

Rubens's *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*

Ancient triumph and Antwerp festive tradition



Research Master Thesis

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Introduction

In 1638 Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) made an oil sketch representing *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*. It resulted from a commission by the Antwerp city council related to the victory of the Spanish armies over the Dutch troops in the battle of Kallo. Rubens's oil sketch is, in fact, a design, combining the depiction of a triumphal allegory and the construction plan of a chariot. This chariot was supposed to ride in the annual procession, the *Ommegang*.

The oil sketch has been described extensively in some major studies about Rubens's oeuvre.¹ These studies principally explain the iconography of the oil sketch, however the work has not yet been related to earlier images of triumphal chariots, or to the local tradition of depicting allegories. The intention of the present thesis is to analyze Rubens's oil sketch in the context of the Antwerp pictorial tradition. The central question of the present study is to what extent Rubens's invention of the triumphal chariot was influenced by traditional images of former Antwerp festive ceremonies and is prompted by the increasingly urgent insight that, 'though Rubens's most profound debt was to the art of Italy – ancient and Renaissance – he remained rooted in the tradition and visual culture of his own country.'² In order to clarify this issue, the present study will survey the concept of the ancient triumph disseminated during the Renaissance, and will concentrate on the triumphal celebrations in the Northern European tradition, especially in the city of Antwerp.

Out of many reasons to focus on Rubens's *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, I will mention just a few. First of all, the design for a chariot staged with allegorical figures celebrating a historical event, can be considered as a unique preparatory work among the many designs of temporary festive decorations, tapestries, historical or mythological series and altarpieces in Rubens's oeuvre. Besides that, relating Rubens's design to the fascinating, but not well-known history of the battle of Kallo and to the Antwerp festive tradition, clarifies the

¹ Martin 1972; Held 1980; Vervaeet 1990; Farnell 2004; Van Hout and Balis 2010.

² Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance And Later Artists: Northern Masters. German and Netherlandish Artists*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XXVI(1), vol.1. London 2009, p.32.

historical context of the commission. And above all, Rubens's particularly inventive visualization of the triumph, raising questions about the sources used, motivate my iconographical research.

The *status questionis* (chapter 1) is based on a literature survey establishing the state of the art in the research of the oil sketch.³ On the basis of this information, the decision was made to analyze the oil sketch in relation to three main topics: the historical context of the commission including the Antwerp festive tradition (chapter 2); the concept of the ancient triumph reviving in the Renaissance (chapter 3); and the Antwerp pictorial tradition of the triumphal allegory (chapter 4). The last chapter discusses the oil sketch's influence and lists its reconstructions.

The next chapter outlining the historical context, describes the commission of the triumphal chariot in relation to the political situation of 1638. The historical approach relates the victory of Kallo to the interests of the city of Antwerp that were at stake. The description of the historical context includes Rubens's concern about the decline of Antwerp and sketches the euphoria in the city after the victory. This part of the study concentrates on the following questions: Which historical facts can clarify the impact of the battle of Kallo onto the citizens and city government of Antwerp? Which sources can be found to illustrate Rubens's dedication to his home town and its fate and what do his letters reveal about his opinion on Antwerp's decline? The second part of this chapter relates the triumphal chariot to the festive tradition of processions, *Ommegangen* and *Joyous Entries*. The function of the ceremonial state entries confirming the loyalty to the governor and establishing the city's rights will be analyzed. This chapter is closed by an analysis of an until now unpublished manuscript which is kept in the Antwerp *Felixarchief* and prescribes the scenography of an Antwerp *Ommegang*-procession.

Subsequently, in the third chapter, images of the ancient triumph and its concomitant allegorical figures will be analyzed. Both the historical triumph as a commemoration of a military victory and the allegorical triumph as a philosophical concept will be considered

³ The abstract about the *status questionis* of the oil sketch I made during my internship at the Rubens Project of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, Febr.–June 2010, has been used as a preparatory work to the first chapter of the present thesis.

here. This consideration of the philosophical triumph demands a special attention for the Italian Renaissance iconography resulting from Petrarch's *Trionfi*, in which a triumphal car is mounted with personifications of ideas, virtues or conceptions. Surveying ancient and Renaissance triumphs, the following questions are considered: What are the main features of the ancient triumph and especially of the triumphal chariot? Can images of triumphs be found in Rubens's collection of Roman coins, gems, and his collection of drawings and copies of work by Renaissance artists? Could parallels be found between Rubens's *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* and *trionfi* images by Italian Renaissance painters? And, finally, could Dürer's *Great Triumphal Car* have influenced Rubens's work?

In the fourth chapter, the focus moves from the classical triumph to the Antwerp pictorial tradition of the triumphal allegory. This part of the research has drawn pictorial data from seventeenth-century Antwerp commemorative books and from the print room collections of the Museum Plantin Moretus and the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp. Allegorical figures and maritime motives in Rubens's oil sketch are compared to similar images in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century prints of the *Chariot of Neptune*, the *Chariot of Antverpia* and the decorations of *Joyous Entries*. The question why, contrary to the prototype of a triumphal chariot, the triumphator is missing in Rubens's design is raised and in conclusion, the style of the chariot will be compared to its Antwerp predecessors.

Finally, some issues concerning the influence of Rubens's oil sketch will be described. As such, the impact of Rubens's design on *The Triumph of Frederik Hendrik* (1651) by the Antwerp painter Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) will be discussed briefly. Furthermore several versions of Jordaens's *As the Old sing, so the Young Pipe* and their connection to the victory of Kallo will be presented. In addition the archival research concerning the construction of a triumphal chariot after Rubens's design and its actual ride in the *Ommegang* will be reconsidered. Moreover, an answer will be suggested to the question why the triumphal chariot of Kallo is not depicted in the paintings of the Antwerp *Ommegang* dating from the second half of the seventeenth century. The study concludes with a description of the 1840 and 1977 reconstructions of a triumphal chariot after Rubens's design.

1. Peter Paul Rubens's oil sketch with *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*

The design *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* (1638) by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) was commissioned by the Antwerp magistrate to commemorate the victory of Kallo (fig. 1). The Spanish troops had gained the victory over the Dutch armies in a place named Kallo, near Antwerp on June 21, 1638. A few days later the Spanish raised the siege over the French troops at St. Omer. The chariot, designed to celebrate both victories was supposed to ride as one of the floats in the annual Antwerp *Ommegang*, or procession. *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* is an extraordinary oil sketch, in joining together the image of a triumphal allegory and the drawing of a construction plan for a chariot, plausibly to be used by the carpenters building the float.⁴

ICONOGRAPHY

The triumphal chariot has been designed in the shape of a ship of which the mast has been replaced by a huge accumulation of trophies. The form of a ship refers to *Felicitas*, or happiness. Rubens applied the ship as a symbol of happiness three years before, in two designs for the *Joyous Entry* of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, *The Stage of Mercury* (1635) and the *Arch of the Mint* (1635). On top of the *The Stage of Mercury*, *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* were situated on each side of a ship's mast; *Neptune* with a trident and *Amphitrite* holding a cornucopia and a ship's prow as a symbol of happiness. At the rear side of the *Arch of the Mint*, *Jason* and *Felicitas* were representing the power and happiness of the Spanish ruler, happiness symbolized by the ship's model as *Felicitas'* attribute. The platforms of the ship provide different levels to stage the personifications that surely were meant to be acted out by life figures.⁵ The meaning of the allegorical figures has been fully described by Gevaertius in the appendix to his book *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.⁶

⁴ Martin appreciates the beauty of the oil sketch and points at the fact that it nevertheless is a working design. J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVI, London 1972, p. 220.

⁵ J. S.Held, *The oil sketches of Peter Paul Rubens, a critical catalogue*, vol. 1, New Jersey 1980, p. 389.

⁶ Jean Gaspard Gevaerts, *Pompa introitus honori serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum infantis ... a S.P.Q. Antverp. decreta et adornata ... ann. MDCXXXV / arcus, pegmata, iconesque à Pet.*

The triumphal chariot is under control of a woman charioteer who is holding a whip and the reins. The horses she is guiding are only suggested by the depiction of a part of their backside. The woman charioteer can be identified as *Providentia Augus[ta]* by the inscription next to her head (fig. 3). *Providentia* is wearing a laurel wreath as a symbol of victory. She is depicted with two faces, one face looking forward to the future and one face looking back to the past. She is not derived from the classical type of *Providentia* on Roman coins, but she is modeled after *Prudence*, one of the Cardinal Virtues.⁷ Gevartius in the appendix to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* points at the meaning of the double *Janus* head, that according to Plutarch is a symbol of a king's prudence and skill.⁸ A flaming grenade on a little pedestal over the front wheel, described as a feature of 'heroic prudence', is related to *Prudence* as well.⁹ During the *Ommegang*, the grenade was to be placed on the chariot as can be observed in the etching by Van Thulden (fig. 2). Two similar grenades can be noticed at the front side of the *Arch of St. Michael*, during the *Joyous Entry* of Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand.¹⁰

Providentia guiding the chariot of victory is seated on a scroll-like carving. The scrolls, that appear as a repeated motive, can be considered as a characteristic feature of this richly decorated baroque chariot.¹¹

Behind *Providentia*, the Antwerp city maiden *Antverpia* and the city maiden of St. Omer, *Audomaru[m]*, are kneeling on a higher platform (fig. 4).¹² Their names can be read on the inscriptions above their heads. They both wear their turreted crowns in the shape of the city walls, a wreath of roses enriches that of *Antverpia*. Dressed in the city's colors red and white, she is extending her hands in what seems to be a gesture of welcome, while *Audomaru[m]*, wearing a yellow cloak, is resting her left hand on a heraldic shield. The

Paulo Rubenio inventas et delineatas inscriptionibus et elogiis ornabat, libroque commentario illustrabat Casperius Gevartius; accessit Lavrea Calloana eodem auctore descripta, Antwerp 1642.

⁷ Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 217. Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389, refers to her name as *Providentia Augus[ti]*.

⁸ Gevartius 1642, see note 6, p. 17, referred to in Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389.

⁹ Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 218.

¹⁰ Rubens's oil sketch *The Arch of St. Michael, frontside*, 1635 is in the collection of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

¹¹ The baroque features of the chariot will be discussed in chapter 4.

¹² In Gevartius text *Audomaru[m]* is named *Audomarapolis*. Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389.

attitude and gestures of the city maidens seem to express the joy they take in the victory gained over the Dutch and French armies.

The mast in the center of the ship–chariot is transformed into an enormous military trophy culminating in a laurel tree. The trophy displays the captured suits of armour, standards, banners, armorial shields and weapons. The two scrolls encircling them, explaining their origin, are inscribed DE GALLIS CAPTA FUGATIS, meaning ‘captured from the French who were put to flight’ and CAESIS DETRACTA BATAVIS, meaning ‘taken from the Dutch that have been defeated’.¹³ Above these spoils of war, the top part of the trophy is loaded with victory symbols: a laurel wreath, the coats of arms of Philip IV and Prince Ferdinand, Spanish and Austrian flags, a cardinal’s hat, a golden crown filled with palm branches, and a laurel tree at the top. Three fettered prisoners of war are crouching at the trophy base. As we learn from the inscriptions on the ground plan, the two nearest figures are the French captives and the man just behind the base represents one of the Dutch prisoners. It is remarkable that the two French captives have been depicted half dressed, displaying a partly naked upper body, while the Dutch captive is fully dressed seemingly in a costume with slashed sleeves. Observing the captives, the French one in the middle seems to be derived from the barbarian prisoners in Rubens’s *Obsequies of Decius Mus*, in the Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna (figs. 5, 6).¹⁴ The difference between the French and Dutch prisoners has not been noticed in the literature, yet the question could be raised why Rubens in depicting the barbarian captives according to a Roman victory celebration, made an exception for the one from the Northern Netherlands. Perhaps it might be the case that out of consideration with a fellow–countryman in a civil conflict, or trying not to offend the Dutch, in case of negotiations to come, Rubens did not humiliate the Dutch prisoner too much.

Two winged *Victories* as the personification of triumph, crowned with laurel wreaths, have been placed on the top of the trophy base. Each of them holding a shield festooned

¹³ Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 218.

¹⁴ Rubens completed the eight–picture Decius Mus cycle, *Death and Triumph of the Roman Consul Decius Mus*, 1616–17, as tapestry designs commissioned by a Genoese nobleman. The designs had been acquired by Prince Johann Adam Andreas I of Liechtenstein for the Princely Collections. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Obsequies of Decius Mus*, 1616–17, oil on canvas, Liechtenstein Museum Vienna, is an image of the funeral of Decius Mus, depicting the consul lying in state as a solemn victory celebration.

with oak leaves in one hand and a victory wreath in the other. The inscription 'Ob cives servatos/Obsidione soluta/ Hostibus profligatis' can be read on the shield, meaning: 'for having delivered the citizens, after the lifting of the siege and the overthrow of enemies'.¹⁵ The *Victory* standing behind *Antverpia*, is holding the civic or oak leaf crown, the *corona civica quercea*, which the Romans awarded to those who saved the lives of the citizens. This personification symbolizes the victory over the Dutch armies at Kallo.¹⁶ The other *Victory* holding the *corona obsidionalis graminea* or the crown of grass, given to those who relieved the city from the siege, symbolizes raising the siege of St. Omer. This motive has been derived from ancient texts. Gevartius, justifying the choice of the iconographic motives, refers among others to Pliny.¹⁷ The position of the *Victories* and the trophy have been turned a quarter part to emphasize the details.

According to the inscriptions of their names, the two personifications of virtue and fortune *Virtus* and *Fortuna*, occupy the place on the platform at the stern of the ship chariot. *Virtus*, wearing a helmet, is holding a thunderbolt and a sword and can be considered as a symbol of military strength. *Fortune* is wearing a dress puffed up by the wind and is leaning on a rudder. Both allegorical figures at the trophy base, turn toward each other to indicate that the magnificent trophy was gained under the guidance of *Virtus*, through the unconquered force of the soldiers, and with *Fortune* as companion.¹⁸ It is interesting that celebrating a historical victory, the only figures representing historical persons in this chariot are three men, the prisoners of war. None of the women represents a historical figure, they have been depicted as allegorical figures, symbolizing the virtues and representing the cities. Also remarkable is the fact, that no historical figure representing the triumphator of Kallo is included in the triumphal allegory. We will reflect on this question in the next chapters.

¹⁵ Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389.

¹⁶ Martin refers to the images of an oak leaf crown on imperial Roman coins with the legend 'Ob cives servatos', which also appear on the shield between the two *Victories*. Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 218.

¹⁷ Julien Vervaeke, ed., *P.P. Rubens: catalogue paintings, oil sketches*, Antwerp (Royal Museum of Fine Arts) 1990, p. 89.

¹⁸ Held quotes the text by Gevartius explaining the meaning of the personifications in this context. Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389.

Two figures of winged *Fama* blowing their trumpets of fame are standing next to the trophy base, the one looking forward, the other looking backwards. On the banners affixed to the trumpets, triumphal motto's have to be added. According to the inscription on the right side of the trophy 'Inde vaenen vande Trompetten van Fama', meaning 'in the flags of the trumpets of Fame': VICTOR IO and IO TRIVMPHE. These acclamations had been shouted in honor of the Roman conquerors at the triumphs in ancient times. According to the ground plan, four *Fama con Tuba* had been planned, but only two were actually painted.

The triumphal chariot in the form of a ship is richly decorated with scrolled shell-like carvings, sea creatures and festoons. The dolphins on each side and the *Triton* blowing a conch at the backside of the chariot seem to swim alongside, accompanying the ship. The *putto* sitting astride the dolphin's back, carries a laurel wreath (fig. 7). The motive of the dolphin resembles the dolphin in Rubens's *Dolphin with Cupid* (1636) designed for the *Torre de la Parada* (fig. 8).¹⁹ In this sketch *Cupid* is holding a bridle in one hand, a bow in the other hand and wears a quiver of arrows on his back. These attributes refer to the task of the god of love to unleash arrows in order to conquer hearts.²⁰ According to Held, Rubens reinvented the *Cupid* as a political symbol by replacing the bow and arrow by putting a laurel wreath as a crown of victory into *Cupid's* hands.²¹ The winged *Triton* on the chariot resembles his reversed equalness in the playful image *Nereide and Triton*, one of Rubens's oil sketches in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (figs. 9, 10). The *Triton* is supposed to be one of the sons of *Neptune* and the sea nymph *Amphitrite*. As the attendants of the gods of the sea, they are usually depicted in the company of water nymphs and dolphins. The *putto* on

¹⁹ Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard IX, Brussels 1971, p. 194.

²⁰ In 1636, Philip IV commissioned a series of paintings consisting of hunting scenes, painted animals and portraits of the king for his hunting lodge close to Madrid. The animals and the hunting scenes seemed appropriate for a country house. The scenes derived from the mythological poems of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were to create an atmosphere of bucolic entertainment. Rubens has designed the sketches, but he entrusted the execution of most of the canvases to his close collaborators Cornelis de Vos, Theodoor van Thulden, Erasmus Quellinus the Younger and Jacob Jordaens. Erasmus Quellinus the Younger produced the final painting after the sketch *Cupid Riding a Dolphin*. *Cupid on a Dolphin*, oil on canvas 98 x 98 cm, by Erasmus Quellinus is in the Museo del Prado. The Madrid museum owns some forty of the paintings of the *Torre de la Parada*. The Brussels museum owns twelve of the approximately fifty sketches that still exist.

²¹ Held 1980, see note 5, p. 266.

the dolphin decorating the chariot refers to the dominance on the sea, and the *Triton* symbolizes the victory gained near Kallo at the river Scheldt, where many of the enemy's ships had been captured. A decorative fire spitting sea dragon, the pool of the chariot arising from his mouth, has been designed under *Providentia's* seat. Gevartius does not explain the sea dragon, but Held points at the dragon as a symbol of ferocity, recalling the carvings of monstrous heads on the bows of Roman ships that are often found on coins. It might be relevant to point at a little sea dragon as a part of a Roman standard in the collection of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, as an early example of a sea dragon applied as a military motif. In case of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* the motif of a sea dragon seems to be appropriate to symbolize a military victory (figs. 11, 12).²² It must be noticed that Held mentions a dragon, while Martin speaks of a sea-serpent.²³ Based on observation of the details, the sea-serpent is more likely, due to the dragon's tail absorbed in the scroll-work suggesting waves of water that shade off into the *Triton's* tail, while the dolphin is riding the scrolled waves above.

The coat of arms of the city of Antwerp, the double eagle above, the walls and outspread hands below, has been mounted in a wreath of roses and placed at the stern of the ship. A question can be raised here about the meaning of the wreath of roses decorating both *Antverpia's* mural crown and the Antwerp coat of arms.²⁴

TECHNICAL FACTS

The oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* belongs to the collection of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp (Inv.nr. 318). The oil sketch is painted on an oak wood cradled panel of 105,5 x 72,6 cm.²⁵ The size of the oak wood panel matches the sizes of the panels of the modelli designed by Rubens for the construction of the triumphal stages and

²² Jan de Hond, ed., Arjan de Koomen, e.a., *Monsters & fabeldieren: 2500 jaar geschiedenis van randgevallen*, exh. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch (Noordbrabants Museum) 2003, p.25, fig. 20.

²³ Held 1980, see note 5, pp. 389, 390 and Martin 1972, see note 3, p. 217.

²⁴ This topic might provide a new research question about the iconography of the wreath of roses.

²⁵ The oak panel is composed of three vertical planks, which are quarter-sawn and butt-joined, measuring 105,5 x 72,6 cm. From left of recto side the planks measure: 105,4 cm x 24,8 (top), 27 cm (bottom); 105,2 cm x 22,6 (top), 21,1 cm (bottom); 105 cm x 25,2 (top), 24,2 cm (bottom). Susan Farnell, *Conservation and Restoration of the Zegewagen van Kallo by Peter Paul Rubens*, unpublished documentation of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp 2004, p. 6.

arches decorating the city of Antwerp during the *Joyous Entry* (1635) of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1609–1641). The question could be raised if any parallels in the images of the sketches can be found, regarding the comparable size and the fact that the modelli for the *Joyous Entry* had been designed only three years before the design of the triumphal chariot.²⁶

The oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* used to be in the Antwerp town hall until the year 1794, when the French took it to Paris. After the return in 1816, the panel turned out to be damaged by dampness and climate changes. From 1816 onwards, the oil sketch became part of the collection of old masters in the Antwerp *Academy of Fine Art*, together with the twelve returned paintings by Rubens, that were to form a significant part of the initial collection of the Antwerp *Royal Museum of Fine Arts* that opened in 1890.²⁷

The oil sketch has been carefully restored after a technical research in 2003/2004. Preceding restorations had been accomplished successively in 1890, 1928, 1929, 1951, 1977 and 1991. The research provided information about the preparation methods and materials applied in the ground layer. No underdrawing was found, except for the ground plan. The absence of underdrawing was confirmed by the research based on infrared reflectography (IRR) and false color reflectography.²⁸ The restoration in 2003/2004 consolidated the flaking paint, eliminated the overpainting, the darkened retouching and the old fillings and released the blocked cradle.²⁹

The composition of the *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* consists of a central placed triumphal car, occupying about half the space of the composition. To the upper left, a ground plan of the chariot has been sketched. The background of the chariot is made up of a grey ground layer. The striped pattern of this grey imprimatura, applied as preparation of

²⁶ This question will be elaborated in chapter 4.

