

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART XVI

THE DECORATIONS
FOR THE
POMPA INTROITUS FERDINANDI

JOHN RUPERT MARTIN



ARCADE

CORPUS RUBENIANUM LUDWIG BURCHARD

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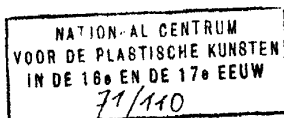
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THE DECORATIONS
FOR THE
POMPA INTROITUS FERDINANDI



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ABBREVIATIONS

LITERATURE:

Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger – Robert Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien*, Vienna – Leipzig, 1927.

Alle de Triumph-wercken – Corte Wilegginghen van alle de Triumph-wercken ghemaect ende ghestelt ter eeren den Doorluchtichsten Prince Cardinael Ferdinandus Infante van Hisp. op sijn blijde incomste binnen de Stadt van Antwerpen den 17. April 1635. Overgeset door H. M. Hub. Neeffs Priester, Antwerp, [1635].

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Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel – *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel vanden gheheelen Triumph-wegh ghemaect ende ghestelt ter eeren des Doorluchtichsten Prince Cardinael Ferdinandus Infante van Hispanien op sijn blijde incomste binnen de Stadt van Antwerpen den 17. April 1635.*

Mitsgaders van alle het gene schrijvens weerdich ghepasseert is, ter wijlen den Prince Cardinael t' Antwerpen heeft gheweest, Antwerp, [1635].

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I was first introduced to Ludwig Burchard's documentation of Rubens while preparing the volume on "The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp". Although Burchard had left no publishable text on this work, the completeness of his notes plainly indicated that the Jesuit ceiling would have been one of the first parts of the catalogue that he intended to write.

Burchard's documentation of the Triumphal Entry of Ferdinand proved, surprisingly, to be somewhat less copious; he had not, it seemed, been able to bring his notes on this work into final shape. Nevertheless, I must make it clear that the opportunity to consult the Burchard files was a profitable and satisfying experience: I discovered, as I had expected, that the individual subjects were arranged in an orderly and systematic fashion, that the provenance of the paintings and oil sketches had been carefully traced, and that there were many cogent observations on points of style and iconography. As in other volumes of this series, the mention of Burchard's name signifies that the statement or opinion cited has been taken from his notes. On occasion, as will be seen, I have found myself at variance with him; in these few instances I have tried to set forth as clearly as possible both Burchard's arguments and my reasons for disagreeing with them.

The core of this book is the lengthy third chapter, in which the street decorations are described in detail. Here I have followed the method used by Max Rooses in his account of the Joyous Entry, which is to combine the narrative of the procession with the "catalogue raisonné". The iconography of the decorations is also dealt with in this chapter.

I ought perhaps to point out that in describing the works made for the Entry (but not elsewhere) I have consistently used the terms "Belgium", "the Belgians" etc., which are admittedly incorrect. My reason has been not merely to avoid such clumsy circumlocutions as "the Southern Netherlands", but rather to preserve something of the flavour of Gevartius's Latin, which abounds with references to *Belgium*, *Belgae* and *Belgica*.

My chief obligations are to friends and colleagues in Belgium. Roger d'Hulst, who first discussed the problems of this book with me, has continued throughout the writing of it to give helpful advice and encouragement. To Frans Baudouin I am indebted for enlarging my understanding of the historical cir-

cumstances of the Entry and for directing me to important literature that would otherwise have escaped my notice; it was from him, too, that I learned of the existence of the surviving fragment of the Arch of Philip. For permission to examine the documents relating to the Entry I have to thank Dr. J. Van Roey, Archivist of the City of Antwerp. At the Rubenianum I was fortunate to have the expert aid of Hans Vlieghe and Nora De Poorter, who worked with me for long hours on these papers. Above all, I must express my gratitude to Carl Van de Velde, who not only helped me in countless ways during the preparation and composition of the book but has also, through his painstaking reading of the text, saved me from a number of egregious errors.

Julius Held generously shared with me his opinion of certain pieces about which I felt some doubts. While studying the oil sketches at the Hermitage, I was given every assistance by Y. Kuznetsov, I. V. Linnik and M. Varshavskaya. Oliver Millar kindly provided me with information concerning the battle picture at Hampton Court and the portraits discovered by him at Blenheim.

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Mrs. Ellen Oelsner gave me valuable assistance in the early stages of my research. The photographic reconstruction of the Arch of Philip is the work of Leonard Kane. The task of typing the manuscript was carried out with unflinching good humour by Mrs. Jane T. Sloan.

John Rupert Martin

INTRODUCTION

In 1634 it might have appeared that Rubens, now aging and no longer in the best of health, was about to retire from active life in order to enjoy a quieter existence with his wife and children. He had entirely given up the diplomatic activity which he had earlier undertaken at the request of the Infanta Isabella; and it would have been only natural if, having just completed the great canvases for the Whitehall ceiling, he had decided to rest on his laurels. Yet in November of that year, when the city of Antwerp invited Ferdinand of Austria, the new governor of the Spanish Netherlands, to make his solemn entry into the city, Rubens not only consented to take on the task of designing the street decorations but threw himself into the project with all his accustomed energy and enthusiasm.

He might, it is true, have carried it off with relatively little effort. For the magistrates, torn between the desire to flatter the new governor and the need to make him aware of the impoverished state of the city, initially had in mind a rather modest programme of decorations. But Rubens, his imagination fired by the opportunity to build large-scale festival architecture, was not to be satisfied with anything less than a grand show and, having persuaded the municipal authorities to approve his plans, succeeded in creating what was beyond doubt the most splendid of all princely pageants.

The themes with which the artist had to deal were, to be sure, common enough. But we have only to compare Rubens's ideas for the Temple of Janus (Fig. 83) or the Stage of Mercury (Fig. 93) with earlier conceptions of this sort (cf. Figs. 80, 90 and 91) to see how he transformed the whole apparatus of the Joyous Entry, discarding its quaint and laboured conceits and breathing new life and vigour into its stock allegories.

Rubens was not deterred by the knowledge that his triumphal arches and stages would stand for only a short time. The Joyous Entry, like the modern International Exposition, was a temporary spectacle, built to be wondered at and then dismantled. As it happens, even some of the "permanent" landmarks that played a part in the ceremony have disappeared. The Keizerspoort, where the prince was welcomed by the burgomaster, and St. Michael's Abbey, where the parade ended, were long ago torn down. Yet it is still possible to trace the route of the procession through the streets of Antwerp, beginning at the Leopoldplein (which is about where the Keizerspoort stood) and ending in the

Kloosterstraat near the corner of the Korte Vlierstraat (which is not far from the site of the entrance to St. Michael's Abbey). This tour through the old town can be done on foot, at a comfortable pace, in just under an hour. Prince Ferdinand, who was on horseback, took more than twice that long; but it must be remembered that he started at the Citadel and that his journey was frequently interrupted because he was obliged to listen to several solemn harangues, to stop briefly at each and every work, and to pay a visit to the Cathedral.

