugal from 1581-1583 he wrote letters that reveal the watchful eye he maintained over Isabel's education. He warned her and her younger sister Catalina Micaela (1567-1597) to be attentive to their spelling, and he encouraged them to stimulate their minds with appropriate readings.⁵⁴ He also congratulated them on their academic successes, for example when Isabel learned Portuguese.⁵⁵ Philip's emphasis on his daughters' literacy and language acquisition follows closely the recommendations of the Renaissance humanists Desiderius Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives, whose texts on female education counseled their pupils to study languages to engage the mind and cultivate a virtuous spirit and to master the field of letters so that they could become more capable in household government.⁵⁶

Such pedagogical principals of female instruction adhered closely to the model imposed on royal Spanish women since the mid-fifteenth century.⁵⁷ However, Philip II

⁵⁴ Philip II to his daughters, 16 April 1582; same to same, 25 June 1582. *Cartas de Felipe II a Sus Hijas* (Madrid: Ediciones Lepanto, 1943), 70–72, 80–81.

⁵⁵ Philip II to his daughters, 1 October 1582. See *ibid.*, 89–91.

⁵⁶ For a critical introduction to these two authors and their philosophies on female instruction, see Erika Rummel, ed., *Erasmus on Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 45–52.

⁵⁷ Philip II's great-grandmother, Isabel of Castile (1451-1504), employed the humanist tutor Peter Martyr d'Anghiera to instruct her daughters in sacred history, classical literature, Latin, the liberal arts, and music. Taking these lessons to heart, Isabel of Castile's youngest daughter, and future Queen of England, Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) commissioned one of Vives's major works, *De institutione deminae christianae* (1524) to educate her daughter Mary Tudor (1516-1558), Philip II's second wife. Catherine's commitment to humanist principals later inspired Erasmus to dedicate his *De Matrimonio Cristiano* (1527) to her, while Joanna I (1479-1555), Catherine's sister and Philip II's grandmother, was also noted for her education. Her command of Latin verse was supposedly so strong that she not only recited, but also composed it. See Martinez

also made certain that Isabel receive lessons in mathematics, geography, philosophy, history, and art—aspects of a humanist education more typical of young princes and heirs apparent. Martha Hoffman’s thorough study of the education of Spanish royalty during the first three decades of the seventeenth century describes how princes would be tutored in history, so as to understand their predecessors; geography, so that they may understand their territories and those of their enemies; Latin, French, and Portuguese, so that as king they might be able to speak with ambassadors; and music and dance, so that they may have grace and a good disposition.⁵⁸ Almudena Pérez de Tudela has further shown how Philip II habitually brought the Infanta when he visited artists’ workshops, which must have taught her important lessons about how to manage artistic commissions and navigate the relationship with those individuals who generated the royal image.⁵⁹ In other words, Philip II had ensured that his daughter receive the ideal training of a prince long before he guided the education of his son, the future king of Spain.

Remarkably, Philip II not only saw to it that Isabel receive humanist instruction, but also that she understand politics and government. In 1585 the king appointed Don Juan de Zúñiga y Requesens, Counselor of State and War, to be the governor and

Hernandez, “‘Enlightened Queen, Clear Cynthia, Beauteous Moon’: The Political and Courtly Apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia,” 27; Ruth Betegon Diez, *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Infanta de Espana y Soberana de Flandes* (Barcelona: Plaza and Janes, 2004); Bethany Aram, *La Reina Juana: Gobierno, Piedad Y Dinastia* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), 50.

⁵⁸ See especially “Chapter 3: Teachers and Formal Instruction.” Martha K. Hoffman, *Raised to Rule: Educating Royalty at the Court of the Spanish Habsburgs, 1601-1634* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 54–79.

⁵⁹ Pérez de Tudela, “Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela’s Personal Possessions,” 63.

mayordomo mayor (lord high steward), both to the Infanta, who was then nineteen years old, and to Prince Philip, who was seven.⁶⁰ The *mayordomo mayor* held the highest-ranked position in the royal household, and traditionally acted as the primary confidant, administrator, and personal representative of his patron. However, the appointment of Zúñiga signaled a shift from court-focused responsibilities to an emphasis on a larger political education. The son of Philip II's own tutor, Juan de Zúñiga Avellaneda y Velasco, and brother of the king's ambassador in Rome, Don Juan de Zúñiga y Requesens had been active in the military and diplomatic service of Spain since the 1560s as the ambassador to Rome (1568-1571), governor of the Duchy of Milan (1571-1573) and the Netherlands (1573-1576), and viceroy of Naples (1579-1583).⁶¹

Although Zúñiga occupied the position for only a year due to his untimely death in 1586, his extensive knowledge of foreign policy clearly reflects Philip II's desire to see his children educated theoretically and practically in the art of government. That Philip considered appointing one of his closest advisors Cristóbal de Moura to replace Zúñiga, but instead chose Moura's ally, the Portuguese gentleman Gómez Dávila y Toledo, second Marquis of Velada, confirms his desire to ensure Isabel's political education.⁶² Like Zúñiga, Moura also held office in the Council of State and served in the *junta de gobierno*. Velada would go on to become Philip's *sumiller de corps* (groom of the stole),

⁶⁰ Martínez Hernández, "Enlightened Queen, Clear Cynthia, Beauteous Moon': The Political and Courtly Apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia," 33.

⁶¹ Henry Kamen, *Who's Who in Europe, 1450-1750* (London: Routledge, 2000), 255.

⁶² On the complicated selection process of the *mayordomo mayor*, see Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16–17.

one of the closest stations possible to the king.⁶³ Philip II had thus entrusted the upbringing and guardianship of the crown heir and his daughter to several of the most powerful men in his employ.

The king's desire to see Isabel educated and trained in the art of statecraft may have been due, in part, to the fact that he believed for a long time that she might one day inherit the Spanish monarchy. Barely a year after the Infanta's birth, Philip II wrote to Maximilian II that he had little confidence in the abilities of his eldest son from his first marriage, Don Carlos (1545-1568). First in line to the throne, Don Carlos was a notoriously unstable child with an unpredictably violent nature and penchant for animal cruelty. The prince was so volatile that after one particularly aggressive outburst in which he threatened to kill his father, Philip II placed him under house arrest and confined him to the palace tower. Six months later, Don Carlos starved himself to death.⁶⁴

At the age of two, Isabel thus became the heir presumptive. With the birth of her brother Ferdinando in 1571 she temporarily lost this status. However, neither Ferdinando nor two of the other three boys born to Philip II and his fourth wife, Anna of Austria (1545-1580), survived past childhood. Carlos Lorenzo, born 1573, died just before his

⁶³ Because the *sumiller de corps* was in charge of dressing his patron, which involved touching, it was one of the most intimate positions at court. In addition to wardrobe duties, the *sumiller de corps* was also responsible for handing a towel to his patron when he woke every morning, handing him his goblet at lunch and dinner when ate alone, making his bed, and sleeping in a portable bed in the royal chamber. On the particulars of this job at the Habsburg court and the selection of Velada, see Martinez Hernandez, "Enlightened Queen, Clear Cynthia, Beauteous Moon": The Political and Courtly Apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia," 33–34; Hoffman, *Raised to Rule: Educating Royalty at the Court of the Spanish Habsburgs, 1601-1634*; Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621*, 28; *ibid.*; Elliott, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?," 8–9.

⁶⁴ On the conduct and death of Don Carlos, see Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 120–23.

second birthday, and Diego Felix, born in 1575, lived only to the age of seven. Only Prince Philip, born 1578, survived the king. However, he had a sickly constitution in his early life, which became a constant source of anxiety for the king and the frequent subject of missives of court ambassadors.⁶⁵ Given the shortage of male heirs, it was prudent for the king to handle the Infanta's future with care. Yet, as his dealings with Don Carlos suggest, he was not willing to invest power in his issues just because of bloodline. There must have been something in her character that should inspire him to so educate her.

"The Most Beautiful, the Most Learned": Public Perceptions of the Infanta Isabel

Eulogies and literary dedications to the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia enumerate her many virtues, including piety and compassion, but also, significantly, her knowledge and good judgment. In the second part of his *Silva de Poesía* (1585-1595), Eugenio Salazar de Alarcón praises her "great understanding" and the "knowledge [she] well displays." Making a pun of her second name Clara (which in Spanish also means "light" or "clear"), he wrote,

Ysabel Clara Eugenia, your renown is clear, and its sound is sweet and clear...
clear is your worth, which decks you so with gold, clear is your bounty and your
high renown, clear is your reason, the majesty is clear, clear is your understanding
and discretion.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Geoffrey Parker, *Felipe II: La Biografía Definitiva* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2010), 406–35.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Jaime Olmedo Ramos, "Isabel Clara Eugenia and Literature," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 234–35.

The historian Luis Zapata de Chaves was also keen to mention the Infanta's intelligence in the dedication of his *Miscelánea o Varia Historia* (1583-1592), in which he acclaimed her as not only "the most beautiful" but also the "most learned."⁶⁷ Later, in a funeral panegyric written in honor of the Infanta's niece Anne of Austria (1601-1666), the writer lauded the deceased as belonging to a distinguished line of Habsburg women, including Isabel Clara Eugenia, for

...unit[ing] in her person the valor of conquerors and the wisdom of politicians, with all the perfections of her sex. The names above all of the Blanches and Isabels, who occupy so high a place in History, are incontestable evidence of sovereign authority that demonstrates that the princesses of Spain are very wise in the art of governing and there is no crown so heavy that they cannot wear it with dignity.⁶⁸

It is possible that the repeated inclusion of Isabel's astuteness, rather than her fidelity or piety alone, was mere pacification designed to curry favor with a royal patron. She was a princess of Spain, and, as Alicia Esteban Estríngana has noted, Providence supposedly bestowed such exceptional qualities on sovereign royalty for the proper execution of their terrestrial duties.⁶⁹ However, it is also possible that prudence and

⁶⁷ Ibid., 238.

⁶⁸ "que han unido en su persona el valor de los conquistadores y la sabiduría de los políticos, con todas las perfecciones de su sexo. Los nombres sobre todo de las Blancas e Isabeles, que tan alto lugar ocupan en la Historia, son pruebas invencibles y de autoridad soberana, que justifican que las princesas de España son muy sabias en el arte de reinar y que no hay corona tan pesada que no la puedan sostener dignamente." Quoted in Jean Frédéric Schaub, *La Francia Española: Las Raíces Hispanas del Absolutismo Francés*, trans. Alicia Martorell (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2004), 249.

⁶⁹ Alicia Esteban Estríngana, "'What a Princess, Good God!': The Heritage and Legacy of the Infanta Isabel," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of*

political aptitude were, indeed, features of the Infanta's character, and that these writers and eulogists recognized Isabel's promise for future rule.

To judge from the letters of courtiers and chroniclers, she demonstrated a great interest in government in her early life. In 1569, Philip II's secretary of state, Gabriel de Zayas, sent a letter to the Spanish ambassador in Paris Don Francés de Álava noting how the three-year-old princess delighted in imitating her father at work and how it was her greatest wish to write like him. To keep her quiet, he wrote, "there was no better medium than paper and ink, as with this she is happier than with anything else you could offer."⁷⁰ An anecdote from the court chronicler Luis Cabrera de Córdoba offers a similarly precocious image of Isabel at age nine, when in the summer of 1573 the king put her and her sister to work in his office. As Cabrera writes,

...[the king] attended to the dispatch of business with the great assistance of the Queen and of the infantas, so that he wrote and signed, the Queen sanded what he had written and the infantas took it to a table where Sebastián de Santoyo, the valet of papers, faithful, greatly privy and favored by his Majesty, made up the packets or bundles and sent them to the secretaries.⁷¹

Madrid and Brussels, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 420–21.

⁷⁰ Gabriel de Zayas to Francés de Álava, 16 May 1569 in Pedro Rodriguez and Justina Rodriguez, *Don Francés de Alava Y Beamonte: Correspondencia Inédita de Felipe II Con Su Embajador En Paris (1564-1570)* (San Sebastián: Sociedad Guipuzcoana de Ediciones y Publicaciones, 1991), doc. 173.

⁷¹ Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Historia de Felipe II, Rey de España*, ed. J. Martínez Millán and C. J. de Carlos Morales (Castilla y León: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1998), II: 655; Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 208.

In 1585, after Isabel's younger sister, Catalina Micaela, married Charles Emmanuel I (1562-1630), Duke of Savoy, and left for Genoa, the Infanta became even closer to her father. In 1586 the French ambassador Pierre de Ségusson, Sieur de Longlée reported to Catherine de' Medici, Isabel's grandmother, that the king's great reverence for his daughter would lead him to stand by her coach in the cold of winter to talk to her, and to remain bareheaded in front of her as if she were the most honorable princess.⁷² The time they spent together in one another's chambers became so great that Philip built a passage in the palace of Monzón to visit his daughter more easily.⁷³ "He wants her always at his side," the Venetian envoy Gaspar Contarini once wrote, "and she is sometimes with him three or four hours while he attends to petitions, which she helps him to read."⁷⁴ Other reports indicate that as the king's health declined, Philip not only asked his daughter read state papers to him, but also to assist him in composing their responses.⁷⁵ Among the scant extant evidence of her involvement in court activities is an enquiry from the *junta de gobierno* dated 26 December 1597 on which the Infanta responded to the council's questions in the margins of the parchment. Although that the

⁷² "[Philip II] portant ung vray amour et respect paternel en assez d'occasions, comme pour la saluer à la descente de son coche, la laissant dans sa chambre et infinies autres, où il y a moins d'occasion. Sa Maté se tient la teste nue, comme si c'estoit une princesse qu'il honorast bien fort, ce qu'il faict d'une grace et façon fort humaine." Pierre de Ségusson to Catherine de' Medici, 8 February 1586. Albert Mousset, *Dépêches Diplomatiques de M. de Longlée, Résident de France En Espagne, 1582-1590* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1912), 226.

⁷³ Pérez de Tudela, "Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela's Personal Possessions," 75, 86, n. 245.

⁷⁴ Louis-Prosper Gachard, *Carlos V y Felipe II a Través de Sus Sontemporáneos* (Madrid, 1944), 157; Quoted in Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 302.

⁷⁵ Diez, *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Infanta de Espana y Soberana de Flandes*, 64.

king had authorized his son to sign his name, Santiago Martínez Hernández has observed that the enquiry bears the Infanta's, and not Philip III's, "unmistakable" script (fig. 24).⁷⁶

In addition to taking his dictations, Isabel also discussed dispatches and papers of the highest importance with her father and attended the meetings of the Councils of State.⁷⁷ By May 1588 she had become so visible in the court's political life that on the eve of the sailing of the Great Armada the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, informed Martín de Idiáquez, Marquis of Velada and member of the Spanish royal council, about stirrings at the Valois court that His Majesty had gone mad and that the Infanta Isabel was in control of the government. When Catherine de' Medici inquired about the rumors of her granddaughter's newly acquired power, Mendoza replied that Isabel not only saw papers but also composed them.⁷⁸

Although the reports of the king's incompetency and the Infanta's assumption of governmental affairs were unfounded, it evinces the seriousness of Isabel's involvement in state affairs and the keenness of her father to groom her for a position of power.⁷⁹ In

⁷⁶ Martínez Hernández, "Enlightened Queen, Clear Cynthia, Beauteous Moon': The Political and Courtly Apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia," 42.

⁷⁷ Pierre de Ségusson to Catherine de' Medici, 6 March 1586: "madame l'Infante gouverne fort ledit Roy et luy list tous les papiers et memoires qui luy sont donnez sur ce voiaige, et Son Altesse s'acoustume encor à luy lire le plus souvent les despesches et papier des plus importantz affaires, ausquelz elle est toute encline ou pour le moins à ce qu'elle voit estre le plus agreable à Sa Ma.té Catholique." Mousset, *Dépêches Diplomatiques de M. de Longlée, Résident de France En Espagne, 1582-1590*, 35–36.

⁷⁸ Maria Jose Rodriguez-Salgado, "The Court of Philip II of Spain," in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age*, ed. Ronald Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 205.

⁷⁹ It would not have been wholly unrealistic that the Infanta would be entrusted with the affairs of the Spanish monarchy. Philip II handed over the government to his sister Juana of Austria from 1554-1559 when he went to England to wed Mary Tudor and then to

truth, she had no official powers or responsibilities as long as her father and brother lived. Yet, when it came time for the announcement of her marriage to the Archduke Albert and their inheritance of the Spanish Netherlands, few doubted that she would be a capable ruler. In a speech before Albert, members of the Netherlandish nobility, and governors of the provinces at the time of the publication of the Act of Cession in August 1598, Jean Richardot, president of the Council of State in Brussels, declared her:

the most religious princess in the world, brought up blessed in the house of her father, where she saw nothing but every goodness, every decency and ever virtue and piety, as if she had always been in a convent of Saint Clare! And if you ask if she is fit to govern, who will doubt that she, who from the age of eighteen to twenty was continually at the side of her father, seeing the reports and frequently giving him account of them, and the resolution of the great business of the world, should not have the prudence and experience to rule the Low Countries, not to say her father's entire empire?⁸⁰

As Richardot explained, it was not only the virtue of her piety that made her an exceptional princess, but also the extensive training she received from her father that made her worthy of assuming sovereignty over the Netherlands.

Brussels to serve as regent in the Netherlands. In the summer of 1565 Philip also entrusted his young wife and Isabel's mother, Elizabeth of Valois with the talks between France and Spain at Bayonne. He had called the meeting to urge France to strengthen its position against Protestantism, and was unable to contain his pride when Elizabeth successfully entreated her mother, Catherine de' Medici, to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent. Writing in August 1565 to his representative in Rome, Cardinal Pacheco, he recounted with pleasure how she strong-armed the queen of France into accepting his demands. M. F. Combs, *Entrevue de Bayonne de 1565 El La Question de La Saint-Barthelémy, d'Après Les Archives de Simancas* (Paris: Librairie G. Fischbacher, 1882), 39–43.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Esteban Estríngana, “‘What a Princess, Good God!’: The Heritage and Legacy of the Infanta Isabel,” 422.

Isabel, Albert, Philip III: Siblings, Cousins, Rivals

While Philip II clearly cultivated Isabel's ruling abilities, he was slow to involve his son in governmental affairs. Philip III was eighteen years old by the time his father attempted to bring him into the process of government.⁸¹ Although the king had invited his son to receive audiences as early as 1588, Isabel was always by her brother's side. She accompanied him during receptions and religious services, and even mothered him during his first state audiences during which he sat on her lap.⁸² As time passed, the two sat side-by-side under the same baldachin in what some found to be a relationship so reminiscently marital that a rumor circulated in 1589 that Philip II contemplated a marriage between his children.⁸³ While those rumors were untrue, court portraits and medals regularly depicted the siblings together, which enhanced the Infanta's political gravitas enormously, but did little to benefit Prince Philip's reputation (fig. 25).

By the time the prince reached his mid-teens, his father was so uncertain about his future in statecraft that in 1593 he brought the Archduke Albert back from Lisbon to Madrid to, among other things, help prepare his son for the duties of kingship. As the story goes, Philip II was so pleased to see Albert when he arrived at the royal monastery-palace complex, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, that he went two miles by coach to greet his nephew. Later, during the procession to the monastery, Philip II honored Albert by having Philip III walk to his cousin's left while His Majesty walked to his right. This

⁸¹ Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 305.

⁸² Pérez de Tudela, "Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela's Personal Possessions," 63, 78, n. 31.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 63, 78, n. 33.

arrangement, which separated the crown prince from his father, evidently displeased the younger Philip, who attempted instead to walk beside his father. According to legend, the king chastised him and instructed him to return to his position.⁸⁴

From 1593-1595, the Archduke Albert accompanied the prince to official meetings, celebrations, and church services. He alternated the duties of giving audience with him in the morning and of joining him in the afternoons during the meetings of the *junta de gobierno*. These meetings were considered the most important of the prince's training, as it was there that he would be exposed to the many aspects of state affairs. Early reports, however, suggest that the sessions were ill fated. "He is unable to give counsel with his tutor present," Juan de Silva wrote to Cristóbal de Moura in December 1593. "The poor young lad with his showy uncle and old chamberlain around him; how will he count or with whom will he dare argue?"⁸⁵

Even after Albert relocated to the Netherlands to become governor, the prince seemed not to excel in matters of government. In 1596, the king promoted the Marquis de Velada, Philip III's former *mayordomo mayor*, to the Council of State to support his son.⁸⁶ Before he died Philip II hastened to sign the peace of Vervins with France so that

⁸⁴ Kamen recalls this anecdote in Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 302.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 249, n. 8; For more on Philip III's induction into politics, see Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 301–16; Geoffrey Parker, *Philip II* (Chicago: Open Court, 1995), 191–92.

⁸⁶ Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 305.

such a crucial matter would not be left to the prince.⁸⁷ As he lay on his deathbed, Philip II supposedly lamented, “God, who has given me so many kingdoms, has denied me a son capable of ruling them.”⁸⁸

The Problem of Authority Under Philip III

As a prince, Philip was forced to deal with his father’s criticisms as well as the evident favoritism he demonstrated toward his sister and cousin, but was made deeply unhappy by the loss of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté to them, as he considered those territories to be his birthright. Shortly after his coronation as King Philip III, however, he considered annulling the Act of Cession.⁸⁹ Although he ultimately decided to honor the contract, he and his councilors periodically entertained notions of divesting Albert and Isabel of power—an idea to which the Infanta did not take kindly. When in 1604 Philip III tried to get the Archdukes to abdicate in exchange for the kingdom of Valencia and viceroyalty of Portugal, Isabel declined, supposedly telling her brother’s envoy to assure him that she would never leave Flanders “unless with her feet first.”⁹⁰

⁸⁷ William Sachs Goldman, “The Political Culture of Empire: The Spanish Council of State and Foreign Policy Under Philip III, 1598-1621” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004), 184.

⁸⁸ Quoted in John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 17.

⁸⁹ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 68.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

To keep his sister and cousin in check, Philip III established a shadow ministry in Brussels. He appointed a Spanish ambassador to the archducal court who was to coordinate Albert and Isabel's policies with those of his Secretary of State and War.⁹¹ This ambassador was charged to provide oversight of the activity in the Netherlands to ensure that the Archdukes implemented the king's religious policies, pursued his military objects, and spent subsidies as he authorized. The ambassador was also told to report to Philip III when his directives were not being met.

The king also installed confidants in the personal service of the Archdukes. Beginning in 1604, the Spanish nobleman Don Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, Count of Añover, entered Albert's household, acting first as the head of the service of his Chamber, then as his *mayordomo mayor*, and finally as his High Marshal—the three highest secular offices of the princely household. As Diederik Lanoye has noted, the retention of Don Rodrigo in this position was a strategy aimed at keeping Spaniards, and particularly those loyal to Philip III, in influential roles within the archducal regime.⁹²

The question of finances seems to have been the most contentious issue confronting Philip III and the Archdukes. The Spanish treasury supported the great majority of all soldiers fighting in the Netherlands through revenue generated by the American colonies and Castilian taxes, so that the king was eager to maintain a tight control over military spending.⁹³ To that end, he appointed a *veedor general* (inspector-

⁹¹ Ibid., 82.

⁹² Diederik Lanoye, "Structure and Composition of the Household of the Archdukes," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Tournhout: Brepols, 1998), 110–11.

⁹³ On Philip's control over the Archducal budget, see Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621*, 39–42.

general), a *pagador general* (paymaster-general), and a *contador del sueldo* (salary auditor), who owed obedience to him and not the Archduke Albert, the captain-general of the Army.⁹⁴ Despite such involved oversight, the king and his councilors habitually chastised the Archdukes for wasting Spanish resources. In the spring of 1604, Philip III's Council of State called for Albert to resign his post as captain-general, accusing him of acting too independently with the army, pursuing overly risky military strategies, and mismanaging war funds.⁹⁵ It was only after the Genoese commander of the Army of Flanders, Ambrogio Spinola (1569-1630), went to Spain to argue on the Archduke Albert's behalf that the king agreed to allow Albert to remain in his post. In return, Albert had to surrender the tactical high command of the army to Spinola.⁹⁶

Philip III's frustration at the loss of the Netherlands meant that, in addition to overseeing archducal military spending, he also cut it. Between January 1598 and January 1600, the receipts of the military treasury of the Army of Flanders totaled 18,995,215 florins, almost half the money the crown expended between January 1595 and January 1597 under Philip II.⁹⁷ A serious epidemic of the plague on the heels of several bad harvests in the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, and the Netherlands meant that tax revenues in Spain were down.⁹⁸ Simultaneously, French aggressions in Spanish areas had increased,

⁹⁴ Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, 94.

⁹⁵ Sachs Goldman, "The Political Culture of Empire: The Spanish Council of State and Foreign Policy Under Philip III, 1598-1621," 184.

⁹⁶ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 89.

⁹⁷ See "Appendix K: The receipts of the military treasury of the Army of Flanders, 1567-1665" in Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, 257-60.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

thereby dividing the monarchy's military and financial attention. Geoffrey Parker has written that the effort of Hispano-Flemish campaigns against the northern rebel provinces proved too expensive under these economic conditions so that the king began to make cuts to the budget that had been approved by his father. The substantial decrease in provisions led to an equally substantial increase in wage arrears owed to soldiers and, consequently, a spike in mutinies. According to Parker, "between 1598 and 1604 a major mutiny thwarted or jeopardized every campaign."⁹⁹ Despite the necessity for greater funding, the king and his councilors decided to reduce the annual provisions again by half in 1606—a resolution they undertook without informing the Archdukes.¹⁰⁰

The generally tense tenor of Albert and Isabel's relationship with Philip III persisted throughout the early decades of the seventeenth century as they worked tirelessly to establish peace in the Netherlands. As per the *Secret Clauses Related to the Cession of the Low Countries*, Philip II had encouraged his son to maintain at least three Spanish garrisons in the Netherlands in Antwerp, Ghent, and Cambrai. However, Philip III had also installed major citadels in Dunkirk, Nieuwpoort, Lier, and Rhineberg—all of which were governed and staffed by Castilians.¹⁰¹ At any given time there were at least 6,000 Spanish infantry stationed in the country in addition to Spanish cavalry, and, as per

⁹⁹ Ibid., 211.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 213.

¹⁰¹ Jonathan I Israel, *Empires and Entrepots: The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy, and the Jews, 1585-1713* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 3–4.

the king's instructions, several thousand Italians. In fact, under Philip III, the number of Spanish and Italian soldiers in the army of Flanders reached an all-time high.¹⁰²

Such conditions degraded the relationship between Isabel, Albert, and Philip III so severely that when, on 13 March 1607, the Archdukes sent a letter to the States General of the United Provinces (as the seven rebellious provinces had come to be known) officially announcing their willingness to negotiate, they did not seek permission from or send word to Madrid.¹⁰³ Under the terms of their compromise they agreed to recognize the north "as free lands, provinces, and states, over which their Highness make no claim whether in the context of a permanent peace, truce or armistice for twelve, fifteen, or twenty years."¹⁰⁴ When Philip III and his *privado* (favorite) Francisco Sandoval y Rojas, first Duke of Lerma, learned of the secret talks, which did not stipulate any Dutch concession in return, they were horrified by the loss of *reputación* implicit in the agreement.¹⁰⁵ They immediately dispatched Don Diego de Ibarra, a member of the king's Council of War and an outspoken opponent of peace, to take control of the

¹⁰² See "Appendix C: Spanish and Italian troops sent to the Netherlands, 1567-1640" in Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, 237–39.

¹⁰³ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 401.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ "Reputation" was one of the key concepts of early modern political thought. A combination of affection and awe that was believed to inspire obedience to a ruler (so that he would not have to obtain cooperation through coercion), "all the major anti-Machivalleian writers of the time made the acquisition and maintenance of reputation the first element of statecraft." Paul Arblaster, "'Dat de Boecken Vrij Sullen Wesen': Private Profit, Public Utility and Secrets of State in the Seventeenth-Century Habsburg Netherlands," in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 83–84; See also John Huxtable Elliott, "Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 146.

negotiations. However, because Albert had agreed to the condition that only native Netherlanders would participate in the talks, Don Diego was excluded from the conversation.¹⁰⁶ Having forced the king's hand, Albert and Isabel ultimately brokered a temporary peace in the Netherlands in an agreement known as the Twelve Years' Truce.

Under the truce to last from 1609 to 1621, Albert and Isabel embarked on an extraordinary campaign of recovery. They poured money into the rehabilitation of seminaries and universities, the rebuilding of churches, monasteries, and chapels, and the revitalization of local industries, such as tapestry and linen production and book publishing.¹⁰⁷ They patronized painters, sculptors, architects, and printers on a scale unparalleled in Europe, with the exception of Italy, commissioning from them works for private use, public decoration, and also for gift giving.¹⁰⁸ The Archdukes also supported efforts to re-educate and confessionalize the populace and to reestablish the dominance of the Catholic Church. These labors may be seen, in part, through the substantial sums of money they spent on the projects listed above—a large output of the publishing industry,

¹⁰⁶ Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621*, 179.

¹⁰⁷ On the efforts of the Archdukes to rehabilitate the social and economic life of the Netherlands, see Joris Snaet, "Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Capuchin Monastery at Tervuren," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 359–81; Peter C. Sutton, "The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), 106–30.

¹⁰⁸ On collecting and art patronage during the reign of Albert and Isabel, see Sabine van Sprang, "Les Peintres À La Cour d'Albert et Isabelle: Une Tentative de Classification," in *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550-1700*, ed. Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 37–46; Alejandro Vergara et al., *El Arte en la Corte de los Archiducos Alberto de Austria e Isabel Clara Eugenia, 1598-1633: Un Reino Imaginado* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999).

for example, was catechism books and devotional prints and literature.¹⁰⁹ Such efforts to “re-Catholicize” the north are also seen through the Archdukes’ extraordinary demonstrations of piety by way of public processions, pilgrimages, the organization of feast-day celebrations, and the construction of shrines to the Virgin Mary and saints.¹¹⁰

Despite the benefits the Twelve Years’ Truce for the southern Netherlands, which allowed both the coffers and ranks of the Army of Flanders to replenish, Philip III did not seek to renew the treaty when its expiration approached. Just as the south had prospered, so, too, had the north. During the Truce, the northern provinces seized the opportunity to rebuild their economy and culture. Problematically for Philip III, they were incredibly successful in this endeavor. They achieved recognition from France, England, and other European nations as an independent state, thereby allowing them to staff ambassadors at foreign courts and establish a stronger global network for their already robust maritime trade endeavors. The success of this mercantilism resulted in a spectacular economic boom, and by mid-century the United Provinces was one of the wealthiest nations in the world with the largest shipping industry and most extensive trading routes.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Paul Arblaster, “The Archdukes and the Northern Counter-Reformation,” in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 87–92.

¹¹⁰ For an comprehensive list of the Marian shrines frequented by the Archdukes, see Luc Duerloo, “Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power,” in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Tournhout: Brepols, 1998), 267–83.

¹¹¹ On the effects of this success on art, see Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); John Michael Montias, “The Influence of Economic Factors on Style,” *Zeventiende Eeuw* 6 (1990): 49–57.

The great success of the north convinced Philip III and his councilors, excluding the Duke of Lerma who supported a renewal of the armistice, that Albert and Isabel's truce had too severely damaged Spain's religious ideology, its colonial trade, and, of course, its reputation. By 1619, Philip III had resolved not to renew the treaty. Although he did not live to see the truce's cessation—he died in March 1621, one month before its expiry—his sixteen-year old son, Philip IV, maintained his policies when he ascended to the throne. On 21 April 1621 hostilities between the northern and southern provinces of the Netherlands recommenced, and only two months later the Archduke Albert died, precipitating the swift reincorporation of the Netherlands and the Franche-Comté back into the Spanish territorial union and the demotion of Isabel from sovereign to governor, as per the Act of Cession.

The Problem of Authority Under Philip IV

It had always been the Infanta's intention, was she to outlive her consort, to return to Madrid and retire to El Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, or the Descalzas Reales, as it is called, a short walk from the Alcázar. Founded as a religious house for royal and noble women, the convent was home to the Second Order of Franciscans, the Poor Clares.¹¹² Isabel's widowed aunts the Infanta Juana of Austria (1525-1573) and Empress María had retired in the royal apartments there, and her cousin Margaret of Austria

¹¹² On the royal nuns who professed there, see María Leticia Ruiz Gómez, "Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid," *The Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 8 (2003): 29–46.

(1567-1633), Empress María's daughter, had professed in 1584 under the name Margaret of the Cross. After Albert died, Isabel professed as a tertiary of the Order and from that moment on wore only a rosary and the dark gray habit of the Poor Clares (fig. 26).¹¹³ Despite taking this measure, however, Isabel decided to stay in the Netherlands. It was the dying wish of her husband, she explained, that she continue to safeguard the future of the Netherlands and to ensure that it remain Catholic and loyal to Spain.

In the interest of continuity and a smooth transition to the post-archducal regime Philip IV initially permitted the Infanta to govern the Netherlands after Albert's death with a relatively free hand.¹¹⁴ Guided largely by principal minister, Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares (1587-1645), he allowed her to maintain authorities confirmed upon her position by two royal decrees announced in April 1613 and February 1621. Philip III had issued the first decree in anticipation of Archduke Albert's death, which seemed imminent due to a particularly bad attack of gout in that year. In it, he entrusted his sister to be governor of the Netherlands with the life lieutenantcy of the king, or the power to govern in the king's name—an authority, as we have seen, that was not absolute. This arrangement revoked a decision Philip III made seven years earlier in 1606, when he declared that Ambrogio Spinola would become Governor General of the

¹¹³ The third-order was intended for lay people who wished to lead a devout life, but who were unable to profess in the first (male) or second (female) orders owing to their terrestrial responsibilities. Members of the third-order, thus, expressed their devotion by adopting the clothing and engaging in charitable acts, such as caring for the sick and giving alms to the poor. See Craig Harline, "Actives and Contemplatives: The Female Religious of the Low Countries Before and After Trent," *The Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (October 1, 1995): 545.

¹¹⁴ On continuity in the post-archducal regime as a royal strategy, see Alicia Esteban Estríngana, *Madrid y Bruselas: Relaciones de Gobierno en la Etapa Postarchiducal (1621-1634)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 22–74.

Netherlands in the event Isabel were to outlive her husband. Ever since Spinola replaced the Archduke Albert as *maestro de campo general* in 1603 and triumphed over the longest and bloodiest conflict in Spain's war with Dutch, the Siege of Ostende (1601-1604), Spinola wielded enormous influence in Madrid.¹¹⁵ Descended from a great Genoese banking family that periodically helped to finance Spain's army, he had an expansive understanding of military strategy, great facility with diplomacy, and keen understanding of engineering, not to mention a lifetime of experience as a *condottiere*. Nevertheless, Philip III decided to install the Infanta as governor instead.

Werner Thomas has noted that Philip III's decision in 1613 to revoke the earlier decree was part of a "pacification strategy" to make the anticipated return of the Netherlands to Spain as easy as possible.¹¹⁶ Although the Flemish held Spinola in high regard, Philip III realized that they considered Isabel their sovereign princess.¹¹⁷ Because

¹¹⁵ On the Siege of Ostende, see Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 123–42.

¹¹⁶ Werner Thomas, "Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Pacification of the Southern Netherlands," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 181–201.

¹¹⁷ The Flemings' adoration of the Infanta Isabel emerges in the writing of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio, papal nuncio in Brussels from 1607-1615. His description of the Archdukes' respective merits occupies a six-page chapter entitled "Della natura, e costumi de gli Arciduchi," which he concludes by stating that "senza dubbio è molto più amata generalmente l'Infanta, che non è l'Archiduca, & hà maniere di gran lunga più amabili, vsando ella vna somma affabilità con ogn'vno, & hauendo hauuti doni straordinarii dalla natura, per guadagnarsi gli animi delle genti." Guido Bentivoglio, *Relazioni Del Cardinal Bentivoglio*, ed. Erycius Puteanus (Liege, 1635), 133–39; In his letters of correspondence, Giovanni Francesco Guidi de Bagno also notes how the Flemings loved the Infanta and would probably revolt if Philip IV was to replace her, their "princesse souveraine" with a simple governor: "On dit que l'intention de l'infante est d'assurer un eimple interim en attendant que le roi lui restitue sa situation de princesse souveraine; dans la negative, elle se retirait dans quelque monastère. Dans ce cas, il y aurait craindre de grands mouvements révolutionnaires, car le peuple entend être

he had not clarified the question, in his 1613 decree, of whether or not she, as a woman, could also assume the position of military lieutenancy that traditionally accompanied the lieutenancy of the king, he addressed the matter in the decree of February 1621. Issued one month before he died, Philip III enjoined in the order that if his sister were to become governor, she would also become the captain-general of the army.¹¹⁸ In practical terms, Spinola would maintain control of tactical commands, and Isabel would assume authority over military patronage, including appointments, promotions, rewards, and licenses.¹¹⁹

In 1621, Philip IV permitted Isabel to assume control over the appointment of clergy, magistrates, and municipal authorities—an authority not given to the Archduke Albert. He gave her the right to make military appointments in all territories except for Antwerp, Ghent, Cambrai, and Ostende—rights also denied to Albert—but kept from her the ability to reward nobles or confer titles upon them, as that was a privilege reserved for sovereigns.¹²⁰ It is unclear who advised the king to take this relatively liberal course of action. It was likely not Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, the Count-Duke of Olivares's uncle and a key minister under Philip III and Philip IV (until Zúñiga's death in 1622), who welcomed the opportunity to tighten the grip on the Netherlands following Albert's death. Jonathan Israel notes how during the first meeting of the Council of State in

gouverné par ses princes naturels et refuse d'être tyrannisé par simples gouverneurs." Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno, *Correspondance Du Nonce Giovanni-Francesco Guidi Di Bagno (1621-1627)*, ed. Bernard de Meester (Brussels: Palais des academies, 1938), I: no. 30.

¹¹⁸ Esteban Estríngana, "'What a Princess, Good God!': The Heritage and Legacy of the Infanta Isabel," 431.

¹¹⁹ Esteban Estríngana, *Madrid y Bruselas*, 14, 16–17.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 37–39.

Madrid after Albert died, Zúñiga and his allies openly lamented the disorder and decay of the Netherlands they felt the Archdukes had caused and pressed for strict financial reform.¹²¹ The Count-Duke of Benavente even commented that Albert's death allowed Philip IV to redirect money raised in the Netherlands for other purposes to pay instead for the Army of Flanders—a move that would ease pressure on Spain to finance its war.¹²²

For the first few years of Isabel's governance, Philip IV did not siphon cash from the Netherlands, nor did he cut military finances. In fact, he even increased her military funds. On 24 June 1621, three weeks before he died, the Archduke Albert had written to Philip IV expressing the need for a greater budgetary allocation for the Army of Flanders. As he explained, the expiration of the truce would make it necessary to double the ordinary annual 1.5 million ducats.¹²³ If the Crown was unable to finance the army accordingly, Albert wrote, it should consider renewing the truce—a suggestion that John Huxtable Elliott has claimed would certainly have embarrassed the king by implying that Spain was too broke to support its campaigns.¹²⁴ The Council of State met on 17 July, unaware that Albert had died four days earlier, and granted the Netherlands the resources needed to renew a full-scale war against the Dutch, at least for the first four years.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Israel, *Empires and Entrepots*, 168.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ According to John Huxtable Elliot, a more realistic increase in military and naval expenditure would have needed to be closer to 3,600,000 ducats annually. John Huxtable Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 68–70.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹²⁵ See “Appendix K: The receipts of the military treasury of the Army of Flanders, 1567-1665” in Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, 259.

Despite his initial support of Isabel Clara Eugenia, Philip IV, guided by the Count-Duke of Olivares, maintained ultimate control over her actions. Since coming to power in 1621, Olivares embarked on an ambitious campaign that sought to revitalize the reputation of the Spanish monarchy, which he felt had suffered under the incompetence of Philip III and the corruption of his *privado*, the Duke of Lerma. Elliott, who has written extensively on the subject, describes these efforts as a three-part plan that sought to reestablish the religious and dynastic “global mission” of the monarchy, propagate the identification of the king as the standard-bearer of God’s cause or better linking “throne and altar,” and to unify the pluralism of the Spanish Empire. Olivares planned to achieve these goals through an activist foreign policy.¹²⁶ As far as Olivares was concerned, peace with the Dutch was not an option, and Isabel whose fervent desire was to broker concord, was not following the game plan.

The Infanta’s opportunities to pursue an independent course of action were few given the Act of Cession, which prohibited her from entering into peace talks and participating in foreign policy. Moreover, Philip IV added new restrictions on Isabel’s authority in 1621 when he reestablished the Council of Flanders—the advisory committee dedicated to the governance of Flanders that Philip II had dissolved in 1598 out of respect for the Archdukes.¹²⁷ Comprised of Ambrogio Spinola, Petrus Pecquius, Fray Iñigo de Brizuela, bishop of Segovia, and, significantly, the Marquis of Bedmar, Cardinal Alonso

¹²⁶ On the efforts to rehabilitate the reputation of the Spanish monarchy under Philip IV, see Elliott, “Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV,” 148–73; Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 101–15.

¹²⁷ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 155–60.

de La Cueva, the Council was a small, secretive body designed to coordinate the administrative interests of Spain with Isabel and her advisors. As Jonathan Israel has written, however, they “actually ruled the country.”¹²⁸

None of the men on the Council were new to Brussels and several had even been close associates of the Archdukes. Spinola was a longtime ally and confidant of Albert and Isabel, and had acted as the commander of the Flemish army since 1603; Petrus Pecquius had been a chancellor of Brabant since 1615; and Iñigo de Brizuela, who acted as the head of the Council, had been a gentleman in Albert’s service and member of his Council of War. De la Cueva, too, had been in Brussels for nearly a decade. However, unlike the other members who were primarily loyal to the Archdukes, he was first and foremost loyal to the Spanish crown. As the head of the king’s embassy in Brussels since 1619, he reported on developments in the Netherlands, sent descriptions on the conduct of men—specifically of those who appeared most loyal and of those who merited the king’s favor—and he monitored the Army and its finances.¹²⁹ He, in particular, urged Philip IV to reestablish the Council of Flanders, and he supported policies regarding the governing structure of the Netherlands that would ensure that the king’s interests were always kept in mind.¹³⁰ In the end, all internal discussions of the group were reported to

¹²⁸ Israel, *Empires and Entrepreneurs*, 167.

¹²⁹ Esteban Estríngana, *Madrid y Bruselas*, 22–32; Diez, *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Infanta de España y Soberana de Flandes*, 191.

¹³⁰ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 80; A letter from Peter Paul Rubens to Petrus Pecquius on 30 September 1623 indicates the degree to which those close to the Infanta understood De la Cueva’s political leanings. Rubens had been engaged in clandestine peace talks on the Infanta Isabel’s behalf with Jan Brant, known as “the Catholic,” who was an intimate associate of the Dutch stadtholder. Writing to Pecquius about these meetings Rubens described how it would “very dangerous in the future for the Catholic to appear in

the monarch and any proposal they made was subject to his approval. “Although everything passes through my hands,” Isabel wrote in 1627 to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, the head of the Catholic mission in Rome, “final resolution lies in Spain.”¹³¹

Such policies limiting the Infanta’s power posed a serious affront to her early training, which ensured that she could have easily governed the Netherlands independently. Her father and his advisors had taught her the art of statecraft and, as co-sovereign of the Netherlands, she was deeply involved in matters of administration. In addition to giving audiences with Albert, she also gave her own audiences in the evenings. Anecdotes recall how Albert rarely made decisions without her input.¹³² According to the captain of the Spanish lancers, Francisco de Ibarra, the Archduke was commonly seen entering his wife’s chambers with his arms “loaded with papers,”¹³³ and the Infanta so often accompanied her husband on military campaigns, setting up camp near the battlefield for months at a time, that she became a recognizable sight among the soldiers.¹³⁴ In fact, when in 1600 the spirits of soldiers fighting in Ghent were low due to

Brussels, because of the suspicion this will around in Cardinal de la Cueva.” See Ruth Saunders Magurn, ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 95.

¹³¹ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, Holy Wednesday 1627. See Appendix B, doc. 12, 301, 408.

¹³² Bentivoglio, *Relazioni Del Cardinal Bentivoglio*, 138.

¹³³ “los criados familiares ver al Archiduque entrar cargado de papeles, siempre que iba á hablarla.” Alfred Morel-Fatio, *L’Espagne Au XVIe et Au XVIIe Siècle Documents Historiques et Littéraires*. (Paris: Helibronn, 1878), 422.

¹³⁴ Diez, *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Infanta de Espana y Soberana de Flandes*, 110; M. Villermont, *L’Infante Isabelle: Gouvernante Des Pays-Bas* (Tamines: Duculot-Roulin, 1912), 270–74.

the substantial wage arrears they were owed, it was the bellicose Infanta who rode from troop to troop trying to animate enthusiasm for their cause.¹³⁵

To judge from her own letters of correspondence, Isabel Clara Eugenia also possessed a shrewd understanding of military affairs. In the numerous letters she exchanged with the Duke of Lerma, she habitually addressed martial developments in the Netherlands, and frequently commented on and justified strategies pursued by the Archduke or Spinola during battle.¹³⁶ During the long and bloody Siege of Ostende, she updated Lerma constantly on the movements of the army, the location of the enemy, and the effects of weather conditions on and the rationale for certain strategies. She even addressed deaths in the ranks and the morale of the soldiers. Magdalena S. Sánchez has shown that the Infanta skillfully wove personal information with political news in her letters with Lerma to moderate their tone.¹³⁷ Understanding his temperamental personality and his potential displeasure at receiving this sort of information from a woman, she inquired about his family, praised his service to the king, and even joked lightheartedly about herself. In 1602, while she camped in Nieuwpoort to be near the military campaign in Ostende just 16 kilometers north, she recalled to Lerma with amusement how people laughed at her when she wanted to bathe in sea on account of the dirtiness of the battlefield. In the same letter, however, she articulated Albert's plans for

¹³⁵ Bentivoglio, *Relazioni Del Cardinal Bentivoglio*, part III, book IV, 142.

¹³⁶ Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *Correspondencia de la Infanta Archiduquesa Dona Isabel Clara Eugenia con el Duque de Lerma y Otros Personajes* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1906).

¹³⁷ Magdalena S. Sánchez, "Memories and Affection? The Correspondence of Isabel Clara Eugenia with the Duke of Lerma," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 210–13.

an assault on the Dutch town as well as her frustration with the king's obstructionist Council of War. Its criticisms of Albert, she wrote, were producing negative reverberations in the ranks.¹³⁸

Regardless of the Infanta's military savvy, Ambrogio Spinola maintained control of military strategic command. A skilled martial tactician and tireless and persuasive advocate of archducal policies, Spinola worked in tandem with Albert and Isabel throughout their reign and also with the Infanta during her governorship. Yet, despite his talents as a military commander, a series of failed sieges and battles between 1621 and 1624, some due to Spanish casualties, some to bad leadership, but most to desertions and mutinies, weakened the crown's confidence in the Infanta and her general, causing the king and his councilors in Madrid to increase their control over the military. The Duke of Infantado, one of Philip IV's councilors of State, argued that Isabel should be required to report on matters of strategy and specify which towns were potential targets for attack.¹³⁹ The Council of State also sent instructions that the Army cleave its infantry and cavalry by half and no longer pursue an offensive strategy, but instead shift to a strictly defensive war—a move that allowed them to reduce the army's monthly military spending, but that the Infanta refused to accept.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Isabel Clara Eugenia to the Duke of Lerma, 20 February 1602. See Rodriguez Villa, *Correspondencia de la Infanta Archiduquesa Dona Isabel Clara Eugenia con el Duque de Lerma y Otros Personajes*, 52–54.

¹³⁹ Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 103.

¹⁴⁰ Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 271–72; Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 109.

Conclusion

By the mid 1620s, the Infanta's finances became so dire that to offset her deficits she twice had to sell property belonging to the royal domain, once in 1625 and again in 1626 for the total amount of 500,000 *écus* (scudi).¹⁴¹ "I do not know what else we would have done," she reported to Fray Domingo de Jesús María regarding the sale, "since it has been several months without receiving anything from Spain [and] some supplies from last year have not been paid yet."¹⁴² The following year brought no great reprieve and the Infanta reported, "because of the decree sealed in Spain... I had to pawn my jewelry, and borrow some money, so that we could have something to give to the people, [so] they do not riot."¹⁴³ Echoing this sentiment, Isabel's court painter, friend, and diplomatic agent, Peter Paul Rubens, wrote in 1627, "we are exhausted not so much by the trials of wars as by the perpetual difficulty of obtaining necessary supplies from Spain, by the dire need in which we constantly find ourselves, and by the insults we must often endure through the

¹⁴¹ On the 1625 sale, see Appendix B, doc. 11, 397, 399. On the 1626 sale, see Paul Janssens, "La fronde de l'aristocratie belge en 1632," in *Rebelión y Resistencia en el Mundo Hispánico del siglo XVII*, ed. Wermer Thomas (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 28.

¹⁴² Isabel Clara Eugenia to Padre Domingo de Jesús María, 8 August 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 11, 397, 399.

¹⁴³ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Padre Domingo de Jesús María, 8 August 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 12, 404, 410. The gesture, which was a largely symbolic demonstration of her dissatisfaction with Spain, was one she made earlier in 1600 to win over weary soldiers fighting in Ghent. Mutiny due to lack of payment had become a grave issue, so that when the Infanta rode from troop to troop trying to boost morale, she assured them that she would sooner pawn her jewels than allow them to continue being denied their pay. See Bentivoglio, *Relazioni Del Cardinal Bentivoglio*, part III, book IV, 142.

spitefulness or ignorance of those ministers.”¹⁴⁴ The weakening of the Infanta’s political power at the hand of such “ministers” led Rubens to the lament one year later:

She is a princess endowed with all the virtues of her sex; and long experience has taught her how to govern these people and remain uninfluenced by the false theories which all newcomers bring from Spain. I think that if Her Highness, with the help of the Marquis [Ambrogio Spinola], could govern in her own way, *et sponte sua componere curas* [and regulate affairs according to her wishes], everything would turn out very happily, and one would soon see the greatest change, not only among us but everywhere. For today the interest of the entire world are closely linked together, but the states are governed by men without experience and incapable of following the counsel of others; *ipsi non expediunt sua consilia et oderunt aliena* [they neither carry out their own counsel nor listen to that of others].¹⁴⁵

In light of her innate abilities and the training she had received at her father’s side, Rubens had not exaggerated her political acumen. Nevertheless, however strong the Infanta’s qualifications were, her power in the Netherlands during her widowhood steadily declined. Prohibited from discussing peace, financed at the will of the king, and with her immediate political environment radically changed, Isabel was forced to employ alternative strategies to establish an authoritative presence in the Netherlands, Spain, and across Europe. As we shall see, one of the major ways she accomplished this task was through gift giving.

¹⁴⁴ Peter Paul Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 6 May 1627. See Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, doc. 107, 179.

¹⁴⁵ Peter Paul Rubens to Jacques Dupuy, 20 July 1628. Ibid., doc. 176, 276–77 Rubens’s use of “*et sponte sua componere curas*” is noteworthy because it draws on the language of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (4:340), thereby linking Isabel to the hero of the great epic, Aeneas, from whom the Habsburgs considered themselves descendants. See Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Chapter 2: Negotiating the Problem of Authority: Isabel Clara Eugenia and Gift Giving

I assure you that the gift will very much enhance our position and this good lord will cherish it, as he will understand its worth.

Jean-Baptiste van Male, 1621¹⁴⁶

The circumstances of Isabel Clara Eugenia's political career were not usually to her favor. Although she was trained to understand statecraft at the highest level and by its most sophisticated participants, the extent to which she was able to implement those lessons depended largely on good relations with powerful individuals. Recent scholarship on the Infanta's youth, marriage, and widowhood has made clear that turbulent political waters forced Isabel and those around her to reshape her public persona throughout her life to achieve this goal. Santiago Martinez Hernandez, for example, has shown how during her young adulthood, Isabel associated herself publically with the image of her younger brother, the heir to the Spanish throne. As discussed in the previous chapter, she defined herself as his heir by accompanying him during receptions and religious services, and by maintaining a highly visible presence in his first state audiences.¹⁴⁷

Cordula van Wyhe has further demonstrated how following her move to the Netherlands, Isabel was careful to maintain the appearance of an obedient wife and

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Albert J. Loomie, "A Lost Crucifixion by Rubens," *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1124 (November 1996): 735.

¹⁴⁷ Martinez Hernandez, "'Enlightened Queen, Clear Cynthia, Beauteous Moon': The Political and Courtly Apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia."

charitable mother in a world in which familial concord was believed to mirror good governance.¹⁴⁸ In the genre and festival imagery that she commissioned, for example, Denijs van Alsloot's eight paintings of the Ommegang of 1615 and Jan Brueghel's pendants of peasant wedding scenes, she perpetuated the image of a caring and pious matriarch (figs. 27 and 28).¹⁴⁹ Van Wyhe has shown that Isabel conveyed a sense of conviviality and also natural sovereignty over her adopted subjects by integrating herself into the cultural fabric of town and country and presiding over popular festivities.

According to Barbara Welzel, the Infanta Isabel employed similarly strategic measures to negotiate her political role during her widowhood, when she professed as a

¹⁴⁸ Cordula Schumann, "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)" (Ph.D. thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, London, 2000); Cordula Schumann, "Court, City and Countryside: Jan Brueghel's Peasant Weddings as Images of Social Unity under Archducal Sovereignty," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Tournhout: Brepols, 1998), 151–60.

¹⁴⁹ There has been some dispute regarding the original number of *Ommegang* paintings. Documents show that the Infanta commissioned eight paintings in 1615 for the sum of 10,000 livres. Today only four remain, which are dispersed among collections in London and Madrid: *The Ommeganck in Brussels on 31 May 1615: The Triumph of Archduchess Isabella* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. No. 5928-1859); *The Ommeganck in Brussels on 31 May 1615: The Senior Guilds* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. No. 169-1885); *Celebrations of Ommegang or Papagayo, in Brussels Guilds Procession* (Museo del Prado, Inv. No. P01347); and *Celebrations of Ommegang or Papagayo, Brussels: Procession of Our Lady of Sablon* (Museo del Prado, Inv. No. P01348). She also commissioned a second version consisting of only seven paintings for herself, two of which survive and are today in Brussels: *The Ommegang 1615. The Parade of Trades in the Grand Place in Brussels* (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 170) and *The Ommegang 1615. The Parade of Oathes in the Grand Place in Brussels* (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 171). Two replicas from Antoon Sallaert's workshop also survive, *The Infanta Isabele Shoots the Bird from the Grand Serment 15 May 1615* (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 172) and *Archduke Albert and Isabella Attending the Procession of the Virgin to Sablon in Brussels* (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 173).

Franciscan tertiary. As Welzel has cogently reasoned, although Isabel was exceptionally devout, the move was not simply a demonstration of her private spirituality. A person's identity was intimately bound to their outward appearance, and clothing was the most visible sign of status. By adopting and publicizing such a pious appearance, which she famously did in 1625 when Rubens painted her in the habit of the Poor Clares and had the portrait turned into a print that was sent to every major court in Europe,¹⁵⁰ she strategically laid claim to integrity, virtue, and authority (figs. 26 and 29).¹⁵¹

Taken together, these studies underscore how the Infanta Isabel was ever cognizant of her appearance and how the right perception of her, both at home and abroad, could shape the ease of her movements and the success of her endeavors. Importantly, they also highlight the significance of images in the definition of the Infanta's persona. Images did not simply reflect her identity, but they also participated in its formation. Whether in portrait, print, or genre painting, the artworks studied by Welzel, Van Wyhe, and Martinez Hernandez functioned as part of a conscious strategy to reinforce Isabel's legitimacy and authority in the Netherlands.

The iconographic programs of these images are important for understanding the Infanta's ideals of governance. Yet, these studies largely focus on the works of art themselves and not what the Infanta did with them. Many of these commissions were

¹⁵⁰ The whereabouts of this painting are unknown, but it is generally believed to be the prototype for the portrait of the Infanta in the collection of the Norton Simon Museum of Art in Pasadena, California. See Frances Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle: Studies of the First Decade* (New York: Garland, 1996), 119–23. A discussion of the portrait will follow in Chapter 3.

¹⁵¹ Barbara Welzel, "Princeps Vidua, Mater Castrorum: The Iconography of Archduchess Isabella as Governor of the Netherlands," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten* (1999): 158–75.

intended explicitly to be gifts. Indeed, one way of the major ways Isabel was able to establish and maintain politically an advantageous relationship was through the act of gifting works of art. The use of art as a tool of mediation was not novel in the seventeenth century. Since the Renaissance, courtly social structures associated art with sophistication and honor so that the gift of art could easily solidify relationships or ease barriers. Moreover, art historians have duly noted that gifts also drew the receiver into a relationship of reciprocation. This chapter addresses Isabel's use of this particular strategy to demonstrate how generosity and self-interest were often one and the same.

The Case of Denijs van Alsloot's Ommegang Series

The importance of gifts as part of Isabel's efforts to define herself as a caring, yet authoritative leader becomes evident when we consider the context in which she presented them. For example, when Isabel sent the series of eight monumental paintings by Denijs van Alsloot to the court in Madrid sometime between 1616 and 1618, Albert was suffering from a particularly severe attack of gout, a disease that plagued him the majority of his adult life.¹⁵² With her husband's death apparently imminent, the Infanta's political future had become tenuous. The Act of Cession guaranteed that the Netherlands

¹⁵² The exact date when Isabel sent the paintings is not known. However, they are signed and dated to 1616 and appear in an inventory of the Alcázar from 1618. See Sabine van Sprang, "Les Festivités Du Papegai En 1615 À Bruxelles: Interprétation d'Une Suite de Tableaux Offerts Par Les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle Au Roi d'Espagne Philipp III," in *Les "Trente Glorieuses" (circa 1600- circa 1630) Pays-Bas Méridionaux et France Septentrionale: Aspects Economiques, Sociaux et Religieux Au Temps Des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle*, ed. C. Bruneel et al. (Brussels: Koninlijke Bibliotheek van België, 2010), 274–75.

would return to Spain in the event that the Archdukes failed to produce an heir or if Albert predeceased his wife. The situation was so grave that Philip III felt compelled to write to Spinola to ask him for his guarantee as commander of Army of Flanders that the transfer of the Netherlands back to the Spanish Crown would be smooth.¹⁵³

In 1616, as the Archduke's condition worsened, Philip III went so far as to require that the Archdukes secure an oath from the Flemish provinces in his name "in anticipation of their return to the crown of Spain."¹⁵⁴ He had expected this moment for nearly a decade. As discussed in the previous chapter, in 1606 he had already outlined a series of instructions of what was to occur when either of the Archdukes died.¹⁵⁵ The instructions, which Philip issued to Ambrogio Spinola, specified that in the event that Albert died before Isabel, Spinola would assume governance of the Netherlands and the Infanta would be recalled to Spain. Should Isabel die first, then Albert would need to pledge allegiance to Philip, proceed immediately with the king's coronation, and swear that he would not convene a meeting of the States General, the council of representatives from each province. Should he defy these stipulations, Spinola was to place him under arrest.¹⁵⁶ Although Philip III altered these conditions in 1613, the sentiment behind the original arrangement persisted among the king's councilors, who recommended

¹⁵³ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 399; Esteban Estríngana, *Madrid y Bruselas*, 13.

¹⁵⁴ Henri Lonchay and Joseph Cuvelier, *Correspondance de La Cour d'Espagne Sur Les Affaires Des Pays-Bas Au XVII Siècle* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1923), I: 443, no. 1077.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 1, 55.

¹⁵⁶ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 76.

throughout the early 1600s that he repossess the Netherlands.¹⁵⁷ At the moment when Albert's death seemed imminent, these members of Philip's Council of State, who doubted Isabel's political fitness to govern, insisted that after the Archduke Albert died there be "a man whose authority shall service the king and the dignity of the Infanta."¹⁵⁸

Under these circumstances, the Infanta needed a way to validate her dynastic authority—an endeavor in which she did have support. According to Ascanio Gesualdo, Archbishop of Bari and papal nuncio in Flanders, certain Flemish provinces resisted swearing allegiance to His Majesty. In Cambrai, the clergy and nobility refused under the pretext that their city was imperial.¹⁵⁹ Others opposed the oath out of loyalty to Isabel. "Flanders, Lille, and Brabant were not yet ready to swear fealty to Philip III," Gesualdo reported in letter to the pontifical Secretary of State, Scipione Borghese, on 21 May 1616, seven days before the arranged date of the oath. "Flanders and Lille await the decision of Brabant, which depends on the four *chef-villes*. Brussels will make the oath with the promise to have the Infanta as governor of the Low Countries in case of the death of the Archduke."¹⁶⁰ The seriousness of their threat prompted the Marquis of Guadalest, Don

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 68–73.

¹⁵⁸ Don Augustin Meija in the minutes of the consults of the Council of State, 16 January 1614. Lonchay and Cuvelier, *Correspondance de La Cour d'Espagne Sur Les Affaires Des Pays-Bas Au XVII Siècle*, I: doc. 955, 418–19; The marquis of Villafranca echoed these sentiments in the consults of the Council on 14 February 1615 *ibid.*, I: doc. 1076, 422.

¹⁵⁹ Lucienne van Meerbeeck, ed., *Correspondance des Nonces Gesualdo, Morra, Sanseverino, avec la Secrétairie d'Etat Pontificale: 1615-1621* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1937), doc. 106, 38.

¹⁶⁰ "La Flandre, Lille, le Brabant n'ont pas ecnore prêté le serment de fidélité à Philippe III. La Flandre et Lille attendent la décision du Brabant, qui dépend de celle des quatre chefs-cilles. Bruxelles subordonne la prestation de serment à la promesse d'avoir

Felipe de Cardona, Philip III's ambassador in Flanders, to suggest that the king "reward" the governors of the provinces in some way to mitigate the growing rift.¹⁶¹ The king made no such concession. On 28 May 1616 all the provinces except for Brabant, Flanders, and Lille swore fealty to Philip III. Flanders and Lille finally pledged allegiance to the Spanish crown on 19 June 1616, but Brabant held out until 23 July when the King Philip III agreed to retain Isabel as governor.¹⁶²

Impressive as was this support from local nobility, Isabel could not rely exclusively on her political allies for help persuading the king of the legitimacy of her succession. Soon thereafter, she sent Denijs van Alsloot's paintings to the court in Madrid. The series represents the celebrations and processions of the Ommegang of 1615, an annual festival in honor of the miraculous image of Our Lady of Sablon. Sponsored by the Grand Serment des Arbalétriers (crossbowmen) of Brussels, the Ommegang procession was a magnificent citywide pageant during which civic authorities, guild members, representatives of the crafts, members of the chambers of rhetoric, and ecclesiasts would stage parades with the statue of the Virgin Mary. Because the festival was financed by the crossbowmen's guild, a shooting competition preceded

l'infante comme gouvernante des Pays-Bas, en cas de décès de l'archiduc." *ibid.*, doc. 118, 42–43.

¹⁶¹ Guadaleste specifically mentions rewarding the count of Estaries in Flanders, the prince of Ligne in Artois, the duke of Aerschot in Hainaut, the count of Roelx in Cambrais, the counts of Marles in Namur, Hoogstraeten in Tournai, Sainte-Aldegonne in Limbourg, Francois de Berghes in Gelderland, and Petrus Pecquius, Chancellor of Brabant. Lonchay and Cuvelier, *Correspondance de La Cour d'Espagne Sur Les Affaires Des Pays-Bas Au XVII Siècle*, doc. 1175, 469.

¹⁶² Meerbeeck, *Correspondance des nonces Gesualdo, Morra, Sanseverino, avec la secrétairie d'Etat pontificale*, doc. 125, 44; doc. 135, 47; doc. 147, 51; doc. 160, 56; doc. 177, 61–67.

the Ommegang in which archers would attempt to shoot down a wooden effigy of a popinjay attached to the spire of the church of Notre-Dame-du-Sablon.¹⁶³

Since the 1400s, the Dukes of Burgundy, the original territorial princes of the Netherlands, participated in the Ommegang and its shooting competition. According to Anne-Laure van Bruaene, the city of Brussels invited their lords to attend the public festival and shooting competition to promote itself as the ideal ducal residence, and the dukes accepted, as it was also an occasion for them to reaffirm power relations with their citizenry.¹⁶⁴ Not only did the Ommegang demonstrate the princes' facility with weaponry, but it also allowed them to act symbolically as confraternity brothers while also reinforcing their status as liege and lord.¹⁶⁵ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V both won the shooting contest. Remarkably, in 1615 the Infanta Isabel took the prize when she shot down the popinjay. The magistrates of Brussels proclaimed her "Queen of the Crossbowman" and presented her with the wooden bird as well as 25,000 florins in prize money.¹⁶⁶ Two weeks later, they dedicated the Ommegang festival to her victory.

¹⁶³ For a brief history of the festival, see Ralph Payne-Gallwey, *The Crossbow: Its Military and Sporting History, Construction and Use* (New York: Skyhorse Pub., 2007), 288–30.

¹⁶⁴ Anne-Laure van Bruaene, "The Habsburg Theatre State. Court, City, and the Performance of Identity in the Early Modern Southern Low Countries," in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650*, ed. Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 145–47.

¹⁶⁵ Schumann, "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)," 73.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas, "Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Pacification of the Southern Netherlands," 186.

Although the Infanta was renowned for her excellent marksmanship and love of the hunt, Sabine van Sprang has argued that within the context of the Isabel's politically precarious situation, the iconography of the Van Alsloot paintings emphasize more than her keen shot.¹⁶⁷ They speak to her natural authority and ideal sovereignty. Their long and rectangular format of the paintings and their high perspectival orientation fully incorporate the urban architectural environment of the city in a manner that resembles prints of Joyous Entries.

Joyous Entries celebrated the arrival new rulers through floats, temporary triumphal arches, and stages that featured representations of virtues, gods, and heroes personifying contemporary political aspirations. In Albert and Isabel's Joyous Entry in Antwerp in 1599, the citizens presented the Infanta with a *tableau vivant* in which she was pictured as Venus Victrix, the goddess of Justice. She was also compared to Aurora, the goddess of the Dawn, while Albert was represented as the Gallic Hercules.¹⁶⁸ As a welcoming ceremony that culminated in the swearing of an oath between lord and citizen, these stagings represented the ideal sovereign relationship on a basic, visual level. They

¹⁶⁷ Van Sprang, "Les Festivités Du Papegai En 1615 à Bruxelles: Interprétation d'Une Suite de Tableaux Offerts Par Les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle Au Roi d'Espagne Philipp III."

¹⁶⁸ On these festivals, see Margit Thøfner, "Marrying the City, Mothering the Country: Gender and Visual Conventions in Johannes Bochius's Account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp," *Oxford Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (January 1999): 3–27; Margit Thøfner, "Domina & Princeps Proprietaria: The Ideal of Sovereignty in the Joyous Entries of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Tournhout: Brepols, 1998), 55–66.

presented the new rulers with representations of their ideal selves, implicitly promising to honor and obey their sovereignty as long as they, in turn, embodied these standards.¹⁶⁹

Joyous Entry festival books that recorded these events in the sixteenth century employed a high perspectival orientation to incorporate the full scope of the architectural setting and crowd, but also to bring order and clarity to its congested scenes. The elevated point-of-view and broad incorporation of architecture is seen, for example, in the festival book of the Antwerp city secretary Johannes Bochius, whose *Historica Narratio Profectionis et Inaugurationis ... Alberti et Isabellae Austriae Archiducum* (Officina Plantiniana: Antwerp, 1602) features images like *Inauguration Outside the City* (fig. 30).

As Van Sprang has argued, Van Alsloot adopted the organization and aesthetic of the Joyous Entry images such as those by Bochius because they called to mind the dynastic ritual itself. In *The Triumph of Archduchess Isabella*, for example, Isabel rides on a float and in *The Infanta Isabele Shoots the Bird from the Grand Serment*, which is only conserved in a replica by Antoon Sallaert's workshop, she receives genuflecting dignitaries, reenacting the theme of honor and obedience well established in Joyous Entry imagery (figs. 31 and 32). The visual format thus not only helps order the processional crowd, as in Bochius's *Inauguration Outside the City*, but also serves the politically rhetorical function of declaring the Infanta's dynastic authority. In this way, the

¹⁶⁹ Margit Thøfner has analyzed the political strategies of the Joyous Entries as tools of persuasion meant to compel ideal sovereignty in Thøfner, "Domina & Princeps Proprietaria: The Ideal of Sovereignty in the Joyous Entries of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella," 55–66.

Ommegang series complemented texts and panegyrics that celebrated the connection between Isabel and her grandfather Charles V, who won the shooting contest in 1549.¹⁷⁰

The iconography of the Van Alsloot images clearly reveals how artist and patron possessed a sophisticated sense of how art could convey sovereign identity. However, the fact that Isabel gave these artworks (and also the wooden bird) to her brother, the king of Spain, places the objects in a more nuanced category of patronage than simple image-building. The works had a political agenda that formed part of a campaign to convince Philip III that she was the natural and appropriate ruler of the Netherlands, beloved by her subjects and ably suited to govern through the princely virtues of her liberality, generosity, and mercy. They were the visual counterparts to the protests of the deputies of Brabant, Flanders, and Lille to the Spanish king that called for the Infanta's continued presence in the Netherlands.

No extant letters or archival sources document Philip III's thoughts about the paintings. However, he did hang them in the *Salón grande* of the Alcázar, where they were listed as early as the 1618 inventory.¹⁷¹ The room, which took its name from its monumental size (10 x 46.5 meters), was used as the palace's primary audience hall. It was the setting for court masques, dances, and plays; it hosted marriage, birth, and

¹⁷⁰ "(Zij) mict, en klinckt, en velt niet sachter/ Dan haren groot-vaêr, "t groene hout,/ Gelijck een Amazoon, en bouwt/ Haer eer op 't keiserlijke voorbeelt./ Hoe averechts de manschap oordeelt/ Van vrouwen, sonder hart en moedt./ Heldin, gij eerde uw strijtbaer bloet,/ Door uwe boog-pees, oock door d'Orden/ En koorde, die u lenden gorden." Quoted in Karel Porteman, "Albrecht En Isabella in de Letterkunde van Hun Tijd," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Tournhout: Brepols, 1998), 310.

¹⁷¹ Van Sprang, "Les Festivités Du Papegai En 1615 à Bruxelles: Interprétation d'Une Suite de Tableaux Offerts Par Les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle Au Roi d'Espagne Philipp III," 274, n. 6.

baptism celebrations; and when emissaries and important guests came to the court, the *Salón grande* was where the king received and welcomed his visitors. In other words, it was the most public room in the royal residence.

During the reign of Philip II, the room boasted scenes of military and political victories as well as views of Spanish cities. Philip III maintained this decorative scheme, and added to it maps and topographical images.¹⁷² The Van Alsloot images fit well within the schema of the space, which focused on the secular power of the Spanish Habsburgs. The Ommegang series represented territory and buildings under Habsburg possession, and, more importantly, showed the triumphant reception of a Habsburg ruler. Significantly, of the sixty-eight pictures listed in the inventory of the Alcázar taken in 1636, the paintings by Van Alsloot are the only ones that show neither a land nor cityscape exclusively, nor even an event related to a king specifically. Had the representation and the message of the paintings offended Philip III, there is little doubt that he would have accepted them, let alone displayed them in such a prominent and important location.¹⁷³

Indeed, that he took delivery of and displayed the paintings evinces the fact that he understood and accepted their meaning. Fortunately for Philip III (and the Archdukes), the question of succession was not one he needed to confront at that time. The Archduke

¹⁷² Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 118–25.

¹⁷³ Anthony Colantuono has shown that in 1629 Philip IV rejected Guido Reni's *Abduction of Helen*, which was created and deployed in the context of diplomacy, due to its controversial iconographic program that chastised Habsburg politics in the Valtelline. Anthony Colantuono, *Guido Reni's Abduction of Helen: The Politics and Rhetoric of Painting in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Albert recovered from his illness and outlived his cousin and brother-in-law by four months. Nevertheless, at the evident moment of crisis, the Infanta believed that gifts of art could help persuade the king to decide on issues in the way she desired. They served effectively as what one scholar has called “mute diplomats” for their ability to communicate visually that which could not be said.¹⁷⁴

The Strategy of Gift-giving

The Dutch historian Luuc Kooijmans has written that when a receiver accepted a gift of art, “he declared himself explicitly or implicitly obliged, meaning that he could be solicited, that in due course he was prepared to return the gesture with a service or a favor.”¹⁷⁵ This understanding of the gift recalls the findings of the French anthropologist Marcel Mauss.¹⁷⁶ In his seminal book *Essai sur le don* (1925), Mauss explored the subtleties and nuances of gifting through an anthropological study of transaction in modern and ancient societies. In it, Mauss maintained that the modern definition of a gift as a voluntary present with no expectation of reciprocation is an anachronism from which we must distance ourselves. A gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity, he argued, is a contradiction. In Mauss’ classic construction, gifting was part of a total phenomenon that

¹⁷⁴ Colantuono, “The Mute Diplomat: Theorizing the Role of Images in Seventeenth-Century Political Negotiations.”

¹⁷⁵ Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de Kunst van het Overleven in de Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw*, 137.

¹⁷⁶ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967).

worked to build alliances or enhance solidarity by presenting the recipient with a gift that he or she felt the need to reciprocate. However, the initial gift was generally beyond recompense. Consequently, the act of giving became a tool of control and power by binding the receiver to the giver through the impossibility of reciprocation.

In the complexity of the early modern European court, gifts often had a task to accomplish. Marc H. Smith and others have shown that they did not typically seek to bind the giver and receiver in perpetuity, as did gifts in the cultures studied by Mauss.¹⁷⁷ Whether it was to lubricate lines of communication, initiate a specific discourse, or to persuade a more tangible result, for example the assurance of assistance against a shared political enemy, gifts had a motive and also an end. Additionally, in early modern culture, unlike in the so-called “archaic” societies examined by Mauss, the identity of the object—its form, maker, and subject—was just as important to the gift as was the gesture itself. As Anthony Colantuono has reasoned, artwork, and to his particular argument, the art of painting, “was explicitly theorized throughout the Renaissance as a form of visual oratory or poetry, conceived by means of the theoretical practices of invention, disposition and expression and made visible through the rhetorical practice of imitation.”¹⁷⁸ In other words, the symbolic language of art could be integral to the realization of the gift’s goal. It could implant rhetorical conceits in its representations or function as a “mnemonic aid,” prompting the beholder to contemplate a certain idea or

¹⁷⁷ Colantuono, “The Mute Diplomat: Theorizing the Role of Images in Seventeenth-Century Political Negotiations”; Colantuono, *Guido Reni’s Abduction of Helen*; Marc H. Smith, “Les Diplomates Italiens, Observateurs et Conseillers Artistiques À La Cour de François Ier,” *Histoire de L’art* 35–36 (1996): 27–37.

¹⁷⁸ Colantuono, “The Mute Diplomat: Theorizing the Role of Images in Seventeenth-Century Political Negotiations,” 59.

topic.¹⁷⁹ In effect, the artwork itself could put into visual form that which could not be articulated verbally. To that end, it was ideally suited to aid in matters of diplomacy. Acting on behalf of the giver as a way to compel assistance due both to what it *was*, a gift, and what it *showed*, something related to its circumstances, the gift of art could forge political relationships or aid in political endeavors.