²⁷ Vlieghe lists the major works of art in the initial collection of the *Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp*. Hans Vlieghe, 'De voorgeschiedenis tot 1816', in: Leen de Jong, ed., et al., *Het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen. Een Geschiedenis 1810–2007*, Antwerp 2008, p. 27.

²⁸ IRR is a technique that enables the researcher to look through the paint layers. The contrast of absorption of various materials reveals layers of the painting not visible to the naked eye, such as the underdrawings and the changes in the paint layers. False color representation reveals minimal changes in the different layers of paint by reflecting different color of light. Nico van Hout and Adri Verburg carried out the research.

²⁹ Farnell 2004, see note 25, p. 12–15.

the oak wood panel, provides the background of the painted figures, suggesting depth in the sketch in a simple and efficient manner.³⁰ At three sides the image seems to be cut off. The left side only presents a part of the horses drawing the chariot. To the right side the horn of the *Triton* is cut off and at the topside the laurel tree seems to grow beyond the picture frame. As the restoration report excludes that the panel has been made smaller, it might be the case that Rubens either ran out of space, or thought that no more than the suggestion of a laurel tree and horses was required. Written messages are all over the oil sketch, referring to names of personifications, places of the captives and *Fama*, indicating elements of the trophy, and describing the inscriptions to appear on banners of the trumpets and the epigraphs on the shield held by the *Victories*.³¹

Scales, written across the top and the along the lower edge, indicate the measures of the chariot. According to the restoration report, the sketch of the triumphal chariot was designed to scale. Along the top edge of the panel a numbered scale has been drawn from 1– 25 below a grey horizontal line that is marked at regular intervals by small round holes, followed by a vertical scratch at 2,65 cm intervals. The same line is divided by red marks at 5,25 cm intervals. An equivalent line is found along the bottom edge, where black vertical strokes mark every 13 cm and deep pinholes are found every 5 to 5,3 cm. Red strokes in two varieties mark the bottom line, one corresponds to those on the top edge and the other kind correspondents directly to the red marks along the top, when using a plump line. Eighteen red marks have been made along the vertical edges at 5,3 cm, probably to form a grid, which would have been used making a plan for the construction of the chariot and presumably also for the engraving by Van Thulden. Very interesting is Farnell's observation that, if the scale refers to the Antwerp foot, equal to 28,4 cm, the length of the chariot would be about 7.10 meters and the height around 10,8 meters, in which case the figures are oversized.³² Rubens shifted his viewpoint taking care that the figures do not overlap one

³⁰ Nico Van Hout, Arnout Balis, *Rubens doorgelicht, Meekijken over de schouder van een virtuoos*, Antwerp 2010, pp. 42, 43.

³¹ The practice of writing words, intentions, ideas and notes on his drawings, as well as writing texts related to the classical authors, can be documented throughout Rubens's career. Elisabeth McGrath, 'Words and Thoughts in Rubens's Early Drawings, in: David Jaffé, Elisabeth McGrath, e.a., *Rubens: a master in the making*, exh.cat. London (National Gallery) 2005,2006, pp. 29–37.

³² Farnell 2004, see note 25, p.7.

another, and that even those on the far side appear perfectly clear, while the decorative elements have been painted in strict side-view to make duplication on the far side easier.³³ Rubens created more understandability about building and staging the chariot, by changing the viewpoint, painting less captives and *Fama* than he indicated in the ground plan, and depicting the figures a little oversized.

The color scheme of the oil sketch is composed of browns, reds and yellows, blue-greys, flesh tones and the occasional application of green. The names of the figures and the texts in Latin have been written on the imprimatura in a handwriting that, according to the restoration report, presumably is that of Rubens.³⁴

No preparatory sketches are known, but Rubens must have worked out his composition in advance. This assumption in the restoration report is based on the fact that the changes of composition are minimal and are more working adjustments than changes of ideas. In the early 'laying-in' stage, Rubens seems to have used pale colored liquid paint for outlining and placing the objects and figures. Hence only occasional changes have been noticed in the position of hands, feet, banners and the coat of arms.³⁵

ETCHING

The publication of Gevartius' *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, the memorial book of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's *Joyous Entry* (1635) had been delayed, when in 1641 the city magistrate was informed about Ferdinand's untimely death.³⁶ In the meeting of November 22, 1641, the city magistrate decided not to dedicate the commemorative book to a dead man, and antedated the commission of the volume to June 14, 1641. The city council decided to include an illustrated description of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* to the book as a thankful remembrance to the victories raised by Ferdinand.³⁷ According to the magistrate's

³³ Held 1980, see note 5, p. 390.

³⁴ The handwriting has been compared to a letter by Rubens to George Geldrop, April 2, 1638, the same year the oil sketch was painted. Farnell 2004, see note 25, p. 8.

³⁵ Farnell 2004, see note 25, p. 8.

³⁶ Jean Gaspard Gevaerts 1642, see note 6.

³⁷ "[...] sal worden bygevueght de figure vanden waghen triumphael ter oorsaecke vande victorie van Calloo by Pedro-Paulo Rubens geinventeert. Actum in Collegio 9 Decembris 1641. Collegiael

last minute decision, the text named the *Laurea Calloana*, has been added as an appendix to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.³⁸ The illustration to the text, an etching of the triumphal chariot after Rubens's design, was made by Theodoor Van Thulden (1606–1669), who did all the etchings for the commemorative book (fig. 2). As the etching seems to be an exact copy, and no other copies have been found, Held presumes that Rubens's oil sketch served as the model for Van Thulden's etching.³⁹ Van Thulden added horses to the chariot, put the grenade in the right place where it was supposed to be during the ride in the *Ommegang* and in the upper left part he replaced the ground plan of the chariot with a bird's eyes view of the battlefield of Kallo.⁴⁰ The *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, including the *Laurea Calloana*, was printed by Jan van Meurs in Antwerp and put on the market in 1642 and 1643.

Actenboeck 1641, in: Génard, P. 'Intrede van den Prins-Kardinaal Ferdinand van Spanje te Antwerpen, op 17 april 1635,' *Antwerpsch Archievenblad XIII* (1876), p. 309.

³⁸Arents states that the *Laurea Calloana* not only was added in honor of Ferdinand's victory, but also was meant as a modest 'pro memoria' to remember his untimely death. Prosper Arents, 'Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi: bijdrage tot de bibliografie van en over Rubens', Antwerp, 1950. Reprint from: *De gulden passer*, 27:2/4 (1949), p.83.

³⁹ Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389.

⁴⁰ In Van Thulden's etching the text VICTOR IO has been replaced by IO CALLINICE, Callinicus, the name given to Ferdinand, means illustrious victor, but according to Gevartius might also contain a punning reference to the victory of Kallo. Held 1980, see note 5, p. 389.

2 Historical context of the commission

EIGHTY YEARS' WAR AND BLOCKADE OF THE RIVER SCHELDT

The city of Antwerp had been so rich and prosperous in the sixteenth century, that the epoch has been characterized as Antwerp's golden age. The fact that in the middle of the century, the size of the Antwerp commerce even surpassed that of Venice, is an indication of the city's former wealth. However, the good fortune of the city changed, since the time that the Northern Provinces of the Low Countries revolted against Philip II of Spain. This revolt started the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) that separated the Northern from the Southern Spanish Netherlands. The economic situation of Antwerp changed dramatically as a consequence of the Spanish recapture of the city by Alexander Farnese in 1585. Since then, the Northern Provinces decided to blockade the river Scheldt as an answer to the Spanish economic embargo that was disadvantageous to the Dutch trade.⁴¹ The overseas commerce that once made Antwerp the greatest port in Europe, no longer flourished because the maritime traffic was not allowed a free passage to the city. From 1585 onwards the goods arriving at the mouth of the river Scheldt had to be unloaded in the Zeeland ports, that now replaced Antwerp as the primary terminal at the river Scheldt.⁴² The economic decline of the city, caused a huge exodus of refugees who moved from the southern provinces to the north. Thousands of the many protestant inhabitants of Antwerp, among whom workers, merchants and artists, settled in the cities of Haarlem, Amsterdam and Leiden. The Dutch blockade was not the only cause of city's decline. The Spanish restrictions on commerce and the obligatory toll collection had disadvantaged the Antwerp trade even more, than it struck the commerce of the Northern Provinces.⁴³

The signing of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) had revived the hope of reopening the river Scheldt. In 1609 the city government commissioned the painting *Scaldis and Antverpia* by Abraham Janssen (1573–1632), for the State Room or 'Staetencamer' of the

⁴¹ The Spanish rulers decreed commercial embargo's to the Dutch trade in 1585–1590, in 1598–1608 and in 1621–1647. Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade 1585–1740*, Oxford 1991, p. 9.

⁴² Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade 1585–1740*, Oxford 1991, p. 30.

⁴³ Floris Prims, 'Rubens' Antwerpen, geschiedkundig en economisch geschetst', in: Floris Prims, et al., *Rubens en zijne eeuw*, Antwerpen 1927, p. 47–52.

town hall (fig.13).⁴⁴ This painting symbolizes the value of the river Scheldt for the city's mercantile life and reflects the hope in a restoration of the city's wealth. However, the truce did not bring any improvement into Antwerp's situation. The river's entrance to the sea remained under the control of the Dutch patrols.

RUBENS'S OPINION ABOUT THE SCHELDT QUESTION

Rubens as an Antwerp citizen, devoted to his hometown, worried about Antwerp's increasing commercial decline. He expressed this concern in the letters he wrote to his friends. In a letter of May 28 1627, Rubens informed Pierre Dupuy about the decrease of Antwerp inhabitants and complained about the fact that the population had lost the means to maintain its usual commercial activities.⁴⁵ The next year, he wrote to the same Dupuy: 'Our city is going step by step to ruin, and lives only upon its savings; there remains not the slightest bit of trade to support it.'⁴⁶

In 1630 Rubens was sent to the English court for preparing peace negotiations on behalf of the Spanish King. As a result of his successful diplomacy, the English representative was sent to Madrid and his Spanish colleague was sent to London. Their instruction was to prepare the signing of a treaty between England and Spain. Based on his diplomatic success, Rubens might have assumed that the peace negotiations between Spain and England would isolate the Northern Netherlands and that therefore they might tend to make peace with Spain.⁴⁷ Probably with these thoughts in mind and hoping to achieve peace

⁴⁴ Abraham Janssen, *Scaldis en Antverpia*, oil on panel, 1609, 174 x 308 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. The Staetencamer of the townhall was the place of the peace negotiations between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. Nico van Hout in: Paul Huvenne, ed., *Het Museumboek, hoogtepunten uit de verzameling, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, Antwerp 2003, p. 86.

⁴⁵'The city, at least, languishes like a consumptive body, declining little by little. Every day sees a decrease in the number of inhabitants, for these unhappy people have no means of supporting themselves either by industrial skill or by trade.' Peter Paul Rubens, letter of May 28, 1627 to Pierre Dupuy, in: Ruth Saunders Magurn, *The letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1955, pp. 184, 185.

⁴⁶ Peter Paul Rubens, letter to Pierre Dupuy, August 10, 1628, in: Saunders Magurn 1955, see note 45, p. 279.

⁴⁷ 'Rubens' geheimes, aber unbeirrt verfolgtes Ziel war, zwischen den südlichen (katholischen, spanischen) Niederlanden und den nördlichen (protestantischen, freien) Niederlanden einen Friedenszustand oder wenigstens einen Waffenstillstand herzustellen.' Hans Gerhard Evers, *Rubens und sein werk: neue Forschungen*, Brussels 1943, p. 289.

between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, Rubens had decided on his own initiative to visit Mr. Albrecht Joachimi, the Dutch representative in London. Joachimi was a capable politician who was told by his government in the Northern Netherlands to interfere with the English–Spanish negotiations if he had the opportunity. According to a letter by Lord Dorchester (the former Sir Dudley Carleton) to Sir Francis Cottington (the English representative in Madrid), Rubens had told Joachimi at this occasion that the Northern and the Southern Netherlands could make peace if they wanted to. And he had stated that after a long time of war, peace and tranquility would be in favor of all the Seventeen Provinces. Joachimi had answered that peace could only be accomplished if the Southern Netherlands would expel the Spanish ruler. Rubens seems to have answered that such a peace would be worse than war.⁴⁸ The letter about this remarkable conversation confirms that Rubens tried to bring about peace between the Northern Netherlands and Spain. Trying to negotiate peace, he might have hoped for the reopening of the river Scheldt and for a revival of the Antwerp commerce. Rubens's point of view in the discussion illustrates that on the one hand he strived to make peace with the Northern Provinces and on the other hand, trying to avoid a war, he stayed loyal to the Spanish ruler. In 1631 and 1632 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Dutch stadholder Frederic Henry by orders of the Infante Isabella. In 1633 he tried to influence the negotiations between the Northern and Southern Netherlands in The Hague, however, the delegates of the Northern Netherlands refused to negotiate with Spain and as a result Rubens's efforts to make peace were in vain.⁴⁹

BATTLE OF KALLO

The Dutch stranglehold on the city of Antwerp had become an enduring fact from 1585 onwards, when the Spanish arms had failed to clear the Dutch from the Scheldt estuary. However, in 1638, the victory of Kallo changed the city's perspective for a short period of time. When the Dutch troops had been defeated, it looked as if, after all, Antwerp could regain the sea bound trade along the river Scheldt and as if economic recovery of the city came within reach. However, the Antwerp government and citizens could not foresee the

⁴⁸ Evers 1943, see note 47, p. 293.

⁴⁹ Frans Baudouin, *De eeuw van Rubens*, Antwerpen 1972, p. 161.

fact that the history would take another turn and that ten years later the *Peace of Münster* (1648) would ratify the Dutch mastery of the Scheldt estuary.

A closer look at the course of the battle of Kallo should clarify the historical context of Rubens's design for a triumphal car to celebrate this victory gained at the borders of the river Scheldt.

After the conquest of Breda in 1637, the capture of Antwerp was the primary objective of prince Frederic Henry's strategy in the revolt of the Northern Netherlands against Spain.⁵⁰ The campaign of 1638, the first one after the conquest of Breda, took the Dutch armies in the direction of the river Scheldt (fig. 14). Despite Frederic Henry's objections about the moment of attack, the Dutch deputies and the French allies ordered an immediate raid on the city of Antwerp in June. Consequently Frederic Henry sent the experienced field marshal count Willem van Nassau-Siegen and his six thousand men in advance to capture the left river bank, especially the dike at Kallo from where the fortified castle of Antwerp had to be taken. It was planned that Frederic Henry and his troops would reach for Berchem and the combined armies were supposed to besiege the city. However, the planned attack turned out to be a disaster for the Dutch troops (fig. 16). Willem van Nassau managed to occupy the forts of Kallo and Verrebroeck, though not without casualties, as many of his men were sinking into the slush of the wetlands. The two Dutch armies did not meet according to their military plans, because Willem decided to stay in Kallo and Frederic Henry waited in vain to get a message from his field marshal.⁵¹ Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's strategy to obstruct the meeting of the two armies by ordering an immediate attack of the Dutch troops, appeared to be a stroke of luck. The Spanish troops attacked the enemy in the back lines, while the Dutch tried in vain to withdraw on fort Liefkenshoek. The Dutch armies were defeated at severe losses. Many men were killed, wounded or captured, or drowned in the wetlands. The attack on Antwerp had failed and in the course of time Frederic Henry's defeat (one of the few) seems to have been forgotten in favor of his victories, described in the Dutch history books.

⁵⁰ Prof. Dr. P. J. Blok, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje*, Amsterdam 1924, p. 210.

⁵¹ Blok 1924, see note 50, p. 212.

The victory of Kallo was one of Cardinal–Infante Ferdinand’s most successful feats of arms. The estimated amount of Dutch casualties counted about two thousand men. Twelve hundred men had been taken as prisoners. The Spanish troops in command of marquis de Leede, conquered eighteen canons, eighty ammunition boats, two pontoon bridges and two canon sloops.⁵² On top of this victory, Ferdinand’s troops in command of Prince Thomas of Carignan and Count Piccolomini defeated Frederic Henry’s French allies at St. Omer a couple of days later.

The victory of Kallo, was celebrated in Antwerp as a miracle and caused an unthinkable euphoria. According to a popular pamphlet, the message of the victory arrived in the city on June 22 early in the morning. The pamphlet described that a cheerfulness beyond words spread over the citizens and that many of them immediately walked to Kallo to see the place of the ‘heavenly triumph’ and returned bringing with them relics of the goods they found at the battle field, such as orange garlands that had belonged to the enemy. The pilgrimage lasted for nearly eight days. After that, the ships that had belonged to the Dutch navy, were moored at the Scheldt Dock and at the quayside of the English Quay. An enormous, cheerfull crowd of citizens went to have a look at the captured ships.⁵³

⁵² P. Génard, *Anvers á Travers les Ages*, I, Brussels 1888, p. 158. According to Sabbe, three thousand men have been killed and three standards, fifty banners, twenty–six field canons, two frigates, two pontoon bridges and eighty vessels loaded with food and ammunition have been captured. Prof. Dr. M. Sabbe, ‘Een Gedicht op de Slag te Callo 1638’, in: *Jaarboek der Vlaamsche Academie*, 1929, p.276. and Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in ’t verweer*, Antwerpen/ Den Haag 1933, Chapter XVII. Bij de Overwinningen te Calloo en te St Omaars (1638), p. 385. Génard, Génard, P., *Anvers á Travers les Ages*, I, Brussels 1888, p. 158.

⁵³ Sabbe quotes a popular pamphlet of 1638: ‘*Den seghe–riicken / Triomph–boghe / oft beschrijvinge / van de victorien vercregen / tegen de Hollanders / in ’t Landt van Waes, / ende / teghen de Fransoysen / voor S. Omer. Midtsgaders van de victorien teghen deselve Fransoysen in Italien ende Elzas.*’ (T’Hantwerpen By Martinus Binnart, inde Hoogstraet inde Bonte Koeeye, Anno 1638. Cum consensu superiorum): ‘De tijdinghe van dese victorie den 22. ’s morghens heel vroegh binnen Antwerpen ghekomen zijnde / heeft sulck een blijdschap onder de borgherije ghemaect / dat die met gheen penne en kan beschreven worden. Ja ontallycke menschen zijn terstonde naer Calloo ghelopen / om te sien de plaetse van dese hemelsche victorie; van waer schier niemandt weder en quam / oft sy brochten iet mede van des vijandts reliquien. Vele hebben orange–sluyers mede ghebrocht / daer mede comende over de brugge– braveren: ende schier acht daghen langh heeft dese pelgrimage gheduert... Doen wierden oock de veroverde schepen de Schelde op aen de Werf ende Engelsche kaeye ghebrocht / die de borgherije quam sien met een ongheloovelijcke menighte ende blydschap.’ In: Sabbe 1933, see note 52, p. 385.