I. ANTWERP AND THE CARDINAL-INFANTE

One of the disastrous consequences of the war between Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands was the decline of Antwerp as a commercial centre. The closing of the mouth of the Scheldt by the Dutch put an end to the maritime trade that had made the city one of the greatest ports of Europe. The history of Antwerp during the first half of the seventeenth century is in large part a chronicle of the persistent though unavailing efforts of her leading citizens to regain the freedom of the Scheldt. ¹ At times it appeared that their hopes might be realized, as when the negotiations were begun at The Hague which led to the proclamation of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621). On this occasion the city of Antwerp sent a request to the Marquis Spinola, head of the delegation from the Spanish Netherlands, asking that he should "avoir en favorable recommandation l'ancien traficq et commerce, afin que rien ne soit compris qui puisse déroguer ou faire préjudice à la liberté d'iceluy, comme l'unicq maintien du pays et de ceste ville". ² But the hopes thus raised were quickly dashed to the ground. The Hollanders, it soon became evident, had no intention of allowing Antwerp to recover her former prosperity.

The feelings of bitterness and disappointment resulting from the failure to secure free passage to and from the sea were intensified by the odious system of *licenten*—the tolls imposed on those who engaged in trade with the Dutch. During the period of the truce, numerous memoranda urging the restoration of free trade were drawn up and dispatched to Brussels; but the Archdukes Albert and Isabella were powerless to do anything beyond offering support to the cloth industry in Antwerp. Attempts to renew the truce after its expiration in 1621 likewise proved ineffectual, and hostilities were at length resumed. The plight of Antwerp was summed up by Rubens in a letter written in 1627: "This city languishes like a consumptive body which is gradually wasting away. Every day we see the number of inhabitants decreasing, for these wretch-

¹ F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, VIII, 1, Antwerp, 1941, pp. 231-233; VIII, 2, Antwerp, 1942, pp. 269-279.

² P. Génard, *Redevoeringen en verwelkomingen der Stadspensionarissen van Antwerpen... van het jaar 1562 tot het jaar 1618*, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, VI, 1869, pp. 299, 300 (XLI).

ed people have no means of supporting themselves either by manufacture or by trade." ³

By the year 1632 there were signs that a crisis was approaching in the Southern Netherlands. The war was going badly, and there was widespread resentment against the Spanish power. Rubens, who had distinguished himself in diplomatic negotiations between Spain and England, was twice sent by the Infanta Isabella to meet Prince Frederick Henry with the object of securing a new truce. But these secret missions failed of their purpose, for the Prince of Orange, seeing that the military advantage lay with the Hollanders, was in no mood to discuss peace with a representative of Spain.

Amid growing discontent and intimations of revolt, Isabella agreed at last to convoke the States General of the Southern Netherlands. The delegates, meeting at Brussels in September 1632, promptly demanded, and were granted, authority to treat directly with the United Provinces. At this juncture, the magistrates of Antwerp, hopeful that a truce might once more be declared, sent off a petition to the Infanta. The truce of 1609, they pointed out, had not enabled Antwerp "to enjoy what formerly had been the source of her progress and prosperity, namely, free trade on the River Scheldt to the sea, without which freedom it is impossible for her to recover from the miserable state in which she now finds herself". The Infanta was therefore requested to give to the representatives of the States General "express letters charging them to have as a matter of highest priority the opening of the said river". ⁴ The negotiations, begun at Maastricht, were continued at The Hague in 1633.

One of the persons chosen to represent the States General was Jacob Edelheer, ⁵ jurist and pensionary of Antwerp, who was empowered by the city to use every possible means, including the expenditure of a large sum of money, to obtain the freedom of the Scheldt. To buttress the arguments which he intended to lay before the delegates of the United Provinces, Edelheer prepared a lengthy "historical-juridical" study of the Scheldt. He might have spared

³ *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 265 (letter to Pierre Dupuy, 28 May 1627).

⁴ F. Prims, *Jacob Edelheer en het Scheldeverraagstuk in 1632*, *Antverpiensia*, 1932, pp. 303, 304.

⁵ Jacob Edelheer (1599-1657) was appointed secretary of Antwerp in 1621 and became pensionary in 1625. He was well known in humanist circles in Holland, where his acquaintances included Constantijn Huygens and Anna Roemer Visscher (see M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Antwerp, 1927, pp. 65, 89, 90).

himself the trouble, since his subtle appeals to natural and international law went unheard.⁶ The Dutch were adamant in their refusal to open the river, for they were determined that "the whole overseas trade should not go to the harbours of the king, and peace or truce become more detrimental for Holland than war".⁷ With the death of the Infanta on 1 December 1633, diplomatic negotiations, already at a standstill, collapsed utterly.

In this sorry state of affairs, there were doubtless many persons in Antwerp who reluctantly concluded that the only hope of freeing the Scheldt lay in renewed military operations under the direction of a vigorous and resourceful commander. Since diplomacy had failed, the Hollanders must be compelled to end the war by force of arms. Providentially, there now arrived in the Southern Netherlands the youthful victor of Nördlingen—the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand—bringing with him an army of fresh troops.

Don Fernando of Austria, younger brother of King Philip IV, was born on 16 May 1609.⁸ Though he was created cardinal in 1619 and archbishop of Toledo a year later, he never became a priest. It was to be his destiny to follow the active, not the contemplative life. On the death of the Archduke Albert in 1621, his widow, the Infanta Isabella, who had ruled with him as sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands, was reduced to the position of governor representing the king of Spain. Ten years later, in 1631, it was officially announced that the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (who had earlier been selected as her successor) would go to the Netherlands to assist his aging aunt in the administration of government. As it turned out, however, Ferdinand did not arrive in Brussels until almost a year after the death of the Infanta.

Ferdinand's dual calling as prince of the church and as secular prince may be illustrated by two portraits taken of him as a young man, the one by Rubens, the other by Velázquez. Rubens painted the Infante at the time of his visit to Spain in 1628, and that portrait, the best-known version of which is in Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 307), shows the subject in the red robe and cap of a cardinal,

⁶ E. Neefs, *Les Etats Généraux de 1632. Journal du pensionnaire d'Anvers Jacques Edelbeer, membre de la députation envoyée par les Etats à La Haye, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou recueil de ses bulletins*, 4^e série, II, 1875, pp. 201–234; F. Prims, *Jacob Edelbeer, op. cit.*, pp. 302–309.