The Tradition of Gift-giving at the Habsburg Court

While Isabel was growing up at the court of Philip II, gifts of art were *the* tool of diplomacy. Rosemarie Mulcahy's study of diplomatic gifts from Tuscany shows how costly silver and ivory crucifixes, paintings, small altarpieces, reliquaries, relics, books, engravings, even fabrics for liturgical vestments consistently made their way to the court of Philip II when the grand dukes needed access to the royal presence.¹⁸⁰ Tuscany was nominally a state of the Habsburg Empire, meaning that it recognized the House of Austria as its authoritative superior. This relationship was owed, in part, to the fact that in 1557 Cosimo I de' Medici promised Philip II that his sons would not contract marriage without the approval of the Spanish crown in exchange for the king's protection. To that end, the grand dukes routinely required political recognition regarding hereditary titles

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 68.

¹⁸⁰ Rosemarie Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 71–114.

from the Habsburg king.¹⁸¹ Due to Philip II's notoriously principled persona—so much so that in 1605 the Florentine ambassador Orazio della Rena contrasted the “corruptibility” of the court of Philip III with the “more severe times of Philip II”—any gift to him would have to be presented with great circumspection.¹⁸² The grand dukes of Tuscany realized that their greatest diplomatic currency with the king would be devotional objects. Regarding the *Birth of the Virgin* altarpiece by Jacopo Ligozzi that he wished to send the king in 1594, Grand Duke Ferdinando, thus, instructed his ambassador in Madrid, Francesco Guicciardini:

Tell him that it is an object of devotion...No suspicion can thus fall on so great and esteemed a minister, nor could anyone imagine him corrupted, since his goodness and proven integrity... is well know to the King and indeed to all the world. And the Grand Duke, for his part, seeks nothing but esteem and grateful affection.¹⁸³

As the oldest son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, a man who spent the majority of his life organizing the defense of Christendom against Turks, Muslims, and Protestants, Philip II possessed a loyalty to crown that was surpassed only by his loyalty to God.¹⁸⁴ In a letter Charles sent to Philip in May 1543 as he set sail from Palamós, the

¹⁸¹ On the indebtedness of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to Spain, see Edward L. Goldberg, “Artistic Relations between the Medici and the Spanish Courts, 1587-1621: Part I,” *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1115 (1996): 105–14.

¹⁸² Quoted in *ibid.*, 106, n. 6.

¹⁸³ Quoted in *ibid.*, 107.

¹⁸⁴ For Philip's biography, I have relied largely on Kamen, *Philip of Spain*; Parker, *Philip II*; See also Patrick Williams, *Philip II* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Maria Jose Rodriguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

emperor advised his son to abide by two key principals. The second was to always accept good advice, and the first was to “always keep God before you, devote to Him all your labor and attention, and sacrifice everything for him.”¹⁸⁵ The king, indeed, made every effort to declare his fidelity to the Church whenever possible. In royal addresses to the Córtes of Castile, he routinely reiterated that his government worked “first and foremost for the things that concern the service of God, Our Lord, and the defense and conservation of His Holy faith and the Catholic religion.”¹⁸⁶ And once in correspondence with the Holy See, he famously swore that “rather than suffer the slightest damage to religion, and the service of God, I would lose all my states and a hundred lives if I had them, for I do not intend nor desire to be the ruler of heretics.”¹⁸⁷ He attended Mass daily, heard sermons weekly, confessed and received Communion at least four times annually, and spent several hours a day in prayer. While in residence at El Escorial, he ensured that

¹⁸⁵ “...tener siempre a Dyos delante de vuestros ojos, y ofreçerle todos los trabajos y cuydados que avéys de pasar, y sacrificaros y estar muy pornot a ellos.” José M. March, *Niñez Y Juventud de Felipe II; Documentos Inéditos Sobre Su Educación Civil, Literaria Y Religiosa Y Su Iniciación Al Gobierno (1527-1547)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1941), II: 13.

¹⁸⁶ “atendiendo primero y principalmente á lo que toca al servicio de Dio, nuestro señor, y á la defensa y conservacion de su santa fé y religion católica.” This language appears in the córtes of 1579, 1583 and many other addresses. *Contiene Varies Documentos de Las Córtes Que Se Reunieron En Madrid El Año de 1576, Y La Parte Primera de Las Actas de Las Que Se Juntaron En La Misma Villa En 1579*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Madrid, 1865), 101; *Las Actas de Las Córtes Que Se Juntaron so Madrid Al Año 1583 Y Se Alzaron En El de 1585*, vol. 7 (Madrid, 1866), 16.

¹⁸⁷ “Y assi podresi çertificar a S. S. que antes que sufrir la menor quiebra del mundo en lo de la religion, y del servicio de Dios, perderé todos mis estados y cien vidas que tuviesse, porque yo ni pienso ni quiero ser señor de hereges.” Letter from Philip to Requesens, 12 August 1566. Luciano Serrano, ed., *Correspondencia Diplomática Entre España Y La Santa Sede Durante El Pontificado de S. Pio V* (Madrid: Roma Impr. del Instituto Pio IX, 1914), I: 316.

he would be able to follow the religious ceremonies at all times by adjoining his bedroom to the oratory, and would often survey the proceedings either from there or in the choir.

On solemn Catholic occasions, Philip would retreat to one of the royal monasteries, where he observed the religious holidays with the utmost solemnity. For example, on Christmas 1566, he sang the watchnight offices with monks in the uncompleted choir of El Escorial, bareheaded and freezing. Throughout Holy Week, he habitually performed acts of humility and compassion in imitation of Christ by washing the feet of thirteen poor men on Holy Thursday, and pardoning men condemned to death on Good Friday before the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross.

By the mid-1580s, Philip had shed many trappings of his royal position as he began to embrace monastic simplicity. He eschewed the traditional title “Sacred Catholic Majesty” in favor of a simple “Sir,” and discarded the exquisite fashions of his earlier years for more somber and humble attire.¹⁸⁸ He also spent an increasing amount of time at El Escorial, and began to distance himself from the functions of court life. By 1585, he was refusing to give many audiences.

In light of Philip’s exceptional religiosity and courtly withdrawal it is understandable that Bianca Capello, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, sent Philip the gilt-silver altarpiece, *Christ on the Cross at Calvary*, in 1585 when she sought the king’s recognition for her adopted son as the hereditary prince of Tuscany. The gift, which she had received from Pope Gregory XIII, was accompanied with a note that read: “I could not give a better nor surer test of my servitude to you, sire, than with this crucifix, that

¹⁸⁸ Rodriguez-Salgado, “The Court of Philip II of Spain,” 240–41.

was everything to me.”¹⁸⁹ At the same time, her husband, Francesco I, sent the Spanish king a painting showing the Annunciation, a mosaic of St. Jerome, a small ivory crucifix “to keep at the head of the bed,” and a bed-cover with a note begging for the king “to give more consideration to my ardent willingness and devotion than to the gift itself, keeping me in your favor.”¹⁹⁰ As Edward Goldberg has noted, the stream of gifts from Tuscany to Spain tended to increase at decisive moments in a negotiation, so that Francesco’s gifts seemed to double down on his wife’s efforts to win the king’s favor.¹⁹¹

Significantly, ambassadors not only brought gifts to the king but also to his royal secretaries, his master of the horse, to the wives of powerful ministers and courtiers, and to his children. As they understood, all relationships with the king were relationships of power and anyone with access to him was a potential power broker. When in 1576 Grand Duke Francesco sent Benvenuto Cellini’s *Christ* to Philip II he also included flowers for the Isabel Clara Eugenia’s hair.¹⁹² Nearly ten years later in 1589, Grand Duke Ferdinando, who had succeeded his brother Francesco in 1587, sent copies of *The Annunciation* by Allesandro Allori to Prince Philip and the Infanta Isabel.¹⁹³ The same year the ambassador of Mantua decided to send a carriage and horses to the Infanta when he heard rumors that she would marry the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II. Although the

¹⁸⁹ Quoted in Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts*, 74.

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, 76.

¹⁹¹ Goldberg, “Artistic Relations between the Medici and the Spanish Courts, 1587-1621,” 108–9.

¹⁹² Pérez de Tudela, “Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela’s Personal Possessions,” 67.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

marriage never took place, the coach-and-six arrived in 1592 to great fanfare due to its exceptional sumptuousness and craftsmanship. The carriage was delivered on the heels of a clavichord with crystal and lapis lazuli, illuminated paintings in a protective box, dresses, bodices, fruit dishes, a reliquary studded with 74 diamonds, and a gold cross with relics sent by Cristina of Lorraine, Grand Duke Ferdinando's wife, in 1591.¹⁹⁴

The delivery of these gifts to the king's daughter was part of a strategy to build a larger network of influence at the Madrid court. Understanding the exceptional closeness of father and daughter and that a gift to Isabel was a gift to the Habsburg monarchy, the grand duchess's choice of relics and reliquaries was particularly tactical. Philip II's exceptional religiosity led him to possess a pathological devotion to relics. By the time of his death, he had collected nearly 7,500 relics at the Escorial, including 10 whole bodies, 144 heads, 306 arms and legs, thousands of bones of various parts of holy bodies, as well as hairs of Christ and the Virgin and fragments of the True Cross and Crown of Thorns.¹⁹⁵ The gifts Cristina of Lorraine gave to the Infanta in 1591 were thus sure to be well-received, reflecting as they did the king's particular tastes, but also ostensibly aligning the giver's beliefs with those of the recipient. They forged a bond through faithfulness and devotion, but one laden with political aims.

¹⁹⁴ Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts*, 76.

¹⁹⁵ Guy Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 58–93.

”Presents Given by the Serene Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia to Various People and in Various Times”

Already in her twenties by the time Grand Duchess Cristina sent her the devotional objects, Isabel would have been acutely familiar with the concept of collecting and exchanging precious items, particularly of a religious nature. Recent scholarship shows that the Infanta had already learned the value of forging relationships through gift giving during her childhood. From Almudena Pérez de Tudela’s extensive archival research we know that she frequently exchanged objects with her grandmother, Catherine de’ Medici, who sent her small toys, finely wrought timepieces, and precious boxes with jewel inlay. She traded gifts with her father while he was in Portugal as well as with the Holy Roman Emperor via his ambassador, who in 1594 sent her an ebony writing desk and an elaborate timepiece.¹⁹⁶ Although these were largely gifts among relatives and not necessarily part of the trafficking in favors as with the grand dukes of Tuscany, they formed part of Isabel’s courtly education in which gifts not only forged ties but also strengthened and maintained them.

When the Infanta Isabel relocated to the Spanish Netherlands in 1599, she brought with her this nuanced understanding of patronage and gift exchange, habitually acquiring, displaying, and also gifting artworks to consolidate relationships, demonstrate authority, and compel assistance. From her court chaplain and biographer Philippe Chifflet we know that between 1613 and her death in 1633 in at least 1,800 instances the Infanta Isabel gave gifts to friends, family, foreign courts, ambassadors, and ecclesiastical

¹⁹⁶ Pérez de Tudela, “Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela’s Personal Possessions,” 67.

organizations worth approximately 350,000 florins.¹⁹⁷ Chifflet, a native of Besançon, the capital of the Franche-Comté, enjoyed a close relationship with the Infanta, whom he would later describe as “the greatest, most accomplished and loving princess in the world;” so that after her death he began to collect information from her various acquaintances with the intention of composing her biography.¹⁹⁸ Chifflet died before completing the manuscript. However, the assorted notes and documents he compiled from the Infanta’s relatives, associates, and other contacts survive, among them the list in which the documentation about *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series appears, *Presents faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps*.

Chifflet organized the sixty-six pages of this list of “Presents Given by the Serene Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia to Various People and at Various Times” by recipient. He marked gifts to ambassadors with an “A,” gifts to kings and princes with a “P,” and gifts to religious groups or individuals with a “+.” He also assigned values to most gifts and listed both their contents and compositions: the number and type of gems on a reliquary, the weight of a silver vessel, the color, pattern, and weave of a bolt of clothe. Although the list is a font of information, it must be approached with caution, as it does not constitute the entirety of the gifts the Infanta gave, but rather the entirety of Chifflet’s

¹⁹⁷ This estimate is necessarily low, as Chifflet did not provide values for all objects, often abbreviated lists of objects with “etc.,” did not provide exact numbers of objects given for all presents, and, despite his thoroughness, likely did not make a full and complete inventory of every gift she ever gave. See Appendix A, 250-350 (fols. 185-248).

¹⁹⁸ “la plus grande, la plus accomplie, et la plus aymable princesse qui fust au monde” Chifflet, “Journal Historique Des Choses Mémorable Arrives En La Cour Des Païs-Bas Depuis l’An 1559 Jusques À l’An 1632 Inclus,” fols. 47–47v.

knowledge of her gifts between the years 1613-1633 only. Nevertheless, it provides, at the very least, a vivid picture of the kinds of gifts she gave and to whom.

From Chifflet's list, we know that every year since 1616 Isabel sent gifts to her niece the queen consort of France, Anne of Austria, that ranged from diamond-encrusted crosses, gold inlay reliquaries, and rosaries made of coral to statuettes of the Virgin Mary and Christ child, silver drinking vessels, writing desks, and even a dwarf.¹⁹⁹ She habitually sent gifts to the wives of royals, noblemen, and ambassadors to commemorate the birth of a child,²⁰⁰ and to the parents of boys who served as court pages in thanks for "lending" their sons.²⁰¹ To churches, monasteries, convents, and ecclesiastics she sent no less than 155,799 florins worth of habits, dalmatics, albs, chasubles, copes, hoods, stoles, bridles, chains, belts, miters, tiaras, baldachins, fonts, flagons, cruets, chalices, censors, candles, patens, pyxes, purificators, lamps, sacramentaries, lectionaries, tabernacles, corporals, crosses, crowns, daises, altar covers, paten covers, Missal covers, incense, sacred images, vestments to adorn the sacred images, stretchers for carrying sacred images, garlands, rosaries, relics, reliquaries, and more.²⁰²

Isabel was a deeply pious individual, and, to judge from the contents of Chifflet's list, also a generous one. Yet, the general trends of her gift exchange, specifically those

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix A, 253-54, 265-66, 267-68, 272-73, 279, 290, 318-19, 325-26, 329-41, 334-36, 339-44, 348-49 (fols. 186, 191v, 192, 193, 204, 209, 215, 228, 230, 233, 233v, 237, 237v, 239, 240, 240v, 246v).

²⁰⁰ See Appendix A, 299, 310, 346, (fols. 218v, 225, 246).

²⁰¹ See Appendix A, 311, 315, 329, 336, 348 (fols. 225, 227, 233, 237v, 246v).

²⁰² These such gifts occur on every page of the *Presentes faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps*.

years when her gift giving spiked or when the diversity of her recipients expanded, reveal strategy in addition to benevolence. Most notably, the peak of the Infanta Isabel's spending on ambassadorial, princely, and ecclesiastical gifts occurred in 1621, and specifically in the aftermaths of the year's two key political events for her: the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce, and her demotion from sovereign to governor.

In May 1621, a month after the Twelve Years' Truce ended, she presented Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland (1566-1632), with a gold chain enriched with forty diamonds and eighty other precious jewels costing 1,307 florins. To his wife, Constance of Austria (1588-1631), Philip II's cousin, she gave several perfume bottles, a rosary made from wood from Montaigu, and two reliquaries containing the image of Our Lady of Montaigu.²⁰³ Between the months of August and December of 1621, immediately following the Archduke Albert's death and Isabel's subsequent downgrade to Governess General, the Infanta distributed elaborate jewels to the ambassadors of every major European court. In August, she dispatched a piece of jewelry containing 118 diamonds to the ambassador of France, to the king and queen of that country a gold cross encrusted with diamonds and containing pieces of the True Cross within, and to the queen alone a golden reliquary and several gold chains; in September she sent other diamond-encrusted jewels to the ambassadors of Florence and the Holy Roman Empire; and in October she gave jeweled rosaries to the ambassadors of England and France and also to Archduke Leopold V of Further Austria (1586-1632).²⁰⁴ Although Chifflet does not specify the shape of the jewels Isabel sent in August and September, the prices he lists for them are

²⁰³ See Appendix A, 250-52, 255 (fols. 185, 185v, 186v).

²⁰⁴ See Appendix A, 253, 255-56 (fols. 186, 186v).

in the same value range of 1,600 to 2,200 florins as the jeweled rosaries. In 1621, Isabel also bestowed chains of the Order of the Golden Fleece to the local nobles William of Melun, Prince of Épinoy, and Charles de Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraeten.²⁰⁵

The Infanta doubtlessly hoped to impress these diverse political figures with the preciousness of the jeweled gifts she presented, thereby demonstrating her ability to harness the treasury. However, according to the Chifflet papers, 1621 is the only year in which she gave so widely and extravagantly. Based on the quantity, similarity, and also the concentrated time frame of those gifts, it is reasonable to believe that they were motivated by a common, geo-political purpose. Anti-Habsburg sentiment was on the rise in England and France during that time, and Protestant rebellions dotted the landscape of the eastern Habsburg lands. Though the members of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs were part of dynasty bound by family and religion, the two branches did not always support one another financially or militarily.²⁰⁶ Sigismund III, who had been an ally of the Habsburg dynasty, sending mercenaries to their aid during the war over the Palatinate in the 1610s, was preoccupied with his own campaigns against Sweden at that time. Equally tenuous was the relationship with the Florentine dukes whose connection with the Habsburg monarchy, as we have seen, relied entirely on the generosity of the king of

²⁰⁵ Esteban Estringana, *Madrid y Bruselas*, 60.

²⁰⁶ Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 112; Nicolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet, *Relazioni degli Stati Europei Lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti nel Secolo Decimosettimo* (Venezia: P. Naratovich, 1856), 389.

Spain. Consequently, it behooved the Infanta to consolidate powerful allies among these assorted rulers and lands during this transitional period, and to use gifts to do so.²⁰⁷

Her diplomatic motives behind such gifts emerge clearly when one considers that many of the gifts were jeweled rosaries, the string of beads that assist Catholic prayers to the Virgin Mary.²⁰⁸ Although the papal court did not officially establish devotions to the rosary until 1569,²⁰⁹ the Virgin was an icon of *Pietas Austriaca*, or the moral and religious code of the House of Austria.²¹⁰ Marian theology had been a foundation of Habsburg spiritual life since Philip II's childhood.²¹¹ The Spanish Habsburgs maintained special devotions to the Virgin of Montserrat, the Virgin at Guadalupe, Our Lady of Atocha, and Our Lady of the Pillar in Zaragoza, and participated in numerous Marian

²⁰⁷ Sigismund III and Leopold V remained allies of the Infanta Isabel and the Habsburg Netherlands throughout the seventeenth century, as did the Duchy of Tuscany and the Holy Roman Empire. Relations with England and France, on the other hand, were treacherous, fickle, and frequently undermined by secret dealings between England and France, France and Spain, England and the United Provinces, and so on. For a cogent summary of the constant back and forth among these nations, see Emile Cammaerts, *Rubens, Painter and Diplomat* (London: Faber Ltd., 1932), 159–227.

²⁰⁸ Between 1613-1633, Chifflet records twenty-seven instances in which the Infanta Isabel gave jeweled rosaries to princes, ambassadors, and ecclesiasts. See Appendix A, 253, 260, 262, 290-92, 297-99, 303-306, 310-311, 315, 318, 329-40, 339, 343, 346 (fols. 186, 189, 190, 215, 215v, 218, 218v, 221, 221v, 225, 227, 228, 233, 239, 240v, 246).

²⁰⁹ Pope Pius V (1504-1572) officially established devotion to the rosary on 17 September 1569 with the *Consueverunt Romani Pontifices* in which he introduced the rosary into the Roman Catholic liturgical calendar as the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary, to be celebrated on seventh of October.

²¹⁰ This term was born from contemporary panegyrics that emphasized the primary virtue of the German and Spanish Habsburg to be their princely piety. See Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004), especially 1–12.

²¹¹ Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 234.

confraternities and pilgrimages to Marian sites.²¹² The defense of the controversial doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which states that Mary was conceived free from the stain of original sin, was also one of the Habsburgs most propagated ideologies.²¹³ Both the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg households ascribed military victories to the Virgin, whom they hailed as their *generalissima*.²¹⁴ Since the sixteenth century, the rosary was an emblem of the Habsburg dynasty. Their defeat of the Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 was thought to have resulted from the intervention of the Blessed Virgin through the power of the rosary and from that day forth the Immaculate Virgin was the guiding symbol of Habsburg forces in Spain and Flanders (fig. 33).

The Archdukes similarly practiced a particularly devout form of Marian piety. Upon their marriage in 1598, they commissioned the *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis*, a Marian breviary, from the Antwerp engraver Jan I Moretus as a means of dedicating their reign to the Virgin Mary.²¹⁵ They also ardently supported the Confraternity of St. Ildefonso, which had the explicit mission to propagate the Immaculate Conception among court nobility and endorsed efforts to see the Immaculate accepted as Catholic doctrine.²¹⁶ The shrine to Our Lady of Montaigu, a miraculous image of the Virgin believed to have turned a man to stone when he attempted to steal it from the oak tree

²¹² Ibid.; Juan Javier Pescador, *Crossing Borders with the Santo Niño de Atocha* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 21.

²¹³ The Immaculate Conception was not formally proclaimed Catholic dogma until 1854.

²¹⁴ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 44–45, 50–55.

²¹⁵ Duerloo, “Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power,” 271.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

where it hung, was also one of the Archdukes favored venerations. Because one of the analogies used to describe the Virgin Mary was that her life had sprung from a barren tree, Our Lady of Montaigu, as well as other miracle-based cults of the Virgin having to do with trees, such as Our Lady of the Dry Tree, was tied to the Immaculate Conception.

Both Albert and Isabel were fiercely devoted to Our Lady of Montaigu, for which they erected a permanent church, established formal processions, constructed protective walls, and which they propagated through cults, confraternities, and gifts.²¹⁷ They were also great devotees of the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows in Brussels and the Confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp, the most powerful lay organization at Antwerp's Cathedral of Our Lady. They financed the restoration of the church, donated a large stained-glass window to the transept that bore their likenesses, and renewed the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption attached to the Cathedral.²¹⁸

When the Archduke Albert went to the Marian Shrine in Laeken, nearby Brussels, just before his death, he sought not only to commit his soul to the Virgin's care, but also that of the state of the Netherlands. According to the site's seventeenth-century historian, Albert's main concern was to invoke the Virgin's blessing for his wife's future governance.²¹⁹ Thereafter, the Virgin was not only Isabel's guardian, as she was for all

²¹⁷ On Our Lady of Montaigu (or "Scherpenheuvel" in Dutch), see Luc Duerloo and Marc Wogens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Davidsfonds, 2002).

²¹⁸ Anne Elizabeth Lyman, "Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella in Early Seventeenth-Century Brussels: An Examination of the Small-Scale Motets, Including an Edition of 'Deliciae Sacrae' (1616)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 2008), 39–40.

²¹⁹ "...op dat Isabella desen troon der Heerschappye van de Nederlanden met geluck soude ontfange." Q. Hennin, *Oorspongh van de Kercke van Laken, Often d'Eerste Zgen-*

Habsburgs, but also the symbol of her new political identity. The jeweled rosaries and images of the Virgin of Montaigu that she sent to the European ambassadors and princes were thus conceived not only to overwhelm their recipients with their opulence, but also to persuade them rhetorically of her piety and divinely protected power.

One of the Infanta's most important political gifts was shipped to Madrid in the autumn of 1621. The shipment, which Chifflet describes with impressive detail, included richly embroidered sleeves, a shirt containing 288 gold buttons, dresses, a painting of Saint Marguerite, a statuette of the Virgin and child, eight gold chains, a cross, two diamond-studded reliquaries containing the relics of Saints Sebastian and Blaise, two medals bearing the images of the Virgin Mary, Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, and Saint Peter Martyr, an emerald-encrusted belt, and various rarities and curiosities. Chifflet valued the gifts collectively at 9,709 florins, making it the most expensive sum total of gifts she ever sent to Spain by almost double.²²⁰

Notably, the recipient of Isabel's treasures was not her nephew King Philip IV, but rather his wife, Elisabeth of France (1602-1644), daughter of the Infanta's cousin Marie de' Medici. In fact, according to Chifflet's papers, which span twenty-two years, Isabel sent presents directly to the king only once, in 1622.²²¹ Given Isabel's diplomatic

Teecken en Der... (Brussels, 1694); Quoted in Schumann, "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)," 165.

²²⁰ See Appendix A, 250-52 (fols. 185, 185v).

²²¹ See Appendix A, 291 (fol. 215v). It is likely she sent other gifts to Spain that Chifflet did not record. For example, reports indicate that she gave at least two other gifts to Philip IV in the form of six suits of armor in 1624 and 1626. See Alvaro Soler del Campo, ed., *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain = El Arte*

savvy, at first glance it seems surprising that she would not try to curry favor or consolidate her relationship with her powerful nephew through gifts. However, as Magdalena Sánchez has written, “the Habsburg family was a political unity, [so that] within the dynasty the line between the familiar and the political was permeable.”²²² In other words, the queen’s domestic duties to her husband-king, Philip IV, were not exclusive to her familial responsibilities to her cousin-governor, Isabel. The Infanta could thus reasonably expect the queen to intercede on her behalf. Indeed, only two years later Isabel lauded Elisabeth for helping to secure 1,000 *felipes* as alms for a church. As she exclaimed, “The King, God bless him! has helped because the Queen has requested it.”²²³

A gift to the king’s wife would, thus, have been just as strategic as if it had been to the king himself—an approach, as has been shown, that the grand dukes of Tuscany also employed. During the reign of Philip III, Queen Margaret of Austria (1584-1611) regularly acted as an intercessor to the king on behalf of her Habsburg relatives, so much so that it caused considerable tension with the Duke of Lerma, who was also vying for influence over the monarch.²²⁴ Margaret repeatedly received letters and petitions from her brothers and cousins as well as from Spanish ambassadors in Eastern Europe, as it was understood that she played a decisive political role at the Spanish court.²²⁵

Del Poder: Armaduras y Retratos de La España Imperial (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2009), 46, 266–67.

²²² Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*, 112.

²²³ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 9 January, 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 8, 386, 388.

²²⁴ Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*, 114–15.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 111–36.

Calvert's Crucifixion

Although the Infanta Isabel never articulated the strategy of such exchanges of gifts in writing, others around her did. In 1621, her diplomatic agent in London Jean-Baptiste van Male wrote to Charles della Faille, a principal secretary at the court in Brussels, regarding the English Secretary of State Sir George Calvert:

Our good friend [Calvert] has earnestly begged me to obtain for him a painting of the Crucifixion, with Our Lady, St John and the Magdalen of one aulne in height, which should be done in the finest style we have in our country. As I am anxious to be of service to him in this business, yet having no one to whom to turn, I have preferred to ask you to please arrange that Master Rubens receive the commission for it and that he be paid out of the Treasury. I assure you that the gift will very much enhance our position and this good lord will cherish it, as he will understand its worth.²²⁶

Albert J. Loomie, who researched this exchange thoroughly, has shown that the gift was not a courtesy, but a necessity tied directly to the growing anti-Habsburg sentiment in England that could threaten the Infanta's security in the Netherlands.²²⁷ Frederick V of Bohemia, the son-in-law of King James I of England, had just suffered a devastating military loss. He had been overthrown after only one year by Habsburg Imperial forces, thereby earning him the derisive nickname "the Winter King." The defeat, combined with the termination of the Twelve Years' Truce in April 1621, resulted in a wave of Habsburg opposition in the House of Commons that included tirades urging military action against the Flemish coast.²²⁸ In light of this delicate political climate, Van

²²⁶ Quoted in Loomie, "A Lost Crucifixion by Rubens," 735.

²²⁷ Loomie, "A Lost Crucifixion by Rubens."

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 734.

Male identified the need to cultivate good relations with King James and also Calvert—a Catholic sympathizer known to denounce antagonists of the House of Austria.

Isabel contracted Peter Paul Rubens to paint a scene of the Crucifixion for Calvert. Rubens was greatly esteemed by English courtiers and collectors, among them Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador to The Hague, Henry Killigrew, Lord Henry Danvers, and the Earl of Danby.²²⁹ Charles, Prince of Wales, had even commissioned Rubens to decorate the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall.²³⁰ By the time Van Male’s letter reached Brussels, Isabel understood how a gift of work by Rubens could enhance their position. The Infanta also understood that not only the preciousness of the object, but also the celebrity of its maker would appeal to Calvert.

Courtly social structures associated gift giving with sophistication and honor, so that objects procured without the stain of money enjoyed a more venerable status than if they had been acquired through purchase. According to Giulio Mancini, who in 1621 wrote a guidebook for collectors while working as a doctor at the Barberini court in Rome, the most privileged form of exchange for those collectors who aspired to princely status was the gift of money to an artist.²³¹ By presenting compensation as a gift, albeit of cash or with cash value, the collector could remove the transaction from the “vile” market

²²⁹ Fiona Donovan, *Rubens and England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 11–33.

²³⁰ Gregory Martin, *The Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, ed. Arnout Balis, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* pt. 15 (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), I: 19–27; II: 312, Appendix II.5.

²³¹ Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni Sulla Pittura (1620)*, ed. Andriana Marucchi (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), I: 140.

economy, and instead make it an exchange of *liberalitas* and courtesy.²³² This concept also applied to the gift of art among collectors, or in the case of Rubens's *Crucifixion*, between the Infanta Isabel and Sir George Calvert. As a money-free method of acquisition, at least for Calvert, the gift conferred status upon the artwork. Calvert received the painting in 1622, and though his response to receiving the image is undocumented, Van Male celebrated the success of the Infanta's gift in his letter to Della Faille: "the lord whom you know was delighted to receive the painting and he will be expressing his gratitude to you one of these days."²³³

In the end, Calvert's reciprocation came at a great personal cost. In November 1623, the most influential member of the English king's cabinet, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, prepared a report in which he advised the ailing King James to appeal to Parliament for military funding in a war against Spain. It was the only way, he reasoned, to "check the growth of Habsburg power."²³⁴ Calvert strongly opposed the recommendation to abandon a pro-Spanish policy, and Buckingham subsequently had

²³² This type of exchange could be something of a gamble for the artist, as it did not ensure that the collector would compensate him fairly. Annibale Caracci, for example, supposedly had a nervous breakdown after Odoardo Farnese calculated the artist's wages for the Galleria Farnese ceiling at well below their worth. See Richard E. Spear, *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 109; Other artists, however, most famously Guido Reni, profited hugely from the arrangement, receiving prices well above their value due to the nervousness of collectors, who did not want to seem stingy. See Richard E. Spear, *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money, and Art in the World of Guido Reni* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 210–24.

²³³ Quoted in Loomie, "A Lost Crucifixion by Rubens," 736.

²³⁴ Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham, the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981), 174.

him removed from his position on the king's foreign policy committee.²³⁵ Buckingham and Calvert reconciled several years later, and, as a token of their settlement, Calvert, who clearly understood the power of the gift, gave the Duke his Rubens *Crucifixion* with the accompanying note: "I humbly beseech your Grace give it a place in some room of your house, yf you think it worthy and accept yt as an humble oblation (though small of value) from as thankfull and faithful a heart as ever professed to serve you."²³⁶

Conclusion

Throughout her life, and particularly at transitional or turbulent moments, Isabel Clara Eugenia commissioned and actively deployed jewelry, religious items, and artworks of all kinds to those who could help her. Many of these objects now grace the walls of prominent international museums and private collections, where they are prized as precious examples of a particular artistic style, or situated within the oeuvre of a specific artist. Their role as tools of political persuasion or objects of diplomatic influence, however, remains little understood.

²³⁵ Ibid., 202.

²³⁶ Loomie, "A Lost Crucifixion by Rubens," 736; Buckingham regifted the painting only a few years later when, after the death of James I in March 1625, he pursued a hostile and ultimately disastrous campaign against Spain in Cádiz. Sometime between 1626 and 1628 he presented Calvert's painting to Charles I, son and successor of King James. A devout Protestant, Charles gave the painting in 1636 to his Catholic wife, Queen Henriette-Maria, daughter of Marie de' Medici, who used it as the high altarpiece in her chapel at Somerset House until it was destroyed by fire in 1643. See Albert J. Loomie, "The Destruction of Rubens's 'Crucifixion' in the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1147 (October 1998): 680–82.

This chapter contends that the circumstances and context of gift-giving is a necessary component of understanding the cultural and historical importance of such works. Themes of gift-giving do not supplant iconographic or stylistic interpretations, but rather complement and enrich them. By understanding the prominence of gift-giving within the Infanta's diplomatic toolbox, we are given a fresh lens with which to view her many other gifts, including the largest and most expensive one she ever gave, Peter Paul Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series.

Chapter 3: Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Siege of Breda

*I will never thank enough Our Lord and Our Lady of Victory,
even if I thank them at every moment.
Isabel Clara Eugenia²³⁷*

In Philippe Chifflet's extensive list *Presents faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps* there is a note that in January 1628 the Infanta presented "some pearls" to Peter Paul Rubens "for the tapestry patterns for the Franciscan nuns in Madrid."²³⁸ In another undated document Chifflet describes how "the Infanta sent to the Descalzas in Madrid a set of tapestries containing the figures and mysteries of the Holy Eucharist, the patterns for which were done by Rubens, and cost thirty thousand florins. The set of tapestries is worth nearly one hundred thousand."²³⁹ The textiles to which Chifflet refers were Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series.

A richly woven tapestry cycle that celebrates the Holy Sacrament, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* is comprised of twenty tapestries. Eleven large textiles measure nearly 5

²³⁷ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 11 July 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 10, 392, 394.

²³⁸ See Appendix A, 262 (fol. 190).

²³⁹ "L'Infante envoya à Madrid aux déchaussées une tapisserie contenant les figure 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." Chifflet, "Journal Historique Des Choses Méorable Arrives En La Cour Des Pais-Bas Depuis l'An 1559 Jusques À l'An 1632 Inclus," fol. 302v.

meters tall and 5 to 7.5 meters wide. Four of the panels depict Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist, including *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, a story from Genesis that tells the story of the blessings of bread and wine Abraham received from the Priest-King of Salem, Melchizedek after returning from a victorious battle over the king of Elam, Chedorlaomer (Gen. 14: 17-24) (fig. 3); *Elijah and the Angel*, the story of the young prophet, who was on the brink of starvation when an angel appeared to him and presented him with bread and water (fig. 4); *The Gathering of the Manna*, which is drawn from Exodus and tells how bread known as “manna” was sent from heaven to save the Israelites from starvation (Ex. 16:13-36) (fig. 5); and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*, which pictures the procession of the Ark into the Temple of Solomon where priests offer sacrifices—a prophetic reference to the Eucharist carried in the monstrance and the sacrifices of the Mass (fig. 6).²⁴⁰

Rubens also designed three large panels for the series devoted to triumphal processions: *The Triumph of the Church*, *The Triumph of Faith*, and *The Triumph of Divine Love* (figs. 7-9). Images of triumphal procession dated back to antiquity, when generals would celebrate their military victories with grand public parades. Rubens, thus, apparently depicted these scenes *all’antica* with triumphal cars or wagons bearing the allegorical images of *Ecclesia*, *Fides*, and *Caritas* crushing their enemies as they advance in victory. Closely related to the Triumphs are the last two tapestries of the main group, *The Four Evangelists* and *The Defenders of the Eucharist*. The first of these compositions depicts Mathew, Mark, Luke and John—each of whom recorded the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. The other one represents the seven saints who translated,

²⁴⁰ Scribner III, “Sacred Architecture: Rubens’s Eucharist Tapestries,” 525.

propagated, and codified Eucharistic doctrine in their teachings, thereby exemplifying devotion to the Holy Sacrament (figs. 1 and 2).

Two allegorical scenes of Eucharistic victory also belong to this group of large-scale tapestries. These scenes, *The Victory Over Idolatry* and *The Victory of Truth Over Heresy*, do not draw from particular literary or visual sources, but are allegorical images depicting two historic challenges to Catholic orthodoxy: paganism and heresy (figs. 10 and 11).²⁴¹ The first of these scenes pictures an angel interrupting a traditional Roman sacrifice. The angel brandishes a monstrance in condemnation of the sacrilege of the polytheistic practices of the ancients. In the second of these allegorical scenes, figures of Time and Truth rise triumphantly from a battlefield strewn with bodies. Above them hangs a cartouche that reads “*Hoc est [enim] Corpus Meum,*” the words of Christ’s first institution of the Eucharist. Below them lie the trampled remains of figures traditionally identified as the early Christian heretic Arius, the twelfth-century heretic of Antwerp, Tanchelm, and, notably, the Protestant reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin.²⁴²

Conceptually and compositionally separate from these eleven large panels are five tapestries that Rubens designed to hang on the wall of the *coro alto* (nun’s choir) (fig. 22). These works, which are about half as large (about 5 x 3 meters), are known to have hung together because their arrangement is indicated in a bozzetto at the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 21). These tapestries feature the same Solmonic and Tuscan columns as the eleven largest hanging, but do not possess the same conceit of the feigned tapestry.

²⁴¹ On his discussion of the victories, see Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 56–64.

²⁴² Rooses first identified these figures in Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 431.

In the central composition of the Chicago bozzetto two cherubs hold aloft a monstrance, while in one of the flanking scenes a host of angels play instruments, and in the other nine angels sing the glory of the Eucharist (figs. 12-14).²⁴³ On the lower level of the bozzetto ecclesiastical figures, including a pope, cardinal, and bishop gaze in adoration of the Eucharist (fig. 16).²⁴⁴ They are accompanied in mirror image by a host of lay figures, including Emperor Ferdinand II, dressed in his imperial robes, King Philip IV, and his first wife, Elisabeth of Bourbon (fig. 17). Among these figures is a nun dressed in the habit of the Poor Clares, who some scholars have speculated is the Infanta Isabel. She does not particularly bear a likeness to Isabel, however, which has led although others to suggest that it is a portrait of the abbess of the Descalzas Reales and Isabel's cousin, Sister Margaret of the Cross.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Likely in reference to the nine choirs of angels that glorify God day and night "unceasingly" (Rev. 4:8).

²⁴⁴ The identification of portraits in the tapestry representing the ecclesiastical and lay authorities in adoration of the Eucharist remains a question of debate. Held identifies the pope as Urban VIII (1568-1644)--an idea supported by Scribner. However, De Poorter and Brassart disagree. Held, "Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville," 18; Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 94; de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, II: 271; Wolfgang Brassat, "Für die Einheit der katholischen Liga. Zum politischen Gehalt des Eucharistie-Zyklus von Peter Paul Rubens," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 8 (1988): 49.

²⁴⁵ The literature on the series has traditionally identified this figure to be the Infanta Isabel. See Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 94; Marnix Gijssen and Julius Held, *Rubens in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1947), 34; Tormo y Monzó, *En las Descalzas reales*, III: 22; Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 43; However, De Poorter discusses the possibility that it could also have been Margaret of the Cross--an identification supported firmly by Brassart. See de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, II: 275; Brassat, "Für die Einheit der katholischen Liga. Zum politischen Gehalt des Eucharistie-Zyklus von Peter Paul Rubens," 48.

Rubens produced four other tapestries for the series. Three represent allegorical female images of the Church: *Historiography*, in which is shown an image of a seated woman writing in a large book, her head turned to receive inspiration for the Holy Dove as a small angel offers her writing implements (fig. 18); *Charity Enlightening the World*, in which a young woman holds a torch aloft as she receives two young children while a third suckles at her breast (fig. 19); and *The Succession of Popes*, in which an old woman in a Franciscan habit holds in the one hand a cord containing medallions bearing the visages of Popes and in the other a snake biting its tail—the symbol of Eternity (fig. 20). The final tapestry of the series, *King David Playing the Harp*, shows the Old Testament king strumming a golden harp surrounded by a chorus of angels (fig. 15). Crowned with laurel, his gold crown at his feet, he gazes heavenward as he plays. The angels act as his vocal accompaniment, singing from scrolls and keeping time with their hands.

The Infanta's decision to commission this large-scale series for the Descalzas Reales clearly reflects her fondness for the convent. Her connection to the order was deeply personal. The Infanta was named, in part, after the Order's foundress, St. Clare on whose feast day she was born, and she spent considerable time there throughout her life and periodically resided in the adjacent royal apartments. She even professed as a Tertiary member of the Poor Clares after the Archduke Albert's death in 1621.

Although Isabel possessed a special personal affinity for the convent and the Poor Clares, her gift of the tapestry series must also be understood within the context of her personal or political situation in the mid-1620s. Chifflet's estimate of the series' worth at 100,000 florins would have made the tapestries the single most expensive gift the Infanta ever made. The amount outstripped customary pricing tenfold, roughly equaled Isabel's

monthly war budget, and constituted one-third the total cost of her recorded spending on gifts from 1613-1633.

As has been shown, Isabel's gift giving was often tied to specific circumstances. For example, the political situation she encountered in 1621 with her demotion to governor and the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce ushered in an unprecedented wave of gift giving. Similarly, the specific political and religious events surrounding Isabel's regency in the mid-to-late 1620s are critical to what motivated this remarkable act of patronage in 1625. While the commission of the cycle was certainly a sign of her affection for the convent, it was also an ex-voto to God for a military triumph as well as a diplomatic gift to the king of Spain.

The Siege of Breda

On 12 June 1625, as dawn broke over the city of Antwerp, Isabel Clara Eugenia stepped into a carriage drawn by six white horses. Accompanied by her ladies, maids and a train of lords, princes, noblemen, and guards on horseback, she rode through the countryside, where companies of horsemen lined the streets, citizens fired their muskets, and trumpeters blew exultantly on their horns. She was en route to the town of Breda, where the Army of Flanders had just won a military triumph over the Dutch that brought back much of the Province of Brabant to Spanish control.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ For the description of her journey, see Paul Arblaster, "Abraham Verhoeven and the Brussels Court: Isabel Clara Eugenia's Staple of News," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 309–11.

The decision to attack Breda, an important garrison for the Dutch military, had earned the Infanta the criticism of her nephew, King Philip IV of Spain. Until that time the Army of Flanders had made little decisive progress in the war with the United Provinces. A series of failed campaigns from 1621-1624 due to casualties, desertions, lack of funds, and the simple superiority of Dutch military outposts had weakened Madrid's confidence in Isabel and her general Ambrogio Spinola to such an extent that Philip IV decreed that the Infanta was obliged to report to his Council of State in Madrid on matters of martial strategy.²⁴⁷ The restrictions were an extension of the broader limitations Isabel had been forced to endure since being demoted from the post of sovereign regent to Governess General in July 1621 following the death of her husband. Under her new title, she was forced to rule by a committee of Philip IV's appointees; she was prohibited from generating foreign and domestic policy; and she was excluded from the budget talks that controlled the financing of the Army of Flanders.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, when faced with the instructions from Philip IV that Spinola no longer pursue offensive strategies, the Infanta sanctioned the attack on Breda.

Upon learning of the assault, Philip and his key advisor, the Count-Duke of Olivares, panicked in anticipation of the financial toll the venture would incur.²⁴⁹ Breda, located in the northern tip of the province of Brabant, represented an enormous tactical challenge for Spinola's army. Herman Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* (1626), the most reliable document on the battle, describes how the town's sandy soil meant that the Army of

²⁴⁷ Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 96–109.

²⁴⁸ See Chapter 1, 54-61.

²⁴⁹ Israel, *Empires and Entrepots*, 10.

Flanders could not dig tunnels under Breda's defenses to level it with mines.²⁵⁰ The marshes that surrounded the garrison also challenged Spinola's ability to limit access to the town and, thereby, the rebels' ability to gather reinforcements. Finally, the Dutch, who were outnumbered 9,000 to 60,000 men, had stocked the town with provisions so substantially that they could withstand a lengthy siege.²⁵¹

The strategic difficulties at Breda meant that the battle would become an exercise in siege warfare—a notoriously inefficient means of attack. The problems with sieges, as Duerloo has noted, is that they “required a sizeable army: enough infantry to seal off the town from its surroundings, enough artillery to bombard its defenses and enough cavalry to ward off any attempt to bring relief from the outside.”²⁵² The army of Flanders possessed few, if any, of these resources. In October 1624, three months after Spinola began the siege, the king admonished the Infanta and implored her to end the assault.²⁵³ She did not, and for nine months the Army of Flanders laid siege to the town of Breda.

²⁵⁰ I consulted the two English versions of Hugo's text, published in 1627, one year after the original Latin version. The first version was translated by an unknown English colonel of regiment that fought for Spain at Breda who calls himself “CHG.” The second version was translated by the Irishman Gerrat Barry, a captain in Spinola's army. Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 12–13.; Herman Hugo, *The Seige of Breda by the Armes of Phillip the Fovrt Vnder the Government of Isabella Atchived by the Conduct of Ambr. Spinola.*, ed. D. M. Rogers, trans. Gerrat Barry (London: Scholar Press, 1975). Hugo had been present at all of Spinola's campaigns, and was well placed to write this account, which also contains several woodcuts and engravings with maps and plans of the siege.

²⁵¹ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 144.

²⁵² Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 125.

²⁵³ Hugo, *The Seige of Breda by the Armes of Phillip the Fovrt Vnder the Government of Isabella Atchived by the Conduct of Ambr. Spinola.*, 146; Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 107; These instructions must have been influenced, in

The prolonged offensive, indeed, drained Spanish money and supplies. A month before the siege ended, the Infanta wrote to Philip IV that there was nothing left with which to pay the soldiers and that there existed no possibility of procuring credit in Antwerp.²⁵⁴ One month after the siege ended, the king honored Spinola for his service by presenting him with the prestigious appointment of *encomienda mayor* of Castile, an honorable title usually accompanied by a tidy income. However, due to the considerable cost of the siege, the position's salary had been mortgaged for the next twelve years. Spinola received the honor of the position but not the pay.²⁵⁵ The martial offensive had so reduced the finances and resources of the Army of Flanders that Isabel was forced to pawn a large portion of the King's territory in the Spanish Netherlands.²⁵⁶ She and Spinola were also instructed to restrict the army's activities to defensive measures indefinitely. There were no funds left with which to mount another assault.

The financial straights were a direct result of Spinola's strategy to starve out the city—a method, as per Hugo's description, that was extremely complicated. It involved constructing barricades that blocked the major points of access to the city to thwart any sortie. It also required keeping most of the cavalry and infantry in a mobile reserve to repel potential relief operations. The cost quickly outstripped the allocated finances. As

part, by the intensified conflict in the Valtelline, where the French government was backing the anti-Habsburg Protestant Grisons in their effort to secure the transalpine pass. Philip IV likely hoped that ending the siege in Breda would free up the Army of Flanders to turn their attention instead to the Valtelline. See Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 223–25.

²⁵⁴ Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 109.

²⁵⁵ Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 236.

²⁵⁶ See Chapter 1, 64.

Hugo wrote, “Spinola at the beginning could never have believed that it was possible the siege could be so prolonged so long, or so that so great numbers, or such an expence of carriage would be needful... [so that] they never have undertaken it so willingly.”²⁵⁷

The winter of 1624-1625 was particularly harsh and tested the endurance of the soldiers on both sides. Hugo reports that over the course of the long, cold season many Dutch soldiers tried to surrender, but Spinola would send them back.²⁵⁸ His strategy was to break the will of the enemy, and, perhaps, also to create dissent within their camp. At issue, however, must also have been financial resources. The Army of Flanders was barely able to feed and support its own people. Taking in and maintaining prisoners would only have added to its hardship.²⁵⁹

As the siege dragged on and prospects looked dim, Isabel stood behind her general, who insisted the town could be won. She secured additional horse- and footmen from the Holy Roman Emperor after Spinola wrote that the Dutch had received reinforcements from Germany, France, and England.²⁶⁰ When the brutal winter weather threatened the health of the soldiers, she “gave order that six hundred course gownes for Centinells should be made, the better to be able to watch in the open ayre.”²⁶¹ Upon

²⁵⁷ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 67.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁵⁹ On the general state of army food and supplies during wartime, see Geoffrey Parker, “The Soldier,” in *Baroque Personae*, ed. Rosario Villari, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 32–56.

²⁶⁰ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 51.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

others, she gave “shoes and stockings, to the number of eight hundred.”²⁶² Under these arduous conditions, the siege persisted. Then, on 5 June 1625, Corpus Christi day, the Dutch capitulated. The conquest was optimistically believed to signal a turning point in the Eighty Years’ War, and the Infanta Isabel, who had ordered the siege, rejoiced.

A week after the surrender, coverage in the weekly newspaper of the Habsburg Netherlands, the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, recorded the Infanta’s triumphant entry into Breda, where she was greeted in grand fashion:

The whole army stood in battle order in open field, the first she passed being 8 regiments of foot, who fired 3 salvoes. Then there stood 140 companies of horse, who also fired three salvoes, and the town fired 3 salvoes with all the batteries, and the field guns, so that the earth shook... that night there were triumphal celebrations in Breda, and they lasted for 3 days.²⁶³

After nearly a month in Breda, she then rode to Antwerp, where on 7 July thousands of citizens had assembled to celebrate her arrival. Another report from the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* describes how

... the deans of the 6 guilds of Antwerp stood awaiting the Infanta at the gate, each with a white torch burning, and they walked alongside the Infanta’s coach with bare heads and accompanied her to the court of St. Michael’s. The deans numbered 36, wearing their tabards, with bandoleers over them. The 6 guilds stood on the Grote Markt in battle order with the six banners flying, and when the Duchess rode by they dipped all the six banner earthwards 3 times as a mark of respect, and all the musket fired, in which she took great pleasure.²⁶⁴

²⁶² Ibid., 51.

²⁶³ Quoted in Arblaster, “Abraham Verhoeven and the Brussels Court: Isabel Clara Eugenia’s Staple of News,” 310.

²⁶⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 311.

Amidst these jubilant celebrations, the Infanta Isabel also made her way to the studio of her court artist and friend Peter Paul Rubens to sit for a portrait—the first to be painted of her since she mournfully donned the habit of the Poor Clares four years earlier (fig. 26). Scholars have speculated that while there, the Infanta also commissioned *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries from Rubens.²⁶⁵ As they have argued, the preparatory works for the series reflect Rubens’s style of the mid-1620s, and such an occasion would have been the perfect opportunity to discuss the tapestry commission.

The timing accords with Rubens’s whereabouts between August 1625 and February 1626, when he was living in Brussels in the neighborhood of the tapestry weavers.²⁶⁶ It also corresponds with the earliest known mention of the series, which came in December 1626 in a lawsuit leveled by the Brussels weaver Jacob Geubels. Geubels argued before the Antwerp magistrate that he had not been paid for a set of tapestries for the King of Poland and that without those funds he was unable to work on the “notable works of tapestry that he has undertaken to carry out for the Most Serene Infanta.”²⁶⁷ One year later, Chifflet also mentioned the series. Writing to the papal nuncio Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi de Bagno in late May 1627, he reported on Rubens’s intention to leave for Rome after completing “several designs that he will send to Her Most Serene Highness.”²⁶⁸ The “designs” are generally understood to refer to the cartoons, or full-

²⁶⁵ Held, “Rubens’s Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville,” 6; Elbern, *Peter Paul Rubens: Triumph Der Eucharistie. Wandteppiche Aus Dem Kölner Dom*, 10.

²⁶⁶ Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 427.

²⁶⁷ Quoted in De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, II: 431.

²⁶⁸ “Rubens faist conte de partie pour Rome, environ ce temps la, après qu’il aura paracheré plusieurs tableaux qu’il a entrepais pour S.A. Il emportera avec soy dix ou

scale mock-ups, for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries. In 1628, Chifflet updated the cardinal that in July “Her Highness sent to Spain two wagons laden with tapestries, cloths, geographic maps, and some paintings.”²⁶⁹

Ex-Voto for Breda

In light of the celebratory atmosphere following the victory at Breda, it seems probable that the commission for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries was an expression of thanks to God for the victory at Breda, or an ex-voto. From the Latin, *ex voto suscepto* (“from a vow made”), ex-votos are offerings to a saint or divinity that redeem a vow and are given in gratitude for divine deliverance. They constituted anything from a scale model ship to a silver lamination stamped into an anatomical shape to immaterial offerings such as pilgrimages, masses, prayers, or even works of architecture, paintings, and sculpture for those with generous financial resources.

The idea that the Infanta would have commissioned the series as an ex-voto is premised on her deep devotion and belief that God had answered her prayers and supplications in granting this victory. In his *Obsidio Bredana*, Herman Hugo, who was

douze mille florins, pour employer en statues antiques.” Philippe Chifflet to Giovanni Francesco Guidi de Bagno, 21 May 1627. “Papiers Des CHFFLET—Lettres Autographes de Jean-Jacques Chifflet Au Cardinal Bagni (1626-1630), de Philippe Chifflet Au Même (1627-1631), et de Pierre-François Chifflet À Baluze (1665-1681) et À André Duchesne (1633 et 1634),” Baluze 162 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, n.d.), fol. 138v.

²⁶⁹ “S.A. a faist partir des deux jours ença, deux chariots wu’elle faist passer en Espagne, charger de tapisseries, de toilles et de chartes geographiques, et de quelques peintures.” Philippe Chifflet to Giovanni Francesco Guidi de Bagno, 14 July 1628. *ibid.*, fol. 195.

Spinola's personal chaplain and the head of the Army Mission, confirms that Isabel had prayed "continually" to God to gain the city.²⁷⁰ He describes how she spent several hours a day in private prayer and also commissioned and participated in a Forty Hours devotion, which involved the elevation and display of the Eucharist in a church for a period of forty hours. During this time, litanies, prayers and orations were directed toward the consecrated host.²⁷¹ Consequently, he wrote,

it was the common voice of all, that the *Infanta* by her perpetuall prayers, and those of her court, and of other places by there continuall prayers in the fortie houre prayers to be made in all the Churches, and by powring out her almes amongst the miserable wonne Breda, and not with weapons. And truly divine succours were more present, then human stratagemes, none can denie: for to whom shall we refer this benefit received, but to her so well known pietie. [emphasis in original]²⁷²

Many scholars, following a suggestion made by Julius Held in 1968, have parenthetically mentioned the idea that *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series was an ex-voto for Breda, but it has never been the focus of sustained study.²⁷³ One reason for this oversight may be that ex-votos are generally deemed objects of popular piety, best understood as a vernacular rather than a sanctioned form of worship. For the Infanta, however, growing up in Spain meant that ex-votos were integral to her faith.

²⁷⁰ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 145.

²⁷¹ Hugo, *The Seige of Breda by the Armes of Phillip the Fovrt Vnder the Government of Isabella Atchived by the Conduct of Ambr. Spinola.*, 148.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 148–49.

²⁷³ Held, "Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville," 6.

Ex-votos were very popular in Spain, where devotion was not only based on the universal tenets of the Catholic Church—its sacraments, liturgy, and calendar—but also on local places and saints, miraculous images, relics, and a calendar built up from Spain’s own sacred history. As William Christian has shown, Spaniards habitually made and fulfilled vows. Whether in times of plague or disease, bad harvest, poor weather, pest infestation, or other times of adversity, they believed that God actively intervened in their daily affairs and, thus, they had to offer thanks.²⁷⁴ The Spanish canonist Martín de Azpilcueta, whose *Manual de Confessors y Penitentes* (1566) was a standard reference work for priests in the latter half of the sixteenth century, addressed the orthodoxy of ex-votos when he affirmed them as “a deliberate promise made (at least in one’s mind) to God for some greater good that has not been annulled by the superior.”²⁷⁵ Later, during the Toledo and Cuenca Synods of 1622 and 1626 votive gifts received some clerical attention when ex-votos, shrouds, signs (*letteros*), and symbols of miracles worked by miraculous images were banned only if they had not been approved by the Church.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Christian reports that between 1575-1580, 513 households in the area comprising Toledo, Madrid, Guadalajara, Ciudad Real, and Cuenca reported making 1,424 vows in anticipation or as a result of various natural disasters. Christian’s data comes from a survey Philip II’s chroniclers sent to the towns and villages of New Castille in those years to better understand the towns, their histories, as well as their religious beliefs and practices. From this data, we also know that the 513 households that replied to the questionnaire represent a small fraction of the total population of central Spain in the late sixteenth century. See Tables 1.1 and 2.1 in William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 11, 29.

²⁷⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 31.

²⁷⁶ For transcriptions of the synods, see Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de Cánones y de Todos los Concilios de la Iglesia Española* (Madrid: Pedro Montero, 1849), V: 236–37; On the ramifications of these synods, see Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Image and Counter-Reformation in Spain and Spanish America,” in *Sacred Spain: Art and*

Beyond the Iberian Peninsula, Catholics across Europe incorporated vows into their daily life. Although the Catholic Church had no official position on ex-votos, the last session of the Council Of Trent did remind the faithful that honor and veneration were to be given to relics and images, not because “any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them... or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images... but because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent.”²⁷⁷ Lay and clerical figures alike made a practice of vowing gifts. In Bologna following the plague of 1575, Church officials performed special penitential litanies, masses, and processions as recompense for the protection of its clergy and congregants from the disease. Nearly a hundred years later in Rome, Giulio Rospigliosi, future Pope Clement IX, commissioned a painting of St. Francesca Romana by Nicolas Poussin, also conceived as an ex-voto in gratitude for the end of the plague of 1656/57.²⁷⁸

This widespread practice of offering ex-votos may be explained in part by what Natalie Zemon Davis has called “the Catholic gift system.”²⁷⁹ As Davis argues, the notion of the gift played a profound role in the intrinsic makeup of the Catholic faith. Virtues, such as understanding, fortitude, and wisdom were explicitly described as gifts

Belief in the Spanish World, ed. Ronda Kasl (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2009), 24.

²⁷⁷ See Session XXV: “On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics, of Saints, and on Sacred Images,” in H. J. Schroeder, ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (London: B. Herder Book Co., 1960), 215–26.

²⁷⁸ Marc Fumaroli, “Un ‘ex-voto’ de Nicolas Poussin ‘Sainte François Romaine annonçant à Rome a la Fine de la Pest,’” in *Peinture et Pouvoirs: de Rome à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Dijon: Faton, 2007), 106–63.

²⁷⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 101.

from God (Is. 11:2), and the world itself, which God created, was articulated as a gift to mankind (Rom. 12:3). Just as Marcel Mauss understood gifts to engender social bonds through the obligation of reciprocity, so too did Catholics, who accepted God's gifts by honoring him, glorifying his name, and by giving to him in return.

Alexander Nagel has written that the art of churches best testifies to the phenomenon of reciprocation as it was typically implicated in a series of negotiations “that bound the larger money economy to the economy of devotion, that is, the economy of prayer, mass-sayings, and purgatorial dispensation.”²⁸⁰ Indeed, as Nagel and Davis have both noted, the Catholic system of chapel endowments for prayers, observances, and indulgences incited the venom of Protestant reformers such as John Calvin, whose denunciation of the Catholic Mass revolved precisely around the issue of exchange:

The Sacred Supper (in which the Lord had left graven and inscribed the remembrance of his Passion) has been taken away, destroyed, and abolished by the raising up of the Mass. Indeed, the Supper itself is a gift of God, which ought to have been received in thanksgiving. The sacrifice of the Mass is presented as paying a price to God, which he should receive by way of satisfaction. There is as much difference between this sacrifice and the sacrament of the Supper as there is between giving and receiving. And such is the most miserable ungratefulness of man that where he ought to have recognized and given thanks for the abundance of God's bounty, he makes God in this his debtor!²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Alexander Nagel, “Art as Gift: Liberal Art and Religious Reform in the Renaissance,” in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, ed. Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 322.

²⁸¹ Book 4, Chapter 18, paragraph 7 in Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), II: 1435.

Though nowhere in the Mass is the debt of divine reciprocity explicitly articulated, the continuing nature of the bond between giver and recipient emerges throughout the service. From the first Eucharistic prayer when the priest asks that God “accept and to bless these gifts, these presents, these holy and incorrupt sacrifices”²⁸² to the *Hanc igitur*, when he beseeches the Lord to accept the oblation of the Mass with the promise of deliverance from damnation, imbedded in the Canon of the service is a model of reciprocity in which man and God engage in a cycle of devotional exchange.²⁸³

In Franciscan theology, which governed religious life at the convent of the Descalzas Reales, the broader notion of reciprocation for divine grace was especially bound to veneration of the Eucharist. According to Thomas of Celano, one of St. Francis’s first biographers and among his earliest disciples, “Every fiber of the heart of Francis was aglow with love for the sacrament of the Body of Christ, and with exceedingly great admiration he marveled at the loving condescension and the condescending love of the Lord.”²⁸⁴ Thus perceiving God’s love as a divine gift bestowed upon man, Francis endeavored, despite his vow of extreme poverty, to return the Lord’s love with the greatest possible solemnity. Whenever he found a neglected church on his

²⁸² “accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata.” Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1961), 72.

²⁸³ “this oblation, therefore, of our service, and also of thy whole family, we beseech thee, O Lord, graciously to accept; and do thou order our days in thy peace, deliver us from eternal damnation.” (“Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias: diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi”). See *ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Thomas of Celano, *S. Francisci Assisiensis vita et miracula: additis opusculis liturgicis*, ed. Édouard d’ Alençon (Roma: Desclée-Lefebvre, 1906), II: n. 8.

journeys he would seize a broom and sweep and adorn the church out of respect for and in offering to the Eucharist. In his later years, he began to collect and distribute elaborate liturgical vessels to Franciscan churches so that the Eucharist was never preserved in an unbecoming manner. On his deathbed, Francis enjoined “that these Most Holy Mysteries be honored and revered above all things and that they be placed in precious places.”²⁸⁵

An understanding of the centrality of the votive gift in the Catholic, and particularly Franciscan, faith, brings into sharper relief the deep devotion with which the Infanta commissioned *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series. It affirms that the Infanta’s impulse to reciprocate God’s gift of the victory was intimately bound to her faith. Indeed, as a tapestry costing around 100,000 florins and “some pearls,” *The Triumph of the Eucharist* further belongs to a category of devotional gift that placed a high premium on luxury and splendor. Material luxury appears to have been considered indicative not only of the patron’s social standing but also of the intensity of his or her devotion. For example, when the Venetian condottiere Gattamelata recovered from a serious illness in 1441, he donated a three and half kilo silver image of himself astride a horse to Santissima Annunziata in Florence in gratitude for his salvation.²⁸⁶ In Madrid, following the major Spanish military victory over Henry II of France in 1557, Philip II vowed to build El Escorial, declaring,

²⁸⁵ Quoted in O. Karrer, *St. Francis of Assisi, The Legends and Lauds*, trans. N. Wydenbruck (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1974), 274.

²⁸⁶ Megan Holmes, “Ex-Votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult,” in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Wayne Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 166.

In recognition of the victory that Our Lord granted me on San Lorenzo's Day of 1557, I have decided to build and to endow a monastery where thanks will be given Him continually for that and where prayers and Masses will be said for the souls of the Emperor and the Empress.²⁸⁷

André Vauchez notes that the ex-voto reflected back on the votary, so that its material preciousness and value were considered high marks of one's devotion.²⁸⁸ Megan Holmes has further highlighted the practice of privileged display. According to Holmes, by the fifteenth century priests arranged ex-votos hieratically at Santissima Annunziata in Florence. Offerings made of precious materials and by illustrious individuals were given pride of place nearest the altar or in an area directly "in the sight of the Mother God" (the Virgin Annunciate being the major figure of worship at Santissima Annunziata), as material splendor was implicitly connected with spiritual intensity.²⁸⁹

The 100,000 florin price tag of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series certainly adheres to observations about ex-voto traditions. Tapestries were considered among the most prized artworks since the Middle Ages. They consumed an enormous amount of labor and materials resources that made them exceptionally expensive and, therefore, available only to the highest societal echelons.²⁹⁰ There is little question that

²⁸⁷ Quoted in Alain Saint-Saëns, *Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain, 1545-1690* (New York: P. Lang, 1995), 109–10.

²⁸⁸ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 455–58.

²⁸⁹ Holmes, "Ex-Votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult," 178–82.

²⁹⁰ Typically more than one weaver would work on a single loom at a time. The average time it consumed to produce 70 running centimeters of tapestry was one month, which means that a single 5-meter long tapestry took three weavers on one loom roughly seven months to make. Additionally, tapestries were often made from wool and silk, which were sometimes wrapped with silver and gold. The combination of time and materials

Isabel possessed the financial ability to offer such a gift for Breda on a large scale. She gave widely and generously to princes, prelates, ambassadors, and ecclesiasts between 1613-1633.²⁹¹ There is also little question that Isabel regarded the victory as an act of God. In a letter she wrote to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, the head of the Catholic Mission in Rome, immediately upon her return from Breda, she called the victory, “the great favor Our Lord granted us,” and described her gratefulness for God’s favor as so strong that she could never thank him or Our Lady of Victory enough, even if she thanked them “at every moment.”²⁹²

Vows in Theory and Practice

Although today the act of beseeching God for help with promises of good deeds or better behavior in a time of trouble is often a figure of speech, during the seventeenth century such a pledge was no casual utterance. The practice of vowing was shaped

meant that the average cost of a tapestry series generally ranged between 500 and 3,000 florins. See Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 14; van Ysselsteyn, *Tapestry. The Most Expensive Industry of the XVth and XVIth Centuries. A Renewed Research Into Technic [sic], Origin and Iconography*, 9.

²⁹¹ That the Infanta Isabel was commissioning and presenting gifts as expensive as *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series between 1613 and 1633 may seem fiscally irresponsible in light of the fact that during this same time period she was also pawning her jewels to finance the Army of Flanders. However, her own treasury and not the King of Spain, who, as per the Act of Cession, maintained financial control of the Army of Flanders, financed the gifts the Infanta gave. The pot of money from which she drew to commission and give gifts did not derive from Madrid, nor was it ever intended to fund military activities.

²⁹² Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 11 July 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 10, 392, 394.

largely by the teachings of the thirteenth-century church doctor St. Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274), whose *Summa Theologiae* (1265-1274), a compendium of Catholic theology, included a lengthy description of vows.²⁹³ According to the saint, a vow is a religious act analogous to prayers and oblations. It is a promise that a votary makes to God, in the presence of a witness or alone, and that promise involves performing a specific action, which must be satisfied in a timely manner. “*When you make a vow to the Lord, your God,*” he wrote, “*you shall not delay in fulfilling it; otherwise you will be held guilty, for the Lord, your God, is strict in requiring it to you.*” [emphasis in original]²⁹⁴ Additionally, the votary may make the vow through an intercessor, such as the Virgin Mary, a saint, relics, or even a holy mystery. However, the pledge is always made to God, so that failure to fulfill one’s pledge is a mortal sin.²⁹⁵

St. Thomas’s doctrinal teachings exerted a strong influence over early modern Catholics, and the extremely pious Infanta Isabel would have understood the gravity of making a pledge to God. Popular legend has it that she publically vowed to God that she would not change her undergarments until the Army of Flanders won the Siege of Ostende in 1601. As the story goes, Isabel adhered so devoutly to her pledge that the pale tawny yellow color, known as *couleur Isabelle* derives from the shade of her formerly white chemise after that siege ended in 1604.²⁹⁶ Although the anecdote is impossible to

²⁹³ See 2a 2e, Question 88 in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (Cambridge: Blackfriars, 1964), XXXIX: 158–201.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIX: 169.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXIX: 173–75.

²⁹⁶ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 125; Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop’s Tale: Mathias Hovius Among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* (New Haven: Yale

verify (and its details are slightly bizarre if not a little unhygienic), the sentiment of the Infanta's dogged observance of a vow bespeaks popular understanding of the seriousness with which she undertook pledges. Further, according to Hugo van der Velden, it underscores the "essential point" of the vow. Van der Velden, who has written extensively on ex-votos and the Thomist understanding of vows, notes that neither the timing of the vow nor the character of the pledge itself was important.²⁹⁷ A vow could be made in anticipation of an event, at the very moment of need, or even in the immediate aftermath. Moreover, the redeeming act could constitute anything from a pilgrimage to a painting to a promise not to change one's underwear. Above all else, Van der Velden writes, "is the connection between action and reciprocation, gift and reciprocal gift."²⁹⁸

Immediately following the Dutch surrender at Breda, Isabel initiated the first of her many ex-votos to express appreciation for God's gift of victory. She made arrangements in Breda for an annual commemorative Mass to honor the Eucharist and funded the building of a Capuchin convent and Jesuit college there. She also established the confraternity of the Immaculate Virgin in Brussels.²⁹⁹ These presentations—to which

University Press, 2000), 99; Simon A. Vosters, *La Rendición de Bredá En La Literatura Y El Arte de España* (London: Tamesis Books, 1973), 43; Jules Lieure, *Jacques Callot* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1924), II: 82.

²⁹⁷ For Van der Velden's concise summary of St. Thomas Aquinas's doctrine on vows, see Hugo van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 193–97.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

²⁹⁹ On the presentation of these offerings, see Arblaster, "Abraham Verhoeven and the Brussels Court: Isabel Clara Eugenia's Staple of News," 309–11; Vosters, *La Rendición de Bredá En La Literatura Y El Arte de España*, 82; "Notes Concernant l'Infante Isabelle-Claire-Eugénie," MS 1600 (Archives Municipale, Besançon, n.d.), fol. 74v;

The Triumph of the Eucharist series certainly belongs even in the absence of explicit documentation—echo a remark made by Hugo that Isabel forbid all public celebrations until till “thanks have ben given to Almighty God, the author of this victory.”³⁰⁰

Patronage in the Wake of Breda

To judge from Hugo’s *Obsidio Bredana* and Isabel’s behavior in the wake of the siege, there is every reason to trust that she believed, without reservation, that she had personally secured the victory at Breda through her good stewardship of the military operation as well as through her piety and her prayers. Indeed, in addition to commissioning ex-votos, she also embarked on a multimedia campaign that aligned her piety with the victory, beginning with commissioning a portrait by Rubens.

As the story goes, the day after Isabel Clara Eugenia returned to Antwerp from Breda, she visited Rubens in his studio where he “drew her picture, crowned, in a most Maiesticall fashion, with a laurell of victory.”³⁰¹ Rubens pictured Isabel at knee-length wearing the ash-colored habit of the Poor Clares against a neutral background. The portrait, which is today known only through copies and prints, has neither accompanying drapery, nor architecture, nor even any accessory, except for the rosary that hangs from

Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 145.

³⁰⁰ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 143.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

her simple rope belt (fig. 26). The image abides by the modesty the Infanta sought during her widowhood, thus contrasting sharply with the sumptuous royal portraits of her produced by court painters such as Sanchez Coello and even Rubens before her widowhood (figs. 34 and 35). In those images, the magnificent wardrobe of large lace ruffs, sparkling diadems, and richly embroidered gowns bespeak regality and power. Here the Infanta's simple adornments and setting communicate piety and spiritual authority. Rubens enhanced this concept by lightening the area around Isabel's head as if she were radiating a divine glow. Barbara Welzel has argued that this halo-like aura conveys Isabel's majesty and plays with her second name, *Clara*, which can be translated from Spanish to mean *light*, thereby visualizing a connection between the Infanta and her moniker.³⁰² An engraving Rubens designed after the painting bears an inscription by Jan Gaspar Gevartius, however, provides an even greater meaning (fig. 30).³⁰³

of the imperial dynasty and daughter of Philip II, is praised as the jewel of Spain and the salvation of Belgium. She is the prudence of just war, the honor of chaste peace, and the love of religion. She was crowned with the oak wreath after capturing Breda, bringing the longed-for peace to Belgium, the peace it had sought in the rays of the shining Isabella.³⁰⁴

³⁰² Welzel, "Princeps Vidua, Mater Castrorum: The Iconography of Archduchess Isabella as Governor of the Netherlands," 164.

³⁰³ According to Huemer and Vlieghe, "there is no doubt that Rubens designed the whole of this engraving. The angels are unmistakably in his style, and the composition is ascribed to Rubens in Hermanus Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* of 1626, where it is praised as a representation of Isabella's victory." Frances Huemer and Hans Vlieghe, *Portraits, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* pt. 19 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1977), I: 122.

³⁰⁴ "Caesaribus proavis et magno nato PHILIPPO / EVGENIA, Hesperij Gemma decusque Soli: / BELG / certa Salus: iusti Prudentia Belli, / Pacis Honos castae Relligionis Amor; / Hanc tibi Chaonia textam de fronde Coronam / Invicta donat BREDA recepta manu. / Optatamque diu felix sibi BELGICA Pacem / A Radijs sperat, clara Isabella, tuis. / C. Gevartius lud." Translation in Welzel, "Princeps Vidua, Mater

The text unmistakably credits the Infanta for the victory at Breda by calling her the “salvation of Belgium” and the one responsible for capturing the town. That the peace was also sought in her shining rays or light further links the victory to her spirituality. Theological texts routinely articulate light as the agent that reveals the presence of the holy.³⁰⁵ The Psalmists described God’s countenance as light (“Blessed are the people who know the festal shout, who walk, O Lord, in the light of your face” (Ps. 89:15)) and in the first book of Genesis, God’s first act commanded, “let there be light” (Gen. 1:3). Light is also among the central most themes of the New Testament. Gerald O’Collins observes that in the first gospel of St. Paul, the evangelist “draws on Genesis to express the way the divine light (or its equivalent, the divine glory) has been revealed in Jesus Christ: “God who said, ‘out of darkness let *light* shine,’ has caused his *light* to shine in our hearts, to give the *light* of knowledge of God’s glory in the face of Jesus Christ” (2 Cor. 4:6). [emphasis in original]³⁰⁶

Castrorum: The Iconography of Archduchess Isabella as Governor of the Netherlands,” 163.

³⁰⁵ Notable studies regarding the ways in which Scripture associates God with light are Gerald O’Collins, S.J. and Mary Ann Meyers, eds., *Light from Light: Scientists and Theologians in Dialogue* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2012); Matthew T. Kapstein, ed., *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Kenneth Surin, ed., *The Turnings of Darkness and Light: Essays in Philosophical and Systematic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³⁰⁶ Gerald O’Collins, S.J., “‘Light from Light’: The Divine Light Reflected in and by the Son and the Holy Spirit,” in *Light from Light: Scientists and Theologians in Dialogue*, ed. Gerald O’Collins, S.J. and Mary Ann Meyers (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2012), 108.

The Gospels of Matthew and Luke also articulate divine ministry through luminosity (“the people that lived in darkness saw a great light, and on those who lived in the land and shadow of death a light dawned” (Matt. 4:16) and “by the tender compassion of the birth of our God the dawn from on high will break upon us, to shine on those who sit in darkness and under the shadow of death” (Luke 1:78-79)). In the fourth gospel, John sets the Logos (“the Word”) against darkness from the outset by writing that,

in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things came into being through Him, and apart from Him nothing came into being that has come into being. In Him was life, and the life was the Light of men. The Light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it (John 1:1-5).

In the second part of the gospel, he further recalls how Jesus identifies himself as the “light of the world,” by saying, “He who follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life” (John 8:12; 9:5; 12:46).