Rumors told that Willem van Nassau–Siegen’s son Maurits had found a little statue of Our Lady in the church of Kallo, made fun of it and burned it in a fire, while also ridiculing the image of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. The death of prince Maurits and the defeat of the Dutch troops were supposed to be the punishment for this mockery. This story was told by Balthasar Moretus I to his nephew Theodoor, professor in Prague, in a letter dated Juni 25, 1638.⁵⁴

True or not, this story seems to have had an impact on the emotions related to the victory. According to Sabbe, not only the Antwerp citizens, but even the Cardinal–Infante himself attributed the victory at Kallo to the Holy Virgin and the Holy Aloysius of Gonzaga. Ferdinand in person was present at the *Te Deum* in the Antwerp cathedral of Our Lady celebrating the victory, a religious worship that was attended by an enormous crowd of people.⁵⁵

COMMISSION

Traditionally, cars riding in the *Ommegang* were initiated by the Antwerp craft guilds, the corporations of merchants or by one of the religious societies. However, in 1638 the Antwerp magistrate asked Rubens to design a triumphal chariot as commemoration of the military victories at Kallo and St–Omer.⁵⁶ The design of a triumphal chariot celebrating the victory must have been commissioned in the atmosphere of the glorious days sketched in the previous paragraph. The chariot was meant to ride in the annual *Ommegang*. The Antwerp city account of the year 1638 registered the payment of 84 pound Artois to the

⁵⁴ Quoted by Sabbe. The question also was mentioned in the pamphlet (see note 52) ‘[...] want hy hadde daeghs te voren inde Kercke buyten Calloo doen op het vier smijten ende verbranden het beeldt van de weerdighe Moeder Godts Maria / met de selve gheckende ende spottende / waerom dat sy niet was wrekende het onghelyck dat men haer aen dede: hadde oock doen in stucken kappen de beelden van S.S. Peeter ende Pauwels Patroonen van de selve Kercke / met vele byghevoeghde blasphemien ende Godtslasteringen: welck allegader met syne ooghen aenghesien heeft den tambour majeur van Sinte Marie...’ Sabbe 1933, see note 52, p. 386.

⁵⁵ ‘Een *Te Deum* werd onder grooten toeloop van volk en in de aanwezigheid van de Prins Kardinaal in de O.L. Vrouwekerk gezongen, en Rubens ontwierp den bekenden zwierigen zegewagen, de *Gloria Calloana*, die in den Ommegang te Antwerpen uitreed en in 1642 in de *Pompa Introitus* door Van Thulden werd uitgebeeld.’ Sabbe 1929, see note 52, p. 277.

⁵⁶ Génard, P. ‘Intrede van den Prins–Kardinaal Ferdinand van Spanje te Antwerpen, op 17 april 1635,’ *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* XIII (1876), pp. 296–309.

wine merchant Christoffel van Wesel for delivering ‘a piece of vin de Paris’ to Peeter–Paulo Rubens ‘for a certain drawing of a new car made by him.’⁵⁷ Based on the city account of the year 1638, the commission of the oil sketch can be dated between the victory at Kallo on June 21, 1638 and the report of the city’s expenses in December 1638.⁵⁸

This raises the question of how the amount of 84 pound Artois should be valued and why Rubens was paid for his design in natura? As a comparison, the city government had paid Rubens the total amount of 5000 pound Artois for his designs for the *Joyous Entry* of Cardinal–Infante Ferdinand three years before. That payment however, was to reward the total design of the decoration of the city, consisting of several stages and arches, all decorated with paintings, most of them designed by Rubens. Gevartius received 480 pound Artois for the inscriptions of Latin epigraphs to be placed on the structures.⁵⁹ The artists Maarten de Vos and Ambrosius Franken seem to have received 68 pound Artois for designing the stages and arches in 1594.⁶⁰ According to Thøfner, the Archduchess Isabella paid the court architect Francart about 5000 guilders for designing and constructing the *Car of Liberality* riding in her husband Albert’s funerary procession in Brussels in 1622.⁶¹ In Antwerp however, due to the expenses for the decorations of 1635, the funds had decreased and the payment of 84 pound Artois seems all the city government could afford for Rubens’s design. The payment by wine seems to have been a normal procedure, as can be derived from the record of the meetings of the city magistrate of 1639, reporting the gift of an

⁵⁷CCCLX “[...] Christoffel van Wesel, wynveroooper, de somme van vierentachtentich ponden Artois, voor een stuck vin de Paris by hem geleverd aen Heer Peeter–Paulo Rubens int jaer 1638 voor sekere teeckeninge van eenen nyeuwen waghden by hem gemaectt, volgende de acte collegiael, ordonnantie ende quitantie.....LXXXIII £.” (Stadsrekeningen. Domeynen, 1638 á 1639, fol. 309 v) in: P. Génard 1876, see note 56, p. 296.

⁵⁸ The date of the victory at Kallo June 21 1638. P. Génard, *Anvers á Travers les Ages*, I, Brussels 1888, p. 158.

⁵⁹ Martin 1970, see note 4, p. 26.

⁶⁰ Irmengard von Roeder–Baumbach, *Versieringen bij blijde inkomsten gebruikt in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw*; met een hoofdstuk van H. G. Evers, Antwerp 1943, p. 114.

⁶¹ Margit Thøfner, *A common art: urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt*, Zwolle 2007, p. 314.

amount of wine to the clergyman Caspar Estricx, for overseeing and censuring the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* by Gevartius and to Robert Tucher, deputy mayor, for a similar job.⁶²

The commission for the design of a 'waghen triumphael', a triumphal car, to ride in the annual *Ommegang* can be considered as a tribute to Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, and at the same time as an expression of Antwerp city propaganda.

ANTWERP OMMEGANG

From the fourteenth-century onwards, religious processions had become an increasingly significant part of European church rituals and gradually had unfolded into more profane festivities. Italian processions at carnival and the feast of Corpus Cristi set the pattern. Starting in the *Quattrocento*, the religious procession as a part of a popular festival, soon developed into the *trionfo*, or train, consisting of groups of masked figures walking by foot or being carried in chariots. Burckhardt concluded that the ecclesiastical character of the Italian procession soon gave way to the secular.⁶³ In a short period of time, the secular *trionfi*, modeled after the procession of the Roman *Imperator*, were far more frequent than the religious ones. The knowledge about the classical *trionfo*, was derived from the ancient reliefs and from the writings of classical authors. Due to a shortage of military victories, sometimes the procession was organized for the sake of festivity itself.

In the cities of the Southern Netherlands, the *Ommegang*, or procession, had been a key issue of the festive calendar from the Middle Ages onwards. *Tableaux vivants* on the cars of the Antwerp processions commemorated the religious celebration days, especially *Corpus*

⁶² CCCLXIV "Geordonneert Tresoriers ende Rentmeester van stadsweghen te vereeren Heer Caspar Estricx, Canoninck ende Plebaen van de Cathedrale kercke ende visitateur van de boecken, met een ame Franschen wyn, voor het oversien ende censureren vanden boeck by Meester Caspar Gevarts, Greffier deser stadt, gemaect opdie gelukkighe incompste van Syne Doorluchtigste Hoocheyt binnen dese stadt." (Collegiael Actenboeck 1639) in: P. Génard 1876, see note 56, p. 298.

CCCLX "Geordonneert Tresoriers ende rentmeester van stadswegen te vereeren de Heer Robert Tucher, Riddere, Oudt Borgermeester ende tegenwoordich Schepene, met een ame Franschen wyn, voor het oversien ende visiteren vanden boeck by Meester Caspar Gevarts, Greffier deser stadt, gemaect opdie gelukkighe incompste van Syne Doorluchtigste Hoocheyt binnen dese stadt." And the same to Joncker Christiaen van Broeckhoven, and Heere Doctor Ludovicus Nunnius (Collegiael Actenboeck 1639) in: P. Génard 1876, see note 56, p. 298.

⁶³ Jacob Burckhardt, *The civilization of the renaissance in Italy*, translated by S.G.C. Middlemore; with a new introduction by Peter Burke and notes by Peter Murray, London 1990, p. 256.

Christi.⁶⁴ In the earliest ceremonies, the relic of a saint, mostly the patron of the church, was carried through the streets; the word *Ommegang* meaning going round (the church). The procession ceremony in the city of Antwerp is supposed to have been founded at the end of the thirteenth or at the beginning of the fourteenth century. A city account of 1324, the oldest report of the annual *Ommegang* that has been found in the Antwerp city archive, describes the use of costumes in the procession.⁶⁵ From the oldest *ordinancie*, the ceremonial booklet of the *Ommegang* in 1398, we learn the arrangement of the procession. It started with the artisans grouped according to crafts, who were followed by *poyncten*, meaning the points or acts, staging the performances from the Old and New Testament and the holy history, for instance, *Jacob's dream*, *The twelve apostles and Saint Christopher*, and *The Annunciation*.⁶⁶ Secular subjects such as the *Dukes of Brabant* and *St. George and the dragon* mingled with religious ones in the processions. Next to the *poyncten* came the clergy of monastic orders and churches, then the rifle guilds, the cloth guild with the four candles, the city pipers, the city magistrate, the bailiff and aldermen. The prelates at the end of the procession accompanied the relic of the holy circumcision, the tapestry over the holy relic was carried by six 'good boys'. The carrying of the relic was the privilege of the prelate of St. Michael's cloister.

A second Antwerp annual procession, the holy sacraments' procession, was added between 1324 and 1398 and a third annual procession was established at the end of the fourteenth century. This new procession in honor of Our Lady, dated on the Sunday after the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, (the Sunday after August 15) has been described in the city accounts of 1399. The list of themes presents as many *poyncten* as the holy circumcision

⁶⁴ Elizabeth McGrath, 'Le déclin d'Anvers et les Decorations de Rubens pour l'entrée du Prince Ferdinand en 1635', in: Jacquot, J. and Elie Konigson, *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance III*, Quinzième colloque international des études humanistes, Paris 1975 p. 181.

⁶⁵ F. Prims, 'De Antwerpsche Ommeganck op den vooravond van de beeldstormerij.', in: *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schoone kunsten van België*, Antwerpen/Utrecht 1949, p. 7.

⁶⁶ L. de Burbure, ed., *De Antwerpsche ommegangen in de XIVe en XVe eeuw*, naar *gelijktijdige handschriften*, Antwerpen 1878, p. 2-5. and Prims 1949, see note 64, p. 7.

procession.⁶⁷ The *ordinancies* of the holy circumcision processions of 1398 and 1494 report the use of costumes.⁶⁸ In the course of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, the Antwerp *poyncten* displaying costumed persons, developed into dialogues and theatrical plays on wagons, influenced by the *camer van rhetorike*, the chamber of rhetorics. At the end of the sixteenth century, more symbolic themes and allegories replaced the old realistic performances, under the influence of humanism. The symbolism of the *Joyous Entry* of Archduke Charles in 1520 for example was explained in a printed booklet. Albrecht Dürer noted in his travel report that he bought one of these booklets, of which the only existing copy is in the Antwerp city archive.⁶⁹ It can be assumed that most of the citizens did not grasp the meaning of the detailed iconographic program of Duke Charles's state entry, however they did recognize and understand the repeated old themes of the annual processions, be it religious or secular.

The new issues in the *Ommegang* were explained by the *oratuere*, by means of written texts on boards or a booklet. The *oratuere* preceding the *poyncte*, was to recite some verses introducing the next item to the public. A text board carried along by two boys, presented the clarification of the subject or quoted a suitable motto. Personifications or the allegorical figures were identified by boards at their feet or on a strip (banderol) in the hands of an angel. The printed *ordinancien* offered for sale, described the traditional points returning every year as well as the new themes. The *ordinancien* of the years 1561, 1564 and 1566 have been preserved. The cars and floats of the *Ommegang* were put away in the Antwerp city depot the *Eeckhof*, where they were restored to be used the next year.⁷⁰ Many of the traditional themes reappeared in the Antwerp *Ommegang* until today.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Albrecht Dürer in his travel book writes a detailed report of the Antwerp procession on the Sunday after the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in 1520. Albrecht Dürer, *Reis naar de Nederlanden*, Meppel 2008, pp. 24, 25.

⁶⁸ De Burbure 1878, see note 66, pp. 10, 11, 12. About the relation between the *Ommegang* and the chambers of rhetorics, see also : Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille: rederijerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 27-50.

⁶⁹ Dürer 2008, p.39 and Prims 1949, see note 65, p. 8.

⁷⁰ The Eeckhof, built in the fifteenth century and demolished in the nineteenth century. Bart Goovaerts and Piet Schepens, *Antwerpse steegjes en Godshuizen*, source: http://www.steyaert.org/canonpdfs/1981_godshuizen_en_steegjes_Antwerpen.pdf

⁷¹ The sequel of the Antwerp *Ommegang* tradition will be discussed in chapter 5.

Traditional profane issues, originating from religious procession themes, changed under the influence of Renaissance and humanism.⁷² The biblical giant *Goliath* turned into the city giant *Druon Antigon*. *The Whale* that once spit out Jonah, later carried a *Cupid* handling a water syringe. *The Maidens's Car* no longer referred to its biblical source of the parable of the *Ten Maidens* – the five who were wise and kept their oil lamps burning and five foolish ones who did not. And *The Camel* broke loose from its original group of *The Adoration of the Magi*. According to the *ordinancie* of the *Onze Lieve Vrouwe Ommegang* or Our Lady's procession of 1564, the profane issues used to start with *Portunus*, the Roman god of the harbors, riding naked on a seahorse and presented as *Neptune's* servant, he was followed by *Neptune*, the Roman god of the sea, seated on a sea monster that was more than thirty feet long. *Nereus* and *Doris* represented the meeting of the salt sea and the fresh waters, accompanied by water figures dressed in the water plants iris and reed. Then followed the *Elephant* carrying the turning *Fortune* on its back, after that a big giant accompanied by small giants and *Brabon* carrying the giant's hand on his sword and *The Ship* of the trader's guild. The last of the secular themes used to be *The City Maiden of Antwerp*, together with *Scaldis*, the personification of the river Scheldt, lying on the water stream at her feet, and at her right side *Mercurius*, the god of commerce and on the other side *Copia*, the personification of abundance. Boys and girls carrying all kinds of jewelry followed them.⁷³

After 1564 the topics of the *Mount Parnassus* staging the nine *Muses* and the *Mountain of Maidens* were added. The religious part of the *Onze Lieve Vrouwe Ommegang* traditionally presented six themes: *The Annunciation*, *The Visitation*, *The Birth of Christ*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *Our Lady's Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys*, and *the Assumption or Coronation of Mary*. The representation of the triumph of Christ in the *Last Judgement* completed the religious part, as it did in the circumcision procession of 1561.

⁷² Prims 1949, see note 65, p. 10.

⁷³ Chapter 4 deals with the tradition of depicting the gods of the sea and the rivers and the pictorial tradition of the City Maiden of Antwerp.

New themes such as the moralizing issues: *The whole course of the world in seven figures* (1561), *The theater of the world* (1564), and *The present time* (1566) were added.⁷⁴ Usually the procession started with the traditional secular points, staged on about ten cars, then followed by some cars staging new and current topics and ending with the religious part of the procession.⁷⁵ *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* presumably had been commissioned as a design for one of the current themes riding in the center of the procession.

The *Ommegangen* in the Southern Netherlands evolved in the course of the ages from religious themes in the fourteenth century and blending religious and secular elements in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, to a procession in which religious and secular elements were separated in the seventeenth century. After that, from the eighteenth century onwards, it became generally a secular event.⁷⁶ The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *Ommegang* was not exclusively restricted to religious days, but could be organized to strengthen the festive spirit of a *Joyous Entry* or the celebration of a victory as well. Political motives encouraged the creation of new secular cars. In 1609 the Twelve Year's Truce inspired four new themes: *Pax ende Iusticia*, or *Peace and Justice* and *Mercurius*, as symbol of the hoped-for restoration of commerce, then followed the *Forge*, in which the armor was fused into household and farming equipment, 'braetpannen ende ploeghysers', or pots and iron ploughs.⁷⁷ The fourth new theme was a scene in which men and women were seated at a round table while a good dinner had been served. In 1619 the Truce inspired the theme *Alliance et confédération Belgique*, presenting the Archduke closing the *Temple of Janus*. In the *ordonancien* of 1648, 1649, 1661 and 1662, no new points were listed. This is remarkable, considering the political consequences of the *Peace of Münster* in 1648.

JOYOUS ENTRIES

During the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century, Italian, Spanish and French, as well as Northern European cities, organized triumphal celebrations. These took place for instance

⁷⁴ Prims 1949, see note 65, p. 11–21.

⁷⁵ Veronika Joukes, *Processies en Ommegangen in Antwerpen in de 17^{de} eeuw*, diss. Leuven 1990, p. 167–172, and Thøfner 2007, see note 61, p. 162.

⁷⁶ Joukes 1990, see note 75, p. 31.

⁷⁷ Joukes 1990, see note 75, p. 168.

in the cities of Rome, Ferrara, Venice, Genoa, Nuremberg, Ghent, Bruges and Antwerp. In these magnificent entries the sovereign played the leading role, whether he was a pope, a doge, a duke, a prince, a king or an emperor. The decorated cities and their ephemeral structures formed the theater against which the ceremonies were staged. Often the triumphal procession or entry expressed the special bond between the city and the ruler. In the tradition of the Southern Netherlands, a political protocol was part of the ritual.

Ever since the time of the Dukes of Burgundy, new governors had been invited to a *Blyde Intrede* or *Joyous Entry* in the major cities of the Southern Netherlands, a tradition that lasted until the French revolution.⁷⁸ In the strict definition, the *Joyous Entry* was the first ceremonial visit of a new ruler, often coinciding with the granting of special rights or privileges to the city. In a solemn ceremony, the prince who took over the power by the law of succession, was obliged to acknowledge that his power was limited by the rights and privileges of his subjects.⁷⁹ The ritual was in essence the renewal of a social contract, in which the city acknowledged the royal succession and the legitimate rule of the new sovereign, while the ruler in turn confirmed the traditional local privileges and agreements with the town.⁸⁰ The Antwerp *Joyous Entries* were celebrated in exuberant festivities, theatrical performances were staged and splendid temporary arches and stages decorated the route followed by the sovereign and his court dignitaries. The ritual that gave an identity to power, started by a welcome at the city's boundary, and then followed the taking of the oath, the tour through the decorated streets and the honoring of the new governor, all according to the traditional rules.

The following list gives an impression of the number of festive entries in the city of Antwerp from the sixteenth century to the first years of the nineteenth century: Charles V in 1520, Prince Philip in 1549, William, Prince of Orange in 1577, Archduke Matthias in 1577, Duke of Anjou in 1582, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma in 1585, Archduke Ernest of

⁷⁸ Evers points at the oldest known *Blijde Inkomst* in 1354, and possibly even before 1268. Evers in: , Von Roeder-Baumbach 1943, see note 60, p.118.

⁷⁹ Carl van der Velde and Hans Vlieghe, *Stadsversieringen te Gent in 1635, voor de Intrede van de Kardinaal-Infant*, Gent 1969, p. 11.

⁸⁰ Larry Silver, 'Paper pageants: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I', in Barbara Wisch, ed. and Susan Scott Munshower, *"All the world's a stage ...": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and the Baroque; part 1, Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, Pennsylvania 1990, p. 297.

Austria in 1594, the Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella in 1599, Maria de Medici in 1631, Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand in 1635, Archduke Leopold William in 1648, Duke Frans of Lorraine in 1731, Duke Charles of Lorraine in 1749, Napoleon 1803 and 1810.⁸¹

The word *Joyous Entry* has often been applied to all of these festive entries. However, some of the protagonists of the entries who were invited did not have a governmental relation to the city, for instance William of Orange and Maria de Medici. Strictly speaking, the concept *Joyous Entry* only refers to the solemn entry of the sovereigns of the Netherlands, granting the rights and privileges of the city. (Charles V, Prince Philip, as sovereign to be, and Albrecht and Isabella). However, in the present study and according to most literature on the subject, the concept of *Joyous Entry* will be applied, referring to the entry of the ruler and to the entry of the substitute of the ruler as well. The most fascinating Antwerp festive entry, that of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, is mostly referred to as a *Joyous Entry*, although the Prince became a governor as the substitute of the sovereign, his brother Philip, the King of Spain.

In Antwerp the festive cars and chariots, constructed to ride in the *Ommegang*, were placed in the streets and plaza to intensify the festivity of the *Joyous Entries* (figs. 17–21).⁸² The Antwerp giant *Druon Antigon*, designed by Pieter Coecke van Aalst in 1534, was placed on the *Grote Markt*, the central market place during the *Joyous Entry* of Prince Philip in 1549.⁸³ *The Elephant* on a wheeled platform designed for the *Ommegang*, figured in the streets of Antwerp during state entries since the triumphal entry of François d'Alençon, duke of Anjou, brother to King Henry III of France and successor to Philip II as sovereign in the Low Countries in 1582 (fig. 15).⁸⁴ The traditional *Ommegang* cars such as *The Whale* and *The City Maid Antverpia* became a regular part of the state entry decorations as well. In the

⁸¹ *Ommegangen en blijde inkomsten te Antwerpen*, exh.cat. Antwerp, (Museum voor Folklore) Antwerp 1957, no pagenumbers.