⁷ Prims, *Jacob Edelbeer, op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁸ A. Van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-Infant et la politique européenne de l'Espagne 1609–1641*, I, Louvain-Brussels, 1944.

holding a breviary in his hand and looking, it must be said, somewhat ill at ease. Velázquez made his famous full-length portrait of Ferdinand (Madrid, Prado) in 1632, just before the Infante left Madrid for Barcelona on his way to Brussels; here the prince, dressed as a hunter with dog and gun, appears in a role more congenial to his nature.

The journey to the Netherlands was to be protracted over several years by diplomatic discussions and the vicissitudes of war. It was not until April 1633 that Ferdinand sailed from Barcelona with a fleet of galleys to Genoa. He next established himself in Milan, where an army was being assembled and where he learned of the death of the Infanta Isabella. Though it was now considered imperative that he reach Brussels as soon as possible to assume the office of governor, there were further delays. During the summer of 1634 the troops recruited in Milan were successfully brought through the Alps into Germany, and early in September the Cardinal-Infante joined forces at Nördlingen with the imperial army under the nominal command of his cousin, King Ferdinand of Hungary. The arrival of the prince was well timed, for a few days later, on 6 September 1634, the combined Spanish and Austrian armies inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Swedes at the battle of Nördlingen.⁹

Fresh from his brilliant victory, the Prince-Cardinal now resumed his journey to the Netherlands, entering Brussels, where he received a hero's welcome, on 4 November 1634. Nine days later, on 13 November, the City Council of Antwerp passed a resolution that Prince Ferdinand be invited to make his Joyous Entry into that city.¹⁰ Jacob Edelheer, who a few years earlier had played so conspicuous a part in the efforts to reopen the Scheldt, was now, as pensionary of Antwerp, one of those charged with the organization of the festivities in honour of the new governor.

⁹ The Odyssey of the prince was recounted, with appropriate exaggerations, by Don Diego de Aedo y Gallart in his book, *Viaje del Infante Cardenal Don Fernando de Austria, desde 12. de Abril 1632. que salió de Madrid con su Magestad D. Felipe IV. su hermano para la ciudad de Barcelona, hasta 4. de Noviembre de 1634. que entrò en la de Bruselas*, published at Antwerp in 1635, with a title-page designed by Rubens (Fig. 5).

¹⁰ *Génard, Intrede*, vi, p. 401 (I).

II. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE JOYOUS ENTRY

The *Joyeuse Entrée* of a monarch into the principal cities of his kingdom, which became an established custom in Italy and France in the course of the sixteenth century,¹ had at an early date acquired special political significance in the Low Countries. For in these provinces, successively ruled over by the dukes of Burgundy, Charles V and the kings of Spain, the *Blijde Intrede* assumed the character of a contract between the prince and the people: the former, that is to say, in receiving from his subjects the usual oath of fidelity, was at the same time bound to affirm the traditional rights and privileges of the city.²

There were four such princely entries at Antwerp during the sixteenth century: that of Charles V in 1520, which was witnessed by Albrecht Dürer; the splendid entry of Prince Philip (later Philip II) in 1549;³ that of François, Duke of Anjou (though he can hardly be called a legitimate ruler), in 1582;⁴ and that of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, as sovereigns of the Netherlands, in 1599.⁵ On these ceremonial occasions the city was decorated with magnificent triumphal arches and other temporary spectacles set up along the streets through which the procession passed (cf. Figs. 56, 80, 90 and 91).

Although, strictly speaking, the *Blijde Intrede* was applicable only to the entry of a ruler, there were times when it was judged fitting to stage a similar reception in honour of a new governor. One such event occurred in 1594, when Archduke Ernest of Austria made his entry into Antwerp amid festivities and street decorations of the kind prepared for the advent of a sovereign prince.⁶ Since Ernest came to the Netherlands only as a representative of the

¹ W. Weisbach, *Trionfi*, Berlin, 1919; J. Chartrou, *Les Entrées solennelles et triomphantes à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1928; J. Jacquot, ed., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, I, Paris, 1956, II, *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, Paris, 1960.

² See H. G. Evers in *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 117-120; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 269-272; *Van de Velde-Vlieghe*, pp. 11-16.

³ C. Grapheus, *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi Hisp. Princ. ... apparatus*, Antwerp, 1550.

⁴ *La Joyeuse et magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur François fils de France... en sa très renommée ville d'Anvers*, Antwerp, 1582.

⁵ J. Bochius, *Historica narratio professionis et inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae, Austriae Archiducum...*, Antwerp, 1602.

⁶ J. Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae...*, Antwerp, 1595.

Spanish crown, there was no oath of allegiance and no renewal of privileges. Yet even on this occasion the Joyous Entry, affording as it did an opportunity to confirm the nature of the relationship between the governor and the city, retained something of its quality as a political instrument, especially in those decorations that took the form of an appeal to the archduke to restore the prosperity of Antwerp by reopening the Scheldt (cf. Fig. 90). It should not be forgotten that precisely the same conditions obtained in 1634-35. Despite his royal rank as Infante, Prince Ferdinand's office was merely that of governor; Philip IV, in appointing his brother to that post, retained for himself the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands. But Ferdinand enjoyed one great distinction: his entry was to take the form of a military triumph.

On the same day, 13 November 1634, that the magistrates invited the Prince-Cardinal to make his entry into Antwerp, it was agreed that the Burgomasters Robert Tucher and Jan Roose, Alderman Nicolaes Rockox, and the Pensionaries Jacob Edelheer and Ambrosius Roose should call upon the representatives of the foreign trading houses in Antwerp—Portuguese, Genoese, Milanese, English, German and others—to discuss the building of triumphal arches and other decorations.⁷ But the times were hard, and the officials found that the Portuguese were the only ones willing to go to the expense of erecting an arch—though the Fuggers of Augsburg later made a sizable contribution to enable an additional arch to be raised by the city. The Jesuits also planned to build an arch on St. Katelijne Brug near their church. Though nothing came of it, Father Jan van Dam was paid 38 guilders, 16 stivers by the city for having made “a portrait or sketch” of the proposed work.⁸ What is especially puzzling is that the Spaniards, who in previous entries had constructed grand triumphal arches in the Lange Gasthuisstraat, chose on this occasion to do nothing; the site that had traditionally been theirs was to be occupied by the Portuguese Arch.

On 27 November it was resolved that a deputation of six persons, including Edelheer and the two burgomasters, should go to Brussels to greet the new governor and arrange a satisfactory date for his entry.⁹ On their return to

⁷ *Génard, Intrede*, VI, p. 401 (II).

⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 55 (CCXVI); XIII, p. 224.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 407 (V). The Latin salutation to Prince Ferdinand was delivered by Edelheer (*Gevartius*, p. 3).