According to Scripture, then, God not only created light, but light also symbolizes Him and is an image of divine salvation. While the light surrounding the Infanta in Rubens’s portrait conveys her majesty, it also illustrates her heavenly empowerment. The centrality of this sentiment surfaces in the divine eye of Providence that Rubens illustrated at the top of the portrait print, above the inscription “PROVIDENTIA AUGUSTA UT SERVES VINCIS” (*You conquer because you serve sublime Providence*). The symbol of God’s guidance and intervention, the eye presides over two supple *putti*. Pictured with delicate “Psyche” wings, whose butterfly-like quality conveys the lightness of the pure human soul, they crown the Infanta with “the oak wreath after capturing Breda,” which, in Roman tradition, was awarded to those who had liberated their fellow man from a

subjection imposed by the enemy.³⁰⁷ The laurel crown, thus, came to symbolically identify the crowned as a savior. This image reinforces the notion that God watches over Isabel, and, through the spiritual authority he invested in her, helped her combat his enemies at Breda to secure the victory and bring “the longed-for peace to Belgium.”

Rubens’s portrait of the Infanta Isabel was the first official state portrait she commissioned of herself after professing as a Franciscan tertiary immediately after the Archduke Albert’s death in 1621. For four years she had instituted a prohibition against portraiture, perhaps out of the belief that the ostentation of the genre clashed with her vows of modesty and mourning. Although hardly an image of ostentation, the Infanta’s post-Breda portrait evinces the importance of the siege to her persona.

The coincidence of the commission of Rubens’s portrait in the direct aftermath of the victory of Breda and Gevartius’s text on the print made after the portrait, suggests that Isabel intended the portrait to evince her own direct connection to God and the role of that connection in her military achievement. Monarchs often commissioned such celebratory portraits in the wake of an important victory. Charles V celebrated the triumph at Mühlberg with a magnificent equestrian portrait by Titian (fig. 36). Philip II memorialized his defeat of the French at San Quentin in 1557 with a portrait by Anthonis Mor (fig. 37). In 1644, Philip IV would also celebrate a major conquest over the French in Catalonia with a portrait by Diego de Velázquez, whom he had brought to the battle expressly to record the anticipated triumph (fig. 38).

³⁰⁷ I am grateful to Meredith Gill for this observation. In Christian symbolism, butterflies also signify Jesus Christ, as their three-stage life cycle—caterpillar, chrysalis, and butterfly—are believed to mirror his life, death, and resurrection.

The Infanta's portrait, thus, was tied to a specific genre of portraiture within a distinguished tradition of Habsburg military imagery. And, not unlike the images of her male relatives in which the sitters pose in ways that assert military prowess, Rubens pictured Isabel in her battle gear: her habit and her rosary.³⁰⁸ However, as the Infanta's portrait makes clear, her intrinsically pious persona precipitated her martial heroism—a quality not generally conferred upon women, and one that Philip IV had questioned before the Siege of Breda.

That the Infanta desired to publicize her piety in securing the triumph at Breda is further born out in the widespread dissemination of Rubens's portrait, both through its reproductive print—a medium naturally intended for distribution—and through the painting's many replicas. Fourteen copies of the composition by artists in Rubens's circle, including Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), are known today, and although the patronage of these works cannot be confirmed, their distribution among the collections of royal allies and enemies, suggests that Isabel Clara Eugenia was instrumental in their diffusion.³⁰⁹ One of the portraits, which is today part of the collection of the Princes of

³⁰⁸ Since the sixteenth century, the rosary was promoted as a powerful weapon of the House of Austria because in Habsburg myth it was believed to have been the tool that most strengthened the Spanish soldiers at Lepanto, and thus won the war. See discussion in Chapter 2, 91 and also Schumann, "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)," 256–57.

³⁰⁹ In addition to the prototype (whereabouts unknown) and the copy in the Norton Simon Museum of Art (Inv. no. M.1966.10.10.P), there was a copy Ludwig Burchard believed to be autograph, but which Francis Humer and Hans Vlieghe rejected as by Rubens (whereabouts unknown). There is also a version mentioned in the inventory of the Marquis of Leganés in 1655 (whereabouts unknown). An excellent copy may be found in Antwerp (Rubenshuis). Van Dyck also famously copied Rubens's painting in 1628 (Collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Inv. no. 4263) autograph copies of which are in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. no. GG_496),

Liechtenstein, was once listed in the possession of King Charles I of England. Another (whereabouts unknown) formed part of the collection of the French King Louis XIV, who likely inherited it from his father, Louis XIII. One more belonged to the Grand Dukes of Tuscany. It is today in the Pitti Palace in Florence.

In addition to the many copies of Isabel's portrait that were sent to the major courts in Europe, the Infanta also commissioned and distributed copies of a map of the siege by Jacques Callot (fig. 39).³¹⁰ Callot, who was then under the princely patronage of Duke Charles IV of Lorraine, had made similar celebratory battle maps for Louis XIII in 1622 that were renowned for their detailed rendering and meticulous labeling of people and places. Callot etched the map of Breda on six plates, each measuring about 65.3 x 46 centimeters, and carefully recreated the town's plan with its surrounding swamps, fields, and villages, as well as the bastions, fortifications, and army encampments.

Turin (Galleria Sabauda, Inv. no. 279), and, at one point Paris (formerly in the collection of Louis XIV, whereabouts unknown). Several versions after and/or studio of Rubens and/or Van Dyck may be found in Florence ("after Rubens," Pitti Palace Inv. no. 4263), Seaton Delaval ("after Rubens," National Trust, Inv. no. 1276879), Dublin ("after Van Dyck," National Gallery of Ireland, Inv. no. NGI.1937), and Liverpool ("studio of Van Dyck," National Museums of Liverpool, Inv. no. WAG 1191). Several other versions are said to be found in Chatsworth, Brussels, Potsdam, and Parma, however I was unable to verify the existence of these paintings. Finally, there is a copy by Jan van den Hoecke that was formerly part of the Julius Held Collection (sold, Christie's, 27 January 2009, sale 2237, lot 35). Huemer and Vlieghe, *Portraits*, II: 119–23, nos. 109–112; Susan J. Barnes, *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 318–19; There may also have been copies of the portrait sent to Spain. A portrait of the Infanta "dressed as a tertiary" was found in the death inventory of Francisco González Cossío de la Hoz, a Spanish army captain, in 1671. Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), I: 641, no. 30.

³¹⁰ Vosters, *La Rendición de Bredá En La Literatura Y El Arte de España*, 13–14.

Significantly, in his map Callot illustrated Isabel's arrival in Breda following the siege. In one vignette, he showed her caravan snaking across the landscape ("51"). In another, he pictured her carriage guarded by halberdiers ("52"). In a third, he represented her in the habit of the Poor Clares surveying the landscape with Ambrogio Spinola ("53"). Notably, Spinola, who appears twice in the map, is shown with his back to the viewer. Simone Zurawski suggests that Callot chose this pose to illustrate the general's famous modesty.³¹¹ Yet, it strategically also gave the full spotlight to the Infanta—a significant detail in view of the credit she believed she deserved for the siege's success. To accompany the map, Isabel commissioned an account of the battle from Ladròn de Guevara, the *Maestro de Campo* at Breda. She then had the book translated into four languages, which with Callot's map, was sent to all the major courts in Europe.³¹²

In addition to the visual and literary effort to promote the Infanta Isabel's role at the victory of Breda was Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana*. As discussed previously, Hugo's description of the aftermath of the siege credits its success, in no uncertain terms, to Isabel's piety and prayers. He boldly and frequently propagates the notion of Isabel's championship over the Dutch garrison town. This sentiment, which is elucidated throughout Hugo's tome, is given visual expression, albeit subtly, as early as Rubens's frontispiece (fig. 40). Rubens's image shows Hercules, who wears a lion skin and holds a shovel, as a symbol of Work, and Minerva, who is dressed in armor and looks to a rooster at her feet, as the sign of Vigilance. The two figures stand on a fortified wall reminiscent

³¹¹ Simone Zurawski, "New Sources for Jacques Callot's Map of the Siege of Breda," *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (December 1988): 632.

³¹² Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, 103; Zurawski, "New Sources for Jacques Callot's Map of the Siege of Breda," 624–25.

of those found around Breda, which is personified by a seated woman with the boney fingers of Hunger gripping her throat. At the top of the image two *putti* crown the coat of arms of Spain with palms of victory. These pudgy cupids also bear the delicate “Psyche” wings of the *putti* that crown Isabel in Rubens’s portrait print, which he designed in the same year as the frontispiece.

This last detail is particularly noteworthy. Over the course of his career Rubens designed eighty-five frontispieces, many of which include angels crowning individuals. Rarely, however, are these angels as childlike as they are in the *Obsidio Bredana* frontispiece or the portrait engraving, and they almost always possess bird-like wings. The only other instance in which one of Rubens’s book illustrations featured *putti* with the graceful butterfly wings was the title page to François Tristan l’Hermite’s *La Peinture de la Serneissime Princesse Isabelle Clare Eugenie* (1634), a book of poetic descriptions of the Infanta’s life, published the year after her death (fig. 41).³¹³ For a painter as careful and deliberate in his iconographic choices as was Rubens, it, thus, seems possible that the use of the “Psyche” wings served a visually rhetorical purpose.³¹⁴ Although subtle, the

³¹³ J. Richard Judson, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard pt. 21 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1977), I: 277–80, no. 66; The iconography of the frontispiece is explained in a letter from the publisher Jan Moretus to Philippe Chifflet, dated 29 January 1634. The letter makes it “abundantly clear,” according to Judson, that “the ideas expressed in this image are Rubens’s.” Ibid., I: 279.

³¹⁴ Such butterfly or “Psyche” wings were often used to convey the lightness of the pure human soul. Raphael painted such wings on the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina in Rome in the wedding banquet of Cupid and Psyche, a mortal made goddess after marrying the god of love (fig. 42). In Raphael’s image, two figures dressed in diaphanous orange and plum robes crown the newlyweds with laurel. Elevated by their butterfly-like wings they flank the couple that dine and drink in the company of the Olympian gods. Rubens knew the painting well from his stay in Rome. Indeed, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, it has been suggested the Villa Farnesina served as a stylistic inspiration for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series due to its trompe l’oeil tapestry schema.

iconographic element in the *Obsidio Bredana* may have been intended to invite the viewer to consider Isabel's victory as divinely won, just as it did in the portrait print.

More so than Rubens, Hugo was quite direct in praising the Infanta Isabel as God's chosen defender and champion at Breda in the text of the book, and perhaps even more so in the dedication where he deemed her the "BRAVEST HEROINE, CONQUEROR, MOTHER OF THE FATHERLAND." [emphasis in original]³¹⁵ The dedication prefigures many of the themes he emphasizes later in the text, including how Isabel did not allow celebration of the victory before first thanking God and how the victory was owed to her piety. It also refers to her time and again as a great leader and heroine, and compares her to the Old Testament prophetess Deborah, who led a rebellion of the Israelites.

According to Judges 4 and 5, Deborah impressed upon the Israelites the need to overthrow their oppressor, the heathen King of Canaan, Jabin, who had enslaved the Israelites and denied their God. She rallied the support of Barak, head captain of the army, to face Jabin's Assyrian general, Sisera. However, Barak agreed to fight only if Deborah would accompany him on the battlefield. Deborah warned him that if she went he would not be credited for the campaign's success, as God would put the defeat of Sisera in the hands of a woman. Barak acknowledge this fact, and at the hour of battle, a vicious hailstorm arrived and overpowered the Canaanites, resulting in victory for the Israelites. Thereafter Deborah was praised as a great warrior and the savior of her people.

In the dedication of the *Obsidio Bredana* to the Infanta Isabel Hugo writes,

³¹⁵ See Appendix D: Dedication Page of Hermannus Hugo, *Obsidio bredana armis Philippi IIII, auspiciis Isabellae ductu Ambr. Spinolae perfecta* (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1626), 435, 437.

Indeed, YOU MANAGED THE DUTIES OF A LEADER such that I will not call you a woman OF GREAT SPIRIT, but a heroine: and such that I will confer onto you the words of St. Ambrose (which he said to the conqueror and widow Debora): AS A WIDOW YOU CHOOSE THE PEOPLE OF THE KING, THE ARMY OF THE LEADER, AND YOU CHOOSE THE LEADERS; AS A WIDOW YOU ARRANGE THE BATTLE. All these things, although unusual and great, were in you. [emphasis in original]³¹⁶

The comparison to Deborah bespeaks what Hugo perceived as the Infanta's ability to discern and communicate God's purpose. It also casts Spinola in the role of Barak—a man who obeys a holy woman's command and is contented to accept the victory as hers through God's favor. More relevant to the Infanta's narrative, it situates Isabel within the context of military heroism. Like the heroine Deborah, her bravery enabled her army to conquer the enemy and rescue the nation from the grip of heresy.

In the dedication's close Hugo addressed the Infanta as the Mother of the Armies. "You will endure, therefore, for your notable and rare Modesty," he wrote, "in one sole inscription for you the Victor, or in a narrow abridgment of your virtues, to be called MOTHER OF THE ARMIES." [emphasis in original]³¹⁷ Alicia Esteban Estríngana has noted that this title not only references her role as benefactor of the soldiery or as the "inspirer of the troops (her piety and devotion instilled a zeal for victory in the breasts of the combatants)," but also as governor of arms and commander and victor of Breda.³¹⁸

Curiously, the original Latin version of the text was the only edition dedicated to the Infanta. The English, Spanish, and French editions all possessed different dedicatees.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 435, 438.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 437, 439.

³¹⁸ Esteban Estríngana, "'What a Princess, Good God!': The Heritage and Legacy of the Infanta Isabel," 434.

The translator of the English version rededicated the book to the “souldiers of our nation in generall.”³¹⁹ Emanuel Sueyro, the translator of the Spanish edition, dedicated it to Ambrogio Spinola.³²⁰ Philippe Chifflet, who translated the French edition, singled out François de Rye, Archbishop of Besançon in his dedication.³²¹ It is unclear what motivated these writers to change the dedication. Nevertheless, it is significant that when the victory was fresh in mind, Isabel was fêted as victor and leader above anyone else.

One reason for the primary edition’s dedication to her may well be that she commissioned it. Although there is no direct evidence of her patronage, she certainly supported its publication and distribution. Two of the book’s pages are given to the royal privileges the Plantin Press received to publish the tome—privileges that would have safeguarded the author and his content from copyists, and that were granted in the name of King Philip IV by the Infanta Isabel.³²² These privileges extended to the English,

³¹⁹ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 1.

³²⁰ Herman Hugo, *Sitio de Breda a Las Armas Del Rey Don Phelipe IV. a La Virtuf de La Infante Doña Isabel. Al Valor Del Marques Ambr. Spinola. Compusole El Padre Herman Hugo de La Compañia de Iesus. Traduxole Emanuel Sueyro Cavallero Del Habito de Christo* (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1627).

³²¹ Herman Hugo, *Le Siège de La Ville de Breda Conquise Par Les Armes Du Roy Phiippe IV. Par La Direction de l’Infante Isabelle Cl. Eug. Par La Valeur Du Marquis Amb. Spinola. Traduit Du Latin Du Pere Harmannus Hugo de La Compagnie de Iesus Par Philippe Chifflet Docteur Es Droicts Civil et Canon, Prieur et Seigneur de Belle-Fontaine, Chapellain Domestiq de l’Oratoire de S.A.S.* (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1631).

³²² For an excellent overview of the granting of privileges and its ensuing benefits (and downfalls), see Jerome Machiels, *Privilège, Censure et Index dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux Jusqu’au Début du XVIIIe Siècle* (Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 1997), especially 15–17.

Spanish, and French translations of the book that appeared over the course of the next five years, which suggests that Isabel desired to see the work propagated across Europe.

The register of books published at the Plantin Press from 1608-1646 reveals that the book was further offered for sale for only three guilders per copy, three to five times less than other books featuring work by Rubens that sold during that time frame.³²³

Documents indicate that books containing his frontispieces were typically more (and not *less*) costly than those with title pages by other artists, as patrons felt that Rubens's work augmented the beauty and value of their purchase. That the *Obsidio Bredana* sold so inexpensively indicates that an outside party heavily subsidized its publication. It is probable that the Infanta was this outside party given the need she felt to be recognized as a valiant leader. There are only a few cases in which the Plantin Press' ledgers clearly evince such subsidization, however, and no such record exists for the Hugo's book.³²⁴

The Catholic Generalissima

The many pictorial and literary representations mobilized in the aftermath of the victory at Breda indicate that the Infanta and those around her believed unreservedly that her prayers had secured the victory at Breda. Taking into consideration the tactical difficulties of the Siege of Breda and the hostility the Infanta encountered from Philip IV,

³²³ "Appendix II: List of books with title-pages or book illustrations after Rubens's designs published by the Plantin Press" in Judson, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, II: 431–36.

³²⁴ On instances of partial or whole subsidy by patron or author, see *ibid.*, I: 37–38.

the Count-Duke of Olivares, and the Spanish Council of State, one can fully understand that she fully felt the need to pray for divine assistance. Nevertheless, her prayers were undoubtedly also motivated by her faith and her fervent desire to defend the Eucharist.

According to Catholic theology, the Eucharist is the sacramental bread and wine of the Mass that miraculously transubstantiates into the body and blood of Christ when consecrated by the priest. Catholics trace this belief to Christ's words at the Last Supper when he gave bread and wine to his disciples and said, "This is my body given for you; do this in remembrance of me... This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you" (Luke 22:19-20, cf. Matt. 26: 26-28; Mark 14:22-24; 1 Cor. 11:23-25). By these words Christ guaranteed his presence at every institution of the Eucharist—a promise made explicit when Jesus said "I am that living bread which has come down from heaven; if anyone eats this bread he shall live forever" (John 5:51).

Early Protestants reformers rejected this notion of the Eucharist as the real presence of Christ. Although most Protestants affirmed his presence in the sacrament, their explanations of the way in which this occurred did not accord with Catholic theology. Martin Luther posited, for example, that Christ was present in, with, and under the forms of the bread and wine, so that communicants eat and drink those elements as well as the body and blood of Christ. John Calvin, on the other hand, asserted that Christ was present not because

any carnal mixture takes place, or that the flesh of Christ brought down from heaven penetrates into us or is swallowed by the mouth, but because the flesh of Christ, in virtue of its power and efficacy, vivifies our souls just as the substance of the bread and wine nourishes our bodies.³²⁵

³²⁵ Quoted in Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 287.

Thus, for Calvin, Christ is spiritually present when the Eucharist is received in faith. The most extreme position against transubstantiation belonged to Ulrich Zwingli, who firmly rejected the interpretation that Christ meant literally that the bread and wine of the Last Supper were his body and blood. While the Eucharistic elements point to salvation, they do not bring salvation.³²⁶

This rejection of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist became a central issue during the Council of Trent. The Council affirmed the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist during its Thirteenth Session in October 1551. The group, which was composed of twenty-five theologians, sixteen of whom were Spanish,³²⁷ declared

If anyone denies that in the sacrament of the most Holy Eucharist are contained truly, really, and substantially the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently the whole Christ, but says that He is in it only as a sign, or figure, or force...[or] If anyone says that in the sacred and holy sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine remains conjointly with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and denies that wonderful and singular change of the whole substance of the bread into the body and the whole substance of the wine into the blood... [or] If anyone says that Christ received in the Eucharist is received spiritually only and not also sacramentally and really, let him be anathema.³²⁸

³²⁶ Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 131–35.

³²⁷ On the Spanish presence in Trent, see Saint-Saëns, *Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain, 1545-1690*, 26, 48, n. 110; Jean Pierre Dedieu, “‘Christianization’ in New Castile: Catechism, Communion, Mass, and Confirmation in the Toledo Archbishopric, 1540-1650,” in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 4–6; Carlos Gomez-Centurion, *Felipe II, La Empresa de Inglaterra Y El Comercio Septentrional (1566-1609)* (Madrid: Editorial Naval, 1988), I: 438; Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 48–49.

³²⁸ See Session XIII: The Holy Eucharist, Chapter V in Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 79–80.

Not surprisingly, Philip II was the first European monarch to adopt the Council's dogmatic and disciplinary decrees.³²⁹ He issued its verdicts on 12 July 1564—only two weeks after the Pope Pius IV officially approved the decisions.³³⁰ As he told the Pope, the Council of Trent was “the last refuge in which Christendom hope[d] to find a remedy for the ills and divisions that have sprung up in religion.”³³¹ He believed wholeheartedly in the role of Spain in propagating and defending its principles.

Philip's adamant defense of the doctrine of the Eucharist, as well as the other fundamental tenets of the Catholic faith denied by Protestants, such as the sanctity of the Virgin Mary or the importance of the saints, became one of the key tensions that prompted the crowd of Protestant rioters to invade and deface the chapel of the Sint-Laurensklooste in Steenvoorde in 1566—the act of iconoclasm that set off the wave of anti-Catholic and anti-Habsburg rioting in the Netherlands and effectively catalyzed the Eight Years' War. Although, as discussed previously, most historians concur that the question of religion was not the overriding concern of the Dutch, anti-Catholic rhetoric remained the battle cry of the rebels because of its ability to unify their cause.³³²

³²⁹ According to Kamen, in 1553, even before becoming king, Philip II encouraged his government to adopt each of the decrees of the council as they emerged. Henry Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 208.

³³⁰ Saint-Saëns, *Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain, 1545-1690*, 1.

³³¹ Philip II to Pope Pius IV, 30 November 1562. Quoted in Geoffrey Parker, *The World Is Not Enough: The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain* (Waco: Markham Press, 2001), 37.

³³² See Chapter 1, 27.

Just as the case of religion united the Dutch under a shared anti-Habsburg cause, so, too, did it unite the House of Austria against the Dutch, whose heretical beliefs ran counter to the Habsburg dynasty's founding myth. According to Habsburg legend, Rudolf I, the founder of the Habsburg dynasty, was on a hunting excursion in the year 1264 when he came upon a priest holding the viaticum on his way to give a dying man his last rites. Rudolf, who was then a count, instantly dismounted his horse and offered it to the priest out of devotion for the Eucharist. Struck by Rudolf's great piety, the priest prophesied the eventual rule of Rudolf and his kin over the world. Nine years later, he became the first Emperor of the Romans.³³³

"In this conception, the Habsburg monarch was consecrated king through the holy eucharist itself," writes Anna Coreth.³³⁴ On account of this legend, the Habsburg family believed that it enjoyed the Lord's sanction, and that God had chosen the family to defend the sanctity of the Eucharist from nonbelievers. The Infanta's grandfather Charles V, in fact, was one of the greatest devotees of the Holy Sacraments. He vowed on the Eucharist in his wars against the Ottoman Turks and Protestants, believing that his campaigns represented defenses of the Eucharist against heresy. By imperial edict he also enjoined that during processions celebrating his military triumphs, the Eucharist be displayed in a monstrance and carried by the archbishop.³³⁵

³³³ Duerloo, "Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power," 267.

³³⁴ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 15.

³³⁵ Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, 214.

Like her grandfather, the Infanta Isabel believed that her military confrontations, including the Siege of Breda, and, indeed, all the constituent battles during the Eighty Years' War, represented a direct challenge to the Catholic faith and its most treasured beliefs—not the least of which was the doctrine of transubstantiation. Consequently, she framed most military encounters in terms of religion. An excellent example of her approach is evident during the Siege of Ostende (1601-1604). Isabel moved to Ghent to be near the battlefield and repeatedly invoked the heavenly host for protection. “Drawing a parallel with Moses and Joshua doing battle with the Amalekites,” Duerloo notes, “it was said that Isabella raised her hands in prayer while Albert fought the enemies of religion.”³³⁶ Both Archdukes renounced all worldly pleasures, including, as we have seen, the comfort of fresh underwear, and implored their spiritual entourage to recommend their prayers to the good of the nation, believing as they did that the Dutch presence in Ostende had turned the town into a seat of evil.³³⁷

Similarly, when Isabel learned that the King of France had been sending financial provisions to the Dutch army in July 1623, she told Fray Domingo de Jesús María that she would not fear because she understood that she was doing the Lord's work.³³⁸ A few months later, in October, she described “what has happened with the English in Antwerp” as the Devil's bidding—likely referring to the public celebration among the English over the recently failed marriage negotiations between Prince Charles of Wales and the Infanta

³³⁶ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 132.

³³⁷ This included the Poor Clares and their father confessor, Fray Jaun Carillo of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. *Ibid.*

³³⁸ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 28 July 1623. See Appendix B, doc. 1, 355, 358.

Maria Anna of Spain.³³⁹ Regarding the Valtelline crisis, the vicious battle between the Protestant Grey Leagues (supported by France and Venice) and Catholic parties (supported by Spain and Austria) over a transalpine pass that occupied nearly the entire Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), she labeled enemies of Christian Kings “infidels,” and was consoled only by the fact that that “Our Lady of Victory regularly does so many favors for us, that I will not fear the amount of enemies.” Faith would ensure, she continued, that “the Devil does not come out to take so many souls to Hell.”³⁴⁰

Later, when Isabel received word that the German Count Ernst von Mansfeld, an ally of the Dutch and opponent of the House of Austria, had gone to London in 1624 to procure men and ships to sail against Flanders at the same time that the king of France and the Bishop of Halberstadt, Christian the Younger, another German military leader, were also raising forces against the Flemish, she claimed not to dismay. As she wrote,

God knows it all, and when I receive news about these issues, from here and there, and hear about all these requests for people in their plazas, as they see the French in the borders, then I remember God can do more than they can. This encourages me, and I become less worried.³⁴¹

³³⁹ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 12 October 1623. See Appendix B, doc. 3, 362, 365; See also Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 7–53.

³⁴⁰ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 5 January 1624. See Appendix B, doc. 4, 368, 370.

³⁴¹ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 18 October 1624. See *ibid.*, doc. 6, 377, 380.

The Infanta committed her military regiments and naval fleets to the care of the Virgin, dedicated ships to Our Lady of Montaigne, and even titled other war vessels, *The Madre Santa Teresa*.³⁴² Extant correspondence also shows that she regularly employed priests and nuns as a type of “personal, elite force,” to borrow a phrase from Cordula van Wyhe.³⁴³ Letters between Isabel and the nuns at convents she founded in Brussels and Ghent describe how she routinely requested that they direct their prayers to victories against the heretic provinces—a tactic that evidently worked.³⁴⁴ The prioress of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp, Ana de San Bartolomé, supposedly saved Antwerp twice with her prayers, once in 1622 and then again two years later. In a long letter to Fray Domingo de Jesús María from October 1624, Isabel describes in gripping detail how three thousand Dutch infantry had arrived in the dead of night to besiege Antwerp. Dressed in the guise of Flemish supply reinforcements, they began to advance on the

³⁴² Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 18 October 1624, 26 February 1625, Holy Wednesday 1627. See *ibid.*, doc. 9, 389, 391; doc. 12, 402, 408.

³⁴³ Cordula van Wyhe, “Court and Convent: The Infanta Isabella and Her Franciscan Confessor Andrés de Soto,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 426.

³⁴⁴ Philippe Chifflet, “Papiers Pour La Vie de l’Infante Isabelle: Notes, Letters, Memoires... Rassembles Par Philippe Chifflet,” MS 97 (Archives Municipale, Besançon, n.d.), fols. 41, 359, 363v, 365; The request for such succors was, in fact, the primary responsibility of such convents. Religious institutions founded by the Infanta, which primarily housed the illegitimate or unwed daughters of royals and nobility, were expected to serve the dynasty. The charter of the royal convent of Discalced Carmelites in Brussels specifically stipulated that the nuns pray for the Archdukes at each mass and in their personal prayers—prayers that should continue even after Albert and Isabel’s deaths. Similarly, at the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, the primary duty of the nuns was to “perform the religious duties which the Spanish monarch relied on to secure divine intercession on its behalf in the complex affairs of state.” Gómez, “Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid,” 29. The nuns continue to fulfill this duty today.

Castle of Antwerp. However, “God wanted the guard to see something in the darkness down there in the moat,” Isabel reported,

and so he lent over the wall to take a better look. At the end he thought he saw something, and it was one of the boats, so he asked, “Who goes there?” and they replied “*amici*.” Hearing this, he fired his musket, and called the guards. They started to fire and sound to arms, the Castilian came, as so everyone in the castle, including the women. The enemies withdrew. At dawn they found the ladders, the boats, and all the instruments that they left because they tried to retrieve them in a rush.³⁴⁵

Because so many soldiers had been drafted to Breda, the siege would have surely caused the fall of Antwerp to the Dutch. To that end, Isabel continued,

Everyone of us is certain that our prayers to Mother Ana de San Bartolomé have saved us, because at twelve she rushed to wake her nuns up, so that they could go and pray in the choir, since there had been a great act of treason. The enemy had three hundred boats in Lille ready to join them with more people. But the air hindered it, and tossed them all over, so that Our Lord has spared Antwerp twice with a storm. The air was such, that I said [...] to the ladies that undoubtedly the enemy would come to Antwerp, and Our Lord wanted us to provide defense by sending another storm as the last one.³⁴⁶

The story reveals that, by all accounts, the Infanta regarded piety and prayer as a real and effective weapon of defense primarily because her enemies were also enemies of the Catholic Faith. This belief fully aligned Isabel with her father, whose extreme religiosity also caused him to mobilize the prayers of secular and church leaders to help ensure the success of the Council of Trent, the defeat of heresy, and the suppression of

³⁴⁵ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Domingo de Jesús María, 18 October, 1624. See Appendix B, doc. 6, 376-77, 379.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, doc. 6, 378, 380.

the Dutch Revolt.³⁴⁷ It also allowed Isabel to cast herself in the role of *generalissima* in the defense of the Catholicism and its founding principles.

Reports indicate that throughout her regency, Isabel Clara Eugenia was a fixture on the battlefield. She visited soldiers frequently to animate enthusiasm for the cause, and often set up her own camps close to military headquarters so that she could stay closely connected to the fighting.³⁴⁸ In a letter just following the conquest of Breda, Isabel expressed her warrior instincts when she admitted that she had hoped to meet the enemy on the battlefield:

I must confess to you that I wanted to encounter the enemy, but they have not dared to appear. It can already be said I am a true soldier. Look how Our Lord wants to laugh at us, appointing a woman so unsuited for all of this, but this could be one of all the miracles He has done in this place. There have been so many... we cannot but trust Him, and let Him fight for us.”³⁴⁹

Despite Isabel’s lighthearted self-deprecation, the sentiment of the missive betrays her belief that she was a soldier—in fact, *the* soldier—of the Church selected by God to carry out His divine mission. She was, herself, a champion of the Catholic faith whose duty it was to combat the advancement of heresy in the Netherlands.

³⁴⁷ Geoffrey Parker, “David or Goliath? Philip II and His World in the 1580s,” in *Empire, War, and Faith in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Penguin Press, 2002), 32.

³⁴⁸ Bentivoglio, *Relazioni Del Cardinal Bentivoglio*, part III, book IV, 142; Recounted in L. Klingenstein, *The Great Infanta Isabel, Sovereign of the Netherlands* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1910), 106.

³⁴⁹ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 11 July 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 10, 392-93, 394.

This bellicose religiosity is firmly reflected in Isabel's personal identification with the heroic image of the Virgin in the *Litaniae B. Mariae virgins ex Scriptura sacra*. As did all Habsburgs, the Infanta practiced a particularly devout form of Marian piety.³⁵⁰ She maintained strict devotions to Our Lady of Hal, Montaigu, and Laeken, and ardently supported the Confraternities of St. Ildefonso, Our Lady of Assumption, and the Seven Sorrows, all of which had the explicit mission to propagate the Immaculate Conception among court nobility. She also wholeheartedly endorsed efforts to see the Immaculate accepted as Catholic doctrine, and routinely invoked the Virgin's intercession.

Her devotion to the *ex Scriptura*, however, is particularly revealing in the context of Breda. A modified version of the Litany of Loreto (a traditional litany that recites the Virgin's symbolic names and virtues according to the prophecies of the Old Testament), the *ex Scriptura* specifically celebrates the Virgin as the protector and defender of Christianity. Van Wyhe, who has written comprehensively about Isabel's dedication to the *ex Scriptura*, observes that the Infanta actively sought to associate herself with this image of the Virgin as guardian of the Church.³⁵¹ Litanies were believed to be effective weapons in the fight against heresy, and Isabel demonstrated great devotion to the Marian litany in her personal life and also financed its publication to wider audiences.³⁵² She founded orders to the Immaculate Virgin, the defense and celebration of whom comprises

³⁵⁰ See Chapter 2, 91-94.

³⁵¹ Cordula van Wyhe, "Introduction," in *Portraits Des S S Vertus de La Vierge: Contemplées Par Feue S.A.S.M. Isabelle Clere Eugenie Infante d'Espagne*, by Jean Terrier, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2002), xvii-xviii.

³⁵² Schumann, "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)," 239.

the majority of the Litany of Loreto. In addition, she funded devotions to the shrine associated with the Virgin of Loreto, the *Casa Santa*, a building believed to have been the home of the Virgin.³⁵³ By the seventeenth century, the shrine had become a highly venerated site, and Isabel regularly donated funds and gifts there to ensure its glorious adoration.³⁵⁴

Such Marian piety aligned Isabel with her Habsburg relatives, who since at least the sixteenth century were particularly devoted to the Virgin.³⁵⁵ As discussed previously, Philip II who had ascribed his victory over the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto in 1572 to the Immaculate Virgin and subsequently made her the guiding symbol of Habsburg forces in Spain and Flanders (fig. 33).³⁵⁶ At the same time, it also allowed her to project a strong, bellicose image that did not conflict with prescribed principals of femininity.³⁵⁷

This image of the Infanta emerges clearly in the emblem book *Portraits des S S Vertus de la Vierge Contemplées par Feue S. A. S. M. Isabelle Clere Eguenie Infante d'Espagne* (Besançon, 1635). Published under the guidance of Philippe Chifflet, the thirty-four *Portraits* emblems juxtapose the litanies of the *ex Scriptura* with poems by

³⁵³ According to legend, the home in which the Virgin had been born, raised, and received the Annunciation was miraculously transported by angels from Nazareth to Trsat (present-day Croatia) and then Italy, where it ultimately landed in Loreto.

³⁵⁴ Duerloo, "Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power," 273.

³⁵⁵ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 45–80.

³⁵⁶ See Chapter 2, 92.

³⁵⁷ Van Wyhe explores the Infanta's strategies to create a "bi-gendered" persona in which she could be mothering and militaristic, submissive but also strong in Schumann, "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)."

Jean Terrier, a doctor of law in Vesoul, and engravings by Jean de Loisy and his father, Pierre, that visualize the Marian virtues personified by the Infanta Isabel.³⁵⁸ For example, in the litany to the Virgin as “Mother of Beautiful Love,” Isabel is shown kneeling before the Virgin and presenting her with a flaming heart—a gesture of divine love that signals Isabel’s role as the Virgin’s earthly intercessor (fig. 43).³⁵⁹ Later, in a litany that likens the Virgin to a “merchant’s ship bringing bread from afar” for carrying her son Jesus Christ in her womb, the Infanta is described as the first person to ride with the Virgin, who “would not be sailing across from such a far-off shore, if the ship were not laden with the Bread of Angels.”³⁶⁰ The image accompanying the text pictures Isabel captaining ships of maidens and ecclesiasts that follow in the Virgin’s wake (fig. 44).

Such imagery in which Isabel guides legions of the faithful finds its most potent expression in the emblem for the litany “Army in Battle Order.” There, she becomes a general in the Virgin’s militia in the fight against evil. Pictured leading a battalion of Franciscan nuns armed with rosaries, she marches into combat at the side of the Virgin, who holds the Christ Child in her arms (fig. 45). The demons and devils upon whom they advance occupy a small space on the left border of the image and chaotically scramble to escape the ordered martial forces of the Virgin and her Catholic *generalissima*, Isabel.

The image emphasizes the bellicose nature of the Infanta’s broad struggle against heresy

³⁵⁸ Van Wyhe has explored the Infanta Isabel’s dedication to the ex Scriptura in a penetrating critical introduction to the emblem book. See Van Wyhe, “Introduction.”

³⁵⁹ Jean Terrier, *Portraits Des S S Vertus de La Vierge: Contemplées Par Feue S.A.S.M. Isabelle Clere Eugenie Infante d’Espagne*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2002), 16–19.

³⁶⁰ “Non tam longinquo tranaret littore virgo / Ni pane Angelico navis onusta foret.” *ibid.*, 117; Translation by Van Wyhe in Van Wyhe, “Introduction,” iv.

and evil. Yet, the text that accompanies the litany specifically describes Isabel as a courageous protector of the nuns and defender of Christianity in the fight against Huguenots.³⁶¹ Although this term would seem to refer to the Protestant Reformed Church of France, it encompassed all “rebels living in the North,” including the Protestant Dutch.³⁶² The association of text and image here, thus, seems to equate the devils and demons with the Calvinists, the largest sect of Protestants, whom the Infanta and her force of nuns repel with their piety in the name of the Catholic Church and the Habsburg Netherlands.

Defending the Eucharist at the Siege of Breda

The situation represented in the emblem the “Army in Battle Order” conceptually resembles the Siege of Breda. According to Hugo, the battle was a “pious war,”³⁶³ which Isabel undertook against the “Rebells of the United Provinces not for affectation or desire

³⁶¹ “Des purs Nonnains les escadrons, / Qui leurs iours dans les Coistres passent, / Ne redoutent point les affrons / Des Hugenots, qui les menacent: / Mais ne s’en osent aprocher / Voyans à la ceste marcher / Cette INFANTE si courageuse, / Armée des saintes vertus / Dont les Demons sont combattus, / Et qu’est tousiours victorieuse.” Terrier, *Portraits Des S S Vertus de La Vierge: Contemplées Par Feue S.A.S.M. Isabelle Clere Eugenie Infante d’Espagne*, 147.

³⁶² “Tandis que vos troupes guerrieres / Combattent vaillamment l’effort / Du rebelle habitant du Nort; / Tout autant en font vos prieres Eslancées d’un pur esprit / A ce bel Astre qui vous rit.” Ibid., 3.

³⁶³ See Appendix D, 436, 439.

of Sovereignty, but for reestablishing of Religion.”³⁶⁴ And after she arrived in Breda following the victory and celebrated the Mass in thanks to God, she first walked around the town’s main church there “to se if any Monument remayned of the olde Religion.”³⁶⁵ Having witnessed the empty rooms where statues had stood and a defaced image of the Virgin Mary, Isabel supposedly lamented the “Hugonots impiety.”³⁶⁶

Later, in a letter to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, Isabel lamented how much “evil” had been practiced in that town more than anywhere else, and the “wickedness” of the priest there who had corrupted the local boys away from the Church.³⁶⁷ Her attention was not on the rivalry with the Dutch over maritime trade routes and overseas possessions, which most historians concur was the real focus of the Eighty Years’ War, and, by extension, its constituent battles.³⁶⁸ Instead, her letters overwhelmingly center on the atrocities committed against God by her enemies. Correspondingly, in his letter of congratulations to Isabel for the victory, Pope Urban VIII praised, “how religiously

³⁶⁴ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 8; On the Infanta’s approval of the siege, see *ibid.*, 24.

³⁶⁵ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 143.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*. Again, this appears to be a generic reference to Calvinists and/or Protestants as there were no French soldiers stationed in Breda during the siege.

³⁶⁷ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 11 July 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 10, 393, 395.

³⁶⁸ See Chapter 1, 27, n. 37.

sollicitous and carefull [she had been], that heresy, mother of falsehood, and foster of sedition, should be rooted out of the breasts of the inhabitants of Breda.”³⁶⁹

In his account of the siege, Hugo notes how the Infanta not only prayed perpetually to gain the city but also commissioned the Forty Hours devotion. Notably, this Eucharistic ritual was tied intimately to the repulsion of heresy. The practice was first approved by Pope Paul III in 1539 specifically with the aim of warding off the Ottoman Turks, and was, thenceforth, believed to be an effective means for securing divine help against any enemies of the faith.³⁷⁰ Pope Clement VIII affirmed this belief in a letter he issued to the Roman clergy in 1592, which describes the Forty Hours devotion as an answer to “the conflagration of heresy [that] spreads daily further and further.”³⁷¹ In continuation, he wrote,

The enemies of the Holy Church, animated with a common fury – the heretics on one side, the turks upon the other – grow more and more menacing, so that it is patent to all that human means are unavailing to resist these manifold disasters. Our labor is wasted, and Our efforts powerless, unless we be strengthened by the aid of heavenly... We have decreed... to establish publicly in this Mother City of Rome an uninterrupted course of prayer in such wise that... on appointed days, there be observed the pious and salutary devotion of the Forty Hours.³⁷²

³⁶⁹ Quoted in Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 152.

³⁷⁰ Nils Holger Petersen, “The ‘Quarant’Ore’: Early Modern Ritual and Performativity,” in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, ed. Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 116.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

During the Counter-Reformation, the Forty Hours devotion became the most popular liturgical service, and developed into a spectacular theatrical event that involved grand processions, public sermons, and the public staging of hymns and litanies. While these festivities were true and pious celebrations of the Holy Sacrament and its centrality to the Catholic faith, the Forty Hours also became a valuable polemical tool, as its proclamation of the Real Presence firmly opposed the Protestant rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In Rome, where the celebration of the Holy Sepulchre had once been the most elaborate of the city's liturgical events—it involved large, public ceremonies, special prayers and hymns, and the erection of temporary monuments representing the tomb of Christ—the Forty Hours devotion evolved into an even greater religious theater.³⁷³

Celebrated during Carnival, churches observed the ritual with magnificent altar decorations of gold and silver cloth, relics, and the lighting of hundreds of lamps and thousands of candles. They hung the naves with tapestries borrowed from prominent families, organized citywide processions, and constructed stage sets for the ceremony.

Without denying the inherently positive religious aspects of this celebration of the Catholic faith, their staging was geared as much towards Protestants as toward Catholics. Scholars have noted that these elaborate, public demonstrations were intended to overwhelm both believers and heretics with the glory and the saving power of the Eucharist (even above the Holy Sepulchre), thereby affirming the righteousness of

³⁷³ Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 220–21.

Catholic doctrine.³⁷⁴ For this reason, Keith Luria has noted that the Capuchins typically conducted Forty Hours devotions at the same time and place as Reformed Church synods in the hope that exposure to “proper doctrine” would force those Protestants to see the error of their ways and accept the true faith into their lives.³⁷⁵

Combined with the Infanta’s particularly bellicose religiosity and her belief that it was her duty to protect the Eucharist from Protestant heresy, the general belief in the power of the Eucharist to precipitate Protestant repentance (and therefore Catholic triumph) through the observance of the Forty Hours devotion is meaningful in light of her religious and artistic commissions following the Siege of Breda. They indicate that she believed the siege to be a religious conflict and that the victory resulted from her prayers and participation in the Forty Hours devotion. Without question, the Infanta believed she owed thanks to the Eucharist for the victory—a notion that would have been powerfully reinforced when the Dutch surrendered on the day of the feast of Corpus Christi.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Petersen, “The ‘Quarant’Ore’: Early Modern Ritual and Performativity”; Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 2005); Weil, “The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions.”

³⁷⁵ Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 89.

³⁷⁶ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 149.

Conclusion

The documented gifts that Isabel gave in thanksgiving for Breda, including the anniversary Mass that she financed, and the confraternity, Jesuit college, and Capuchin and Carmelite convents she founded, were all focused upon the Eucharist. The Jesuits and Capuchins were among the most vocal propagators of Eucharistic piety, organizing confraternities and sodalities across Western Europe.³⁷⁷ Regarded by the Holy See as the “light cavalry in the war against the Protestants,” to borrow a phrase from Peter Sutton, the Jesuits organized religious festival, feasts, pilgrimages and processions; supervised the administrations of shrines; and provided an arsenal of priests to give communion and hear confession all in an effort to encourage support for the Eucharist as the center of Catholic religious life.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁷ On the Jesuits and Capuchins in Spain, see Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 373–84; in the Netherlands, see Snaet, “Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Capuchin Monastery at Tervuren”; Guido Marnef, “Protestant Conversions in an Age of Catholic Reformation: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Antwerp,” in *The Low Countries As a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. De Jong, and M. Van Vaecck (Leiden: Brill, 2004); in Italy, see R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 26–33; in France, see Ivan Strenski, *Contesting Sacrifice: Religion, Nationalism, and Social Thought in France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 22–27; in Germany, see Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 226–29.

³⁷⁸ In 1626, for example, the Jesuits alone oversaw communion for 24,000 people in their church in Antwerp (out of a total population of 60,000). And by 1648 there were 680 Jesuit priests alone in Antwerp. Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 67; The Archdukes had supported these efforts in the Netherlands throughout their reign by establishing Jesuit colleges, which provided them with “a higher level of academic preparation than had been previously offered,” (Lyman, “Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella in Early Seventeenth-Century Brussels: An Examination of the Small-Scale Motets, Including an Edition of ‘Deliciae Sacrae’ (1616),” 50), bringing Jesuit clergy to their court, and funding their efforts to teach Christian doctrine to the young by

It cannot be coincidence, then, that the other major gift to emerge in the wake of the victory of Breda was a tapestry cycle that celebrates the mystery and righteousness of Eucharistic theology given to a religious organization bound to veneration of the Eucharist. Although the specific connection of Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series to the victory at Breda is not reinforced in contemporary documents, the Infanta apparently commissioned it within days of her return from visiting the battlefield. This commission relates so seamlessly thematically and in terms of timing with other or ex-votos for the victory at Breda, that it must be considered in the same terms.

collaborating with local authorities and clergy to “lure” children to Sunday schools with bread and coins; Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 67.

Chapter 4: The Vow Fulfilled: Peter Paul Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist Series*

*Taste, and touch, and vision, to discern thee fail;
Faith, that comes by hearing, pierces through the vile.
I believe whate'er the Son of God hath told;
What the Truth hath spoken, that for truth I hold.*
- from the *Adoro te devote*, St. Thomas Aquinas³⁷⁹

The victory of Breda was believed to signal a turning point in the Eighty Years' War. Dutch military forces had bested the Army of Flanders in nearly every conflict of the previous five years. However, at Breda, the Flemish militia had finally triumphed over their adversary, and the Infanta Isabel gave thanks. She commissioned Masses, founded a convent, college, and confraternity, and, as is argued here, commissioned *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series.

As an ex-voto, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series would have had to express the Infanta's enormous gratitude to God for granting her the victory at Breda. Like the Masses she commissioned that memorialized the Lord's intervention through the Eucharist, the tapestry series, likewise, would have to reference the Holy Sacrament as the reason for the siege's success. And, like the convent, college, and confraternity, each of which perpetuated the adoration of the Eucharist, the series would also need to

³⁷⁹ "Visus, tactus, gustus in te fallitur, sed auditu solo tuto creditur; credo quidquid dixit Dei Filius: nil hoc verbo Veritatis verius." English translation in William R. Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1989), 115–16.

celebrate and glorify the Holy Mystery in the most compelling way possible. To ensure that this gesture achieved this goal, she naturally called on Peter Paul Rubens.

Isabel Clara Eugenia and Peter Paul Rubens

Isabel first became acquainted with Rubens in 1599, when she and the Archduke Albert assumed regency over the Netherlands. The Archdukes were to embark on a tireless campaign to promote the Catholic cause in which they would pour money into the establishment of seminaries and universities, the rebuilding of churches, monasteries, and chapels, and the revitalization of local industries, such as tapestry and linen production and book publishing.³⁸⁰ They were also to patronize a host of sculptors, architects, printers, and painters on a massive scale, commissioning from them works that propagated the tenets of Catholicism in as persuasive a way as possible.³⁸¹ Among these artists there would be no greater a “disciple of the militant movement to revise and spread the faith,” as Hans Vlieghe has written, than Peter Paul Rubens.³⁸²

Rubens may have first been introduced to Albert and Isabel through his teacher Otto van Veen (ca. 1556-1629), who designed the triumphal arches that decorated the

³⁸⁰ On the efforts of the Archdukes to rehabilitate the social and economic life of the Netherlands, see Sutton, “The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens,” 106–30.

³⁸¹ The collecting and art patronage of the Archdukes is discussed in van Sprang, “Les Peintres À La Cour d’Albert et Isabelle: Une Tentative de Classification,” 37–46; Vergara et al., *El arte en la corte de los archiduques Alberto de Austria e Isabel Clara Eugenia, 1598-1633*.

³⁸² Hans Vlieghe, *Saints*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard pt. 8 (London: Phaidon, 1972), I: 21.

route of their Joyous Entry—a project on which Rubens may have worked—and who also became their court painter.³⁸³ The Archdukes seem to have recognized Rubens’s talent from early on, as they supported him when he “was seized with a desire to see Italy,” as his nephew and biographer wrote.³⁸⁴ When Rubens ventured south in 1600, they provided him with letters of introduction and likely put him in touch with Albert’s cousin Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua (1562-1612),³⁸⁵ for whom Rubens worked the eight years he lived in Italy.³⁸⁶ The Archdukes also supplied Rubens with an important early commission for the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme that consisted of an altarpiece and two panels, which he executed in 1602.

When Rubens’s mother took ill in 1608, the Flemish painter returned to Antwerp in haste, never, to his dismay, to return to the Italian peninsula. However, Rome’s loss was the Archdukes’ gain. In September 1609, they invited the painter to become their court artist, or, what the patent letter called *officier* and *paintre de nostre hostel*, the conditions of which were so favorable to him that Rubens would later call them “golden

³⁸³ On Van Veen, see Anne Buschoff, *Die Liebesemblemantik Des Otto van Veen* (Bremen: Hauschild, 2004); Justus Müller-Hofstede, “Zum Werke Des Otto van Veen, 1590-1600,” *Bulletin. Musées Royaux Des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea Voor Schone Kunsten van België* 6 (1957): 127–74.

³⁸⁴ Lind, “The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by His Nephew, Philip: A Translation,” 38; The contemporary accounts of Rubens’s biography on which I have relied include Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens* (London: Phaidon, 1998); Peter C. Sutton, ed., *The Age of Rubens* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), 18–44; Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens: Man and Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

³⁸⁵ Simon Schama has noted that Vincenzo was in Flanders in 1599 and may have decided then to hire Rubens as a court painter. Simon Schama, *Rembrandt’s Eyes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 90–91.

³⁸⁶ For Rubens’s time in Italy, see Ugo Bazzotti, ed., *Rubens a Mantova* (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1977); Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977).

letters,” betraying his ambivalence about court service.³⁸⁷ The Archdukes allowed Rubens to continue living in Antwerp rather than at the court in Brussels. They awarded him a generous annual pension of 500 florins, full privileges and honors, and freedom from the regulations and duties of the local guild.³⁸⁸ He was also to be paid for all work he executed for them above his salary. Upon the signing of the letter, the Archdukes bestowed upon him a sword and gold chain, evincing their great esteem for the artist.

Over the course of his tenure with Albert and Isabel, Rubens executed numerous commissions and played a key role in shaping and propagating the Archducal image. As court painter, one of his principal tasks was to paint their portraits. Yet, he also supplied them with numerous devotional paintings that they presented to churches and religious houses across the Netherlands as part of their strategy to align piety and power.³⁸⁹

The Archduke Albert’s death in 1621, however, signaled a change both for the Infanta and Rubens. As has been discussed, the death of her consort meant that Isabel was demoted from sovereign regent to Governess General, which precluded her, from that point on, from participating in martial decisions, domestic policy, and discussions related to foreign diplomacy—prohibitions that came a particularly difficult moment given that they coincided with the expiration of the Twelve Years’ Truce. Since the Infanta’s loss of power coincided with her decision to profess as a Franciscan tertiary, she came to depend on Rubens ever more extensively as a confidant and advisor.

³⁸⁷ Lind, “The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by His Nephew, Philip: A Translation,” 38.

³⁸⁸ The conditions of his service are outlined in Lind, “The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by His Nephew, Philip: A Translation.”

³⁸⁹ Duerloo, “Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power.”

Rubens felt great affection for Albert and Isabel and not only fulfilled his role as court artist, but also helped them by serving as an informal political advisor. Rubens named his son after the Archduke and asked him to become the boy's godfather. After Albert's death, Rubens developed a particularly close relationship with Isabel, whom he described in 1626 as loving, benevolent, and "a princess endowed with all the virtues of her sex."³⁹⁰ A devout Catholic who believed wholeheartedly in the tenets of the Counter-Reformation, Rubens received his childhood education at the Jesuit school in Antwerp, became a member of the Jesuit sodality there, and was appointed council member and secretary of that body in 1623 and 1629, respectively.³⁹¹ He was known to have attended Mass daily, and his vast oeuvre consisted of hundreds of altarpieces, private devotional images, religious portraits, frontispieces for religious texts, and ecclesiastical decorations for virtually every Catholic religious order in the Netherlands and abroad.

Importantly, like the Infanta, Rubens also yearned for peace in the Netherlands. As he wrote in 1609 to Johann Faber in Rome (one day before the ratification of the Twelve Years' Truce), he hoped desperately that his country could "flourish again."³⁹² Many years after, he would again express his longing for a truce. Writing to Pierre Dupuy

³⁹⁰ See, for example, Peter Paul Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 1 October 1626 and Peter Paul Rubens to Jacques Dupuy, 20 July 1628. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, doc. 89, 142–43, doc. 176, 276–77.

³⁹¹ On Rubens's relationship with the Antwerp Jesuits, see Anna C. Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence: Rubens and the Jesuit Church in Antwerp" (Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York, 2007); John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard pt. 1 (London: Phaidon, 1968), 28, n. 9.

³⁹² Peter Paul Rubens to Johann Faber, 10 April 1609. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, doc. 213, 352–53.

in 1627 he decried the state of Antwerp, which, “languishes like a consumptive body, declining little by little.”³⁹³ Two years later, he confessed to his friend Jan Caspar Gevaerts that “I should be happier over our peace than anything else in this world.”³⁹⁴

Picturing the Counter-Reformation in The Triumph of the Eucharist Series

When the Infanta Isabel commissioned Rubens to design *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series as an ex-voto for the triumph of Breda, she must have trusted that he, above anyone else, could create a cycle that would celebrate the wonder and sanctity of the Holy Sacrament on the highest possible terms. He was not only one of Europe’s most highly respected artists and a close personal ally of the Infanta, but he also had experience designing tapestries having executed *The History of Decius Mus* series around 1616 and *The History of Constantine* series in 1621. He was, moreover, in his own estimation, “superb” at it. As he wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618 in reference to *The History of Decius Mus*, he had made several “molto superbi” cartoons at the request of certain Genoese gentlemen.³⁹⁵ His natural instincts were, he wrote, more inclined to

³⁹³ Peter Paul Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 28 May 1627. Ibid., doc. 111, 184–85.

³⁹⁴ Peter Paul Rubens to Jan Caspar Gevaerts, 23 November 1629. Ibid., doc. 210, 349–50.

³⁹⁵ Peter Paul Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton, 12 May 1618. Quoted in ibid., doc. 29, 63.

large-scale works. As he once brazenly declared, “My talent is such that no undertaking, no matter how large in size, how varied in subject, has ever exceeded my confidence.”³⁹⁶

With its magnificent pageant of wagons, theologians, prophets, and prefigurations of the Eucharist, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series is an epic sacramental celebration. Its constituent scenes glorified the miracle of transubstantiation and professed the undying devotion of the Infanta Isabel to the Holy Sacrament, while also celebrating its role at the Siege of Breda. One finds that from the Old Testament scenes that Rubens selected to the iconographic choices in his victories and triumphs, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, indeed, venerates the Eucharistic miracle against a backdrop of Protestant heresy in symbolic reference to the victory over the Dutch at Breda.

The tapestry *King David Playing the Harp* (fig. 15) serves as an excellent example of this approach. David was a celebrated figure in the Church. As a boy, he had slain the Phillistine Goliath with God’s help and, once crowned king, he made Jerusalem the religious center of his people by bringing there the Ark of Covenant. Upon its arrival, David danced, sang, and played music in praise of the Ark, earning him the title of God’s psalmist. As such, David was regarded as a prefiguration of the Christian who devoutly praises the Host during the magnificent celebration on Corpus Christi.³⁹⁷ David was also revered during the Catholic Counter-Reformation as a model of steadfast devotion in the face of heretical opposition. According to the Book of Samuel, after David had the Ark of the Covenant brought in triumph to Jerusalem, and had played and danced before it, he

³⁹⁶ Peter Paul Rubens to William Trumbull, 13 September 1621. Quoted in *ibid.*, doc. 46, 77.

³⁹⁷ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 182–83.

incurred the mockery of his wife, Michal (2 Sam. 6: 14-22). Catholics equated Michal's impudence to modern-day sacrilege, and during the Counter-Reformation, they heralded David's celebration before the Ark as a type of the Catholic faithful who joyfully sings hymns to the Host despite the mockery of heretics.³⁹⁸

Rubens included no overt allusion to this episode in his tapestry. The image has a peaceful, timeless quality. Yet, despite the absence of Michal and her taunting, the equation of David with the victory over heresy would have been implicit in the location of the tapestry. Ana García Sanz has persuasively argued that it would have decorated the special seating platform created for the King of Spain and his family.³⁹⁹ According to seventeenth-century court protocol, the king always sat in a special tribune in a prominent location. Sanz's research shows that elevated platforms were routinely constructed during other important celebrations attended by the king and his entourage, for example at the monastery of the Encarnación, also a royal foundation in Madrid, and the Hieronymite monastery in Toledo. Two early eighteenth-century drawings of these locales show the presence of such elevated tribunes (figs. 46 and 47). In the first image, it appears to the side of the gospel designated by the letter "A." In the second image, it is visible to the right of the main altar, and, notably, is decorated with a large tapestry across its front.

By representing David with the harp for the royal tribune, Rubens would have drawn a parallel between the Old Testament king and the Habsburg monarch, who was also a warrior against enemies of the faith—as were the "Huguenots" at Breda—and

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I: 183.

³⁹⁹ Ana García Sanz described these findings in an unpublished paper, "Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist Tapestries: Roles and Rituals in the Convent and the City," presented at The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota in March 2012.

singer of praises to the Eucharist. Like David, a ruler chosen by God to carry out His divine mission on earth, the Spanish monarchs believed that their duty was to sing the glory of the Eucharist and to lead the fight against heresy. “As David had slain Goliath with Yahve’s aid,” De Poorter observed, “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.”⁴⁰⁰

Rubens similarly underscored the message of Catholic triumph over heresy in the tapestry representing the story of *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* (fig. 3). The tapestry engages this idea by depicting a story Catholics firmly believed to foreshadow the Eucharist, but that Protestants rejected as a prefiguration. According to the story, Abraham, after returning from a victorious battle over the king of Elam, Chedorlaomer, received blessings of bread and wine from the Priest-King of Salem, Melchizedek. In Rubens’s image of the story, the age-wizened Melchizedek and armor-clad Abraham meet at the gates of a temple. Wearing a gold priestly robe and red fur-trimmed cap, Melchizedek bends down to greet Abraham, who climbs the steps to meet him. Acolytes behind the priest-king distribute loaves of bread to the soldiers, while partially dressed servants bring forth large pitchers of wine. Three *putti* preside over the scene, one of which hangs from a garland of fruit that includes melons, pomegranate, and grapes.

Catholic theologians viewed Melchizedek’s offering of bread and wine as a prefiguration of the Last Supper, and even saw Melchizedek, whose name means “king of Justice,” as a prefiguration of Christ. However, Protestants denied to varying degrees the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Last Supper and, consequently, also

⁴⁰⁰ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 183.

denied the sacramental presence in the story. In their reading, the bread and wine offered by Melchizedek merely reflected an act of generosity toward battle-worn soldiers.⁴⁰¹

The Protestant rejection of the sacramental presence of Melchizedek's offering and his typological association with Jesus Christ were subjects of discussions during the Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent. Seeking to address the doctrine of sacrifice in the Mass, the Council twice described Christ as a priest of the "order of Melchizedek."⁴⁰² It also used the Session to reaffirm the Canon of the Mass, during which God is asked to look upon the sacrifice of the Mass as worthy and accept it as he did the offering of the high priest Melchizedek, a Holy Sacrifice, a spotless victim.⁴⁰³

For Catholic Reformers, prefigurations were an important tool in the struggle against heresy and were used often to defend Catholic views against Protestant attacks.⁴⁰⁴ Protestant Reformers also relied heavily on typology, because it supposedly respected a literal, rather than allegorical, reading of the Bible. Luther firmly believed that the Old Testament necessitated a typological understanding because "it pointed toward Christ. The New, however, now gives us what was previously promised and signified through

⁴⁰¹ Anthony N. S. Lane, *John Calvin Student of Church Fathers* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 221.

⁴⁰² See Session XXII, Chapter I in Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 144–45.

⁴⁰³ This recitation occurs during the *Supra quae*. See Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2004), 52.

⁴⁰⁴ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 193; Typology was used as early as the second- and early third-century by Apologists as a way to defend Christianity against heresy (specifically, against Jews and the Gnostics). See Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical Typos Structures* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 1981), 20.

figures in the Old Testament.”⁴⁰⁵ Similarly, according to Calvin, “the Gospel points with a finger to what the Law shadowed under types.”⁴⁰⁶ In other words, Calvin agreed that a true understanding of the Gospel pivoted on typology.

Because Catholics also believed fervently in typological thinking, they viewed prefigurations as a powerful entrée into the theological battle with Protestants. If Protestant thinkers accepted typology in their own Biblical exegesis, Catholics reasoned, then they could more easily be convinced of their errors. By, for example, pointing to prefigurations of the Eucharist in the Old Testament, Catholics imagined that they could expose to Protestants the heresy of their denial of transubstantiation. In this way, Rubens’s portrayal of *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek* celebrated the validity of Catholic doctrine while intimating the falsity of Protestant reform.

The Counter-Reformationist thrust of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries and its symbolic reference to the Siege of Breda is perhaps best seen in those tapestries that represent triumphs and victories of the Holy Sacrament (figs. 7-9). As many scholars have noted, the iconographic motif dates to antiquity, when victorious Roman generals would return to their cities to great fanfare.⁴⁰⁷ Wagons and carts bearing the spoils of war, sculptures and illustrations of important battles, prisoners, and, even, the victorious general himself surrounded by his soldiers would be paraded through the city. It was the

⁴⁰⁵ Quoted in Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical Typos Structures*, 27–28.

⁴⁰⁶ See Book 2, Chapter 9 in Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 426.

⁴⁰⁷ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 197–98; Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l’Art Profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance: Allégories et Symboles* (La Haye: M. Nijhoff, 1931), II: 111–44; Werner Weisbach, *Trionfi* (Berlin: G. Grote’sche, 1919).

highest honor the Roman state could bestow upon a mortal,⁴⁰⁸ and by the seventeenth century it had become a highly popular theme in art primarily due to the early fourteenth-century humanist, Petrarch, whose poem *Trionfi* enjoyed widespread publication.⁴⁰⁹

In one of Petrarch's most influential passages, the personification of Love leads a procession of prisoners as if she were a Roman general returning from battle. Over the course of the poem the captives are identified to varying degrees, each with their own tragic tale. For humanists like Rubens, the poem provided an antique vehicle through which to explore Christian ideas. In *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, Rubens depicted three scenes of triumphal cars, one of which represents the triumph of Divine Love. Unlike Petrarch's description, however, Rubens's scene is one of compassion (fig. 9). The main figure that assumes the position of the Roman general is *Caritas*, or Charity, who tenderly embraces a small child. Five other children accompany her and a cloud of angels circles her overhead in celebration of her eternal loving protection.

The image, which is a generalized vision of Catholic Charity and the celebration of the Eucharist as the "sacramentum caritatis," as St. Thomas Aquinas described it in his *Summa Theologiae*, establishes a strong visual bond between *Caritas* and the Virgin Mary.⁴¹⁰ *Caritas* wears a red dress with blue mantle that resembles that of the Mother of God and her pose is that of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, as pictured on the

⁴⁰⁸ John E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 238–39.

⁴⁰⁹ For Petrarch, see van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*, 111–32.

⁴¹⁰ See "Question 73: the Sacramentality of the Eucharist" in Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, LVIII: 12.

standard of the Army of Flanders (fig. 33). Such an association was certainly intended. As discussed above, the Immaculate Virgin had been the guiding symbol of the Habsburg forces in Spain and the Army of Flanders since the late sixteenth century.⁴¹¹ The flag was certainly carried throughout the Eighty Years' War and during the Siege of Breda.

Rubens placed a pelican beside Caritas piercing its breast to feed its young. As Scribner noted in his iconographic study of the cycle, the pelican symbolizes both the sacrificial nature of the Catholic Mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation in which Christ nourishes the faithful with his body and blood—the “two Eucharist dogmas which Counter-Reformation art asserted in the face of Protestant denials.”⁴¹² The pelican and Marian Caritas, combined with the triumphal cart, create a reminiscently martial image that testifies to the power of the Eucharist to overcome its adversaries.

The Victory Over Idolatry pictures the interruption of a traditional Roman sacrifice by an angel brandishing a monstrance, a scene that overtly appears to condemn the sacrilege of polytheistic practices of the ancients (fig. 10). The angel appears in the upper left of the composition, striking down the priests, musicians, and acolytes preparing to sacrifice an ox. In the background, two figures pour libations in offering to a statue of Jupiter, identifiable by his staff and the eagle perched beside him. Ostensibly the scene is a generalized reference to the ultimate victory of Christianity over Roman paganism. However, Protestant Reformers were fond of charging the Catholic Church with residual paganism in its liturgy of the Mass, and, more specifically, in its doctrine of sacrifice in the Eucharist. When Rubens chose to illustrate Christianity's triumph over

⁴¹¹ See Chapter 2, 92.

⁴¹² Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 77.

paganism, however, he effectively took the traditional Protestant accusation, and reversed it—much as he did in his use of Old Testament typology—thereby exploiting it as a piece of “rhetorical counterattack.”⁴¹³ The scene represents the historical victory of the Eucharist over pagan sacrifices but also, on a broader level, the power of the Holy Sacrament to overcome its enemies, as it did at Breda.

The Counter-Reformationist message of Rubens’s *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries is nowhere more potent than in his *Victory of Truth Over Heresy* (fig. 11). In this composition, the allegorical figures of Time and Truth rise triumphantly from a battlefield strewn with bodies. Above them hangs a cartouche inscribed with the Latin words “*Hoc est [enim] Corpus Meum,*” the words of Christ’s first institution of the Eucharist. Below them lie the trampled remains four figures identifiable as the early Christian heretic Arius, the twelfth-century heretic of Antwerp, Tanchelm, and, most notably, Martin Luther and John Calvin.⁴¹⁴ Luther, who appears in the white habit of the Augustinians—the Order to which he committed himself before being excommunicated for his critiques of the Catholic Church—lies prone with an arm outstretched, reaching for a fallen treatise. Behind him a sacrificial Roman altar has toppled, likely in reference to Luther’s critique of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Calvin, identifiable by his beard, sits beside Luther and points to a page of his *Institutes* in defense of his doctrines that denied, among other things, transubstantiation. Behind the Protestant Reformers, a man with a hammer defaces a statue of the Virgin and Child. He is the personification of Iconoclasm, referencing the general acts of destruction that occurred throughout the Protestant revolt,

⁴¹³ Ibid., 59.

⁴¹⁴ Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 431.

including during the siege of Breda, where, as per Hugo's account, the impious Calvinists had emptied "rooms, where statues had stood" and "utterly defaced" a statue of the Virgin Mary.⁴¹⁵ Rooses identified the two muscular men at the right who flee from the scene to be Falsehood (with the turban) and Rebellion (with the dagger), further reinforcing the scene's Counter-Reformationist theme, and also martial undertones.⁴¹⁶

By blending historical portraits with emblematic devices, Rubens creatively exalted the triumph of the Catholic Faith and its most treasured beliefs while also condemning its enemies. This approach appears to be unique in the history of imagery of triumph and victory. Although compositions in which triumphal wagons and carts trample generic enemies have precedents dating back to antiquity, the depiction of specific adversaries, in this case, enemies of the Catholic faith, are unprecedented.⁴¹⁷ The doctrinal defenses of sacrifice and real presence in the Eucharist that appear iconographically throughout the cycle are not only broad references to the Church

⁴¹⁵ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 143.

⁴¹⁶ Rooses, *Rubens*, I: 59.

⁴¹⁷ Rubens appears to have owned an agate cameo showing the Emperor Constantine riding on a centaur-drawn chariot trampling over generic defeated bodies (fig. 48). Although there is no extant work by Rubens of this composition, an engraving of the cameo is linked to Paulus Pontius, who likely used a now lost preliminary drawing by Rubens to execute the work (fig. 49). Rubens also made a drawing of the cameo *The Triumph of Licinius*, which similarly features a chariot crushing prostrate figures (figs. 50 and 51). Rubens probably saw the cameo in 1622 during his first trip to Paris, where he met the antiquarian Nicolas Claude Fabri de Pieresc, with whom he planned to publish a book reproducing outstanding gems from antiquity. An unsigned engraving after the drawing suggests that Rubens intended *The Triumph of Licinius* (as well as *Constantine and Fausta Riding on a Chariot*) to form part of his gem book. See Marjon van der Meulen and Arnout Balis, *Rubens Copies After the Antique*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard pt. 23 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), II: 182–87, nos. 166 and 167.

triumphant but also representations of particular values and struggles over Protestants and Protestantism.⁴¹⁸ While the tapestry series does not explicitly picture battle imagery, the Catholic and Habsburg challenge to defend the sanctity of the Eucharist was never more present than at the Siege of Breda.

Transition, Transformation, Transubstantiation

As a master of Baroque spectacle, Rubens ensured that the Infanta's ex-voto for the victory of Breda would celebrate the glorious victory of the Eucharist over the Dutch not only through complex iconography, but also through his remarkable powers of illusion. For the eleven largest tapestries, Rubens devised a conceptual conceit in which the panel's narrative scene was displayed on a tapestry that appears to hang from flanking Solomonic or Tuscan columns.

The provision for this border, or framing element, notably distinguishes *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle from Rubens's other forays into the art of tapestry. In his *History of Decius Mus* tapestry cycle of 1616, Rubens did not so much as indicate the borders' design in any of his oil sketches (fig. 52). Seventeenth-century weavers, in fact, preferred to receive tapestry designs without borders so that they could tailor them to the

⁴¹⁸ This notion may also be imbedded in the literal fabric of the series, since the tapestry medium was a favorite object of Protestant criticism due to its lavishness. Wolfgang Brassat, *Tapissereien und Politik: Funktionen, Kontexte und Rezeption eines repräsentativen Mediums* (Berlin: Mann, 1992), 114.

their clients' tastes.⁴¹⁹ Similarly, Rubens's second tapestry enterprise, *The History of Constantine* of 1622, included no borders in the preparatory stage (fig. 53). *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series' illusionistic architectural framing thus demands explanation.

In 1955, Victor Elbern suggested that in designing eleven of the panels to depict illusionistic tapestries hanging within the tapestries, Rubens intended to evoke the eleven curtains of the Jewish Tabernacle.⁴²⁰ According to the Book of Exodus, God called upon the Jews to make eleven curtains made of goats' hair (Ex. 26:7). They were intended to cover the Tabernacle, which contained the Holy of Holies—the dwelling place of God in the Temple—and the Ark of the Covenant—the chest containing the original tablets of the Ten Commandments. This chest accompanied the Israelites on their wanderings in the desert and their journey to Jerusalem, where it was ultimately housed in the Temple of Solomon. Rubens's use of Solomonic columns throughout *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series recalls the Temple of Solomon—from whence the twisted structures derive their name. He even pictured the ceremonial return of the Ark of the Covenant, which had been separated from the Tabernacle to the Temple of Solomon, in *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (fig. 6).⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Isabelle van Tichelen, "The History of Constantine" in Guy Delmarcel, *Rubentextiel=Rubens's textiles* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 1997), 63.

⁴²⁰ Victor H. Elbern, "Die Rubensteppiche Des Kölner Domes. Ihre Geschichte Und Ihre Stellung Um Zyklus 'Triumph Der Eucharistie,'" *Kölner Domblatt: Jahrbuch Des Zentral-Dombauvereins* 10 (1955): 58; Many scholars have supported this idea, including Brassat, *Tapissierien und Politik*, 56–57; Scribner III, "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries," 519–28; Eberhard Müller-Bochat, *Der allegorische Triumphzug ein Motiv Petrarca's bei Lope de Vega und Rubens* (Krefeld: Scherpe, 1957), 204–5.

⁴²¹ By tradition, Solomonic columns also surround the Holy of Holies. See Scribner III, "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries," 526, n. 33.

Not all scholars, however, concur with this interpretation. Nora de Poorter, the author of the Corpus Rubenianum volume on *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, argues that the eleven tapestries comprise only a portion of the cycle and that Rubens clearly envisioned the twenty tapestries to constitute a unified whole.⁴²² She stresses that in the Book of Exodus, God’s instructions to Moses regarding the hanging of the Tabernacle were highly particular. They specified that all the coverings maintain the same measurements, that they fasten together with golden clasps, and that they spread crosswise over the Tabernacle—specifications that have no resonance in Rubens’s *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries.

She has further argued that, rather than recalling the Jewish Tabernacle, the tapestries within the tapestries were intended to create a celestial realm distinct from the spectator’s terrestrial space, which was evoked by the tapestries on the *coro alto*.⁴²³ Those latter tapestries also feature Solomonic and Tuscan columns, but they do not include the feigned tapestry conceit. She contends that, by contrast, the tapestries within tapestries create a heavenly space representative of “the Church Triumphant,” where angels, saints, Old Testament heroes and personifications proclaim the glory of the Holy Sacrament. The tapestries without that conceptual conceit reflect the worldly realm, or

⁴²² De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 185–87.

⁴²³ In De Poorter’s discussion, she refers to these tapestries collectively as “the altar wall” group. This is because for decades scholars interpreted the large dark space in the center of the Chicago *bozzetto* to represent the space of the retable, thus leading them to argue that the group would have hung over the high altar (fig. 22). Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 93–100; De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I; 102–4; Held, “Rubens’s Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville,” 8; Tormo y Monzó, *En las Descalzas reales*, 22–23. However, Ana García Sanz has recently proved that the *bozzetto* does not picture the altar wall, but, rather, the *coro alto* (discussion to follow).

“the Church Militant,” where terrestrial dignitaries carry on their fight on earth. “It is thus of essential importance that Rubens’s [*coro alto* wall tapestries are] presented as reality, while the other scenes are depicted on simulated ‘tapestries’,” she writes. “The miracle consists precisely in the fact that the Eucharist unites faithful with heavenly things, as the separation between earth and heaven disappears.”⁴²⁴

The connection between the series’ imagery and the Temple of Solomon is one to which I will return to in Chapter 5. Although I concur with De Poorter that Rubens intended to unite the realm pictured within the feigned tapestries with that of the temporal present, I believe that he achieved this union in a different way. As previously noted, the tapestries hung in two tiers, with those on the upper level bearing flanking Solomonic columns, and those textiles on the lower level containing flanking Tuscan columns. A master of illusion, Rubens took great pains to give the columns a three-dimensional character to make them appear to belong to the architectural of the convent church. For example, he designed the perspective of the Solomonic and Tuscan columns to correspond with the spectator’s point of view, so that the tapestries on the upper register showed the columns from below. The columns in the tapestries on the lower register, on the other hand, share a horizon line with the viewer’s line of sight. Notably, Solomonic and Tuscan columns were architectural elements contemporary to seventeenth-century architecture, which must have augmented the illusion that these architectural elements belonged to the sphere of the real convent church and were a continuation of its space.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 181.