⁸² McGrath, 1975, see note 64, p. 181. According to Von Roeder-Baumbach, not only in Antwerp, but in other cities as well (Ghent for instance) it was a habit to stage *Ommegang* cars as decoration during the *Joyous Entries*. Von Roeder-Baumbach 1943, see note 60, p. 90.

⁸³ Von Roeder-Baumbach refers to an etching by Egidius Hendrickx in attributing the giant to Coecke van Aalst. Von Roeder-Baumbach 1943, see note 60, p. 89.

⁸⁴ The unloading of a living elephant in Antwerp in 1563, a present of the King of Portugal to Emperor Maximilian II, then king of Bohemia, caused an enormous scientific and artistic attention to the exotic animal and many representations followed.

1635 entry, *The Whale* was placed on the Meir and a large gilt car on which *The Maiden of Antwerp* was enthroned was placed behind the Keizerspoort. In the Lange Nieuwstraat, Ferdinand and his court dignitaries passed the traditional *Ommegang* car *The Mount Parnassus*, staging *Apollo* seated on a rock, playing a harp while the nine *Muses* were singing at his feet.⁸⁵ The *Ommegang* imagery added lustre to the city decorations and probably it appealed more strongly to the imagination of the crowds than the complex iconography of the arches and stages in honor of the sovereign.

SCENOGRAPHY OF A FESTIVE EVENT

The descriptions of the entries organized for the new governors, and the lists of the *Ommegang pointen* as described in the previous paragraph, can be found in the literature about the *Joyous Entries* and *Ommegangen*.⁸⁶ An interesting manuscript found during my research in the Antwerp city archive, might add to the literature.⁸⁷ The document has not been referred to before, and might add new information contributing to the understanding of the Antwerp festive tradition. This written document named 'Ordre van den Ommeganck', seems to be a seventeenth-century regulation for the course of an *Ommegang* event.⁸⁸ The document is not dated, but comparing to other seventeenth century written texts, it could be identified as a supposed seventeenth-century Antwerp handwriting. Expert consultancy classified the document as more likely dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, than coming from the first half. However, in the advisory conversation, it turned out

⁸⁵ Martin locates the *Ommegang* cars in the description of Kardinal-Infante Ferdinand's entry. Martin 1970, see note 4, pp. 35, 100, 162.

⁸⁶ Literature about the Joyous Entries, the Ommegangen and the urban culture of the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century, among others: Van Bruane 2008; Thøfner 2007; Joukes 1990; Martin 1970; Velde and Vlieghe 1969; Prims 1949; Roeder-Baumbach 1943; Burbure 1878.

⁸⁷ My transcription and translation of the seventeenth century handwriting are enclosed in the appendix.

⁸⁸ Stadsarchief Antwerp, the Antwerp City Archive; Search: Ancien Régime van de Stad Antwerpen; Stadsbestuur: archief voortvloeiend uit de uitgeoefende functies; Bestuur en beleid (Privilegekamer); Dossiers van de secretarie geordend naar onderwerp; Plechtigheden; *Ommegangen en Processies*: file PK#1644. The 'Ordre van den Ommeganck' is one of the documents the file *Ommegangen en Processies*, containing 16th-18th century documents concerning processions in the city of Antwerp.

that an undated document very well might be a copy of an older handwriting.⁸⁹ Perhaps it might be the case, that the instructions for organizing the *Ommegang*, have been used as a manual in earlier events and maybe even more than once. If the document is a copied one, the original text presumably concerns an *Ommegang* after 1599, when *The Sea Chariot* or *The Chariot of Neptune*, mentioned in the document, first figured in the entry of the Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella, while *The Elephant*, also mentioned in the text, first figured in the entry of François d' Alençon in 1582.

The 'Ordre van den Ommeganck' visualizes an *Ommegang* as we described in this chapter and provides a vibrant scene of a festive Antwerp parade. Obviously the festive ceremonies were very well organized. The document is a kind of scenography, prescribing the performance of the procession, arranging the sequence and the distance of musicians and cars, their place and movements in the streets and on the market place. Musicians playing the cymbals and trumpets preceded the parade of *The Big Ship*, *The Small Ships*, *The Whale*, *The Little Dolphins* and *The Sea Chariot*, all subjects referring to the river and the sea. Musicians playing the forest horns preceded *The Maiden's Chariot*, *St. Michael's Chariot* and *The Mount Parnassus*, they were followed by *The Giant*, *The Camel*, *The Lion*, *The Small Giants* and *The Elephant*. The cars represented secular topics, except for the *St. Michael's Chariot*, a religious one. Most subjects listed in the document have participated in the Antwerp *Ommegang* since the earliest days and were still presented in a recent procession.⁹⁰

The manuscript reveals that the Prince was present at the event and that he obviously was in the centre of the interest. Moreover, all the arrangements and movements of the cars and the musicians were adjusted to his presence. According to the 'Ordre van den Ommeganck', the event was situated at the *Grote Markt*, in front of the town hall. A part of the parade was waiting in the *Hooghstraat*, while *The Maiden's Chariot* was advancing in front of the Prince, before the façade of the town hall. The musicians and the cars were positioned at the market place, according to the instructions of the directors, or the *aenleijders*. Some of the cars were to turn in circles around the market place, while others

⁸⁹ I want to thank dr. Marie Juliette Marinus, advisor scientific work of the Antwerp City Archive, for her advise on the handwriting 'Ordre van den Ommeganck'.

⁹⁰ The Antwerp Museum voor Volkskunde owns a collection of traditional *Ommegang* subjects. The depot of the city of Antwerp preserves (remakes of) *Ommegang* cars.

were positioned to stand still or they navigated over the marketplace, in what seems to be a complex pattern. An interesting note was written in the margin, as a reminder to put a supply of water in tubs on the steps of the town hall in advance, in order to provision *The Mount Parnassus* and *The Whale* with a quantity of water. The last page provides instructions about the removal of the cars vice versa, noting that all the pieces before leaving the scene have to make a round in front of the Prince twice.

Regarding the seventeenth century 'Ordre van den Ommeganck', it might be concluded that in 1638, the Antwerp city magistrate commissioned a triumphal chariot supposed to ride in a festive procession, similar to the one described in the manuscript. The Antwerp *Ommegang*, a popular ceremony directed to the citizens, was this time attended by the Prince in person. Moreover, the *Ommegang* parade was even addressed to his presence. The question remains which one of the seventeenth-century princely governors was referred to in the document, because the handwriting is not dated. It might very well have been Prince Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, if the handwriting could be dated between 1635 and 1641. In that case, the ceremony might have been a part of the festivities after Ferdinand's *Joyous Entry* in 1635, or it might have been a celebration on the occasion of Ferdinand's victory of Kallo. The manuscript is relevant to the present study, describing very precisely an event that Ferdinand might have attended, and assuming that at least he might have been present at a similar festive *Ommegang* event. Subsequently, the question can be raised if Rubens in designing *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* took into account that Ferdinand might be present as a spectator watching the triumphal chariot riding in the *Ommegang*.⁹¹

⁹¹ We will focus on this question in chapter 4.

3. Triumphs in Ancient and Renaissance art

The concept of the triumphal allegory had become common property in seventeenth-century art, literature and ceremonial celebrations. For this reason De Poorter in discussing Rubens's triumphal *Eucharist Series*, states that there seems to be no point in inquiring to what example Rubens was indebted.⁹² She points at the fact that Rubens clearly had a general interest in triumphs based on a humanist tradition. However, unlike De Poorter, to me the fact that triumphs seem to have been all over the place in seventeenth-century Europe, is exactly the reason to focus on just one of Rubens's oil sketches of a triumphal chariot. Not so much to identify one or more related works, but to analyze elements of the concept of the triumph as classical heritage that might have been remodeled under the influence of the local pictorial tradition in this specific case.

ANCIENT TRIUMPHS

In ancient Rome a *Triumph*, a ritual procession in honor of a victorious general, was considered the greatest honor to be granted to a Roman. In the republican times, the celebration of the triumph required the following conditions: the person to be honored should be a magistrate holding supreme and independent command and moreover, he should have won a major land or sea battle in the region considered his province, having killed at least five thousand men of the enemy and ending the war. Under the empire, only the emperor could celebrate a triumph, the last one to do so was Diocletian in 302 A.D. The tour of a solemn procession in Rome did ride from the Campus Martius, passing the *Triumphal Gate* to the *Temple of Jupiter* on the Capitol, through the forum and the *Via Sacra*, or the Sacred Way. The streets were adorned with garlands and lined up with people shouting the *Io Triumphe*.⁹³ In the parade the magistrates and members of the Senate came first, followed by the musicians, the sacrificial animals, the spoils of war and booty among

⁹² Nora De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, vol. 1, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard II, Brussels 1978, p. 204.

⁹³ In ancient Rome, acclamations were ritual verbal expressions of approval and benediction in public. The meaning of the acclamation 'Io' ('I'), followed by the word 'Triumphe' meaning 'I triumph', was shouted in honor of the victorious general.

which the captured prisoners. Then followed the *currus triumphalis*, the chariot of the victorious general or in the imperial time, the victorious emperor and his family. Generally the triumphator wore the royal purple and gold tunic and the toga, and held a laurel branch in his right hand and an ivory scepter in his left. The chariot was festooned with laurel. A slave holding a golden crown over the general's head murmured words in his ear, reminding him in the midst of his glory that he was a mortal man. The procession ended with the march of the victorious soldiers often with the captives, who could also appear in the first section along with the booty.⁹⁴ On reaching the Capitoline temple the general presented Jupiter his laurel, along with thank-offerings.

Images of triumphs on Roman historical reliefs or on gemstones were intended to immortalize the fame of Roman triumphators. The relief of the *Triumph of Marcus Aurelius* that once decorated an official monument in his honor, is representing a triumphal parade (fig. 22).⁹⁵ The emperor wearing a toga and leading a chariot drawn by four horses is on the verge of passing through a triumphal arch, or the *Porta Triumphalis*. A trumpeter and a lictor precede the horses. A small winged Victory crowning him as a victorious hero, hovers above the emperor; the original garland that was held over his head is missing. The chariot is decorated with reliefs showing the figures of *Neptune* and *Minerva* flanking the figure of *Roma*. The awkward empty space to the right of Marcus Aurelius testifies to the erasure of the image of his son Commodus, who was condemned to a *damnatio memoriae*, a damnation of memory, a form of dishonor by removing from remembrance those who brought dishonor to the Roman state.⁹⁶

Rubens was attracted by the concept of the triumph, the remains from Antiquity provided him a source of inspiration. Though it has been suggested that Rubens copied part

⁹⁴ Barbara Wisch, ed., and Susan Scott Munshower, *"All the world's a stage ...", Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and the Baroque; part 1, Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, Pennsylvania 1990, p. 298.

⁹⁵ The *Triumph of Marcus Aurelius*, Palazzo dei Conservatori (Capitoline Museums), Rome. The *Triumph of Marcus Aurelius* is one of the three reliefs from the lost *Arch of Marcus Aurelius*. The original location of this relief, is ascribable to official monuments dedicated to Marcus Aurelius between AD 176 and 180.

⁹⁶ 'His image was chiseled off and the lower part of the temple in the background clumsily carved to fill the gap.' Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance artists and antique sculpture: a handbook of sources*, London 1986, p. 199.

of the reliefs from the *Arch of Constantine* and the *Column of Trajan*, no more than a series of sketches after heads on the column are known.⁹⁷ However, in preparation of a gem book, he drew copies of a number of ancient gemstones, either after the original ones or after casts.⁹⁸ The miniature reliefs engraved in gemstones or cameos often represent commemorative events such as triumphal processions, glorifications of emperors and their families, victories over barbaric nations and allegorical personifications.⁹⁹ His copies of ancient images on gems such as the *Gemma Augustea*, the *Gemma Tiberiana* and the *Triumph of Licinus* might have inspired his triumphal works.¹⁰⁰

Rubens owned a drawing of the *Gemma Augustea*, or *The Triumph of Tiberius* and made a copy by his own hand after a cast sent to him by Nicolas–Claude Fabri de Peiresc in 1622 (fig. 25).¹⁰¹ Rubens retouched the drawing and had it engraved in 1623. Peiresc interpreted the scene as the apotheosis of Augustus and named the cameo *Gemma Augustea*. Rubens rightly identified Tiberius as the principle figure of the scene, he is the youth descending from a triumphal chariot wearing a laurel wreath and guided by *Victory*.¹⁰² The *Gemma Augustea*, or *The Triumph of Tiberius*, is a cameo exquisitely carved in two tiers, corresponding to the social order of the figures (fig. 23).¹⁰³ In the upper scene Roma is sitting on a throne next to the emperor who might be Augustus. Three personifications are behind the throne: a woman supposed to represent the civilized world, crowning the emperor's head; a bearded man who might be the personification of the seas and a seated woman *Tellus*, or the Earth, with two children and a cornucopia representing *Fertility*. To the

⁹⁷ Marjon van der Meulen, Arnout Balis, ed., *Copies After the Antique*, Corpus Rubenianum XXIII, vol. 1, London/New York 1994, p. 89.

⁹⁸ In the 1620s Rubens worked on the project together with his friend, the French scholar Nicolas–Claude Fabri de Peiresc, but the book was never published.

⁹⁹ Van der Meulen 1994, see note 97, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ Triumphal works by Rubens are for instance the religious triumphs of the *Eucharist Series* and the historical triumphs such as *The triumph of Henry IV* and the *Decius Mus Series*.

¹⁰¹ Rubens, *Gemma Augustea*, drawing, Sankt Annen Museum, Lübeck, referred to in *Peter Paul Rubens*, exh.cat. Vienna, New York, (Albertina Museum Vienna, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) Vienna 2004, p. 297.

¹⁰² Van der Meulen 1994, see note 97, vol 2, p. 177.

¹⁰³ The gemstone is described as *Gemma Augustea, Tiberias Triumphant with Roma and Augustus*, Graeco–Roman sardonyx cameo (19 cm high, 23 cm. wide, 2,5 cm thick) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. In: Bober 1986, see note 96, p. 200. The cameo was carved probably during the reign of Caligula (ad 37–41).

left *Tiberias* descends from the triumphal chariot. On the tier below soldiers raise a trophy on a pole, while a defeated barbarian couple is sitting to the left and two more captives are humbled on the other side of the scene. During the Renaissance the gem was known by casts and was copied many times. According to Peiresc, Rubens had copied gems in some abbeys and in the French royal collection, during his visit to Paris in 1622.¹⁰⁴ There he must have seen the sardonyx cameo named *Claudius and Agrippina on a Dragon Chariot* and made a drawing in pen and brown ink (fig. 24).¹⁰⁵ The drawing of the image, representing a couple standing on a chariot drawn by two winged dragons, shows annotations in Rubens's handwriting providing detailed information on the identity of the figures, the colorings and the damages of the stone, suggesting the artist knew the original. The cameo was selected for the unfinished gem book. Van der Meulen points at the influence of the cameo on Rubens's *Triumph of Henry IV* (Uffizi, Florence), commissioned in 1622. The pose of the King in his triumphal chariot is strongly reminiscent of the figure on the cameo.¹⁰⁶

RENAISSANCE TRIONFI

Influenced by Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the theme of the triumphal procession revived in the visual art during the Renaissance.¹⁰⁷ In art historical literature triumphal processions have often been referred to as *trionfi*. The Italian word *trionfo*, plural form *trionfi*, has been

¹⁰⁴ Referred to by Van der Meulen 1994, vol.2, see note 97, p. 181.

¹⁰⁵ The gem is also referred to as *Claudius and Messalina*. Rubens thought the gem to be an image of the Roman Emperor *Claudius* and his wife *Agrippina*. Nowadays the woman is considered to be *Messalina*, one of the Emperors other wives. According to Peiresc, both woman are hard to distinguish. (letter Peirecs to Rubens 1623). *Peter Paul Rubens*, exh.cat. Vienna, New York 2004, see note 101, p. 296.

¹⁰⁶ Van der Meulen 1994, vol.2, see note 97, p. 181. The oil sketch belongs to the unfinished cycle in honor of Henri IV of France. The three oil sketches of the scene are in London, Wallace Collection (1628), Bayonne, Musee Bonnat (1630) and Metropolitan NY (1630); Held, see note 4, cat. 83, 84 and 85; plate 86, 87, 88. The oil sketch has been analyzed in Nico van Hout, 'Henri IV valait bien une Gallerie! Rubens's unfinished Luxembourg project, in: Marco Ciatti, ed. *Rubens agli Uffizi. Il Restauro delle "Storie di Enrico IV"*, Florence 2001.

¹⁰⁷ Martindale points at Petrarch's account of the Triumph of Scipio Africanus as perhaps the first post-classical attempt to reconstruct the ancient triumph. He points at the fact that Petrarch's *Trionfi* popularized the allegorical triumphs that came to be presented in carnival floats conveying a limited message. Compared to the ancient military triumphs, the allegorical triumph can be considered as a triumphal allusion. Andrew Martindale, *The triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court*, London 1979, p. 48, 49.

applied to the historical triumph commemorating a military victory as well as to the allegorical triumph based on a philosophical concept representing the triumph of ideas, virtues or conceptions by means of personifications. Weisbach in justifying the title of his book *Trionfi*, defines the word *trionfo* or triumph both as realized form (gestaltete Form) and as idea (Idee).¹⁰⁸ Petrarch's *Triumphs* had been richly illustrated with images depicting the personifications of *Love, Chastity, Death* or *Time*. These illustrations contributed to the dissemination of the idea of the allegorical triumph. Even more than the literary sources, the triumphal ceremonies in the streets of fourteenth-century Florence strongly influenced the images of triumphs.¹⁰⁹ The triumphs celebrating the entry of a victorious general, were sometimes even organized against the will of the hero himself: Francesco I Sforza (1401–1466), Duke of Milan refused the triumphal chariot prepared for his return to Milan in 1450, on the argument that triumphs were monarchial superstitions, and Alfonso the Great (1396–1458) on his entrance into Naples in 1443 declined the wreath of laurel. Alfonso's procession turned out to be a strange mixture of antique, allegorical and purely comical elements.¹¹⁰

The Italian artist Piero della Francesca (1416–1492) painted two triumphs at the reverse side of a diptych presenting the portraits of Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino and his wife (1465–66). The reverse side of the portrait of Federico displays a triumph (fig. 26). The Duke is seated in a triumphal carriage pulled by white horses, he is dressed in shining armor holding a baton in hand and is accompanied by the four cardinal virtues. A humanistic Latin inscription praising Federico is shown below. The counterpart depicts Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino seated on a chariot pulled by two unicorns. She is reading a prayer book and is assisted by the theological virtues Faith, Hope and Charity and by Pudicitia as matronly chastity (fig. 26).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Werner Weisbach, *Trionfi*, Berlin 1919, Vorwort, p. V.

¹⁰⁹ R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance et La décoration des demeures*, New York, 1971, p. 113.

¹¹⁰ Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, with a new introduction by Peter Burke and notes by Peter Murray, London 1990, pp. 266, 267.

¹¹¹ Triumph of Federico da Montefeltro, and Triumph of Battista Sforza, 1465–66, panel, 47 x 33 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

The cycle of *The Triumphs of Caesar* by the Italian painter Andrea Mantegna (c.1431–1506) is a series of nine monumental canvasses measuring 2.66 cm x 2.78 cm each (figs. 28–36).¹¹² They have been painted between 1485 and 1506, approximately. Andrea Mantegna had been a court painter to the Gonzaga's in Mantua and the cycle is supposed to be commissioned by his patron Francesco II Gonzaga. The paintings were transported to England, when they were bought by Charles I in 1629 and ever since they have been displayed at the Hampton Court Palace.¹¹³ The title of the series in plural form suggests more than one triumph, but in fact several scenes of just one, the *Gallic Triumph of Caesar*, are represented.¹¹⁴ The canvasses display various episodes of the triumphal procession such as soldiers carrying spoils of war, captives, white bulls to be sacrificed and the victorious Caesar at the end of the pageant seated on a gilded chariot, preceded by horses and elephants.¹¹⁵ The cycle of paintings has been admired for its combination of antique references and has been considered as a key work in the history of Italian art. Triumphs were favored at the Gonzaga court. In 1537 Giulio Romano painted *The Triumph of Titus and Vespasian* for Federico Gonzaga's Sala di Cesare in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, now in Musée du Louvre in Paris. (fig. 27)

Working in Italy in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Rubens had been attracted to Renaissance representations of the classical triumph. When he returned to Antwerp in 1608, after travelling in Italy and Spain for eight years, he had assembled a 'paper museum' to take home with him.¹¹⁶ His collection consisted of copies after works he had seen and drawings by earlier artists from the late fifteenth century onwards till the time he visited Italy. He had a preference for drawings and copies from the work of artists who did revive classical antiquity. Among them were copies of Andrea Mantegna's cycle of the

¹¹² The paintings suffered over time, but eight of the nine paintings have been cleaned. One painting, *The Captives*, could not be restored caused to the minimum of original paint left below the surface.