Antwerp the members of the deputation were able to report only "that the Prince-Cardinal is to come hither after the feast day of the Three Kings [6 January], without as yet knowing the precise day".¹⁰

But the month of January, it soon became evident, would not be suitable for the Cardinal-Infante. The French were already threatening Flanders, and Ferdinand found it necessary to make a hurried visit to Gravelines in order to inspect and strengthen the defences there. A journey to Bruges, the birthplace of his ancestor Philip the Fair, was followed by his Joyous Entry at Ghent, where two imposing triumphal arches had been erected in his honour.¹¹ Delays were also being experienced in Antwerp. On 28 January Secretary Philips van Valckenisse wrote to Brussels on behalf of the magistrates to explain that the work of the painters and sculptors was being held up by the severe winter weather and to request that His Highness's entry be deferred until 4 February. A few days later, having heard that Ferdinand was planning to arrive on the third, Valckenisse wrote again in some nervousness to ask for confirmation of the date.¹² But there were to be further delays. February proved to be no more convenient than January, and during March the capture of Trier from the French claimed the attention of the Cardinal-Infante.

At length it was announced that the Joyous Entry would take place on 17 April.¹³ The citizens of Antwerp were urged to comport themselves in glad but seemly fashion during the solemn procession, and strict warnings were issued against the throwing of firecrackers by children.¹⁴

From the outset, an important part in the great enterprise was played by Jan Casper Gevaerts, or Gevartius (1593-1666). A gifted scholar and humanist, he had refused the chair of history at the University of Paris in order to remain in the Southern Netherlands, and in 1621 he became Griffier, or clerk, of the city of Antwerp. Gevartius was an intimate friend of Rubens, and it was to him that the artist had entrusted the education of his son Albert when diplomatic duties obliged him to be abroad for a lengthy period of time.

The programme of subjects for the entry was initially worked out by Nico-

¹⁰ *Génard, Intrede*, VI, p. 427 (XVIII).

¹¹ *Gevartius*, pp. 3, 4. For the entry at Ghent see *Van de Velde-Vlieghe*, esp. pp. 17-62.

¹² *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 470, 471 (LVII); VII, p. 4 (LXI).

¹³ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 14, 15 (LXXXVIII-LXXXIX).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 19, 20 (CI-CII).

laes Rockox, Rubens and Gevartius. When the general plan had been approved, the magistrates commissioned Rubens to make the designs for the triumphal arches and stages and to assume responsibility for all the paintings; at the same time Gevartius was charged with the preparation of the inscriptions for these works.¹⁵ Rubens had no illusions about the difficulties of the task that confronted him. Writing to Peiresc on 18 December 1634, he said: "I find myself so encumbered with the preparations of our Triumph for the entry of the Cardinal-Infante (which will take place at the end of this month) that I have time neither to live nor to write... For the magistrates have laid upon my shoulders the entire burden of this festival, which I think would not displease you for the invention and variety of the subjects, the novelty of the designs and the aptness of their application. Perhaps one day you will see them published, adorned with the beautiful *Inscriptions and Epigrams of our Gevartius* (who sends you affectionate greetings)."¹⁶ For this gigantic task the artist eventually received 5000 guilders;¹⁷ Gevartius was paid 480 guilders.¹⁸

At a meeting of the General Council (*Breede Raedt*) held on 7 December, Jacob Edelheer laid before the three chambers (or "members", as they were called) the plans that had thus far been made:

...The officers of the magistrature, understanding that His Highness the Cardinal-Infante had resolved, as Governor General of this country, to make his entry into this city about the middle of January next, had judged it necessary to receive His Highness with such solemnities and signs of public

¹⁵ *Gevartius*, Praefatio ad lectorem (unpaged).

¹⁶ *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Génard, Intrede*, vii, p. 29 (CXXXIX); xiii, p. 225: "Aen Sr Petro Paulo Rubbens Secretaris vanden Raet van State van Syne Majesteyt de somme van vyff duysent ponden Arthoys voer twee groote stucken schilderyen die gestelt syn geweest in het tooneel by Sint-Joriskercke, het retoqueren van diversche schilderyen ende contrefeytsels in andere arken gestelt ende alle de schetsen by hem selfven gemaectt ende voer alle voerdere syne directie ende moeyten vande saecke dienende totte Incompste van Syne Conincklycke Hooch[eyt], als by acte collegiael ordonnantie ende quitantie ...V^m£."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vii, p. 29 (CXXXVIII); xiii, p. 245: "Aen Meester Caspar Gevaerts, Greffier deser stadt, twee hondert pattacons, maeckende vier hondert tachtentich ponden Arthoys, in recompense van het maken van alle de inscriptien ende carmina die gestelt syn geweest op allen de arken triumphael ende thoonneelen gedient hebbende in dincompste van Syne Hoocheyt den Prince Cardinael Infante binnen deser stadt..."

joy as had been customary on like occasions in the past. They also considered that the extraordinarily high rank of His Highness, being the only brother of His Royal Majesty our Sovereign Lord and Prince, required that he should be received with greater honour than was earlier shown in certain entries of other governors of the country. The magistrates believed, however, that the decline of the city and the general poverty of the community were so considerable that it could not be taken amiss if the large number of works previously made here for such entries were somewhat cut down and an effort were made to compensate for this reduction by the beauty and grace of the inventions and the design of the works. Consequently the magistrates proposed to have only two triumphal arches made, the one in honour of His Majesty [King Philip IV] and the other in honour of His Highness [Prince Ferdinand], with four stages in addition, serving mostly to show the present poor state of the country and of the city, and to induce His Highness to institute some remedy therefor.

Edelheer then went on to explain how the magistrates, before allowing construction of these works to begin, had consulted with the members in order to ensure that the contracts were properly drawn up and that everything was being done at the lowest possible cost to the city. There remained, lastly, the problem of finding capital for the project. The magistrates proposed to borrow the sum of 36,000 guilders (which was what they estimated would be needed) and to pay the interest by means of a tax of eight stivers on beer that had earlier been levied to meet the cost of a recent epidemic.¹⁹

But in the matter of finances, the members were not to be so easily swayed, and there was considerable resistance to the proposal that the tax on beer be continued. The ex-aldermen, who made up the first chamber, readily gave their consent; but both the second chamber, representing the heads of the citizenry and the officers of the district militia, and the third, representing the guilds of craftsmen, were reluctant to agree. It was only after prolonged discussions that the members gave their approval to this unpopular measure, as being the sole feasible way of raising the required funds.²⁰ The sum of 36,000 guilders

¹⁹ *Génard, Intrede*, vi, pp. 423-425 (xvi).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 429-472. For an account of the opposition to the tax within one of the constituent guilds of the third member, see E. Geudens, *Het Hoofdambacht der Meerseniers*, III (*Burgerdeugd*), Antwerp, 1903, pp. 142, 143.

was accordingly advanced in the form of a loan (with interest payable at 5 per cent.) by nine citizens, the largest contribution—8000 guilders—being made by Nicolaes Rockox.²¹ It was soon to be discovered, alas, that the estimate of 36,000 guilders was far too low.