⁴²⁵ I would like to thank Arthur Wheelock for this observation.

For eleven of the tapestries, Rubens took this illusion a step further and pictured *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle's narrative scenes hanging from trompe l'oeil tapestries. These tapestries within the tapestries are suspended from the Solomonic and Tuscan columns by ropes or *putti*, suggesting that they are dense, weighty fabrics. Some are even decorated with swags of fruit and flower garlands. In effect, Rubens created two levels of "reality" in the series. The first level is the architectural space and the tapestries that hang from it. The second is the narrative space of those hangings. Adhering to the dual realities the perspectival orientation of the narrative scenes is unrelated to the supposed architecture from which they hang.

Such effects are seen in the tapestry *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* (fig. 3). At the right, the fringed border curls so as to obscure partially the narrative scene seemingly woven upon it. The festive floral and fruit garland festooning the architecture, however, casts a silhouette over the feigned tapestry. Ostensibly the two realities—that of the architecture, "our" supposed reality, and that of the feigned tapestry—are separate. Nevertheless, the two muscular figures carrying jars of wine to Abraham and his soldiers seem to belong both to the architectural surround and to the feigned tapestry. Rubens intertwined these two realms by designing his scene so that the fictive tapestries seems to have fallen behind the foreground architecture from which the figures in ancient dress emerge. While one of these massive attendants delivers the urn containing wine to the protagonists, the other looks toward the viewer as if conscious of his or her presence.

One finds similarly ambiguous spatial effects in *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* (fig. 6). In this panel, a young woman stares out of the picture plane beside an old man who ascends from a subterranean space. In the modello, Rubens evidently toyed

with the idea of situating her in front of a Tuscan column (fig. 54). Dark chalk pentimenti visible through the column's buff-colored paint shows that the contour of her shoulder and garment originally and "illogically" overlap the adjacent column.⁴²⁶ Rubens entertained the same visual trick in the modello for *The Triumph of Divine Love*, where he also sketched the wings of the small angel who bears a flaming heart in front of the column at the lower right (fig. 55). Although Rubens edited away these ambiguous spatial effects in the final tapestries for *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* and *The Triumph of Divine Love*, he complicated space in other tapestries. In *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* part of the fictive tapestry appears to have fallen behind the foreground architecture (fig. 3). As a result, the panel's narrative scene and "real" architecture appear to be one continuous space. In *The Eucharist Overcoming Idolatry*, the lower edge of the illusionistic tapestry is, again, invisible, and the elbow, robe, and foot of the man cowering in the lower left advance onto the supposedly real architectonic border (fig. 10). The vase of wine, moreover, which is poised within the narrative scene spills onto the border's decorative frieze. Finally, in *The Victory of Truth Over Heresy* a lion with a dead fox in its claws evidently lies on the architectural ledge, the heavy narrative tapestry resting on its back (fig. 11).

These puzzling spatial conflations and complex illusionistic ensembles invite the viewer to reflect on ideas of transformation—the very foundation of the Eucharistic experience in which bread and wine can appear as one thing, yet are another. The breach of the narrative figures from their pictorial field into the "real" space of the convent, as signified by the architectural surrounds, would have effectively conflated time during the

⁴²⁶ Sutton, *The Age of Rubens*, 277.

Good Friday and Corpus Christi celebrations when *The Triumph of the Eucharist* hung. In so doing, the series would have emphasized the continuity of the Eucharist and its theological significance when hung in the Descalzas Reales. It would also have encouraged the congregation to meditate on the idea of transformation. The illusionistic architectural conceit and tapestries within tapestries as well as the narrative figures poised at once in the present day and historical past would have provided a conceptual parallel to the theology of Christ's miraculous vivification at the Catholic Mass. Through the very transformation of realities within the tapestry realms, Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series symbolically recalled this doctrine.

Vision and Faith

As articulated by St. Thomas Aquinas, whose writings on the theology of the Eucharist had a strong impact on the early modern Church, the fundamental verity of transubstantiation lies beyond the realm of reason. Aquinas discussed his sacramental theology in numerous tomes, including his *Summa Contra Gentiles* (1264):

For as much as the human intellect acquires knowledge in a manner comfortable with its nature, it cannot by itself arrive at an intuitive knowledge of the divine substance in itself, since the latter infinitely transcends the whole range of things sensible, nay all other beings whatsoever...our senses, wherein our knowledge begins, are directed to exterior accidents, such as color, smell, and the like, which are by themselves sensible, the intellect is scarcely able through suchlike externals to arrive at the knowledge of what lies within, even in those things whose accidents it grasps perfectly through the sense.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ "Chapter I: Foreword" in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd, 1923), IV: 1–2.

Although Aquinas was a follower of Aristotelian thought and believed that intellectual knowledge grew from a combination of faith and nature, he believed that some divine truths about God “surpass the power of human reason.”⁴²⁸ Transubstantiation was one of these truths.

Aquinas addressed the Eucharistic miracle again in his *Summa Theologiae* when he wrote, “We could never know by our senses that the real body of Christ and his blood are in the sacrament, but only by our faith which is based on the authority of God.”⁴²⁹ His belief that faith alone makes visible the sacrament is also born out in his liturgical composition *Adoro Te Devote*, which begins:

Humbly I adore thee, Verity unseen,
Who they gory hidest ‘neath these shadows mean;
Lo, to these surrendered, my whole heart is bowed,
Tranced as it behold thee, shrined within the cloud.

Taste, and touch, and vision, to discern thee fail;
Faith, that comes by hearing, pierces through the vile.
I believe whate’er the Son of God hath told;
What the Truth hath spoken, that for truth I hold.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ “Chapter III: In What Way It Is Possible to Make Known the Divine Truth” in *ibid.*, I: 5.

⁴²⁹ See “Question 75: the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ” in Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, LVIII: 57.

⁴³⁰ “Adoro te devote, latens Deitas, quae sub his figuris vere latitas: tibi se cor meum totum subiicit, quia te contemplans totum deficit. Visus, tactus, gustus in te fallitur, sed auditu solo tuto creditur; credo quidquid dixit Dei Filius: nil hoc verbo Veritatis verius.” English translation in Crockett, *Eucharist*, 115–16.

The hymn, which is still part of the Roman Missal as a prayer of thanksgiving after the Mass, makes clear that the sacrament of the Eucharist reaches man through revelation, which is the province of faith. Correspondingly, Rubens's tapestries, through the conflated realities of their architecture and fictive tapestries, as well as their moments of convergence, encourage meditation on divine transfiguration in the Holy Sacrament. His designs forge a connection with the mystery of transubstantiation, which, like the permeable boundaries of the tapestries within the tapestries, cannot be resolved by vision or explained by reason.

The Search for Precedent

A prototype for this conceptual conceit may be seen early in Rubens's career when, between August 1604 and May 1605, he painted a series of three canvases for Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga for the Jesuit Church of Santissima Trinità in Mantua. For the central of the three compositions, *The Trinity Adorned by the Gonzaga Family*, which was to be hung on the altar wall, the Gonzaga family is shown praying to the Holy Trinity, which appears on a tapestry held aloft by angels (fig. 56).⁴³¹ The conceit differs from *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle, however, in that Rubens here made no effort to capture the irregularities of a tapestry to emphasize that the Holy Trinity was depicted as a woven textile. The figures have the same corporal substance as the Gonzaga clan, and the light they radiate is not contained to the woven space but also illuminates the angels.

⁴³¹ The other two compositions are *The Baptism of Christ* (Antwerp, Koninlijke Museum voor Schoone Kunst) and *The Transfiguration* (Nancy, Musée des Beaux Arts).

Rubens also depicted the figures from the viewpoint of the worshipper—*di sotto in su*—thereby suggesting that the Holy Trinity was a real presence within the family’s space.

As in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, these design choices importantly evoke a key element of Catholic theology related to the depicted subject. In *The Trinity Adorned by the Gonzaga Family*, the lifelikeness of the Holy Trinity appropriately addresses the Jesuit treatment of Trinitarian dogma, which maintained that man only has epistemological access to the Trinity through revelation.⁴³² This belief was shaped largely by the eminent Jesuit theologian, Francisco Suárez, whose writings on the Trinity appear in his *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1597).⁴³³ The tome constituted the high point of sixteenth-century scholastic metaphysics and came to be widely studied throughout Europe during the seventeenth century.

When Rubens painted this altarpiece for the Jesuit church of Santissima Trinità (Most Holy Trinity) and depicted the Holy Trinity as a real vision, he evoked this idea of revelation so important to Trinitarian theology. By representing the Holy Trinity *not* as a woven depiction but as the truly present divine, Rubens imbedded in the image a theologically rhetorical conceit, not unlike that found in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle. And, as in *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, his image, thereby, created a discursive space in which to consider the mysteries and miracles of the Catholic faith.

⁴³² Emery Gilles, O.P. and Matthew Levering, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Trinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 241–42.

⁴³³ On Suárez, see John P. Doyle, *Collected Studies on Francisco Suárez, S.J. (1548-1617)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010); Francisco Suárez, *On Creation, Conservation, and Concurrence: Metaphysical Disputations 20, 21, and 22*, ed. Alfred J. Freddoso (South Bend: St. Augustine’s Press, 2002).

Scholars who have searched for precedents regarding the complex illusionism of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* largely believe that Italian mural painting exerted a heavy influence on Rubens. In particular, they point to the frescoes he saw in Rome by Baldassare Croce at Santa Susanna, by Cavaliere d'Arpino in the transept of San Giovanni in Laterano, or by Raphael in the Villa Farnesina and Sala di Costantino (figs. 42, 57-59).⁴³⁴ Raphael's *The Acts of the Apostles* tapestry series, which was woven in Brussels, and also incorporates trompe l'oeil bronze reliefs at the lower borders, are also often offered as a possible model for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series (fig. 60).

The idea of fictive decoration was, indeed, very popular in Italy in both secular and ecclesiastical spaces during the sixteenth century. As Ursula Reinhardt has noted, the motif of illusionist tapestry that proliferated at this time largely reflected the high esteem in which tapestries were held.⁴³⁵ They were also conceptually part and parcel of Mantegna's illusionistic tricks in the ceiling of the *Camera degli Sposi* in Mantua and those of Peruzzi in the *Sala delle Prospettive* of the Farnesina, where illusory architectural painting "extended" the real space of the rooms (figs. 61 and 62).

Rubens was an Italophile of the highest order and such domestic and ecclesiastical prototypes must have influenced him enormously.⁴³⁶ In 1600 he had gone to Italy "to

⁴³⁴ Sutton, "'Sacrifice of the Old Covenant,' from the Coolidge Collection," 17–18; Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 125–39; De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 67–81; Scribner III, "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries," 526, n. 33; Elbern, *Peter Paul Rubens: Triumph Der Eucharistie. Wandteppiche Aus Dem Kölner Dom*, 15–16.

⁴³⁵ Ursula Reinhardt, "La Tapisserie Feinte: Un Genre de Décoration Du Maniérisme Romain Au XVIe Siècle," *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts* 84 (1974): 285–296.

⁴³⁶ Substantial research has been done on Rubens's Italian influences, not the least of which includes Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and*

view at firsthand the most celebrated works of art, ancient and modern, in that country, and to form his art after these models,” according to his nephew.⁴³⁷ He subsequently lived there until 1608. Based in Mantua, where he was in the service of Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Rubens traveled to Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Rome, during which time he would have come to know these trompe l’oeil masterpieces. Indeed, quotations from Raphael’s Villa Farnesina and Sala di Costantino, both of which were executed by Giulio Romano, appear in several of the works Rubens painted in Antwerp after leaving Italy.⁴³⁸

Compositionally, Baldassare Croce’s frescoes, which depict stories from the life of the Old Testament heroine Susanna, were conceived as trompe l’oeil tapestries hanging from Solomonic columns, and that featured garland swags with cartouches, bear the greatest resemblance to *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries. As we have seen, the Solomonic columns are an integral component of Rubens’s design, and the tapestries similarly incorporate fruit garland festoons crowning their scenes, as well as cartouches. Functionally, however, Scribner has noted that Cavaliere d’Arpino’s Lateran frescoes represent the most significant precedent for Ruben’s trompe l’oeil framework, since they were designed to embellish the area surrounding his *Sacrament Altar* (1600-1601). Thus,

Later Artists, 2 vols., Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard pt. 26 (London: Harvey Miller, 2010); Hilliard T. Goldfarb, ed., *Titian and Rubens: Power, Politics, and Style* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998); Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*; David Jaffé and Marco Chiarini, eds., *Rubens and the Italian Renaissance* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1992); Sergio Guarino and Rossella Magrì, eds., *Rubens E Roma* (Rome: De Luca, 1990); Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*.

⁴³⁷ Lind, “The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by His Nephew, Philip: A Translation,” 38.

⁴³⁸ Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 125–26; John Rupert Martin and Claudia Lazzaro Bruno, “Rubens’s ‘Cupid Supplicating Jupiter,’” in *Rubens Before 1620*, ed. John Rupert Martin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

he has argued, they provided Rubens with a model for the display of trompe l'oeil tapestries with a Eucharistic and Counter-Reformationist program.⁴³⁹

Rubens would have seen a similar illusionistic conceit at El Escorial. The Hall of Battles, located above the royal apartments, contained a series of frescoes of Philip II's victories on trompe l'oeil tapestries (fig. 63). In the royal basilica just behind the altar, a high, narrow room that accesses the back of the Tabernacle called the *Sagrario* contains four Eucharistic frescoes by the Milanese artist Pellegrino Tibaldi: *The Gathering of the Manna*, *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, *Elijah and the Angel*, and *The Paschal Supper* (fig. 64). Tibaldi pictured each of these scenes against a backdrop of trompe l'oeil curtains. Philip II considered the *Sagrario* to be akin to the inner sanctum of the Temple of Solomon, since the Holy Sacrament, like the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Solomon, was perpetually exposed there.⁴⁴⁰

Rubens had gone to Spain in 1603 on a mission to deliver paintings from the Duke of Mantua to King Philip III.⁴⁴¹ The monarchy was then situated in Valladolid, not Madrid. Rubens was unaware that the monarchy had relocated, so that when he arrived in Madrid after a two-week journey, he was forced to continue his travel northward another week's time. Rubens remained in Spain until early 1604, during which time he executed his famous *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) and also

⁴³⁹ Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 128.

⁴⁴⁰ Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 131. However, she does not link the motif of "tent trappings or curtains," as she calls it, to the curtains of the Jewish Tabernacle, as Rubens scholars may have done.

⁴⁴¹ On Rubens's first visit to Spain, see Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons*, 6–18.

toured the royal collections at El Escorial.⁴⁴² Although Rubens's correspondence from that time only mentions the "many splendid works of Titian, of Raphael and others" that he saw, it is likely that he visited the Hall of Battles.⁴⁴³ It is also possible that he gained access to the *Sagrario*, where he would have seen Tibaldi's Eucharistic trompe l'oeil frescoes, which possibly offered him another a physical and a conceptual model for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series.

One of Rubens's most extensive trompe l'oeil projects prior to *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries was the design of his own home.⁴⁴⁴ Two engravings by Jacob Harrewyn from 1684 and 1692 reveal how on the exterior walls facing the courtyard and garden, Rubens placed grisaille paintings of herms, busts of Greco-Roman philosophers, and scenes illustrating famous paintings and painters of the ancient world (figs. 65 and 66).⁴⁴⁵ On the short wall of the inner courtyard, he painted a trompe l'oeil loggia replete with a man leaning over a balustrade on which two parrots perch (fig. 66 detail).

Rubens's illusionism so convinced twentieth-century restorers that today the Rubenshuis

⁴⁴² The specific date of his departure from Spain is not known for certain. Vergara synthesizes the different speculations on the timing in *ibid.*, 203, n. 56.

⁴⁴³ Peter Paul Rubens to Annibale Chieppio, 24 May 1603. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, doc. 8, 33.

⁴⁴⁴ Fiona Healy discussed the trompe l'oeil program at Rubens's house as an antecedent to the illusionistic conceit of his *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series in an unpublished paper, "Defying Convention, Creating Illusion: Rubens and the Tapestry Border," presented at The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota in March 2012.

⁴⁴⁵ On the construction and decoration of the Rubenshuis, see Ben van Beneden, "Introduction: Rubens and Architecture," in *Palazzo Rubens: The Master as Architect* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2011), 8–32; Barbara Uppenkamp and Ben van Beneden, "Rubens and Architectural Symbolism," in *Palazzo Rubens: The Master as Architect* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2011), 76–122; Jeffrey M. Muller, "The 'Perseus and Andromeda' on Rubens's House," *Simiolus* 12, no. 2/3 (1982 1981): 131–46.

boasts an actual loggia on the first floor (fig. 67). He took the illusion even further when he added to the fictive architecture of the loggia a large, fully colored painting depicting one of his own compositions, *Perseus and Andromeda*—which bears a strong likeness to a work now in St. Petersburg (fig. 68). Artists commonly hung their wet paintings to dry in the sun, so that the apparent presence of the composition above the loggia appeared to conform to such practice. The illusion was evidently so persuasive that the Infanta Isabel routinely asked Rubens to remove the painting when she visited.⁴⁴⁶

Rubens and Eucharistic Theology

The physical experience of being in a Catholic church during the seventeenth century was designed expressly to communicate the significance of the Eucharist.⁴⁴⁷ Unlike the Middle Ages, when people did not regularly receive communion or partake in the Eucharist, and during which time the priest recited the Mass *sotto voce* so that people had difficulty hearing and joining in the prayers, the seventeenth-century Church placed

⁴⁴⁶ In 1681 Baldiucci wrote “E meraviglia non fu che egli in Anversa pure si fabricasse un grande, e nobilissimo palazzo tutto al moderno modo italiano con bozzi, ed altri adornamenti, per entro di cui dipinse di sua mano una loggia con prospettive, architetture, e con bassi rilievi di ricca invenzione, e fra l’altre cose finse, che a quelle architetture fusse stato attaccato un quadro per asciugarsi al sole; così bene spiccato dal sodo, che dicesi che veduto un dì dalla Serenissima Clara Eugenia Infanta di Spagna maritata all’Arciduco Alberto d-Insrpucch, Signora tanto rinomata in quelle parti di Fiandra, orinasse, che fusse tolta giù quella tela, che ella credè vera e non dipinta.” See Filippo Baldinucci, “Notizie de’ Professori Del Disegno Da Cimabve in Qva...,” in *Opere* (Florence: Per Santi Franchi, 1681), X: 224.

⁴⁴⁷ Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, “‘A Time Fertile in Miracles’: Miraculous Events in and through Art,” in *The Age of the Marvelous*, ed. Joy Kenseth (Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, 1991), 194–95.

great emphasis on and provided unprecedented access to the Eucharist.⁴⁴⁸ For example, elaborate tabernacles containing the host were placed on the altar rather than in a peripheral location so that the Holy Sacrament was visible from the moment one entered the church. Communion rails were introduced to encourage veneration of the Eucharist by forcing worshippers to alter their physical relationship to the sacrament into a pose of adoration.⁴⁴⁹ Further, whereas the Eucharist had traditionally been removed from the altar at the conclusion of the Mass, following Trent, the sacrament was left exposed and highlighted with the monstrance.

Rubens's understanding of the complexities of Aquinas's Eucharistic theology may have stemmed, in part, from conversations he had with the Infanta's religious advisors, chief of whom in the mid-1620s was Philippe Chifflet. Chifflet had been priest of the archducal oratory since March 1625, and he enjoyed a close relationship with the Infanta—so much so that after her death in 1633 he retired to his native Besançon, where he began to write her biography—the endeavor from which the *Presents faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps* stemmed. As Isabel's personal confessor, Chifflet was one of the closest individuals to the Infanta. Van Wyhe has shown vis-à-vis the priest that preceded Chifflet, Andrés de Soto, that a deeply spiritual bond was shared between a royal penitent and his or her confessor and that this bond often bled into the realm of public persona.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 122.

⁴⁴⁹ Josef Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Benziger: New York, 1951), 375–76.

⁴⁵⁰ Van Wyhe, “Court and Convent: The Infanta Isabella and Her Franciscan Confessor Andrés de Soto.”

Unfortunately, no letters between Rubens and Chifflet are extant so that little can be said definitively on the matter.⁴⁵¹ However, Chifflet had previously demonstrated an active interest in shaping and consolidating the Infanta's image and a willingness to give theological counsel to artists in her service. A former student of the humanist Erycius Puteanus, the Archdukes' royal historiographer, Chifflet had composed the poem, "The Phoenix of Princes" for the *Pompa Funerbris Alberti Pii* (1623), the prestigious ceremonial book that commemorated the Archduke Albert's funerary proceedings.⁴⁵² He also acted as an advisor on Jean Terrier's *Portraits des S S Vertus de la Vierge Contemplées par Feue S. A. S. M. Isabelle Clere Eguenie Infante d'Espagne*.

Finally, Chifflet was also intimately knowledgeable of the tapestry series. Nearly all the extant documentation that records the commission comes from notes and letters that he composed beginning in the mid-1620s. Rubens could have easily discussed the commission with Chifflet since he lived in Brussels a short distance from the royal palace from August 1625 until February 1626.⁴⁵³ Isabel Clara Eugenia, herself, may have entered into these discussions and recounted her memories of the elaborate celebrations she witnessed at the Descalzas Reales in her youth.

⁴⁵¹ Some authors have suggested that Rubens was aided by theologians from Salamanca or Alcalá or by the Jesuits in Antwerp. Elbern, "Die Rubensteppiche Des Kölner Domes. Ihre Geschichte Und Ihre Stellung Um Zyklus 'Triumph Der Eucharistie'," 59; Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du XVI E siècle du XVII Siècle et du XVIII Siècle: Etude sur l'Iconographie Après le Concile de Trente: Italie-France-Espagne-Flandres* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1972), 84; Other scholars feel that the suggestion of help "underrates" Rubens's iconographic knowledge and creative prowess and suggest that the series was entirely of his own invention. De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 168.

⁴⁵² Louis Moreri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique, ou le Mélange Curieux de l'Histoire Sacrée et Profane* (Paris: Les libraires associés, 1759), 617.

⁴⁵³ Rooses, *Rubens*, II: 427.

It is likely that Rubens would also have corresponded with the nuns at the Descalzas Reales when composing *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series. He seems not to have visited the convent on his 1603 trip to Spain, thus he would have needed to receive measurements of the church interior to appropriately design the cycle. If he sought counsel on church space as well as the nature of devotion at the convent, the best source would have been Margaret of the Cross. Known as Margaret of Austria in her laity, Margaret of the Cross was the Infanta Isabel's first cousin and had resided at the convent since 1582, when her mother, Empress María of Austria, had decided to retire there. In 1584, after declining to become the fifth wife of her uncle Philip II, Margaret of Austria, accompanied by the king and Isabel Clara Eugenia, took her vows at the altar of the Descalzas Reales. Her decision to give up the privileged life of a queen consort for that of a nun earned her a reputation for spiritual perfection, and she soon became a key advisor on Habsburg spirituality (about more later).⁴⁵⁴ Philip III habitually consulted her on religious and political decisions alike, as her piety supposedly provided her the ability to comment objectively on matters of state. Philip III had daily contact with the convent of the Descalzas Reales, and often conducted diplomatic business or engaged in political negotiation within the convent's confines on account of the spiritual authority of the women residing there.⁴⁵⁵ In the eyes of the king, there was no greater spiritual authority in Spain than Margaret of the Cross.

⁴⁵⁴ On the spread of Margaret of the Cross's reputation, see Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*, 147–55.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28–29, 149.

Trompe l'Oeil and the Catholic Counter-Reformation

Rubens's sensitivity to the theology of transubstantiation in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series reflects his awareness of and belief in the power of art to enhance the experience of the faithful during the Catholic Counter-Reformation. One of the primary ways Tridentine reformers answered Protestant critiques was by appealing to the senses. As Keith Luria has written, "anti-Protestant campaigners were convinced that Calvinism's attempt to strip away the sensory aspects of religious practice... impoverished the sense or the imagination, both considered vital in provoking truly profound religious feelings."⁴⁵⁶ Consequently, the Church introduced various measures aimed at engaging the senses. The use of incense and music had long-characterized religious services, but developed into proportions previously unrealized: by the seventeenth century organs and other instrument ensembles became commonplace. Polyphonic pieces sung by multiple choruses of singers were also introduced at this time—a step up from the single, many-voiced choirs of earlier times.⁴⁵⁷

Catholic priests also sought to move their audiences aurally through the power of their preaching. The chronicler of the Capuchin mission in Savoy, for example, explained that effective preaching was "the most proper and powerful remedy against the spiritual infirmity of heretics and sinners," as it appealed to the "sensual appetites" that had led these enemies of the Catholic Faith into sin in the first place.⁴⁵⁸ Accounts describe how preachers used tone, pitch, rhetorical flourishes, as well as acoustic props, to create

⁴⁵⁶ Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 90.

⁴⁵⁷ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 111–12.

⁴⁵⁸ Quoted in Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 90.

dramatic effects, thereby engaging their audience's senses and impelling their faith.⁴⁵⁹

Communion with God—for believers and heretics alike—could not occur through reasoned discourse, but rather through faith as aided by the senses. Such senses would create a deep, emotional response and thereby induce the will to accept the truth—a line of reasoning not unlike that found in Aquinas's *Summa*, and Catholic theology generally.

In addition to the sense of hearing and smell, the Church also advocated the use of visual imagery to connect worshippers with the Holy. Protestant reformers had condemned images as idolatrous, and to answer this critique, the Council of Trent announced a triad of justifications to clarify the use of art in worship during their last meeting in December 1563.⁴⁶⁰ According to the Council, images were to instruct, to aid memory, and to excite the emotions:

...by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflect upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also

⁴⁵⁹ On the phenomenon of theatrical religious oratory, see Francis Cerdán, "The Pulpit in the Royal Chapel during the Spanish Habsburg Era: Receptacle and Echo of Baroque Culture," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo José García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2005), 216–28; Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 89–93; Adriano Prosperi, "The Missionary," in *Baroque Personae*, ed. Rosario Villari, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 160–94; Gwendolyn Barnes Karol, "Religious Oratory in a Culture of Control," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 52–77.

⁴⁶⁰ For a thorough discussion of vision, seeing, and imagery in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholic and Protestant Reform efforts, see Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), especially, 161–203.

because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety.⁴⁶¹

The Council recognized the power of art to elicit deep religious experiences by having artists create images of the stories, teachings, and principals of Catholic faith in a more emotionally immediate manner. Artists took seriously this directive and post-Tridentine devotional imagery took on a fundamentally emotional, vehemently theatrical element designed to foster religiosity.

Both through the subjects that Rubens painted to promote Catholic theology—the miracles and martyrdoms of saints, the life of the Virgin Mary, or the passion of Christ—and also through his powerfully naturalistic style, Rubens transmitted the teachings of the Catholicism as did no other master. In altarpieces depicting the passion of Christ, for example, Rubens graphically rendered Christ's sufferings so as to convey the magnitude of His sacrifice. In his *The Raising of the Cross*, the central panel of the high altar for the Church of St. Walburgis in Antwerp, of circa 1609, blood streams down Christ's wrists, which are bruised and blue from His wounds (fig. 69). Christ's eyes look heavenward as his muscled torturers hoist his crucified body. Crowded at the front edge of the picture plane, the figures give the impression that they belong to our space, thereby connecting the historical and present day realms in the mind of worshippers. In this image, Christ feels real and present on the Cross—an approach consistent with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent that imagery should make the religious experience immediate. Forcing

⁴⁶¹ See Session XXV, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images" in Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 216.

the viewer into an “ultra reality,” as Thomas Glen has described it, in which the spectator becomes a participant in the activity, the worshipper is able to confront the vivid and brutal torture of his savior on the cross.⁴⁶²

Rubens pushed this integration of the pictorial realm and the physical space of the viewer to its fullest by placing an image of God the Father above the central panel in a separately enframed niche (fig. 70). Flanking this image were angels that appeared to be sculpted but in fact were painted on flat panels cut along the figures’ contours. A carved and gilded wood pelican that surmounted the structure (now lost) symbolized the death of Christ for the salvation of mankind.⁴⁶³ As Max Rooses first observed, the image of God the Father was deeply related to the composition below, as “it was to him that the Christ stretched out on the Cross was raising his eyes in supplication, and thus he filled an effective part in the drama.”⁴⁶⁴ With its constituent parts in communion, Rubens created an altarpiece that extended the theological message into time and space—physical, psychological, and spiritual—continuous with that of the worshipper.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² Thomas L. Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in His Religious Paintings Between 1609 and 1620* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 34.

⁴⁶³ The symbolic connection between Christ and the pelican is rooted in a pre-Christian legendy, which describes how in the time of famine, the mother pelican wounded herself, striking her breast with the beak to feed her young with her blood to prevent starvation. Another version of the legend was that as the young pelicans matured they began to strike their mother’s face, who then killed them by striking back. Piercing her breast and letting the blood fall on her dead young, she revived them, but in turn lost her own life. In Christian symbolism, the pelican thus symbolizes Jesus Christ, who was struck by mankind’s sin and who shed his blood for man’s revival (or redemption).

⁴⁶⁴ Rooses, *Rubens*, I: 130.

⁴⁶⁵ Scribner III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 132.

In *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, Rubens coalesced the celestial and terrestrial realms to even greater, theologically rhetorical heights through his use of trompe l'oeil illusionism. During the seventeenth century, art theoretical discussions of trompe l'oeil largely revolved around the delight viewer found in deception. Laudatory poems and speeches praising a painter's ability to imitate the contest between the ancients, Zeuxis, whose masterful painting of a bowl of grapes enticed birds to peck at them, and Parrhasius, who painted a curtain with such realism that Zeuxis tried to remove it, proliferated in the Netherlands, and art critics routinely referenced the story to celebrate a contemporary painter's deceptions as the pinnacle of artistic mastery.⁴⁶⁶

Trompe l'oeil, however, was not strictly limited to the effect of delight and pleasure. At its core, trompe l'oeil was meant to induce the feeling of astonishment at one's own perception. Regarding northern artists' fascination with naturalism and trompe l'oeil illusionism, Arthur Wheelock has written that the exquisite detail found in religious paintings by artists such as Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and Hans Memling are grounded in the *devotio moderna*, "where the devotional character of the painting was to be made more immediate by conceiving the pictorial image as an extension of the world."⁴⁶⁷ In her important study of devotional still-life paintings, Susan Merriam has further described how the artist Jan Davidsz. de Heem used illusionism to examine the

⁴⁶⁶ See Book XXXV in Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 9: 65–66.

⁴⁶⁷ Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "'Trompe l'Oeil' Painting: Visual Deceptions of Natural Truths?," in *The Age of the Marvelous*, ed. Joy Kenseth (Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, 1991), 183.

nature of perception and its theological implications.⁴⁶⁸ De Heem produced a number of trompe l'oeil Eucharist-themed garland paintings in which a glass of wine sits in a niche enframed by symbols of Christ or in which the consecrated host perches on a ledge surrounded by wheat and grapes. As Merriam has argued, when the viewer beheld De Heem's ability to turn base materials into paint and paint into illusion all in the context of a "real" looking still-life, the viewer's attention was drawn to their relationship to the image. De Heem, thus, invited them to reflect on the nature of illusion and deception, on "ideas of transformation and change ultimately consistent with the Eucharist itself."⁴⁶⁹

Rubens's conceit in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* was to suggest to those who attended the elaborate Eucharistic feasts at the Descalzas Reales that the tapestries within the tapestries were tangible artifacts. Understanding that he could encourage the spectator to read the narrative figures as an "extension of the world," he made more immediate their devotional character. In *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, the trompe l'oeil illusionism fostered a sensory experience that provoked meditation on the nature of transition, transformation, and, ultimately, the great mystery and miracle of the Catholic faith, transubstantiation.

⁴⁶⁸ Susan Merriam, *Seventeenth-Century Flemish Garland Paintings: Still Life, Vision, and the Devotional Image* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), especially 125–46.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 135. Importantly, Merriam uses Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series a touchstone for her discussion of De Heem's still life paintings, though does not explore the tapestries in depth. She did, however, elaborate on this idea in an unpublished paper, "Rubens's *Eucharist* tapestries in their Counter Reformation and Habsburg Context" presented at The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota in March 2012.

Conclusion

When Isabel Clara Eugenia presented Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries to the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, she presented a cycle that, like her other ex-votos—the funding of convents and colleges that staunchly promoted the doctrine of transubstantiation, the her financing of solemn festivities devoted to the Eucharist—glorified, in no uncertain terms, the mystery and righteousness of the theology of the Eucharist and its power to triumph over Protestant heresy. The importance of this message was not merely expressed in the iconography of the series, but also in its stylistic program, which encouraged meditation on the miraculous vivification of Christ in the Eucharist through masterful trompe l'oeil illusionism.

None of these other ex-votos, however, were as costly or as grand as *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry cycle, which suggests that other motivations inform the series. As the next chapter shall argue, the Infanta Isabel's decision to present the tapestries to the Descalzas Reales indicates that she understood how the cycle could both fulfill the role of ex-voto for the victory of Breda, while also helping her to assert her political right and compel its recognition.

Chapter 5: Piety and Politics in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* Series

*She was crowned with the oak wreath after capturing Breda,
bringing the longed-for peace to Belgium.*
Jan Gaspar Gevartius on Isabel Clara Eugenia, 1626⁴⁷⁰

Having prayed for victory during the Siege of Breda in private and compelled the prayers of her ecclesiastical and lay entourage, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and those around her believed ardently and adamantly that the victory was owed to what Herman Hugo called, her “so well known piety.”⁴⁷¹ This sentiment emerges in the literature published in the aftermath of Breda, but also the ex-votos she commissioned in gratitude for the victory, including, as is argued here, Rubens’s *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series. As has been discussed, Rubens appropriately designed the series to express the enormity of the Infanta’s thanks through its complex iconography and conceptual schema. Its Counter-Reformationist thrust skillfully evoked the symbolic focus of the Siege of Breda while remaining intensely and piously focused on the doctrine of transubstantiation. Despite the deeply devotional nature of the series both as a religious gift to God and as a series illustrating the supremacy of the Catholic doctrine of

⁴⁷⁰ “Invictà donat BREDA recepta manu. / Optatamque diu felix sibi BELGICA Pacem.” Translation in Welzel, “Princeps Vidua, Mater Castrorum: The Iconography of Archduchess Isabella as Governor of the Netherlands,” 163.

⁴⁷¹ Hugo, *The Siege of Breda Written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S. of I. Translated into English by CHG*, 1975, 148–49.

the Eucharist, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series can also be understood as an expression of terrestrial authority.

As an object that satisfies a vow to God, an ex-voto, by its very nature, confirms the legitimacy of the votary's actions. God had supported the votary's prayers, and, therefore, the gift of thanks acted as the tangible evidence of his or her righteousness. As an ex-voto in thanks to God for the victory at Breda, thus, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle would also have affirmed that Isabel was a capable leader. This function would have been important for the Infanta since her decision to attack Breda had been met with disapproval from the king and his advisors. The victory was evidence of the Lord's endorsement of her decision. It was proof that she had made the right choice. By extension, the gifts she gave as thanks evinced the justness of her actions.

Given the culture in which she lived, the Infanta Isabel clearly understood the full implications of votary gift giving, not only in the spiritual realm, but also in the political arena. Her decision to present the tapestries to the Descalzas Reales was logical because of the devotion of the nuns there, but also because the church had become a locus for Habsburg power under the reign of Philip IV. With the implications of ex-votos and political identity of the convent in mind, the gift of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* may not only represent Isabel's deep religiosity, but also her desire to engage in a political dialogue with the king of Spain about secular authority and political independence.

The Convent of the Descalzas Reales, Center of Habsburg Piety and Power

When the Infanta Isabel decided to fulfill her pledge to God by giving *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series to the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, it was a logical choice. Founded in 1557 by the Infanta Juana of Austria (1535-1573), the youngest daughter of Emperor Charles V and widow of King João Manuel of Portugal (1537-1554), the convent of the Descalzas Reales was home to the Second Order Franciscans, the Poor Clares. The Infanta Juana had conceived of the convent as both a religious house for royal and noble women and a location to which she could retire.⁴⁷² At the time, she had been acting as Queen Regent of Spain for nearly three years while her brother, Philip II, was abroad in England to wed his first wife, Mary Tudor (1516-1558). She would hold the position until 1559 when Philip returned, but by 1557 she had begun to anticipate the need for a place where she could conclude her days in the style of her father, who had retired to El Monasterio de San Jerónimo de Yuste in that year, and also her brother, who had announced his intention to build El Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial for similar purposes.

The Infanta Juana had originally planned the convent to be a Jesuit institution. Francisco de Borja (1510-1572), the General of the Society of Jesus and Juana's religious mentor, however, convinced her instead to establish a Clarist Order and bring to Madrid the members of convents of Santa Clara in Gandía.⁴⁷³ By tradition, women of the Spanish

⁴⁷² On the royal nuns who professed there, see Gómez, "Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid."

⁴⁷³ There is reason to believe that Francisco de Borja's suggestion was based, in part, on his own dynastic ambitions. His sister, Juana de la Cruz, was the abbess of Santa Clara, and her presence in Madrid would, no doubt, solidify the connection between the Borja clan and the Habsburg monarchy. See Janet Hathaway, "Cloister, Court, and City:

monarchy were affiliated with the Franciscan Order, to which the Poor Clares belonged, while the men aligned themselves with Dominicans.⁴⁷⁴ The Poor Clares were also particularly devoted to the Eucharist in accordance with Habsburg dynastic traditions. As we may recall, the Habsburgs believed fervently that their devotion to the Holy Sacrament had inspired God to entrust them as His terrestrial defenders.⁴⁷⁵

The Poor Clares, thus, enabled the Infanta Juana to bestow her patronage upon an Order that united her with her female forbearers while also affirming her dynastic heritage. As an Order whose most distinctive rule was that of poverty but that also vowed to worship the Eucharist with unconditional splendor, the Franciscan community was, moreover, suited to the Infanta Juana's royal patronage. It allowed her to remain pious while also enabling her to spend lavishly in the name of the Holy Sacrament.

Religious life at the convent, indeed, culminated in elaborate celebrations of the Eucharist. Juana enjoined in the convent's charter that special veneration be shown to the Holy Sacrament on Good Friday, when the death of Christ is commemorated within the Easter liturgy, and during the Octave of Corpus Christi, the vernal celebration of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist.⁴⁷⁶ During these occasions, celebrants processed throughout the convent, and a monstrance containing the Host was paraded around the cloister.⁴⁷⁷

Musical Activity of the Monasterio de Las Descalzas Reales (Madrid), 1620-1700” (Ph.D. thesis, New York University, New York, 2005), 15.

⁴⁷⁴ Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 19.

⁴⁷⁵ See Chapter 3, 140.

⁴⁷⁶ A transcription of the charter appears in De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, II: 419–20.

⁴⁷⁷ A summary of these events may be found in *ibid.*, I: 28–30.

A vivid picture of the ceremonies emerges in the private writings of Juan Carillo, the father confessor to the convent, who, in 1616, described one Corpus Christi sometime before the Infanta Juana's death in 1573 when

she caused all her jewels and riches to be brought, and with her own hands adorned with them the litter and the monstrance of the most holy Sacrament. She summoned all the music and singers to celebrate the feast and whole Octave, so that the divine services were performed with the utmost solemnity and music of different modes and instruments from morning to night. In the process of the Octave she endeavored that there be nothing lacking of majesty and grandeur, and that all the glory of earth should surrender and abase itself before the glory of heaven.⁴⁷⁸

Carillo also described how during the Eucharistic celebrations, the nuns would erect four temporary altars to complement the permanent three so that Mass could be said in seven different places. The nuns would then decorate them all with handmade silk flowers, and, on the eve of the Corpus Christi, they would embellish the high altar with silver candlesticks and gilt and silver images of the Apostles. The nuns also decorated the monstrance with branches made of silver and gold. On the day of the feast, organ music played and music was sung in the chapel until the High Mass, over which a rotation of chief preachers of the court presided. Then, Carillo writes, on the Octave day the church and cloister were hung with "a most rich tapestry showing the Tunis campaign."⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Juan Carillo, *Real Fundación de La Capilla y Monasterio de Religiosas Franciscas Descalzas de La Primera Regla de Santa Clara...* (Madrid, 1769), fol. 35v; The transcription of Carillo's description is in De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, II: 421–29.

⁴⁷⁹ Quoted in De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, II: 427–28.

The tapestries to which he refers was a set known as *The Battle of Tunis* (fig. 71), tapestries once owned by Charles V.⁴⁸⁰ Containing threads wrapped in silver and gold and comprised of scenes illustrating the Emperor's important victory over the Ottoman Turks in 1535, they were considered the most prized tapestry cycle in the royal collection. After Charles' death the Infanta Juana inherited the set, but left it to Philip II on the condition that it be hung during the Octave of Corpus Christi, so that, as Carillo wrote, nothing be lacking in majesty and grandeur. The narrative scenes pictured in *The Battle of Tunis* series, which show Charles's imperial troops sacking, pillaging, and generally vanquishing the enemy, might seem, at first blush, inappropriately bellicose for a solemn holy occasion. However, Charles V's biographers indicate that his wars against the Ottoman Empire were born from the defense of the Eucharist against heresy.⁴⁸¹

As a Spanish Habsburg, the Infanta Isabel knew the Descalzas Reales intimately. When her aunt founded the convent, she had chosen a location near the Alcázar where she had been born. It had previously belonged to Alonso Gutiérrez, Charles V's treasurer-general, but by the mid-1520s it became something of an annex to the Alcázar and served as a temporary residence for the Queen and the Infantes during the Emperor's absence.⁴⁸² Juana had the building reconstructed and enlarged to accommodate the Poor Clares, but maintained the adjacent apartments so that the Descalzas Reales could continue to function as the surrogate palace for royal women while the king was away. During her

⁴⁸⁰ On *The Battle of Tunis* series, see Thomas P. Campbell, "Patronage and Production in Northern Europe, 1520-1560," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 428-34.

⁴⁸¹ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 32, n. 37.

⁴⁸² Gómez, "Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid," 31.

childhood, Isabel resided at the convent. She spent long hours playing games in the cloister and gardens of the convent, and used the royal apartments as a personal refuge during the hot summer months—times when Philip II would retreat to El Escorial—and also during times of personal sorrow. It was where she chose to mourn the death of her father in 1598.⁴⁸³ The Descalzas Reales also held significance for the Infanta Isabel as the burial location of her mother, Elizabeth of Valois. When Juana founded the convent, she had arranged for space at the Descalzas Reales to bury female members of the House of Austria. Although it has been widely believed that El Escorial was the final resting place of the Spanish Habsburgs, the Royal Pantheon prohibited queens from burial there if they had never produced an heir to the throne, as was the case with Isabel's mother.⁴⁸⁴

For female members of the royal family, the Descalzas Reales, thus, functioned as a place in which they could live, rule, pray, and be buried with all the ceremony and solemnity worthy of exemplars of their station. Isabel's affection for the convent and the pious life it offered her so profoundly appealed to her that the day after Archduke Albert's death in 1621, she not only professed as a Tertiary member of the Poor Clares, but, following in the footsteps of her grandfather and father who had withdrawn to the Hieronymite monasteries at Yuste and El Escorial at the end of their lives, she decided that she would retire to the convent—a dream that never came to pass.

Her gift of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle to the convent not only allowed her to fulfill her duty to God, but also to honor the location she held so dear and to partake in the elaborate Eucharistic ceremonies. Significantly, Rubens had included her

⁴⁸³ Villermont, *L'infante Isabelle*, I: 51–52.

⁴⁸⁴ Gómez, “Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid,” 33–36.

portrait in the image of *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, where she is poised among the saints and apostolic figures devoted to the Holy Sacrament (fig. 1). If only in woven form, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series gave the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia a permanent home in the convent.

The Matter of Spectator and Audience

The gift, however, was not simply to the Poor Clares, but also to the king of Spain. Due to the convent's connection with the royal court and its central location in Madrid, the Descalzas Reales became the nucleus of religious life for all Spanish Habsburgs, including the male members of the family. Once Philip II declared Madrid the official location of the court in 1561, Habsburg devotional activities in the city centered at the convent church, which functioned, effectively, as a court chapel. It was where the king made additions to the liturgical calendar, announced the canonization of Spanish saints, hosted public devotions (such as *autos-da-fé*) as well as celebrated feasts that involved dynamic, visible processions like the Forty Hours Devotion, the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, and, importantly, Good Friday and Corpus Christi.⁴⁸⁵

The king also regularly met with important visitors to Madrid at the Descalzas Reales. In addition to taking audiences at the Alcázar with princes, ambassadors, diplomats, and other foreign dignitaries, the king expected these heads and servants of state to visit him at the convent. Upon their arrival, they would have been brought to him

⁴⁸⁵ Hathaway, "Cloister, Court, and City: Musical Activity of the Monasterio de Las Descalzas Reales (Madrid), 1620-1700," 24–29.

on a route that took them via the reliquary room—a small space, roughly 3 x 6 meters that boasted hundreds of relics, stacked floor to ceiling, in lavish reliquaries composed of precious metals and inlaid with jewels and other costly materials (fig. 72).⁴⁸⁶ Surrounded by the tangible evidence of Habsburg devotion, the king's guests were meant to understand, in no uncertain terms, the connection between his spirituality and sovereignty. Because the Spanish monarchy believed that it had been divinely summoned to rule and actively promoted that fact, these highly public rituals and ceremonies were not simply religious, but also political, serving as they did to reinforce the relationship between God's will and their power. The Crown's legitimacy rested on its spirituality. Thus, the Descalzas Reales helped the Spanish monarchy affirm its political agenda.

The king's presence at the Descalzas Reales during these political and religious events, and particularly during the feasts of Good Friday and Corpus Christi—feasts during which *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series would have hung—is an important, though overlooked, aspect of the considerations that underlay Isabel's decision to donate the series to the Descalzas Reales. Just as with the other religious objects the Infanta gave to princes, nobles, and ambassadors, so she was also aware that in this instance a magnificent gift could have positive political implications. As shall be discussed, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, in fact, incorporates political messages that were specifically directed to the king and his court.

Unfortunately, there are no surviving accounts of how *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series was arranged in the church and no images of the special events during

⁴⁸⁶ Ana García Sanz, Curator of the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Private Conversation, 27 July 2012.

which the tapestries hung exist. However, some indication of the physical character of the church is provided by elevations and cross-sections drawn between 1614 and 1617 by Juan Gomez de Mora, who renovated the church. These drawings depict an elevated altar, two small lateral chapels, the *sotocoro*, and the *coro alto* above it (figs. 73-76).⁴⁸⁷ The cross-sections also indicate that the interior was simply ornamented with Doric pilasters, unembellished molding around doors and windows, and a cornice, which is still there, approximately 10 meters above ground level. Most importantly for our purposes, the ground plan, which has remained unaltered shows that the nave (9.5 x 12 meters) and the presbytery (5 x 7.5 meters) were clear and unobstructed.⁴⁸⁸ It must have been around these spaces that *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series hung.

Because of the lack of extant records of the specific arrangement of the tapestries in the church (with the exception of the Chicago bozzetto, which shows Rubens's intentions for the wall of the *coro alto* (fig. 21)), scholars have, for decades, debated the issue of how the tapestries were hung.⁴⁸⁹ Recently, however, Ana García Sanz has

⁴⁸⁷ In 1612 Gomez de Mora raised the high altar and elevated the ground of the *coro alto* (nun's choir) to create a proper *sotocoro*, or vaulted seating area below the choir loft. The church was then renovated again in the eighteenth century with the introduction of permanent tribunes, the elimination of steps in the presbytery, and the addition of new pulpits. In 1862 a large fire consumed the main altar (completely destroying the original altarpiece by Gaspar Becerra), necessitating the changes that transformed the church to its present appearance.

⁴⁸⁸ I would like to thank Ana García Sanz, who personally measured the church space and kindly shared her findings with me.

⁴⁸⁹ The early twentieth-century Belgian art historian Leo van Puyvelde, for example, imagined a sequence initiated by *The Triumph of Divine Love* and *The Triumph of Faith*, which would have been surmounted by *The Triumph of the Church* and *The Eucharist Overcoming Idolatry*, respectively. Van Puyvelde, *The Sketches of Rubens*, 32–33; The important Rubens scholar Julius Held, on the other hand, believed that *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant* and *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek* inaugurated the lower

proposed a highly persuasive installation plan. As discussed previously, the tapestries were meant to hang in two levels. Those featuring Solomonic order columns framing the central composition hung from the upper level, while tapestries with Tuscan columns flanking their narratives were on the lower level. Sanz has explained that during the Eucharistic celebrations at the convent a large, temporary altar would have been erected in the church. It would have been situated approximately 5 meters above floor level and would have measured 7.5 meters long—dimensions that accord perfectly with *The Triumph of the Church* panel (fig. 7). The panel has Solomonic columns framing its central scene, thereby indicating it would have hung at the level of the top tier of tapestries—about 5 meters above floor level. Additionally, the composition maintains a perspectival orientation that indicates that the viewer was meant to stand below and directly in front of it.

Rubens designed the perspective of each composition in the cycle to reflect a viewpoint from the center of the nave. For example, the receding orthogonals in *The Victory of Truth of Heresy* indicate that it was meant to hang on the viewer's left and from below (fig. 11). The perspective in *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, on the other hand, indicates that it was meant to hang on the viewer's right and that its figures shared an eye level with that of the viewer (fig. 1). Only two tapestries in the entire series were

level tapestries and that *The Gathering of the Manna* and *Elijah and the Angel* began the top level. Held, "Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville," 6–7; other influential Rubens scholars to propose installations include Elías Tormo, Victor Elbern, and Eberhard Müller-Bochat, all of whom disagreed on the question of installation. On their different proposal, see Tormo y Monzó, *En las Descalzas reales*, 21; Elbern, "Die Rubensteppiche Des Kölner Domes. Ihre Geschichte Und Ihre Stellung Um Zyklus 'Triumph Der Eucharistie'," 14–15; Müller-Bochat, *Der allegorische Triumphzug ein Motiv Petrarca's bei Lope de Vega und Rubens*, 15.

to be seen frontally: *Two Cherubs Holding the Monstrance Aloft*, which, according to the Chicago bozzetto, hung on the back wall containing the *coro alto* (figs. 14 and 21), and *The Triumph of the Church*. Thus, *Two Cherubs Holding the Monstrance Aloft* and *The Triumph of the Church* must have hung opposite one another on the altar and choir walls, while the remaining tapestries hung perpendicular to them.

According to Ana García Sanz's reconstruction, Rubens's panels of *Elijah and the Angel* and *The Gathering of the Manna* would likely have hung next to *The Triumph of the Church* (figs. 4 and 5). Their lateral dimensions accord with the small amount of wall space that was perpendicularly adjacent to the altar wall and they contain Solomonic columns, indicating that they would have hung at the same height as *The Triumph of the Church*. Their oblique perspective systems also indicate that *Elijah and the Angel* was seen from the left and *The Gathering of the Manna* was viewed from the right (fig. 77).

Of the remaining twelve tapestries, Sanz proposes that the three allegorical images resembling paintings set into gold egg-and-dart ornamented frames would have covered windows and doors in the church. The eight other tapestries would have hung along the lateral walls of the nave. Owing to their perspective, she hypothesizes that when facing the altar, the left side of the nave was hung with *The Triumph of Divine Love*, installed below the organ, and then *The Victory of Truth Over Heresy* above *The Triumph of Faith* (fig. 78). The right side of the nave may have hung with *The Eucharist Overcoming Idolatry* surmounted by *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*. Next to it was likely *The Four Evangelists* above *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (fig. 79). Finally, she believes that *King David Playing the Harp* hung on the front of the royal tribune (fig. 80).

It is worth noting that Sanz's reconstruction leaves only *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* unplaced in the church (fig. 3). However, she believes that Rubens initially intended the composition to be paired with *The Triumph of Divine Love*, and hypothesizes that the reason it did not, ultimately, hang there is because he learned only after sketching the bozzetto and its more finished modello that there was an organ in that part of the nave. The composition is, indeed, the only for which Rubens composed two modelli. The first modello shows the narrative scene flanked by Solomonic columns, which accords with bozzetto for the composition (figs. 81 and 82). There is little doubt that the Infanta, who had spent considerable time at the Descalzas Reales, would have recounted the details of convent and church to her dear friend and artist, so it may seem surprising that she would have neglected to mention the organ. However, it is possible that she was unaware of its existence. It was only installed in 1615.

When Rubens rethought the placement of this important prefiguration, he evidently decided that it should hang at the same height as the lower level tapestries, but just where it would have hung remains an unresolved question. Consistent with the second modello and its related cartoon, the narrative scene in the final tapestry is flanked by Tuscan columns instead of Solomonic columns, as is characteristic of tapestries designed for the lower level (figs. 83 and 84). In his rethinking of the composition, Rubens also expanded its width so that it now measures exactly the same and as *The Triumph of Faith*, which has the same perspectival orientation. Thus, one possibility is that *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* occasionally hung in place of *The Triumph of Faith*, although when and why such a decision might have been made is not evident. An alternative possibility is that *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* did

not hang inside the church, but rather in the public cloister just outside the church's entrance. The wall to the left of the door to the church offers enough space for the tapestry to hang, and the perspectival orientation of the tapestry, which indicates it would have been seen from the left, accords with this such location. Moreover, the scene of Priest-King offering bread and wine to Abraham would have been an appropriately welcoming inaugural image to the Good Friday and Corpus Christi festivities.

To judge from Rubens's careful perspectival system, he designed *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series with an ideal viewer in mind. The perspectival orientation of the narratives scenes all suggest that this viewer was located centrally in the nave of the Descalzas Reales and that he or she was at eye-level with the figures in the bottom tier tapestries. Because the nuns were cloistered, during the Eucharistic festivities they would have remained in the *coro alto*—a room that was (and remains) elevated far above ground level and separated from the nave by a grille (figs. 21 and 22). The royal family, on the other hand, would have sat in the nave in a special tribune, as per tradition.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, it appears that although the nuns of the Descalzas Reales were the recipients of Rubens's series, the cycle was destined for a particular viewer, Philip IV.

⁴⁹⁰ As we have seen, the plan drawing of the church of Encarnación during the royal funeral of 1711, and also La Sisle upon Philip V's coronation in 1701 (figs. 46 and 47) testify to the existence and location of such royal tribunes during important royal ceremonies. At the Encarnación, the royal tribune was situated in the side of the gospel in an upper level and at La Sisle, the royal tribune was installed to the right of the main altar. On seating at the royal chapel during the reign of Charles II, see Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio, "The Ceremonial of 'Majesty' and Aristocratic Protest: The Royal Chapel at the Court of Charles II," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Bernardo García García, Juan José Carreras, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2005), 246–67.

Understanding that Rubens designed *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series with the king of Spain specifically in mind, the panel showing *The Defenders of the Eucharist* assumes meaning beyond the deeply pious and personal aspect discussed above. At the center of this composition the Infanta Isabel appears in the guise of St. Clare. Triumphantly brandishing a monstrance housing the consecrated Host, Isabel/St. Clare's gesture recalls one of the saint's most popular legends in which she is said to have saved her convent from Saracen marauders by holding the Sacrament aloft.

As the story goes, in 1234 the army of Emperor Frederick II, who was then at war with the Holy See, had been wreaking havoc on the Valley of Spoleto not far from Assisi where St. Clare lived. As the invading forces scaled the walls of her church, Clare, who was then sick and elderly, secured God's assistance when she faced the invaders at an open window by holding aloft a monstrance containing the Eucharist. As she raised the Sacrament, the soldiers retreated. When they returned shortly thereafter, Clare gathered her daughters to kneel in prayer, and at once a furious storm arose that scattered the soldier's tents and forced them to again take flight.⁴⁹¹

Notably, neither the preparatory bozzetto nor the larger, more fully worked and colored modello contain her likeness (figs. 85 and 86). In fact only in the cartoon, the full-scale mock-up given to the tapestry weavers, does St. Clare assume the Infanta Isabel's features (fig. 87).⁴⁹² This does not mean, however, that Rubens included her only

⁴⁹¹ Sanz and Triviño, *Iconografía de Santa Clara en el Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales*, 49–50.

⁴⁹² This full-scale painted image is traditionally identified as a cartoon that the weavers would have used to create the tapestry. However, it has recently been suggested that it may have actually functioned as independent replica Rubens created for the Infanta Isabel to keep in her palace in Brussels. For this recent hypothesis, see Virginia Brilliant,

toward the end of the process. Her portrait in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* would have been meaningful from the very beginning. As mentioned previously, by providing the Franciscan saint with Isabel's visage, Rubens gave the Infanta a permanent "presence" in the convent of the Descalzas Reales and proclaimed her steadfast devotion to the Eucharist. Showing her holding the monstrance also served these purposes, but it also recalled the Infanta's Forty Hours Devotion during the Siege of Breda when she prayed to the Eucharist for victory, and, consequently, secured it.⁴⁹³

While, on the one hand, the portrait underscores Isabel's piety and dynastic loyalty, on the other, it celebrates how God awarded *her* the ability to repel heretics through her devotion to the Eucharist. In so doing, the tapestry commemorates her righteousness and leadership against the enemies of the Church during the siege—a message that may not have been evident if it were not for the portrait. Rubens would have realized that the meaning of the tapestry and the series was most potent with the inclusion of her likeness, which shows how just as St. Clare defended her congregation from religious heterodoxy in Assisi, so, too, did the Infanta Isabel in the Netherlands.

When the royal family bore witness to the Eucharistic ceremonies at the Descalzas Reales they were, thus, not only surrounded by Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, but also face-to-face with the woven visage of its great patroness, Isabel Clara Eugenia (fig. 88). The nave was only 9.5 meters wide and royal tribunes were typically lofted. Thus, when the king and queen were in the royal tribune decorated by

Triumph and Taste: Peter Paul Rubens at the Ringling Museum of Art (London: Scala, 2011), 40–42.

⁴⁹³ Hugo, *The Seige of Breda by the Armes of Phillip the Fovrt Vnder the Government of Isabella Atchived by the Conduct of Ambr. Spinola.*, 148. See also Chapter 3, 114.

the King David tapestry, they would have sat as high as the tapestry is tall: 3.3 meters—the very same height of the Infanta in *The Defenders of the Eucharist*. Gazing out from his lofted tribune, Philip IV would have had unimpeded views onto the triumphal wagons below and the defeated heretics above. He would have stared out onto Ecclesia trampling the bodies of her enemies, and into the eyes of the woman Jan Gaspar Gevartius described as “the jewel of Spain and the salvation of Belgium.”⁴⁹⁴

The Tradition of Politics in Habsburg Piety

That *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series could serve both the Infanta’s spiritual agenda as well as the political end of presenting Philip IV with evidence of her capable leadership reflects the intimate connection that existed between religion and politics during the seventeenth century, particularly in Catholic countries. Members of the Habsburg dynasty practiced severe forms of piety as affirmations of their claims to divine election. Espousing the case of religion helped them explain their vast territorial holdings as God-given, their preeminence in geo-politics as divinely approved, and their defense of the Catholic Church as their right and mandate. The Habsburgs were ardently and sincerely religious—indeed so much so that Pope Alexander VI bestowed the nomenclature *Rey Católico* upon Isabel’s great-great-grandparents Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516) and his wife, Isabella of Castile (1451-1504), in 1496 in recognition

⁴⁹⁴ See Chapter 3, 125.

of their work for the Faith.⁴⁹⁵ Regardless, they understood that their exceptional devotion to the Lord justified their political power amongst themselves and to their subjects.

Religious spectacle was, thus, a chief characteristic of the Habsburg monarchy, as it ably underscored the notion that the Habsburg reign fulfilled God's will.⁴⁹⁶ Spanish kings appeared in public almost exclusively on religious occasions dedicated to the promotion of the cult of Spanish saints, *fiestas* and public festivals in honor of beatifications and canonizations, and liturgical celebrations and processions in worship of relics. As the administrators of the Inquisition, they also presided over grand public *autos-da-fé* that included public executions and penitential or expiatory ceremonies. Together these highly public and intensely religious appearances ensured that the political and spiritual personae of the kings were never separate. As one scholar noted, their presence at all of these events led to "a political mythologization" of the House of Austria as *the* defenders of the Christian faith, a "deification of the figure of the king."⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ Ferdinand II was also called *Rey Pastor* or "shepherd king" in the double sense of being both ruler and priest.

⁴⁹⁶ Cerdán, "The Pulpit in the Royal Chapel during the Spanish Habsburg Era: Receptacle and Echo of Baroque Culture," 222; Barnes Karol, "Religious Oratory in a Culture of Control"; Sara Tilghman Nalle, "The Cult of Saint Julián," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 25–50; León Carlos Álvarez Santaló, "La Religiosidad Barroca: Violencia Devastadora Del Modelo Ideológico," in *Gremios, Hermandades Y Cofradías* (San Fernando: Fundación Municipal de Cultura, 1991), 77–91; Elliott, "Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV"; See also John Huxtable Elliott, *Poder y Sociedad en la España de los Austrias* (Barcelona: Editorial Critica, 1982).

⁴⁹⁷ Cerdán, "The Pulpit in the Royal Chapel during the Spanish Habsburg Era: Receptacle and Echo of Baroque Culture," 222.

At the Archducal court in Brussels Albert and Isabel similarly reinforced their sovereignty through pious gestures and displays. They made very few political decisions without first consulting their confessors (another Habsburg tradition).⁴⁹⁸ Duerloo has described how Albert would only make important political and clerical nominations after having received Communion, and how he habitually chose religious feast days to publicize important political announcements.⁴⁹⁹ The Archdukes also participated with great devotion in the annual Corpus Christi procession through the streets of Brussels, which, in Habsburg tradition was both a religious and political festival, as it was used to symbolize a renewal of their dynastic covenant with God.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 34–35; Broadly, confessors had the duty to ensure the spiritual well being of their patron. However, for members of the House of Austria, confessors commonly served the double role of royal advisor. In addition to hearing confession, administering Communion or discussing religious texts, confessors would also consult on matters of policy. Philip II's confessor from 1578-1592, Fray Diego de Chaves, was one his most intimate advisors, and Philip known to regularly appeal to him for advice regarding reports and recommendations from ministers. (Parker, *The World Is Not Enough: The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain*, 33); Although they might not have served officially on *juntas* or councils, Martha Hoffman reminds us that kings did call *juntas* of theologians to advise on particular matters, as Philip IV did when considering the marriage of his sister the Infanta Maria to the Protestant Prince of Wales. The question presented to the Council regarded the potential detriment to the king's conscience that such a marriage might cause, so that, as Hoffman observed, the *junta* expanded the function of the confessor by asking him to provide justification for policy. (Hoffman, *Raised to Rule: Educating Royalty at the Court of the Spanish Habsburgs, 1601-1634*, 88); As a Polish prince who once visited Spain said, "the confessors of the kings of Spain enjoy the highest authority." See José García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952), 338.

⁴⁹⁹ Duerloo, "Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power," 278; Luc Duerloo, "'Pietas Albertina.' Dynastieke Vroomheid En Herbouw van Het Vorstelijke Gezag," *BMGN* 112 (1997): 1–18.

⁵⁰⁰ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 267.

During her widowhood, the Infanta continued and even intensified such forms of princely piety. As Van Wyhe has observed, she formulated strong personal ties with her confessor Andrés de Soto, strictly cloistered her ladies-in-waiting as if in a nunnery, participated in the monastic professions of court ladies, and founded a convent of discalced Carmelites adjacent to the palace in Brussels—all in addition to her myriad pilgrimages, processions, and other public demonstrations of piety. Isabel also emphatically renounced the princely pleasures of her station by disassociating herself from her courtiers, refusing to allow men to touch her hand, and abandoning the pretenses of royal superiority. She even prohibited nuns from kissing her feet, and would caress their faces and hands as well as dine with them rather than at the court.⁵⁰¹

Of the numerous religious festivities, processions, memberships, and devotions in which the Habsburgs participated, however, it was their dedication to the Eucharist the most affirmed their princely power. Members of the House of Austria believed, in no uncertain terms, that their relationship with the Eucharistic body of Christ caused God to bestow upon them their terrestrial authority. Consequently, devotion to the Eucharist became the ultimate political symbol of their dynasty.

Many of Charles V's grandest public commissions, for example, paid homage to the Eucharist. For the Church of St. Catherine in Hoogstraten, he presented a large-scale stained glass window depicting him and his dynastic forbearers, Philip the Good and Maximilian I, below a scene of the Last Supper to showcase Habsburg devotion to the

⁵⁰¹ Van Wyhe, "Court and Convent: The Infanta Isabella and Her Franciscan Confessor Andrés de Soto," 421, n. 51, 427, n. 73.

Blessed Sacrament.⁵⁰² He presented another stained glass window to Philip the Good's Sacrament Chapel in the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula in Brussels in which he and his wife, Isabella, kneel before a reliquary containing three bleedings hosts, known as the Holy Sacrament of Miracles (said to have miraculously bled after having been profaned by heretic Jews).⁵⁰³ During the last years of his life when he suffered from painful and crippling gout, Charles's devotion to the Eucharist remained so strong that he never missed communion and always participated in the Corpus Christi procession.⁵⁰⁴

Philip II, who habitually framed his own political power with the language of religion, also maintained prominent devotions to the Eucharist. He was widely known to attend Mass daily, kneel for hours in prayer in front of the sacrament, and, like his father, never to miss an opportunity to participate in triumphal processions of the host. Demonstrating his vivid belief in the glory and salvation of God in the Eucharist, he is said to have walked unshielded through the streets of Córdoba during the Corpus Christ procession of 1570 when the heat in that city was reportedly overwhelming. Although advisors and onlookers warned him of the danger of sunstroke, he supposedly replied, "Today the sun will do no harm,"⁵⁰⁵ as his dogged faith in the divine right of Habsburg kings instilled in him the belief that he had a direct connection to heaven.

⁵⁰² On Charles V's devotion to the Eucharist, see Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, 207–14.

⁵⁰³ Duerloo, "Archducal Piety and Hapsburg Power," 267–70.

⁵⁰⁴ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 32, n. 37.

⁵⁰⁵ Parker, *Philip II*, 54.

Isabel Clara Eugenia, thus, was reared and educated in a messianic ambient that affirmed, above all else, the deep interconnection between religion and politics, particularly through the Eucharist. She, like all Habsburgs, was ardently devoted to the Holy Sacrament, and believed wholeheartedly that she was a champion of the Catholic faith, and, to quote Nora de Poorter, that “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.”⁵⁰⁶ This message was reinforced, in no small part, at the royal convent of the Descalzas Reales, where the miraculous powers of the Eucharist were celebrated through St. Clare’s legendary protection of her convent in Assisi through the consecrated host. Having spent extended periods of time at the Descalzas Reales, Isabel would have known well the story of St. Clare’s Eucharistic salvation. She would also have learned one of the other founding principles of the convent, firm adherence to the *observancia* movement, which involved cultivating a direct relationship with God.⁵⁰⁷ Equivalent to the northern European movement, *Devotio Moderna*, the sisters of the Descalzas Reales vowed to live lives of strict claustration, poverty, prayer, bodily mortification in emulation of St. Clare, and devotion to the Eucharist.

Raised at the right hand of Philip II, Isabel Clara Eugenia would also have shared the king’s belief that Habsburgs political power was premised on its special relationship with the Eucharistic body of Christ. Though she would have understood the purpose of her life as serving the Lord in the Eucharist—and, indeed, elaborated the dynastic

⁵⁰⁶ De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, I: 165.

⁵⁰⁷ On the particular devotions of the convent, see Gómez, “Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid.”

devotion to the Eucharist throughout her life—she also understood that she needed to renew the dynastic covenant with Eucharist to affirm and maintain her princely power.

At the Archducal court in Brussels, these efforts involved generously supporting the Premonstratensian priory of St. James-on-the-Coudenberg and the Confraternity of St. Ildefonso, both of which were staunch defenders of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Isabel also staged elaborate processions throughout Brussels during the Corpus Christi that centered on the Holy Sacrament of Miracles. During these celebrations, the three relics were paraded through the streets in magnificent fashion. Enriched with costly ornaments and jewels, lavish hangings, silk flowers, and three jewel-encrusted crowns and a mantle, the relics were carried through the streets to the delight of the enormous crowds that traveled to witness the procession. Sir Charles Somerset, an English Catholic who went to Brussels in May 1612, described the festivities in his travel diary:

The famousest thing in this towne of *Brussells* is the Blessed Sacrament of miracles, which was by a Jew stabbed in derision of it, and instantly there gushed out blood, and this is now kept there in the chiefe Church of the town, & everie *Corpus Christi* day it is carried with great devotion in procession over all the towne, the Duke & the *Infanta* accompanying of it all the time of the procession. [emphasis in original]⁵⁰⁸

According to the “Record of the virtues of the Most Serene Infanta by the Discalced Carmelites nuns of Brussels,” on one particular procession of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles Isabel refused all protection against the hot sun, and when they

⁵⁰⁸ Michael G Brennan, ed., *The Travel Diary (1611-1612) of an English Catholic* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1993), 293–94.

told her the sun was too intense, she echoed the words of her father nearly fifty years earlier and declared, “on this day, the sun does no harm.”⁵⁰⁹

After Albert’s death in 1621, Isabel actively continued to promote her devotion to the Eucharist. She professed as a Tertiary member of the Poor Clares, financed the construction of religious houses particularly committed to the Eucharist, and supported confraternities of the Forty Hours devotion. According to the Carmelite nuns of Brussels, on her deathbed, her devotion was so strong that “when the viaticum was brought to her, for although mortally ill she knelt down on her bed as soon as she saw it brought in.”⁵¹⁰

Such examples underscore the Infanta’s deep commitment to her faith and widowhood persona as a Franciscan tertiary. They are also part and parcel of the traditional Habsburg persona that affirmed and maintained its political empowerment through extraordinary demonstrations of religiosity. The religious festivities, processions, and devotions in which she participated reflected her Christian humility, benevolence, and piety—indeed so much so that after her death one French ambassador commented, “I believe firmly that after he death she will perform miracles, as she does every day of her life. There has never been anything like her in both goodness, piety, and holiness of life.”⁵¹¹ They also publically visualized the sacral nature of her princely power, which had the effect of endowing her with the capacity for considerable political influence—a

⁵⁰⁹ Chifflet, “Papiers Pour La Vie de l’Infante Isabelle: Notes, Letters, Memoires... Rassembles Par Philippe Chifflet,” fol. 129v.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 129.

⁵¹¹ “Je crois fermement qu’après sa mort elle fera des miracles, dit-il, puisqu’elle en fait tous les jours durant sa vie. Il ne fut jamais rien de pareil à elle tant pour la bonté, piété, et sainteté de vie.” “Collection Dupuy” (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, n.d.), vols. 379–80; Quoted in Villermont, *L’infante Isabelle*, II: 468.

particular need during her widowhood. Thus, while not political activities *per se*, these pious gestures—particularly those related to the Eucharist—gave her political advantage.

In her piety and generous gift-giving, the Infanta was not only following in the footsteps of Habsburg kings, but also her female relatives at the convent of the Descalzas Reales. When Empress María of Austria, Isabel’s mother-in-law and aunt, and her cousin, Margaret of the Cross, relocated to the convent in 1582, the two women were able to form deep and politically influential relationships with King Philip III. As Magdalena S. Sánchez has written, their piety garnered them the trust and respect of the king, who consequently began to consult them on political matters and allowed them to intervene in diplomatic talks.⁵¹² Owing to Empress María and Margaret of the Cross’s presence at the Descalzas Reales, the convent became one of *the* centers of the Austrian Habsburg diplomatic network in Madrid, and Margaret of the Cross became so powerful that she regularly received letters and petitions from papal nuncios and ambassadors asking for her assistance negotiating with Philip III and his *privado*, the Duke of Lerma—occurrences that so annoyed Lerma that he pushed for the court’s relocation to Valladolid in 1601, in large part, to distance the king from her influence.⁵¹³ Although there is no reason to question the sincerity of Empress María or Margaret of the Cross’s piety, their devotion to the Catholic faith empowered them politically.

For many women in the early modern period, spirituality—whether it was practiced in formalized ways, i.e. by becoming a nun or, more informally, by leading a

⁵¹² See Chapter 6, “Pious Women and Court Politics,” in Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*, 137–55.

⁵¹³ On Lerma’s relationship with Empress María and Margaret of the Cross, see *ibid.*, 153–55.

exceptionally pious life—offered them the freedom to break “male-imposed political boundaries.”⁵¹⁴ The attributes of a spiritual persona—charity, humility, obedience—bespoke integrity and, therefore, inspired trust.⁵¹⁵ Particularly among royal women, who interacted daily with emperors, princes, ambassadors, and other politicians, religiosity and religious patronage gave them a reputation for morality and strength that could be useful when applied to politics.⁵¹⁶ It garnered them the confidence of high-ranking officials and gave them influence among the court’s most important power brokers, thereby allowing them to become power brokers themselves.

Isabel’s adoption of the habit of the Poor Clares along with the abovementioned efforts to link her court to monastic life may be understood within a similar context. Her acts of charity, modesty, and piety reflect her commitment to orthodox Catholicism. At the same time, they communicated the inviolability of her terrestrial and political

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁵¹⁵ There have been many studies that have dealt with this phenomenon. Several noteworthy examples include Magdalena S. Sánchez, “Sword and Wimple: Isabel Clara Eugenia and Power,” in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne J Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 65–79; van Wyhe, “Court and Convent: The Infanta Isabella and Her Franciscan Confessor Andrés de Soto”; Gómez, “Princesses and Nuns: The Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid”; Schumann, “Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)”; Susan Eileen Dinan, “Confraternities as a Venue for Female Activism during the Catholic Reformation,” in *Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France and Spain* (Kirkville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 191–213; Welzel, “Princeps Vidua, Mater Castrorum: The Iconography of Archduchess Isabella as Governor of the Netherlands”; Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*; Magdalena S. Sánchez, “Pious and Political Images of a Habsburg Woman at the Court of Philip III (1598-1621),” in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*, ed. Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saëns (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 91–107; Theodora A. Jankowski, *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

⁵¹⁶ Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*, 148.

sovereignty. Owing to her courtly apprenticeship at the right hand of Philip II, Isabel understood court politics, the limitations generally imposed on women, as well as the influential role religion and devotion played in the complicated political games of the court. Her acts of piety in the wake of the Siege of Breda and her gift of Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, which so conspicuously includes her portrait, must be considered in the same simultaneously pious and political.