¹¹³ Hampton Court Palace is the former royal residence in the East Molesey, Greater London, located upstream of Central London on the River Thames. The British royal family did not inhabit the palace since the 18th century.

¹¹⁴ Caesar was awarded five triumphs between 46 and 45 B.C.

¹¹⁵ The titles of the individual paintings of the cycle are as follows: I. *The trumpeters and Standard Bearer*; II. *The Triumphal Carts*; III. *The Trophy bearers*; IV. *The Vase Bearers and Sacrificial Oxen*; V. *The Elephants*; VI. *The Armour Bearers*; VII. *The Captives*; VIII. *The Musicians*; IX. *Julius Caesar*.

¹¹⁶ Jeremy Wood, *Rubens drawing on Italy*, Edinburgh 2002, p. 15.

Triumphs of Caesar. Rubens might have known these works at first hand when he worked in Mantua at the Gonzaga court and he might have seen woodcuts of the works as well. He applied two of the copies after Mantegna's series by sealing them to a canvas and reworking them as a new composition. This free version titled *A Roman Triumph*, about 1630 includes (from left to right): maidens who could serve at sacred rites, animals to be sacrificed, trumpeters, pipe players and slaughterers. In the centre a priest dressed in red, and above him a sooth-sayer. Elephants bearing fruit and incense burners, originally corresponded with *The Elephants*, the one of Mantegna's series. Rubens gradually extended the design to the left and then reworked the painting (fig. 37).¹¹⁷

Rubens's collection also included quantities of drawings after the designs by Giulio Romano (1499–1546), probably coming from Romano's studio in Mantua; among them twenty-one large copies after the triumph of a Roman emperor for the *Camera degli Stucchi* of *Palazzo Te* in Mantua and three copies after the small cartoons for the great series of tapestries on the life of Scipio Africanus that were woven for François I of France.¹¹⁸ Wood indicates a parallel between these groups of copies after Romano and Mantegna's *Triumphs*. The copy of the tapestry design depicting *Scipio welcomed outside the gates of Rome*, was very extensively retouched by Rubens (fig. 42).

The quantity of reworked copies might raise the question why Rubens revised the drawings after the originals. In trying to understand his working method it should be remembered that Rubens frequently retouched *modelli* that had been drawn after his own designs by the assistants in his workshop and which were to be engraved. He also inscribed and retouched the drawings of (pseudo) antiquities that were made by his assistants and were sent to his friend Peiresc. According to Wood, it was entirely consistent if he treated the drawings of his own collection in the same way.¹¹⁹ Throughout his career Rubens had

¹¹⁷ The painting was constructed from several pieces of canvas, fixed together on a new support and the underpainting corresponds with some of Mantegna's compositions. Jeremy Wood, *Rubens copies and adaptations from renaissance and later artists: Raphael and his school*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XXVI, 2, London 2010, p. 105. Wood acknowledges Martin, 1970 and Balis, 1994, as the ones who first observed this.

¹¹⁸ Wood 2002, see note 116, p. 16. Wood 2010, see note 117, pp. 336–340.

¹¹⁹ Wood 2002, see note 116, p. 30.

copied, reworked and developed what he found useful or instructive and what fed his imagination, in order to learn something new from artists of a different time and tradition. In the interest of the present study, the drawn copies of triumphs on gems and the reworked copies of the triumphs by Mantegna and Romano will be considered as an indication of Rubens's fascination for the theme of the classical triumph.

ALBRECHT DÜRER'S *GREAT TRIUMPHAL CAR*

The renewed interest in the classical triumphal procession, comprehending the passage under a triumphal arch and the ride in a triumphal chariot, was relatively early disseminated north of the Alps. In the early sixteenth century, Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) planned to enhance his glory and that of the Hapsburg dynasty, choosing the woodcut as a medium to ensure the immortality of his name. Participating in this large project, Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) designed the *Triumphal Arch*, 1515, consisting of ninety-two woodblocks of complex iconography invented by Stabius. The *Triumphal Arch*, was printed seven hundred times before Maximilian's death. Three gigantic woodcut assemblages had been planned: the *Triumphal Arch*, the *Triumphal Procession*, and *The Great Triumphal Car*. The last one was intended as the climax of Maximilian's procession.¹²⁰ Dürer's *The Great Triumphal Car*, 1522, is a monumental print, comprising eight woodblocks and measuring 48 x 236 cm (fig. 39). At the time of Maximilian's death, most of the projects were still unfinished, but the printed ensembles had been published.

In 1512 Dürer had made a preliminary drawing of the triumphal car in pen and ink, now in the collection of the Albertina Museum in Vienna (fig. 38). The drawing after Maximilian's instructions shows an early conception of the car in which the Emperor and his wife Mary of Burgundy and their family members are seated: the future King Philip and his wife and children, including the young Archduke Charles, the later Charles V.¹²¹ A watercolor drawing, also in the Albertina Museum, submitted to Maximilian in 1518, depicts a triumphal car staging a complex set of allegorical figures. The new elaborate allegorical scheme for the

¹²⁰ *Festivities: ceremonies and celebrations in Western Europe 1500–1790*, exh.cat. Providence, Rhode Island (Bell Gallery, Brown University) 1979, p. 50.

¹²¹ Albertina Museum Vienna, inv. nr. 3140; in: *Festivities: ceremonies and celebrations in Western Europe 1500–1790*, exh.cat. Providence, 1979, see note 120, p. 50.

Triumphal Car, that presented a triumph of philosophy and morality is credited to the influence of Dürer's friend, the court philosopher Willibald Pirckheimer. In 1521, three years after Maximilian's death, the design of the chariot was chosen as the subject for a wall painting in the Nuremberg Rathaus. The next year Dürer published *The Great Triumphal Car* independently as a woodcut, dedicating it to Maximilian and his successor Charles V. The print was popular: seven editions were published from the original blocks and Dürer's contemporaries had made a quantity of copies.

Dürer's *Great Triumphal Car* is pulled by eight pairs of horses and surrounded by twenty-two allegorical female figures personifying various virtues. The first sheet shows the main part of the imperial car (fig. 40). Maximilian is wearing a coronation mantle and the imperial crown, while holding the scepter in his right hand and a palm branch in the left. The imperial symbols, the sword and the imperial orb, have been placed on a cushion in front of him.¹²² *Victory* is decorating the Emperor with a laurel wreath, while his actual victories have been written on the feathers of her wings. Maximilian is surrounded by the cardinal virtues *Justice, Temperance, Fortitude* and *Prudence*. The wheels of the chariot carrying him have been named *Gloria, Magnificentia, Dignitas* and *Honor*. The car is guided by a charioteer named *Reason*. Maximilian's triumph alludes to no specific military victory, but celebrates Maximilian's life and his achievements. The representation of the Emperor surrounded by virtues, published after Maximilian's death, has rather become a kind of eternal glorification of his individual virtues as a ruler.¹²³

Dürer designed another triumphal chariot *The Small Triumphal Car or the Burgundian Marriage*, 1518, as a part of the *Triumphal Procession* of Emperor Maximilian (fig. 41). This image is representing Maximilian and his wife Mary of Burgundy holding the Burgundian coat of arms, while *Victory* is guiding the triumphal car. Compared to the *Great Triumphal Car*, Panofsky notices that in the small car a perfect harmony has been achieved between the splendor and cheerfulness of the subject and the sweep and flourish of its graphic

¹²² The orb is a globe topped with a cross, a symbol of authority that belonged to the imperial regalia.

¹²³ Larry Silver, 'Paper pageants: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I', in Barbara Wisch, ed. and Susan Scott Munshower, *"All the world's a stage ...": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and the Baroque; part 1, Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, Pennsylvania 1990, p. 297.

presentation that shakes off the scholastic erudition.¹²⁴ The image of the triumphal chariot, and even the triumphal project as such, might have been influenced by Maximilian's 1477 triumphal entry into Ghent, on the occasion of his betrothal to Mary of Burgundy when he was still a young prince.

It is tempting to assume that the design of Dürer's *Great Triumphal Car* of 1522 was influenced by his travel through the Netherlands in 1520–1521, where he witnessed the *Joyous Entry* of Charles V into Antwerp. However, the woodcut dated 1522, retains too much of the features of the 1518 drawing to confirm that assumption. It might very well be the case, that the festivities in Antwerp emphasizing the significance of the triumphal entries, might have influenced Dürer's decision to publish *The Great Triumphal Chariot* in 1522 as an independent woodcut.

The question can be posed if Rubens, in designing the Antwerp triumphal car, was influenced by Dürer's Nuremberg design. Larry Silver indicates Rubens's awareness of sixteenth-century triumphs.¹²⁵ In his opinion Rubens's *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* is dominated by personifications that seem to be lifted right out of Dürer's prototype.¹²⁶ Comparing Rubens's chariot to the one by Dürer, Silver notices that both the allegorical figures *Fortuna* and *Virtus* symbolizing fortune and valour and the winged *Victories* may be compared to the didactic virtues and the winged *Victories* around the emperor on Dürer's *Chariot*. Silver describes the parallels in the depiction of captives and trophies in the manner of ancient Roman triumphs on Rubens's triumphal chariot and in the triumphal procession of Maximilian. He quite rightly points at the parallels, however, my research so far, did not result in an indication for establishing a direct adaptation of Dürer's chariot by Rubens. The question about the influence of Dürer's prints on Rubens's work is a current art historical topic.¹²⁷ The parallels suggested by Silver might provide interesting research questions about the dissemination of the copies after Dürer's woodcuts and about Rubens having seen them or not. For now it can only be concluded that both Dürer and Rubens seem to have

¹²⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, Princeton, New Jersey, 1945, p. 181.

¹²⁵ Silver 1990, see note 123, p. 294.

¹²⁶ Silver 1990, see note 123, p. 301.

¹²⁷ Belkin discusses Dürer's influence on Rubens's work and the recent discovery of a Rubens copy after Dürer's *Life of the Virgin*. Belkin 2009, see note 2, pp. 33, 34.

modeled the triumphal car after images of ancient triumphs, influenced by the revival of triumphal celebrations during the Renaissance.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter the concept of the ancient triumph and the images of *trionfi* influenced by the revived interest during the Renaissance have been described. Comparing Rubens's oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* to copies of ancient and Renaissance images of triumphs, Rubens obviously adapted the concept of a classical triumph. However in a new invention he blended the elements of a ancient military triumph with the characteristics of an allegorical triumph. He adapted the personification of *Victoria* as a symbol of victory, the *Fama* as symbol of fame, and the trophy, traditionally presenting captives and booty in the ancient triumph. The presence of the city maiden *Antverpia* on the chariot, parallels the figure of *Roma* personifying the city of Rome in some of the ancient and Renaissance images. *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* is more reminiscent of Dürer's *Great Triumphal Car*, than of the Renaissance images after Mantegna and Romano. Compared to the ancient images, Rubens's Antwerp design differs from the classical prototype, by its absence of the triumphator. Rubens invented a new type of allegorical triumph, symbolizing a historical victory by omitting the historical figure of Cardinal Infante Ferdinand and adding the personifications of the virtues. Replacing the victorious general by the city maidens *Anverpia* and *Audumarum*, he transformed the concept of the ancient triumph into an allegory about the city of Antwerp.

4. Antwerp pictorial tradition and triumphal allegories

TRIUMPHAL CHARIOTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Jan Gossart (1478–1532) designed a funeral car that belongs to the earliest triumphal chariots created north of the Alps. Gossart, after working as a guild member in Antwerp, went into the service of Philip of Burgundy, Admiral of Zeeland, and illegitimate son of Philip the Good. In this instance he joined a diplomatic delegation to Rome in 1508–1509 and was one of the first artists to introduce the art from the Italian Renaissance in the Netherlands. In 1516, upon the death of King Ferdinand of Aragon he was asked to design a triumphal chariot for the memorial procession in Brussels.¹²⁸ He subsequently accompanied Philip of Burgundy to the ceremonies.¹²⁹ No visual source of the chariot is known. However the design has been reconstructed on the basis of various contemporary eye witness accounts (fig. 43).¹³⁰ The symbolism of the memorial car is that of a triumph by conquest, showing a trophy, pieces of armor and Ferdinand's coats of arms. In the middle of the platform the king himself was represented by a statue of a warrior in antique armor brandishing a sword. The rear end of the car consisted of the king's vacant throne. Scheller has indicated traces of Gossart's invention in the colossal float of Charles V's funeral procession in Brussels (1558, fig.44). The general content of the float and the empty throne seem to have been taken directly from its predecessor. The funeral float in the form of a ship, referred to as the *Ship Victoria*, or the *navis triumphalis* survived into the seventeenth century, figured in the *Joyous Entry* of Archduke Albrecht in Brussels (1596) and played an important role in the procession of *Our Lady of the Zavel*, in honor of Archduchess Isabella in 1615.¹³¹ Dürer's *Small*

¹²⁸ King Ferdinand of Aragon was the grandfather of the future Emperor Charles V. In the absence of the dead body, the triumphal carriage was the climax of the procession. W.P. Blockmans and E. Donckers, 'Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in: W. Blockmans and A. Janse, eds. *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Late Medieval Low Countries*, Turnhout, 1999, pp. 90–91.

¹²⁹ Maryan Ainsworth, ed., Stijn Alsteens, Nadine M. Orenstein, *Man, myth, and sensual pleasures; Jan Gossart's Renaissance; the complete works, exh. cat.* New York... London 2010, pp. 11–12.

¹³⁰ Mensger refers to contemporary reports of the funeral by Remy Dupuis and Gerardus Geldenhauer. Ariane Mensger, *Jan Gossaert; die niederländische Kunst zu Beginn der Neuzeit*, Berlin 2002, annotation 20, p. 106.

¹³¹ Scheller points at the painting of the Procession of O.L. of Zavel, *The Triumph of Isabella*, 1615, by Denis van Alsloot to commemorate the 1615 procession and showing an image of the float. Robert W.

Triumphal Car ordered by Maximilian I and Gossart's funeral car were both designed in 1516. Yet it seems to be unlikely that they have influenced one another. Both chariots seem to have been created independently as an individual interpretation of the triumph, inspired by the same classical visual language.

In Northern European art, the idea of a triumphal procession became a framework for allegorical and moralistic admonition. The concept of the triumph inspired by Petrarch's fourteenth-century poem *Trionfi*, translated into Christian moralistic idiom, fused Italianate style with imagery derived from the work of Hieronymus Bosch.¹³² Petrarch's poem is a narrative describing six victories of the personifications of *Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time* and *Faith*. Each personification is triumphing over the preceding one and in the end *Faith* conquers them all. The allegorical religious triumph had been represented before in the Netherlands, in tapestry series and stained glass. The Antwerp artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550) had made cartoons for a series of tapestries representing the *Triumphal Chariot of Lust* and the *Triumph of Venus* (c. 1532–33). *The Triumph of Faith* is an example of a moralized triumph he designed for stained glass (c.1550, fig.45). Engraved versions of moralized themes appear in Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century. Pieter Brueghel the Elder's *Triumphs of Time* and *of Death* were engraved and published by Philippe Galle in 1574. Such prints had an important impact on the artistic imagery, representing and disseminating the new visual language. In Antwerp however, the motif of the triumphal chariot gained popularity not only in the visual arts, but in the civic parade of the *Ommegang* as well.

The prints and drawings of the ancient triumph and its revived images originating in the Renaissance, had come North thanks to travelling artists. Rubens, after his training in Antwerp, had spent several years in Italy. Returning to Antwerp in 1608, he took home a large number of copies, drawings and sketches. Even before that, he must have been confronted with influences of the Italian Renaissance imagery. Taking into consideration that

Scheller, 'Jan Gossaert's Triomfwagen', in: Anne-Marie Logan, ed. *Essays in Northern European Art: presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his sixtieth birthday*, Utrecht, 1983, p. 236.

¹³² Yona Pinson, 'Moralised Triumphal Chariots; Metamorphosis of Petrarch's *Trionfi* in Northern Art', in: Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes, *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400– 1600)*, Turnhout 2007. pp. 203, 204.

his second teacher, Adam van Noort (1562–1641), worked as one of the major painters on the decorations for the entry of Archduke Ernst of Austria (1594), it seems plausible that Rubens was at that time exposed to allegorical imagery.¹³³ The greater part of the allegorical figures on the stages and arches of Ernst's entry had been designed by Marten de Vos (1532–1605) according to the descriptions by Cesare Ripa.¹³⁴ Rubens's third and last teacher Otto van Veen (1556–1629) painted a series of religious triumphs, depicting Christ and the personifications of religious principles riding on a triumphal chariot.¹³⁵ Van Veen was a learned painter, a real *pictor doctus*, who had been to Italy, where he studied the art of antiquity and the Renaissance. He worked according to a classicism inspired by Raphael.¹³⁶ Van Veen's triumphs seem to have had an impact on Rubens, and more in particular on his *Eucharist series*. Influenced by his teacher, Rubens depicted three scenes staging *The Church*, *The Catholic Faith* and *The Divine Love* on triumphal cars.¹³⁷ In contrast to his forerunners who focused on the religious dogma, Rubens brought new life into the old genre conveying the religious message by an abundance of decoration.¹³⁸

TRIUMPHAL CHARIOTS AS POLITICAL ALLEGORIES RELATED TO THE EIGHTY YEARS' WAR

The concept of a triumphal chariot has been used as a visual allegory in the conflict between the Southern and the Northern Netherlands caused by the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648). A peace treaty known as the *Pacification of Ghent* was signed by the States General on November 8, 1576. The treaty was an attempt to restore unity among the Seventeen Provinces and to deal with future religious clashes by negotiation. On February 12, 1577 the *Perpetual Edict*, ratifying the *Pacification of Ghent*, was signed by the new governor Don

¹³³ Rubens had been trained as a painter in the workshops of Tobias Verhaecht in 1591, Adam van Noort in 1592 and continued his training at the workshop of Otto van Veen in 1594–95.

¹³⁴ Hans Mielke, 'Ceremonial Entries and the Theatre in the Sixteenth Century', in: Johannes Bochius, *The ceremonial entry of Ernst, archduke of Austria, into Antwerp, June 14, 1594*, New York 1970, p. XII and XIII.

¹³⁵ The series of *Triumphs* by Otto van Veen, *Triumph of Verbum Dei and Ecclesia Dei; Triumph of Fides and Caritas; Religious Triumph; and The triumph of Ecclesia Christi, with Universitas Successio and Vetustas*, Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Nora De Poorter, *The Eucharist series*, vol. 1 and 2, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard II, Brussels 1978, p. 200 and figs. 71–74.

¹³⁶ Hans Devisscher, 'Rubens', *Openbaar kunstbezit in Vlaanderen*, vol. 42:1 (2004), p.4.

¹³⁷ De Poorter 1978, see note 92, p. 204 and figs 11, 12 and 13.

¹³⁸ De Poorter 1978, see note 92, p. 209.

Juan, in agreement with Philip II. These treaties gave rise to optimism, expressed in the printed *Triumph of Peace* by Wierix after Willem van Haecht (fig. 46).¹³⁹ *Peace* is seated on a triumphal chariot, accompanied by *Agreement* while *Charity* is holding the reins. The chariot is drawn by three mules, indicating the slow pace of the peace process. Under the wheels a bunch of weapons and the personification of *Envy* are to be crushed. *Self Interest* tries in vain to stop the progress of *Peace*. The *Seventeen Provinces* kneel to welcome *Peace*. In the background allegories represent various aspects of the political situation in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, the positivity voiced by this print was soon to be shattered by the political reality.