Since Edelheer's report was concerned only with the works commissioned by the city, he naturally made no mention of the Arch of the Portuguese or of the Arch of the Mint, which were independently contracted for. There is, however, one surprising omission in his list of street decorations. The city, he explained, would raise two triumphal arches (the Arch of Philip and the Arch of Ferdinand) and four stages (which may be identified as the Stage of Welcome, the Stage of Isabella, the Temple of Janus and the Stage of Mercury); but he had not a word to say about what was to be the largest and most extravagant of all the decorations, the Portico of the Emperors. Yet the plans for this structure, which cannot be classified either as an arch or as a stage, were already drawn up and the contract signed before he made his report on 7 December.

By this date Rubens had completed most if not all of his designs, for it was still assumed that the *Blijde Inkomst* would take place in January. Because of their size and bulk, the master first gave his attention to the two triumphal arches, which were to be ready by 8 January and for which he invented imposing architectural façades (Figs. 16 and 67). His next task was to prepare a set of working drawings and written specifications for the guidance of the carpenters who were to build the huge wooden structures. In these matters Rubens surely found it necessary to seek the advice of skilled workmen: an entry in the *Collegiaal Aftenboeck* authorizes payment of 135 guilders to the carpenters Cornelis van den Eynde, Gaspar Vervoort and Jan Wandelaers "for the drafting and making of the conditions of the contracts".²² The clerk Gillis de Maseret received 37 guilders, 6 stivers for writing out the specifications,²³ copies of which are still preserved in the Stadsarchief (see Appendix I). How quickly these complex requirements were carried out may be deduced from the fact that the contracts for the two arches were awarded before the end of November (the Arch of Ferdinand on the twenty-fourth and the Arch of Philip on the

²¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 1-4 (LX).

²² *Ibid.*, VII, p. 105 (CCXCVII); XIII, pp. 237, 238.

²³ *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 247.

twenty-sixth). The remaining decorations, if we may judge from the dates of the contracts, were designed in the following order: the Stage of Welcome (3 December 1634); the Portico of the Emperors and the Stage of Mercury (both 5 December); the Temple of Janus (7 December); and the Stage of Isabella (10 December). These works, which—with the exception of the Portico of the Emperors—were of simpler construction than the triumphal arches, were to be finished not later than 6 January. No doubt Rubens left it to others to supervise the building of all these pieces. The architects Marten Janssens de Bisthoven and Jan van Kessel were paid 100 guilders each for their services in “expediting the works made for the entry of His Highness the Prince-Cardinal”.²⁴

When he was able to free himself from such prosaic matters as carpentry and the awarding of contracts, Rubens devoted his energies to a more congenial but even more difficult task—the decoration of the arches and stages. The method devised by the artist for the realization of his designs was both efficient and economical, for it depended on the use of the fewest possible preliminary designs. That Rubens made no preparatory drawings of the individual figure-subjects is not surprising: it was certainly not difficult for him to draw his designs in chalk directly on the prepared panels before beginning the oil sketches. But Rubens took the even more drastic step of eliminating the grisaille sketch, or *bozzetto*, which he had employed so extensively in earlier cycles such as the Jesuit ceilings and the History of Maria de' Medici. In the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal-Infante everything hinged on the coloured *modello*.

For each of the triumphal arches, including that of the Mint, Rubens prepared two oil sketches, so as to illustrate both faces of the work. These were painted on panels of uniform size, about 105 by 75 cm. (cf. Figs. 74, 101, 102 and 106). These were sufficiently large that they could be used as models not only for the architectural and ornamental members—alternative possibilities for which are more than once tried out in the sketches—, but also for the individual paintings and sculptures which were to be set into the face of the arch and for the various cut-out figures fastened at the top and sides. Rubens did not, that is to say, make separate sketches for the various component parts of the work.

²⁴ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 29, 30 (CXL, CXLI); XIII, p. 244.

For the four theatrical stages, which were to be seen only from the front, single sketches were of course sufficient. Rubens painted them on panels of square shape, varying from about 70 to 79 cm. on a side (Figs. 3, 64, 83 and 93). Like the sketches of the arches, they served as definitive models for the entire scheme of decoration. (The subsequent expansion of the Stage of Welcome necessitated the painting of two supplementary sketches [Figs. 8, 14]).

Only in the case of the Portico of the Emperors (cf. Fig. 37) did Rubens dispense with an oil sketch of the ensemble, probably because the complicated architectural design of the work could be more feasibly demonstrated by means of drawings. He did, however, paint individual grisaille sketches of the Habsburg rulers (Figs. 45-52) as models for the sculptors who were to carve the monumental statues in stone.

Rubens's task did not end with the preparation of the designs for the decorative pieces. In order to carry his ideas into effect it was necessary to muster all the available artists of Antwerp. Since Van Dyck no longer resided in the city, there was no hope of persuading him to collaborate in the project; but Rubens was able to call upon such painters as Jacob Jordaens, Cornelis de Vos, Erasmus Quellinus, Gerard Seghers, Theodoor van Thulden and many lesser figures. Some of these artists worked singly or in pairs; others formed teams consisting of four or five persons. Arrangements were made for the painters and sculptors to work in the covered galleries of the Bourse²⁵ and in the refectory of the Carmelites (the *Vrouwenbroeders*), where their presence proved to be very disturbing to the fathers studying in the library overhead.²⁶ The severe winter cold caused many difficulties: we learn, for example, that sails were put up to give some protection to the painters who had to work outdoors on the triumphal arches and stages.²⁷

The lion's share of the decoration undeniably went to the painters, but the sculptors also had a role to play in the great programme. Hans van Mildert received 3900 guilders "for making various stone figures, capitals, terms and other pieces in connection with the entry of His Highness, as well as for various drawings and for his labour in bringing all the models to large scale".²⁸

²⁵ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 56 (CCXXI).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 54, 55 (CCXV); 56 (CCXIX); 60 (CCXXXIII).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 59 (CCXXX); XIII, p. 241.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 73 (CLIII); XIII, pp. 228, 229.