Politics and Diplomacy in The Triumph of the Eucharist Series

Bearing in mind that Philip IV was the intended recipient of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series and the connection that existed between piety and politics in Habsburg tradition and at the convent of the Descalzas Reales, other iconographic aspects of the cycle besides the Infanta's portrait assume deeper meaning. The Counter-Reformationist imagery of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series discussed in Chapter 4 that so vividly pictured scenes of sacramental triumph against the foil of Protestant heresy emerge as part of the multimedia campaign that the Infanta Isabel advanced in the wake of the Siege of Breda that included the maps, the portraits, the prints, and descriptions of the Siege.⁵¹⁷ The vanquished heretics and anti-Protestant rhetoric in the cycle's compositions not only celebrate the victory over Breda, but also, by consequence, the righteousness of Isabel's decision to sanction the attack on the Dutch and the divine intervention that helped her secure the victory. Together, the Counter-Reformationist

⁵¹⁷ See Chapter 3, 124-36.

scenes of the series propagated the image of Isabel Clara Eugenia as a capable, sage leader, to the man who had curtailed her authority and had instructed her not to pursue the siege at all, Philip IV.

Augmenting the political undertones of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series is the Solomonic imagery also mentioned in the previous chapter.⁵¹⁸ Many scholars believe that when Rubens designed these eleven of the tapestries to include fictive tapestries, he intended to evoke the eleven curtains of the Jewish Tabernacle in the Temple of Solomon.⁵¹⁹ In so doing, the tapestries would have visually transformed the Descalzas Reales into a new Temple of Solomon. “Upon entering the chapel, now surrounded by both the hangings and columns of the Old Temple,” Charles Scribner wrote, “one set foot in another realm”—a realm in which Rubens’s tapestries “*recovered* the ancient, long since destroyed Holy of Holies, here transformed into its new Christian identity wherein

⁵¹⁸ See Chapter 4, 172.

⁵¹⁹ Sanz has persuasively argued that the panel of *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek*, which includes the tapestry within tapestry conceit, did not hang inside the church, but possibly in the cloister. Sanz believes that Rubens originally intended *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek* to hang in the church, but during the late stages of planning was alerted to the fact that the church organ occupied the space where he intended the tapestry to hang. He, thus, altered the dimensions of the composition, so that it could hang elsewhere (discussed above, n. 208).

This argument appears to complicate the interpretation that the eleven tapestries reference the curtains of the Jewish Tabernacle. However, Rubens learning about the organ after conceiving of the Solomonic reference strengthens the symbolic association. That Rubens chose not to alter the conceptual conceit even after discovering that the tapestry could not hang in the church evinces the importance that it played as the eleventh tapestry. Rubens could easily have eschewed with the *conchetto* in *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek* altogether during the redesign, yet he elected to maintain it, as it brought the total number of tapestries within tapestries to the number eleven.

the Ark is replaced by God's Eucharistic presence." [emphasis in original]⁵²⁰ Rubens's tapestries series, indeed, transformed the appearance of the church interior. Evoking the curtains of the Jewish Tabernacle—the portable sanctuary that housed the Ark of the Covenant (the dwelling place of God)—the tapestries not only revived the Old Temple of Jerusalem in the church of the Descalzas Reales, however, but also strategically recast Philip IV in the role of King Solomon—a highly flattering comparison for the young Spanish monarch and a politically savvy move on Isabel Clara Eugenia's part.

According to the Book of Chronicles, the reign of Solomon was a "Golden Age" in the history of Israel. Carrying on the legacy of his father, King David, who united the Israelite tribes, brought peace to the region, and centralized the worship of the Ark, the Book of Chronicles describes how Solomon was elected king by God. It also describes how he was beloved by all the people of Israel and how his reign constituted a period of peace and serenity (2 Chr. 1:1-9:31). He saw to completion the building of the temple, which established a permanent residence the Tabernacle and Ark.

Early modern monarchs, among them Philip II,⁵²¹ often likened themselves and their endeavors to this Old Testament king.⁵²² King Solomon was a model of wisdom and

⁵²⁰ Scribner III, "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries," 526.

⁵²¹ Diane Chaffee-Sprace, "'Salomón Segundo' in Góngora's 'Sacros, Altos, Dorados Capitele,'" *The South Carolina Modern Language Review* 9, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 32–46; Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco, "King Philip of Spain as Solomon the Second: The Origins of Solomonism of the Escorial in the Netherlands," in *The Seventh Window: The King's Window Donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557)*, ed. Wim De Groot (Uitgeverij Verloren, 2005), 169–180; Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco, "El Escorial Y El Templo de Salomón," *Anales de Arquitectura* 7 (1996): 5–15; Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial*, 131–36; Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, 165–70; "Chapter VIII: Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip II" in John Huxtable Elliott, *Spain and Its World: 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 171;

prudence as well as religious unity. Prior to the reigns of Kings David and Solomon, the tribes of Israel were nomadic and worshipped God in disparate ways. When King David placed the Ark of the Covenant in a permanent temple, however, he succeeded in uniting the different tribes. According to the Book of Chronicles, God, Himself, designed and relayed the plans for the future temple to David, but gave the task of constructing the temples to his son, the wise King Solomon (1 Chr. 28). Thus, Solomon stood as an exemplar of good judgment and morality in the face of adversity, and the Temple of Solomon represented the height of state and religious authority.

References to Philip II as a new Solomon emerge as early as 1548, when it became clear that he would succeed his father, Charles V. Charles was likened to David and Philip to his son, possibly, as Rosemarie Mulcahy has noted, because “both carried out an idea initiated by their fathers (King David and the Emperor Charles V), expanded on their territories that they inherited and consolidated, and spread the one faith.”⁵²³

Cornelia von der Osten Sacken, *San Lorenzo el Real de el Escorial: Studien zur Baugeschichte und Ikonologie* (Munich: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1979); René Taylor, “Architecture and Magic. Considerations on the Idea of the Escorial,” in *Essays on the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Levine (London: Phaidon, 1967), 81–109; Not all scholars agree that Philip II self-identified as a new Solomon. For a dissenting opinion, see Kamen, *The Escorial*, 86–116.

⁵²² This list includes, but is not limited to, Robert, King of Naples, Henry VIII, James I, and Charles VI of England as well as tsar Boris Godunov. See Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Maurice Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 82–84; Kamen, *The Escorial*, 88–89; Daniel B. Rowland, “Moscow - The Third Rome or the New Israel?,” *The Russian Review* 55, no. 4 (October 1996): 591–614.

⁵²³ Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial*, 133.

Humanists drew on the language of the Old Testament when Philip II, who held among his titles that of King of Jerusalem, made his “Fortunate Journey” into the Netherlands.⁵²⁴ The tour of Northern Europe lasted from 1548-1551 and took the prince from Northern Italy, to Germany, to Austria and the Netherlands with the purpose of introducing him to the territories that he would one day inherit. At that time, the cities of Haarlem, Ghent, Bruges, Lille, Tournai, The Hague, and Leiden all welcomed him with the slogan “Solomon is anointed as king, in the lifetime of his father.”⁵²⁵

Comparisons of Philip II to Solomon may also be found in a variety of writings throughout the king’s life. The Spanish Baroque poet, Luis de Góngora, hailed him as a “Salomón segundo” in *Sacros, altos, dorados capiteles* (1585),⁵²⁶ and Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco has noted how in Fray Julián’s de Tricio’s letter to Philip in 1575 he wishes the king a long and prosperous life so that, like Solomon, he might surpass all the great monarchs that came before him and that would succeed him.⁵²⁷ In Juan Gracián’s dedication to Philip in the Spanish edition of Vitruvius’s *De Architectura*, he called him “a second Solomon and prince of architects,” and the Spanish mystic Fray Joan de la Cruz referred to El Escorial as a second Temple of Jerusalem:

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Quoted in Kamen, *The Escorial*, 90.

⁵²⁶ For analysis of the poem, see Chaffee-Sprace, “‘Salomón Segundo’ in Góngora’s ‘Sacros, Altos, Dorados Capitele.’”

⁵²⁷ De la Cuadra Blanco, “El Escorial y El Templo de Salomón,” 2–3, 8–9.

Despite the great devotion of the Catholic king, Philip II, to the empire, the fortunate saint wanted to demonstrate to the world just how much he served God in building such a sumptuous temple. In the old tradition, God expressed his approval through the prophet Nathan, of the loyal King David's good deed in which to build a temple in Jerusalem, which he promised would be offered by his son and successor Solomon, to whom God granted exception peace and wisdom for this purpose... He who wishes to fully understand what it is will see that a second temple of Solomon has been built... into which the Catholic king don Philip, with so much love and devotion would pour his riches, offering the temple like another Solomon.⁵²⁸

Following this example, José de Sigüenza, a chronicler of El Escorial, who published an account of the building's founding in 1605, similarly hailed the complex as a successor to the Ark of Noah, the Tabernacle of Moses, and the Temple of Solomon.⁵²⁹

In her trenchant analysis of the royal basilica of El Escorial, Mulcahy observes that when Philip II began construction on this monastery-palace complex, he surely envisioned it to represent anew the Solomonic Temple.⁵³⁰ Statues of King David and Solomon flank the entrance of the basilica, Solomon is represented in a large-scale fresco in El Escorial's library, and in the royal basilica just behind the altar Philip II constructed a high, narrow room that accesses the back of the Tabernacle called the *Sagrario*. The space was likened to the inner sanctum in the Temple of Solomon, since the Holy Sacrament, like the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Solomon, was perpetually exposed there. It was also frescoed with trompe l'oeil curtains in recollection of the curtains of the

⁵²⁸ Fray Joan de la Cruz, *Historia de la Orden se S. Hieronymo* (1591). Quoted in De la Cuadra Blanco, "King Philip of Spain as Solomon the Second: The Origins of Solomonism of the Escorial in the Netherlands," 169.

⁵²⁹ José de Sigüenza, *La fundación del monasterio de El Escorial (1605)* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), 6.

⁵³⁰ Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial*, 131.

Jewish Tabernacle.⁵³¹ And, according to Father Sigüenza, only the priest and Philip II had access to the Holy Sacrament in the *Sagrario*, which also paralleled the inner sanctum in the Temple of Solomon, where access to the Holy of Holies was limited to the high priest, except during the reign of Solomon, who “used to offer up burn offerings and peace offerings upon the altar on the dedication of the temple, and perennially on the holiest of feast days” (I Kings 9:25).⁵³²

Although the Infanta Isabel was just a young girl when Philip II began building El Escorial, construction on the complex continued into her adulthood, even after she began her tenure in the Netherlands. Accounts indicate that she was often present when Philip II distributed artistic commissions for El Escorial. She visited workshops with him to check on the progress of the building’s decorative program and even developed relationships with some of the painters.⁵³³ Isabel was so intimately knowledgeable of the artistic goings-on there that when in 1606 Pompeo Leoni’s gilt-bronze effigies of the families of Charles V and Philip II were finally ready to be installed, eight years after Philip’s death, Isabel was asked to consult on where her father had wished the sculptures to be placed.⁵³⁴

⁵³¹ See Chapter 4, 183.

⁵³² As Sigüenza wrote, “ninguno se podia asentar en el Templo sino el Rey y el Sumo Sacerdote... En este atrio exterior o grande hizo Salomón un portico... después de haber edificado su casa y palacio, como parece en el III de los Reyes.” José de Sigüenza, *Fundación Del Monasterio de El Escorial Por Felipe II* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1927), 594.

⁵³³ Pérez de Tudela, “Making, Collecting, Displaying and Exchanging Objects (1566-99): Archival Sources Relating to the Infanta Isabela’s Personal Possessions,” 62–63.

⁵³⁴ Rodríguez Villa, *Correspondencia de la Infanta Archiduquesa Dona Isabel Clara Eugenia con el Duque de Lerma y Otros Personajes*, 153.

This history makes it certain that the Infanta Isabel was fully aware of the importance of a Solomonic association in the establishment of royal identity. It also suggests that she understood the utility of employing related imagery in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series. Isabel, no doubt, intended for Philip IV to identify as the Old Testament monarch when he sat in his lofted tribune, surrounded by the tapestries that “recovered” the Old Temple in a new Eucharistic identity. She must also have hoped that the exemplary analogy would persuade her nephew to imitate Solomon’s legendary wisdom and good judgment, particularly in his dealings with her. Their relationship had, for so long, been fraught with distrust. However, the tapestries’ messages of her divine support and capable leadership and his sage judgment presented Philip IV with a model for harmonious union. They showed him a roadmap for a future working relationship in which he wisely empowers her, as, too, does God, and she, in turn, ably carries out the duties of her station.

That Philip IV would recognize such a diplomatic agenda behind the Solomonic comparison is suggested by the fact that he, too, was known to invoke the language and image of the Old Testament king. As early as October 1621, only seven months into his reign, he was said to have demonstrated his Solomonic intelligence and good judgment when he executed Rodrigo Calderón, the fallen favorite of the Duke of Lerma, in an effort to rid his cabinet of the old regime:

His Majesty – may God preserve him – is sixteen years old and from the first moment has shown himself to be another King Solomon in his words and deeds, for beginning his reign at the same age, he emulates his wisdom, giving the most

intelligent reasonings one can imagine quickly and to the point, and also in his works, starting with justice, the virtue appropriate to kings.⁵³⁵

The young king was likely guided in his early reforms by the powerful Count-Duke of Olivares, who probably urged him to associate himself with the Old Testament king—a move that would grant him sacral and political authority while also allowing him to identify himself as the successor to the last great Spanish king, Philip II.⁵³⁶

Philip IV would continue to propagate a Solomonic persona with the building of the Buen Retiro. Erected on the outskirts of Madrid, the Buen Retiro adjoined the royal church and convent of San Jerónimo. Though it acted primarily as a secular retreat where the king could enjoy his gardens and horses, he imagined it as a sacred place that bound together God and king, a New Jerusalem.⁵³⁷ John Huxtable Elliott further observes that “it is no accident that the king repeatedly appears at the climactic moment of seventeenth-century Spanish plays as the *deus ex machina* who, with Solomonic equity, redresses grievances, gives to each his deserts, and restores the political and social order.”⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Quoted in Rina Walthaus, “The Sun and Aurora: Philip IV of Spain and His Queen-Consort in Royal Festival and Spectacle,” in *Princes and Princely Culture: 1450-1650*, ed. Martin Gosman, Alasdair Macdonald, and Arjo Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 279.

⁵³⁶ According to Elliott, Philip IV sought to model himself after his grandfather rather than his father, Philip III, owing to the general perception that Spain had actually been ruled by Philip III’s favorite, the Duke of Lerma. This strategy was largely developed by his own favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares, who went so far as to eschew the name of favorite for “faithful minister” to distance himself from his predecessor. Elliott, “Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV,” 156–59.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

Given the Solomonic persona Philip IV cultivated, there is little question whether he would have understood and appreciated the Solomonic analogy in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series. There is also little question that Isabel conceived of this message in the service of her political agenda. As has been discussed, Isabel Clara Eugenia was intimately familiar with the economy of gift exchange in which gifts were less tokens of affection than exchanges intended to engender mutual assistance. To judge from Philippe Chifflet's *Presentes faicts par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps*, the Infanta's expenditures on gifts spiked during particularly uncertain times, for example, her demotion to governor and the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621. On such occasions, she sent gifts to kings, queens, ambassadors, and nobles laden with political messages of sacral sovereignty and divinely protected power. The prominence of this "extra-linguistic" tactic within the Infanta's diplomatic toolbox suggests that as overtly religious and covertly political as Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* belongs to this tradition.⁵³⁹

Tapestries and Diplomacy

In light of the political and diplomatic undertones of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series' imagery, it cannot be coincidental that when Isabel Clara Eugenia chose to carry out this diplomatic endeavor, she selected medium of tapestry. Since the fifteenth

⁵³⁹ Michael Auwers, "Peter Paul Rubens: The Infanta and Her Painter-Diplomat," in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 409.

century, tapestries were the preferred gift of diplomacy.⁵⁴⁰ Across Europe and among governmental institutions, senior officials, nobles, royals, and favorites, tapestries were exchanged with great frequency in times of conflict and negotiation. It was the preferred diplomatic gift of the Burgundian Netherlands, the government of seventeenth-century France, as well as the kings of England from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Tapestries were massive in size and extraordinary in material luxury, and, thus, demonstrated the magnificence, power, and wealth of the giver and conferring status and prestige upon the recipient.⁵⁴¹

Called “the mobile frescoes of the North,” tapestries were also the most expensive and most highly prized artworks since the Middle Ages.⁵⁴² Their ostentation and magnificence, not to mention the ease with which they could be rolled up and transported, made them an essential component of a princely persona. Consequently, they became a ubiquitous presence in palaces across Europe. For anyone with power or stature, no birth, death, wedding, banquet, festival, coronation, ambassadorial visit, nor even battle tent was complete without a selection of precious tapestries adorning the walls.⁵⁴³ Just as prized as silverware, jewels, or armor, tapestries were an essentially component of noble life. As Thomas Campbell has written of tapestries, “their scale and

⁵⁴⁰ Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, 82–95.

⁵⁴¹ Thomas P. Campbell, “Tapestry Patronage in Northern Europe, 1380-1500,” in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 13–27; Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, 87, 89, 91, 99; James J. Rorimer, “A Gift of Four Tapestries,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30, no. 7 (July 1, 1935): 138–41.

⁵⁴² Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 16.

⁵⁴³ Brassat, *Tapisserien und Politik*, 29–76.

richness provided a dramatic physical demonstration of the wealth and power of the patron, and as such it was much more highly valued as a material possession.”⁵⁴⁴

In the culture of diplomatic gifts, tapestries, moreover, offered a most persuasive means of lubricating lines of communication or initiating specific discourse or negotiations. Both their size and opulence made the gift difficult to refuse and the expected compensation significant. Because tapestries could be easily individualized, the medium also allowed for a vast range of subjects and borders from which the giver could pick, thereby allowing the him or her to choose a narrative that projected and communicated their political hopes and aspirations to the recipient.⁵⁴⁵ For example, subjects featuring Alexander the Great and other epic figures from ancient history or Scripture were especially popular at this time because they invited comparison of the giver or recipient (depending on the context) to paragons of virtue, power, and magnificence.⁵⁴⁶ In sum, the gift of a tapestry series to Philip IV, perhaps more than any other art form, could induce the mutual assistance Isabel Clara Eugenia sought from him.

⁵⁴⁴ Campbell, “Tapestry Patronage in Northern Europe, 1380-1500,” 15.

⁵⁴⁵ By the Renaissance tapestry was not only the most expensive art form, but also the most widely commissioned of the figurative arts, meaning that patrons could easily tailor subjects. Narratives from scripture, literature, and the Bible were most popularly represented. Although it appears patrons most commonly selected subjects from a merchant’s stock or from cartoons already in their custody, the range of subjects available meant that they could hand pick works that possessed a symbolic language relevant to their persona, to that of the recipient, to the occasion on which the gift was given, etc.

⁵⁴⁶ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, “Portable Propaganda--Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold,” *Art Journal* 48, no. n (Summer 1989): 123–29.

Tapestries in the Habsburg Tradition

Significantly, tapestries bore particular importance to the members of the House of Austria, as they were the foremost media in which Habsburgs celebrated and glorified their rule.⁵⁴⁷ The Infanta Isabel's grandfather, Charles V, collected tapestries representing a range of images from allegorized Habsburg virtues to decisive imperial battles to Old Testament scenes. Among his most prized sets was *The Labors of Hercules* series. Charles identified with Hercules because he was a figure of strength and power, but also because he was supposed to be the first king of Spain and is credited with founding Seville, La Coruña, and Cadiz. The so-called *Los Honores* cycle was another of his prized works. The set depicted allegorical and moralistic images related to the principles of royal ethics, including *Faith* and *Justice*.⁵⁴⁸ The set was so crucial to Charles's fashioning of a pan-European political identity that he brought it on his travels and displayed the tapestries on the walls of his highly mobile court. A partial inventory of his travel tapestries shows that he typically carried at least 15 different sets comprising 96 pieces. Charles's sisters Mary and Catherine were also avid tapestry patrons, owning at the times of their deaths 37 and 31 sets, respectively. By the end of the sixteenth century and the ascent of Philip II to the Spanish crown, the number of tapestries in the royal collection, which Philip IV inherited, amounted to some 700 works.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ Campbell, "Patronage and Production in Northern Europe, 1520-1560."

⁵⁴⁸ On Charles V's tapestry collection, see *ibid.*; Guy Delmarcel, *Los Honores: Flemish Tapestries for the Emperor Charles V* (Antwerp: Pandora, 2000); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "Introduction: A Golden Age," in *Resplendence of the Spanish Monarchy: Renaissance Tapestries and Armor from the Patrimonio Nacional*, by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Concha Herrero Carretero, and José A Godoy (Abrams, 1991), 11–24.

⁵⁴⁹ Campbell, "Patronage and Production in Northern Europe, 1520-1560," 268–69.

When Philip IV ascended to the throne in 1621, he would inherit what has been called “the greatest tapestry collection in the world,” and in time he would add to it.⁵⁵⁰ Tapestries were already a key decorative element at the Alcázar, which housed the monumental *The Battle of Tunis* tapestry series, among many others. When in the 1630s Philip IV began building the enormous palace and garden complex known as the Buen Retiro, he embellished its walls with tapestries, on which spent vast sums of money.⁵⁵¹ In 1634, for example, he bought a Florentine tapestry cycle, *The Fall of Phaeton* for 4,900 ducats, which he followed with a set of garden scene tapestries from Flanders that cost 6,174 ducats, *The Myth of Diana* for 4,403 ducats, *The Life of Alexander the Great* for 2,121 ducats, and a tapestry with “the story of a gentleman in his village” for the price 2,177 ducats.⁵⁵² The high prices of these works shied in comparison to the 25,000 ducats he spent one year earlier on “various tapestries” from different collectors.⁵⁵³

Philip’s lavish expenditures on tapestries continued throughout the 1630s and 1640s as he acquired Antoon Sallaert’s *Story of Theseus* and *Allegory of the Life of Man*, numerous sets of landscape with animals, and then, in 1649, two sets that once belonged

⁵⁵⁰ Guy Delmarcel, “Tapestry in the Spanish Netherlands, 1625-60,” in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 203.

⁵⁵¹ Jonathan Brown and John Huxtable Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 105–106.

⁵⁵² Concha Herrero Carretero, “Tapisseries Royales Espagnoles de La Maison Des Habsbourg et Acquisitions Flammandes de La Maison Des Bourbons,” in *La Tapisserie Au XVIIe Siècle et Les Collections Européennes: Actes Du Colloque International de Chambord, 18 et 19 Octobre 1996*, ed. Catherine Arminjon and Nicole de Reyniès (Paris: Editions du patrimoine, 1999), 106.

⁵⁵³ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 106.

to Henry VIII.⁵⁵⁴ The execution of King Charles I of England in that year had presented Philip IV with the opportunity to acquire the works from the English royal collection at the discounted price of almost 6,000 pounds. One of the sets was Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, which Philip consequently hung in the Alcázar, where it received the praise of a Venetian ambassador who described it as "an exquisite set... of incomparable design and delicacy."⁵⁵⁵ Upon the Infanta Isabel's death in 1633, he also requested her collection of tapestries, which included the seven tapestries of *The Battles of Archduke Albert* series.⁵⁵⁶

Robust though his acquisition of tapestries would become, in 1625 when Isabel commissioned *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, Philip IV had not yet acquired any tapestries of note.⁵⁵⁷ The Count-Duke of Olivares had already embarked on a campaign to align the image of the young king with his grandfather in an effort to transform "a rather

⁵⁵⁴ Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Spanish Netherlands, 1625-60," 203; Thomas P. Campbell, "The Art and Magnificence of Renaissance Tapestries: Introduction," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 355–61.

⁵⁵⁵ Quoted in Thomas P. Campbell, "Collectors and Connoisseurs: The Status and Perception of Tapestry, 1600-1660," in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 335.

⁵⁵⁶ Marcel de Maeyer, "Otto Venius En de Tapijt Reeks de Veldslagen van Aartshertog Albrecht," *Artes Textiles* 2 (1955): 105–11.

⁵⁵⁷ Philip IV's interest in tapestries has not received a fraction of the scholarly attention paid to his collecting of paintings. This may be owed, in part, to the fact that he inherited so many tapestries that he decided to focus his collecting efforts elsewhere. Nevertheless, there is only a small handful of studies that discuss this aspect of his collecting. The few that mention Philip IV's acquisition of tapestries, if briefly, include Campbell, "Collectors and Connoisseurs: The Status and Perception of Tapestry, 1600-1660"; Herrero Carretero, "Tapisseries Royales Espagnoles de La Maison Des Habsbourg et Acquisitions Flammandes de La Maison Des Bourbons"; Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*, 62; Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, 124–5, 142; Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 105–106.

petulant and self-willed adolescent into *Felipe el Grande*,” as Elliott has written.

[emphasis in original]⁵⁵⁸ These efforts involved reshaping the impression of a *bon vivant* king ruled by the *privado* he had inherited from his father, Philip III, and the Duke of Lerma, into a man of education, sophistication, statesmanship, and culture—qualities tied, in no small part, to the arts. Indeed, Philip IV soon began to cultivate a taste for music, the theater, poetry, and to hone his skills as a collector and connoisseur.⁵⁵⁹

It is tempting to imagine that when the Infanta discussed the commission of an ex-voto with Rubens to give to the Descalzas Reales a set of tapestries—a most important and prestigious art form among royals, generally, and the Habsburgs, specifically—seemed the right medium. It could be hung in the convent during the Eucharistic festivals, and, thereby, offer a more topical embellishment to the festivities than did *The Battle of Tunis* series. It could also fill the role of the ideal diplomatic gift: as a series costing 100,000 florins it achieved the level of luxury befitting such a presentation. As a cycle comprise of twenty tapestries measuring 5 meters tall, it had the necessary physical gravitas. As a medium beloved and collected by Habsburgs for generations, it anticipated Philip IV’s desire to align himself with the great Habsburg kings. Moreover, as an art form in which Habsburg had, for centuries, communicated their virtues, morals, and aspirations, it was ideally suited to Isabel Clara Eugenia’s political agenda.

⁵⁵⁸ Elliott, “Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV,” 157.

⁵⁵⁹ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 40–49.

Anticipated Return

When *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series is not only placed in the context of the Infanta's piety, but also politics and diplomacy, the question of reciprocation is ever more important. During the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce and after the death of Archduke Albert when the Infanta presented princes, prelates, ecclesiasts and ambassadors alike with jewel-encrusted crosses and rosaries, drinking vessels, and even dwarves, the gifts were intended to create alliances, form bonds, and to persuade their recipients of Isabel's authority. Such gifts were reminders to the recipients to remain committed to the Infanta and her policies.

What, then, was the anticipated return of *The Triumph of the Eucharist*? When Isabel presented *The Triumph of the Eucharist* to the Descalzas Reales she almost certainly hoped for political and military autonomy in the Spanish Netherlands. Such power would allow to her conclude a treaty with the Dutch once and for all. Prior to the successful conclusion of the Siege of Breda she lamented to Fray Domingo de Jesús María that peace loomed large on her mind and that she was tempted to discuss a truce, but that she did not possess the necessary authority. "May God change the hearts of those who want the opposite [of peace] without considering anything but what others might think," she wrote, presumably referring to Philip IV, who was intractably unwilling to pursue a truce under conditions at all favorable to the Dutch.⁵⁶⁰

The terms of the truce that Philip IV insisted upon, indeed, ran counter to anything the Dutch would accept. He insisted that they acknowledge Spanish sovereignty

⁵⁶⁰ Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 26 February 1625. See Appendix B, doc. 9, 390, 391.

while they demanded that Spain recognized their independence. He enjoined that they remove their naval blockade of Flemish seaports and the river Schelde, while the Dutch insisted that they maintain the blockade, since it not only bolstered Zeeland's commercial traffic, but also the textile trading position of Haarlem and Leiden (a lifted blockade would reintroduce the export of textiles from the south, and thereby weaken each of these positions).⁵⁶¹ Philip IV also required that the Dutch West India Company abandon its intentions to expand in the New World and West Africa and that the Dutch East India Company withdraw from Asia. These were the very maritime routes and locations that led the Dutch Republic to become one of the wealthiest nations in the seventeenth century. Needless to say, the Dutch found these terms unacceptable. The Dutch desired a continuation of all the conditions stipulated in the Twelve Years' Truce, or nothing at all.

Some members of the king's council favored peace on Dutch terms. Ambrogio Spinola, Iñigo de Brizuela, and even the king's confessor urged Philip IV to consider their conditions, since, they argued, continued war would ensure the further loss of Spanish lives and territory. The Count-Duke of Olivares, on the other hand, who guided Philip IV's foreign policy, remained bitterly opposed to serious negotiations. He feared that a truce without major concessions would weaken Spain's global position through the loss of *reputación* it would surely suffer.⁵⁶²

Given this backdrop it is noteworthy that five members of the king's Council of State advocated that the Infanta be given full negotiating powers when they met in

⁵⁶¹ On the continued peace talks, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 223–49.

⁵⁶² See discussion of “reputation” in Chapter 1, 51, n. 105.

September 1628 just months after the arrival of the first tapestries of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series in Madrid. It is, perhaps, even more noteworthy that Philip IV heeded their recommendation. In February 1629, Isabel was given permission to resume peace talks with the Dutch as well as the right to proceed with those talks with a largely free hand.⁵⁶³ That Isabel was not required to report to Philip during these negotiations and that with this freedom she mobilized military forces in an attempt to strong-arm the House of Orange, suggests that she had, at least for the moment, achieved her goal.⁵⁶⁴

Conclusion

When the Infanta Isabel commissioned *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series to give to the convent of the Descalzas Reales in 1625 she did more than offer an ex-voto for Breda. She implicitly asserted herself as a capable politician and divinely empowered leader and, moreover, announced her desire to be recognized as such. When Philip IV had demoted Isabel from sovereign regent to governor in 1621, he had forced her to govern by a committee of his appointees, cut her war budget, openly questioned her military decisions, and restricted her ability to generate foreign and domestic policy. With the victory at Breda in 1625, however, the Infanta had demonstrated her martial savvy and political worth.

⁵⁶³ These men included Ambrogio Spinola, Don Agustín Mexía, Don Fernando Girón, the Marquis of Gelves, and the Marquis of Leganés. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 354–58.

⁵⁶⁴ Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 223–27.

Understood within this context, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle not only takes its place as one of the Infanta's greatest acts of devotion, but also as a politically charged act of patronage. It is argued here that by presenting the tapestries to the Madrid convent of the Descalzas Reales, Isabel implicitly claimed responsibility for enlisting God's aid in achieving victory at Breda. This effort to identify herself as responsible for the victory was part of a broader campaign to assert her role through portraits, prints, maps, and books she commissioned subsequent to the siege. The iconography of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, which bespoke the Infanta's God-given power, religious authority, and martial acumen, was the culmination of her campaign to convince Philip IV that she was an able and astute politician, capable of winning military victories, assisting God's cause, and also securing peace in the Netherlands.

The visual imagery of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series was not only Counter-Reformationist and symbolically bellicose, but also distinctly Solomonic. It strategically sought to ease the hard line taken by Philip IV by comparing him to the wise, Old Testament king and suggesting that he possessed the wisdom and good judgment to endow her with political autonomy. That the gift was proffered to persuade the king of Spain to enter into relationship of assistance also emerges in aspects of the series' imagery as well as in its medium. Designed to appeal to the King of Spain's artistic and familial sensibilities, the series testified to Isabel's devotion to the crown while simultaneously announcing her desire to be recognized for her military accomplishments and to earn independence and authority in the Southern Netherlands.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the Siege of Breda, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia declared that she could never thank God enough for the victory, even if she thanked Him at every moment. But she did try. She distributed 110,000 guilders in cash to soldiers who fought in the army and made arrangements for there to be an annual commemorative Mass performed in Breda in honor of the Eucharist. She funded the building of a Capuchin convent and Jesuit college in Breda and also established the confraternity of the Immaculate Virgin in Brussels. It is argued here that the most significant act of gratitude, however, was her gift of Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series to the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Its temporal concurrence with these other ex-votos binds the series to the occasion, and its iconographic and stylistic program powerfully underscore themes and ideas believed by the Infanta to align her faith in the power of the Eucharist with the battle's victory.

The gift of Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series was a gesture of extraordinary piety. The tapestries promote this idea through its woven sacramental epic devoted to the glory and sanctity of the consecrated host as seen in its depictions of Old Testament prefigurations, processional wagons and victories marking its power, its prophets and protectors of the sacrament, but also through its richly imaginative trompe l'oeil illusionism that invites the viewer to reflect on the notion of transformation—the very foundation of the Eucharistic experience. It is entirely compliant with Rubens's status as one of the most inventive artists of the seventeenth century that he would

conceive of and imbed in the series such a profound theologically rhetorical device. So, too, is it in keeping with his stature as Isabel's confidant and court diplomat that he also interwove political and martial discourses in the cycle.

As a gesture of thanks to God, the cycle was not only a visual proclamation of the Infanta's divine sanction, but also a statement of her political strength and aspiration. This dual function clearly reflects Isabel's courtly and political upbringing that promoted the closeness and support of the divine in the Habsburg dynasty. By presenting the tapestries to the Madrid convent as a mark of gratitude for Breda, Isabel implicitly declared herself as the supplicant who actively sought and received divine aid and, therefore, her responsibility for the victory itself. Characteristic of Rubens's artistic prowess, this theme unfolds subtly, though potently, in the dynamic narratives of Catholic triumph over Protestant heresy, the arresting portrait of Isabel he included in the cycle, and even the installation plan he designed for the series at the Descalzas Reales.

The extent to which Rubens was guided in these artistic and schematic choices or whether or not someone helped him navigate the sensitive political waters of the Spanish court remains unclear. Rubens's experience with powerful patrons and artistic prowess was such that he could easily have devised the program alone. Yet, as this dissertation has endeavored to show, Isabel Clara Eugenia's education and actions deeply influenced his artistic choices and must have helped him form the cycle's essential characteristics.

Conversations with Isabel's spiritual entourage may also have played a role in shaping the visual vocabulary of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, but, above all, it must have been the Infanta Isabel, who gave Rubens valuable insight into the numerous functions she intended the cycle to serve—functions that were equally religious, political,

and diplomatic. She was an exceptionally pious woman who possessed a sophisticated understanding of theology and deep commitment to Catholic orthodoxy. She was also a savvy politician raised to understand the importance of the Habsburg dynasty and its perpetuation as well as the means through which to ensure the success of those interests. Above all, she understood that piety and politics were not alternative impulses, but deeply intertwined notions. She realized that her religious patronage could not only declare the glory of God and her devotion to Him, but also the power of terrestrial authority and her ambitions for it.

Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series, indeed, reflects this understanding. It evinces Isabel's deep and abiding piety and also her desire to promote and legitimize her authority. The Infanta Isabel's demotion to Governess General ensured that her voice carried no authority in matters of foreign policy and martial endeavors—the very arenas so critical to the restoration of peace in the Netherlands. Consequently, she required strategies to reassert her power without alienating her from the individual who could grant it, Philip IV.

Both the circumstances of the commission and execution of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* make clear that the series was both an expression of intense faith as well as political acumen and ambition. As an ex-voto, it bespoke the Infanta's intrinsically pious persona while strategically enabling her to promote the image of a divinely supported soldier; as a tapestry cycle proclaiming the glory of the Eucharist, it aligned her with Catholic orthodoxy while allowing her to reference symbolically the siege and triumph of Breda; as a gift to the Descalzas Reales, it satisfied a vow to God while also advertising these messages of martial prowess and political savoir-faire to the King of Spain; as a

tapestry series in Habsburg Madrid, it announced the desire for diplomatic dialogue and compelled its recognition.

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Was the tapestry series successful in achieving the Infanta Isabel's goals? No extant letters or archival sources document Philip IV's thoughts about *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series, nor suggest that his decision to give the Infanta Isabel negotiating powers in February 1629 resulted from the message he understood the cycle to convey. However, when Philip IV beheld Rubens's tapestries he would have been reminded of the triumph at Breda and his aunt's leadership there. His commission of an image from Diego Velázquez based on *The Triumph of the Eucharist* just a few years after Isabel's death, indeed, testifies to this fact.

In his now famous composition, *The Surrender of Breda*, Velázquez eschewed the traditional image of the siege Jacques Callot had propagated nearly a decade earlier—showing the victory of Breda vis-à-vis the Infanta's triumphant arrival just after the capitulation (fig. 89). Instead, he depicted the moment of surrender, an event that did not, of course, include Isabel Clara Eugenia. At the left of the composition the disheveled and disorganized Dutch soldiers appear with their pikes and pennons askew. At the right, the soldiers of the Army of Flanders line up with their lances in perfect vertical formation. The besieged town lies in the expansive background framed by the figures of Justin of Nassau, the vanquished leader of the Dutch army, and the victorious general, Ambrogio Spinola, who take the exact poses of the protagonists of *The Meeting of Abraham and*

Melchizidek (fig. 3). Philip hung the painting in the Buen Retiro's Hall of Battles, a room that celebrated his most important military victories, including triumphs at Cadiz, Genoa, Bahia, San Juan de Puerto Rico.

The different analyses of this famous composition are too numerous to address. However, it is worth noting their overwhelmingly agreement that any visitor to the Buen Retiro would have seen in the poses of two protagonists the political message of the power, clemency, and magnanimity of the King of Spain, in whose name Spinola accepted the surrender.⁵⁶⁵ In other words, the appropriated gesture from *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek* wrested the victory's association with Isabel Clara Eugenia from the Infanta and gave it to Philip IV.

To judge from Philip IV's behavior in the wake of the siege, he, indeed, believed that he deserved the recognition for the triumph at Breda. He considered the Dutch capitulation a glorious moment in Spain's history and believed that it demonstrated his royal power. He and his trusted advisor, Olivares, certainly understood that there was strategic importance in claiming for the victory for the monarchy.⁵⁶⁶ "God is Spanish," Olivares wrote on 3 July 1625, just a month after the Dutch capitulated, "these are events which show that God aids His cause."⁵⁶⁷ Capitalizing on the success of Breda in 1625,

⁵⁶⁵ Jonathan Brown and John Huxtable Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 184.

⁵⁶⁶ Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 239.

⁵⁶⁷ Quoted in Elliott, "Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV," 166.

Olivares used that occasion to declare that year the *annus mirabilis* of Philip IV's reign and to accord him the title *Felipe el Grande*.⁵⁶⁸

That his first commission of the glorious event occurred only after Isabel's death and in a painting that excluded her (even her checkered flag on the right side of the composition, considered by one scholar to represent the king's tribute to his aunt, omits her royal crest),⁵⁶⁹ further bespeaks Philip's conscious appropriation of the victory. It underscores his understanding that she considered herself the victor at Breda, and that her death allowed him finally to claim the title without contest for himself. Above all, it indicates the king's understanding of the message of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series and that his decision to award the Infanta *plein pouvoirs* in 1629 was related to its arrival in Madrid just five months earlier.

Unfortunately, by the time the Infanta Isabel had achieved her newfound authority in the Spanish Netherlands, the situation between the Hispano-Flemish and Dutch parties had changed. The Dutch West India Company had confiscated a fleet carrying Mexican Silver from the New World to Spain, which soured any potential feelings of goodwill Philip IV might have begun to foster. Moreover, the Dutch Army had increased from 71,443 men to 77,193 men.⁵⁷⁰ This increase of soldiers emboldened Frederick Hendrick (1584-1647), who was the Dutch Stadholder and, therefore, the Captain- and Admiral-General of the Dutch Army, and led him to mount attacks on Flemish towns and garrisons. According to Jonathan Israel, Frederik Hendrick was not opposed to peace.

⁵⁶⁸ Martin Hume, *The Court of Philip IV* (London: E. Nash & Grayson, 1928), 155.

⁵⁶⁹ Vosters, *La Rendición de Bredá En La Literatura Y El Arte de España*, 80.

⁵⁷⁰ Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, 176.

However, he recognized advantage in his numbers and “had no wish to miss the chance of a major military break-through.”⁵⁷¹ Thus, at the very time the Infanta had finally received the authority she sought to conclude peace, the Dutch were no longer interested. Indeed, in May 1629 Frederik Hendrick rejected the conditions Isabel was authorized to offer by Philip IV, believing as he did that he had the upper hand. The rebuff so annoyed the Spanish king that he then instructed Isabel to begin gathering forces to prepare for forthcoming attacks. On the one hand, the order disheartened the Infanta greatly. She desired more than anything for concord in the Netherlands. On the other hand, the directive demonstrated the king’s confidence that she could carry out both his political and martial decisions.

Isabel Clara Eugenia was, ultimately, unable to secure peace with the Dutch and, thus, restore the Catholic faith in the Netherlands. Although she maintained contact with Frederik Hendrik throughout 1630 and 1631, he answered to a collective legislative body known as the States General, which voted on the acceptability of the peace terms, and they remained unwilling to recognize the Catholic king of Spain as their sovereign.⁵⁷² The fighting continued well into 1633, and when the Infanta died on the first of December the treaty that would finally conclude the Eighty Years’ War, the Treaty of Münster, was still another fifteen years away.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 227.

⁵⁷² Simultaneously, the Dutch continued to expand their overseas territories in New Spain and Brazil, which only angered the Spanish king and his ministers, who demanded that the Dutch vacate the West Indies altogether in order to achieve peace. Then, in 1632 Frederik Hendrik mounted a large-scale offensive in which he invaded Flanders, capturing Venlo, Roermond, and Sittard in the Meuse Valley and laying siege to Maastricht. More importantly, he also made headway in inspiring rebellious sentiment in the remaining eleven southern provinces

Although Isabel Clara Eugenia would not live to see peace or the Catholic faith restored in the Netherlands, she spent the majority of her life in its pursuit nevertheless. She financed projects that promoted the Catholic Church, established strategic relationships with dignitaries and officials at foreign courts, fought wars, and, above all, prayed to God. The extent to which she was actually able to effect change, however, depended largely on her relationship with powerful individuals, and, in particular, the king of Spain, with whom she had a notoriously unstable rapport. Navigating this relationship required subtlety, strategy, and gifts. Peter Paul Rubens's *The Triumph of the Eucharist* series was all of these things.

Appendices

Appendix A

Philippe Chifflet, “Presents faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps” in *Papiers Pour La Vie De l’Infante Isabelle: Notes, Lettres, Memoires... Rassembles Par Philippe Chifflet*, MS 97, Archives Municipale, Besançon, fols. 185–248.⁵⁷³

[Folio 185]

Presents faists par la Serenissime Infanta Isabelle Claire Eugenie a diverse personnes et en divers temps. Les pieuses sont marquee avec une (+). Les presents aux Roys et Princes avec un (P), [cru] des Ambassadeurs avec un (A) et les autres ne sont pas marques./

1621

A	May	S.A. l’Infante donna a un Ambassadeur du Roy de Pologne une chaine d’or esmaillée de blanc et de rouge, du poid de 13. onces et une esterline, et enrichie de 40. diamans [aspais], de 10. florins piece et de 80. autres, de quatre florins, le tout en valeur de mille trois cent sept florin	1307 florins
P	Septemb.	S.A. envoya a la Reyne d’Espagne par un ayde de chambre de fut l’Archiduc, pour [...] la [...] qu’elle devoit faire pour elle pour l’enfant a naitre en tout ce que s’ensuit. Deux manteles de riche et deux chamisoles ou il y avoit 288. boutons d’or, et autant de diamans sur chaque bouton, esmaillés la moitie de blanc et de verd, et les autres de blanc et de noir, pesant le tout 28. onces d’or a 33. fl. l’once. chaque diamant en valeur de 5. fl. 5. solr, et pour facon chasque bouton 45. solr monte	3084 fl

⁵⁷³ The following document is transcribed from its original French, maintaining original spelling, grammar, syntax, emphasis, and abbreviations as well as the appearance of the original manuscript by formatting the page as Chifflet did: dates and classifications are in separate columns on the left and tallied costs are flushed right. Illegible script is denoted by [...]. Words that are legible, but whose meaning is unknown have been placed in brackets.

Plus une Sainte Marguerite d'or esmaillée le visage au natural, et les habits des couleurs différentes avec 123. diamants

731 florins

Plus une Nostre Dame d'or tenant son enfant entre ses bras, et ayant un rosaire en orle avec la petite croix pendant, le tout esmaillé de différentes couleurs, et orné de 282. diamants

1517 fl

Puis une chaîne d'or esmaillée faite de diverses pièces et prise dans le cabinet de S.A., ou elle fit [...] 25. diamants, une croix d'or esmaillée ornée de 53. diamants. Deux reliquaires en ovale d'or esmaillé, avec du l'Agnus Dei [...] de la couronne de notre Seigneur et des reliques de St. Sebastien et de Saint Blaise, lesdits reliquaires, garnis de 188. diamants. Deux niches d'or esmaillée et garnis de 192. diamants, dans lesquelles estoient les images de Notre Dame, [...] du bois de Montaigu l'autre de celui de Foy, avec dix cristaux devant. Deux [targettes] ou médailles d'or en l'une desquelles estoit esmaillée d'un [...] une conception de Notre Dame, et a [...] un Saint Francois. Et en l'autre Saint Dominique, et Saint Pierre Martyr et de l'autre. Sept mailles en chaînes d'or avec chacun au diamant, ou pendoient la croix, les reliquaires, les niches et les [targettes]. Lesquelles [...] sans coûter la chaîne qui fut donné par S.A [...] a deux mille trois cent huitante florins dix sols

2380 fl

Plus une petite ceinture d'or esmaillée, en il y avoit 51. pieces, et dans les 25. plus grandes estoicht enchassés plusieurs pieces de differantes vertes avec un grand saphir au mitan. et dans une autre une emeraude au milieu de douze diamant, laquelle emeraude fut fournie par S.A. En la meme ceinture fut attachée une sonnette d'argent garnie d'or et de 21. diamants. Encore chastagne de mer garnis d'or et de 36. diamants. Encore une main de geayt faisant la figure, garnie d'or et de 23. diamants et au poitgnet d'une manchette d'argent, fraisee a la mode. Encore une noisette d'or esmaillée, et garnie de trois diamants, [con] a 20. que per le dentre. Encore un branche de corail garnie d'or et de six diamants. Encore une patte de blereau [...] garnie d'or et de 12. diamants. Toutes les galanteries estoicht pendres, a noouf, [...] esmaillé avec cent diamans pour les noouf. Laquelle ceinture sans comprendre l'esmerauade fournie par son A. montoit a mil noouf cent cinquante six florins 1956 fl

La Nostre Dame, la S^{te} Marguerite, la chaine, et la petite ceinture furent enformer [...] chascun dans une casette de bois couverte de velour rouge cramoisi avec un galin d'or autour lesquelles cassettes cousterent 40 fl

[Desorte] que le tout sans ca que S.A. fournit monta a 9709 florins

- 20 Iuin. Le 20 Iuin 1620 fut faite une chainette d'or pour [...] la chappellait que S.A. disoit d'ordinaire (Que ie croy estre celuy de Lapis que le pape Clement VIII luy avoit donné, et que la Reyne a en apres sa mort).
- P May l'Infante enoya a la Reyne de Pologne un chapelet du bois de Montaigu, garni d'or d'une gentille facon. [Apparonment] l'Ambassadeur, dont il est fait [...] d'autre part de reste pages, en fut le porteur. Elle luy envoya encore deux relliquaires, de diamants, l'un en facon d'estoile, esmaillée blanc et d'asur, ou estoit une image de Nostre Dame de Montaigu. L'autre en ovale esmaillée de blanc et de noir, avec l'image de nostre Dame de foy, toutes deux de vray bois. Les deux relliquaires cousterent 500. fl.
- + Iuin. S.A. estant a Diest fit [mesont] a nostre Dame de Montaigu d'un mentau chargé de diamants de prix, enrichie qu'elle paya 567. florins. Seulement pour quelques diamans qu'elle adiousta au colet./

[Folio 186]

	Aoust.	S.A. fit present a la fille de Don Inigo de Borià, que s'en alloit en Espange, d'un ioyau de 100. diamants, qui cousta	1650 fl
A	Aoust.	Item à l'Ambassadeur de France, d'un autre ioyaux de 118. diamants, un valeur de	1600 fl
A	Septemb.	Item une autre ioyaux de 104. diamants en forme de rose, avec une pointe au milieu	2250 fl
		[Gustant] donné au comte de Furstenborg ambassador d'Empereur	
A	Septem.	Item un autre ioyau a l'Ambassadeur de Florence de	1620 fl
P	Octob.	Item a l'Ambassadeur de l'Archiduc Leopold une rose de 61. diamants, du pris de	1225 fl
A	Octob.	Item a l'Ambassadeur extraordinaire de France, une grande rose de 117. diamants.	2150 fl
A	Octob.	Item à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre une rose de 85 diamans, avec une pointe au milieu, en valeur de	1350 fl
	Nov.	Au Pere F. Inigo de Brisuela Iacobie confesseur du fut Archiduc une croix de d'or, esmaillée et ornée de 213. diamans, en valeur de quatre mille nooufcent florains	4900 fl
+	Iuillet	S.A. envoya a la (Vicarie) a des deschaussées (io pense que ce sont les madeline) de Madrid, du bois de la vray + dans une croix d'or esmaillée en valeur de	16 fl
+ P	Aost	Au Rey et la Reyne de France, par le Pere Dominique de Iesus Maria, a chascun une croix d'or esmaillée du noir avec sept diamans [aspaix], et de la vraye croix dedans chaque croix cousta 220. Florins	440 fl
		Et la Reyne encore en particulier un relliquaire d'or esmaillé de blanc et de rouge, avec huit diamants	120 fl
		Les deux croix estoicht chainne avec une petit tour de chaine d'or, d'un gentille facon. Encore a la Reyne une riche chaine d'or et diamans de 50. pieces, esmaillée de noir, accommodée [proprement] dans un estuy de veloux bleu.	

+ Septem. S.A. envoya à Rome pour le Pere Dominique de Iesus Maria (apparemment pour le chappelle de Nostre Dame de la Victoire) un petit coffre de cristal plein de reliques, garni d'or, ayant dessus un reliquaire en ovale, a [rayons], et deux

[Folio 186v]

seraphines a cesté ledit relliquaire surmonté d'une croix. dans lequel coffres et relliquiare S.A. avoit enformé trois relliques. Le relliquaire estoit enriché de 68. diamans. le tout cousta 892. florins sans comprendre les cristaux, qui furent donner par S.A. 892. fl

Dans le coffre estoit gravé le nom dus relliques que S.A. envyloit, en une lame d'or./

+ Octob. S.A. envoya encore à Rome par l'Ambassadeur de Florence, un grand relliquaire d'or en ovale, esmaillé de blanc et de noir, avec deux rellique dedans enchassies dans du cristal. il cousta 176 fl

P Par le mesme Ambassadeur S.A. envoya aux Prince de Florence deux chapellet, un de bois de foy, l'autre de Montaigu, garnis d'or, une belle et riche maniere. Il y avait plus de trois onces d'or aux deux./

P Plus une petite image de Nostre Dame de Foy dans un niche d'or esmaillée de blanc et de rouge, et ornée de 22. diamans, du prix de 165 fl

Pendante a l'une desdits chapelets./

P Dec. A la Duchesse de Nemoure une rellique de S^{te} Marguerite entre deux cristaulx dans un relliquaire d'or esmaillé de blanc et de rouge, et ornée de 27. diamants 225 fl

Dec Au menines dans les seuliers quelles attacherent devant la chambre de S.A. le cour du S^t Nicolas, quatre pair de pendans d'oreille, Plus une anneaux d'or esmaillée de misteres de la passion. huict coffrets d'argent d'or. Sept croix d'or esmaillées de la passion. deux relliquaires d'or esmaillé.

+ Feub A un Hermitage proche Marimont (apparonment le petit Montaigu) deux peinture sur lame et de cuivre dans un cercle d'argent d'oré, avec des vitres devant./

P Mars A la Reyne de Pologne plusieurs chiens, avec des coliere garni d'argent d'oré et plusieurs portefraises d'argent semme aussy des poupres [...], et de [...] d[...] (tout d'argent [...] au mois de May

+ Avril A une recluse de Gand (Hollandoise) deux grands chandeliers d'argent 225 fl

P	May	Encore a la Reyne de Pologne, entre tous les [...] d'argent que dessus un parfumoir avec son rechef que cousta	278 fl
		Item encore au parfumois differents, de	140 fl

[Folio 187]

1613

Presens

- + A L'image de Nre dame de Montaigu, un manteau d'armiosin couleur d'asur, lequel fut brodé en la chambre de S.A.
- + May Au Pere Fray Lorenço pour l'autel du cloistre du St. françois, un devan d'autel de damas avec les courtines
- + Avril A L'image de nre dame qui est en un Village proche de Brins, une robe de Satin de couleur d'azur brodée
- + Avril Au Pere Andrez Asoto son confesseur pour l'autel de Crucifix de [...] Eglise une paire de courtines de taffetes blanc avec les goutieres d'armoisin et franges de Soye.

1614

- + Februire A l'autel du St. Sacremen de miracle un petit pavillon du tabis blanc doublé de taffetes

1614

- + Mars A la Mere Anne de Iesus pour L'Esglist des Carmelines, une chasuble, de satin blanc couvré d'oiseaux, et [...] d'or. avec les franges d'or et de soye. Item deux devan d'autel de la mesme estoffe avec les couvertes de Missal, coussins, corporailliers et voile de calices. Plus deux [coutins] d'armoisin cramoisy.

[Folio 188]

1614

Presens

- + May Pour l'Eglise de S^t Martin de Valdeyglesias S.A. donna a doña Iuana de Lunar un devan d'autel, et un chasuble de damas blanc et verd avec les orfrets du damas orenge en blanc

- + Iuillet A une image de Nre dame de [doncq] un vestemen de damas asur et blanc et pour son autel un devan, une chasuble, et autre assortiments

- + Iuillet A une image de nrs dame de Foy, a deux [...] de Brennes un vestemen, et un oremen d'autel semblable a celui de [doncq].

- P. Aos. A Madmoiselle de St. Aldegonde qui s'alloit [...] cordlier a Gand a trente aulnes de toile d'argent, a bas frisons, a quarante florins l'aulne pour d'[...] faire des ornements.

- + Septembre A L'Eglise des Carmes deschaussés de Bruxelles tant pour le grand autel que pour les deux autels collateraux trois chasubles, trois devan d'autel deux dalmatiques, un chappe un devan de Credene un tapis de pulpitre et le reste a l'[advenem] de toiles d'or, et d'argent a bas frisons, avec les franges et enrichissement d'or, et se soye. Le tour doublé d'armoisincarnat et verd

- + decembre Au pere Andrez Asoto Confesseur de S.A. un devan d'autel de damas blanc et verd avec les orfrais de damas incarnat, et iaune, une pair de coutines d'armoisincarnat, avec les franges de soye vers, et iaunes.

- + decembre A l'eglise de pauvre Clarisses de la reforme de St. Collete de Gand, en [...] de Madmoiselle de St. Aldegonde, en place du Says qu'elle luy devoir donner pour son mariage, de la [Canitille], et, en argen [traist], et de La Soye [...] qu'il en falloir pour brodee richemen l'estoffe que S.A. luy avoir donné au mois d'aos preceden.

- + April Pour couvrir le tabernacle de S^t Sacremen de miracle un pavillon du tabis blanc, passementé d'or et doublé de taffetes blancs

- + Novembre A doña Teresa Capata qui se rendoir Carmeline à Bruxelles une robe de toile d'argen pallené d'or, et doublé de taffetes pour vestir son Iesus.

A la mesme une robe de velour a fond de Satin avec son assortemen comme S.A. avoir acoustumé de les donne a sis autres dames, quand elles entrener en relligion.

[Folio 189]

- 1614 En l'an 1614 L'infant fu faire par francois soixcent trios visages pour autant de chefs onze mille vierges avec des guielandes, et ornemente de [...] a chascun pour son oratoire Le reste fut argent du satin et brodé a la chambre de S.A./
- La miesme anne Son A. envoyaur en Espange un petit nain nomme Miguel elle luy fut presen d'un assortimen de vaiselle d'argen, conforme a la taille et l'envoya au [denerant] en tresbel equipage avec son espee et poignard dans S.A [...] soing elle mesme.
- 1617 En l'an 1617 l'Infante fu faire a Anvers un chef d'argen pour mettre luy de l'apostle St. Mathieu, ayan le chef un ange qui luy parle a l'oreille, avec autres representations de l'histoire et vie due St. Letour pour l'oratoire de S.A. Je pense en argen cinquante et un marcs et trois onces et couster de façon deux mille quatre cent florins, et en argen mille cen cinquante deux. flo.
- 1617 En l'an 1617 l'Infanta fut faire pour son oratoire un reliquaire d'argen d'oré avec un ovale, et deux anges de costé et d'autre pour mettre de reliques de P^f Iean le quel relquairies couster mille flo.
- 1613 En l'an 1613 sur la fain son A. fu faire plusieurs apprests d'estoffes et autres choses [notessaires] pour l'arrivé de l'archiduc Maximilian
- Je le trouve par les comptes que [...] mesme année S.A. envoya en france un relique de St. Alber dans un reliquaire
- 1618 Je le trouve au mois de novembre 1618 plusieurs fournitures de Marchands au dixieme dudit mois, entre autres plusieurs aules de canieas pour prendre dissus en [peospetrie] et dresse des tentes pour une feste ou rejouissance qui fu solemmisoir a Tuwren.
- 1618 Le 12 Avril de l'an 1618 fut refaits la rose d'or que le pape avoit donnée à l'Infante, laquelle estoit dans son oratoire./ La mesme annee et mois fut [...] et garni de cristaux et de diamants lapiere du clou de Nostre Seigneur qui estoit de l'oratoire de S.A. En iuillet de la mesme annee fut refait un reliquaire d'or dan laquelle S.A. seuloit porter sur soy une image Nostre Dame de Montaigu./ comme [...] un autre relicaire d'or garne de diamans, dans lequel elle portoit aussi des relliques./ La mesme année fut garnis une esmauraude que S.A. portoit au bras./

1620

En may S.A. fit [...] un anneau a un petit Saint Francois d'or
esmaille, qu'elle portroit sur soy. M^r d'Andelot l'a en./

[Folio 190]

- 1620 Il se trouve dans les livres de la maison de S.A. l'Infante, mention
- Montaigu d'une fleure de lys qu'elle donna à Montaigu que fut a
commandee l'an 1620. come d'Anvers luy en avoicht fait [...] a
[...] Plus d'une coronne de perles et autres mersries enchassées en
or, laquelle aussy fut a commandee l'an 1620.
- oratoire du campagne Il est fait aussy mention d'un oratoire d'ebeine garni d'or et de
diverse peintures que S.A. portoit en campagne c'est luy dans
laquelle ell portoit ses religues, entre autres la main du St.
Sebastian./
- bracelet En feub. de l'an 1622. fut garni d'or un bracelet de S.A. composé
de deux disains bonits, une esmaurade et un autres pierre de [...]
- chappelet 8. Mars 1625 au adiousta au chappelet de S.A. un croix d'or
esmaillée d'une coronne d'espines./
- bracelet En Decemb. 1626. fut refait un bracelet de S.A. emprè de pierres
de diffrente crestes. de rechef le 14 mars 1630
- medailles 15 Feub. 1627 S.A. fit garni d'or esmaillé deux petites medailles,
et une croix d'argent, lesquels elle portoit sur soy. la garniture
ensaiillée de blanc et de rouge./
- Tapisseries en Ianv. 1628 furent données a Pierre Paul Rubens plusieurs
perles, a bon compte des patrons de tapisseries pour les cordelières
de Madrid.
- cordons de chaprau En Septembre 1624 S.A. ayant recouvré las [...] pieces du cordon
de Duc de Modena, elle le fit refaire remettant d'autres pieces, a la
place de celles qui avoicht esté perdues./
- reliquaires En feub. 1631. fut mis un crochet au reliquaire que S.A. portoit
sur soy d'ordinaire./
Mars 1633 fut racommodé un saphir, avec lequel S.A. nettoyoit, et
[frestoit] ses yeux./
- benoistier Le 23 decemb. 1620 fut faist un goupiller d'argent, pour le
benoistion du list de l'Archiduc.
- reliques Le Decemb. Il A.A. firent faire les six petits inecens de cuivre avec
les vitres, dans lesquelles son leurs reliques en l'oratoire de S.A. a
present./ Avec des coronnes palmé et autres ornament d'argent

peints, et de petites chasses, les tout ayant cousta mille septante
huiet florins

crucifix

En Aoust 1621 il se trouve trois cloux d'argent, pour un crucifix de
pierre de Pere Dominique (lesquelle cloux l'Infnate soya, et sont
par [...] imputer a sa [...])

[Folio 190v]

reliquaire	le 31 Decemb 1632 furent mis en un reliquaire d'ebeine, quarré, semblable a un autre que laisse le Pere Dominique de Iesus Maria (fait en piece que la reliquaire c'est) 24. pieces d'argent, travailles a iour, avec un vitre devant dans un cercle d'argent s'ouvrait comme un porte. 13 teste d'anges doree, 15.20 solr dorees, 74. autres petites rosettes doree qui estoicht des testes de clous – le tout cruster en argent est doree. 72. fl. et en facon 125. / A quoy fut adiousté en grand quadre de cuivre dore, resenti pour plusieurs relliques, lequel quatre cousta 110. fl. Tout ensemble 307 fl
flassons	Mars 1625. S.A. fit nettoyer deux petits flassons d'argent qu'elle portait en sa pochette quand elle alloit en campagne./ et refaire la [...] du benoistion de campagne (piecage qu'elle scanoit d'aller à Breda)
mitre	En decemb. 1626. S.A. fit [raiuster] et resoli toutes les pieces d'argent, que estoient en la mitre qu'elle donna a l'Archeveque de Caesareo.
ornemens	En Iannier 1624. S.A. fit faire un ornment a l'autel de la Tribune de son palais, lequel autel c'est appellé de nostre Dame de la victoire.
Labits du S.A.	On trouve par la comtes que pour les habits relligieur du S.A. d'ordinaires en prenoit 38. @. da Brabant de Canian gris a 241.4 l'@

[Folio 191v]

1616

Presens

- P A la Reyne de France une petite croix d'or garnis de Sept diamants de fond, et de La Vraye croix dedans. Et, prise, un façon deux cent florins
- Iuin A la mesme un chapelet du bois de nre dame de Montaigu, enrichi d'or esmaillé, et de diamants avec un reliquaire pendant 680 flo
- Item deux chappeaux de paille ver des courdons garnis d'or, et de diamants
- Item une croix d'or esmaillé de blanc d'azur, et de noir, avec les misteres de La passion en relief, enrichi dun costé de cent sept diamants, or de l'autre de reliques, or de cristaux devant, Laquelle croix coustes sept cent septante florins et L'envoya a la Reyne de France par doña Catalina de Casteo
- Item croix chapelet du bois de Montaigu, et troix reliquaires, avec des images de nre dame du mesem bois, le tout garni d'or et de diamants.
- Item une nre dame de Montaigu dans un reliquaire d'Esbene enrichy d'or et de pierres
- + Iuller Aux annontiads du Bruxelles un ornemen d'autel de tabis blanc a fleurs d'or, [...] au chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, coussins, drap de poupitres et autres assortiments.
- + Septembre A l'Eglise de nre dame de Montaigu un ornemen coupler depuis la chappe en bas de toile d'argent a [haus] frisons d'or, avec les franges d'or, et de soye.
- + octobre Pour La chapelle de nre dame de L'Echo de Marimons un ornemen d'autel accompli pour les basses Messes.
- + apuril A l'Eglise de nre dame de Consolation du village de Stael deux courtines pour l'autel d'armoisin blanc
- + may A l'Eglise de nre dame de Montaigu dix aunes de velour cramoisie pour la doublure d'un tabernacle
- + Iuller de damas, pour couvrir les corps Saints qui repose en Laditte

Eglise avec les franges d'or et de soye

- + may Pour l'image de nrs dames de l'Abbaye de bonne esperance une couronne d'argent [...] a iour, et une autre pour le petit Iesus, qui cousteren les deux cent novante huit florins.

- + aost A une Eglise de Mons in Flainau (ie pense celle de chanoinesses) un os de Saint Leduvine dans une buse de verre, garnis au deux tous d'argent dont et sousteme d'en pied de mesme, le tour propremen aiuse dans un estuy Laquelle garniture cousta trois cen quinze florins

[Folio 192]

1617

Presens

A une Naine que S.A. envoya a la Reyne de France une cienture, un carquan une [apretador], avec les robbes, et autres assortiments

+ Iuin

A l'Eglise de Brens, un [tibuaire] sçavoir la chappe, chasubles, et dalmatiques avec le reste de L'assortimen de tabis blanc a fleurs d'or.

Item pour la mesme Eglise vingt six dalmatiques

A la mesme Eglise un orenemen d'autel accompli pour les basses messes de damas incarnet et jaune

+ Iuller

Au monastere de l'Olive pris de Marimon un ornemen accompli pour les grands messes de damas blanc fleurage, aue les orfrais de velour et tout l'assortimen.

+ feburer

A l'Eglise des pauvre clarisses de Gand soixante trois aulnes de damas cramoisi, et autres douze aulnes d'armoisin cramoisi, pour faire des courtines d'autel, avec vingt deux onces de soye cramoisi pour les franges.

+ Iuller

A l'Image de nr dame del Bosqué de Marimon un robbe en broderie

[Folio 193]

1618

Presens

A un Nain que l'Infante envoya a la Reyne de France, quatre ou cinq paires d'habits d'or, et de soye tous assortis, les uns a L'Espagnole, d'autres a La francoise, d'autres a la hongrois, a l'allemande, et plusieurs autres façons.

+ aos

A l'hospital de St. Jacques un ornemen d'autel pour les basses messes, de brocadelle de soye, frangé d'or et de soye avec tout son assortimens.

P

feburier

A L'archiduc Charles quantité d'assortiments de fine toille, que S.A. luy envoya presentes avec autres regales couverte d'un armoisin cramoisi

+

apuril

A Soeur Clarie de La croix au [...] de la profession qu'elle devoir faire aux Carmelines de Gand, deux habits pour vestie un Iesus, l'un de tabis blanc a fleur d'or, L'autre de satin bleu. tous deux passemenés d'or, et d'argent, et doublés d'armoisin blanc.

+

may

A l'Eglise de nre dame de Montaigu un tabernacle de velour cramoisi brodé d'or.

P

may

A la Reyne de France un coffre couver de velour cramoisi, doublé de satin de mesme, avec quelques reliques dedans

+

Iuller

A la chappelle de S^t Sacremen de miracle de Bruxelles, une courtine semé d'or, de perles et de diamans, en il y avoir cen et douse chiffres de nom de Iesus, d'or esmaillé; novante huit estoiles d'or garnis chascune de sept diamants; quarante quatre pendants d'or esmaillé garnis chascun d'or diaman de neuf florins pieces, dix onces de [...] de perles en broderie le tom montau de ving mille florins

[Folio 201]

1615

- Presents + En l'an 1615 l'Infant fut faire pour le 6 du mois de Iuin une triple couronne en façon de thiare d'or esmaillé de rouge et de blanc et garnis de piereries de laquelle thiare IL.AA. furent presen au S^t Sacrement de miracles de Bruxelles, elle presen en et cinquante quatre onces et trois esterlines et centiemen cen novante quatre diamants tant grands que petit et fin cen quarante huit perles rondes.
- + apuril A l'images de nre dame du Montserat un vestemen de toile d'argen a fleur, et ramage de soye bien doublé d'armoisins incarnar, et passemené
- + Iuin A l'image de nre dame du Sablon du Bruxelles, un vestemen de toile d'argent frisé de fleurs bouts et une fiche couverte d'armoisins argent pour portée Laiz image.
- + aos A l'Image de nre dame de la Sierra en Catalougne un riche vestemen brodé, et passementé d'or et d'argent et pour l'Eglise ou est Laiz image un devan d'autel et quelques autres ornements
- + aos Pour l'autel de nre dame de Hal une chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques devant d'autel de toile d'argen avec une paire de courtine un portepaix un voile de calice d'armoisins blanc avec un poile aussy de toile d'argen et tous l'assortimen a proportion
- + aos A L'image de nre dame de bonne Esperance un vestemen d'argen brodé
- + aos A L'image de S^{te} Therese des Carmelines deschaussées de Bruxelles, un vestement de toile d'argen Llise, brodée d'or, et de soye
- + Decemb Aux mesmes carmelines de Bruxelles, un coffre de bois pour mettre les reliques de Sainte Elisabeth, ledit coffre couvert de satin [...] cramoisi [...] d'or a 30 fl. l'aune avec du [galm] d'or et doublé en dedans de quatre aunes et demie du satin blanc de bulogne./ Plus un sac de quatre aulnes et demis de veloux cramoisi doublé d'armoisins de mesme, s'attaché avec des [Alemars] d'or et enrichi de franges de mesmes, pour enformer les reliques de Saint Elisabeth, [...] d'allieurs et [...] dans du satin cramoisi [achturé], duquel satin est aussi couverte la fierte qui [...] ledit coffre du S^{te} Elisabeth./

Plus pour l'image de S^{te} Elizabeth une courtine d'ouns aulnes et demi d'armoisins morado.

+ Nov.

A l'hermitage de Marimont une couverte de missal et un coussin d'autel de satin verd./

P

A Mademoiselle de Vetien qui s'alloi rendre Carmeline trente alunes de toile d'argent a bas frisons d'or, que S.A. luy donnoi au Lien du Saye qu'elle Luy en donn  si elle se fut mari , aussi que S.A. avoir acoustam  d'en [...] a L'endroi de ses dames, Ladite toile a 40 florins l'aulne.

[Folio 201v]

1615

- + Novembre A l'Eglise de S^t Martin du Val de Iglesia une chasuble, deux dalmatiques une chappe, un devan d'autel, un drap de poutre, de damas blanc, Les orfrais de brocadille avec les courtines et autres assortiments d'armoizin lequel ornemen fut donné a dona Iuana de Lunar.

- + Novembre A l'Eglise du [Goredal] un ornemen d'autel de velour cramoisy.

1619

P

L'Infante envoya en Espagne par Iean de Venero, ayde de son garde ioyaux Les petites suivantes: une escritoire d'Esbene garni d'argetn dedans et dehors, et assorti de six pieces aussy d'argent esmaillé, et d'oun grenat de Boheme pour [...] de bouton a [...] chasque pieces, et [...], et au dissus de l'escritoire un petit cupidon d'argent de relief, le tout coustan troise cen et vingt florins
Item deux croix de bois de nre Dame de Foy, garnis de diamants et portaur chascune l'image de nre dame gravé au milieu Les deux coustans cen et quatorze florins. Item un reliquaire d'Esbene garni de cristaux, enscattonnées dans du cuivre doré, et remplis de reliques, avec plusiurs ornements d'or emsaillé. Item une image de Nre dame coronné d'or et de diamants, et ormé de perles
Item sept anneaux diamants de differente façons despuis cen a deux cen florine. Item [...] orologie chesnes, et autres ioyaux le tous pour donner a La Reyne et aux gens de Sa Cour.

P

Encore a l'Infant Cardinal son Nepue, par Don Iuan Niño des breviaires, [...] et offins nre dame garnis d'or et de huitante huit diamants avec Les [...] [...] Infan Card. gravé au mitan sur des escassons d'ore.

P

Decemb.

A La Reyne de France un reliquaire d'or esmaillé de blanc et de noir en enrichi de quarante diamants de fond, Lequel coustoit six cent et vingt florins. A la mesme un chappeller enrichi de diamants avec une croix d'or et de diamants au bout

+

Iuin

Au pour Andres a Soto Confesseur de S.A. une chasuble, un devan d'autel de toile d'or et d'argent frisé et semé de fleurs vivre, avec des franges d'or et de soye

+

Iuin

A la chappelle de S^t Sacremen de miracle, un daix, et baldaquin de tabis blanc brodé d'or, et frangé de mesme,

+

A l'Eglise de Buis Seuse chappes de chorler de tabis de Naples blanc semé de fleurs vivres

+

aos

A l'Eglise de bonne esperance un ornemen d'autel complet despuis la chappe, [scavoir] le corps de l'ornemen de toile d'or a fond blanc, Les orfrais de toile d'argent frisé d'or, d'argent, et de cramoisi, Les courtines de Satin rouge a fleurs d'or et d'argent

+

aos

A l'Eglise des angloises benedictines de Bruxelles un ornemen accompli comme le Susoir de toile d'argent a grands feuiellagres d'or et de ver, les orfrais de toile d'argent et d'or

Lisse a fleurs de Soye, les franges d'or et de Soye comme le precedent.

+ aos

A l'Eglise de l'abbaye de nrs dame d'Orval, done estoit abbé le Sier de Montgaillard, un ornemen pareil a celui de bonne esperance, Le corps de Satin cramoisi, figuré d'or et d'argent, Les orfrais de toile d'argent Lisee, frisé d'or et d'argentt avec Les franges d'or et de soye.

[Folio 204v]

1619

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| | Aost. | A l'Eglise de nre dame de Montaigu un ornemen accompli
comme le precedan
Pour l'autel de St. Pierre de Parc de Marimons un devan
d'autel de brocadille de soye. |
| + | Aoste | A l'Image de nrs dame de Montaigu un robbe de soye
brodée d'or |
| + | Aoste | Aux Carmes deschaussés des ouvain d'autel |

[Folio 205]

1620

- + May A l'Eglise nre dame de Montaigu un bouquets d'or esmailé,
et enrichi de perinnes que S.A. fu mettre avec La main de l'Image
de nre Dame

- May A l'Infante Marguerite Soeur de l'archiduc albert un reliquaire
d'Ebene garni d'or ayan au milieu une statue de bois de nre dame
de foy, avec un coronne de diamants

[Folio 206]

1615

P ^a . el Palis del sant ^{mo} . sacram ^{to} . del milagro	
75 @ de chapillas p ^a bonlar, a4 f ½	337
4 ll de hilo amarillo p ^a el eho palis	8-
454 jornales de bordadores q' trabaj ^{on} end dhospalis	454-
Por el marco sobre questa el cielo del palio	18-
Por la herra ^m . y tornillas de eho marco	50-
Por ocho baras para el eho palio	10-
Por 9 doz ^{as} des mille, y ozeles y alambre,	2-19
Por 14 @ de encerado para cubrir el palio,	16-16
Por los sastres quello cosierun	12
Pes. ^{en} 422 @ 18 st. ^{fl} 64 canones de plata p a cubir lavlaras	1173-11
Porla echum, a loser Caonzan	211-9
4 manca millas de plata, p ^a las Juntunm de los canones pes. ^{lan} 25 @ 55t ^s	70-1 ½
Por la echura asopes por onze	12-12 ½
Por platean todo el herraze del palio	50
Por 4 hierros con sus tormilles, petro herraze	15-
Por quitan el armz q antes teninan las bamas	5-
Por 47 anas de tani blanco de plata p ^a el palio a 11 fl – elana	517-
51 @ de seda dec olores p ^a hazer eho palio a 26 ps.	66-6
6 @ badar. ^s desseda blanca de medins p ^a brdare	15-6
15 @ de seda Leonada carmesi p ^a loeh	27-
2 @ 9 [ad] de seda de color p ^a pasam ^o frisads de oro y seda, para el eho palio	3-6 ½
30 @ de linea blanco p ^a cielo y got. ^{ac} del palio,	22-10
12 @ ¾ de tela amorella p ^a entrenforno de ail	9-11 ¼
68 @ de passam. ^[tt] ricer de oro y seda amarilla p ^a el palio 14 @ 9 [ady] de oro a 3 fisp.	54-12
30 @ de franzuelas de oro y seda car ^{si} p ^a el echo palio 15 @ 8 ad de oro a 3 fcs.	58-2 ½
120 borlas de oro conrapapezos, para eho palio de oro y seda 42 @ 8 ad c3 fl	1598 ½
Por la echura y seda de los 68 @ de passam. ^[tt]	13-4
Por la echura y seda de 30 @ defranzuelos	12-
Por la echura y seda de 120 borlas de lo echo plaio	120-
Por 21 @ 9 ad de oro q puso el esrdono en eho palio	80-19
<hr/>	
3638-3 ¼	

[Folio 206v]

1615

Para el Pavellon del sant^{mo}. sacram^{to}.