More than thirty years later, the *Twelve Year's Truce* (1609–1621) evoked a new optimism. The *Allegory of the Peace Treaty Negotiations between Spain and the Netherlands*, a print by Helius van den Bossche, presents a triumphal car carrying the personifications of *Pax*, *Iustitia*, *Misericordia*, *Veritas* and the personifications of the *Seventeen Provinces*. The triumphal car is riding down to the Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella, seated at the left side of the scene, suggesting that peace was at hand (fig. 47).¹⁴⁰

Both images express the hope for peace at a crucial moment in the civil war that divided the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. This belief in the restoration of peace appears again in Rubens's *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* of 1638. The war had brought about the closing of the river Scheldt and the decline of the city's commerce overseas. The victory of Kallo once more strengthened the optimism about the recovery of the city's prosperity. Rubens's design for the chariot differs from the prints by Wierix and Van den Bossche by its dramatic staging of the allegorical figures and by the rich decoration of scrolls, waves and sea beings.

¹³⁹ *The triumph of Peace*, Wierix after Willem Haecht I, engraving 1577, in: James Robert Tanis and Daniel Romein Horst, *Images of discord: a graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War; De tweedracht verbeeld: prentkunst als propaganda aan het begin van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog*, 1993, pp. 114, 115. The engraving has been attributed to one of the Wierix brothers.

¹⁴⁰ Helius van den Bossche, *Allegorie auf die Waffenstillstandsverhandlungen zwischen Spanien und den niederländischen Generalständen*, c. 1609, etching 25,3 x34,5 cm., Rijksprentenkabinet Amsterdam, in: Martina Dlugaiczyk, *Der Waffenstillstand (1609–1621) als Medienereignis: politische Bildpropaganda in den Niederlanden*, Münster 2005, fig. 14 and p. 335.

The images of sea creatures that once decorated ancient sarcophagi had been recovered by Renaissance artists and reached Antwerp through engravings and drawings. A frieze depicting the *Gods of the Sea designed by Bernard van Orley* (1488–1541) used as a decoration in the tapestry series of *The huntings of Maximilian* (c.1530) can be considered as an early example of the North, where the sea beings typically found a place in ornamental decorations (fig. 48).¹⁴¹ In Antwerp, however, maritime symbolism had a special function in expressing the bond between the city, the river and the passage to the sea. Illustrative in this respect is the monumental Antwerp town hall (1561–65). The middle resault of the façade presents an iconographic program of three coats of arms, three statues, two sea centaurs and two obelisks (fig. 49).¹⁴² The two sea centaurs, each fighting a dangerous creature, symbolize the Antwerp supremacy in the overseas trade (fig. 50). They do not seem aware yet of the disastrous consequences of the future closing of the city's passage to the sea. The sea centaur, or ichthyocentaurus, was a fabulous creature whose upper part of the body had been conceived as a human form, and whose lower part ended in the serpentine tail of a fish, while the lower front side was equipped with a horse's forelegs.¹⁴³ Motifs of water creatures frequently appeared in Antwerp prints, paintings and festive decorations from the sixteenth century onwards.

The illustrated books commemorating the *Joyous Entries* are an informative source for the analysis of the Antwerp maritime imagery.¹⁴⁴ The sixteenth- and seventeenth-

¹⁴¹ A. Balis, 'Het Lot van Antwerpen. Halfmenselijke Zeewezens in de Kunst der Nederlanden van de Middeleeuwen tot de Barok' in: A. Balis, ed., *Van Sirenen en Meerminnen*, exh.cat. Brussels (Galerie CGER) 1992, p. 119.

¹⁴² Jan Lampo, *Het Stadhuis van Antwerpen*, Brussels 1993, p. 17.

¹⁴³ They are often referred to as tritons, but technically they differ from the tritons by the fact that the latter were not conceived with horse legs. Balis 1992, see note 140, p. 115.

¹⁴⁴ *Le triumphe d'Anuers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaign[e]*, Antwerp, 1550. *La ioyeuse & magnifique entrée de monseigneur François, fils de France, et frere unique du roy, par la grace de Dieu, duc de Brabant, d'Anjou, Alençon, Berri, &c. en sa tres-renommée ville d'Anvers*, Antwerp 1582.

Johannes Bochius, *The ceremonial entry of Ernst, archduke of Austria, into Antwerp, June 14, 1594 = Descriptio publicae gratulationis, spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu sereniss. principis Ernesti archiducis Austriae, ducis Burgundiae, comitis Habsburgi, aurei velleris equitis, Belgicis provinciis a regia majestate catholica praefecti*, engravings by Pieter Van der Borcht, after designs by Marten de Vos ; to which is added a suppl. of plates from the royal entry of Albrecht and Isabella, Antwerp, 1599 ;

century prints reveal that the theme of the city's relation to the sea had been expressed in the Antwerp festive tradition time and again. The prints of the stages and arches of the Joyous Entries and the prints of the *Ommegang* cars that had been placed in the streets, display a vast spectacle of allegorical images. Part of this imaginary world consisted of marine beings such as the gods of the sea, the river gods, whales, tritons and dolphins. The whale already had a long career as a symbol of the Antwerp maritime power. Originally the big fish was a companion to *Jonas* in the mediaeval mystery plays and, thanks to its popularity and attractive charms, gained an important place in the Antwerp *Ommegang*.¹⁴⁵ Due to Renaissance influences the whale's company became mythological instead of biblical. *The Whale* was carrying either *Neptune*, or *Oceanus* referring to the desired restoration of the Antwerp maritime power on the vast oceans.¹⁴⁶ In the *Joyous Entry* of 1582 the whale guided by Neptune accompanied a maritime *tableau vivant* staging *Scaldis, Merchandise and Navigation*, symbolizing the Antwerp trade overseas. Twelve years later in the entry of 1594 the whale carrying Oceanus was placed next to the *Stage of the Liberation of the Scheldt* at the *St. Jansbrug* (figs. 20, 21).

The *Chariot of Neptune*, or the *Currus triumphalis Neptuni*, presented to Albrecht and Isabella at their *Joyous Entry* (1599) announced the legend about the future victory of the Archdukes on the sea (fig. 51).¹⁴⁷ *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* were presented on a chariot drawn by two hippocamps with putti riding astride.¹⁴⁸ Mermaids after the medieval model, combing their long hair and looking in a convex mirror, precede the chariot, accompanied by tritons, surrounding the sea chariot while blowing their conch.¹⁴⁹ *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* themselves are seated on a throne under a canopy supported by two dolphins, while fishes

Antwerp 1595, reprinted ed., New York 1970.

Jan Casper Gevartius, *The magnificent ceremonial entry into Antwerp of his Royal Highness Ferdinand of Austria on the fifteenth day of May, 1635*, reprint ed. 1642, Antwerp 1971.

¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth McGrath 1975, see note 64, p. 181.

¹⁴⁶ McGrath 1975, see note 64, p. 182.

¹⁴⁷ McGrath 1975, see note 64, p. 182

¹⁴⁸ The Hippocampus is a sea-horse, half horse and half fish, the body ending in a serpent's tail; the hippocampus used to draw Neptune's chariot. Richard Barber and Anne Riches, *A Dictionary of Fabulous Beasts*, Woodbridge 1996, p.83.

¹⁴⁹ Balis describes the medieval type of mermaid in 'Het Lot van Antwerpen' Balis 1992, see note 141, p. 123.

are dangling down from the canopy's frame. Balis has indicated that from 1599 onwards, the *Chariot of Neptune* participated in the annual *Ommegang* and left traces in the visual arts.¹⁵⁰ He points at the various representations of *The Sea Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite* by Frans Francken II (1581–1642). Francken's sea chariot of *Neptune and Amphitrite* with its crowned canopy and dangling fishes, has obviously been derived from the Antwerp festive float, or the *Currus triumphalis Neptuni*, as can be noticed comparing them to Van der Borcht's etching (figs. 52, 53).¹⁵¹ Considering the high number of copies, in which Francken relied on the same repertoire of sea beings in various arrangements around Neptune's chariot, it might be clear that the imagery of the sea gods must have been popular in seventeenth-century Antwerp. Remarkable is the prominent place of sea beings in Francken's *Allegory on the Abdication of Emperor Charles V in Brussels* (fig. 54). *Neptune* on his triumphal chariot drawn by sea horses is surrounded by tritons and mermaids. The chariot carries a globe and two columns to which a banderole is attached with the inscription of Charles V's device: *Plus Ultra, or Further Yet*.¹⁵²

Rubens at the same time, carefully studied the sea creatures. He owned a drawing after Cornelis Bos representing a frieze with Neptune and his retinue that he retouched intensely. As a result, experts discuss the question if this is an original Rubens drawing or a reworked one.¹⁵³ An interesting detail of the drawing is Neptune's chariot ending in the head of a sea monster, which reminds of the chariot of Kallo ending in the figure of a triton. It seems that in depicting sea beings, both Rubens and Frans Francken II have been influenced by the same visual sources, such as the *Ommegang* floats, the decorations of previous Antwerp *Joyous Entries* and the printed illustrations of the commemorative books.

¹⁵⁰ Balis 1992, see note 141, p. 124.

¹⁵¹ Johannes Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis, etc*, Antwerp 1595, p. 119.

¹⁵² Frans Francken II, *Allegory on the Abdication of Emperor Charles V in Brussels*, 25 October 1555, c. 1620, oil on panel, 134 x 172 cm., Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. This painting depicts Charles V, seated on his throne; he is stretching out his hands to his brother Ferdinand, on the left, and his son Philip, to the right. With this gesture of abdication, Germany passed to Ferdinand and Spain and the Netherlands to Philip. The women bearing standards symbolize the Emperor's Dutch, Spanish and Italian possessions. Charles V is depicted as ruler of the world, the women are representing Europe, America and India. Neptune refers to the oceans.

¹⁵³ Belkin, 2009, vol.2, see note 2, p.183 and fig. 248.

Maritime allegories had been staged as early as 1549 at the occasion of the *Joyous Entry* of Prince Philip II. Here *Amphitrite* was riding a dolphin and holding an anchor on top of the Genevan Arch, while two river gods had been placed at each side. The ten feet tall river god *Scaldis* seated in a golden boat twice as long and accompanied by tritons blowing their conch, decorated the *Triumphal Arch of the City* (figs. 56, 57). *Negotiatio* and *Mercuria* accompanied by representations of the trade were presented on a platform above. According to the text in the commemorative book, *Antverpia* is supposed to be seated in the boat.¹⁵⁴ However, observing the image of the print illustrating the text, one can locate only *Scaldis* in the boat. As a consequence, it seems plausible that *Antverpia* has been acted out as a life character, while the print might have been made after the structure of the arch. In that case the life figure of *Antverpia* must have been much smaller than the ten feet measuring figure of *Scaldis*, which according to Mc Grath and Balis might have been a statue.¹⁵⁵

The river god *Scaldis* in chains as a *tableau vivant* was presented to Archduke Ernest at the *St. Jansbrug* in 1594 (fig. 58). On the archduke's arrival, the nymphs untied the bonds that held the river and suddenly the river god *Scaldis* poured out a quantity of water from his urn. The scene expressed the optimistic belief that the new governor would at once reopen the river *Scheldt* and restore the city's commerce.¹⁵⁶ *The Ship*, one of the *Ommegang* cars brought in by the guild of the merchants, had been placed close to the *Stage of Scaldis* and represented the rich fruits of the trade overseas. According to Bochius's description of the entry, the sailors of *The Ship* were supposed to raise the sails in order to prepare the voyage, because the ship of the Antwerp commerce was to cross the seas once more, in order to let the urn of the river god flow again.¹⁵⁷ Five years later the allegory of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, presented to the Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella at the *Sint-Jansbrug*, alluded to the liberation of the river Scheldt as well (fig. 59). The gods of the waters, reclining on urns, from which issued water and wine, again symbolized the passage to the sea. The image of Albrecht and Isabella being crowned with garlands of seaweeds by *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*

¹⁵⁴ McGrath 1975, see note 64, p. 184.

¹⁵⁵ Balis 1992, see note 141, p. 120.

¹⁵⁶ Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 179; and Von Roeder-Baumbach 1943, see note 60, p. 166.

¹⁵⁷ Transcription of Bochius in: McGrath 1975, see note 64, p. 182.

on top of the stage, referred to the expectation that these new governors would recover the Antwerp sea power.

According to McGrath, Rubens must have remembered the stages of the 1594 and the 1599 entries, when he designed his *Stage of Mercury* for the *Joyous Entry* of Ferdinand.¹⁵⁸ However, in 1635 Rubens did take another approach in designing the decoration at the *Sint-Jansbrug*. Though he used some of the former imagery, he did not depict a hopeful liberation of the river *Scheldt*, but he confronted Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand with the decline of the commerce as a negative consequence of the blockade. Rubens designed the *Stage of Mercury* as a heavily rusticated triple portico, resembling the portico of his house on the Wapper (fig. 60). The three arches were decorated with the following subjects respectively: *Mercury departing from Antwerp* in the centre, *Abundance and wealth* to the left, and *Poverty* to the right.¹⁵⁹ *Mercury departing from Antwerp* depicts the moment when *Mercury*, the god of commerce, holding a caduceus and a purse in his upraised hand, seems to be about to leave (fig. 61).¹⁶⁰ One of the two winged putti tries to prevent him to take a flight by clutching at his mantle. *Scaldis*, the river god seated on a pile of nets, is slumbering while his feet are fettered in irons and his left arm is resting on an urn that has run dry. Another putto tries in vain to loosen his fetters. The crown of reed and the fish beside *Scaldis* on the floor, refer to the river Scheldt in the background. A pleading *Antverpia*, is holding one hand to her breast, pointing at *Mercury*, whom she cannot prevent from leaving. *Antverpia* is kneeling next to an unused anchor, an upturned boat and a sleeping sailor, all symbols of the loss of the activity on the river.

The decorations above the central panel, represent Antwerp's good old times, when the boats on the river did have free entrance to the sea. *Oceanus*, the god of the waters, decorates the arch while the globe of the world is resting on his head. Dolphins spouting jets of water represent the eastern and western seas. *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* are on the top of

¹⁵⁸ "Rubens a dû certainement se souvenir de ces décorations antérieures, quand il a créé son chef-d'oeuvre allégorique du Départ de Mercure." McGrath 1975, see note 64, p. 183.

¹⁵⁹ The etching of the stage by Van Thulden (fig. 5) shows an expansion of Rubens's first design. Two more niches are added and probably the stage was executed like that.

¹⁶⁰ The large central canvas, *Mercury departing from Antwerp*, executed by Van Thulden after Rubens's design, is now lost, but Van Thulden's etching has been preserved.

the stage next to a ship's mast; he holding a trident and a rudder and she holding a cornucopia and a ship's prow. The rudder symbolizes good *Navigation* and the bow of the ship represents *Felicitas*, or happiness. On both sides of *Oceanus's* head, the water gushing from urns held by putti, symbolizes the free running water of the river Scheldt. An image of *Abundance and Wealth* points at the prosperity of the past at the left side of the central panel. An image of *Poverty*, represents the city's present decline on the other side. The expanded niches display the allegorical figures of *Comus* and *Industria*. The god of revelry, *Comus*, standing in the niche next to *Abundance* reinforces the image of prosperity, while in the other niche, next to *Poverty*, her daughter *Industria*, emphasizes the loss of wealth and Antwerp's turning to the manufacturing of cloth and other goods, after the closing of the Scheldt (fig. 61).¹⁶¹

Comparing Rubens's design for *The Stage of Mercury* to the precedent stages, it is obvious that he borrowed motifs from the Antwerp tradition. However, he changed the mermaids, the herms with fish-like tails and the dolphins of the earlier decorations into more decorative and more playful sea beings. Comparing the two sea centaurs, occupying a high seated place at each side of the gods of the sea, to the statues decorating the façade of the Antwerp town hall, Rubens replaced the monsters held by the sea centaurs of the town hall, by the more festive attributes of the conch and the standard.

Some of the sea beings so well-known in the Antwerp pictorial tradition, such as the dolphins and the triton appear once again on Rubens's design of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, decorating the sides and the back of the chariot.

CHARIOT OF ANTVERPIA

The allegory symbolizing the bond between Antwerp and its river has a long tradition. The city maid *Antverpia* surrounded by river gods, symbolizing the prosperity of the city, can be found as an illustration in Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti I Paesi Bassi* (fig. 64).¹⁶² Abraham Janssen's *Scaldis and Antverpia* representing *Scaldis*, the personification of the river Scheldt as the city's main source of prosperity, offering *Anverpia*

¹⁶¹ Martin 1972, see note 4, pp.180,181.

¹⁶² L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti I Paesi Bassi.....*, Antwerp, 1581.

several fruits with which she fills the cornucopia, symbolizes the optimism about the connection between the city and the river at the start of the Twelve Years' Truce (fig. 13).

Antverpia had appeared on stage in the solemn entries since Prince Philip's (1549). Welcoming the new sovereign was her role in the ceremony from 1582 onwards. She even climbed down from her throne to recite a Latin poem of welcome to the new governor in the 1599 and 1635 entries. Traditionally *Antverpia* was seated on triumphal car, or the *Currus Triumphalis*.¹⁶³ She was waiting for Duke François d'Anjou in front of the town gate, dressed in the red and white colors of the city and seated on the *Chariot of the Alliance* (fig. 65). She was holding a laurel branch in her hand and wearing a ditto crown on her head as symbols of the victory over the Spanish tyranny. The city's virtues were expressed by *Religion*, dressed as a *Sybille*, *Justice*, holding a balance and a sword, and *Concordia*.

Twelve years later, when the city of Antwerp was again under the rule of the Spanish King, *Antverpia* welcomed the new governor Archduke Ernest and offered him a laurel wreath as a symbol of the loyalty to the Spanish ruler. This time the Spanish coat of arms decorated the *Triumphal Chariot* in addition to the arms of Antwerp resting at *Antverpia's* feet (fig. 66). *Loyalty*, symbolized by a dog painted on her shield, and *Religion (Religio)* with a cross and a book accompanied her on the chariot, together with the personifications *Obedience*, *Respect*, *Remembrance of the charity* and the virtue of *Kindness* who was holding a standard displaying a heart held by two hands.¹⁶⁴ The virtues were flanked by two men in Roman costume holding standards displaying the *Penates* crowned by the arms of Antwerp.

In 1599, *Antverpia* offered a present to Albrecht and Isabella, a golden lily, its flowers decorated with white enamel, a heart surrounded by golden flames was attached in the calyx at the top of the flower, according to Bocchius symbolizing pure affection (figs. 68, 69).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Hans Mielke 1970, see note 134, p. XV.

¹⁶⁴ The *Remembrance of the charity* (or *Beneficii recordatio*) was symbolized by an image of *Androcles and the Lion* on her shield. The *Penates* were worshiped as protectors of the individual household and as protectors of the Roman state. Offerings might be food, wine, and incense, and more rarely, a blood sacrifice. The state as a whole worshiped the *Penates Publici*. This state cult occupied a significant role as a focal point of Roman patriotism and nationalism. (<http://www.britannica.com>)

¹⁶⁵ Leen Huet and Jan Grieten, *Nicolaas Rockox, Burgemeester van de Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerpen 2010, pp. 155,156.

Rubens considered the staging of life persons in *tableaux vivants* to be outdated. According to Martin, the tableau vivant had been generally discarded in favor of a purely pictorial mode of decoration and he asserts that Rubens would certainly not have been disposed to revive such an archaic mode.¹⁶⁶ Instead he replaced the life figures by painted allegories in all his designs for the *Joyous Entry* of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. However, the only exception was the traditional ceremony of the *Currus Triumphalis* from which *Antverpia* descended to welcome the new governor.

Influenced by the increasing decline of the city, Rubens transformed *Antverpia's* traditional representation of loyalty and prosperity. *Mercury departing from Antwerp* (1635) confronted the new governor with a desperate personification of the city. *Antverpia* kneeling in a subordinate pose, her gestures expressing helplessness, seems to be begging *Mercury*, the god of commerce, to stay. Three years later however, after the victory of Kallo, the optimism returned and Rubens depicted *Antverpia* as a proud and glorious woman. She is riding on a festive chariot, guided by *Providentia Augusta*, or the *Imperial Prudence*, accompanied by *Virtue and Fortune*, while the *Victories* and *Fama* symbolize the triumph in favor of the city. *Antverpia's* outstretched arms and hands seem to be a gesture of welcome, resembling the gesture of *Belgica* welcoming Prince Ferdinand in *The Advent of the Prince*.¹⁶⁷ In connection to this gesture it might be interesting to point at *Scipio welcomed Outside the Gates of Rome*, the copy of a drawing by Giulio Romano, extensively retouched by Rubens.¹⁶⁸ The original drawing was one of Giulio's tapestry designs of the *Scipio cycle*, woven for Francois I in the early 1530s. According to Wood, Giulio added the figure of *Roma*, welcoming the triumphal procession to the city.¹⁶⁹ A remarkable resemblance can be noticed connecting the images and comparing the outstretched arms and hands of the personification of the city of *Roma* with the gesture of *Belgica* in *The Advent of the Prince* and that of *Antverpia* in *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*. Consequently *Antverpia's*

¹⁶⁶ Martin refers to I. Roeder-Baumbach 1943, Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 44.