Erasmus Quellinus I carved "a large term over ten feet high and other works".²⁹ Five sculptors were charged with the task of carving the twelve statues of the emperors for the Gallery on the Meir; others were employed to make "cartouches, terms, festoons and capitals" for the triumphal arches.³⁰

Since the likeness of the Cardinal-Infante was to appear repeatedly on the stages and triumphal arches, there was an urgent need to acquire a recent portrait of the new governor. It was true that Rubens had in his possession the painting of Ferdinand which he had made in Spain in 1628 (and which was to be listed in the inventory of his collection taken after his death in 1640).³¹ But that picture, having been done when the prince was only nineteen years of age, no longer offered a satisfactory resemblance. It was known, however, that Van Dyck had painted the new governor shortly after his arrival in Brussels, and an effort was accordingly made by the City Council in December 1634 to secure a copy of that work.³² But Van Dyck, it appeared, set his price too high, and as late as 13 January 1635 the magistrates were still searching for a satisfactory likeness of the Infante which could be had at a reasonable cost.³³ Their perseverance was at length rewarded: the painter and art-dealer Salomon Noveliers agreed to lend to the city for the modest sum of 24 guilders a "conterfeytsel" of the Prince-Cardinal to be used and copied by Rubens for the decorations.³⁴

Though the artists and carpenters had been instructed to finish their work early in January, they were in fact to be retained long after that time. For when it became clear that the entry would be delayed, Rubens quickly seized the opportunity to make changes and additions. The documents show that subsequent alterations were carried out in every one of the pieces built from his design. Because of the structural problems involved, only slight modifi-

²⁹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 43 (CLXXX); XIII, p. 230.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 228-230.

³¹ *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 61, No. 113: "Un pourtrait du Cardinal Infant en habit rouge, sur toile." Rubens made several replicas of this portrait, the best-known being that in Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 307).

³² *Génard, Intrede*, VI, p. 437 (XXVII). Van Dyck's portrait of the Cardinal-Infante is in the Prado in Madrid.

³³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 470 (LVI).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 256 (CCCXI). On Noveliers (Nobiliers, Nobliers) see *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 3, 4.

cations were made in the triumphal arches (though even these proved to be costly enough); several of the stages, on the other hand, which were little more than screens, underwent very extensive remodeling. It was at this same time, during the breathing-space that followed the news of the postponement, that the magistrates authorized the building of a wholly new arch: this was the Arch at St. Michael's Abbey, for which a generous subsidy was offered to the city by the commercial house of the Fuggers. The design, needless to say, was entrusted to Rubens.

It is doubtful whether, at the start, the city fathers had any notion of the numbers of craftsmen whose services would be required to finish off the decorations in accordance with Rubens's plans. Painters were hired to do marbling,³⁵ gilding and silvering,³⁶ and the colouring of coats of arms.³⁷ There were jobs for wood-workers,³⁸ stone-masons³⁹ and blacksmiths.⁴⁰ Quantities of coloured cloths were ordered⁴¹ so that flags and banners might be made;⁴² and festoons had to be provided for the arches.⁴³

While the decorations were taking shape Gevartius was not idle, for he had been given the task of inditing the numerous Latin epigraphs that were to be placed on the arches and stages. There still remain in the City Archives many of the pattern sheets on which the inscriptions were spelled so that they might be copied by the letterers.⁴⁴ These were the sheets used by Elias de Hooghe and Guiliam Wortelmans, who were paid for "the writing of gold and other letters on the triumphal arches and stages".⁴⁵

It had been recommended that the new governor should make his approach to Antwerp by water. Early on the morning of 16 April Prince Ferdinand, accompanied by Prince Thomas of Carignano and a large retinue, left Brussels

³⁵ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 223.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 42-44 (CLXXVII, CLXXXI, CLXXXII); XIII, pp. 226-228.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 14 (LXXXVII); XIII, p. 222.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 38 (CLXVI); XIII, p. 230.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 26 (CXXVIII), 33, 34 (CLI); XIII, p. 229.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 57 (CCXXII, CCXXIII), 74 (CCLV); XIII, pp. 235-237.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 46 (CXCI), 59 (CCXXXI); XIII, pp. 232, 233.

⁴² *Ibid.*, VII, p. 46 (CXCI); XIII, p. 234.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 34 (CLIII); XIII, p. 233.

⁴⁴ See Appendix II.

⁴⁵ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 41-43 (CLXXIV, CLXXIX); XIII, p. 227.

to proceed by way of Willebroek to a point of embarkation on the Rupel. A fleet of more than a hundred vessels, led by the ornately decorated ship carrying the Cardinal-Infante, sailed down the Rupel and the Scheldt to Kiel, where Ferdinand disembarked to the roar of cannon fired in his honour. He was now conducted to his quarters in the Citadel of Antwerp, from which on the following day he was to set out on his triumph.⁴⁶

It might be appropriate at this point, before we turn to the great spectacles that presented themselves to Ferdinand's gaze in the course of his entry, to dispose of a persistent myth concerning their author and inventor. There is hardly a life of Rubens in which we do not read that on the day of the *Blijde Intrede* he lay ill at home, having been stricken by gout, and that he was still confined to his bed when the prince visited him there a few days later.⁴⁷ Now, that Rubens suffered from a painful and occasionally disabling form of arthritis during his last years is an established fact; but Gevartius, who was very close to him, says nothing about his being indisposed at the time of the Solemn Entry, nor is there any hint of such a misfortune in the artist's correspondence or in contemporary accounts such as the *Triumphael Incomst*. The pathetic story that the master was at the last moment prevented by illness and exhaustion from seeing the triumphant culmination of his labours is, I believe, an invention of J. F. M. Michel (1771), to whose flights of fancy we owe so many touching but fictitious anecdotes about Rubens.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. A verso–A2 recto; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 3; *Gevartius*, p. 4.

⁴⁷ I shall limit myself to citing three of the older biographies in which this anecdote appears: A. Michiels, *Rubens et l'école d'Anvers*, Paris, 1854, pp. 176, 177; F. J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 568; E. Michel, *Rubens, his Life, his Work, and his Times* (transl. by E. Lee), London, 1899, II, p. 231. It is noteworthy, in view of the almost universal acceptance of the story of Rubens's illness, that it does not find a place in either of the monumental works of Max Rooses, (*L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1886–1892, and *Rubens, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1904).

⁴⁸ *Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, pp. 246–249. The passage deserves to be quoted in full:

“Au même tems, son Altesse Royale voulut imiter le grand Alexandre de Macédoine, qui prit plaisir à donner ses visites au célèbre Apelles de la Grèce [this comes from *Gevartius*, p. 171], à cet exemple elle honora le Chevalier RUBENS d'une pareille grâce; mais par malheur l'Apelles des Pays-Bas se trouva accablé de la goutte, même au point, qu'il ne put avoir l'honneur de faire sa cour à son Altesse Royale, à son arrivée à Anvers, de quoi même le Prince témoigna sa surprise, parce qu'il connoissoit

le Chevalier RUBENS fut particulièrement, tant quand il fut à Madrid qu'à la cour de Bruxelles, où il avoit déjà accordé plusieurs audiences, tant de cérémonie, que sur des affaires particulières, à l'exemple de sa tante de glorieuse mémoire, l'Archiduchesse Isabel.

"Son Altesse Royale fut si agréablement de l'entretien de RUBENS, qu'elle resta chez lui pendant plusieurs jours remarquable, examinant en même-tems son Panthéon, enrichi de tableaux de célèbres Peintres, de statues antiques, médailles, onix, cornalines, aghates & de grand nombre d'autres raretés.