20 @ ¼ de tani blanco sin plata con flores de primavera. a 11 florins.	222-15
4 @ ½ de tani doble de plata lisa para la muceton frontal y capirote del pavellon A 11 flor ^{es} .	49-10
17 @ ¾ de tani liso ordin ^o . de plata de milan para ferros del pavellon a 8 flor ^{es} .	142-
4 @ ¾ ym ^e . de crmesi blanco p ^a dhaobra. a 4 f 2p	19-19
425 @ de mazaderenelos de oro para dhaobra que pes. ^{an} 8 @ 6 adi a 48 flo.	39-15
119 pipas de oro para dhaobra a 3 fl.	357-
2 @ de seda carmesi: a 36 ps.	3-12
24 @ ¼ de seda de colorers, p ^a bordar	31-10
18 @ 14 adom. ^{es} de oro para el franzon y franzon aillos a 4flo.	75-10
4 @ 4 ad de seda blanca p ^a dhaobra a 26 p	5-10
17 @ de oro p ^a la mancana de eho pavellon a 4 fl	
Laonza	68-
1 @ de seda de color pa Le dher	1-6
Por la echura del franzon y franzonilles	8-
Por la echura de la mancana	18-
Por una caxa unbierta de cuero formda enmso blanco p ^a guardor dhammacana	4-
3 @ sst. ^s de perlas menudas para bordon eho pavellon, a 15 flo.	48-
5 @ de lienço para bastecer eho pavellon, Por los Jornales de los oficiales bordad. ^s que traborjaron enbodor eho pavellon	3- 123-7
Por un panellon des hierno dorado, sobreque se puso el eho bordad	24-1
8 onzas 217 ster ^{er} de alzófons p ^a bordar el Pavellon	20-1/2
Por un altar cico de mandera p ^a de baxo del pavellon para poner el sant. ^{mo} sacramn. ^{to}	
Por 30 corchetes de berquilla de plata falsa para el eho pavellon	1-[...]
A dos hombres quellenaron a s ^{ta} Gudula	-1 ½

1466-3

[Folio 207]

La cortina para el pie de la custodia del sacram.^{to} del mialgro.

112 cifras del nomnbre de Jesus de oro esmaltadas pes. ^{on} 8 @ 8 st. ^{es} a 33 fl. onzas	277fl 4
Por la echura, de todas	1308 fl
98 estrellas de on con diam. ^{ts} cada una queen todos son 686 unos diam. ^{tes} mayores q otros que juntos cost. ^{on}	37925fl 15
Por la echura de todos	200fl
44 pinzantes de oro esmaltados de blanco con un diamn. ^{te} encada uno q pes. ^{on}	110fl 11
Por los 44 diamantes	376fl
Po la echura de los 44 pinzantes	83 fl
	<hr/>
	4989fl 10

Las coronas que su Alt^a dio al sant.^m sacramn.^{to} del milagro en Junio del 1615

3 coronas amodo de thiara de oro esmal todos de roxo y blanco y el remate dellas quees la 6 [...] del mundo, ermalta da de azul guar. ^{das} todas de diamn. ^{tes} y perlas, q ero todas tienen 94 diamantes grandes y pequenos, y 648 perlas redondas, q pes. ^{on} todas 3 coronas con piedans y perlas 54 @ 3 Hen. ^{er} ½ las per	1704 fl 138
Por la echura de las dhas 3 coronas,	2530 fl
Por 142 diamn. ^{ts} q puso el plat ^o ademas de Los que sus Alt ^a dio de su Guardayoyas	1534fl
Por 32 perlas que pus el plat ^o ademas de las que se le dievan de la Gurdazoyas	19f-4
Por una caja para guardan Las dhar coronas y algunos que se hiz ^{an} para hazerlas	40f-3 5818fl-

in lower left margin

[sac]mo	3638 – 3 ¼
[pave]ll. ^{on}	1466 – 3
cort. ^a	4989 – 10
coronas	5818 -
	15911 – 16

[Folio 209]

1620

Presents

P Decemb. A la fin de Decembre de l'an 1620. S.A. l'Infante envoya à la Reyne de France, un relliquaire d'Esbeine en formé d'un oratoire, garni d'argent emsaillé de blanc et d'azur. En Iceluy un Iesus d'or emsaillé de carnation, et enrichi a sa guirlandes au monde qu'il portoit et aux cerafime qui luy servoicht de base, de 98 diamants, dans une niche, avec deux petites colommes de chaque costé, de lapis lazuli, leurs bases et chapiteaux de cuivre doré. Au devant des portes estoicht les images de Saint Louy et de S^{te} Anne (patrons de Rey et de la Reyne) etant fleur de lis d'or esmaillée an devan d'elles. L'autel avec son degre estoit d'argent ciselé, la croix de diamants, les chandeliers les cases, et les bouquets d'amethystes. les parements d'or. Et le frontissière semé da flours au naturel avec des petites images de Iesus de S^t Ioseph et de Saint Ioan. Laquel matrire S.A. envoya à la Reyna dame le soulier de Saint Nicòlas, le tout ayant cousté 3211 fl

in margins on left: [...] que S.A. [...] iamais [...] la S^t Nicolas [...] caresme et a sus [...], et aux nains [...]

feub. S.A. l'Infante envoya en present a Nostre Dame de Monserrat, un navire d'or esmaillé enrichi de diamants, avec un baniere de mesme et d'un costé estoit le chiffre de S.A. et de l'autre la croix de Saint André il estait le grand prix.

Avril S.A. envoya a une Dame en Angleterre, son portrait dame une boete de diamans, qui cousta 600 fl

octob. Pour le desert de Namur, basè et doté par il A.A. un calice d'argent doré avec sa patene pour le grand autel, du poid de 21 onze demie 107fl 10/.

Encore quatre autres calices d'argent, dorer par dedans, avec leurs, patenes d'argent doré, [scavoir] deux pour les autels collateraux de l'Eglise, et deux pour les hermitage de S^t Iean Baptist et de S^t Albert, en tout 71 onc. 17 esterline 199 fl 9 s

Et pour facon et dorure des sinc calices 71 fl

[Folio 209v]

Item une coupe d'argent doré avec son couverte pour les communions 18. onc. 4. ester. 91 fl

Item un ciboire d'argent doré, faist en [...], avec sa monetre de verre, pour [enposer] le St. Sacrement, pesant 9. onc. 4. ester 53 fl 10 s

Item une lampe de fine porcelaine, garnie de cuivre doré avec son conche, [chenons] et tout le reste, cuivre or et facon 79 fl 10 s

+ Nov Pour l'Eglise nostre Dame de Sablon de Bruxelles, une chappe, chasuble, deux dalmatiques, devant d'autel, frontale de degre sur l'autel, frontale de la credanse, coussins, couverte de missal, drap de pupitre, corporailleur, volet de calice, baldequin avec six pentes, et un pavillon pour le taernacle de S^t Sacrement. tout de toile d'argent relouée de grand feuillage d'or, avec l'assortement de boutons, et franges d'or et de soye, la font double d'armoisins cramoisi, plus les coutrines de l'autel, le porte paix et autres assortiments, qui cousterent en tout 4177 fl

+ Nov. Aux relligeuses de Diest. chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques de velour bleu, avec trois devants d'autel, autans de paires de courtines avec leur pentes et franges, six coussin, bourses, voiles, draps de poulpitre, portepaix et autres de damas blanc, le tout [...] a 660 fl

in margin to right of total cost: sans l'estoffe (que fu pris de la garderobe)

+ Nov. Aux Beguines de Hale un ornement de velour bleu a fond rouge et blanc, accompli comme les autres./ Pris en la garderobbe./

+ Nov. A la Recluse de Gand, Mad^{le} de Tresigny. une chasuble frontal, frontaux de degre de tabis blanc a fleurs d'or. L'estoffe porte en la garderobbe

+ Nov. A l'Abbaye de bonne Esperance pour asortiment des ornement qu'en leur avoit donne l'année precedants. Encore deux chappe de satin blanc a bouquets d'or et de soye.

+ Nov. Pour la chapelle de chasteau de Gand, un ornement de damas cramoisi avec les bordures, et autres richissements de velour a fond de satin.

+ Dec. Pour le desert de Namur cinc ornements de burat cafas accomplis,

de cinc couleurs, scavoir de chacune des couleure les pieces
suivantes un chappe avec son capuchon, louppes, [...] et poitrinals

[Folio 210]

une chasuble avec son l'estole et manipules, aulbe, amict et seintare de lin. Le tapis ou drap de poulpitre en l'enchante l'Evangile, le devans d'autel avec son frontal et ses franges de lains, le devant du degre de l'autel, les courtines avec leur pentes et franges de laine les cousins de l'autel, la couverte du missal, la bourse de corporail, le colet et le voile de calice. le porte paix, Les corporaux, purificatoire, mouchoire et autre assortiments. en tout 758 @ demise de burat cafas a 23 l. iaune
Sans les doublures, la laine, des franges, d'or, des borderes, et autres assortiments./ Il y a [...] 186 @ demi de toile [...] a il l'@ 140 fl. En tout 1890 fl

+ Deplus, comme lesdits peres carmes n'usent point de soye, mesme en ornement d'Eglise, l'Infante fit faire deux ornements accomplis comme les autres pour les hermitages de St. Iean Baptiste et du S^t Albert. lesdit ornements de lauy, travaille de sinc laine, avec tant d'industrie qu'ils sont plus riche que des riches orements de soye. S. A. elle mesme travaille aux voiles des calices. Lesdits ornements sont composer chassun de trois chasubles assorite, une chappe trois devans d'autel assorti, trois [...] de courtine et de tout la reste comme les pressedants. c'est un ouvrage de Prince. Plus, pour les deux hermitages de Doña Iohana de Lunar, et de Doña Frannicad Vraga, daenas de retrete de S.A. pour chassun d'iceux hermitage, estant audit desert une chappe, devant d'autel courtines et une assortiments. de ladite chasuble en bas. tout de laine de mesme que les autres. Hermes qu'il n'y avoit pas de chappe.

+ Dec Pour l'Eglise de Moarlanué un ornement de burat cafas, [scavoir] chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques devant d'autel, [...], courtinne, et tout ca que s'ensuit pour [...] assortiment./

+ Dec. Pour un Hermite iunse al [...] un ornement de burat cafas, de la chasuble en bas, avec le devant, courtines et autres choses pour basses messes./

[Folio 211]

Presentes fait a Monserrat par les Princes Albert et Isabelle [...] par les mains du grand Aumonier de Il A.A. a frere claude vinot, religieuse du Monastere S^t Benoit de Monsserrat. commes il conetre par les quatanre dedit vinct. [...] et premieur du Monastere.

- 1621 Le 21 Janv. 1621 6 mois avans la mort de l'Archiduc, mille Philippes par voye de finances, pour faire neuf novaine pour les Princes devant de l'Image garnée de la vierge comme son [...] dudit. Vinot./
- Au mois d'Aoust de la mesme année autres mille Philippe par voye de finances de la part du l'Infante pour un messe quotidienne d'un en entier, pour l'ame de Ser.^m Archiduc, et neufs novaine pour l'Infante./
- 1624 Le 4 Mars 1624 l'Infante fit livres audit frere claude vinot par voya d Antoine Reuclasque tresorier da sa main deux mille Philippes, pour [...] au Monastere de Marimant a chasque d'une messe basse a un [intession] par un religieuse du Monastere a [...] [...] que l'Albe trouveront [...] et particulierement pour le salut de iame de fut Archiduc et pour le salute de la sienne quand elle esoit passée. su que fut despuis [...] par l'Albe et [...]
- 1627 l'Alb de Monserat envoya fr claude Vinot à S. A. avec cortine de 10. Aoust preter une [...] de la [...] à S. A. avez qu'elle le luy avoit demandée pour en faire sara d'autres a ce facon et de reste [...] et avec part a cette couronne, a laquelle les grands Princes de la chrestians [...] S.A. en fil faire sept
Le 28 December de la mesme anné S.A. donna chere par voye du grand Aumonier mille Philippes pour noouf novaine plus 100 Philippes pour la voyage du frere claude./
- 1628 S.A. donne encore a frere claude 800 escuir comme par remerciments L'Albé de 15 Aouet 1628
- 1629 Item le 9 feub 1629 par voye da grand maitres d'hostel par las mains du S^t [...] [...] [...] 2500 florins, pour noouf novaine avec leur litanies
Item 100 Philippes pour le voyage de freisslande./
- 1630 Le 22 Avril 1630 mille Philippe pour noouf novaine avec les litanies de la vierge. Par mesme voye de grand maistre et main de [...] [...] Item 100 Philippe pour un voyage./

[...] [...] et un [...] [...] de 4000 Philippines dans ie n'ay pas les [...]
mais ie les ay pas raport./

[Folio 212]

1621

Presents

- + Iuin Aux Carmelines dechaussees, un plat d'argens en facon d'assiete, pour mettre seul le [...] d'un parfumeur 68 fl
- Item un bras des Martyrs de Gercem dans un grand relliquiare d'argent, du poid de 46. onces, a 6. fl. 10. solr. l'once argent et facon 298 fl
- Icy est fait [mentiere] d'une coronne donnée auparavent à la statue de S^{to} Terese, et d'une lampe aussy d'argent
- + Aooust Aux madeliennes de Madrid, par la fille de Don Inigo de Borja, un petit berceau d'argent, porte a iour 56 fl
- Ste Claire Claire – la dite boete 16 fl
- + Juillet Pour la chapelle du S^t Sacrement de miracle un ornement de toile d'argent, rehaussee d'or a grand feuillage et composé des pieces suivantes. Trois chapes avec leur capusson, loupes, et poitrinal, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, un devant d'autel, et un de dressoir credonne, avec leurs frontaux et curtains, un autre pour le frontissire de l'autel, deux autres pour degrés sur l'autel. Deux courtines avec leur goutieres et franges d'or et de soye, le drap de poulpiture, le portepaix (le ces borderes et enrichissement faront pris en la garderobbe). Deux courtines de missal, deux coussin, corporaillier, volet, voile de calice. Il y avoit save ca qui a prit de la garderobbe, 67 @ de toils d'argent, a 40 fl l'aulne 2880 fl
Et les assortiment 1260 fl 3940 fl
- + Pour la chapelle du S^t. Suaire de Besanson un ornement de satin blanc flourete d'or et de soye a la Persienne. cousterant 24. @. a 27 fl. l'aulne. Plus 27 @ de toile d'argent, frisee d'or a fleurons pour la frontaux, borderes, croix, capusse, coussins et autres. Les pieces estoicht une chape, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, le devant d'autel, quatre courtines assortie, un tapis de poulpitre, un portepaix, 2 couverts de missal, deux coussin, corporaillier, volet, voile de calice, et frontal de degré – a 40 fl l'aulne.
La soye et les franges cousterant, avec le facon 2163 fl
- P Aooust A l'Infante Marguerite une poupée vestre en clarice
- + Aooust Au desert de Namur, un grand [criete] avec un dais et des cortine

de camelot vinlet./

[Folio 212v]

- + octobre A nostre Dame de Guadeloupe, une robe en manteau de satin blanc brodee, par S.A. et par ses filles en sa chambre. La dit manteau furnné de satin blanc de bulongne. Plus 2 autres voiles de calice brodee.
- P sept. Au Pays. un ornement, mais il n'est pas dit quel, seulement qu'il fut brodé en la chambre de S.A.
- + sept. Aux carmelines, pour la feste de St. Terese, pour accomplir en ornement – deux @ d'armoisins cramoisi
- + sept Aux carmeline d'Anvers 12 @ passement d'or et argent. 2. @. Armosin cramoisi, 2. aulnes de satin [...] [...] flourieté d'or.
- + octob. Aux Augustin de Bruxelles pour la feste de S. Fr. de Villanueva. Trois chappes, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, quatre courtines, devant d'autel, de credinne de degré. Drap de poulpitre et autres ornemens, assortis, un pavillon pour le tabernacle du S. Sacrament, un devant de frontissiere de drap d'or, un baldaquin de [...] d'argent a goutieres doubles, un estandert de damas blanc, le portepaix et courtines d'armoisins, le reste de satin blanc, figuré. Le tout avec les bordures et enrichissement broder d'or et d'argent avec franges et autres embellissements – le tout 4720 fl
- + octob. Aux Annuciades de Bruxelles, quand Mad^{le}. de Rengi, dame de S.A. fait l'habit. Chape, chasuble, dalmatiques, estoiles, manipules, devant d'autel et un frontal, front de degré, courtines, tapis de poulpitre, voile de calice, portepaix, corporaillier, volet, coussins, deux couvertures de missal, composé, le tout de 3p. @ du satin figuré a la Persienne, les bordures frontaux goutieres, etc. de 24. @ de toile d'or et d'argent a petit, gueidage. Les courtines, portepaix, voile de calice, de 22. @ d'armoisins le tout cousta 2060 fl
- Les loupes et franges, d'or et de soye
- + octob. Encore pour accomplir les ornements de mois de Juillet, pour le St. Suaire de Besanson. Deux capes de choeur dans le corp estoit de 22. @. de satin figuré a la persienne, a 7. fl. l'@. Et de 6 @ de toile d'or a feuillages [...], pour les casettes a 40. fl l'@. avec les loupes, franges, et bordures d'or et de soye – le tout 550 fl
- + Dec. Aux Carmelines de Bruxelles, pour l'autel de leur chapitre, un

devant d'autel de satin figuré avec ses goutieres de de toile
d'argent, et des courtines d'armois blanc, avec les goutieres
aussy de toile d'argent, et les franges d'or et de soye – le tout

403 fl

[Folio 213]

- + Dec. Aux Carmelines deschaussee de Louvain, chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, de Damas a grand feuillage, et d'armoisins blanc pour les matines, et voilee. 486 fl

- + Dec. A l'hospital de veilles femmes nomme de Ter-arkem. chape, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, curtine et tout le reste. Le corp de brocadelle blanche et verte, demi de soye, et pour las frontal goutieres et bordures, de brocadelle aussy demi de soye orangee et rouge, le reste d'armoisins blanc, le tout 700 fl

in margin to right: a Bruxelles

[Folio 215]

Presents

1622

P	Ianv.	A la Reyne Mere, par Rubens, une petite chienne avec un collier garni de 24 plaques d'or esmailles	
P	feub.	A la Princesse de Condé, un reliquaire d'or composé de 36 diamants, et une relique dedans	200 fl
+	May	S.A. fit faire une [...] a l'Image de Nostre Dame de Laken, un aprestador de 60 diamants et autres ioyaux qu'elle fournit, pour dimonter et mettre a ladite curonne. Plus elle donna encore douse brillants de diamants avec le rosettes au milieu pour la coronne du petit Iesus. Letout de grand prix./	
	Iuin	A la Gouvernante de la Reyne d'Espagne qui estoit venne de Paris vers S.A., deux tours de chaine d'or	518 fl
	Aoust	Au gentilhomme de la Reyne de France qui avoit arrivé à Bruxelles Doña Luysasoriò, deux tours de chaine. Et un tour a un autre servileur de la Reyne, qui l'avoit aussy accompagné – les trois tours, mentant.	
	sept.	Au secretaire du comte d'Asomburg, qui apporta nouvelles de la victoire de Fleuru, un tour de chaine	
	octob.	A deux [chenaines] que avoicht apporté quelque reliques a S.A. a chascun une croix d'or esmaillée, avec des cristaux et [...] pour mettre des reliques, les deux en valeur de	172 fl
		Au mesme mois S.A. distrobua quantité de medailles d'argent de S ^{te} Terese lacuelles elle avoit fait [...] expres, en faveur de sa cononisation qui se celebrait./	
	Dec.	S.A. distribua quantité de boetilles, d'or et de pierreries parmy six menines et sus mains, pour leur Piè de St. Nicolas	
	Feub.	A la reyne du comte di Brera Lay, a l'occasion de son mariage avec le comte de Hapelere, une rose de 73. diamants avec une pointe au milieu, de	1700 fl
	May	A Don Alvare de Lesada, capitain de chevaux, son allant en Espange une rose de 146. diamans – de	1350 fl

[Folio 215v]

Dec.	S.A. envoya en Espange par le secretaire Iacques Bruneau, a diverses personnes une croix d'or composée de douse grand diamants et de 96. moindre, que valloit	2600 fl
	Plus une chaine d'or emsaillée et composé de 40 granes pieces d'or, et d'autant de petite [...] 40 grane diamants et 200. petites, laquelle chaine cousta	2100 florins
	Plus au Braneau S.A. fit present d'une rose de 61 diamans en valeur de	650 fl
P Ianv.	S.A. envoya [force] chien au Roy d'Espagne, par d'erville avec les coulier garni de placques, anneaux, et [...] avec les armes du Rey, le tout d'argent	
+ Avril:	Pour la chapelle du chasteau de Iuliers, un calice d'argent doré avec sa patene	72 fl
+ Avril	A l'Eglise des Iesuites de Waten, un calice d'argent, doré par dedans, de	68 fl
+ Iuillet	Pour l'Eglise de Stienborg, un calice c'argent.	63 fl
	Plus un bassin en ovale avec deux barettes	61 fl
+ Iuillet	Au petit Iesus des Iesuites, un panier d'argent traist, pour porter au main les misteres de la passion	8 fl
Iuillet	S.A. envoya en Espange un enfant de cire blanche et la berceau du dit enfant, d'argent paré a iour, qui cousta 70 fl. Plus une petite couronne, manteau, des [torailles], trois cloux, et un petit [ganier] pour mettre au bras de Iesus, le tout d'argent par 10. fl., qui avec les 70 fl. font	80 fl
+ Iuin:	A l'Eglise des carmelines, pour la canonisation de S ^{te} Teres. Un ornement accompli, de toile d'or, brodée et semee de pailletes, si richemont que la brodere seule cousta sans l'estoffe	3053 fl
	Les pieces estoient la chappe, avec ses loupes capuchon et [...], les deux dalmatiques, le tapis de poulpitre, la couverture du missal, la voile de calice, le frontal du [banc] au estoit le ciboire, les estoles, manipules, lae bourse de corporal, et le robbe du petit Iesus, semee des chiffre de Iesus et de Terese. Les aulbes, [...] et autres ornements accompagnaicht l'habit. L'Infante ent tant de loin	

de fait, qu'elle demoura quelqueles iours enformee par la plus part
dame l'Eglise a [adioucer] elle mesme [...] choisi, et en odonnairie
qu'elle vouloit estre faist
Le robbe de Ste Terese estoit brodee./

[Folio 216]

- + Ian Pour les Carmelines d'Anvers un devant d'autel de satin cramoisi a fleures enmagé d'or et d'argent avec les coussins de mesme 123 fl
La satin @ 28. fl. l'aulne. Il paroissoit [...] brodé
- + Mars A S^{te} Gudule, pour le monument de ieudy Saint, quatre Anges, crestes de tocque d'argent./
- + May Aux carmelines, un [...] [...] de toile d'argent richement./
- + May A l'Image nostre Dame de Vilvorde un manteau de toile d'argent
- Iuin Aux carmelines de Bruxelles, a la canonisation de S^{te} Terese une robe de toile d'argent line, pour S^{te} Terese, dessus du fammé. c'estoit pour robe que portit en [...]. Et que l'image que estoit en dessus de [...] d'autel, une autre robe d'armoisins tamé. Le tout [adionné] font industrieusement et lesdits habits tout brode de pierreries./ [...] des deux images cousta 448 fl
- Au mois de Sestembre suivant S.A. la fit brodé et costa 70 fl
- + Iuillet A l'Image de S^t Terese des carmelines de Tornay, un habit d'armoisins, la robe de femme, la manteau blanc
- + Aoust Au Iesus de Iesuites de Bruxelles, une riche robe
- + May A les Monies de Anberes (ie pense les carmelines) un ornement de damas blanc, assorti d'armoisins et de franges – la tout cousta 630 fl
- + May A la chapelle de Iuliers, chasuble, devant d'autel, avec ses petits, coussins, des courtines, voile de calice, bourse de corporal, le corp, de damas cramoisi, la reste d'armoisins blanc, les franges de soye, les bordaires de damas blanc 470 fl
- + May Aux Carmelines de Bruxelles, chape, chasuble, Dalmatiques, devant d'autel et de credonne, et toute la suite accomplie De toile d'argent a grand feuillage d'or relouer plus de 3000. fl. 3500 fl
- Plus de la tocque d'argent [...], pour entreron l'eglise de factons, de diverse [...] pour 650 fl
- + May Aux carmes deschaux – un ornement de la chape au bas, accompli

comme les autres. Le corp de satin fleuroné d'or et d'argent, les
bordures et listes de toile d'or, les voilee et surrfine d'armoisín
plus de 3000 fl

[Folio 216v]

- + May Aux Iesuites chape, chasuble, dalmatique, deux grand devants d'autel, un de credonne, un de frontissire d'autel, quatre pour les degrer, un daix, avec l'assortiment des autres pieces dependantes. Une robbe pour Nostre Dame, et une pour le petite Iesus. Le corp de toile d'argent recamee. Les embelissement, d'une riche estoffe de la chine, et de tabis d'argent afleursentes – le tout en valeur de plus de 6000 fl
- + May Pour l'Eglise de Sherborg chasuble, courtines, coussins, couverte de missal, voile de calice, bourse volet. Le corp de l'ornement, de brocadelle de soye orangee et rouge, les parements de brocadelle de soye blanc et verte. Les courtines et le voile de calice, d'armoisin blanc ordé de vert. 300 fl
- + May Pour l'Abbaye de Flore un ornement composé des pieces suivantes. Chape, chasuble, dalmatiques, tapis de poulpitre, courtines, portepaix, coussins, deux couverts de missal, et tout le rest de l'accortiments. Le corp de Damas cramoisi, les parements, de toile d'or frisée, a frond de soye cramoisie. Les courtines, voiles, et portepaix, d'armoisin cramoisi. Il costa plus de 2000 florins./
- + May S.A fit accompli un ornemen, pour l'Eglise du hospital S^t Iacque de Bruxelles, qu'elle avait donné de l'un precedent. auquel manquoit la chappe, les dalmatiques, tapis de poulpitres, portepaix et la reste. La corp de brocadelle de soye rouge et iaune, a 7. fl. l'@. Les parements de brocadelle de y de soye blanche, a fleurs vertes, a 5 fl. 10 s. l'@. Les courtines et voiles, d'armoisin de Florence a 4 fl 12. s. l'@.
- + May Pour les cordelieres de Bruxelles un orenemen de la chape en bas, de tabis d'argent a fleurs [...] de soye platte – les veiles, et quatre courtines d'armoisin blanc de Florence. Les etoffes furent prise dans la garderobbe, et estoit tres riche./
- + May Aux chanoinesse de Mons. Chape, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, autre grand frontissire pour mettre sure l'autel, autre [meindre] pour serait de devant a la buse du S^t. Sacrement. Devant de credonne, coussin, deux couvertes de missal, bourse, pavillon du tabernacle, saccmonté d'or, devants pour quatre degrer de l'autel. Voile de calice, et autre a porter la paix. Le corp de velour cramoisi bordé, les paremen de drap d'or, les franges et loupes bordares d'or et de soye, six courtines et le tapis du poulpitre de damas cramoisi a grand feillage, les voiles darmoisins cramoisi

[Folio 217]

1622

- + May Pour la seminaire de carmes deschussee de Louvain. Des la chape de bas, de brocadelle de soye orangee et blanche a 7. fl l'@. avec les paremens de brocadelle de soye blanche, a fleurs vertes./
- + Pour l'autel de Nostre Dame à S^{te} Gudule. De la chappe en bas, assorti de [fruit]./ Le corp de tabis, raye d'or et d'argent, le paremens de satin bleu floureté d'or et d'argent. La chappe estoit de damas blanc a grande feuillage. Les courtines et veiles d'armoisins de Florence
- + Aux Eglise de cauburghe et du sablon, a chascune un baldequin de Damas cramoisi, avec le goutieres et franges

[Folio 218]

1623
presents

- + Ianv. Le 1. de l'an 1623. Comme en avoit celebré depuis pour la Canonisation des SS. Ignase et Xavier, S.A. fit present a leur Egglise de Bruxelles de deux diademes d'argent dore pour leur statues, qui vallericht les deux. 228 fl 15 solr
- Plus d'une guirlande d'or, les fleurs esmaille au natural, pour la petit Iesus et ornee de plusieurs grenats et esmaurades 198 fl
- Mars A Don Inigo de Brisuela, neveu de l'Evecque de Segobia, une croix de 108 diamants de prix de 2500 fl
- Iuillet S.A. envoya au Espagne plusieurs exemplaire [enlamieur], des funerailles de l'Archiduc, qui coustricht 100. florins pieces./
- + May Un relliquaire grand, que S.a. envoya à Rome pour la chapelle Ntre Dame de la Victoire avec quantité de relliques et pierreries.
- + Iuillet A un Capusin Italian (ie pense une Iesuite) qui avoir prisché a la chapelle du Palais. un Iesus du bois de Montaigu ayant une couronne d'or, que coustoit, [scavoir] la curonne 8 fl
- Aoust A un capitaine depeché de la part de l'Electure de Pologne, qui apporta nouvelle de la victoire du General de Tilly entre Alberstad, une chaine de cent Philippes 250 fl
- Aoust Au cardinal de la cueva, une croix d'or esmaillée, avec douse grand diamants, et 105 petits, tous apprix 3500 fl
- sept. Au petit Iean, le nain que S.A. envoya en Espange, avec Don Iuan de [Leao], un petit [brillet] 32 fl
- Et a [Leao] son chappellain d'oratoire une + d'or esmaillée 109 fl
- P sept. A l'Electeur de Mayance, un chappele du bois de Montaigu enfilé d'or, auquel chappellet pendoit une niche d'or avec un image de nostre Dame dedans.
- Plus S.A. fit presenter par Urselle la naine au nain dudit electeur, une boete d'or, avec la portrait
- A Nov. A Don Diego Xaenia, allant en Ambassadeur en Ingleterre, une

rose de diamant avec sa pointe au dessus, cousterant 68. diamants
2600 fl

Et au comte d'Argil qui l'accompagna un autre ioyau de 950 fl

[Folio 218v]

	Nov.	Au secretaire du Marquis de Mirabal, pour la nouvelle qu'il apporta De l'accouchemens de la Reyne d'Espagne, une chaine d'or de trois tours	500 fl
		Et une rose de 72 diamants pour reporter a la Marquises de Mirabal sa maistresse	155 fl
P	Dec	A la Reyne d'Espagne, une chappelet de six [dirains], de pierre de nostre Dame de Foy (sont amethistes et autres) garni d'un grain d'or continant six diamants, entre chasque grain de chappelet. Et d'une croix composé de 80. diamants, et ayant en tout 506. diamans. Plus un reliquaire de 120 diamants, attaché a iceluy, avec une image de bois de Ntre Dame de Foy, en tout	2241 fl
+	Avril	A une Eglise de Gand, par la comtesse de la Fere, qui porte la present, deux parfumaers d'argent, faist en piramide et travailler a iour	87 fl 117
+	Avril	A Rome, pour la chapelle Nostre Dame de la Victoire, une lampe d'argent, doree dedans et dehors, travaillee de relief, et a l'enviren quatre Anges d'argent, pour les mistere de la passion, les chesveux, ailer, et misterre dorer. la dite lampe suspondee de huit chaines doree et compose de chiffres de S.A. Les quatre anges d'iselle sousterant le perle en facon d'une curonne pour [...] le verre dans lequel se met l'huyle – le tout cousta enviren	1500 fl
+	Iuillet	A la chapelle du S ^l Sacrement de Miracle a Bruxelles – quatre parfumoers d'argent, porter a iour, des armes de S.A.	292 fl
P	Sept.	Au Prince Electeur de Mayance, une statue de Nostre Dame de Foy, dans un petit oratoire d'argent, fermant a deux portes, avec la coronne de l'enfant, d'or esmaille.	31 fl
+	Dec.	A Nostre Dame de la Victoire à Rome, quatre culonnes d'argent, avec leurs chapitiaux et piè destail, et au dessus un nom de Iesus, [...] a iour, et rampli des relliquaires que le pere Dominique avoit laissees à S.A. – il tout –	1014 fl
+	Dec.	A l'Eglise des chartreux de Binsk, deux chandeliers d'Argent,	150 fl

[Folio 219]

- + Dec. Pour les trois Dames de S.A. qui entrerent aux Carmelines de Gand. Pour les misteres de la passion en argent, porter devant elles par un petit Iesus de sire. a [scavoir] le martrau, les tenailles, la [gen] de lanne, les cloux 5 fl
- Plus la fer d'un houlette pour une des dites Dames, en argent 30 solr
- + Ian. Au Pere Dominique à Rome, pour la chapelle nostre Dame de la Victoire, un riche ornement accompli et travaille a l'[eguile] sur le canevas tout d'or, d'argent et de soye blanche. S.A. la fit faire en sa chambre./
- + feub. Aux carmelines de Bruxelles, pour accompliment des ornements de la coronation S^{te} Teres, un tabernacle de [Sabi], double de toile d'argent, frisée, qui cousta plus de 300 fl
- + Mars Au seminaire des carmes de Louvain. Un coffre de velour noir, brodè d'or, pour la S^t Sacrement./
- + Pour les relligieuse d'Aureghem, un ornement de dames blanc, de la chape en bas, les paremens de broacdelle de soye a grande fleurage, les veiles et les courtines d'armoisins./
- + Pour un chappelle des Carmes deschaux de Namur, un ornement de la chasuble en bas, le corp de burat cafes les paremens camelot blanc.
- + Pour les Minimes de Bruxelles, une chape avec sa capasse et bride. L'estole et le mainipule Deux Dalmatiques, assorties, devant d'autel, trois degrer, deux courtines, un pavillon pour le tabernacle, drap de poulpitre, couverte de missal, devant de credonne, coussins, [escharge] a porter le paix etc. Le corp de broctelle de soye blanche, a grands fleurons de vert naissant. Les paremens de toile d'argent, le pavillon de damas orange et blanc, les voiles et courtines darmoisins da Florence.
Les franges et bordures d'or et de soye
- + Pour un chapelle des carmelines. De la chasuble en bas, de damas, blanc a grand fueillages, le rest et courtines d'armoisins.

[Folio 219v]

- + Mars Encore aux carmelines, pour un pavillon de monument de ieudy Saint, de toile d'or double d'arraison orange.

- + Mars Pour les chartreux de Mons, de la chasuble en bas, de brocadelle de soye blanche, a fleur vertes, pour le corp et les paremens de tabis blanc semé a ordes de fleurs d'or et de soye

- + Mars A Doña Iuana de Lunar, pour envoyer en Espagne a Saint Martin de Val de Iglesias, un ornement de satin, assez mediocre./

- + Iuillet A la fille de Don Alores de Luna qui se rendoit carmeline, un soye de tabi vert passemité d'or et d'argent 450 fl. – [...] [...]

- + Iuillet A Saint Dominique, pour la canonisation d'un Saint. Trois chappes, un chasuble, deux dalmatiques, et la reste des depondances a mesme [...] de la chere. Le corp de brocadelle de soye orange et blanc, les parements, de sabis d'argent a fleurs de rouge. Les franges et [noends] d'or et d'argent.

- + Aoust A l'Image de Nostre Dame de l'Eglise Cathedrale d'Anvers, un manteau d'asur

- + Mars Aux carmelines, pour le ieudi Saint, un coffre de bois couvert de velour noir et garni de perles et pierres fausses -

- + Aoust A une image de nostre Dame Bourgongne un manteau de soye.

- + Iuillet Au Saint Sacrement de miracle, un frontal de la [...], et en [...], brodè d'or

- + Aoust A Mademoiselle de [Conflans] dame de S.A. entrant aux carmelines de Gand, un soye de 1200 florins

Autan pour celuy de Mademoiselle Alenen, pour mesme subject./

Autant pour Mad^{le} de Noyellas

Pour Doña Madria de Paredes meça de camina, en soye de 350 fl

Un aussy de 350 fl. pour Doña Catalina Barea pour mesme raison.

In margin on right: en portoit devant elle de petit Iesus que S.A. avoit habillé elle mesme, avec des habits [...]

- + Octob Aux carmlines, un devant d'autel et de deux degrer travailler sur le canvas.
- P S.A. envoya au Pape un reliquaire. dans une custode, couverte de velour, parements d'or
- S.A. fit couvrir de velor de gaunes cramoisi le livre des miracle de Montaigu, et l'envoya ay Rey Prusienne l'a y [...].

[Folio 221]

1624

Presents

	Ianv.	A Don Manuel Piemontel allant en Espange, une rose avec sa pointe de iii. diamants	2200 fl
A	Mars	Au comte de Solre allant en Espange, une rose ave sa point, de 72. diamants	2100 fl
A	Mars	A un abmassadeur de l'archiduc Leopold, deux tours de chaine d'or	500 fl
A	Mars	A un conseiller du Duc de Lorraine, une chaine d'or de	300 fl
	Avril	S.A. envoya par Mr de casaree, au maistre la chappelle de l'Empereur une chaine d'or de 300 florins, pour quelques pieces de musique que le dit chante avoit envoyer à S.A.	300 fl
A	Avril	A la femme de l'Ambassadeur de France Pericart, quand elle sortit d'icy, une enseigne de 61 diamants	1050 fl
		Et a ses filles un pair de prudants d'oreille de diamants de	180 fl/
		Un relliquaire garni de diamans avec une image de nostre Dame, de	190 - fl
		Et un tour de chaine d'or de	53 fl
		En tout	423 fl
		Plus au secretaire de l'Ambassade un chaine de cens Philippes	250 fl
	Avril	Au comte d'Anholt un ioyau de 61 diamants, que S.A. luy envoya en sa garrison	1050 fl
	Iuin	A deux musiciens de Duc de Neuburg, pour avoit chante en la chappelle de la croy a chascun une chaine d'or	400 fl
	Iuillet	Un tour de chaine d'or de [trouvraux] esmailles que S.A. donna au Pere a Soto son confesseur pour donner a quelquun	203 fl
A	Iuillet	Au Marquies de la Inoiosa Ambassadeur extraordinaire du Rey, en	

		Angleterre, une rose avec sa pointe de 111. diamants	2800 fl
P	octobr	Un service de cristal de roche, garni d'or que S.A. donna au Prince de Poulogne, dans une caisse couverte de peau d'ambre. Item deux [...] de manches de cristal, les manches garni d'or et enrichis de 1.70. rubis. Item au Prince Rasieille, que accompagne le Prince Wladeslaus, un ioyau d'or emsaille avec 75 diamans de	1600 fl

[Folio 221v]

		Plus a 4. autres cavallieurs de la suite dedit Prince, a chacun un ioyau de 850 fl.	3400 fl
		Plus a d'autres de sa suite, trois chaine d'or chascune de 500 fl	1500 fl
		Plus 3 autres encore, chascune de 200 fl.	600 fl
		Encore autres 4 chaines dor les quatres de	589 fl
		Plus a autres trois serviteurs de l'argent	131 fl
P	oct.	Au Marquis de Baden, par un gentilhomme Alleman, qui fut la prateur. un ioyau en rose rondé avec une pointe, de 111 diamants	2500 fl
P	octob.	Au Rey son neveu, une image de nostre Dame de la Victoire, enchassée en esbene avec 20. pieces d'or esmaillees tout autoir, lesquelles pieces cousterent	224 fl
	Decemb.	Au Baron de Croonenburg (schomburg) neveu de l'Electeur de Mayance, qui se mariert S.A. luy envoya un ioyau de 70 diamants	1250 fl
+	Aoust	Aux Peres carmes deschassée de Liege, un calice d'oré dedans et delors, avec sa patene, a 5 fl l'ann	122 fl 15 s
P	octob.	Au Rey une l'iamge de Nostre Dame de la Victoire, sy dessus mentionée, une lame d'argent du poid de 14 onces dans laquelle estoit grave l'histoire du succes de ladite Nostre Dame en grandes lettre Gotiques	
P	Sept.	Au Prince du Pologne, quatre grand, flassons de verre, [...] d'argent, et pleins d'eaux de senteur. Plus autres six peindres flassons de mesme.	
		Au mesme une escrtoire, les pieces de laquelle estoient d'argent doré./ Plus six boetes en oval, aussy d'argent doré	
+	feub.	A l'Eglise de cauberghe, pour le S ^t sacrement un pavillon de damas incarnat et blanc, avec les courtines	
+	feub.	A une maison de Iesuites de Bourgorgne. Un devant d'autel et une chasuble. Et une robe pour une images de Nostre Dame, d'une autre estoffe riches./	

Avec la voile de claice, deux couverts de missal et un coussin.

- + Mars A l'Eglise d'Anderleke, au devant d'autel et deux degré de la ici.
Plus un manteau de damas pour une image de Nostre Dame.
- + Mars. Aux carmelines de Bruxelles pour le ieudy saint. pour mettre le S^t
Sacrement. Un coffre brodé.
- + Mars A la Capelle, pour le tabile des capucins, quantité d'aulnes de
fausses [...] d'argent, et autres legeree estoffes. S.A. fit dressit
l'autel par Fransart./

[Folio 222]

- + Avril. A l'autel nostre Dame de S^{te} Gudule, un tabernacle de toile teinte, avec des courtine de damas, blanc et azuré, les franges d'or et de soye, il cousta 150 fl
- + Avril. S.A. fit travailler en sa chambre un bel ornement de soye plate et d'or a l'aigule pour [lame]./ au Pere Dominique. Il ne fut achevé de quelques mois.
- + May S.A. fit couvrir de tabis blanc double d'argent cinc teites de vierges pour les capucine de Bruxelles avec [...] passément d'or, armoisin velour et autre ornements.
- + May Pour la chapelle de Loretto, qui est au iardin des carmelines de Bruxelles, un devans d'autel travaillé de soye sur les [camenes]./
- + Iuin Aux Iesuites de Bruxelles un parement de la chere de predisateurs, de toile d'argent, frisee de fleurs d'or et de vert. Il y avoit 24 @ de toile, a 15 fl et 27 fl l'@ les franges et bordures d'or et de soye le tout 669 fl
- + Pour le Beguignage de Bruxelles, chape, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, credonne parement de chere, cinc courtinnes avec leurs goutieres, deux estoles, trois manipules, voile de calice, portepaix, coussins, couverte de missal, pavillon pour le St. sacrement, degre d'autel, corporaillier, volet. Le corp de brocadelle de soye orangee et blanche et verts a 7. fl l'@ les parements de toile d'argent a fleurs d'or et de soye coste a 15. fl. l'@. Les courtine et voiles d'armoisin blanc de Florence a 4 fl. 12. s. l'@. Les franges d'or et de soye la tout 1244 fl
- + Aux carmes deschausee de Louvain, une chasuble de brocadelle de soye
- + Aux carmelines d'Anvers un pavillon riche
- + Aux carmelines deschausees de Zumaya en la Province de Quipazcoa, chape, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, portepaix, voile de calice, deux couvertes de missal, coussins, volet et corporaillier. Le corp de damas cramoisi, les parements de velour plein cramoisi. Les robbes d'armoisin cramoisi. Les franages, frangers, et borderes d'or et de soye cramoisi
- + Iuillet Aux Carmelines d'Anvers, un [...] d'autel de damas cramoisy./

[Folio 222v]

- P Iuillet Un present que S.A fit au Duc de Neuburg, estoit encoloré dans six @. d'armoisins [...]./
- P Iuillet Au Prince de Polongne, un habit de 15 @. du tabis incarnat a fleur, d'or et d'argent, a 23 fl. l'@ doublé d'un autre tabi incarnet a petite [...], a 10 fl l'@. ledit habit passémenté d'argent, il cousta 742 fl
- S.A. luy fit elle mesme parer son [sartier] et ses chances list et fut en qu'il falloit pour le [...] hounorablement
- P Sept S.A. luy fit presenter un [bahe] font plein de senteurs et de raretey, couvert de velour du gennes, cramisoi, et double d'armoisins de mesme./ Elle luy envoya aussy un cousin de tabi incarnadin et fleureté d'argent rempli de roses. Plus un bonnet, de tabis d'argent endéé a fleurs d'or et d'argent, ledit bonet à la Hongrois, double d'armoisins cramisoy. Il y entra cinc cartière de tabis a 23 fl l'@ Le servire de cristal que S.A. donna au Prince de Pologne, estoit dans une caisse, [...] de velour cramisoi, et toute passémenté d'or./ L'escrioire suivante de peau d'ambre qu'elle luy presenta estoit avey dans une couverte en sec de satin de Bolongne cramisoy, passémenté d'or.
- + octob. Aux pauvres Claires de Gand deux devante de degre de brocadelle de soye, blanche et fleure vertes. Il y avait 8 @. a 7 fl. l'@.
- + Nov. A une image nostre Dame de la ville de Saint Martin de Baldeyglesias, un manteau de satin bleu, richement brodé, et double d'armoisins bleu
- Nov. A Mademoiselle de Battenburg, dame du S.A. qui est marieit. Un aye de satin font passémenté d'or et d'argent
- + Dec. Au Iesuites a l'occasion de la Beatification de Fransique de Borja. Un daix de brocadelle de soye blanche, à fleurs oranges et autres avec les goutieres de brocadelle d'argent. Plus 234 @ de fausse tocque d'argent pour faire des bruilles et autres 51 @. de mesme tocque semée de fleur pointes, pour les degre du daix Plus un vestement de velour passémenté d'or et d'argent et chaque de ioyaux.
- + Dec. S.A. prit a son comte et paya un ornement donné par le comte de Vertain aux carmelines d'Anvers, un l'an 1616 en faveur de l'entrée de sa fille, dame de S.A. lequel ornement estoit de toile d'or, cordonnée d'or et cousta 1405 fl

[Folio 223]

1624

Presents

- + Pour la confrerie du cordon de Saint Francis de Bruxelles – 3
devants d'autel, une chasuble 9 devants de degré, pour
accompagner les tabis devants d'autel, deux cousins, 2 couvertes
de missal, le corporaillier, le volet. Le voile de calice, deux
goutieres. Le corp et parements de velour, [...] cramoisi, et brodé
avec les Franges d'or et de soye. Le voile d'armoisins 861 fl
- + Au Pere Dominique de Iesus Maria, pour sa chappelle Nostre
Dame de la Victoire. Un ornement complet de pins de Hongrie
d'or et de soye plate, travaillé en la chambre de S.A. avec les
franges d'or et de soye. Il ne fut a chevè que l'année suivante.
- + Mars Aux carmeline deschaussees, un coffre, couvert de satin cramoisy,
passementé d'or et d'argent, pour le St Sacrement, pour le
monument de ieudy Saint des carmelinne de Bruxelles.
- + Pour l'autel de Nre Dame de Secours en l'Eglise de St. Iacques a
Bruxelles. Un ornemen de brocadelle blanche de soye affleurs
differentes 672 fl

[Folio 225]

1625

Presents.

Dec.	A un gentilhomme du comte de Gendomes pour see gane de la bonne nouvelle qui apporta de l'accouchement de la Reyne – une chaine de	203 fl
Avril	A un gentilhomme Polonois qui avoit presenté deux chevaux à S.A. lesqueles il avoit amouè de Pologne. Une rose de 53 diamants, de	850 fl
P	May: Au Duc du Neuburg. Un riche ioyau de diamants, accommodé [...] forme de plume, avec des aigrettes, lequel ioyau fut prise de la garderobbes et cousta d'y adiouster 5. diamas, 400. fl./ Plus deux boetes de cristal garnies d'or, avec les images de nostre Dame, de bois de Montaigniot de foy. Encore deux relliquaires de cristal avec des images garnis d'or esmaille et un autre avec de cristal a rayens.	
Iuin	A don Iuhan de Medecis qui apporta nouvelle de la reddition de Breda. Une rose avec sa pointe en [...] de 73 diamants, en valeur de	1300 fl
	Aux lieutenant qui avoit apporte le mesme nouvelle, un chaine de	150 fl
	Item au capitaine Pillasse, qui apporta nouvelle comme l'enemy avoit este repousse de Tereydon devant Breda, une chaine de 200. Philippes	500 fl
	A Don Iuan Nino de Tavora, Mstro de camp, ien allant en Espagne, une rose de 67 diamants, de	1800 fl
A	Iuin A Breda, a Don Generale de Cordua qui partrit pour aller en Italie, un ioyau de 160 diamants, que cousta 2700 fl. sans comprendre quatre grands diamants que S.A. y fit adiouster, lesquels elle tire de sa garderobbe	
Sept.	Au Comte to Bequey, menine de S.A. allant en Espange, une rose de 52 diamants	1050 fl
Nov.	A Don Iuan Claros de Guzman, allant en Espange se marier, une rose de 93. diamants de	1800 fl

P	Dec.	A la Reyne d'Espange un relliquaire d'or esmaillé avec un petit Iesus aussy esmaillé, un cristal devant, et 191. diamants tout autour – cousta sans une chaine d'or que S.A. y adiousta.	1112 fl
A	Dec.	A l'Ambassadeire de france, de qui S.A avoit louean fils. Un [neend] de 57 diamants de	1100 fl
+	May	A Nostre Dame de Secours de Bruxelles, un calice d'argent, doré par tout, a 5. fl. l'once	130 fl
		Plus deux chandeliers d'autel, avec les armee de SA gravees somme	204 fl
		Plus un basin et deux burettes d'argent, aussy avec les armes de S.A.	88 fl
		Plus une boete d'estire avec les armes aussy.	8 fl
		Somme	430

[Folio 225v]

- + Aoust. A Nostre Dame de bon succes, aux Augustines, une lampe d'argent avec sa [...], suspendre de trois chenue, et travaillee de relief. 555. fl. en argent, et 120. en facon, que cent
675 fl
- + Aost Aux carmelines d'Anvers, un petit daix et un devant, de toile d'argent a fleurs de Printemps. Il y a avoit 3. @. 7. fl l'@. Les courtines faites d'autres 3 @ de tabis incarnet, onde d'argent, a 10. fl l@. le tout passemonté d'or et d'argent. Les franges d'or et de soye./
- + S.A. envoya a la fin de l'annee au Pere Dominique un ornemen complet a pieces d'argent, d'or et de soye, avec les franges de mesmes, lequel'ornement fut faist en sa chambre et auquel en travaille deux ans.
- + Dec. Pour un image de Nostre Dame et de son enfant, en un lieu prei de Louvain. Un vestement (ie pense que c'est Nostre Dame de Bowterson) a [...] et demy et de Louvain.
- + A l'Eglise de Roygarde de Bruxelles, cape, chasuble, dalmatiques, un devant d'autel et de credonne, et pour deux petits autels, pour le tabernacle de S^t Sacrement, un parement de chaine, un tapis de poulpitre, deux devant de degres, quatre goutieres, de courtines, deux couverture de missal, deux cousins, un portepaix, courtines et veile de calice – Le corp de brocadelle de soye blanche a bouquets de printemps. Les passements de brocadelle de soye esmaille a fleur iaunes et vertes.
Les courtines et voiles d'armoisins blanc, les franges de soys./
- P A La Duchesse de Florence, pour son oratoire, un ornement [yposé] des pieces suivantes, chasuble, devant d'autel, voile de calice, volet, corporailleur, la tout de tabi d'argent, travaillé a laquelle de soye plate, cordonnée d'or, les franges et frangens d'or et de soye blanche
- + A nostre Dame de bon Succes aux Augustin. des branquard pour portie l'Image de nr dame, garnis de damas blanc et bien avec un daix, les goutieres de mesme estoffe, avec des franges d'or et du soye. Plus a L'Image de nrs dame un vestement de taffites bien passemené d'or
- + Aux Carmelins de Bruxelles un chasuble et quatre devant d'autel

le coops de damas blanc et grand feuillages les passements de
damaz cramoisi et blanc

- + Pour les autels des hermitages de Broitendal des devants des
buratcafás
- + Iuillet Pour porter le S^t Sacrement de Miracle du Bruxelles en procession
une eschargeur d'armoisín du fleurienes blanc brodé d'or

[Folio 226]

- + Septembre A l'Image de Nre Dame de Hasle une robe Incarnatt semée de perles brodé d'or, et doublée d'armoisins Incarnat
- + Sept. Pour la Chappelle de Nre dame de Montaigu de Mardik une chasuble et devant d'autel, deux courtines de brocadelle de soye
- P Sept A la petite Infante d'Espagne un sayon brodé d'ore qui fut faist en la chambre se Son Altesse. Plus des poupies de Flandes richemen vesties
- + Pour les Capucins de Breda et pour leur de Wesel pour chascun deux chasubles, deux devant d'autel, deux courtines couverts de missal de cousin, et autres assortimens de Buracaftas
- + Pour la Chappelle de Nre dame de Halen un ornemen de Buracaftas La Chasuble avec ls autres assortiements
- + Pour la Chappelle de Nre Dame de Rosele, pour d'audenard une cappe chasuble dalmatiques, deux devant d'autel, six courtines quatre cousins un voile à porte la paix, un vestemen pour Nrs Dame, le Corps du damas blanc a grands feuillages les pavement de tabis d'argen frizé d'or a fleurs, le courtines d'armoisins blanc, les franges d'or et de soye. Somme
- 1907 fl
- + Pour une Egglise d'Allemagne de Laquelle son altesse est le chef de S^t Mathieu qui est dans son oratoire cappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, deux degres, deux courtines, un portepaix et autres assortimens comme aussy un daix avec les courtines, le Corp de brocadelle de soye Incarnet et blanche, les pavements de toille d'argen a fleur d'or et de soye, les courtines de damas, plus une [...] de tabis d'argent doublée de satin blanc, brodée d'or
- 1879 fl
- P A la petite Infante d'Espagne, un sayon aux les manches de satin blanc brodé

[Folio 227]

1626
presents

Ianv	S.A. envoya en Allemagne par l'adresse de Controeroelleur Hortheghe, a un neveu du comte de Furetenburg, qui se marcoit, une rose de 811 diamants	1600 fl
P May	A la Reyne d'Espagne et aux Infantes, par le comte de Solre un relliquaire de cristal, garni d'or emaille, et de 107. diamants. Un autre aussy de cristal garni de 168. diamants. Une autre avec le nom de Iesus et la marinne grave dessus. et garni d'or esmaille et de 113. diamans. Plus une chaine d'or esmaillee de blanc et d'avec de 130 pierres, et a chassune deux diamants. Plus deux chiffres d'AVE MARIA d'or esmaille, avec 318 diamants. Une autre AVE MARIA, garnis de 162. diamants. En tout 1128. diamants – et soustrit l'or et les diamants en facon, sans comprendre les cristaulx fournis par S.A.	5680 fl
	Et a son fils ainé un [brillant] de 39 pierres avec 56 diamants	500 fl
	Plus au second fils, un autre [brillant] de mesme valeur./ Encore a la Marquise de Mirabel une chaine d'or esmaillee de blanc et de noir, avec quantité de diamans, que S.A. prit dans la garderobbe./	
A May	A la Marquise de Mirabel, Ambassadrise de France, arrivant à Bruxelles. Une croix d'or esmaillee, et garnie de 149 diamants	2500 fl
A Sept:	A la comtesse de Swartzeenburgh femme de l'Ambassadeur de l'Empereur de qui S.A. loue l'enfant un grand [noend] de 99 diamants.	2650 fl
Sept	Au baron de Creenenburg, nence de l'Electenrde Mayance, de fils de quell elle fut marraine, S.A. luy envoya en Allemagne une [...] ronde de diamants	1000 fl
octob.	A la Reyne d'Espange un relliquaire de cristal, garni d'or esmaille, et de 168 diamants	

1000 fl

octob. Plus a l'Infante don Carlos, une espee et un poignard de l'Achiduc
que S.A. fit garnis d'or ciselè, esemillé de blanc et de noir
Plus une boete d'horologe d'or esmaillee de blanc et d'azur

octob. Plus a un Archer du Roy qui retournoit en Espange avec le comte
de Solre, et [...] a ca charge des lingue que l'nfante envoyait à la
Reyne, une chaine de 100 Philippes

250 fl

[Folio 227v]

Nov	A un gentilhomme du comte d'Egmond, pour avoir apporté depuis Madrid, un petit cinge, qui n'estoit pas plus gros que le poing que Don Diego Maria enveyoit à S.A. un chaine de	150 fl
P Dec.	A la petite infante d'Espagne, une petite [...], un colier et deux bracelets d'or esmaillé, et composer les trois de 210 pieces d'or et de 434 diamants (lesquels elle envoya avec une robe esmaillée a garni de perles.)	3408 fl
+ Iuillet	A la chappelle du St. Sacrement de Miracle, quatre vase a fleurs, travaille de relief, avec chassun deux annes et les anges de S.A. granees.	779 fl
+ Aoust.	A l'Image de Nostre Dame de bon Succes, deux curonnes imperiales d'argent doré dedans et dehors, et esmaillée d'azur, une pour Nostre Dame, l'autre pour le petie Iesus.	200 fl
+ Sept.	A la chappelle de fort de Mardick. Une statue du bois de Montaigu avec la curonne de la vierge, robe de l'enfant, et le [...] d'argent, ciselé de relief, dans un tabernacle.	
P. octob.	A la Reynd d'Espagne, avec la reste dans sa charger le comte de Solre. Un service d'argent doré [remassé] de plusieurs endroits de plusieurs pieces curieuses, et accompli par ordonnace de S.A./ Avec une boutique de flassons et boetes pleine de rareter. une grand somme, par il estoit acompli./	

[Folio 228]

1627
presents

	Ianv.	Au fils de l'Ambassadeur de l'Empereur en Espagne, quand il passa par Bruxelles. Un coridon de chappau esmaillé, de 40 pieces, ayant une enseigne ronde au miton de 59 diamants	1500 fl
A	Mars	Au comte de Bagny, neveu du Nonce, quand il partit pour aller en France, une rose de 21 diamants (Il avoit este Menine de S.A)	500 fl
	Avril	A un des Malpas de Bourgongne pour avoir l'envoyé a Louvain, honorablement a l'homme de Rey, un medaille d'or avec l'image du Rey de	83 fl 10 s
		Et a [...] en Ianv. 1628 un autre de	84 fl – 6 s
+	Sept.	Un enseigne d'or de 21 pieces d'une chaine [...] en facon deux rose esmaillée, avec 84 diamants pour un poitrinal a l'Image de Nostre Dame de Hale	1065 fl
+	Sept.	Encore a Nostre Dame de Hale, donna estoiles d'or de chaine six diamants de 9. fl. piece plus de rosiettes d'or avec chaine six perles, de quoy S.A. fit au diademe au frontal pour Nostre Dame. La reste sans les perles cousta	824 fl
P	Dec.	A la Reyne de France, un reliquaire d'or esmaillé garni de 40. diamants, dans lequel S.A. envoya à la Reyne de France des reliques de St. Ioan Battiste	97 fl
A	Dec.	A Don Diego de Mania, une rose d'or au naturel esmaillée de blanc, composée de plusieurs grands diamants que S.A. fit des [...] de ses ioyaux, auxquelles elle en fit adiouster 153 tour de fond, lacquels 143 avec l'or et facon coustrint 2842 fl sans ceux de la guardrobbe	2842 fl
	Dec.	Au fils du Marquis Spinola, un grand ioyau de 99 diamants	

de

2820 fl

Au Sr Nicolaldi, qui estoit nonce d'Espagne avec le Marquis de Legannes, une chaine d'or de

757 fl

Encore au Marquis de Legannes, une chapelet du bois de nostre Dame de Foy, avec quatre diamants enchasser en or entre chaque grain, est une niche d'or esmaille, y pendant, garni de 18. diamants S.A. fournit le chapelet – la riche valeur cousta

200 fl

Ca fut pour presenter a la comtesse d'olivares./

+ Nov.

Pour l'Image de Nostre Dame de Walcourt, et celle du petit Iesus, a chassun une curonne d'argent, a iour, criselee,

36 fl

[Folio 228v]

- + Mars Pour une Image de nre dame et de son enfant, en une eglise de Gand, un habit de tabis [...] passements d'or et d'argen et double d'armoysin Incarnart. Plus pour une Image de St. Ioseph, une robe de soye aussy passémenté d'or et d'argent.
- + april A Madmoiselle Soeur Magdaline de Tresigny recluse a St. Sauveur a Gand, d'un habit d'anges d'armoysin et de tocque d'argent
- + May A l'Image de St. Elisabeth Reyne de Portugal, pour ca jour du sa canonization qui le fit a l'Eglise de St. Francois a Bruxelles, une riche couronne de pierreries, sur du tabis d'or Lisse. Plus un poile de toille d'argent, gaufré d'or de milan pour les Goutieres. Le [...] de damas orange et blanc, la [firse] couverte de mesme, et les colonnes du daix de toille d'argen passémenté d'or. La robe de L'Image de toille d'argent frize d'or.
- + Iuin Pour une Image de nre dame de Rosele l'audenarde, une robe de tabis d'argent à fleur d'or passémenté et bordé d'or
- + Iuin A un de des hermitages de Beitendal, un Chasuble un devan d'autel deux courtines un paremen de Buffet deux frize damas blanc. Les Courtines d'armoizin.
- + Iuin Pour l'Eglise des Iesuites de Dunkerke, une Chappe, Chasuble, dalmatiques, devan d'autel, Courtines, et autres assortiments. Le corps de tabis d'argen rentourné, rellievé d'or et de soye blanche, a fleurs engees. Les courtines et voile d'armoizin blanc de fleur, les franges d'or et de soye
1600 fl
- + Iuin Pour l'Eglise de nre dame de Montaigu, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, et un devan d'autel, une Cappe, un drap de pulpitre, un paremem de Buffet deux courtines un portepaix de toille d'or frizée, Les courtines, et voile d'armoizin, lesdis ornemen doubles aussy d'armoizin orangé, Les franges d'or et soye orangé.
Plus pour autres huit autels, de leur Eglise de Montaigu pour chascun d'Iceux, une chasuble et un frontal, une frize de degres, deux courtines, avec leurs Goutieres, deux coussins, une couvert de Missal, un voile de calice, un corporaillier, et un frontal de Buffet, le tour du Brocadelle de Soye a Sept florins, l'aulne, sauf les voiles et courtines d'armoizin de florins, les franges d'or et de soye
4330 fl

- + Iullet Pour les portes devan de l'oratoire que Son Alt. envoya à Rome au Pere Inique de Iesus Maria Plusieurs ouvrages a point d'Ongrie, lesquelles furent travailles en la chambre de S.a. avec la robe de ornements des annees precedentes.

- + Septemb. Pour L'Image de nrs Dame de Guadalupe en Espagne, une vestemen de toille d'argen Lissé. contenant douze aulnes et demies, a vingt deux florins l'aulne, laiz robe bordé et passementé d'or

[Folio 229]

- + Septembre Au Religieuses de l'abbayie de Genepe pour accomplissemen d'un ornemen qui leurs avoir ofré donné par ce fet Archiduc. une cappe, deux dalmatiques, des courtinnes avec leur goutieres quatre frontissires de degres, un paremen de Credenne, un couvreur di Missal, un portepaix, un voile de Calice, une [...] un daix pour le S^t Sacremen. Un frontissire pour la base du tabernacle, un vestemen pour l'Image de nrs dame et de petit Iesus. Le corps de toille d'argent a fleurs d'or a quinze florins l'aulne. Les passemen de satin blanc et de [...] a grands feuillages d'or, les courtines et voiles d'armoizin blanc de fleurines, les franges et enrichissemen d'or et de soye. Le tout
1546 fl
- + Iullet Aux Carmelines de Douay. Une chappe de damas blanc et bleu
- + Iullet Pour accomplissemen des ornemen de point d'Ongris, que S.A. envoya a Rome, tant pour l'autel de nre Dame de la Victoire, que pour les deux autels Collateaux, plusieurs aulnes d'armoizin orangé, les franges bordures, et enrichissements, d'or et de soye blanche. Les ornemens, futs fair avec patience en a chambre de S.A. et estimmé une grane somme
- + Iullet Aux Religieuses de Lyon, en la ville d'audenard, une chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, devan d'autel, paremens de Credonne, tapis de poupitre, quatre Courtines, porte paix, voile de calice, couverts du Missal, corporaillier, et volet, avec une banniere de damas, plus deux coussin, six frontissieres de degres, un daix aux les courtines, goutieres, et frontissire, le corps de damaz, violes cramoizy, les passemens de velour a troiz poil, aussy viole cramoizy les courtines et voiles d'armoizin de mesme, les franges bordures et enrichissements d'or et de soye
1576 fl
- + Iullet Aux Capucins de Tevure. Cinq ornements complets des cinq coulieurs, chasque ornemen contienens, trois chasubles, trois devan d'autel, trois couvertes de Missal, six coussin, et six frontissiers de degres, avec des courtines pour le grand autel deux paires, le tom de Breura demy de soye et de Camelot de l'[...], les enrichissemens de satin, passemens et courdonné du soy
1926 fl
- + Iullet A L'Image de nre dame du Sablon du Bruxelles, une robbe

d'armoizin Incarnar, passementé, avec un voile, de taffetas bleu,
plus a l'Image de St. Ioseph une robe de gros de Naples a ondes
et passemente

[Folio 229v]

- + Iuliet Pour la Seminaire des Carmes deschaussees de Louvain un
ornemen de trois cent florins

- + May A La Confrerie de La Chapelle nre dame de St. Francois de
Bruxelles, un estandart de damaz cramoisy avec les franges et
enrichissements qui cousta

272 fl

[Folio 230]

Presents

1628

P	Ian.	A la Reyne d'Espange. Des manchons, gemme de perles, et enriches, l'un d'une chaines d'or esmailles de 120. pieces, et chaque piece de deux diamans, [aspais] de.– un autre d'une chaine de 160. pieces de different facon et chaque [chatre] de deux diamants. Un autre de cinc tours de petite chaines, [...] dans la garderobbe. Le reste desdits enrichissements, de manchon, cousta –	1753 fl
A	May	Un laqs d'or esmaillé, de 61 diamants – A l'Ambassadeur de l'Archiduc Leopolde.	850 fl
	Iuin	Au fille de comte d'Argit son menine, parsant pour Angleterre, un brillant de	550 fl
+	Iuillet	Un Aprestador et carquant d'or esmaillé, de 69 diamants, que S.A. fit mettre a la custode de St Sacrement de Miracles de Bruzelles.	750 fl
+	Aoust	A nostre Dame de Montaigu, deux Anges d'argent a [...] sur une base, tenant, en main un relliquaire d'or esmaillé garni de rubis et de diamants, le tout cousta, autre la relliquaires d'or que S.A. fournit	837 fl
P	Sept.	Au Prince de Modena, neveu de S.A. un cordon de chapeau esmaille avec 51 diamants, dont 41 devan coustoient 100. Fl. piece. Les six de la rose 150. fl. chaine. Les autres faoit tailler en coeur en facettes 1000 fl. piece. La [...] du milieu de la rose passoit quatorre guarats et un grain. S.A. la [...] de sa garderobbe, d'un sier coulier, les autres 50 cousterent	6000 fl
		<i>in margin on right: ce rolhier fut [...] et retreué [...] et entre s'accommandé au mois de Mars de l'annee suivants 1624 le grand diamant avoit autrefois practé vingt mille verres, l'actoit [...] belle du perfection./</i>	
		Et la facon et l'estuy –	508 fl

		A six gentilhomme de sa suite, six autres ioyaux qui coustrant	4488 fl
		A 16 autres de ses domestiques a chassun une chaine d'or, qui coustricht toute [...]	3966 fl
		Au mesme Prince un petit tour de chaine d'or avec une relliquaire esmaillé et dans iceluy de la vray croix, que S.A. y mit elle mesme.	98 fl
P	Sept.	A la Reyne de France, un chiffre de MARIA d'or esmaillé avec 100 diamants, au bras d'un chappelet de coreil. Ledit chiffre	273 fl
		Plus un relliquaire de cristal garni d'or, avec au caluaire del relliques, et sur ceiluy un crucifix d'or	
	octob.	D'un St. Jean et d'une Ntre Dame./ Plus une chaine et un relliquaire au bras de cristal parmi d'or esmaillé et dans craliez au petit Iesus. Il cousta	150 fl

[Folio 230v]

		Plus un reliquaire d'or esmaillé avec le nom de Iesus d'un costé, et au coste de l'autre, per dedans une montaigne de reliques, avec un St. Francois en cielle cousta	117 fl
	Dec.	A van de Hayck le peintre d'Anvers, pour avoir peint S.A. une chaine d'or de	750 fl
+	Dec.	A nostre Dame de Guadalupe, par Don Diego de Salcedo, un veste et une robbe sur lesquels il y avoit deuxcent cinquante et un pieces d'or pesant 80 ounces et demies, esmailles de blanc et rouge, avec chainne en diamant au milieu, et 730. perles de prix en toutes lees trat estime plus de	6500 fl
P	Aoust	Au Prince de Modena, un petit chien, avec le coulier garni d'argent. Plus une grand [...] d'esebiene garnie en dehors d'argent de relief cizelè et plein de peaux d'amere, de bourses, de gane, de sa [...] et autres. Plus un escritoire d'Estoine assortie en dedans de toutes ses pieces d'argent	
+	Aoust.	Au Pere Dominique de Iesus Maria, pour la chappelle nostre Dame de la Victoire, deux cassolettes d'argent assorties de leurs rechaux couvercles [...] a iour, et de tout le reste	
+	1629	Pour l'Eglise Cathdrale daiy la Chapelle un riche ornement contenen trois chappe avec leurs capuses, et houppes une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, avec les estoufes et un manipules, deux devan d'autel, un tapis de pulpitre, un frontissier de degrés, cinq paires de courtines, quatre coussins, deux corporailleus, un porte paix, un voile de calice, reliques, quatre eschapes de taffetas, une robe, pour l'Image de nrs dame et une pour celle de petit Jesus, corps deuz ornement, fust prise une riche toille, d'or dans la garderobbe de S.A. et pour les parements de la toille d'argent [lisse] de quatre fil, pour la bordure furen employes cin cen et treize pieces d'or et cen vingt neuf onces de soye, sans l'or et la soye qui entre dans les franges. Lesdis ornemen, avec le pierreries et [...] dans il fut eriche cousta soixant mille florins et fut envoye seulement l'année suivant	

[Folio 231]

- + Aux Carmleines deschaussees de Douay, un chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, un devan d'autel, deux frontissiers de degreé et autres assortiments, le corps de damas blanc a grand, ramages, les paremens de brocadelle [...] de satin. Les courtines et voiles d'aromoizin blanc.

- + 1629 A la Chappelle de Rosaire de nrs dame de Sasse du Gand, une chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, et autres assortiments comme le precedan, le corps du damas orangé et blanc, les parements de brocadelle du soye cramoizin a grandz fiellagres.

- + Aux Carmelines De Gand, troiz cent vingt six florins que S.A. fit payer au marchan pour de l'or traict et autres estoffes qu'elle avoir prise pour ceurs Eglise.

[Folio 233]

1629

Presents

+	feub.	S.A. envoya a l'Abbaye de par le gouverneur de Valenciennes, un reliquaire d'argent, crizele, avec son pie et une rellique dans cceluy	166 fl
+	Mars	S.A. envoy a la recluse de Gand, soeur Magdaleine de Tresigni, une rellique, dans un relliquaire d'argent d'ore, avec un mitre au mitan, lequel rellique cousta	190 fl
P	Mars	A la Reyne de France, une chaine de cristal de different preece, s'attachees avec plusieurs [...] de diamant. La dite chaines de parade, et de prix	
	May	Au Capitain a Bourgoignon, qui avoit apporté nouvelle de secours mis dans Bolduc par le Baron de balancon deux tours du chaine de	630 fl
	Iuin	A la comtesse de Gainborghe, de laquelle S.A. avoit loué un fil. Un [noend] de 53 diamants de	1150 fl
	Iuin	A la femme de Statalde grand Maistre d'Hoetel de Duc de Neuburg, une rose emsaille de 53 diamants	1150 fl
+	Iuin	Entre les present que S.A. fit a prix de valeur de seinantamille florine, il y avoit pour nostre Dame et son enfant, chassun une couronne d'or emaille de blanc et de rouge, ormois de 1.66. diamants de [...] de sept fl. 206 aussy de 6 fl., 396. perles, de 2. Fl. piece. Il y entra aux deux par 35 onces d'or La facon costa 2200 fl et tout. Environ	6000 fl
		Plus pour ornement de la robbe de Nostre Dame [...] chasin, et pines esmailee blanc et de rouge, pesant 19. onces et demie et dans chaque chaton un diamant de 9 fl et pour tout 144 perles	1784 fl
		Plus pour l'ornement de la robbe de petit Iesus 65. rosettes d'or esmailles, les 34. avec chassune au diamant en [...], les autres avec une perle de 2. fl. En tout 4 onces d'or	

403 fl

Plus sur lesdites deux robes huict onces de semme de perles, a.
30. fl. l'once

540 fl

Plus encore sept onces trois quarts de perles de 40 fl l'once

320 fl

Plus quatre bourses per metre les relliques, lesquelles estoicht de
tafetis brodees d'or et semees de perles et fornoicht avec soixant
boutons d'or lesquels, l'un bouton pouricht onces

120. fl/

P Iul.

A deux de Magistral de Malines, cinc tours de chaine, pour la [...] faite a retourner de quelques soldats de l'enemy, la grand rose, et quelques pieces de brillant de chappau de Prinse de Modena

487 fl

[Folio 233v]

		Au greffier de Malines, pour la mesme raison, encore une chaine de	311 fl
	Iuillet	Au mesme Royeu d'Aix, par ordre de S.A. un chaine d'or de sept tours et une croix esmaillée y pendant, avec les pictures de la passion d'un coste et des compartiment avec cristane de l'austre – le tout	600 fl
		Plus au sem Royau dedit Aix, une pareille croix avec une chaine de quartre tours	326 fl
H	Aoust	A un Gentilhomme de l'Archiduc Leopols une chaine d'or esmaillée de	295 fl
P		S.A. envoyga a l'Archiduc Leopold, une chaine de diamants, prise dans la garderobbe	
P		Dec. A la Reyne Mere une rellique dans un cristal de roche, garnis d'or, il pouvoit valoir	60 fl
+	feub.	A une petite fille de la comtesse d'Argil, demurant avec Madame de Barlaiment en son cloistre – un bassin et [acchiere], un petit [benesitier] et un couron d'argent (en rechaux)	188 fl
P	Mars	Au Prinse de Modena. Une rellique qui fut retrouvée parmi coque les Hoelandois avoichts volé da son butin. Lesquelle fut rachete par S.A. en enformee dans une boete d'argent que S.A. fit sara expres	
P	Mars	A l'Archiducesse Leopolde, une poupee, [...] à l'Espagnole. De tabis d'argent a fond de tanne passemen d'or et d'argent le rest du vestemen estois de satin blanc avec plusieurs autres robbes different pour restes l'edit poupee	2048 fl
+	Avril	Au Pretrolt de Cauborghe de Brasielles, une corsse d'argent a laquelle S.A. fit mettre les figures en statues des S ^{ts} . Augustin, patron de l'Eglise, Albert et Elisabeth, patrons de ll. AA.	