¹⁶⁷ Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 46–49 and fig. 6.

¹⁶⁸ The copy of *Scipio welcomed Outside the Gates of Rome*, reworked by Rubens is in a private collection and was in the auction by Sotheby's London on Sept. 01, 2008, lot nr. 16. Wood 2010, p. 350. The estimated price at the auction was 253.250 GBP. (www.sothebys.com 2008)

¹⁶⁹ Wood 2010, see note 117, p. 339.

outstretched hands can be considered as a gesture of welcome, a symbol of the city of Antwerp welcoming Ferdinand, the conqueror of Kallo.¹⁷⁰

VIRTUES IN THE ALLEGORY OF KALLO

Traditionally personifications of virtues representing the qualities of the sovereign or the city had been displayed on the temporary structures of the *Joyous Entries*. Accordingly, the figures of *Providentia Augusta*, *Virtus* and *Fortune* staged on *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, personify the virtues related the victor of Kallo. *Providentia Augusta*, the personification of providence is holding the reins and guiding the chariot. She has been depicted with two faces, and appears to be observing both the future and the past. Rubens had applied a personification of providence as *Providentia Regis* three years before, in one of the decorations of the *Arch of Ferdinand*. She was holding a large globe, *the orbis terrarum*, balancing on the post of a rudder and wearing a diadem containing the prominent eye (fig. 70). Martin points at the fact that the far-seeing eye as an emblem of *Providence* appears to have been invented by Rubens, who applied it to *Providentia* on the *Arch of Philip* as well.¹⁷¹ It is remarkable that Rubens replaced the emblem three years later by the Janus-head he borrowed from *Prudence*. In view of the political situation, it might have been essential to keep an eye on the past. The combination of the orb and rudder as attributes conveys the idea of direction or guidance for the entire world. Martin indicates that both attributes appear on a coin of Titus with the legend of *Providentia Augusta*. The coin displays *Vespasian* and *Titus* holding between them a globe over a rudder.¹⁷² *Providentia Augusta* on the triumphal chariot differs from the traditional *Prudence* because Rubens changed the usual old man's face looking backwards, into the face of a young person. *Providentia Augusta* might be one of Rubens's new inventions. Within the restricted scope of this study, I did not find any other comparable example of *Providentia* with these two faces. Rubens owned a copy of Raphael's *Prudentia* in the Stanze della Segnatura and has retouched the

¹⁷⁰ John Martin suggests that *Antverpia's* outstretched hands might be a pun on the name of the city, Martin 1972, see note 4.

¹⁷¹ Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 162.

¹⁷² Martin refers to H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman empire in the British Museum*, II, London 1930 and to Gevartius, citing the coin. Martin 1972, see note 4, p. 113.

drawing intensely (figs. 71, 72). The reworked drawing, now in the national Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, was enlarged by Rubens. According to Wood, the drawing is so distinctive and close to Raphael's style that it must have come from his workshop.¹⁷³ The seated *Providentia Augusta* on *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* seems to resemble Raphael's *Prudentia*, her arm holding a whip in a comparable pose as the right arm holding a mirror in the drawing after Raphael.

The personifications *Virtus* and *Fortuna*, placed on the stern of the triumphal chariot in the shape of a ship, connect the victory of Kallo to strength and fortune. Analyzing the allegory about the victory of Kallo, it is important to grasp the full implication of the word *Virtus*, or 'virtue', meaning more than: a good moral quality. Mielke describes 'virtue' as a central concept of the ancient world and later of the Renaissance and Baroque era. The concept of 'virtue' meant a fusion of all the manly qualities in which excellence of character and intellect is matched by physical strength and courage.¹⁷⁴ *Hercules* can be considered as the perfect representative of this principle of virtue. Rubens intensively studied the *Hercules Farnese*, he drew many copies of the antique statue and choose *Hercules* as a model for the strongest, most solid and masculine form of the human body, for instance *Samson* and *Saint Christoffel*.¹⁷⁵ According to the combination of good character, strength and courage, Rubens's depiction of the allegorical figure of *Virtue* with helmet and sword on the triumphal chariot might refer to the victor of Kallo as a 'virtuous hero'. Traditionally *Virtus* has been depicted in the company of *Honos* or *Honor*, who bears the horn of plenty. A remarkable resemblance can be observed comparing *Virtue* on *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* and Rubens's drawing of *Virtus and Honos* (fig. 73).¹⁷⁶ *Virtus* and *Honos* had been displayed in the form of flat painted wooden figures, placed on top of the *Sint-Jorispoort*, or *Porta Caesarea*, flanking *Brabo*, the legendary founder of the town, as decoration for the entry of Archduke Ernst. *Virtue* stepping on the globe of *Fortune*, meant that virtue itself is completely independent of blind and ignorant change, and that material prosperity and

¹⁷³ Wood 2010, see note 117 , p. 152.

¹⁷⁴ Mielke 1970, see note 134, p. XV.

¹⁷⁵ Jeffrey M. Muller, 'De verzameling van Rubens in historisch perspectief', in: *Een Huis Vol Kunst. Rubens als Verzamelaar*, ex.cat. Antwerp, (Rubenshuis) Antwerp 2004, pp. 20–21.

¹⁷⁶ Van der Meulen 1994, see note 97, vol.1 text ill. 38.

honor will follow inevitably in its wake.¹⁷⁷ Archduke Ernst could pass the same type of *Virtus*, now constructed in the round, standing at the very top of the *Florentine Arch*. The figure of true *Religion* showing Ernst the *Temple of Virtue and Honor* was depicted on the reverse side of the arch.

Contrary to the tradition, Rubens replaced *Honos* by *Fortune* as *Virtue's* companion. He seems to suggest that the courage of *Virtus* was related to chance or good luck at the battle of Kallo. *Fortune's* dress is puffed up by the wind and her hand is resting on a rudder. She seems to emphasize that luck is dependent on tail wind blowing in the right direction. Considering that both the heroic attack and a stroke of luck, or a tail wind, had played a role in the battle on the river Scheldt and its riverbanks, the symbolism seems to be appropriate for the victory of Kallo.

ABSENCE OF THE TRIUMPHATOR

The city decorations in Antwerp traditionally praised the ruler, especially the House of Habsburg. Rubens honored the Cardinal-Infante in *The Triumph of Ferdinand after the battle of Nördlingen* (1635), the central panel to *The Arch of Ferdinand* (figs. 74, 75).¹⁷⁸ The panel, glorifying Ferdinand as the triumphator of the battle of Nördlingen, depicts the Prince advancing as a Roman victorious general standing proudly in the quadriga, a chariot after the ancient example. Three years later in depicting *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, Rubens once again designed a triumphal chariot in honor of Ferdinand, but this time he omitted the victorious Prince. Comparing both oil sketches, a similar set of triumphal symbols can be noticed: the *Victories* with a laurel wreath, the trophies and the captives, however *Ferdinand* is guided by the personification of *Hope*, signifying that the victory raises hope for the future of the city.

The question why Ferdinand is not present in the design of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* might be explored by comparing the function of both works of art in the Antwerp

¹⁷⁷ Mielke 1970, see note 134, p. XV.

¹⁷⁸ *The Triumph of Ferdinand after the battle of Nördlingen* (1635) was painted by Jan Van den Hoecke after Rubens's oil sketch and is in the Uffizi in Florence. Theodoor van Thulden made the etching as an illustration to Gervartius *Pompa Introitus* and a copy by an unknown artist is in the Print room of Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.

festive tradition. First of all we might put forward that the role of the entering sovereign in the northern entry ceremonies was different from the role of the ancient triumphator. The Roman triumphator himself was the centre of interest of the triumphal procession presenting his captured armor, booty and prisoners. However, unlike the ancient triumph, the ruler in the royal entries was riding on horseback, accompanied by his courtiers and dignitaries and he passed by the main points of interest, stopping at frequent intervals before one of the stages.¹⁷⁹ The main points of interest of the ceremony lay outside the procession itself, turning the entering ruler into a spectator, observing the painted decorations or watching the staged *tableaux*, displaying messages of goodwill or praise. Ferdinand entering as the new governor was even confronted with the image of his own triumphal entry *all' antico* designed by Rubens and displayed on the *Arch of Ferdinand*.

The oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* had quite a different function as a construction plan and a guide to stage the chariot. Designed as a festive float to ride in the *Ommegang*, the triumphal chariot was never meant to carry Ferdinand as the victor of Kallo. Rubens designed an allegory of the victory, staging allegorical figures, according to the *Ommegang* tradition. The governor might have observed the spectacle of the *Ommegang*, however, as a matter of 'decorum', it would not have been dignified for a governor to participate in a popular procession. As one of the *Ommegang* subjects presenting a contemporary theme, Rubens properly honored Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand in designing a triumphal chariot only staging personifications and city maidens. He symbolized the presence of the triumphator and the relation between the victorious governor and the city of Antwerp by decorating the chariot with the Habsburg symbols. The coat of arms of the city of Antwerp relates the double eagle of the Habsburgs to the Antwerp walls and outspread hands. The symbols in the trophy: the coats of arms of Philip IV and Prince Ferdinand, the Spanish and Austrian flags, the cardinal's hat and a golden crown filled with palm branches all refer to the Spanish rulers.¹⁸⁰ The Habsburg symbols provide a framework to stage the allegory. *Providentia Augusta*, leading the chariot as the King's providence, might imply the

¹⁷⁹ Andrew Martindale, 1979, see note 107, p. 47.

¹⁸⁰ Nico van Hout, in a discussion about the oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, drew my attention to the Habsburg symbols.

foresight of Philip IV in sending his brother Ferdinand as governor to the Spanish Netherlands. In replacing the person of the victor by the Habsburg symbolism, the chariot as a vehicle of city propaganda once more symbolized Antwerp's loyalty to the House of Habsburg.

BAROQUENESS OF RUBENS'S CHARIOT

Weisbach commended highly on Rubens's design for the chariot of Kallo and praised the fact that Rubens transformed the classical triumph fit for court circles into a chariot confronting the crowds with an example of baroque splendor.¹⁸¹ Comparing the design to former Antwerp triumphal chariots, some distinctive features of Rubens's chariot might illustrate this baroque style. Caused by the dynamic movement of the car, the dramatic and direct expression of emotion of the city maidens and the triumphant joy of the *Victories*, the whole scene seems to come to life (fig. 76). Standing on the chariot, the figures seem to be about to move, while their pose and broad gestures resemble the theatre or opera style. The theatrical display of the chariot can be considered as a *Theatrum Mundi* metaphor, characterizing the theatrical aspects of the seventeenth-century visual arts. The concept refers to the action and emotion of the figures as well as to the convincing rendering of cloth and skin textures. The palette of bright colors and handling of paint might also be considered as a baroque feature contributing to intensity and immediacy. The exuberant decoration of the chariot with the scrolls, shells, festive banners, laurels and rose garlands even surpasses in its richness Rubens's reworked *Triumph of Scipio Africanus*, and his tapestry design *The Triumph of the Church*.

Comparing the illustrations of *Antverpia's* traditional chariot to the chariot of Kallo, it is obvious that the earlier examples differ from Rubens's design, with regard to the style of the design and the staging of the figures. The traditional Antwerp triumphal chariot, staged the allegorical figures in a rather schematic way, placing the figures in a row, just standing there to represent the virtue concerned and not acting out a meaningful pose. The

¹⁸¹ 'So hat der festliche Trionfo hier im Norden, wenn zwar für höfische Kreise berechnet, so doch auch auf weitere Massen mit dem barocken Pomp seiner vor aller Augen gestellten überwältigenden Prachtentfaltung ausgewirkt.' Weisbach, see note 108, p. 150.

personifications are recognizable by a name on a scroll or by their attributes. Comparing the personifications on the stages and arches for the entry of Cardinal–Infante Ferdinand in 1635 to the preceding ones, Rubens has transformed the motionless allegorical personifications into lively figures enacting the allegory as a theatre play. Three years later in designing *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* Rubens modified the concept of an ancient triumph into a festive float by mingling personifications and maritime symbolism, well known in the Antwerp pictorial tradition, and transformed them into a new lively allegory expressing the optimism about the city's revival.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Considering the tradition of depicting triumphal chariots in the Netherlands, Gossart's design of a memorial chariot at the death of King Ferdinand of Aragon was the first of its kind in the Low Countries. The triumphal float participating in the funeral procession of Charles V, partly reminiscent of the descriptions of Gossart's design, is a chariot taking the form of a ship. Two prints about the conflict between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands depict a triumphal chariot illustrating the expectation of peace. This survey of the pictorial tradition results in the conclusion that Rubens's oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* had been preceded by a concept of a triumphal chariot taking the shape of a ship as early as the sixteenth century, and that the allegorical concept of the triumphal chariot had been used before as an allegory of peace during the Eighty Years' War.

Prints in the illustrated accounts of the Antwerp *Joyous Entries* show a range of various allegorical figures as decorations of the stages and arches. Many of the Antwerp allegories had been inspired by Renaissance art that came from Italy by prints and drawings. Some figures had been passed on in the Antwerp festive tradition from the fourteenth century onwards. Rubens has obviously adapted the Antwerp pictorial tradition and he turned the conventional motifs into new inventions. The sea centaurs designed by Rubens on the top of the *Stage of Mercury*, seem to be an adaptation of the sea centaurs on the façade of the Antwerp town hall, traditionally symbolizing the interdependence of Antwerp's commerce and its passage to the sea. The mythological sea creatures, a popular subject in seventeenth century Antwerp, reappeared in the decorations of Ferdinand's *Joyous Entry* and

the design of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*. The carved aquatic decorations of the triton, the dolphin and the water symbols on the design for the chariot of Kallo, that refer to the battle on the river, can be considered as Rubens's allusion to the traditional Antwerp issue of reopening the passage to the sea. Contained in the pictorial tradition, *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* can be classified as a specific Antwerp allegory.

Reflecting on the question why Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, protagonist in the oil sketch *The Triumph of Ferdinand after the Battle of Nördlingen*, is not present in *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, the seemingly missing hero of Kallo has been found symbolized in the reference to the Habsburg motifs of the victorious allegory.

Comparing the chariot's style and the staging of the allegorical figures to the traditional prototype of the *Triumphal Chariot of Antverpia*, it has become clear that on the level of theatricality Rubens's design for the baroque *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* surpassed the precedent Antwerp triumphal chariots.

5. Aftermath: impact of the design and (re)construction of the chariot

Exploring the aftermath of Rubens's *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, this chapter touches on a mixture of topics which could be conceived as effects brought about by the oil sketch. Considering the long-term effects of Rubens's oil sketch, questions can be raised about the impact on the work of later artists, such as Jordaens's *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik* and his *As the Old sing, so the Young pipe*. Moreover, questions about the realization of Rubens's design and its impact on the Antwerp festive tradition are discussed. Finally, a description of nineteenth- and twentieth-century remakes of the chariot of Kallo, map out the impact of Rubens's oil sketch on Antwerp festivities, up to today.¹⁸²

JACOB JORDAENS'S TRIUMPH OF FREDERIK HENDRIK

Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) became an independent master in Antwerp in 1615, and was internationally the most valued Flemish painter after Rubens's death. He did not take sides in the conflict between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands and painted the *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik*, commissioned by Amalia van Solms for the *Oranjezaal* in *Huys ten Bosch* near the Hague (fig. 77). The monumental allegory on Frederik Hendrik's victories presenting mythological, allegorical and historical figures, is the centre piece of a cycle designed as a memorial after Frederik Hendrik's death. The stadholder, who had won so many battles, but had lost the one of Kallo, is presented as the triumphator bringing peace and prosperity. It is reasonable to compare Jordaens's work to that of Rubens. Jordaens more than once adapted Rubens's work as an example and in this case both works concern a triumph. In fact, Jordaens's work could have been influenced by Rubens's oil sketch of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*. The sketch, commissioned by the city council, presumably was perceptible to the public in the Antwerp town hall. Besides, Van Thulden's etching of the chariot had been published in the *Pompa Introitus* in 1641 and Jordaens could have acquired a copy of the etching. Comparing Jordaens's triumph to Rubens's design of the chariot, at

¹⁸² Describing the impact of Rubens's oil sketch, the etching of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, 1641, by Van Thulden, illustration to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* by Gevartius, can be considered as a result of Rubens's oil sketch. However, the etching is not listed here, because it has been discussed in chapter 1, concluding that the etching does not seem to be a visual record of the festive ride of the actual chariot.

first sight, the visual resemblance does not seem convincing. On the whole, the *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik* seems to be more reminiscent to Rubens's *Triumph of Henri IV* of 1627–31, and his design for *The Triumph of Ferdinand* of 1635, executed by Van den Hoecke after Rubens's design and retouched by Jordaens (figs. 79, 80).¹⁸³ Most prominent in these works is the figure of the triumphator in person, as the protagonist of the triumph. However, at a closer look, the chariot in Jordaens's triumph is more comparable to Rubens's chariot of Kallo. Rubens depicted Henry IV and Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand as ancient heroes in a quadriga after the Roman example. Jordaens depicted Frederik Hendrik seated on the high back side of a chariot, comparable with the high stern of the chariot of Kallo. Jordaens adapted the rich decorative scrolls and even the application of a carved figure at the side of the chariot, underlining the allegory. A comparable shape and similar scrolls can be observed in Jordaens's small-scale preparatory work of the *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik*, in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, which is a more sober composition, showing the chariot from a different viewpoint (fig. 78).

JACOB JORDAENS'S *AS THE OLD SING, SO THE YOUNG PIPE*

As the Old sing, so the Young pipe ('So de oude songen, so pypen de jongen') must have been a highly popular subject in Antwerp around 1638, considering the numbers of depictions of it by Jordaens. The title illustrates a Flemish proverb meaning: 'Children take after their parents'. In 1638 when Jordaens made his first version, he was unique by transposing to a monumental scale a subject matter, that before was only depicted in small-size paintings.¹⁸⁴ This family concert is a crowded composition, cut-off at the edge, with characters showing exaggerated emotional expression, all these being, according to Vlieghe, characteristics of Caravagist genre compositions.¹⁸⁵ The later versions are even more crowded and the gestures become more exuberant. Comparing the versions, it becomes clear that, in each singing company one member is holding the song text. In the Antwerp

¹⁸³ *The Triumph of Ferdinand*, 1635, 435 x 328 cm, Florence, Uffizi executed by J. van den Hoecke, retouched by Jacob Jordaens, Martin 1972, see note 4, fig. 41.

¹⁸⁴ Jacob Jordaens, *As the Old sing, so the Young pipe*, 192 x 120 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

¹⁸⁵ Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585–1700*, New Haven 1998, p. 169.

version, this text is not readable, nor is it in the versions of *As the Old sing, so the Young pipe* in Berlin, Paris or Dresden. However, in view of the present study, it is interesting that in other versions, the wrapped sheet reveals some words indicating the title of a song.¹⁸⁶ A text with the words: 'Een Nieu Liedeken'(A New Song) can be noticed in the Valenciennes work (fig. 83). More interesting are the two versions that explicitly refer to a song about the battle of Kallo. The one in Ottawa reveals the words: 'Een Nieu Liedeken van Callo – Die Geusen' (A New Song of Kallo – The Geusen) (figs. 81, 82).¹⁸⁷ The wrapped sheet on the version in a Belgian private collection, also shows the words: 'Een Nieu Liedeken van Callo' (A New Song of Kallo) (fig. 84). Based on the text of the song sheet and on account of the date of the battle in June 1638, these two works have been dated around 1638.¹⁸⁸

The popular poets quickly responded to the victory, according to Sabbe, pointing at an anonymous poem as a comic dialogue between a Dutch citizen and a skipper about the news of the battle of Kallo.¹⁸⁹ Another example of the victory's popularity is an illustrated pamphlet that published two songs about the victory of Kallo, illustrated by a drawn plan of the battle field and the fortresses. The songs are titled: *Een nieuw Liedeken van Calloy/ ende Verbroeck* and *Nieu kluchtigh Liedeken van den Geusen Haes op uyt Calloy*. These might very well be the songs on the sheet of Jordaens's paintings.¹⁹⁰ Coming back to Rubens's oil sketch, it is clear that no visual relation can be made with Jordaens's paintings depicting the song title 'Een Nieu Liedeken van Callo'. In spite of this, they share with one another the same historical context, and somehow they reflect the Antwerp euphoria as a result of the victory of Kallo.