"Le cruel accès de la peste dont RUBENS fut assailli pendant le séjour que le Prince Ferdinand fit à Arras, fut non seulement cause qu'il ne put complimenter ce Prince, ni lui faire sa cour, mais il fut privé du plaisir de voir l'érection des portiques triomphaux dont il fut l'Ingénieur & Peintre, étant absolument obligé de tenir sa chambre, ce qui le priva encore de l'honneur d'accompagner à cheval son Altesse Royale depuis la porte impériale jusqu'à l'Abbaye de S. Michel, cet accompagnement lui fut sollicité de la part du Magistrat, & accepté de son côté, préalablement à l'entrée du Prince; ce respectable Corps n'ignoroit pas que RUBENS étoit dans l'estime du Prince depuis plusieurs années, & qu'il possédoit parfaitement la langue Espagnole, pour faire les explications des allégories relatives aux ornements des portiques triomphaux & de ses peintures; mais dans place avoit été substitué le premier Bourguemaître, le Chevalier Robert Tucher."

III. POMPA INTROITUS FERDINANDI

About four o'clock on the afternoon of Tuesday, 17 April, ¹ the Prince-Cardinal left the Citadel and took his way along the south-eastern perimeter of the city towards the Keizerspoort, the massive stone gateway that had been built in 1545 on the site of the old St. Jorispoort in honour of Charles V (Fig. 1). Prince Ferdinand, who was easily distinguished by his red cloak and the white horse on which he rode, was preceded by companies of foot-soldiers and troops of cavalry and by a score of Netherlandish and Spanish noblemen. The members of his bodyguard were dressed in yellow, the colour of the prince's livery.

Before the Keizerspoort, the outer face of which had been completely painted and gilded for the occasion, ² Ferdinand was greeted by Burgomaster Robert Tucher, who bade him welcome to the city. Then, to the sound of cannon and the blare of trumpets, he crossed the bridge over the moat and passed through the gate. On the square behind the Keizerspoort stood a large gilt car, on which the Maid of Antwerp was enthroned amid a group of pretty girls, all in brilliant costumes. As the prince drew near, the young woman who played the part of *Antverpia* descended from her car and, accompanied by a boy representing the Genius of the City, presented him with a laurel wreath on a golden salver. ³ Lifting the wreath in his hands for a moment, the Cardinal-Infante replaced it on the salver and then, accompanied by Burgomaster Tucher, set out along the St. Jorispoortstraat to begin his solemn tour of the city. ⁴

¹ *Gevartius* (p. 5) gives the date according to the Roman calendar as xv. Kal. Maii, which has misled some authors into supposing that the entry took place in May.

² For the specifications describing the decoration of the Keizerspoort, see *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 11, 12 (LXXIX). The work was carried out by Abraham Grapheus (*ibid.*, p. 97 [CCLXXXI]).

³ An entry in the account book of the city treasurer records a payment to Jan van der Loecht for making the costumes of the Maid of Antwerp and the Genius (*ibid.*, XIII, p. 233).

⁴ *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. A2 recto, A2 verso; *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, pp. 3, 4; *Gevartius*, pp. 5-10.

The Stage of Welcome (Nos. 1-4a; Fig. 1, A)

This stage, the first of the temporary structures erected by the city, stood in the Mechelse Plein, behind St. Joriskerk, so as to face the procession as it made its way along St. Jorispoortstraat (Fig. 2).

There was, it appears, no single name by which the work was officially known. In the contemporary sources it is variously described as "the stage at St. Joriskerk",¹ as "the Stage of Good Hope" (from the prominent statue of *Bona Spes* under the arch),² and as "*Adventus Principis*" (from the central picture representing *The Arrival of the Prince*).³ Gevartius invents a more imposing title: "The Rejoicing over the Arrival of the Most Serene Prince" (*Adventus Serenissimi Principis Gratulatio*). In the modern literature the work is generally designated "the Stage of Welcome", and I have followed this usage, chiefly in order to preserve the distinction between the work as a whole and the picture showing *The Advent of the Prince*.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 8, 9, 29 etc.

² *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. A2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. A2 verso.

³ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 221: "het toonneel ofte pegma genaempt *Adventus Principis vel bona spes*."

1. THE STAGE OF WELCOME

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 2; *V.S.*, p. 224, No. 27, 6).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. A2 verso-A4 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. A2 verso-A4 recto; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 4; *Gevartius*, pp. 11-18; *Bellori*, pp. 236, 237; *Rooses*, III, p. 295, No. 772; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 375-379; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 84, 128; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 24, 25; *Varsbauskaya*, pp. 281, 288, 289.

As he entered the Mechelse Plein, Prince Ferdinand saw before him a huge triptych over twenty-two metres in height and only a little less in width (Fig. 2).¹ Although it gave the impression of a massive stone monument, the stage was a mere screen – a timber framework covered with architectural details of carved and painted wood, into which were inserted three large canvases. The principal sections were defined by gilded Ionic pilasters standing upon

a high basement. The middle unit consisted of a portico crowned by a heavy arch, which in turn supported two segments of a curved, broken pediment with scrolls and festoons of fruit. The open space under the arch was bridged by a balustraded platform bearing the statue of Good Hope. The lower part of the portico (that is to say the part beneath the balustrade) presented the illusion of a passageway temporarily closed by a tapestry suspended between the piers and by an impromptu stage, hung with cloth, upon which a troop of children appeared to romp. The two wings at the sides, each containing a large painting, were placed at an angle so that the observer, by taking a position in the middle, could see all three sections of the triptych without difficulty. A platform with a balustrade, like that seen under the central arch, extended along the top of the laterals; here, we may imagine, trumpeters and musicians were stationed to greet the prince. A profusion of allegorical figures, banners, emblematic devices and other ornaments gave the work a varied and animated silhouette.