+	Sept.	A Dona Francisca Marichal, a su venida del Monasterior de monias en Liege, un gobelet d'argent pour boire a l'estat	18 fl
+	Sept.	Aux Carmelines de Douay, une ciboire d'argent doré, dedan et de leurs avec son couvercle surmonté d'une [...], pour les communnies en au met une coape de communions	51 fl
P	octo.	A la Reyne de Franc quatre flassons de verre, pleine d'eaux de senteur, [...] d'argent. Plus un coffre de buis couvert de peau d'ambre, et garni d'argent, tout plein de raretes./	

[Folio 234]

- + Pour les hermitages de Breitendal, des devant d'autel de poin d'ongrie, que furent travaillés dans la chambre de S.A.

- + A l'Eglise de la Capelle du Bruxelles a l'occasion du Jubilé de la Septmaine Saint un ornement [...] les pièces suivantes une chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, parement de credence, tapis de pupitre, deux coussins, deux bourses de missal, un porte paix, un voile de calice, et aussi le corps de tabis d'argent, lisse retourné a onze florins l'aune, les pasements de tabis d'argent frize d'or

- + Pour accomplissement de la Chappelle, qui fut commencée l'Année passée quatre chappes de toile d'argent, retourné de quatre fils, a grans fleurages d'or frizé a 40 florins l'aune, [...] Chappes, richement brodées et doublées d'armoisins orangé et blanc. Plus cent soixant sept aunes de tabis d'or et d'argent adouze florins l'aune. Les courtines seules, coustent deux milles treize florins

A l'Eglise de fr. Martin du Mors de Liege, quatre chappes, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, un devant d'autel, six courtines, un tabernacle aux son frontissier huit coussins, deux couvertes de Missal et autres assortiments a l'acoustamé, le Corps de Brocadelle de Soye, et parements du tabis d'argent, frizé d'or a vingt trois florins. L'aune, les voiles et courtines d'armoisins blanc, les franges bordures et Enrichissements d'or et de soye. Plus un daix de damas orangé e blanc

4200 fl

[Folio 237]

1630
Present

P	Ian.	A la Reyne Mere, un coffre garni aux coint et ferrè d'or, plein de relliques	
P	Mars.	A l'Infante marguerite une statue de la vierge avec son enfant, ayant chascun un coronne d'or esmaillee, les deux coronnes du prix de	194 fl
+	Avril.	Six grandes estoiles d'or esmaillé de diamants et de perles, a chascune de 300 fl. d'or. En coeur de chascune un diamant de 200. fl. s et 55. de 6. fl. la piece. Et 63. perles de 50 solr. plus 300 fl. de facon. un que chasque estoile revenoit a 1459. fl. 10 solr. Et les six ensemble	8457 fl
		Desquelles six estoiles S.A. fit present a nostre Dame de Monserrat, pour accomplissement des douze qui sont a son diademe. Les autres six ayant esté donner pour autres Princes. Et les six se S.A. furent envoyees en deux fois frere Claude Piccot relligieux de Lien./	
		Plus S.A. fit mettre en l'estoite qui luy avoit esté envoya de Monserrat pour patron, quarante neufs diamans de 6 fl [...] en Place d'enfant de clabekien pierres fausses qui furent demontees, et fit du sarplus adiuster huit perles, en quoy elle employa	344 fl
+	May.	Aux cordelières de Madrid, deux croix d'ebeine avec les picture de la passion delles, d'or esmaillé en il y on avoit plus de trois onces	158 fl
	May	A un gentilhomme du Prince de Modena une chaine d'or de	505 fl
A	Iuin.	Au comte de Solre son allant au Espagne un [noend] esmaillé, de 93. diamants, de	2700 fl
A	Aoust	A Don Philippe de Porras, et Iuan (N) de Estobar, reformateurs, qui son retournerent en Esapgne, chassun un ioyau, les deux de	2000 fl

	sept.	A Alonso de Lope, serviteur de la Reyne de France, quand il passa par Bruxelles, en tour de chaine de	519 fl
+	octob.	Aux deschausses de Madrid, 45 medailles de cuivre dore, cen le esclavitud de ntr Señora, desquelles S.A. avoit fait faire de coin expres.	
P	octob.	Au Marquis de Bade en Allamagne, un ioyau emsailé de 23 diamans. il cousta	2000 fl

[Folio 237v]

- + octob. A Nostre Dame de Wileuenden, une lampe d'argent, du poid de
112 onces – cousta
422 fl s
- P octob. A La Reyne Mere de France, par la Marqui de Mirabel, deux
boetes d'or, esmailee
154 fl
- Encore a elle, une [...] chaine de 300 petites picee d'argent,
durees et taillies en facon de peinture de diamants, et de sept cent
douze perles, l'argent, et perles
210 fl
- Encore une autre chaine de quatrecent petites estoiles d'argent
doré, tailles en faraittes comme diamant, et lastrees a cinc solr
piece. et de 200 pieces d'or esmailles pour cent vingthuict florines
– le tout
228 fl
- P Nov. Au Prince d'Espagne un saye, en vaquero (c'est un habit tout d'une
crinère) avec frontal prins d'allemands d'or, et a chaque pair sort
diamants de fond. En tout noeuf onces et un quart d'or et 210
diamans
- Plus espee est un poignard, les garnitures toutes d'or ciselés,
esmaillées de blanc, et enrichies de 208 diamants Les diamans
estoicht de la garderobbe de huict florins pieces – puis dix
onces d'or le tout pouvoit valleur 2000 Philippes
4500 fl
- Au Docteur Chifflet en Ianv. 1631 pour avoir loué son fils sur les
tous un [...] avec l'[acquiere], d'argent doré et [...], du poid de 79
onces et douze, a 4 fl 10 s l'ounce
357 fl 15 solr
- P feub. Au Prince d'Espange, un chevalet de nouvelle invention, chargé de
sonnettes d'argent, pour passer le temps au Prince, a la facon de
France et de Pays bas.
- + A l'Image de Nrs Dame de bon Succes, qui est l'esglise de
Augustine de Bruxelles, une robe de tabis d'argent a fleur d'or,
passementé qui cousta deux cen florins
- + A la Chapelle de St. Sacremen du Miracle, un ornemen, pour les

messes des [...] qui Contien Chappe, Chasuble, dalmatiques, devant d'autel, Courtines, tapis de pulpitre, porte paix et [...]. le corps de velour noir plain, les pasements de toille d'or lisse, le courtines et voiles d'armoizin et du Genes les franges d'or et de soye noir.

+

Aux Carlines deschaussees de Douay, une chappe, chasuble, dalmatiques, devan d'autel, courtines, paremens de chore, tapis de pulpitre, voiles, coussines, bourtes du Missal, un tabernacle, avec son petit autel un frontis. [...] de [...]. Un paremen de creden et autres assortiements, le corp, et leurs paremens de brocadelle de soye a 7 florins l'aulne, les courtines et voiles d'armoizin bleu les franges bordures et enrichissements d'or du soye

[Folio 238]

- + Aux Carmelines dechaussées de Bruxelles, trois chappes, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, et autres assortiments couples un corps de damas orangé et blanc les parements de toile d'or, a fond cramoizy blanc. Les Courtines et voile d'armoizin Cramoizy les franges d'or de soye.

- + A une esglise d'aras, une [...] chappe brodé

[Folio 239]

1631
presents.

- + Mars Au Cardinal de Bagny qui vint veoir S.A., un escribane, un
escritoire, de peau d'ambre, garni tout d'or./
- P May. A l'Infante Cardinal un [effite] de ntr Dame ayant la couverte d'or
esmaillé./
- Iuin. Au grand Aumonier de la Reyne de Hongrie que passa icy, allant
en Espange. Une croix d'or emsaillée, de 58. diamants de
900 fl
- A Aoust Au S^r de Puilaurent, une rose d'or esmaillée, de 79. diamants, une
printe en coeur
2500 fl
- octob. Au iyune Admirante d'Aragon ieu allant en Espange un ioyau de
55. diamants
1200 fl
- Nov. A la comtesse d'Olivares une image de Nostre Dame, dans un
reliquaire d'or esmaillé avec deux cristaulx, garni de 375.
diamants de 2. fl. 10 solr piece, et en or et facon 312 fl. –
en tout
1249 fl 10-s
- S.A. l'envoya en Espange, avec deux boettes d'horlage, une d'or
esmaillé, l'autre de cristal, garni d'or esmaillé.
- P Iuillet A La Reyne Mere un pulpitres, un portemirouer d'argent. Plus
quatre petits flassons d'argent doré. Plus une corbeille d'argent en
[...], travaillée a iour. Plus une petite salue d'argent. Plus des
vergettes de brosses a nettoyer les habits garnies d'argent, d'une
lame longue. Plus une autre brelle a nettoyer lasoigne, avec une
teste d'argent.
- + Aux Carmlines deschaussees de Douay pour le Corps d'un
ornemen d'Esglise dans les religieuses [...] [...] Les parements
quarante et une aunes de damas blanc a grand feullages, un porte
paix, un voile de calice d'armoizin cramoizy, avec La couvert de
Missal, Le corporaillier et volette, de satin et du galé d'or
suffisamment pour les crois et bordures.

A Soeur Magdelines du Tresigny Recluse a St. Sacremen de Gand pour accomplissement d'un ornemen Imparfait, que La Reyne Luy encor donné pour son Eglise, trente quatre aulnes de Brocadelle de Soye Iaunne et blanches, a 7 florins L'aulne, dieux aulnes de Satin orenge du Broulougne, et plusieurs autres assortiments.

[Folio 240]

1632

Presents

Mars	A la Reyne Mere, pour son presents d'en my-caresme (selon la coustume de Pays bas) une statue de Nostre Dame, tenant son enfant, du bois du chesne de Montagiu. Ayant un siestre d'or, et une couronne, et le petit Iesus, une curonne tous d'or et de pierreries. Il y avoit d'or en tout cinc onces et un quart. La couronne de nostre Dame stoit composée de douze diamants de fond, et de 48 rubis. La couronne de l'enfant de 18 diamants et 16 rubis. Le colier de Nostre Dame, de 14 diamants, dans il y avoit un principal, et de huict rubis. Le monde que feroit le petit Iesus estoit traversé de dix diamants et noeufrubis, et surmonte de deux perles de 15 fl pieces a le tout	723 fl
	Plus deux offices de Nostre Dame, dans les [termillettes] d'or esmaillées coustricht	263 fl
	Plus un beau chappelet, et au bout un coeur de perre de Nostre Dame de foy, armi d'or.	
Avril.	Au Duc d'Orleans. Un relliquaire d'or de 22 diamants	150 fl
	Avec un tour de chaine de	46-fl
	Plus un coffre terre d'or, plein de bourses, gans, et autres peaux d'ambre	
A Iuin.	Aux deux fils du marquis de Mirabel, quand il partit pour Espagne, a chassun un ioyau, les deux, cousterent	1900 fl
	A La Marquise de Mirabel, un pair de pendans d'oreille de diamants, fort riche.	
+ Iuillet	Un [noend] d'or esmaillé de 55. diamants, que S.A. offrit a l'Image de Nostre Dame de Hale, il cousta	330 fl
+ Sept.	Au Cardinal de la Cueva son allant a Rome, une croix de 14.	

grands diamants, et 100. petits. De

1500 fl

Sept.

A la Marquise de Ste croux, un chapelet de dix disains, de pierres de Nostre Dame de Foy, garni de grains d'or avec chassun 30. diamants et la croix de quatre grands diamants et cent petits. Plus un relliquaire contient une image de nostre dame de Montaigu, de 61 un petits diamants, et 19 grands, en tout 394. Diamants couste tout

1119 fl

[Folio 240v]

		Plus a Dona Aldonna, soeur de la dite Marquise se Ste Croix, un reliquaire d'ebene et dans eceluy une statue de nostre Dame de Montaigu, ayant la curonne d'or esmaille et la petit Iesus une curonne Imperiale, aussy d'or esmaille __ les deux coronnes de	50 fl
		A Doña Ana Barã, fille de ladite Marquise un ioyau de 53. diamants de	900 fl
		A la Marquise del Bisoy, belle fille du Maruis de S ^{te} croix, une grande rose, avec sa pointe au mitan de 74 diamants, qui cousta	2200 fl
		A la petite fille du Marquis de S ^{te} Croix, un reliquaire d'or de 74. diamants, avec un image de Nostre dame esmaillee	450 fl
A	Sept.	Au colonel Camarghe, qui estoit envoye de la part de comte de Papenham, un ioyau de	850 fl
A	octob.	A l'ambassadeur de Duc de Savoya a qui apporta nouvelle de l'heureur accochement du la dicheuse, un ioyau de	1000 fl
P	Dec.	A la Reyne Mere qui estoit a Anvers pour la S ^t nicolas. Un chapelet d'or de cinc dizaine, chasque manque garni de huit diamants, et les petits grains, de 4. A La croix de 52. diamants et au bas d'icelle, au reliquaire avec 9. diamants et une fermesse avec 56. En tout 377. diamants cousta	1054 fl
P	Mars	Un reliquaire d'esbeine, garnis d'argent, compé a iour. A la Reyne Mere c'estoit pour le my-caresme	
	May	A DeLingenges medicateur de Monsieur, pour avoir une fois presché à coeur. Un calice d'argent doré partout, a 5 fl 5 solr l'once	176 fl
+	Iuillet	A la chappelle du St. Sacrement de miracle, six chandeliers d'argent, avec les armes du Roy. La tout	386 fl

P Nov. A la Reyne Mere quatre bouteille de verre garnies [...] d'argent
pleines d'eaux des senteurs. Plus une petite salue eu tasse d'oré.
Plus un relliquaire d'estoine, garni d'argent./

[Folio 241]

1625 Duynkerke 5 octobre

Ordre donné par S.A.S. l'Infante Isabelle a Mr. l'Archevesque de caesarée, estant à Duynkirke.

Aced que se dygan mañana, lo mas temmase qui se pueda las missas riquienta,

A Nuestra Señora	Por las animas
A Sant Miguel	doryentas.
A Sant Rafael	
A Sant Gabriel	
A todos los Angeles	
A Sant Joseph	
A Sant Yago	
A Sant Matheo	
A Sant Alyfonso	
A Sant Vinot	
A Sant Ignatio	
A Santa Teresa	
A Santa Antonio de Padua	
A los Reyes	
Al nombres de Jesus	

Y qua se continuaer cada día asta que io lo diga./
Y huelgo de saber de nra moionia./

La suponscrivtira esctrit
Al Archispo de cesanea./

[Folio 246]

1633
presents

May	A Iacques Edit, secretiare de Ruc de Neuburg, pour avoir apporté nouvelle de l'accouchement, la Duchesse de Neuburg, un chaine de	286 fl
Avril	A un gentilhomme, qui apporta à S.A. de la part de Roy d'Angletrre, une peinture a huile sur de la toile, qu'est un des miracles de la passion de savoir du monde. Une chaine d'or de	606 fl
octob	A celui qui apporta la nouvelle de l'accochement de la Reyne de Hongrie, un chaine d'or de	400 fl
Ianv.	A l'Ambassadeur de Polongne. Un ioyau d'or esmaillé de 53. Diamants	1200 fl
Iuin	Au Duc de Neuburg, pour rapporter a sa femme pour la fils don't S.A. avoit esté marraine. Un grand ioyau de 72 diamants du prix cousta	4000 fl
Iuin	A la Reyne de Hongrie, deux chemisole de deux mantelets, avec 290. boutons d'or esmaillé, et a chassun cinc diamants – or et diamants	2822 fl

Plus une petite ceinture d'or esmaillé, pour l'enfant, avec 21. raretes enchassees de different pierres et autres curiosites ayants de la verte, a covoir au grand rubis entre deux esmaurades, deux safirs, deux tarquoisies, deux [iacintes], deux ametistes, deux grenats, deux topasies deux crisolites, deux tormalines, deux Agathes, et autres chaque piece et aux cabochons de la ceinture un rose d'or de 30 diamants, que font en tout 66. et a la branche en piece de milieu 17. diamants. A la ceinture pendoit une patte de [...] un manche d'or et de 14 diamants. Une racine de [...] garnis de douze diamans. Une auellane d'or esmaillé avec 8. diamants. Un clochette d'argent garnie d'or, avec 12. diamants. Une chastagne de mer garni d'or avec 12. diamants. En tout 141. diamants. Le tout de la cienteure pertout

1569 fl

Plus une petite chaîne d'or émaillée de 43. pièces ayant 2.
diamants chassés, de laquelle pendoit une croix d'or émaillée,
garnie de 51 diamants, et aux deux côtés pendoient deux
reliquaires, avec 181. diamants, plus deux médailles d'or avec 14.
diamants, Plus deux mains faisant la figure, une de [gaet], l'autre
de corail, [...] avec 34. diamants. En tout 380. diamants – le tout

1600 fl

[Folio 246v]

- P Sept. A la Duchesse d'Orleans, une escritoire, en il y avoit entre autre choses une acquila d'or, le reste ie ne la say pas. Voyeur plus bas.
- P Sept. Au Prince Thomas de Savoya, pour son fils, que S.A. avoit loué. Une croix esmaillee, de 52. diamants, avec de la vraye croix
500 fl
- P Nov. A l'Infante Cardinal, un horloge dans une boete d'or esmaillée Plus pour mettre au chevet de son list. Un relliquaire d'Ebeine, et au milieu d'iceluy dans une niche, une statue de nostre Dame du bois de Montaigu, avec diadems estoillé, et le petit Iesus avec une couronne Imperiale, l'un et l'autre, avec 55. diamants. Les deux sans le reste de relliquaires
250 fl
- Feubu. Au Pere Suffren, et au S^r. de S^l Germaine tout deux predicateurs de la Reyne Mere, a chassan un calice doré avec sa patene, et a chassan un bassin en ovale avec les dex burettes d'argent. Le tout
512 fl
- P Feub. A La Reyne Mere, dixhuict bouteilles de verre, aux embouchures d'argent, pleines d'eau de souteur.
- + Aoust A Nostre Dame de Laken une sceptre d'argent doré, du poid de six onces
- P Sept. A la duchesse d'Orleans une grande escritoire couverte de velour garni d'argent et assortie de toutes pieces, et de plusieurs boetes, pleines de [...], de senteurs, d'acquelles, de des a coudre. Plus une salue doré
- + Decemb. A l'Eglise de Breitendal que S.A. avoit fair reparer. Trois devants d'autel, une chappe, une chasuble, deux Damatiques, six courtines, avec leurs goutieres, un tapis de pulpitre, une veile et porter la paix, un de calice, un tabernacle, pour la St. Sacrement, deux faces de degres, deux couvertes de Missal, dore mesmes, corporailler, et la corp de damas incarnat et blanc. Les orfrais et bordures de brocadelle de [...] soye blanche et verte. Les voiles et curtines d'armoysin cramoisi. Les cousins et couvertes de Missal de Satin.
- A Monsieur d'Andalet, pour une chapelle de Bourgoigne, trois chappes, une chasuble, deux dalmatiques, devant d'autel, deux courtines, un portepaix, et [...] de [...], deux couvertes de Missal, un portepaix. Le corps de damas cramoisi, les orfrais portes de

gentiere de velour cramosis, les courtines et veiles d'armoisins./ les franges de soye./

[Folio 248]

Une lampe d'argent par l'Archiduc Charles, de y avoit donné une statue d'argent et [...], armée. Plus une coupe doree et autres presens

Le dons faist pour la Serenissime Infante en l'Eglise de nre Dame de hal.

Un robbe [...]. Les apendeices de satin blen brode.

Une robbe [...]. Les apendeices de toillet blan brodde.

Une robbe [...] son manteau de draps d'argent pour seme de fleurs, et [...] un ornement pour l'autel de drap d'argent, pour seme de fleures et brode en diverses plasses, donne en September 1616.

Une rouge robbe de drap d'argent brode de perles [...] les apendeices donne en Septembre 1626.

Un frontal [...] pour la S. Image nre Dame, enrichy des estoilles d'or et de diamans [...] de perles. Sans les perles – 824 fl. en sept 1627.

Item un poitrinael en fourme de triongle enrichy sembleblement des estoilles d'or et diamant donné en Septembre 1627.

Une lache d'or enrichy de diamans, donne le 10^e de Iuillet 1632

Elle fit resacre une mitre

Appendix B

Letters between the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and Fray Domingo de Jesús María, head of the Catholic Mission in Rome, Ana de San Bartolomé, Prioress of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp, 1611-1626, and Béatrix de la Conception, Prioress of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp, 1626-1646 in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites of Antwerp.⁵⁷⁴

Document 1: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 16 June 1623

Mill dias ha que no ayo esto ni os he respondido a vuestras cartas; confieso que lo he dexado porque a muchas cosas no se podia bien responder por escrito, y así he tenido por mejor callar, pero ahora os diré como, despues de muchos dares y tomares con el Nuncio, aparecido lo mejor que estas pobres monjas francesas esten debajo de vos que las abeis criado y las encaminareis a lo que mejor les pueda estar, y aunque yo pudiera haber apretado mas al Nuncio para que quedaran aqui, no me ha parecido bien hacerlo, lo uno por no tener yo poder ni tocarme el mandarlo, y lo otro por no disgustar al Nuncio que es lo que a ellas mas les importa, porque el puede escribir a Roma en su favor, harto me pesa del embaraco que os han de dar pero creo le pasareis de buena gana a trueque de hacer esta buena obra y como si la descomodidad que os podran causar enbio ay a Balle a lo que el os dira que os pido no lo sepa mas que vos por algunas consideraciones bien creereis que olgare siempre en todas ocasiones de mostrar lo que deseo hacer por vos y por esa casa, de mi lo que os puedo decir es que estoy tan mala y pecadora como siempre

⁵⁷⁴ The following document is transcribed from its original Spanish and then translated into English, maintaining original spelling, grammar, syntax, emphasis, and abbreviations. Illegible script is denoted by [...]. In the translation words that are legible, but whose meaning is unknown have been placed in brackets.

y assi bereis quanto habré menester la aiuda de vuestras oraciones y que Nuestro Señor me aga buena, y me alumbre, paraque acierte a servirle en tantos embarazos, como me tiene puesta, pues mi deseo es solo de servirle y en calzar la S^{ta} fee catholica, a todas me encomiendo a Clariça que me huelgo de saber que este tan buena monja tambien me he olgado de saber la mejoria de Sor Clara, su madre me a pedido os diga de un clerigo que desea llebar ay que a lo que todos podemos juzgar a echo una muy buena cura en su hijo del Marques de Marne y assi lo juzgar los mismos doctores que le han curado y me dicen a echo otras muchas, y aunque no fuesse sino por el consuelo de su madre, habriades de permitir que le biese.

Dadme nuevas vuestras, pues siempre las deseo muy buenas, y que os guarde Nuestro Señor muchos años.

De Bruselas a 16 de Junio 1623

A. Isabel

It has been a thousand days since I did this and I have not replied to your letter. I must confess I have not written due to the many issues I should not put on paper, and so I decided it was better to be silent. But now I will tell you how, after so much bickering back and forth with the Nuncio, I think it would be best if these poor French nuns were under you. You educated them and you can point them to the right direction. I could have put more pressure on the Nuncio, so that they could have stayed here, but it did not seem the right thing to do. On one hand, I do not have the power, nor is it my duty, to command that; on the other, I did not want to upset the Nuncio because that is what the nuns care about the most. Because he can write on his favor to Rome, I regret so much

the hindrances they give you there. But I think you will have it good in compensation for doing this great deed. Because of the discomfort they might cause you, I send to [Balle]. He will tell you that I ask you that nobody should know about it, except you. Because of some courtesies, you shall well believe I will always, in every occasion, be delighted to show what I wish to do for you, and in the benefit of this house. All I can say about me is that I am not fine, and I am such a sinner. So, you will see as always how much I need your prayers. I hope Our Lord makes me good, and shows me the light, so that I can serve Him correctly in the many hindrances I happen to have. My only wish is to serve Him, and to consolidate our Holy Catholic Faith. I commend myself to all. I rejoiced at knowing that Clariça is such a good nun. I have also rejoiced to learn that Sister Clara is doing better. Her mother asked me to tell you about a priest she wishes to take there. We all consider he has excellently treated her son, Marquee of Marne, and so the doctors themselves, who have cured him, judge it. They tell me he has performed many others treatments. You should allow him to see her, even if it is only for her mother's consolation. Give me some news about you; I always wish they are good. May God bless you for many years to come.

From Brussels. June 16, 1623.

A. Isabel

Document 2: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 28 July 1623

Padre Fray Domingo, casi juntas he recibido sus dos cartas, la una de Roma, y la otra que me ha traído el padre, fray Ilario, y los recados que le ha dado, que todo ha sido de grandísimo contento y consuelo para mí de ver como se acuerda de esta su hija que aunque la más mala de todas, la que más estima el serlo. Dios me haga tal como se los pide; que con tal intercesión puedo tener esperanza de alcanzarlo, aunque cuando considero mis maldades y lo poco que me se aprovechar de las buenas ayudas que tengo y las mercedes que me hace Nuestro Señor si no me acordase de su mucha misericordia no se que podría ser de mí, y así le pido mucho que en medio de sus ocupaciones lleve adelante la buena obra de caridad que hace en no olvidarme. Yo no le he escrito todo este tiempo porque no sabía a donde le podían hallar mis cartas; pero ahora que esta en Roma me enmendaré, y no he dejado de tener de sus nuevas y particularmente de las mercedes que le ha hecho Nuestro Señor en Genova, de que estoy contentísima. Yo le aseguro que el Marques Espinola esta harto espantado de las amistades que ha hecho allá que dice es el mayor milagro que ha hecho Nuestro Señor. Mucho he sentido la muerte del Papa que hemos perdido un muy buen padre. Dios nos de otro como le ha menester su Iglesia que, a lo que podemos ver con los ojos del mundo, ha sido su muerte en muy mala coyuntura, pero Nuestro Señor sabe remediar las cosas por donde no pensamos. Lo que le puedo decir de acá es que no esta hecha la suspensión de armas con Inglaterra, porque hasta ahora no la quiere firmar el Palatino, ni creo lo hará esta buena gente de Mansfeld y Halberstadt. Nos traen como suelen, tienen mucha gente, y nos hacen estar suspensos hasta ver adonde darán para acudir allá; y así estamos sin osar empeñar la gente en otra cosa y todo lo que ahora se procura es estorbarles que no se junten. Tilly y Halberstadt

están a una legua el uno del otro. Por ahí andan nuevas que han llegado a las manos y que Tilly ha llevado lo peor, que nos tiene con mucho cuidado; pero no se sabe cosa cierta. El Rey de Francia le ha enviado a Mansfeld dinero y gente; yo he hecho cuanto he podido para estorbarlo, y aunque me prometio de mandar que no saliese de su reino ninguno a servir fuera, ahora levantan mas gente para enviarle. Tambien la ha enviado a Hollanda y les ha dado docientos mill escudos dentro de pocos días otros doscientos y ahora les envaa otros tantos; y un embajador de Venecia les ha traído mucho socorro, con que han recuperado su necesidad que llegaba a tal extremo que parecia que lo poco que se les apretase estuviera acabado con ellos. Ahora estan muy fuertes; pero Nuestro Señor lo es mas que ellos; mire si nos faltaran cuidados. Pero el mayor es que no se nos amotine la gente, que con la falta de las provisiones de España, ha estado muy cerca y ya comenzado un motin que seria destruccion de todo. El padre Jacinto ha estado aqui unos dias y le pedí nos predicase, y asy lo hizo el día de la Magdalena y hizo un extremadisimo sermon. espero habra sido de mucho provecho su venida, para aclarar algunas cosas mal entendidas que causaran disgustos y mala inteligencia que por lo demas creo ha satisfecho, que las voluntades han sido siempre unas y buenas. En mitad de todos estos cuidados, nos ha querido Nuestro Señor traer uno con las monjas de Francia, que habra entendido con el capitulo. Le aseguro nos han dado bien en que entender por no saber que hacer de ellas y vinieron sin decir nada hasta llegar a la puerta de este monasterio. A my me han muerto para que las dejase entrar dentro, y ya tenían ganado al Nuncio que decia haria lo que yo le mandase; pero yo he tenido firme y asy parecio estarian mejor en Amberes con la Madre Ana de San Bartolome; pero luego se ofrecia otra dificultad, que no tengo que darles de comer, pero yo se lo he dado secretamente, que no lo sabe sino la

Madre Ana a quien le envió ahora. con lo que ha traído el padre Ilario se procurara ponerlas en algun cabo, debajo de un obispo, aunque hay algunos que no las quieren. Cierta hacen lastima por otro cabo, aunque yo no las he visto, ellas las tristes el puro miedo de los malos tratamientos las ha hecho tomar tal resolucion; pero cierto han sido terribles cosas las que han pasado en Francia, como debe de saber. Nuestras monjas de casa estan muy tristes por la quedada del Padre Tomas, aunque yo no desespero de tu venida y hago mis diligencias, porque sin duda estan muy al principio todos estos monasterios, para dejarlos sin padre tan presto. No se cuando podran entrar las monjas, porque ahora no me puedo apartar de aqui; pero si pudiere, yo queria fuese el dia de la Santa Madre que sera pasada la calor que la ha hecho la mayor que se ha visto jamas aqui, a lo que se acuerdan todos. Yo quisiera que los regalos para la Madona de la Victoria fueran como ella merece; pero recibira la voluntad que es de servirla siempre lo mejor que yo pueda. Un relicario que hacia para que diese al Papa ha detenido que no haga partido, lo demas ya esta casi acabado y se le enviaré para que le ponga donde mas gustare: que la imagen que lleva es del palo y del mismo tamaño que Nuestra Señora de Monteagudo. Doyle muchas gracias por las imagenes que me ha enviado con el padre Ilario y quedo con mucho alborozo aguardando el Niño Jesus. Todas las de casa se le encomiendan mucho y estiman como deben que se acuerde de ellas y las monjas particularmente. A su compañero Fray Pedro me encomiendo mucho y le tengo envidia de los buenos dias que habra tenido en el desierto. No se que mas decirle de aca, sino que estamos con cuidado hasta saber la elección del Papa y en qué ha de parar este casamiento de Inglaterra. Dios lo encamine todo y le guarde como desea esta su pecadora hija, que le pide su bendicion.

De Bruselas a 28 de julio 1623

A. Isabel

Father Fray Domingo: I received your two letters almost at the same time; the one from Rome, and the other one, which Father Hilario brought me. These and the messages he has given me have brought me great happiness and consolation, because I see you remember this daughter of yours. Even if she is the worst of all, she appreciates it the most. May God make me as He is prayed to, and with your intervention, I have the hope to reach Him. I do not know what could become of me when I consider my evildoing, furthermore, the little I know on how to take advantage of the great help I receive from the favors Our Lord makes for me with all His mercy. I kindly ask that among your preoccupations, you keep on doing a good deed by not forgetting me. I have not written you all this time because I did not know where my letters could find you. But now, I will resume because you are in Rome. I never stopped hearing news about you, especially about the favors Our Lord did for you in Geneva, which makes me extremely happy. I assure you that Marquee Spinola is amazed about the friendships you have created there, which he says it is the greatest miracle Our Lord has done. I regret so much the Pope's death. We lost a good Father. May God give us another one, as it is necessary for His church. For what we can see, his death has occurred at a bad time. But Our Lord knows how to repair things, and He starts from where we do not even consider. What I can tell you is that the ceasefire with England has not been agreed to because the Palatine does not want to sign, nor I think the good people of Mansfeld and Halberstadt will do it. They treat us as they are used to. They have many people, and they leave us in suspense until

we see where they will go to get there. So, we do not dare to put people in other things, and what we do now is to hamper them so that they do not become allies. Tilly and Halberstadt are a league apart. Some circulating news say that they got into a fight, and that Tilly had it worse. This worries us so much, but we do not know it for certain. The King of France has sent money and people to Mansfeld. I have done what I could to prevent it. Although he promised me he would not command anyone to leave his kingdom to serve away, they are drafting more people to send to him. He has also sent them to Holland, he has given two hundred thousand escudos, and in a couple of days he will send other two hundred, and now he is sending some more. A Venetian ambassador provided them aid, and they have recovered what they needed. They were in such a state, that they could have been finished by just one more slight constrain. Now they are strong, but Our Lord is stronger than they are. Look how we are not lacking preoccupations. The greatest worry, however, is to avoid an uprising because of the lack of provisions in Spain. We have been close to one, and having an uprising would be a complete devastation. Father Jacinto has been here for few days, and I requested him to preach to us. So he delivered an excellent sermon in the Day of Magdalena. I hope we have all benefited from his visit, so that some misunderstood issues, that could have caused arguments and ill reasoning, could be explained. I think he has accomplished that, because the intentions have always been one and they have been good. In the middle of all our problems, Our Lord has wished to bring us one more with the French nuns. You might have learnt about it in the chapter. I assure you they have made us understand well by not knowing what to do with them, and they came up to here, to the monastery doors. I would have to be killed to allow them in. They have already won over the Nuncio, who

said he would do whatever I commanded. But I was firm, and it seemed they would be better off in Antwerp with Mother Ana de San Bartolomé. Then, another problem appeared, and that was that I do not have anything to give them to eat. But I gave it secretly, and nobody knows except Mother Ana, to whom I am sending it now. With what Father Hilario has brought, we will try to put them somewhere, under a bishop, even though there are some that do not want them. On the other hand, we certainly pity them. I have not seen them, the sad ones. The fear of the mistreatment has made them take such a decision. Certainly, terrible things have happened in France, as you might already know. Our nuns in this house are sad because Father Tomas stays. I do not lose hope of your visit, and I do all my proceedings, because, without any doubt, these monasteries are much at the beginning and we cannot leave them so soon without a priest. I do not know when the nuns can enter, since I cannot leave here right now. But, if it were possible, I would wish it were the Day of Saint Mother, which it will be after this heat. It has been the most intense ever experienced, according to what everyone remembers. I would wish the presents for Our Lady of Victory were as she deserves. She will receive my will to always serve Her as best as I can. A reliquary I was doing for the Pope has halted, and it is almost completely done. I will send it to you, so that you place it wherever you please the most. The image inside is from the same wood, and the same size as Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel. I thank you for all the images you sent me with Father Hilario, and I joyfully await for Baby Jesus. Everyone in this house commends to you, and they appreciate, as they should, that you remember them, especially the nuns. I commend myself to your colleague Father Pedro, and I envy him all the good days he might have had in the desert. I do not know what else to tell you from here, except that we are

cautious until knowing the Pope's election, and the results from the marriage in England.
May God show us the way, and may God bless you. This sinner daughter of His requests
your blessing.

From Brussels. July 28, 1623

A. Isabel

Document 3: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 12 October, 1623

Padre Fray Domingo: dos cartas he tenido tuyas que han sido tan bien recibidas como lo seran siempre, aunque la primera me dio mucho cuidado en ver que no estaba bueno; pero la postrera me sacó del, por venir de su mano. Nuestro Señor le de tanta salud como ha menester esta su pecadora hija. de muy buena gana recibo la norabuena que me da del pontificado y las buenas nuevas del Pontifice y estimo como debo la merced que me hace; querria ser tan buena como piensa que soy; pero me falta mucho para llegar alla. Besele el pie por mí y asegúrele, que no tiene hija mas humilde y obediente que yo, ni que mas desee servirle; y a su hermano, cuñada y sobrino, y al hermano de su cuñada les dé mis saludos, cuando los vea, yo huelgo mucho que tenemos aqui una parienta de su Santidad que tambien es bonisima. Ruego a Nuestro Señor que nos guarde mucho años tan buen papa, que espero ha de ser todo el bien de la Christiandad y componer todas las disputas y mal entendido que vemos en los príncipes catholicos. Ya no le he escrito estos días, esperando poderle dar alguna buena nueva de Mansfeld; pero nuestros pecados, y particularmente los míos no dejan que nos veamos libres de el; y podemos bien esperar y temer lo que dice que nos dará en que entender porque Tilly no ha podido hacer nada contra el, y se ha habido de retirar acia el rio Weser y en el obispado de Minden; tomo por pretexto parece dar algun color a su retirada haberle venido unos diputados del Rey de Dinamarca y de los de Holanda a pedir le que se fuese de alli y que ellos harian que saliese Mansfeld. Tilly salio con esto; y Mansfeld, en lugar de irse, ha vuelto a ocupar los lugares que había ocupado de miedo de Tilly, y parece que si la hambre no le echa que no hay otro remedio a visitar por la aspereza de la tierra, el sitio de [Liestap] ya mas a la larga de lo que pensamos; que los de dentro se

defienden valentísimamente, particularmente los burgueses; esperamos que el tiempo que ha mejorado, y le hace lindísimo, ayudara a que se tome la plaza; pero ayer tuvimos una nueva que me ha dado mucho cuidado, y es de haber salido Bellingabor y ganado luego el fuerte de San Andras que esta a los confines de la Austria Superior y se iba a poner sobre Filech, adonde esta el presidio muy mal contento y por otra parte los turcos han quemado un villaje del Emperador y cautivado mucha gente. Dios lo remedie! El padre Jacinto esta ahora aqua: tratamos de algun concierto pero le temo por la necesidad que hay para sustentar tanta gente; Halberstadt esta en Holanda. Esto es cuanto le puedo decir de acá. De Francia les han llevado más dinero a los Holandeses con que nunca les faltará. Dios nos alumbré a todos y nos quite esta materia de estado de la cabeza que es la que todo lo gasta. Ya sabra como el Principe de Gales se volvio; no ha llegado aun, porque el tiempo no le hace para ello, y asi se esta en Santander, aguardándole, y iendo a pasear y ver sus navios, en una barquilla le dio un temporal que ha estado para ahogarse, y a no haber podido asir de una cuerda que le echaron de un navio, no tenia remedio. Dios le haya guardado para su conversion. Yo no he podido llevar las monjas aun, porque unos negocios que tenia aqui no se han podido acabar tan presto, como pensaba; las llevaré lo mas presto que pudiere; espero seran buenas monjas; pero, para la quietud de todos, importa mucho que se acomode bien esto de los confesores; que alla entendera lo que ha pasado ahora con las inglesas de Amberes, que buena mortificación ha tenido la madre Ana de San Bartolome. El demonio, como ve el fruto que hacen estos monasterios, anda muy solícito para perturbarlos; yo hago todo lo que puedo para estorbarlo. Todas se le encomiendan mucho, y dicen que aunque son tan malas sus oraciones, harán lo que les pide. Yo me encomiendo en las suyas para que alcance de Nuestro Señor que le saque

verdadero en ser buena como su mas devota hija, corre esto por su cuenta, y de desengañar a los que piensan que lo soy; pues no ha criado Nuestro Señor mas mala criatura; no se olvide con la Madona de la Victoria de mi, y de quanto es menester que nos ayude ahora, pues tiene tantas partes a que acudir. Y guardele Nuestro Señor, como esta su pecadora hija desea.

De Bruselas a 12 de Octubre y a su compañero me encomiendo.

A. Isabel

Father Fray Domingo: I have received two letters from you, and I welcomed them, as I will always do. The first one worried me, since I hear you are not well. The last one, however, eased my preoccupation just by seeing it come from your handwriting. May Our Lord give you good health, as this sinner daughter of His wishes. I gladly receive the good news you give me about the Pontificate, and the Pope. I appreciate, as I should, the favor He does for me. I would wish to be as good as He thinks I am, but I still have a long way to get there. Kiss His foot for me, and assure Him that He does not have a more humble and obedient daughter than I. I am who wishes to serve Him the most. I send my regards to you brother, to your sister-in-law, to your nephew, and your sister-in-law's brother, whenever you see them. I rejoice to have one of Your Holiness' relatives; she is very good. I beg Our Lord looks after our good Pope for many years to come, and I hope it will be beneficial for all Christianity in order to mend all arguments and misunderstandings we see in the Catholic Princes. I have not replied to you in these days because I was hoping I could give you good news about Mansfeld. But, our sins, especially mine, do not allow us to see ourselves free of him. We can well wait and fear

what he says, he will make us understand because Tilly has not been able to do anything against him. He had to withdraw to Weser River, in the Bishopric of Minden. To cover his withdrawal, he claimed that some representatives of the Kings of Denmark and Holland asked him to leave, stating they would make Mansfeld leave. Tilly departed with this, and Mansfeld, instead of leaving, occupied the places he had occupied because of Tilly's dread. It seems that if it is not for the hunger to chase him away, because of the land roughness, there will not be other way to visit the [Liestap] site, longer than we thought. The ones inside defend themselves bravely, especially the burghers. We hope the weather, which is very good now, will help to have the plaza taken. Yesterday we received very worrisome news. That is, Bellingabor has left and won the San Andres Fort, which is in the limits of Upper Austria. He was about to be over Filech, where the garrison is poorly contained. Moreover, the Turks burnt an Emperor's village, and they captured so many people. May God help us! Father Jacinto is here now. We try to maintain some order, but I fear the need we have to feed so many people. Halberstadt is in Holland. This is as much as I can tell you from here. From France, they have sent much more money to the Dutch, they will never run out of it. May God show us some light, and free us from these matters of state that consume us all. You might know how the Prince of Wales returned. He has not arrived yet, because the weather has not permitted it, so he is in Santander waiting and recreating, and looking at his ships. A storm got him while he was in a boat, and just because he managed to seize the rope they threw at him from a ship, he would have undoubtedly drowned. May God have helped him in order to be converted. I have not been able to take the nuns yet because of some business I had here, and it could not be solved sooner than I had thought. I hope they will

be good nuns. It is important, for everyone's tranquility, to arrange the confessors' issues. You will understand what has happened with the English in Antwerp. Mother Ana de San Bartolomé has been so mortified. The Devil, who sees the results of our monasteries, is eager to disrupt them. I do whatever I can to hamper it. Everyone commends to you, and they say that even if their prayers are not good, they will do what they are asked. I commend myself in yours, so that they reach Our Lord, and I truly become His most devoted daughter. This is your task, and it is also to make others see what I really am. For Our Lord has not raised a worse creature. Do not forget me with Our Lady of Victory, and how much we need Her to help us now, since She has so many places to go. May God bless you. This sinner daughter of His wishes so.

From Brussels, October 12. I commend myself to your colleague.

A. Isabel

Document 4: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 5 January 1624

Padre Fray Domingo, yo le prometo que ha cargado de mi tanto estas dos semanas, que no he podido responderle ni decirle, quanto holgué con su carta y a las buenas nuevas que me da en ella, de lo que ha ordenado el definitorio, que yo lo estimo como debo, y le pido les dé las gracias de mi parte y yo se las doy lo mejor que puedo por lo que ha ayudado para ello: que cierto sintiera mucho que la Madre Priora saliera de su oficio y se bolviera a España; y sus hijas la quieren y estiman tanto, que quedaran perdidas porque las cria muy bien. Lo que se ha hecho en las constituciones, tengo por acertadísimo por el consuelo y sosiego de todos estas religiosas con que espero que no habra mas ninguna cosa que pueda por alli el demonio perturbarlas. Ahora lo que falta es, que estos dos monasterios conoscan su pecado y pidan misericordia, y que los padres las reciban, porque parece muy mal que anden fuera de la Orden, y mas en estos estados que tenemos tan buenos vecinos que de todo glosan para sacar mal y hacer escarnio de las religiones. Esperó que dara Dios salud al padre Tomas para que pueda venir al buen tiempo que es mucho menester aca que son muy nuevas las plantas para dejarlas tan presto. Pesame de lo que padece y sino fuera por esto, dijera que me holgara de que le trate mal Italia porque venga de mejor gana a Flandes, de donde lo que le puedo decir es que esta tarde ha venido una nueva de Colonia que dicen que pensando Mansfeld que Tilly era ido a Alemania, salió con el De Brunswick a querer tomar un lugar del pays Munster donde habia guarnicion de gente de Tilly, los cuales se defendieron tan bien que obligaron a los enemigos a retirarse y fortificarse en un cementerio y que alli los había cogido gente del Conde de Anhalt y hecholos rendir y muerto y presto muchos y que Halberstadt se habia huido a Braunschwick y Mansfeld vuelvose con solo dos regimientos

muy desechos y treinta companias de caballos que ninguna pasa de 40, a Emden. Si esta nueva es verdad, seria obra de la Madona de la Victoria; pero como nuestra gente que esta ally no ha avisado nada no acabamos de creerlo: en sabiéndolo cierto, se los avisaré. Pero mientras, no cojiéremos estas dos sierpes vuelven a resucitar como la sierpe de las siete cabezas. Todo cuanto se puede, se hace por haberlos a los manos, y si ahora se pudiera ir tras Mansfeld fuera gran cosa. Teniamos gran esperanza por lo mucho que habia helado, que era el solo remedio para entrar en Emden. Pero del dia de Año nuevo aca ha deshelado y llovido tanto, que con la mucha nieve que habia no hay quien salga de los caminos, y asy no han llegado esta semana cartas de Viena que nos tiene con cuidado lo que habra alla. Ya habra sabido como revocó el Rey de Inglaterra los poderes para el desposorio de su hijo a tiempo; que se había de desposar la infanta dentro de dos días porque quiere que se restituya primero todo el Palatino. no se podían perder tantas oraciones como se han hecho por este negocio; y la infanta sera bien dichosa pues no hay ninguna apariencia de conversión en el príncipe sino todo al contrario. ponennos aqui mucho miedo, que no se ha de componer lo de la Valtelina. Dios no permita tal que cuando reyes cristianos se abrian de unir para hacer guerra a estos infieles viniesen ellos entre si a tener guerra seria la mayor desdicha que puede ser con todas estas cosas. Estamos aguardando aqui lo que sera de nosotros; porque, sino se componer, habremos de tener guerra por cuatro partes, con Francia, Inglaterra, Holanda y Alemania; pero yo tengo muy bien animo de que cuando Nuestro Señor tal permita, nos ayudara; yo lo pongo todo en sus manos, y le digo que el sabe que no deseo sino servirle y acrecentar su santa Fe catolica, y que asi me ayude para esto; y la Madona de la Victoria nos hace de ordinario tantas mercedes que no temeré quantos enemigos hay; con tal ayuda y con la

suya que tambien nos ayuda a pelear alcanzando de la Madona todas estas mercedes, bien puede trabajar pues ve cuanto es menester, para que el demonio no salga con llevarse tantas almas al infierno; y porque no sea todo guerra, mudaré la platica con decir que ya sabrá la Infantica que nos ha nacida escrivenme que los primeros pañales le pusieron los que bendijo en mi oratorio; de que yo estoy muy contenta, pidale a Nuestro Señor, que la haga una gran Santa: tambien sabra como le han puesto catorce nombres con que esta obligada a serlo. Las monjas van muy bien y me escribe la Priora que van aprovechando mucho, y les enviare sus encomiendas y las de casa se las envían. Y yo le pido que no olvide esta su pecadora hija, sino que me alcance de Nuestro Señor no permita que pase este año tan mal como los demas, sino que me acabe de hacer buena. Diga le al padre Tomas que he holgado mucho con su recado, y deseo mucho saber este muy bueno, y a su compañero me encomiendo. El Provincial ha llegado; pero tan malo que no me ha podido ver. El padre Ilario lo trabaja todo; es bonisimo y pues espero poderle escribir aun hoy, acabare esta, suplicando a Nuestro Señor le guarde y de tan buenos años, como esta su hija le desea.

De Bruselas, vispera de los Reyes 1624

A. Isabel

Esta victoria dicen que fue día de San Esteban.

Father Fray Domingo: I promise you that these last two weeks have burdened me so much, that I was not able to reply to you nor tell you how I rejoiced upon receipt of your letter, and the good news you give me about what the General has commanded. I appreciate it, as I should, and I ask you to thank them on my behalf. I thank you the best I

can because of all you have done to help me on this. Certainly, I regretted so much that Mother Superior stepped aside from her position, and came back to Spain. Her daughters love her, and value her so much because she taught them well, and they will be lost without her. I consider what has been stated in the Constitutions to be most appropriate for the nuns' consolation and serenity. I hope there will be no other issue lingering around that could bring the Demon to disturb the nuns. Now what is needed is that these two monasteries face their sin, and ask for forgiveness. I hope the Fathers receive them because it seems wrong for them to be outside of the Order, especially by being in these states where we have such good neighbors that gloss everything in order to do evil, and ridicule all religions. I hope God will provide health to Father Thomas so that he can come on time, as it is much necessary here, because the regulations are so recent that we cannot just leave them so soon. It makes me feel sorrow what you are going through, and if it was not for it, I would say it delighted me that Italy treats you badly, because you could come gladly to Flanders. From where I can say that this evening I received a letter from Cologne. It states that Mansfeld, thinking that Tilly had gone to Germany, departed with Count of Brunswick in order to take a place in Münster country where there was a Tilly garrison. They defended themselves so well that they forced their enemies to withdraw, and fortify themselves in a cemetery. It was there where Count Anhalt encountered them, and made them surrender, killed or captured. Halberstadt escaped to Brunswick, and Mansfeld returned to Emden with only two shattered regiments, and thirty horse companies, none of them with more than 40. If this is true, it is because of the work of Our Lady of Victory. But, since our people there have not notified anything about it, we cannot believe it completely. When we know it for certain, I will notify you.

But, in the meanwhile, we should not grab these two snakes, which come to life like the seven-headed snake. Everything that it can be done, it is done because we have it at hand, and if we could go after Mansfeld now, it would be great. We were very hopeful to do it when it had snowed, since it was the only solution to enter into Emden. But, since New Year's Day, the snow has melted and it has rained so much that with all the snow there was in the roads, now there is no one who is able to leave. So, this week we have not received letters from Vienna. We worry about what is happening there. You might already know how the King of England revoked the approval of his son's wedding when he was about to marry the Princess in two days. All because he wants to have the Palatine restored first. We could not have wasted so many prayers, as we have done it in this business. The Princess might be very pleased, since it seems the Prince will not be converted, but all the opposite. We are very afraid about not having the Valtelline issue solved. May God not permit that Christian Kings, who should unite in war against the infidels, end up engaging in war among themselves. It would be the greatest of all our misfortunes. We are waiting to see what would it become of us because, if it does not get better, we will have war in four sides: France, England, Holland, and Germany. But I am confident that when Our Lord allows this, He will help us. I place everything in His hands, and I tell Him He knows that all I wish is to serve Him, and increase His Holy Catholic Faith, so that He helps me to achieve it. Our Lady of Victory regularly does so many favors for us, that I will not fear the amount of enemies. With such help, and yours, since you also help us to fight by reaching to Our Lady for Her favors, continue your work diligently. You can see how much it is necessary, so that the Devil does not come out to take so many souls to Hell. In order not to talk more about war, I will change our

conversation. You might already know about the little Princess who was just born, and they write me about the first diapers she wore. They were the ones you blessed in my chapel, and this makes me very happy. Beg to Our Lord He makes her a good Saint. You might also know she has fourteen names, as she is required to have. The nuns are doing well, and the Prioress wrote me they are making the most of it. I will send them regards on your behalf, and they send you theirs. I beg you not to forget this sinner daughter of yours, but reach to Our Lord for me, and ask Him not to allow another bad year as the rest, and to make me well. Tell Father Thomas I have rejoiced upon his message, and I wish to know he is well. I commend myself to your colleague. The Provincial has arrived, but he has been so ill that he has not been able to see me. Father Hilario works everything out. He is very good, and I hope I can write to him today. I will finish this one by begging Our Lord blesses you, and this daughter of His wishes He gives you so many more good years to come.

From Brussels, Three-Wise-Men Day Eve, 1624

A. Isabel

They say this victory was on Saint Sebastian Day.

Document 5: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 10 August, 1624

Padre Fray Domingo, yo no pensaba escribirle hasta ver si Nuestro Señor nos queria hacer merced de que le pudiese decir algo bueno de nuestras armas, pero dilatandose esto pues aunque ha tres semanas que estan en campaña no se ha tentado aun nada por no acabarse de concertar en los bolos no habiendose podido tentar lo que se pensaba, no quiero yo dilatar el darle la nora buena de estar ya acomodado el Electorado del Duque de Babiera como podiamos desear que ha sido una buena nueva y que con razon se pueden dar las gracias al buen Viejo de Magnucia de lo bien que lo ha hecho y a Nuestro Señor sobre todo. El General Llego antes de ayer y ayer estubo un buen rato conmigo ha hecho muy bien embajador dandome su carta y presentes que yo he estimado como debo asi por ser los que son, como por venir de su mano y ver que no olvida a esta su hija que tanto estima el serllo. He holgado mucho de conocer al General que me ha parecido bonisima persona y muy entendido y asi espero que ha dejar compuesto todo lo de aqui muy bien y que no habra mas disgustos. Pesame que me dice podra estar poco. Si yo tubiere vana gloria, hechese la culpa a si pues me escribe la mucha merced que Su Santidad me hace pero no la quiera tener sino de ser la mas humilde hija que tiene que para esto bien creo me dara licencia. Ahora estoy obligada a ser mucho mejor sacristana de la Madona de la Vitoria, pues el Papa ha querido serlo tan bien serviendola como me dice, de que yo estoy contentisima y de los tres milagros que me cuenta, pero yo le aseguro que no son menores las victorias que nos ha dado. Espero nos la dará ahora pues hay muchos buenos que se lo piden, que yo soy tan mala como ve y asi no confio de mi sino de su misericordia y de las mercedes que me tiene hechas sin merecerlas; y asi cierto no le querria ser ingrata sino servirla muy bien al bambino hermoso; pero no acaba

Nuestro Señor de hacerme buena para saberlo poner en ejecucion; y esto es lo que yo le pido me alcance del hijo y la madre. Que aunque veo quanto le cuento y siento mucho darle ese trabajo, no puedo dejar de acordarle que soy su hija y que como buen padre esta obligado a procurar el bien de esta su pecadora hija. A las de la Escalera enviaré su recado, estan muy contentas de que se les va llegando su profesion. Yo aguardo lo que me dira de lo que le escrivi de la hermana Catalina que estamos todas en duda de Su Santidad por lo que han dicho unos caballeros españoles el dia que se fue. no tengo lugar de decirle ahora; lo que paso en esto, porque son las doce de la noche, y tengo aun que despachar a Su Santidad. bese el pie por mi; y a sus parientes de mis recados y al Cardenal de Borja y Bentivoglio que he holgado mucho con los suyos. Y Nuestro Señor le guarde como esta su hija desea.

De Bruselas dia de nuestro buen Santo Lorenzo que harto nos acordamos del sermon que nos hizo en mi oratorio y su reliquia esta en el altar con su lindo olor, 1624.

A. Isabel

Father Domingo: I was not planning on writing to you until seeing if Our Lord wanted to make us the favor of being able to say something good about our weapons; but, this has to be postponed because, despite of being in campaign for three weeks, nothing has been attempted, since the means have not been put in place completely. Not having attempted what we were planning, I do not want to postpone to give you the good news that the Duke of Bavaria Electorate has been adjust as we have wished. It has been good news, and that is why certainly we can thank the good old man of Magnucia, for how much good he has done. But, we should especially thank Our Lord. The General arrived

the day before yesterday, and yesterday he was with me for a long time. He has performed as a good ambassador, for he gave me your letter, and presents. I appreciate them as much as I should because of what they are, and also for coming from your hands, and because I notice you do not forget this daughter of yours, who appreciates it the most. I rejoiced upon meeting the General. He seems to be a good person, and very intelligent. I hope he will solve everything in here, so that we do not have more annoyances. I regret so much to hear he will stay just for a short while. If I had vainglory, blame yourself, for you are the one who tells me about the great favors Your Holiness does for me. But, I do not want to be vainglorious, but only for being the most humble daughter that He has. Because of this, I am certain He will allow me to be vainglorious. Now I am obliged to be a better Sacristan to Our Lady of Victory, since the Pope wants it to be, and He excels at it, as He tells me. I am very happy about this, and about the three miracles you tell me about. But, I can assure you the victories She has given us are not much less. I hope She will give the victory to us now, since there are so many good people who ask Her for it. I am so bad, as you can see, and I do not trust myself. I only trust Her mercy, and the favors She did for me, even if I did not deserve them. I would truly not want to be ungrateful to Her, and I want to serve Her for the beautiful bambino. But, Our Lord has not made me good yet, so that I can make it come true. I ask you to reach out to the Son, and to the Mother. Even though I am aware of what I ask you, and I regret asking you so much, I cannot, but ask you to remember I am your daughter, and as a good father, you are obligated to take care of this sinner daughter of yours. I will send your message to the ones of Escalera. They are very happy because they are coming into their profession. I wait for you to tell me about what I wrote to Sister Catalina, since we all doubt Your

Holiness, about what some Spanish gentlemen said the day He left. I cannot tell you right now about what happened about this because it is midnight, and I still have to dispatch Your Holiness. Kiss His foot for me. Send my regards to your relatives. I have rejoiced upon the messages of Cardinal of Borja and Bentivoglio. May Our Lord bless you. This daughter of His wishes so.

From Brussels, Day of Our Saint Lawrence, and we always remember the sermon you delivered in my chapel, and the nice smelling relic that is in the altar, 1624.

A. Isabel

Document 6: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 18 October, 1624

Padre Fray Domingo, los ordinarios andan tan mal seguros que no oso escribirle todas las vezes que deseo, y otras mis muchas ocupaciones no me dan lugar porque son mas que nunca con este sitio de Breda. Pero ahora no puedo dejar de pedirle me ayude a dar gracias a Nuestro Señor y a la Madona de la Victoria de la merced que nos ha hecho que ha sido tan grande como le dire. El domingo despues de la Octava de la Santa Madre Teresa, a las tres de la mañana, vino el enemigo con tres mil infantes y mil caballos y treinta carros con escalas y instrumentos algunos nunca usados, y llegó con unas barquillas hechas de juncos a poner dos escalas al Castillo de Amberes y por ser la noche la mas terrible de aire y oscuridad que se ha visto, no pudieron ser sentidos ni haberse sabido antes de su venida por que todos traian bandas rojas y los carros con las cruces de Borgoña como los nuestros de municion; y a todos los villanos y gente que toparon decian que era nuestra gente que venía a hacer escolta a un conboy. y como suelen venir muchas vezes asi, todos lo creyan, y los estaban aguardando en Amberes espantandose mucho cuando anohecio como no llegaban y pensavan les habia acontecido algo; pero ellos llegaron como digo a las tres y por la mucha tempestad parece que no pudieron echar tan bien el puente que trayan tambien hecho de juncos; y quiso Dios que la sentinella con toda la oscuridad la parecio veia algo en el foso, y asi se hecho de bruces sobre la muralla para verlo mejor, y en fin le parecio veia algo y era una de las barquillas y asi pregunto quien va alla y le respondieron amici. El con esto disparo su mosquete y llamo al cuerpo de guardia que començaron a tirar y tocar arma con que vino el castellano y quantos habia en el Castillo hasta las mujeres con que se retiraron los enemigos. y al amanecer hallaron las escalas y las barcas y todos los instrumentos que se retiraron tan

aprieta que lo dejaron todo. Yo le aseguro que con uno que subiera y hubiera muerto la sentinela, estaba hecho el negocio, porque primera que se sintiera, fueran señores del castillo, porque demas de haber poca gente por haberse sacado alguna para Breda, estaban todos malos, que no habia sino 25 sanos, pero sanos y enfermos todos acudieron, y a algunos se les han quitado las calenturas. Todos tenemos por cierto que las oraciones de la madre Ana de San Bartolome nos han librado porque a las doce fue a despertar a sus monjas muy aprieta para que fuesen a hacer oracion al coro, porque habia una gran traycion. El enemigo tenia trescientas barcas en Lillo para acudir luego con mas gente. Pero el aire se lo estorbo y las hecho todas por aí, de manera que ya ha librado Nuestro Señor dos veces a Amberes con una tempestad, y es lo bueno que como hacia tal aire dije yo a las damas [reiendo] que sin duda el enemigo debia de venir a Amberes y Nuestro Señor nos queria defender con otra tempestad como la pasada. con la tempestad han salido tres navios de los quatro que estaban presos en Inglaterra a pesar de todos ellos y estan ya en salvo en el puerto de Nuestra Señora de Monteagudo a quien yo los habia encargado; y asy espero trayra el postrero el sitio de Breda. Se va trabajando siempre en fortificaciones, y el de Orange hace lo mismo en su campo que esta a media legua de alli con veinte cinco mil infantes y caballos. Tiene mucha peste en su campo y en Breda donde murio el gobernador Justino de Nasao, hermano bastardo del de Orange. En nuestro campo ha habido mucha salud; ahora comienzan unas calenturas y çamorras de sangre, que andan por todos estos Estados, de que muere mucha gente. Ha hecho sieidísimo tiempo hasta ahora que comienza a llover y a hacer frio. El enemigo ha visto que no puede socorrer a Breda por las fortificaciones; se piensa que tentara en otros cabos para hacer levantar el sitio; y Mansfeld que esta en Inglaterra va juntando gente, y dicen

le daran los navios del Rey, para que venga a Flandes y tambien aguardan la gente que trae Halberstadt de Dinamarca; y en Francia levantan ahora mucha gente para enviarles y todos tienen por cierto romperan la guerra, de manera que estamos de todas partes cerrados de enemigos sin ayuda de nadie; pero Dios es sobre todo, y cuando me traen avisos de estas cosas ya de un cabo ya de otro y todos me envian a pedir gente para sus plazas como ven los Franceses a las fronteras, luego me acuerdo de que Dios puede mas que ellos, y me da tanto animo, que se me quita todo el cuidado que me podria dar, que aunque yo soy tan mala y pecadora como sabe, hay tantos buenos que se lo suplican, que espero no nos desamparará; mire si hemos bien menester su ayuda, y yo sobre todo, pues la he menester por tantos caminos, y el principal para ser buena y saber ofrecer a Nuestro Señor estos trabajos y darle las gracias que debo por tantas mercedes como me hace mereciendoselas tan mal. No olvide esta su hija que es la que mas estima el serlo, y por tener unos despachos depriesa para levantar gente, no puedo alargarme mas. Nuestro Señor le guarde como deseo.

De Bruselas a 18 de octubre 1624

A. Isabel

El Príncipe de Polonia, ha cinco dias, que partió para aí, y hoy ha partido lo que se ha podido acabar del Ornamento y una Alambra hecha en casa. Encomiendele a la Madona lo lleve bien.

Father Domingo: the regular dispatchers are not operating safely, so I do not dare to write to you every time I wish to; moreover, I am not able to do it because all the business I take care of, more than ever now due to the siege of Breda. I cannot but to ask

you to thank Our Lord, and Our Lady of Victory, because of the favor they did for us; it was so great as I will tell you. One Sunday at three in the morning, and after the Saint Mother Teresa Octave, the enemy came with three thousand infantrymen, a thousand horses, carts with ladders, and other instruments, some of them never used. They came with some boats made of reeds, and placed two ladders on the Antwerp Castle. Since the night was terribly windy, and as dark as never seen, they were not noticed. They could not have been noticed even before their arrival because they were wearing red bands, and their carts had Crosses of Burgundy, just like in our supply carts. They said to every peasant, and person they encountered, that they were our people guarding a convoy. Since our people use to come like that, everyone believed them. In Antwerp they were being awaited, and when it was already night and they say they had not arrived, people were very afraid because they thought something had happened to them. But, they arrived, as I said, at three, and because of the fierce storm, it seems they could not place the bridge, also made of reeds, they brought with them. God wanted the guard to see something in the darkness down there in the moat, and so he lent over the wall to take a better look. At the end he thought he saw something, and it was one of the boats, so he asked, "Who goes there?" and they replied "amici." Hearing this, he fired his musket, and called the guards. They started to fire and sound to arms, the Castilian came, as so everyone in the castle, including the women. The enemies withdrew. At dawn they found the ladders, the boats, and all the instruments that they left because they tried to retrieve them in a rush. I can assure you that with only one person who might have climbed, and killed the guard, the deed would have been done because as soon as we could have noticed, they would have been already lords of the castle. Furthermore, there were just a

few people in the castle, because many were drafted to Breda, and the ones who stayed were ill. There were only 25 healthy people, but both ill and healthy were out. Some of them have already even recovered from their fever. Everyone of us is certain that our prayers to Mother Ana de San Bartolomé have saved us, because at twelve she rushed to wake her nuns up, so that they could go and pray in the choir, since there had been a great act of treason. The enemy had three hundred boats in Lille ready to join them with more people. But the air hindered it, and tossed them all over, so that Our Lord has spared Antwerp twice with a storm. The air was such, that I said [...] to the ladies that undoubtedly the enemy would come to Antwerp, and Our Lord wanted us to provide defense by sending another storm as the last one. Three out of the four ships that were captured in England had departed because of the storm, despite all them. They are already safe in Port of Our Lady of Montaigu, to whom I had commended them. I believe She will bring the last one back. The siege of Breda is being worked on in fortifications. The one of Orange does it as well in his field, which is a half league from there, with twenty-five thousand infantrymen, and horses. He has plague in his field, and also in Breda, where the Governor Justin of Nassau died; he was the illegitimate brother of the one of Orange. In our field there has been health, but now some fevers have started, and also some blood rheumatism around these states, and many people are dying from it. It has been very dry weather, and just now the rain and cold has started. The enemy has seen that he cannot aid Breda because of all the fortifications. It is thought he might have other places to end the siege. Mansfeld is in England drafting people, and it is said he will be provided with the King's ships, so that he can come to Flanders. Halberstadt is bringing people from Denmark. In France they are drafting now much more people to send.

Everyone knows for certain that the war will break, and therefore we are closed in, on every side by enemies and without any help. But, God knows it all, and when I receive news about these issues, from here and there, and hear about all these requests for people in their plazas, as they see the French in the borders, then I remember God can do more than they can. This encourages me, and I become less worried. Even if I am so bad, and such a sinner, as you know, there are so many good people who beg Him, that I hope He will not abandon us. Look how much we need your help; above all, I do need it in so many places. Mainly because I wish to be good, and I wish to know how to offer these actions to Our Lord, and thank Him, as I should, for all the favors He does for me even if I do not deserve them. Do not forget this daughter of His, the one who appreciates it more than anyone. Because I have more dispatches to make in order to draft more people immediately, I cannot write any longer. May Our Lord bless you.

From Brussels. October 18, 1624

A. Isabel

The Prince of Poland has left five days ago to there, and today, what we could finish from the vestments has been dispatched; also a carpet, which was done in this house. Beg to Our Lady it travels well.

Document 7: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 15 November 1624

Padre Fray Domingo, cuando no hay cosa de consideracion que decirle de por aca, no le escribo de buena gana, porque siempre querria enviarle buenas nuevas. Hoy he tenido las que van aqui que porque se confirman por muchas partes se tienen por ciertas; si lo son hagale mis humildes agradecimientos a la Madona de la Vitoria y pidale les haga por mi a su hijo que tantas mercedes me hace, sin merecerselas. Lo de Breda va bien y todos tienen buenas esperanzas de que se acabara mas presto de lo que pensaban pues no la ha podido socorrer el principe de Orange y asi se ha levantado de donde estaba y para retirarse hizo una trinchera de una legua, tan alta como una persona para que no le pudiesen hacer ningun daño. Contodo los soldados cojieron algun bagaje. Ahora se ha puesto en un lugar a medio camino de Amberes que se llama Rosendal con la mitad de su ejercito y la otra mitad ha enviado al Conde Henrique de Nasao hacia (Bois le Duc) donde ha quemado doce molinos y hecho otros mil males, todo para romper y impedir los convoyes que llevan los biberes al campo. Pero hasta ahora no ha hecho nada y espero en Nuestro Señor que no le hara, muerense mucho en su campo de la peste y en el nuestro hay mucho salud gracias a Dios. Aun dicen que el enemigo quiere volver en Amberes, pero espero que la Madre Ana de San Bartolome lo guardara con sus oraciones y Nuestro Señor con otra tempestad, pues con ella pelea por nosotros. En Francia siempre van levantando mas gente y todas nuestras fronteras estan llenas della. hacen nos mil amenazas. No sabemos donde ha de dar este golpe, aunque muchos dicen que en Italia, y que ya han roto la guerra los grisonos gobernados por un francés y con gente francesa; Dios quiera poner su mano en todo. Aquí ha sucedido siete dias ha una gran bellaqueria que tiraron al Marques de Hanre estando en una sala de su casa por una ventana un

arcabuzazo con cinco balas emponzoñadas. quiso dios que no quedo alli y vivio doce horas en que recibio todos los sacramentos y ha muerto la mas buena muerte que sea ha visto. Ha dejado por su heredera a su hija la chiquita Croy, que se acordara de ella que le dio unas imagines a condicion que case con un primo suyo que ella no le tiene mucha gaña. No se lo que sera. Esto es todo lo que le puedo decir de aca y de mi, que cada dia hay mas que travajar y mas embarazos. Dios me de su gracia, que se lo sepa ofrecer y servirle como debo y ser algundia buena. No se olvide de alcanzarlo de Nuestro Señor; mucho olvida esta su hija que ha mucho que no he visto carta suya y son todo mi consuelo. En gran pleito andamos con estas monjas inobedientes como entendera alla; si pudiere haga buenos oficios con Su Santidad para que envie el breve que se le pide que importa mucho para lo servicio de Nuestro Señor. Las mis cinco monjas de la Escalera se les llega ya mucho de su profesion de que estan muy contentas. encomiendelas a Nuestro Señor, y El le guarde como esta su pecadora hija desea.

De Bruselas día de mi padre San Eugenio 1624

A. Isabel

Father Fray Domingo: when there is nothing considerable to inform you from here, I write to you reluctantly because I always wish to give you good news. Today I received the ones I enclose here; they are confirmed because of the many things they are accepted to be true. If they are, thank most humbly to Our Lady of Victory, and ask Her to make them true for Her son, who does so many favors for me without deserving it. The Breda issue is going well, and everyone is hoping that it will be finished sooner than we thought, because the Prince of Orange has not been able to come to the aid. So he has left

where he was, and in order to do so, he dug a league long trench, as high as a person, so that he was not be harmed. The soldiers managed to grab some baggage. Now he is positioned in a place half way to Antwerp, called Roosendaal, with half of his army. The other half has been sent to Count Henry of Nassau towards Bois-le-Du, where he burnt twelve windmills, made so much evil, and all he could to destroy and obstruct the convoys that bring supplies to the fields. But, he has not done anything for now, and I hope to Our Lord he will not. Many of his people die of plague in his field, but in ours we enjoy so much health, thanks to God. They still say the enemy wishes to return to Antwerp, but I hope Mother Ana de San Bartolomé keeps him away with her prayers, and Our Lord with another storm. He fights with her for us. In France they are always drafting more people, and all our borders are full of them. They threaten us constantly. We do not know where this blow will end up, although many say it will be in Italy. The Grisons, governed by a French with French people, have broken into war. May God place His hand in everything. It happened here seven days ago the Marquee of Hanre suffered a rogue action. While he was in his living room, five shots from a harquebus were fired. The five bullets were poisoned. God wanted him not to die there, and so he lived twelve more hours during which he received all sacraments, and had the most honorable death ever seen. He left his daughter, the little one of Croy, as his heir. You might remember her. You gave her some images, provided that she weds a cousin of hers, the one that she is not so fond of. I do not know what it will become of them. This is all I can tell you from here, and about me. Every day there is so much to do, and so many hindrances. May God give me His grace, and I hope I know how to serve Him as I should, and be good one day. Do not forget to reach to Our Lord. You forget this daughter of yours, the one

who has not seen a letter from you in a long while, and they are all what comforts me. We are in a great conflict with the most disobedient nuns, as you might understand. If you can, do the good deeds with Your Holiness so that He sends the Brief He is being asked. It is necessary for the service to Our Lord. My five nuns of the Escalera are arriving to their profession. Commend them to Our Lord. May God keep you, as this sinner daughter of yours wishes.

From Brussels, the Day of my father Saint Eugene, 1624.

A. Isabel

Document 8: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 9 January 1625

Muchos días ha que deseado hacer esto pero las muchas ocupaciones que han cargado despues que volbi de mi jornada no me han dado lugar para ello, comencaré esta con decir lo que siento la falta de salud con que entiendo que estais, y las causas que lo deben de haber causado, espero las remediara nuestro Señor muy bien, pues ha querido daros tanto que merecer con ellas para purificaros. Mas yo como tan mala y grande pecadora no las puedo llevar en pacyencia, que siera que pudieramos hablar muy despacio y tener otros buenos ratos como pase aÿ; aqui os buelbo las cartas del General que me han parecido muy bien; es bonisimo, y así me pesa se le acabe el oficio tan presto. La carta las constituciones esta muy buena y creo que con dos palabras que se anadiesen en la impresion no tendrian cosa ninguna que poder alegar estas benditas monjas, lo uno que lo que esta en la margen se me dijese dentro de las constituciones, y lo otro que dijese que los confesores que estan aprobados por los Prelados los puedan llamar las prioras, quando les pareciere, que estando aprobados (como es muy justo que lo esten), yo no se que inconbeniente puede haber en llamarlos quatro o seis beces mas o menos, que con esto estaria todo acabado, pero aunque no se añada me parece que no tienen aora de que quexarse, pero como todas no tienen los entendimientos iguales, es menester que este bien declarado paraque no tropiecen en ello.

El Rey, Dios le guarde! a pedimiento de la Reÿna, a echo merced a esa casa de mill felipes de limosna ÿ aunque me lo abian escrito dias abia, no abian venido los despachos hasta poco a, y aunque no os lo é abisado, he hecho hacer todos los despachos necesarios, para que se paguen lo mas presto que se pudiere. Y el Conde de Copiñy tiene la orden para ello.

Abisame de vuestra salud, jo la tengo peor que nunca, y asi es menester que me alcanceis de Nuestro Señor, que me acabe de hacer buena y que me alumbre en todo, que sierto hay tantos negocios y embaraços que es bien menester a Sor Clara, le decis que aga lo que me dice en aprender de vos en estas ocasiones que se offrecen y que aquel negocio que me a escrito se hara lo mas presto que sea possible. No lo es alargarme mas, y asi acabo con que os guarde Dios como deseo.

De Bruselas a 9 de enero 1625

A. Isabel

Creo que no sabeis como las inglesas benian a fundar a brujas con otro nuevo Breve: pero yo he hecho las dilygencias necesarias para estorbarlo.

It has been several days since I have been wanting to do this, but I have not been able to because I have been burdened with so many duties after I came back from my travels. I will begin by saying that I am sorry to hear about your poor health, and for whatever might have caused it. I hope Our Lord will heal you, for He has wanted you to earn merit, and therefore, purify you. Myself, however, I cannot endure my health patiently because I am bad and such a great sinner. I would like to talk to you longer, and I would like to spend such a good time as I did when I was there.