¹⁸⁶ I'm very much indebted to mr. Michel Ceuterick, Asper, for placing at my disposal a detail image of the version of *As the Old sing, so the Young pipe* in a private collection and a copy of the pamphlet of the songs of Kallo from the Ghent University archive.

¹⁸⁷ The word 'Geusen' in the Ottawa-version refers to the enemy, it was a nick name of the Dutch rebels.

¹⁸⁸ M. Rooses: *Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Antwerp, 1906, p. 81.

¹⁸⁹ *Den Hollandschen Cael-af van Callo, T'saemenspraeck tusschen eenen Hollandtschen Borgher ende Schipper* Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer*, Antwerp/Den Haag 1933, p. 387.

¹⁹⁰ The verso of the pamphlet is an image of a merry company at a round dinner table in a garden, accompanied by female musicians. The recto of the pamphlet consists of three songs: the first one is about the *Prodigal Son*, illustrated by a drawing of the son returning to his father's house, and two songs about the victory of Kallo, *Een nieuw Liedeken van Calloy/ ende Verbroeck* and *Nieu kluchtigh Liedeken van den Geusen Haes op uyt Calloy*. Ghent University Archive, ACC 22150.

CONSTRUCTION OF A CHARIOT AFTER RUBENS' S DESIGN

Art historical literature about *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, describes that the chariot after Rubens's design rode in the annual procession, the so-called *Ommegang* in 1638.¹⁹¹ In the limited time allotted to my research, this statement could not be confirmed by documents in the files of city accounts, magistrate reports and city chronicles of the Antwerp archive.¹⁹² However, the personal archival research in the city archive lead to the discovery of an unpublished seventeenth-century document 'Ordre van den Ommeganck', prescribing the stage-management of an Antwerp *Ommegang* procession on the central market place.¹⁹³ The manuscript, presented in the second chapter of the present study, describes step-by-step, a festive *Ommegang* event, presumably similar to the *Ommegang* parade for which Rubens designed the chariot of Kallo.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the *Ommegang* has been depicted in a number of Antwerp paintings. The works by Alexander Van Bredael (1663–1720), Gasper Bouttats (1640–ca.1695), Alexander Casteels (1635–1681/82), a painting monogrammed F.V.R., two unsigned ones and a nineteenth-century copy, either refer to the 1685 and 1697

¹⁹¹ 'The float, built and decorated on the basis of this sketch, became part of the annual procession (*Ommegang*) of Antwerp. Held 1980, see note 5, p.389. and Prims 1949.

¹⁹² Atwerp city archive. Search: Stadsrekeningen; Ancien regime van de Stad Antwerpen; Stadsbestuur; Financiën, Archief van de Rekenkamer; Stadsrekening 1638: R 2086; Stadsrekening 1640/41/1: R 2087; Stadsrekening Domeinen 1638 – 1639 R 83; Stadsrekening Domeinen 1639 – 1640 R 84. Search: Magistraatsboeken 1637–1638: PK# 1697; Registers van Ontvangen brieven 1633–1640 PK #291; Collegiale resolutieboeken 1636–1640: PK# 517; Collegiale aktenboeken 1637–1639: PK# 581; Gebodsboeken 1626–1644 PK #920.

Search: Stadskronieken; Ancien regime van de Stad Antwerpen; Stadsbestuur; Charters en autografen; Bestuursdocumenten; Kronijken; Oudheden, 1510–1643: PK# 113; Nederlands memoriaalboek, 1230–1793: PK# 122; Kronijk van Bertrijn, 0–1776: PK# 130; Annalen van Antwerpen door J.P. Cuylen, 0–1789: PK# 132; Annalen van de Nederlanden, 0–1748: PK# 133; Dagboek van Antwerpen door Frans van Boghout: PK# 3435; dl 1: Reisverhaal naar Wenen + Annalen 1561–1740: PK# 120; and F.Prims, De kronijken van Antwerpen, in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2de reeks, dl. 1, 1926, p. 25–36. (Antwerp *Felix Archive*; consulted October 2010)

¹⁹³ Antwerp city archive; Ancien regime van de Stad Antwerpen; file PK # 1644, 'Ommegangen en Processies', the document titled 'Ordre van den Ommeganck'. The abstract of the document has been incorporated in chapter 2 of the present thesis and the transcription of the document is in the appendix.

processions, or are presumably to be situated in the late seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴ In search of visual sources referring to the construction of a triumphal chariot after Rubens's design, they appear to be a conceivable source of information to identify the various carriages riding in the city's procession. Alexander Van Bredael's *Cortège á Anvers, 1697*, or *The Grootemarkt and the Ommegang*, displays a festive *Ommegang* procession on the Antwerp central market place (fig. 85).¹⁹⁵ The allegorical chariot in the foreground is the *Triumphal Chariot of the Spanish Monarchy* in honor of the sovereign, according to the inscription MONARCI-D SPANIEN. The chariot is decorated with enormous banners and a crowned person rises high above the seven female figures, representing the cardinal and the religious virtues: Justitia, Prudentia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, Faith, Hope and Charitas. The *Camel*, the *Inferno*, a piper, a comedian, a pancake baker and the festive crowd give an impression of the cheerful atmosphere of the popular festival. A similar painting of the same festivity, *Fête traditionnelle á Anvers, or Traditional Festivity in Antwerp, 1697*, by Van Bredael presents among others the *Ship*, the *Whale* spouting water, the *Dolphin*, the *Elephant* and the *Mount Parnassus* (fig. 86).

Observing the paintings it is obvious that many *Ommegang* cars have reappear in the subsequent parades. Contrary to what can be expected, the careful reading of the *Ommegang* paintings did not present an image of the chariot of Kallo. However, it is remarkable that the paintings seem to be the visual representation of the seventeenth-century manuscript prescribing the scenography of the *Ommegang* that was discussed

¹⁹⁴ Gasper Boutats, *De Meir met den Ommegang*, 1684, etching, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, in: Deelen 1930 (the triumphal chariot resembles the one in Van Bredael's procession painting); Alexander Van Bredael, *Cortège á Anvers, 1697*, oil on canvas, 106x136, Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille, (P195); Alexander Van Bredael, *Fête traditionnelle á Anvers, 1697*, oil on canvas, 106x136, Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille, (P195); Alexander Casteels, *De Ommegang op de Meir*, 1665- 1682 or 1600-1699, MAS/Volkskunde Museum, Antwerp (the painting is not dated, but the date of the *Ommegang* can be established as 1685 on account of the the copy by De la Montagne); F.V.R., *Ommegang op de Meir*, 1600 - 1699, MAS/Volkskunde Museum, Antwerp; *De Antwerpse Ommegang op de Grote Markt*, 1650 - 1699, Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerp; Emile Pierre de la Montagne, *Ommegang in 1685*, 1912, Antwerp Town Hall.

¹⁹⁵ Alexander van Bredael, *Cortège á Anvers, 1697*, oil on canvas, Musée de l'Hospice, Lille (in: *Regard sur La Procession de Lille et Cortège a Anvers*, Cordonnier, Aude, Lille, 1995, p. 9 and *Iconographie van Antwerpen*, Ary J. J. Delen, Brussels, 1930.)

above. Moreover, by matching the written and the visual records, our picture of seventeenth-century Antwerp ceremonies is amplified.

LATER RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE TRIUMPHAL CHARIOT

As far as known, a reconstruction of the triumphal chariot of Kallo after Rubens's design was made for the festive parade of the Rubens remembrance year in 1877 (figs. 87, 88). The etching of the reconstruction shows that Rubens's design had been transformed. The mast as a trophy had been replaced by a short flagpole, one of the banners decorated with a palette. The city maiden *Antverpia* had been replaced to the stern of the ship-chariot and in the centre had been placed four men, seemingly painters, one of them holding a palet. The figure of *Providentia Augusta*, derived from Rubens's design, was guiding the chariot. This chariot was used again on the occasion of the Antwerp *Ommegang* in 1958. The sculptor Van Esbroeck restored the carved decorations of the nineteenth-century wooden reconstruction.¹⁹⁶ New restoration plans were made on the occasion of the Rubens-year 1977. However, the chariot, stored in the Antwerp city depot, turned out to be badly preserved. No more than the old undercarriage and the wheels have been reused in reconstructing the triumphal chariot of Kallo in 1977.¹⁹⁷ The sculptor Mariette Coppens modeled, after Rubens's design, the allegorical figures of *Providentia Augusta*, the *Victories* and the carved decorations. The new figures were created in polyester and replaced the presumably staged live persons of the original design (figs. 89–92). The remake of the *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* was placed before the Royal Museum of Fine Arts during the 1977 Rubens exhibition and was presented in the village of Kallo at the festivities celebrating the eight-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the village in 1979.¹⁹⁸ The 1977 reconstruction of Rubens's design has become part of a festive tradition of Wilrijk, a village

¹⁹⁶ Due to the construction of the tram lines in the Antwerp city center, the last traditional *Ommegang* procession directed at the *Grote Markt* took place in 1959. A collection of drawings of the subjects of the *Ommegang* in 1959 is in the archive of the MAS, the Volkskunde Museum, Antwerp.

¹⁹⁷ www.rubensonline.be and *Rubensjaar 1977*, and *Herinneringsalbum*, Tijdschrift van de stad Antwerpen, extra nummer, 1977.

¹⁹⁸ Research in the Antwerp city archive, Antwerp provided some information about the twentieth-century reconstruction: the files MA #CBSA 10 en MA#52937 about insurance and transport of the Triumphal Chariot from Antwerp to Kallo. The insured capital amounted 10.000.000 BF.

in the suburban district of Antwerp. The remake of the triumphal chariot did ride several times in a procession named the *Geitenstoet*, or the *Goats Procession*, recently on September 19, 2010.¹⁹⁹ It is most remarkable that the traditional themes of the *Ommegang* cars described in this study, such as the *Giant*, the *Whale*, the *Dolphins*, the *Maiden's Chariot* and the *Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* still participate in this procession, illustrating the continuity of a rich Antwerp festive tradition.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century reconstructions of Rubens's design do not provide information about the construction of a chariot around 1638 or its participation in the annual procession. Neither do the consulted archival sources, nor the seventeenth-century *Ommegang* paintings. This, however, does not result in the conclusion that the chariot has never been constructed, or that the design was an imagery allegory, comparable to Dürer's chariot designed for the paper triumph of Maximilian. The intention of Rubens's design, might provide the key to a plausible interpretation. The allegory of Kallo more or less announced the restoration of the Antwerp economic life. The illusion was shattered as a result of the Peace of Munster and the theme of the chariot must have lost its meaning. If the chariot did ride in the *Ommegang*, its place presumably has been in the centre part of the procession, the place of the carriages staging political issues.²⁰⁰ Current themes had to be renewed, sometimes every year. It might very well have been the case, that in the course of time and influenced by new political developments, the chariot was either dismantled or transformed into a more current allegorical chariot, such as the *Chariot of the Spanish Monarchy*, perceptible in Van Bredael's late seventeenth-century depictions of the Antwerp *Ommegang*.

¹⁹⁹ The name *Geitestoet* or *Goat's procession* does not refer so much to goats, but to a political conflict between the catholic and liberal party in the council elections of 1895 in Wilrijk. The Catholics were called *goat's heads* in this dispute. The *Geitestoet* rode out in 1965, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, and the procession is supposed to be continued every five years.

²⁰⁰ Joukes 1990, see note 75, p. 146 and p. 167.

Conclusion

Rubens's oil sketch of *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo* is related to the historical context of the Eighty Years' War and to the Antwerp tradition of building festive floats for *Ommegangen* and *Joyous Entries*. The blockade of the river Scheldt caused the economic decline of the city of Antwerp and the victory of Kallo evoked the hope for peace and restoration of the city's commerce. The city magistrate commissioned a festive float celebrating the victory, as a tribute to the governor and as an expression of city propaganda. The chariot was designed to ride in the Antwerp *Ommegang*, a procession that traditionally staged partly religious and partly secular themes.

Some iconographic parallels can be found comparing the design for the chariot to the the city decorations of the *Joyous Entry* of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, 1635, for instance presenting allegories about the governor's heroic deeds and his descent from the House of Habsburg. Moreover, a special relation can be established between Rubens's *Mercury leaving Antwerp*, the central panel of *The Stage of Mercury*, and *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*; the first one visualizing the negative consequences of the blockade of the river Scheldt, the second one celebrating the victory over the Dutch troops, defeated on the same river. The putto on a dolphin, decorating the chariot, alludes to the dominance on the sea and the triton blowing his conch at the backside announces the military victory on the river Scheldt. These maritime motifs connect the design to the Antwerp tradition of depicting sea creatures, symbolizing the city's relation to the sea. The influence of the Antwerp visual culture can be illustrated in Rubens's depiction of the city maiden *Antverpia* as well. The traditional role of *Antverpia*, welcoming a new sovereign in a ceremony establishing the city's rights, and, in reverse, representing the city's loyalty to the new governor, seems to be resumed in *Antverpia's* gesture of welcome, stretching out her hands while she is riding on the chariot. Allegorical figures personifying the virtues were known in seventeenth-century Antwerp and had appeared in former city decorations. However, Rubens transformed the company of *Victories*, *Fama* and the personifications of virtues into new inventions. Combining his own designs of allegorical figures and his knowledge of Antiquity with the legacy of the Antwerp pictorial tradition, Rubens reinterpreted the ancient concept of the

triumphal chariot, transforming it into a festive float staging an allegory of the Antwerp victory.

In the limited scope of this study some questions could not be answered and new questions have been raised. The pictorial tradition of the seventeenth century and the iconographic principles of Rubens's invention have been described, however the study did not include the tradition after 1700. New research might focus on the dissemination of Van Thulden's print after Rubens's triumphal chariot in Gevartius' *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* and on Rubens's role as the inventor of a new, more baroque style of procession floats in the Netherlands.

Refocusing on the oil sketch *The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo*, more detailed questions raise about the meaning of the wreath of roses decorating both *Antverpia's* mural crown and the Antwerp coat of arms placed at the stern of the ship-chariot. Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore Antwerp's relation to the Holy Virgin to whom the victory was assigned and the significance of the wreath of roses in relation to the rosary as a Habsburg devotion.

Finally, one might further research the parallels observed between Dürer's *Great Triumphal Car* and Rubens's chariot. They might provide new research questions about the dissemination of the copies after Dürer's woodcuts and about Rubens having seen them or not.

To conclude, in light of local and current as well as foreign and earlier iconographic traditions, Rubens's design for a triumphal chariot can be characterized as a new invention, influenced by the concept of the ancient triumph and its revival during the Renaissance, and partly rooted in the Antwerp pictorial tradition.

Appendix

Undated, presumably seventeenth-century handwriting – ‘Ordre van den Ommeganck’; a scenography staging the *Ommegang* cars for a parade at the Antwerp central marketplace.

Ordre van den Ommeganck (transcription)

p.1

Eerst den Timballiers en Trompetters

Ten 10 uren precies sal uijt reijden

het Groot Schip, het volght met de

Cleijne Schipkens ende sigh posteren

tot aen het eijnde van de hooghstraet,

aldaer verwachtende de bijwesentheit

van den Prins.

Den wallevis sal immediatelijck

volghen sigh oock posterende in de

hooghstraet met omtrent 50 stappen

achter het Schip, alwaer de Dolfijn:

: tiens oock sullen volghen:

Alsdan den Zeewaghen, die sigh

In de hooghstraet achter den walle:

: vis oock sal in ordine setten

[The handwriting shows some crossings out here, obviously the sequence of the cars have been changed.]

p.2

Voorrijdende 3 met Walt horens

Ten 1 den Maeghden waghden

Den Ste Michils waghden

Den Pharnasse bergh sigh alle

rangerende in ordine ut supra

Alsdan Den Reus gevolght

Van den Kemel ende Leeuw

daer naer den Reuskens waegen

Eijndelijck Den Elephant

[In the margin is the text:

De trompetters

sullen blijven

staen onder

de puije ende aldaer

gedurig blaesen.]

Voor eerst so aenstonts Den Prins

opden Raedhuysen sal wesen geplaceert

Sal het groot Schip met de cleijne

Komen tot recht onder de groote puije

Van waer het selve alsdan de geheele

merckt door sal laveren

T' selve sal oock doen den walvis

p.3

Ende Zeewaegen dewelcke alle drij

laverende door malkanderen best doenlijck

sullen cruijssen. In der voegen nochtans

dat sij te midden van de merckt sullen
blijven ten eijnde de andere waegens
rondts omme hunnen tour konnen doen.
Den Maegden waghē avanceert voor de
puije ende naer een wijnigh aldaer
gestaen te hebben, rijdt voort nevens
de Staete camer, de meersch camer
Sigh aenstonts keerende naer de maelde:
rij straet, ende alsoo nevens de huijsen
wederom tot voor de puije
Desen waghē wort alsoo van alles
de andere stucken gevolght, nochtans
In soo danigh order ende distantie
dat de geheele merckt rondsom beset
sij, mochte de selve aen d'een sijde
met stucken opgecropt ende den
d'ander sijde ledigh staet,
waer voren de aenleijders principalijc
moeten sorgen.

[In the margin is the text:

nota

tobben te stellen

op de plette

vant stadhuijs.]

p. 4

Men moet sorgen dat bij den Parnassus
bergh, staende voor de puije, geen gebreck
van water en is, mitsgaders oock bij

den wallevis laverende over de merckt.

Naer dien het spectacel alsoo enigen tijdt
gesien sal wesen sal het Schip met
walvis en Seewaghen kunnen wegh
avanceren sich nergens meer onthou:
:dende, dan bij den aanrijder geseijt sal worden:
alsdan sullen de andere waghens
alles gelijck hunnen ronde vervolghen
dat den maegde waghens gekomen
sijnde onder de meersch camer, alsoo recht
soor sijnen wegh sil vervolghen den
welcken van alles de andere alsoo in
ordine sal worden gevolght
In deser voegen sullen alle de stucken
als in eenen ronden cirkel sich twee:
:mael voor den prins verthoonen.

Ordre van den Ommeganck (translation)

Order of the Ommeganck

p.1

First the Cymbal and Trumpet players

At ten o'clock exactly will ride

the Big Ship, followed by the

Small Ships and placing themselves

at the end of the hooghstraat,

and there anticipating the presence

of the Prince.

The whale will follow immediately

placing itself also in the

hooghstraet about 50 steps

behind the Ship, where the little Dolphins

also will follow:

Then the Sea chariot, that will

be placing itself also in the order

in the hooghstraat behind the whale

p.2

Riding in front with 3 forest horns

First de Maiden's car

The St. Michaels's car

The Mount Parnassus all

ranging themselves in order as above

Then The Giant followed

By the Camel and the Lion

after that the Small Giants' car

At last The Elephant

[In the margin is the text:

The trumpet

players will

stand still

under the façade and there they

keep on blowing.]

At the moment that the Prince

Will be placed at the Town Hall

The big Ship with the small ones

Will come right under the big façade

From where it then will navigate

All over the marketplace

Which will also do the whale

p.3

And the Sea chariot which all three

navigating one after another as good as

they can do so that

they will stay at the middle of the market

place so that the other cars

can go around in a circle.

The Maiden's car advances before the

façade, and after standing there

for a while, drives on next to

the Staete camer, the meersch camer

then turning itself to the maelderij

street and therefore next to the houses
again till the front of the façade.
This car will be followed by all
the other pieces, however,
In such order and distance
that all of the marketplace is occupied,
be it that if one side
is crammed with pieces and the
other side is empty,
for which the supervisors principally
must take care.

[In the margin is the text:
take care
to put tubs
on the steps
of the town hall.]

p. 4

One has to take care that near the Mount
Parnassus, standing in front of the façade,
there is no lack of water and is also near the
whale navigating over the marketplace.

After the scene has thus been observed for
some time the Ship with the whale and the
Sea chariot can move away
standing nowhere except
where the director will say

then the other cars
will all together continue their tour
that the maiden's car having reached
under the meersch camer, also
will continue his tour
straight ahead
which by all the others also in
order will be continued
in this way all the pieces will
as in one round circle present
themselves two times before the prince.

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