Here I return to you the General's letters. I think they are very good. He is extremely good, and that is why I regret he is leaving his position so soon. The bylaws are very good, and I think that by adding two more words to the printing, these holy nuns will have nothing to allege. First, what is written on the margin should be incorporated into the bylaws; second, it should state that the confessors, who are approved by the

Prelates, could be called by the Prioresses whenever they think it is important. I do not know what is the inconvenience in calling them four or six times, more or less, since the Prelates are approved, as they should be. With this, all should be finished. Even if these two words are not added, I think the nuns have nothing to complain about. But, it is necessary to clearly state everything, so that they do not encounter problems, since not all of them share equal intelligence.

The King, God bless him! has helped this house because the Queen has requested it. He has given a thousand felipes as alms. Even though this had been written to me some days ago, the mail had not come until recently. I have not let this known to you, but I have done all the necessary dispatches, so the alms are paid as soon as possible. Count Copiñy has been ordered to do so.

Let me know about your health, mine is worse than ever, so it is imperative you reach Our Lord and beg Him to help me to get well, and to show me light. There are so many businesses and hindrances that it is necessary to tell Sister Clara to do what she says about me learning from you during these occasions. Also, tell her that the business she wrote me about will be taken care of as soon as possible. I cannot make this letter much longer, so I will finish by wishing that God blesses you.

From Brussels. January 9, 1625.

A. Isabel

I think you do not know how the English came to Bruges with a new Brief to establish [here], but I have done what is necessary to obstruct it.

Document 9: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de San Bartolome, 26 February 1625

Como nunca faltan ocupaciones, no he podido hacer esto antes, aunque siempre estoy con cuidado de saber de vos, y me holgue mucho el otro dia que me dijo el Provincial estabais buena; que como me dicen anda tanto mal en ese lugar estoy con pena, aunque espero librara Nuestro Señor esa casa. He tenido una carta del Padre Fray Domingo en respuesta de una que le escrivi donde hay en que lo decía me habiais dicho os tenía olvidada y me dice que os escriba de su parte, que no os tiene olvidada, que no soys para olvidar y que, si por caso os viereis delante de Nuestro Señor primero que el, que os acordeis de los pobres desterrados que quedan aca. El buen Padre en todas sus cartas me dice que procuremos quanto pudieremos armar por mar, que es el verdadero remedio para acabar con nuestros enemigos, y asy yo estoy muy contenta de lo que aquí trabajamos en esto. Ya tenemos veinte y un navio en orden, que no han costado pero trabajo; y sino hubieramos venido aqui, no lo estubieran en dos años al paso que iban, que en fin donde no esta su dueño esta su duelo. Los enemigos tienen aque delante cincuenta navios para estorbar la salida de los nuestros; pero yo spero en Dios que los librara y nos dara victoria con ellas la Madre Santa Teresa el la almyranta y hay tambien otro navio con el mismo nombre y asy le va su honra en pelear bien y alcanzarnos victoria. Decidsele, y que vuelva por su honra. La gran armada de Inglaterra esta ya a punto para salir; que no aguarda sino el viento; no se sabe donde dara; Dios la confunda! Lo de Francia va muy mal; el Legado se vuelve à Roma sin haber concertado nada; y el Rey se concierta a lo que todos tienen por cierto con los herejes; si esto es, tendremos sin duda la guerra con Francia; con esto os he dicho todo lo que se ofrece para que apreteis bien con Nuestro Señor pero lo principal falta y es que ha vuelto la tentacion terrible

sobre la tregua que me tiene con mucha pena y asy os pido mucho que con todas las veras posibles lo encomendeis à Nuestro Señor para que no se haga sino lo que hubiere de ser su voluntad y para su servicio y bien y acrecentamiento de la Santa fe Catolica, y que mude los corazones de los que quieren lo contrario sin mirar sino en respetos humanos. Vos sabeis mas de esto de lo que os puedo decir, y asy lo dejo en vuestras manos y acabo esta con pedir os me deis nuevas vuestras y a todas mis encomiendas, y a Clarica que sea buena y tenga cuidado de servir os muy bien y Dios os guarde como deseo.

De Dunquerque a 26 febrero 1625

A. Isabel

Since we never cease being occupied, I have not been able to do this before, even if I always make sure to learn about you. I rejoiced so much the other day when the Provincial told me that you were fine. I grieve greatly, for I am told so much evil is around that place. I hope Our Lord will save that house. I received a letter from Father Domingo, replying to one I wrote to him. There I had told him what you had told me about him having forgotten you. He tells me to write to you on his behalf, and that he has not forgotten you for you are not to be forgotten. If by any chance you are before Our Lord first, he asks you to remember the poor exiled people that are around here. In every letter of his, the good Father tells me we should arm by sea as much as we can, because that is the true solution for finishing our enemies. I am pleased to work on it in here. We already have twenty-one ships in order; they have not cost us, but work. If we had not come here, they would not have been finished in two years at that rate; for while the cat is away, the mouse will play. The enemies have fifty ships here in front of ours, so they

obstruct our way. But I hope God will favor us, and will give us victory with them, and He will guide the Mother Saint Teresa. There is also another ship with that same name, and so its honor is in fighting well, and achieving victory for us. Tell her, and she shall return in her honor. The great English Navy is about to sail; they are waiting for nothing, but the wind. We do not know what they will get. May God confuse them! The France business is going badly. The Delegate is returning to Rome having solved nothing. The King agrees with everyone's certainty regarding the heretics. If this is the case, undoubtedly we will engage in war with France. With what I have told you, is enough for you to reach vehemently Our Lord. But the main thing is still lingering, and that is the terrible temptation on the truce that has come back. This is causing me so much grief. I truly ask you to commend ourselves to Our Lord so that we do His will, for His service, and for His good, and for the increase of His Holy Catholic Faith. May God change the hearts of those who want the opposite without considering anything but what others might think. You know more that I could tell you, and so I leave it in your hands. I finish this letter by asking you to give me news about you, and send my regards to all. May Clariça be good, and endeavor serving you well. May God bless you.

From Dunkirk; February 26, 1625

A. Isabel

Document 10: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 11 July 1625

Padre Fray Domingo, ayer a la entrada de la puerta de las madres de aquí de Amberes, me dio el Padre Provincial su carta de 14 del pasado. Bien puede creer que fue para mi el mayor contento del mundo, por haber tantos días que no las tenía, y no tener mejor día, que el que tengo carta suya. Espero habra recibido una en que le escrivia la merced que Nuestro Señor nos habia hecho en darnos a Breda; y la havia enviado a Genova, pensando como habra visto por ella que estaba alla como aqui nos decian aun los mismos Padres. pero tengo nueva que se la han enviado desde Milan ahi; y asi habra visto que no me he descuidado como pensava en darle parte de nuestra vitoria, que ella ha sido tan grande, que jamas podre yo cumplir con dar hartas gracias a Nuestro Señor y a la Madona de la Vitoria por ella, aunque se las doy cada momento; y asi le torno a pedir se las dé de mi parte muy cumplidas. En llegando a Brusselas, le enviare una relacion de todo mi viaje, y ahora le diré que he estado un mes en Breda que hallandome ally no he querido salir hasta dejarlo como habia de estar, y no se podia apartar la gente por estar el enemigo a cinco leguas; y ella deseaba mucho salir, y con razon, por lo que padecían y han padecido, que no se puede encarecer. y con todo han tenido mas salud que nunca; en la villa morian aun de la peste; pero Nuestro Señor nos ha librado della a todos aunque andabamos entre ella. cinco dias ha que salimos de ally con todo el ejercito en batalla, que creo se habran visto pocos de tan buena gente. yo le confieso que deseaba viniera el enemigo a toparnos pero no se ha atrevido a mostrarse ya puede bien decir que soy soldado de veras; mire como Nuestro Señor se quiere reyr de todos, poniendo una mujer tan para poco en todo esto, pero podra ir con los demas milagros que ha hecho en este sitio que son tantos, que si no se hubieran visto, no se pudieran creer, y la ceguedad que

ha puesto en los ojos de nuestros enemigos; en fin no hay sino fiar del y dejarle que pelee por nos otros. Ahora tenemos toda la gente aqui a la redonda aguardando lo que hace el enemigo para resolver lo que hemos de hacer que no se si las cosas de Francia nos han de obligar a que nos lleguemos por alla que nos dicen estan muy puestos en romper la guerra y hasta ahora no hay mucha apariencia en la negociacion del Legado. Dios ponga su mano en todo. En Breda hemos dejado tres mil hombres borgoñones, valones y alemanes, y seis companias de caballos y un gobernador que es mos de Valançon que la defendera mejor con sus oraciones que con los armas, aunque es muy buen soldado. Yo me detengo aqui hasta que resolvamos donde ira esta gente y en pasando la procesion del S^{mo} Sacramento del Milagro de Brusselas, pienso ir a visitar los puertos de Flandes para componer las cosas de la mar como mé dice en que estamos ya muy ocupados y en España lo quieren tambien; y asi holgué muchisimo con topar lo que me dice en su carta a este proposito, que ahora trabajaré con mas animo en ello. – En Breda dejamos fundado ya un convento de capuchinos y una casa de Jesuitas para que tengan las escuelas, y el Domingo, antes que partiese se predicaron los tres sermones en los pulpitos donde se han predicado tantas maldades, y alli mas que en otros cabos, porque estaba un prevoste que ha sido de una de nuestras iglesias gran teologo de la universidad de Lovaina, y por casarse con una devota se bolbio ereje y uno de los mas perniciosos que hay; y cuando mas no pudo, tomo todos los muchachos que pudo y se los llevo consigo para que no fuesen papistas; pero yo espero que muchos lo seran, antes que se les acabe el termino que tienen para salir. Una mortification me dio alla. Nuestro Señor que se llevo la criada que tenía que ha labrado lo mas del ornamento de la Madona de la Vitoria de una apoplexia, que no se pudo confesar, que me tiene con mucha pena. Encomiendela a Nuestra Señor, que haya misericordia de

su anima, por las puntadas que ha dado para su madre. - Ayer pasé toda la tarde con la madre Ana de San Bartolome que esta muy buena y muy fue bonisima para mi; algun rato hablamos del padre fray Domingo, dice que la tiene olvidada; las cosa de Genova nos tienen con mucho cuidado; yo holgara harto que hubiera ido alla don Gonzalo de Cordova, estara ya cerca de alla que ha dias que partió. Plega a Dios que Su Santidad pueda componer todas estas cosas; besele el pie por my, por la merced que me hace y no se olvide desta su hija con tanto como tiene que rogar a Nuestro Señor que yo lo he mas menester que todos, y que nos alumbre ahora Nuestro Señor lo que hemos de hacer que sea mas para su servicio y el le guarde como deseo.

De Amberes a 11 de julio 1625

A. Isabel

Father Domingo: Yesterday here in Antwerp at the convent doors, the Provincial Father gave me your letter from the 14th of last month. You can be certain that it was for me the greatest joy, because it has been several days since I have not received your news, and I don't have a better day than when I receive a letter from you. I hope you received the one where I wrote about the great favor Our Lord granted us when He gave us Breda. I sent it to Geneva, as you might have noticed, thinking you would be there as everyone here, even the Fathers, said. But I have news that it was forwarded to you to Milan. And so you might have seen I have not neglected sharing our victory with you because it has been so great that I will never thank enough Our Lord and Our Lady of Victory, even if I thank them at every moment. And so I ask you to thank them generously for me. When I arrive to Brussels, I will send you an account of my trip. I will tell you I was in Breda for

a month, and I did not want to depart until I could leave it as it should be. The people wanted to depart, and rightly so. But they could not because the enemy was five leagues away. They suffered, and have suffered, so much that it cannot be overemphasized. However, they have never enjoyed of better health. In the village, people were dying from the plague, but Our Lord has saved us from it, even if it was among us. Five days ago we left with all the army in battle. I do think only few people have been so good as these. I must confess to you that I wanted to encounter the enemy, but they have not dared to appear. It can already be said I am a true soldier. Look how Our Lord wants to laugh at us, appointing a woman so unsuited for all of this, but this could be one of all the miracles He has done in this place. There have been so many, that if they had not been witnessed, nobody would believe. Including the blindness He has put in our enemy's eyes. Anyway, we cannot but trust Him, and let Him fight for us. Now we have all the people around here waiting to see what the enemy does, so we can decide what to do. I don't know if the affaires in France will force us to arrive there, because we have been told they are ready to suspend the war, and until now it seems the Delegate has not had much of a negotiation. May God place His hand in everything. In Breda we have left three thousand Burgundian, Walloon, and German men; also six cavalry companies, and a governor, Baron of Valançon, to defend it better with his prayers than with his weapons, although he is a good soldier. I will stop here until we resolve where these people will go. After the procession of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle of Brussels, I am planning on visiting Flanders ports in order to mend the ocean affaires as we are already engaged in them, and Spain wants it as well. I will be very pleased to encounter what you tell me in your other letter about this issue. Now I will work on it with great

courage. In Breda we founded a Capuchin convent, and a Jesuit house, so that they can have schools. On Sunday before we left, three sermons were preached in the pulpits where so much evil has been preached. In there more than in other places because, in one of our churches, a provost, a great theologian from University of Louvain, became one of the most wicked heretics because of marrying a devotee. And when he could not abide any longer, he took every boy he could, and took them with him so that they would not become papists. But I hope many of them will be before their time there comes to an end. I was mortified by one thing. Our Lord took with him, with a stroke, the maid who carved most of ornaments in Our Lady of Victory, and she was not confessed. This makes me feel so much sorrow. Commend her to Our Lord. May her soul find mercy, because all what she did for her mother. Yesterday I spent all evening long with Sister Ana de San Bartolomé. She is good, and was very good to me. We spoke for a moment about Father Domingo. She says he has forgotten her. We are worried and looking closely the Genève affaires. It would please me so much that Mr. Gonzalo de Cordova had gone there, but he will be there soon; he departed some days ago. Pray to God that His Holiness can mend all these issues. Kiss his foot for me, for the favors he does for me, and do not forget this child of His. May Our Lord show us some light in what we ought to do, so that it is more for His service. May the Lord bless you.

From Antwerp. July 11th, 1625

A. Isabel

Document 11: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María, 8 August 1625

Padre Fray Domingo, ha mil dias que no le escribo por no saber adonde le hallaran mis cartas; pero ahora que espero estara ya en Roma le dire en estos renglones que llegó el Provincial y un dio su carta, y los presentes que todo fue tan bien recibido quanto puede creer de quien no tiene mayor contento que cuando tiene cartas tuyas y ve que no me tiene olvidada. Cuando sepa de cierto donde esta, le responderé con particularidad a su carta, y ahora no me atrevo por la poca seguridad con que van. Solo le diré que bien nos ha mortificado Nuestro Señor este año, pues habra sabido el levantamiento de los villanos de la Austria. Aquí nos ha llevado a la Madre Ana de San Bartolome, aunque espero nos ha de ayudar alla mejor que aca, pues ve la necesidad que tenemos de ayuda. tras esto ha habido tanta falta de trigo, que ha sido la mayor lastima del mundo ver tanta pobre gente miserable morir de hambre, sin poderlo remediar, aunque se ha hecho quanto se ha podido para procurarlo. tras esta necesidad nos ha sido fuerza, que el pays sustente toda la gente de guerra, en que han hecho mas de lo posible. ellos dicen que por amor de my, y yo les estoy en esa obligacion, porque no se que hubieramos hecho por haber muchos meses que no nos envian nada de España y de las provisiones del año pasado han faltado muchas por pagar, y asy ahora ha sido fuerza empeñar mucha parte del dominio del Rey en que andamos ahora para sustentar esta gente y poderla sacar en campaña como es fuerza por haber salido el enemigo con muchas fuerzas y gran aparato y cantidad de artilleria y municiones y viveres y lo peor de dinero por haberles consentido ahora aquellas provincias una imposicion de tanto sobre cada casa nueva y sobre cada bonier de tierra con que sin carga del pueblo han sacado en un punto grandísima cantidad de dinero, y asy dicen que ya no han menester ayuda de

Francia y Inglaterra y Venecia; que ellos solos podran hacernos la guerra. con todo para salir ahora en campaña Francia con todos sus embarazos les ha dado el dinero porque aun no tenían concluida esta imposicion. luego en saliendo con parte de su gente se pusieron sobre Oldenzel que no es lugar fuerte; que cuando le gaño el Marques Espínola fue en 24 horas. Con todo se le ha defendido el que estaba dentro diez días; pero no se ha podido socorrerle por que como nuestra gente no puede ir por agua, como la suya, y los caminos estan tales que no se puede salir dellos por haber sesenta dias que ninguno ha dejado de llover, no se ha podido juntar la gente. ahora lo esta la mayor parte con el Conde Henrique para aponerse a lo quisieren tentar por alla; y el Marques esta aca con otra parte de gente, por que no se sabe donde dara este golpe. pero lo que todos suspigamos es que todo esto es por embarazar nos, para que no podamos enviar socorro a Alemaña como ya se andaba encaminando. Mire si hemos bien menester la ayuda de la Madona de la Vitoria, y la suya que lo alcance della, y que no me olvide como a su verdadera hija y que mas estima el serlo; y porque parte el ordinario no puedo alargarme mas de que le guarde Nuestro Señor como deseo.

De Bruselas a 8 de agostos 1625

A. Isabel

Father Domingo: It has been a thousand days without writing to you, for I did not know where my letters could find you. But hopefully you are already in Rome, and I will tell you in the following lines that the Provincial arrived, and gave me your letter and presents. Everything was so well received by someone who does not have a better joy than receiving your letters, and realizing you have not forgotten her. When I know for

certain where to find you, I will reply to your letter in more detail. I do not dare to do it now because of the lack of safety the letters travel. I will only tell you that Our Lord has mortified us greatly this year. You might know about the villagers uprising in Austria. Our Mother Ana de San Bartolomé has been taken away from us, but I hope she will help us better from there than from here. You can see how much we need help. Moreover, there has been a wheat shortage, and it has been the most sorrowful thing to see because of the many poor and miserable people dying of starvation. We have not been able to solve it, although we have done as much as we could. After this necessity, we have been forced to have the country maintain all people in war, all of whom have done more than what is possible. They say they have done it for the love they have for me, and so it is my responsibility. I do not know what else we would have done, since it has been several months without receiving anything from Spain. Some supplies from last year have not been paid yet, and now we have been forced to pawn a large portion of the King's territory, where we are now, in order to maintain these people. Thus we were able to take them into campaign, as we had to, for the enemy came out very strongly, flauntingly, with so much artillery, ammunition, and supplies. Furthermore, they have come worse-off, since those provinces have consented to a taxation over every new house, over every bonnier of land; all from which, without burdening the town people, they would obtain a great amount of money. So now they say they do not need the aid of France, England or Venice; and that they can make war now by themselves. However, France has given them money, despite all its own difficulties, in order to depart to campaign because they had not had concluded the taxation. Later, when they departed with their people, they stood over Oldenzaal, which is not a strong place. It only took 24 hours for Marquis of Spinola

to win it, when he did. Those who were inside for ten days defended themselves with everything they had; but we were not able to aid them because our people cannot go through water, as our enemy is able to, and the roads are in such a condition that we cannot go through them either. It has not stopped raining for sixty days, and so we have not been able to gather people. Now, most of the people are with Count Henry in order to oppose to whoever wants to try to go there. The Marquis is here with the other part of the people, and so we do not know from where he will deliver the blow. But everyone is suspecting this is because they want to hinder us, so that we cannot send aid to Germany, as we were already beginning to do. Look how much we need the help of Our Lady of Victory, and yours, so you can reach out to Her. Do not forget me, this daughter of yours, the one who appreciates it the most. Since the regular dispatcher is leaving, I cannot write any longer, but only to wish Our God keeps you.

From Brussels; August 8, 1625

A. Isabel

Document 12: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Fray Domingo de Jesús María , Holy Wednesday
1627

1627 Mercredi Saint

Padre Fray Domingo, Quando menos lo esperaba recibi su carta de 5 de henero, y con ella le puedo asegurar el mayor contento que me podia venir viendo que no tenia olvidada esta su pecadora hija y sabiendo de su salud que el haber sabido la falta que tenia de ella me tenia con mucho cuidado. Creo habra recibido una carta mia y visto por ella como, en sabiendo que havia llegado a Roma, le escrivi, y como no lo havia sabido hasta entonces que la falta que ha habido en los ordinarios con los malos tiempos ha tenido la culpa, y el no saber donde estaba no haberle escrito y cumplido mi palabra; yo me enmendaré de aqui adelante si Dios es servido, para que gane mejor opinion de cumplir mi palabra. Mil gracias tengo que darle de haberse acordado de mi en todos sus dolores: bien via Nuestro Señor que le inspiraba quanto yo lo havia y he menester casi por ser siempre peor y no servirle como debo las muchas mercedes que me hace como por que cada dia me carga de muchos cuidados y cosas en que entender y en que merecer; pero yo me se aprovechar tan mal de todo, que no se como Nuestro Señor lo sufre, y asi le pido me alcance de Nuestro Señor una verdadera enmienda y que yo le sirva como debo y me perdone mis maldades y me alumbre en todo, para que yo no haga sino su voluntad. Mucho me guelgo que tan bien se acuerde con Nuestro Señor de los acuerdos con los Holandeses y que la madre Ana de Sant Bartolome le ayude a ello, que con eso esperaré que se hara algo bueno; mil personas se entremeten en esto y entre ellas alguna de su religion; pero hasta ahora, no veo que nada tenga buen fundamento, y aunque todo pasa por mis manos la resolucion se toma en España y van muy lejos de concierto las

intenciones de España y Holanda. Yo deseo que Nuestro Señor abra algun buen camino para su servicio y para remediar tanta gente miserable que esta padeciendo y muriendo de hambre que es una compasion como no tienen en que trabajar, faltandoles el trato por todas partes, que es su sustento con lo que se entretiene y gana ahora mucha gente, es con la obra de canal del Nuestra Señora, que así se llama, porque yo se la he ofrecido y se comenzó la vispera de su Natividad y en su nombre, y asi no puede dejar de salir bien. espero se podra navegar para Sant Juan o antes dende Grinberg, que es donde comiençia hasta Namur. presto le enviare donde lo podra ver con particularidad. Ahora se anda mirando y lenteando por donde ira el otro pedazo que falta desde la Mosa hasta Amberes, para comenzarle luego. A nuestros navios les va bien; siempre hacen daño al enemigo y toman presas, y ahora tambien de los de Inglaterra. ahora tenemos once para salir, que puede ser lo hayan hecho ayer la Madre Teresa es la Almiranta; y asi los guarda muy bien que con haber hecho las mayores tempestades que se han visto todos estos días no sabemos haya peligrado ninguno de los nuestros; yo les hago decir una misa a cada uno, el tiempo que estan en la mar, al Santo que tiene el nombre, y las ánimas de purgatorio no se olvidan. Quinze dias ha que con una gran tempestad dieron en nuestras costas diez y siete navios de los enemigos muy bien cargados de mercaderias, aunque se mojaron muchas y otras se han hurtado, que dicen valia mas de cuatro cientos mil florines, y dicen han sido quarenta los navios que han perdido que iban a Inglaterra. Con estas perdidas y no abrirles las licencias, todo el pueblo en Holanda grita por la paz o la tregua; pero los que los gobiernan son los emperrados y los peores los que los fomentan. el enemigo hacia gran junta de barcas y gente; decian ira para Amberes, que yo espero la defendera la madre Ana de San Bartolome. Con esta misma tempestad se les desbarato este desinio y

han perdido muchas barcas, y entre ellas algunas cargadas de infanteria. de le las gracias a Nuestro Señor y a la Madona de la Vitoria por tantas mercedes, como nos hacen siempre. No ha sido la menor la muerte de Mansfeld, aunque no se acaban nunca estas siete cabezas. Despues de su muerte, gobierno a aquella gente el de Saxa Weimar, y poco despues murio de enfermedad. Ahora la gobierna un coronel de baja suerte; pero no por eso dejan de hacer mucho daño en Silesia y Moravia y han tomado ahora poco ha la ciudad de Oya y otros castillos y puestos fuertes. Ahora dicen ira gente del Imperador a echarlos; plega a Dios los acaben desta vez; harto hay aun que hacer en Alemaña, pues el Rey de Dinamarca con las buenas ayudas que tiene, arma a gran prisa y sacara mucha gente en campaña de Holanda; le han enviado los regimientos de Ingleses que tenian alli gente vieja, y de Inglaterra le envian otros seis mil y dinero si pueden para entretenerlos. el de Dinamarca me escrivio con proposito de concertarse y que yo lo tratase aqui. el Emperador lo deseaba, y sobre ello le hemos enviado dos veces una trompeta con cartas y cuando aguardabamos sus diputados, escrivio disculpandose con que el Duque de Saxonia habaa comenzado a tratar; pero la verdad es que en Francia le dieron una gran cantidad de dinero aunque le quitaron de la boca como dicen a condicion que no se concertase; y así arma a gran prisa para salir en campaña. La dieta sabra ya que esta convocada para los primeros de Junio; alli dicen se concertara todo y todos los electores quieren que el Rey de Francia sea el medianero como el se lo ha enviado a ofrecer con uno que se llama Marquenilla, que es bien fino y ha andado por todos; pero tan bien sin esto ha dias que el Duque de Baviera que tan bien inclina a esto tiene al padre Alejandro, compañero del padre Jacinto, capuchino en Paris, tratado de estas cosas, aunque anda en habito seglar no se que tan seguro seria este medianero para el Emperador, pues es el que

fomenta todo cuanto se hace contra el y la pobre Casa de Austria que tan perseguida esta de todos. como Nuestro Señor no le falte, lo de mas vaya y venga; que bien se les luce en Francia el bien que hacen a la Christiandad reboviendolo todo por las pesadumbres que tienen en su casa, que debe de saber todo lo que hay entre el Rey y sus hermanos. Yo le pido mucho, encomiende muy de veras a Nuestro Señor la reina y acuerdese que es hija de su madre. Muy buena fue la rota que dieron los Polacos a los Tartaros; no les falta alla que hacer tan bien con el Rey de Suedia que es un valeroso y valiente hombre. Dios los convierta o los confunda! Nuestros enemigos se aperciben mucho para salir en campaña: dicen quieren sitiar Alingen; nosotros nos apercibimos lo mejor que se puede aunque con harto trabajo, porque estamos sin blanca, que con este decreto que se ha hecho en España, aunque nos han enviado unas letras, no quieren dar nada por ellas; y asi ha sido menester empeñar mis joyas y buscar prestado entre todos para tener que dar a la gente, para que no se nos amotine, y tener con que pasar adelante con la obra de la canal. Yo le aseguro que no nos faltan cuidados y pesadumbres: pero yo siempre confío en Nuestro Señor que nos ha de sacar con bien de todo, aunque no se contenta con las que nos da en casa, sino que nos trae de las agenas que estos dias la hemos tenido bien grande con una fraile frances de San Francisco, que segun parece se habia venido huyendo de alla porque era confesor de los de Vandoma y aqui predicaba la cuaresma en su casa con gran auditorio, y el Rey de Francia me envio a pedir que se le enviase y le hiciese prender; y poco antes nos habia enviado uno que le habiamos pedido que se habia huido de aqui y andaba perdido en Paris, y le trajeron, y se entrego al Nuncio, y asi en pago desto pedia estotro; yo respondi al Embajador, que yo deseaba siempre cumplir con lo que el Rey me mandaba; pero que aquello, por ser cosa eclesiastica no me tocaba a mi, sino al Nuncio.

El me porfio mucho, diciendo iba la seguridad de la vida del Rey; pero yo estuve siempre firme en que no me tocaba, como cosa eclesiastica. Con esto acudio al Nuncio, el qual le hizo prender, enviandole a llamar a su casa, y haciendole llevar de alli a Vilvorde. los frailes lo han tomado, de manera, y todo el pueblo que gustaba de oirle, que ha sido una barahunda terrible; y los frailes acudieron a los Estados de Brabante. Yo le aseguro que ha habido bien que ofrecer a Nuestro Señor. El fraile se esta preso, y el Nuncio se ha ido a serlo en Francia, y asi no se en lo que parara, que harto deseo verlo acomodado. Bien puede creer que no ha sido la intencion de nadie de entregarle ni hacerle ese mal; cuentole esto, por si oyere alla algo, sepa lo que es.

Mucho estimo la merced que me hace Su Santidad siempre. Le bese el pie por esta su obediente hija, que me precio de serlo mas que nadie, como mas favorecida; y a su sobrino y a su madre les de muchos recados. Muy gran fama dejo el Legado en España de lo bien que se gobierno, y todos dicen que ha de ser un santo por su virtud. Yo me huelgo mucho de oorlo.

Estoy muy contenta que tenemos ya segura la madre Priora de esta casa. Harto ha sido menester rogarselo: pero cierto era lo que convenia. Ahora andamos por la de Gante, que seria perder a aquella casa, si faltase della, que tiene muy buenos principios, que las de la Escalera salen muy buenas monjas; ya le tengo escrito como tengo otra mas alla, con que son seis.

Doyle las gracias por lo que ha hecho por aquel mozo que tiene una buena madre y pobre. Aqui le envio las estampas de mi retrato, ya que quiere una cosa tan mala; que harto me ha mortificado con ellas si pudiera irme envuelta en ellas, no me faltara nada pues cumpliera con lo que deseaba de tenerme una vez en vida en Nuestra Señora de la

Vitoria y tuviera este bien de verla y de verle tan bien; pero en muerte es posible, que queria tener alli una cosa tan perversa como yo. Otras cosas mejores espero que tendra la Madona en su capilla; ya esta muy a delante lo que falta de su obra. pesame me haya ganado por la mano impedir la blanqueria que yo se la pensaba enviar; con lo demas el baldaquino ira, y no me puede dar mayor contento que quando me dice lo que ha menester la Madona, para que yo pueda hacer muy bien mi oficio de sacristana.

Guelgome de los quatro quadros que ha enviado el Duque de Baviera que estaran muy bien. Al Marques Espinola he dado su recado, y se ha holgado mucho con el; y le da muchas gracias y lo mismo las de casa, de los que deyo se ha llevado quatro en un año Nuestro Señor; la Camarera mayor y tres damas que ninguna llegaba a los veinte años; la una era la hija segunda del Duque de Arschot, de onze años; todas han muerto muy bien y muy conformes con la voluntad de Nuestro Señor con todos los sacramentos que es muy gran contento para mi. Encomiendelas a Nuestro Señor. El Duque de [Marie? Mouci?] ha llegado de ay; espero vendra enmendado en el jugar; que por lo demas son muy buenas personas creo son los dos hermanos que me ha encomendado por esta razon y por la obligacion que tenemos a su casa, y yo particularmente a dos tias suyas que son la Princesa Doria y la Duquesa de Medina, que tal los haga Dios como ellas holgare de hacer todo lo que pudiere por ellos. –Aqui le envio unas pocas de las estampas, que andan ahora aqui muy validas; si le contentaren, avisemelo, para que le envie mas. Esta se ha escrito en hartas veces. Pero se cierra miercoles santo, y nuestros navios han salido con bien sin que se lo hayan podido estorbar once del enemigo que estaban aguardandolos delante del puerto. Encomiendelos a Nuestro Señor que hagan algo bueno para su

servicio, y no olvide esta su pecadora hija que suplica a Nuestro Señor le guarde como deseo. 1627

A. Isabel

1627 Holy Wednesday

Father Domingo: When I was least expecting it, I received your letter from January 5. I can assure you it brought me so much joy to see that you had not forgotten this sinner daughter of yours, and to learn about you, for I was so worried about your poor health, as I knew you had. You might have received my letter, from which you might have noticed that as soon as I knew you were in Rome, I wrote to you. There I told you that I had not wrote you before, and I had not kept my word, because I did not know where to find you. The regular mail was also to be blamed because of the bad times we are going through. I will set it right from now on, God willing, so that I regain my reputation of keeping my word. I ought to thank you so much for remembering me, even when you were in pain. Our Lord might well know how much I invoked Him because I needed Him, and I still do, for I have been always the worst, and I do not serve Him as I should, nor I deserve all the favors He does for me. Every day He burdens me with so many preoccupations, and many issues to address, but I do not know how to make the most out of them. I do not know how much Our Lord suffers, and so I ask you to reach out to Him for a true emendation, so that I can serve Him as I should, and He forgives my evildoing, and shows me the light, in order to do nothing, but His will. I am pleased Our Lord is in accordance with the agreements with the Dutch, and I hope Mother Ana de San

Bartolomé helps Him with it; and with this I hope there will be good results. Thousands of people intervene in this, among them, some of your religion. But, until now, I do not see anything that is well founded, for although everything passes through my hands, the final resolution lies in Spain, and the intentions of Spain and Holland are far from an accord. I hope Our Lord will clear a path in His service, and provide a solution to all the miserable people who are suffering and dying of starvation. It is a pity to see that they do not have work, for they are lacking of conducting business everywhere. What their means of support is the construction of the Canal of Our Lady. This also keeps them occupied, and we receive many people. The name of the Canal is because I offered it to Her, and so the construction started on Her name, and on the eve of Her birthday, and so it cannot go wrong. I hope we will be able to sail to San Juan, or even before, from Grinberg, where the canal starts, to Namur. I will send you soon detailed information about where you can see it. Now we are contemplating and estimating where the other sections will go, mainly the one that goes from Meuse to Antwerp, so that we can start the construction. Our ships are doing well; they always harm the enemy, and they take captives; now even the ones of England. We have eleven ready to depart, and they might have already done it yesterday. Mother Teresa is the Admiral, and so She keeps them very well, and even with the fiercest storms we have seen during these days, we do not have any news of our ships being in any danger. I commend to the Saint of that name, a mass for each one of them, during their time at sea. The souls in Purgatory do not forget them either. Fifteen days ago, because of a strong storm, seventeen enemy ships arrived to our shores. They were full of goods, although many of them got wet, and some others have been looted. It is said they were worth four hundred thousand florins, and they say that forty ships that

were heading to England have been lost. Because of these losses, and because they have not lifted the veto, the people of Holland shout for peace or truce. But, the ones who govern are determined, and so are even worse the ones who encourage them. The enemy was gathering boats and people. They said they would go to Antwerp. I hope Mother Anne of Saint Bartholomew will defend it. Their plans were ruined because of that same storm, and they lost so many boats, many of which were loaded with infantrymen. Thank Our Lord and to Our Lady of Victory for the favors they always do for us. No less significant is Mansfeld's death, although the seven heads are never ending. After his death, the one of Saxe-Weimar governed those people. But, he died of illness soon after that. Now a Coronel of low sorts governs them. However, this has not hindered them to do harm in Silesia and Moravia, and not so long ago they have taken the City of Hoya, other castles, and strong posts. Now they say the Emperor's people will go there to expel them. Beg to God they are finished once and for all. There are so many issues to address in Germany, for the King of Denmark, because of the good aid he has, is arming quickly for war. He is taking many people from Holland into campaign. He has also been sent English regiments that had skilled people. Furthermore, he will be sent another six thousand people from England, if England is able to, along with money for distraction. The one of Denmark wrote to me with the sole purpose to arrange a meeting, and to be received in here. The Emperor wished that, and so we sent two times a trumpeter with some letters. When we were waiting for his Representatives, he wrote back to apologize. He stated that he had already started an agreement with the Duke of Saxony. But the truth is that in France he was given a great amount of money. However, all of it was taken out of his mouth, as it is commonly said, provided that he did not meet with me. So, now he

is arming extremely quickly in order to go into campaign. You might already know that the assembly will be held during the first days of June. They will negotiate everything, and all electors want the King of France to be the intermediary, as he has offered himself to be. He sent notice with a refined person called Marquenilla, who has been everywhere. But, without any of this, some days ago the Duke of Bavaria, who is inclined to this business, has Father Alejandro. He is a colleague of Father Jacinto, a Capuchin in Paris, and a well-versed person in these businesses. Even if he wears the layman habit, I do not know how safe it would be for him to be the intermediary for the Emperor. He is the one who encourages everything that is done against the Emperor, and to the poor House of Austria, which is being so persecuted by everyone. As long as Our Lord is with us, everything else can come and go. How well France shows the good deed they do for the Christendom, messing all up because of the afflictions they have in their own House. You might know everything that is happening between the King and his siblings. I beg you to truly commend the Queen to Our Lord, and remember she is the daughter of her mother. The Polish defeated greatly the Tartars. They are not in need there, for they are doing well even with the King of Sweden, who is such a brave and courageous man. May God convert them, or confuse them! Our enemies are preparing to go into campaign. They say they want to siege Alingen. We prepare the best that we can, although not effortless. We are running low on funds because of the decree sealed in Spain. Even though they have sent us some checks, no one wants to give anything for them. So I had to pawn my jewelry, and borrow some money, so that we could have something to give to the people, and they do not riot; and we could have something to go ahead with the canal. I can assure you that we are not lacking of preoccupations and afflictions. But, I believe Our

Lord will make us succeed in everything. Even if it seems He is not content with the domestic problems, He brings us the ones of others. These past few days we have had a serious situation because of a French Franciscan friar, who, it seems, had come here running away from there because he was the confessor of the one of Vendome. Here he was preaching Lent in his house and he had a great audience. But the King of France asked me to arrest him, and send him back. Soon before that, the King had sent us one that we had requested, since he had ran away from here, and he was lost in Paris. He was brought, and he turned himself in to the Nuncio. So now, the King was requesting us his pay back. I replied to the Ambassador, and told him I always wished to do everything the King requested from me. But, since this was an ecclesiastical matter, it was not my jurisdiction, but the Nuncio's. He insisted me so much, stating that the King's life security was at stake. But, I was always firm in stating that it was not my jurisdiction, for it was an ecclesiastical matter. Because of this, the Nuncio took action, and arrested him. The Friar was called from his house, and he was sent to Vilvoorde. The friars have taken it accordingly, and so the whole town who enjoyed listening to him. It has been a pandemonium, and the friars left to the Brabant States. I can assure you that there has been what to offer to Our Lord. The friar is under arrest, and the Nuncio has left to France, and so I do not know what will become of him, but I wish to see him well settled. You should believe it was not our intention to neither hand him over, nor do him evil. I tell you this in case you hear something over there, and so now you know what it is about.

I truly appreciate the favors Your Holiness does for us. Kiss His feet for this obedient daughter of His, as I value it more than anyone, and I am the most favored. Send

my regards to your nephew and your mother. The Delegate of Spain left such a great reputation from the good government, and so everyone says he is a saint because of all his virtues. I rejoice so much upon hearing this.

I am delighted to already have secured in this house our Mother Prioress. It was necessary to beg her, but it was truly what we needed. Now we are working on Ghent, because if we neglected it, it would mean losing that house, and it has good principles. Good nuns come out from the one of Escalera. I already wrote to you about the other one I have over there, from which they sum six.

I thank you for what you have done for that young man, who has a good and poor mother. Here I enclose my portrait prints, for you want such ugly things. But, you have mortified me so much about them. If I could go wrapped in them, I would not need anything more, for it would fulfill what I wished, which is to see me once in life in Our Lady of Victory, and I had the privilege to see Her, and see Her in such a good state. In death it is possible she might want to have such a perverse thing like myself. I hope other and better things Our Lady has in Her chapel. We are very advanced in the construction carried on in Her honor. I regret so much you beat me to the linens that I was planning on sending. But, the baldachin will go, and I cannot rejoice more knowing how much Our Lady needs it, so that I can succeed in my position of a sacristan. I am delighted about the four paintings that Duke of Bavaria has sent; they will be appropriate. I have sent your regards to the Marquee of Spinola, and it has made him happy. He thanks you, and he sends the house regards. Our Lord has taken four of them within a year: the senior Chambermaid, and three maids. None of them were older than twenty, and one of them was the second daughter of Duke of Arschot; she was eleven. All of them have died in

accordance to Our Lord's will, and with all the necessary Sacraments. That brings content to me. Commend them to Our Lord. The Duke of [Mouci] has arrived from there. I hope he has changed his ways and stopped gambling. Besides that, they are good people, and I think this is the reason these two brothers have been commended to me, and for the debt we have for their house. I, myself particularly, owe it to their two aunts: Princess Doria, and Duchess of Medina. May God make them as their aunts. I will be delighted to do whatever I can for them all. Here I enclose some of the printings. They are very valuable around here. If you enjoy them, let me know, so I can send you more. This one has been written several times, but I close it on this Holy Wednesday. Our ships have sailed safely, and without being hindered by the eleven the enemy has, even if they were awaiting not so far from the port. Commend them to Our Lord, and I hope they will gain something good for His service. Do not forget this sinner daughter of yours, who wishes Our Lord keeps you. 1627

A. Isabel

Document 13: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Béatrix de la Conception, 11 June 1633

Pienso seria muy mal hecho dar pesame de muerte de quien ha tenido tal vida, que se puede creer por tan cierto que ha ido a gozar lo que tan bien ha ganado; pero bien os aseguraré que lo he sentido mucho la muerte de vuestra hermana,⁵⁷⁵ por la falta que os hara su compañía y por haberos obligado a tomar su cargo. Ahora nos ha dicho Nuestro Señor para lo que os llevo ay, para hacer os padecer, para daros mayor gloria, y a nosotros mas merecimiento de haberos perdido, y veros priora de otra parte que los Carmelitas de Brusselas; donde cada vez que voy alla, siéntolo mucho no hallaros, y poder descansar con contaros todas nuestras cuitas, que no son pequeñas con tantos enemigos dentro y fuera, y tantos traidores, que no sabe la persona a quien fiarse, que es el mayor mal, y quando nuestro ejercito habia salido muy lucido en campaña, y parecia nos queria ayudar, Nuestro Señor ha dejado perder Rimbergue, habiendola entregado al enemigo con solos treinta dias de sitio, que aun no habian llegado al fosso ni dado les ningun asalto. Y del Gobernador que habiamos puesto ally por pensar la guardaria mejor que otro por ser gran soldado y Lucenburges, dicen ha hecho esto por guardar lo mucho que ha ganado en los botines que ha hecho mientras ha estado ay; en fin todo es interes, y asa va todo. Bien es menester que nos encomendeis a Nuestro Señor con todas las de esa casa, que no quiero decir hijas vuestras, porque solo las de aca han de tener este nombre.

Quiero dejar los duelos y deciros cuanto reí el dia de la Octava del Corpus, que estuvo lindisima la iglesia, con las dos reverendas madres Teresas, priora y supriora, que no me podia persuadir a que estaban en tales puestos; hartas lagrimas les ha costado; pero oy las era para dar mil gustos, particularmente a la Teresica, que no la puedo llamar otro

⁵⁷⁵ M. Jeanne de St. Esprit, prioress of the Discalced Carmelites in Salamanca

nombre; hemos le dado gran baya, porque topamos una escoba a la puerta de la hermita de Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo. Yo pase tan buena tarde, que bolbi a las nueve a casa. Pero todo se me agua, pues no os veo alli. La imagen de Lorette va a consolaros; ha mucho esta acabada; pero por no haber quien la llevase segura, no la he osado enbiar. Ahora ira con el hijo del Veedor pasado que han venido por el, y es muy buena ocasion. a todas las que yo hubiere para mostraros mi voluntad, no olvidaré lo que os debo. Asi quisiera tener muchas, y mucho lugar para hacer esto muchas veces. Pero cierto no le tengo, ni aun para comer ni dormir, porque cada día me carga mas Nuestro Señor, y ahora le debia de parecer que no teniamos hartos huespedes en los franceses, y nos ha enviado el Duque de Nieburg y su hijo; y yo no puedo pasar de aqui, porque me quieren hablar. Que esta esta vida, que tenemos sin un punto de sosiego. Dios os guarde como deseo

De Bruselas a once de junio 1633

A. Isabel

I think it would be wrong to offer condolences for someone who had such a great life, for I believe she has gone to enjoy what she so fairly gained. But, I assure you I grieve so much your sister's death because we will miss her company, and because we are now obliged to take her position. Our Lord has spoken to us, and told us why He sent you there: to make you suffer, and give you the greatest glory; for us to deserve losing you, and see you as a prioress away from the Carmelites of Brussels. Every time I go there, I regret so much not to find you, and not being able tell you all our troubles and preoccupations. They are not just a few, since we have so many enemies inside and out;

so many traitors, that we do not know who to trust anymore, which is the worst. When our army departed splendidly into campaign, it seemed Our Lord was willing to help us, but He let Rimbergue fall into the enemies' hands after only thirty days of siege. They had not even arrived to the moat, nor they had started any battle. We thought the Governor, who we appointed and left there, would keep the city better than the other because he was a great soldier and a Luxembourger. But, they say he did this in order to save much of what we had gained in the war spoils during his time there. At the end, everything is because of own interest, and so everything goes like that. It is very necessary that you commend us to Our Lord, and so the ones from that house, who I do not want to call them your daughters because only the ones from here can be named like that.

I want to put the grief aside, and tell you how much I laughed on the day of the Corpus Octave. The church was so beautiful having the two Reverend Mother Teresas, the prioress and the superior. I cannot convince myself to believe they hold those positions. So many tears have cost them. Today my tears are for the numerous satisfactions, especially about Teresica, who I cannot call her with another name. We made such a fuss because we attached a broom to the doors in the Hermit of Our Lady of Monte Carmelo. I had such a great evening, that I came back home around nine. But everything fell apart because I did not see you there. The image of Loretto will comfort you. It was finished some time ago. But, since there was no one who could safely take it to you, I had not dare to send it. Now it is a good occasion to send it to you with the son of the former watchman because they have come for him. I would use every occasion to show you my will to serve you, and I will not forget how much I owe you. I wish to have

many opportunities to show you my will. But, I do not have them, not even to eat and sleep, for Our Lord burdens me every day. Now it might seem to Him that we did not have enough French guests, and so He has sent us the Duke of Neuburg, and his son. I cannot go any further, for people want to talk to me. In his life we do not have a moment of quietness. May God bless you.

From Brussels. June 11, 1633

A. Isabel

Appendix C

Letters between the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and Ana de Jesús, Abbess of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, Brussels in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites of Brussels⁵⁷⁶

Document 1: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

Mucho he holgado con vuestra carta y de saber que nuestro señor vaya aumentando vuestra Religion por lo que ganamos en ello y en que os traiga buenas hijas y espero que lo sera esta oolandesa, y assi teniendo las partes que pide las constituciones, como parece la tiene, la podays recibir en el nombre de dios y assi se lo parece a mi primo, con el mal tiempo que ha hecho se ha tratado harto mal su gota pero queda bueno y oy saldra a tomar un poco de ayre con el buen dia que hace. deseo saber como os aydo que no me decis nada de vuestra salud, y yo lo echo menos, aunque siempre procuro saber de vos, a la supriora y a teresa de Jesus y a todas me incomiendo, y no me alargo mas, porque esta llegue a tiempo que pueda entrar la monja el dia de nuestra Señora y guarde os Dios, como deseo, de Marymont lunes.

A. Isabel

I rejoiced upon receipt of your letter, knowing Our Lord is increasing our religion, because of everything we gain with it, and by Him bringing you good nuns. I hope the Dutch one will be so. Having the notification required by the constitutions, as she seems

⁵⁷⁶ The following document is transcribed from its original Spanish and then translated into English, maintaining original spelling, grammar, syntax, emphasis, and abbreviations. Illegible script is denoted by [...]. In the translation words that are legible, but whose meaning is unknown have been placed in brackets.

to have, you shall receive her in the name of God. So my cousin thinks as well. He treated his gout poorly because of the bad weather we had, but he is good now, and he is going out to take some air, since it is such a good day today. I wish to know how you have been, because you don't tell me about your health. I miss you, even if I always try to find out about you. I commend myself to the prioress, to Teresa de Jesus, and to all of them. I do not wish to write any longer. I hope this one arrives on time, so that the nun can enter in the day of Our Lady. May God bless you.

From Mariemont, on Monday.

A. Isabel

Document 2: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

Porque estos dos dias no podre ir alla no quiero aguardar mas a responderos a vuestro papel y deciros quanto me pesa os trate tan mal este tiempo y quanto quisiera poderos aliviar del mal que pasays, aunque pienso no lo quisierades, y nuestro señor sabe bien lo que sois menester aca, y asi espero en este caso no oyra vuestras peticiones, sino las nuestras, ya andamos concertando lo de las missas como os dire quando os vea y las diligencias que se hacen para remediar lo demas que harto necessario es por cierto, que aunque esta diferente de quando venimos aqui, no esta como seria menester, en todo lo que yo pudiere holgare de hacer por el conde de sora, y que huelgo mucho que Isabelica aya llevado su buen proposito adelante por hija de su padre y ser mi ahijada le deseo mucho bien, y assi si os parece que tiene edad y ay place que darle la podrais recibir, y lo mismo le parece a mi primo que hubiera de decir primero, y abrais tenido oy hartas cartas de espana, con las que yo he tenido de mi primo, en él envía mil recados para vos, y yo parto con vos de las imágenes y [criceas] que me ha enviado, repartid dellas con las monjas. También tengo carta de la Reyna de francia. A qui vuelve la carta de Roma que emos olgado mucho de ver, alla os envió a doña Catalina de Castro para que os dé nuevas de la Reyna de francia muy particulares, si pudieramos no dejaramos de ir a la fiesta de la Madre Teresa que yo espero podremos llamar presto santa. A todas me encomendad mucho y particularmente a la supriora, y avisame como os va con este tiempo que por escribir para espana no paso de aqui. esto esta tan bien, que quisiera traeros aqui a visitar donde vivio y murio san huberto, y dios os guarde como deseo.

A. Isabel

Since I will not be able to go there during the following two days, I do not wish to wait any longer to reply to your letter. I am sorry this weather treats you so poorly. How I wish to be able to alleviate your affliction, even if I think you would not want it. Our Lord knows well how much you are needed here. So, I hope in this case He will not listen to your petitions, but ours. When I shall see you, I will tell you about the masses we are arranging, and about the deeds we do to solve everything else, which by the way they are very necessary. Although here is different than when we came, it is not in the state it should be. I will be delighted to do whatever I can for Count of Sora. And I rejoice at little Isabel for having carried out her purpose. Because she is the daughter of her father, and my goddaughter, I wish her well. She is old enough to be received, if it seems appropriate for you and there is a place for her. My cousin thinks this as well; he stated it first. You might have letters from Spain today. In the ones I received from my cousin, he sends thousands of messages for you, and I share with you the images and [criceas] he has sent me. Distribute them among the nuns. I also have a letter from the Queen of France. The letter from Rome, which we rejoiced to see, is returned here. I send you Ms. Catalina de Castro, so that she delivers you particular news about the Queen of France. If we could have gone to Mother Teresa's celebration, we would have. I hope we can call her Saint soon. Commend me to all of them, especially to the superior. Let me know how it goes with this weather. Because I write to Spain, I cannot add more. Here it is so good, that I wish to bring you over, and take you to where Saint Humberto lived and died. May God bless you.

A. Isabel

Document 3: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

Quando salimos de ahi, os envia con doña Isabel una carta de Madalena de San Jeronimo, y le dije os dijese que os enviaria a decir lo que le habíades de responder de mi parte, y fueron tantos los embarasos de aquellos dias y las audiencias, que no fue possible ni aun daros la gracias de parte de mi primo y íía, por todo lo que nos decíades en vuestro papel sobre la muerte del emperador. hasta aqui tenia esperanza de hacer esto en persona pensando pudiera ver os un dia desta paseana, pues la pensamos tener ay quando salimos de diste, pero el haber entendido despues que se nos cayo la casa mas de lo que pensamos, pues han hallado tres vigas podridas, en la sala de mi aposento, y otros [somillos], destos embajadores nos han hecho resolver a no yr ay, y assi os envio los rozarios, Imagenes que os traya de nuestra señora tocadas a la Imagen para que repartays con todas y escribid a madalena de san Jeronimo que responda a los frailes del colesyo de doña maria de Aragon que de muy buena gana dire yo todo lo que supiere y ayudare para que el santo padre orosco sea beatificado, pero que me parece que para que se haga como conviene sera bien lo encarguen al provincial o al prior de bruselas, para que haya aqui la informacion, como se suele en semejantes cosas, y que yo tengo tres criadas que podran tambien decir sus dichos, y yo pienso le habréis conocido cuando estuvistes en las descalzas de madrid, y decidle a madalena de san Jeronimo que huelgue mucho de ver su firma y que espero le ha de dar nuestro señor ojos. mucho deseo saber como os va con este tiempo de tanta Calor, y tanto frio, mi primo gracias a dios anda en pie que no es poco, con estas mudanzas, nuestra señora nos debe de hacer esta merced, que estaba tan linda, que no hay quien salga de buena gana de su capillica, aunque habran sido bien malas, no me he olvidado de vuestras avemarias, y las de la supriora, y de todos. he

suplicado a nuestra señora las haga sus verdaderas hijas, y lo alcance de su hijo. bien se nos habran ayudado ay, a nuestra novena, y el cuidado que hay siempre de encomendarnos a mio señor, y todas estas malas venturas que andan en el mundo, y assi no digo nada, sin que tambien agais encomendar a nuestro señor que salga con bien esta jornada de portugal, de mi hermano, mi primo me escribe mil recados que os dé, y yo os doy otros tantos para la supriora y las dos teresas, y a todas mis encomiendas, y guarde os dios como deseo. de la bura, martes.

A. Isabel

Madalena de San Jeronimo gave Doña Isabel a letter for you when we left there. I told her that I would tell you to send her what to reply on my behalf. But there were so many hindrances and hearings during those days, that it was not possible to thank you, on my and my cousins' behalf, for what you said in your paper about the death of the emperor. I was hoping I could do this in person when I saw you during our rest stop, since we were planning on having a rest day after we departed. But after having learnt about our house falling more than what we had thought, since there were three rotten beams in my chambers and other [somillos], the ambassadors made us resolve not to go. So, I send you rosaries and images I brought from Our Lady. They are touched by the Image. Share them with everyone, and write Madalena de San Jeronimo to reply to the friars in the college of Doña Maria de Aragon. I will gladly say everything I know to help Holy Father Orosco to be beatified. But I think that it will be most convenient to entrust this issue to the Provincial or the Prior of Brussels, so that we collect statements here, as it is usually done in these cases. I have three maids that could attest as well. I think you

met him when you were with the Discalced Carmelites in Madrid. Tell Madalena de San Jeronimo to rejoice looking at her signature, and I hope Our Lord gives her sight. I wish to know how the hot and cold weather is treating you. Thanks to God my cousin is able to be on his feet, and that is significant in these weather changes. Our Lady must be doing favors to us. She was so pretty, that no one leaves Her chapel without lifted spirits. I have not forgotten your Hail Maries, even if they might have been bad, nor the ones of the superior, or everyone else's. I beg Our Lady makes them all Her true daughters, and takes you as Her son. I well know these have helped us here in our novena. They have also helped us in the care we always put in commending ourselves to My Lord, and in all the world's misfortunes. I say no more, but to commend to Our Lord hoping it turns out well for my brother from his trip to Portugal. My cousin writes me thousands of messages for you, and I give you even more for the superior, and the two Teresas, and I send my regards to all. May God bless you. From Buren. Tuesday.

A. Isabel

Document 4: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

Con la gota de mi primo no he tenido lugar de agradeceros de su parte y la mia todo lo que me decis en vuestra Carta y lo que se ha hecho en essa casa con que quedamos muy consolados teniendo por cierto que el Archiduque esta gozando de nuestro señor, y que alla alcanzara mejor el remedio de las cosas de alemania que tanto lo han menester para que no acabe de perecer alli la santa fee catolica como parece lleva camino, y es lo que mas se puede sentir. mi primo queda levantado ya de su gota aun que no puede aun andar pero el tiempo no ayuda para ello, y es harto no abelle durado mas, con el que hace, las oraciones de esa casa lo deben de alcanzar. mi luto no os de pena, que le traygo todo lo mas moderado que puedo, y el manto no esta en la cabeza, sino cuando no se puede excusar. No me decís como estáis, y todas con la supriora tengo de reñir el pleyto, con todo dadle mis encomiendas, y a las demas. acabo de tener cartas de España, todos estan buenos, y mi primo me da siempre mil recados para vos. El de Lerma se esta alli, a lo que todos dicen, para Secula. Si nuestro señor continua en abrir los ojos a mi hermano como dicen gran cosa sería, el lo haga y os guarde como deseo. de la bura. Sábado.

A. Isabel

Because of my cousin's gout, I have not had the opportunity to thank you, on my and my cousin's behalf, about what you said in your letter, and for everything it has been done in that house. We are comforted knowing that the Archduke is experiencing Our Lord, and that he will reach a solution regarding the German affaires. That is very necessary, so that our Holy Catholic Faith does not disappear from there completely, as it

seems it is already on its way. That is what we regret the most. My cousin has recovered from his gout, but he still cannot walk. The weather does not help either, but it is great that his gout has not lasted even longer despite this weather. These house prayers might reach him. Do not feel sorrow for my mourning clothing, I wear it as moderately as I can, and the veil is not on my head, but only when it is inexcusable. You do not tell me how you are. I have to argue with the superior and all. Anyway, I send my regards to her, and to all of them. I just received letters from Spain. Everyone is fine, and my cousin always sends you thousands of messages. The one of Lerma is just there, and as everyone says, for eternity. May Our Lord continue opening my brother's eyes, as everyone says it would be great. May God bless you.

From Buren. Saturday.

A. Isabel

Document 5: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

No me parece cumpliera con lo que debía, si no os diese la nora buena de la merced que nuestro señor nos ha hecho de ver beatificada a la beata madre Teresa, agradezco os mucho el cuidado de avisarmelo, que me tomo vuestro papel, esttandole rebozando, con mucho gusto de poderlo hacer a boca llena, porque el conde de annover nos lo habia dicho cuando acabamos de cenar, dadle la nora buena a la supriora y a todas, y yo hubiera ydo a que me la dieran si no pensara embaracar alla, con tantas enfermas como tienen. no sé nuestro señor por que quiere poner en mala fama la casa y no debe de ser sino por mortificarnos a todas, decidles que se den priesa a estar buenas, y vos con este tiempo no lo debais de estar nada. mi primo harto blandos trae sus pies, pero espero podra gozar de la licencia en llegando, estamos muy contentos del buen general que ha salido.

A. Isabel

I do not think I would accomplish what is needed, if I would not congratulate you for the favor Our Lord did for us in beatifying Mother Teresa.⁵⁷⁷ I appreciate your concern to inform me about it. I read your paper covertly, but I was very glad to say it openly after dinner because Count of Hanover had told us. Congratulate the Superior, and everyone else. I wish I could go, and be congratulated too, if I did not think I would hinder things, since there are many ill sisters there. I do not know why Our Lord wants to put ill fame in that house, but to torment us. Tell them to hurry on getting well. With this weather you might as well not be. My cousin still has weak feet, but I hope he will enjoy

⁵⁷⁷ Theresa of Avila was beatified on 24, April 1614.

autonomy when he arrives. We are very pleased how good of a General he has turned out to be.

Document 6: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

No podia tener otra recompensa mejor para mi el no haber podido yr a veros antes de partir de ay, que la visita del retrato de la madre Teresa, y mas diciendome vos que esta tan parecido; hemos holgado infinito con el, y no menos con la esperanza que me decys hay de aquel negocio, que no ha de saber mi primo, el de los [confesses] tambien espero se acabara bien, y no quedara por no procuraros siempre el descanso de espiritu que os deseo, que de cuerpo ya se orole querais, con todo no me decys en esta carta como os aydo estos dias con vuestra gota, la de mi primo no quiere dejarnos, en hamiendo alguna mudanza de tiempo, pero con poder andar en pie lo passa mejor, a la supriora deci que reza mejor otro día para que nos veamos, pues llovio todo el que yo pensaba yr ay, que no se lo perdonare, a Teresa y a todas me encomiendo, y guardaos dios como deseo. de marymont miércoles.

A. Isabel

I could not have a better compensation for not having been able to see you, than the Mother Teresa portrait visit. And also because you told me it looks so much like her. We rejoiced endlessly with it. And not less delightful is the hope that we have in the business you told me about, which my cousin might not be aware of it. I also hope the [confesses] issue will end well. Furthermore, I do not want to omit hoping that you obtain spiritual ease. I do not mention a body relief, since I know you would like another. Because all of this, you do not tell me in the letter about how your gout has treated you during these days. My cousin's does not want to leave because the weather changed. But, he is better just by being able to stand up. Tell the superior that we should meet another

day, because the day I planned to go there it rained, and I will not forgive it. I commend myself to Teresa, and to the rest. May God bless you.

From Mariemont. Wednesday.

A. Isabel

Document 7: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

Con tan buena visita y presente no podaa dejar de ser bien recibida la mandadera, y mas con vuestra carta con que he holgado mucho pareceme que a todos nos quiere mortificar nuestro señor, en que no podays hablar, pero gracias a dios que la supriora es tan buen interprete. San Juanico me a parecido muy bien, y porque he enviado hacer uno, deseaba velle por ver si abia que enmendar en el mio, pero como no a traydo capa de coro no he hallado que, aun que hoy bien la hubiera menester para lo que ha llovido, de que creo llevara bien que contar doña Isabel, y de la jornada que le he hecho hacer por que no tuviese envidia a las que cojieron las fresas esta mañana, ellas son de tierra de promission y le han sabido muy bien a mi primo. La jornada de Lerma me ha dado mucha pena si fuese cierta, pero no lo puedo acabar de creer, aun que por otro cabo todo se puede creer Dios nos tenga de su mano. Muy contenta estoy de lo bien que ha pasado el capitulo, y espero que la monjas de francia an de salir con la suya, aqui va una carta para la Reyna en que le pido las ayude por si la querais enviar mañana con el ordinario. ya me an dado bravas nuevas de quan linda estuvo la iglesia a la fiesta del corpus, harto me peso de no vella, y por no detener la mandadera no digo mss sino que os guarde dios como deseo, y a la supriora, las Teresas y todas mis encomiendas.

A. Isabel

The errand maid could not be but welcome because of such a good visit and present; I rejoiced even more upon receipt of your letter. It seems that Our Lord wants to torment us all because you cannot talk. But, thanks to God, mother superior is a good interpreter. Saint Juanico statue seems fine to me. I wanted to see it because I wanted to

rectify the one I commissioned. I did not find what to correct, however, because it was not wearing its cloak. Today it should have worn it, since it has rained so much. I think Doña Isabel will have something to tell about the trip I made her take so that she did not feel jealous of the women who picked the strawberries this morning. They are from the Promised Land, and tasted great to my cousin. The Lerma journey has made me feel sorrow. I still cannot believe it, even if it is true. But, on the other hand, everything can be believed, since God has us on His hands. I am very happy about how well the chapter has passed. I hope the French nuns have it their way. Here it is a letter for the Queen, in which I ask her to help them. Perhaps you want to send it tomorrow in the regular mail. I have already received excellent news about how pretty the church looked during the Corpus celebration. I regret so much not having seen it. I do not say any more because I do not want to hold the errand maid for too long. May God bless you. To the superior, to the Teresas, and everyone, I send my regards.

A. Isabel

Document 8: Isabel Clara Eugenia to Ana de Jesús, undated

Mucho me pesa de la pena y disgusto que abeis passado estos dias con esta revuelta de la monja, a nosotros nos dieron un memorial que remitimos como se suele hacer para hacer justicia como somos obligados, y aun que tocaba al Consejo el hacella por mas justificacion y que se hiciese con mas decencia, no aviso mi primo que el Consejo entendiese en ello, sino el nuncio, y asi se le envio la tarde antes que partiessemos y aunque hiciese en ello lo que le pareciese justicia y razon no hemos sabido mas deste negocio hasta que me dieron vuestra carta, pareceme que el nuncio pudiera haber ido donde el principio, como hico despues, y acabado de concluir este negocio antes de yrse a Amberes, y por lo demas, yo hallo que lo que se ha hecho en ponella en libertad a sido para bien y honra de esa casa, por lo que todo el mundo decia que la habian hecho entrar por fuerza, pues si nuestro señor la llama de veras, a tiempo esta de decir su voluntad, y si no entra con ella yo pienso que por nada que viades ay una contra su voluntad, para dar en que entender a todas las demas viendola descontenta procuraremos que el nuncio se dé priesa en examinarla para que salgais deste cuidado, que a mi me lo da, no os haga mal a la salud por lo que os la deseo, a la supriora y a las teresas, y todas los demas me encomiendo mucho, y guarde os dios como deseo.

de marymont, domingo.

A. Isabel

It upsets me greatly, and makes me feel so much sorrow, what you went through these days because of the nun's return. We enclose a petition, which they gave us, as it is usually done in order to be righteous, and we are obligated to be. The Council should

have done it, so that they would have provided more justification by doing it more decently. However, my cousin did not announce the Council to take responsibility of it, but to the Nuncio. And therefore, it was sent to him the evening before we left. Although he did what it seemed most just and sensible, we did not learn anything about this issue until I received your letter. I think the Nuncio could have gone to the source, as he later did, after concluding this business and before he departed to Antwerp. Apart from that, I believe that letting her free has been good for her, and for this house reputation, because everyone said she was forced to enter. If Our Lord truly calls her, she is still on time to express her will. If she enters without her consent, regardless of what you send her there, I believe it will give others something to think about just by seeing her so unhappy. We will make sure the Nuncio hurries in testing her, so that you are less concerned, and I am concerned too, because it might also affect your health. I commend myself to the superior, to the Teresas, and to everyone else. May God bless you.

From Mariemont. Sunday.

A. Isabel

Appendix D

Dedication page of Hermannus Hudo, Obsidio bredana armis Philippi III, auspiciis Isabellae ductu Ambr. Spinolae perfecta (Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1626).⁵⁷⁸

ISABELLAE CLARAE EVGENIAE, HISPANIARVM INFANTI, HEROINAE FORTISSIMAE,
VICTRICI, MATRI PARTIAE.

EXIMIAE Regum animæ, excelsæque illæ mentes, ISABELLA SERENISSIMA, etsi res maximas abs se gestas, consuetudine quadam perpetuæ Maiestatis, obliuisci soleant; non inuitè tamen ad earum memoriam auditione subinde reuocantur. Eâ cogitatione ausus sum belli Tui Bredani recentem admirandámque Victoriam CELSITVDINI TVAE memorare scribendo; vel eò lubentiùs, quòd, etsi Tua ea sit, præcipuè tamen sit DEI, Arbitri Pacis Bellique. Ita sentire Te, scio; quae cùm Bredam venisses, no priùs Tibi festorum ignium hilaria, quàm DEO Victoriæ Auctori, Sacrum fieri permisisti. MVNIA quidem DVCIS GESSISTI, INGENS ANIMI, non dicam, FEMINA, sed Heroina: atque vt Ambrosij in Te (quæ ille in victricem viduam Debboram) verba conferam; VIDVA POPVLOS REGIS, VIDVA DVCIS EXERCITVM, VIDVA DVCES ELIGIS, VIDVA BELLA DISPONIS. quæ omnia etsi insolita maximáque in Te fuêre; tantæ tamen molis Victoria supra Tuas, imò supra hominum omnium vires fuit. Vtar publico nostro hostiúmque Testimonio. Mauritius Arausij Princeps, vir rarâ militæ prudentiâ, Ambrosij Spinolæ Ductoris Tui fortissimi conatus, initiò, quasi Giganteos irridebat. Ordines fœderati, ærarium omne effundebant, vt in certissimam obsidij solutionem vtilissimè expensum. Hollandiæ plebs Comœdiis,

⁵⁷⁸ The following document is transcribed from its original Latin and then translated into English, maintaining original spelling, grammar, syntax, emphasis, and abbreviations.

Mímisque, cœptam circumuallationem proscindebat. Socij Fœderatíque, nullo perdenæ operæ metu, auxilia submittebant. Exteri Principes tam parum Bredæ metuebant, quàm Hispaniæ Rex ipse, extremâ etiam obsidione sperabat. Nostrorum multi (quod augurabantur) despositis æris magni pignoribus, malè euenturum bellum contendebant. Famæ denique nuntiis que post Victoriâ dimissis, apud multos negata fides est. Fortè & Posteritas admirabunda dubitabit; nisi quæ præsens vidi, scripsero, dum viuus, dum viuunt, qui vidêre quæ scribo. Sed illud nimirum è sacro bellatricis Poëtriæ carmine præfandum est, ad faciendam fidem:

DE CAELO DIMICATUM EST CONTRA EOS.

De Caelo profectò; nam hominum strategmata esse non possunt, sed vnus Archistrategi DEI, quotquot hoc bello portenta præsidiaque sunt visa: AEstatem atque Autumnum castris nostris fuisse salubrem, hostibus pestilentem. Hiemem ferè sine niuibus gelúque transire; tum demum gelare ac ningere, cùm nos circumuallationem propè absoluissimus, hostis verò suppetias nauigiis submittere conaretur. Cùm auxilia hostium mari apportarentur, æstum de more non concitari, ventum subito in contrarium verti, classem conflictari, naufragia fieri, militem mori simul & appellari. Seditioem nummal in castris nostris, aut diurnâ obsidij asperitate, aut exili rarâque stipendiorum numeratione, aut annonæ sæuitiâ, efflagrare. Portenta haud dubiè, sed debita scilicet Pietati Tuæ, ISABELLA Princeps Religiosissima, vel Pij belli causâ. Orbis vidit quæ scribo, nec beneficio nec iniuriâ lacessitus, sed fidem incorruptam absque odio & studio professus; (& verò blandiri publicè, nec locus nec gratia est) quamquam laudari Te, etiam dum viuus, omnes sine obtrectatione permitunt. Adeò Virtus Tua supra inuidiam est atque calumniam, vt eam immortalitatis gloria non sequatur (vt post mortem ceteros) verùm

etiam præcurrat. Vnus mihi grauior est metus, vt facta dictis exaequam. Sed quem
vmquam SCRIPTOREM ET AUCTOREM RERUM, PAR GLORIA CONSECUA EST? Pictoribus non
modò venia, at laus etiam datur, si viuas imagines coloribus mortuis aliquatenus
assequantur. Mihi certè amplius aliquid à CELSITUDINE TUA sperare licebit, quae
fortitudine, felicitatéque rerum gestarum, non tantùm exilem meam, sed excellentissimam
quoque Scriptorum omnium eloquentiam superasti. Patiêre igitur, pro insigni rarâque
Modestiâ Tuâ, vnico Te Victorinae elogio, velut angusto Virtutum Tuarum compendio,
apellari MATREM CASTRORUM.

Qualem Te olim Posteritas, nunc ego præsentem venerabor,

ISABELLA HEROINA FORTISSIMA,

Clientium tuorum minimus

Hermannus Hugo

Societatis Iesv.

FOR ISABELLA CLARA EUGENIA, PRINCESS OF SPAIN, BRAVEST HEROINE, CONQUEROR,

MOTHER OF THE FATHERLAND,

Excellent souls of kings and those exalted minds, MOST SERENE ISABELLA, although great
things have been done by them, with a certain practice of perpetual Majesty, may be
accustomed to forget; not reluctantly, however, these things are called suddenly back to
their memory through the act of listening. With this thought, I have dared to remember in
writing, YOUR HIGHNESS, the recent Victory, which must be admired, of Your Bredian

war—more gladly than this, because, although the victory was Yours, it was, however, chiefly the victory of God, the Judge of Peace and War. I know you feel this way; you who, when you had come to Breda, did not allow the joys of the festive fires to become consecrated to you before God, the Founder of Victory. Indeed, YOU MANAGED THE DUTIES OF A LEADER such that I will not call you a woman OF GREAT SPIRIT, but a heroine: and such that I will confer onto you the words of St. Ambrose (which he said to the conqueror and widow Debora): AS A WIDOW YOU CHOOSE THE PEOPLE OF THE KING, THE ARMY OF THE LEADER, AND YOU CHOOSE THE LEADERS; AS A WIDOW YOU ARRANGE THE BATTLE. All these things, although unusual and great, were in you; however, Victory of such a great labor was beyond your forces, or rather beyond the forces of all men. I shall use our own public Testimony and the Testimony of the enemies. Mauritius, the Prince of Orange, a man of rare military prudence, was, at first, mocking the efforts of your bravest leader, Ambrosius Spinola, as if they were the efforts of Giants. The allied ranks were pouring out the whole treasury in order that it may be spent most effectively on the very certain payment of the siege. The common people of Holland were insulting the blockage, in its early stages, with Comedies and Mimes. The partners and the allies, with no fear of their efforts being wasted, were sending support. The foreign princes were as little afraid for Breda as the king of Spain himself, who was even putting his hope in the foreign siege. Many of our men (because they thought it so), when payments of great bronze had been deposited, were asserting that the battle was about to turn out badly. At last, after the Victory, when the reports and messengers had been sent out, among many, trust was denied. And perhaps posterity, wondering, will doubt it, if I will not have written about the things I saw first-hand, while you live, and while they live—those who

saw what I now write about. But without a doubt, this needs to be recited from the sacred song of the war-like poetess, so that faith may be made:

IT HAS BEEN FOUGHT FROM HEAVEN AGAINST THEM.

From Heaven certainly; for these cannot be the strategies of men, but of the one Arch-commander GOD: however many omens and protections were seen in this battle: that the summer and autumn had been healthy for our camps, and unhealthy for the enemies, that the winter nearly passed by without snow or ice, but only when we had nearly shaken off the blockade and the enemy was trying to send help in ships, did it get cold and snow, that, when the enemy's support was being imported by sea, the tide did not rise as usual and the wind was turned suddenly the opposite direction and the fleet was assailed, that a shipwreck occurred and they army died and was put ashore at the same time, that no rebellion was incited in our camps, not from the long severity of the siege or from the thin and small calculation of the stipends or from rage at the rations. These were omens without a doubt, but they are clearly owed to your piety, most devout princess ISABELLA, or they were for the sake of the pious war. The world has seen what I write about, inspired neither by favors nor injuries, but having professed faith not corrupted by hate or zeal; (but indeed, to be flattered publicly is neither the point nor an act of kindness) although everyone allows that you be praised, even while you live, without verbal attack. Your virtue is so above scorn and objection that the glory of immortality does not follow it (as for many after death) but instead precedes it. There is one more serious fear in me, that I may make these deeds equal to words. But what writer or author of things has equal glory ever followed? For painters, not only favor, but praise is even given, if they may achieve living images with dead colors up to a point. It will certainly be allowed for me

to hope for something more than YOUR MAJESTY, who, with fortitude and the luck of things done, has out done not only my small eloquence but even the most distinguished eloquence of all writers. You will endure, therefore, for your notable and rare Modesty, in one sole inscription for you the Victor, or in a narrow abridgment of your virtues, to be called MOTHER OF THE ARMIES.

Formerly Posterity honored how excellent you are, now I venerate you in person,
Most Brave Heroine Isabella

The smallest of you clients,

Hermannus Hugo

In the society of Jesus

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Images

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Figure 2

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Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

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Figure 22

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Figure 27

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

Figure 32 detail

Figure 33

Figure 34

Figure 35

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figure 38

Figure 39

Figure 40

Figure 41

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 46

Figure 47

Figure 48

Figure 49

Figure 50

Figure 51

Figure 52

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Figure 55

Figure 56

Figure 57

Figure 58

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Figure 60

Figure 61

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Figure 63

Figure 64

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Figure 66 detail

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Figure 70

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Figure 78

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