It was agreed that, when the time came for this and other festive structures to be dismantled, the contractor should keep the timber used for the framework but that all the painted woodwork used as facing should remain the property of the city (see Appendix I, p. 230 [8]). In addition to the purely architectural members such as columns, pilasters, capitals, cornices and the like (which might be re-used on a later occasion), this material was understood to include the "cut-outs", i.e. the various figures and ornaments painted on board and cut along the contours with a fret-saw, which are referred to in the documents as *schrooyersels* (*schorresels*, *schroeyercelen*, etc.). The principal cut-outs on the Stage of Welcome were the following: the telamones seated on griffons at either side, the group of romping children under the central picture, the two Fames and the palm tree over the arch, and the several putti with banners and coats of arms on the balustrades. The banners themselves were of course real: in the *Collegiaal Aftenboeck* payments are authorized both for the cloth and for the making of "various flags, banderoles, pennants etc. for the decoration of all the arches and stages".² The festoons of fruit, flowers and leaves which hung from the palm tree and from the scrolls above the arch were likewise specially made for the occasion.³

The most prominent of the painted cut-outs is the great palm tree that stands at the summit of the arch.⁴ Although it bears the globe of the world in its branches, the tree is not crushed; hence the motto inscribed on the scroll:

SVMIT DE PONDERE VIRES (It takes its strength from the weight). Gevartius explains, by a quotation from Aulus Gellius (III, 6), that the palm tree does not yield to pressure but only rises higher when burdens are placed on it. It is for this reason, he says, that it serves as an emblem of the Habsburg house, which grows more powerful the more it comes under attack. The same imagery was used by Rubens in his design of the title-page for Aedo y Gallart's *El memorable y glorioso viaje del Infante Cardenal D. Fernando de Austria* (1635), which shows Ferdinand's coat of arms sustained by two palm trees (Fig. 5); Rubens's own explanation of this symbolism reads as follows: "The two palm trees supporting the escutcheon designate victory and strength; they hold it aloft in spite of its weight." ⁵

The two winged Fames who sit on either side of the palm tree each carry two trumpets with which to sound the glory of the prince. The figure at the right is accompanied by the imperial eagle, spreading its wings and calling out triumphantly (as Gevartius remarks) because of the victory of Nördlingen; on the opposite side is the lion of Belgium, rendered submissive by the advent of the Cardinal-Infante. The coat of arms of King Philip IV, supported by winged putti, is centred over the painting at the left, and that of Prince Ferdinand over the one at the right. Other cupids hold banners with heraldic insignia.

The three large pictures represent episodes from the journey of Prince Ferdinand from Spain to Belgium. The canvas at the left illustrates *The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa*; that on the right commemorates *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands at Nördlingen*; in the central space is seen *The Advent of the Prince*. Ferdinand's victory at the battle of Nördlingen is not shown here, that subject having already been allocated to the Arch of Ferdinand (Fig. 67).

The central unit is devoted to the joy felt by the Belgians, and by the citizens of Antwerp in particular, at the advent of the youthful governor. This theme is explicitly developed in the placing of the allegorical figures around the principal picture. In the arch above the painting the statue of Good Hope, carved in stone, stands upon a pedestal inscribed in gold letters BONÆ SPEI SACR. The name of the sculptor is not recorded; it may have been the work of Hans van Mildert, who was paid 3900 guilders for making various figures in stone. ⁶ Good Hope is represented lifting her dress and walking along briskly, for it is the nature of Hope, according to Cesare Ripa, that "she does not stand

still and can never be reached except by chance".⁷ She holds a flower in her hand as a promise of the fruit to come. Gevartius, drawing upon his knowledge of numismatics, compares this personification to the familiar type of *Spes* on Roman imperial coins, where she is pictured in profile, holding up her garment as she walks and displaying a flower in her right hand.⁸ The resemblance is undeniable. But though the iconography may be numismatic, Rubens's model was not a coin but a work of sculpture: his Good Hope is an adaptation of the marble statue called the *Flora Farnese* (Naples, Museum), which in his day formed part of the Farnese collection in Rome.⁹ The artist had in fact made a drawing of the statue in 1606, and this was engraved by Cornelis Galle the Elder for the book by Philip Rubens, *Electorum libri duo*, published at Antwerp in 1608.

In the niches on either side of the large painting are allegorical figures painted so as to resemble sculptures of gilt bronze. The female figure on the left is identified as *Laetitia Publica* (Public Joy); she holds a wreath and a rudder resting on a sphere, which are the attributes of *Laetitia* on Roman imperial coins.¹⁰ Her male counterpart on the right side is the Genius of the City of Antwerp (*Genius Urbis Antverpiensis*); he carries a cornucopia and a patera and plainly derives from the coin-type of the *Genius populi Romani*.¹¹ Above these figures are medallions with the words *VOTA PVBLICA* (public vows), a legend frequently used on Roman coins to mark an important occasion.

Beneath the principal picture, finally, is a *schrooyersel*, or cut-out, representing seven children frisking on a narrow stage. A boy with a circlet is pursued by another, who is trying to take it from him; two of the infants are playing with a hare; the boy seated in the middle, whose legs dangle over the edge of the platform, holds up a wreathed medallion with the inscription *SPERATA TEMPORVM FELICITAS* (the hoped-for happiness of the times). Baskets of flowers and fruit may be seen behind the figures. The reference, clearly, is to those imperial coins that show four children personifying the seasons of the year, with the motto *Temporum felicitas*; here also are found the hare and the basket of flowers, both symbols of fertility and abundance.¹² But Rubens also made use of other antique models for this group. Kieser observed that the frieze of dancing children with a centrally placed medallion resembles the sculptural relief on a child's sarcophagus.¹³ And Ludwig Burchard pointed out (in his notes on the *Pompa Introitus*) that the two putti at the left of the

group are derived from a Medea sarcophagus, on which two boys (Medea's children) are represented, one holding a ball and running with head turned back while the second attempts to seize him by the shoulder.¹⁴ Rubens found occasion to include a similar frieze of dancing putti in his design for the frontispiece of F. de Marselaer's *Legatus* (Antwerp, 1666), which was engraved by Cornelis Galle the Younger.¹⁵ It happens that in this instance we have the master's own explanation of the motif: "Almost the same meaning is conveyed by the play of the frolicsome and joyous children, by which all antiquity denoted the happiness of the times in marbles and coins."¹⁶

In the original plan, as we know from Rubens's oil sketch (No. 1a, Fig. 3), the stage was to consist of nothing more than the central unit celebrating the arrival of the Prince. It was a relatively simple and uncomplicated design, wholly in keeping with the economical programme of decorations authorized by the city council. Specifications were drawn up accordingly, and on 4 December 1634 the contract was awarded to the carpenter Michiel Bourssoy for 670 guilders.¹⁷ The work was to be completed within thirty-four days, that is to say no later than 6 January 1635, for it was still thought that the Cardinal-Infante would make his Entry before the middle of that month. At the same time, the task of painting the stage was entrusted to Cornelis Schut, who later received the sum of 1113 guilders, 10 stivers for his work.¹⁸

The successive postponements of the *Blijde Inkomst* enabled Rubens, as supervisor of the decorations, to consider ways of improving his designs. Seeing the modest stage built by Bourssoy on the Mechelse Plein, he seems to have felt that it was too small for such a grand occasion and therefore began to make plans for expanding it. On February 5th the municipal authorities gave their consent to certain alterations proposed by Burgomaster Robert Tucher, acting on the advice of Rubens.¹⁹ These "alterations", which involved the enlargement of the arch and the addition of the great wings at the sides, had the effect of almost doubling the width of the structure. It was agreed that for carrying out this extensive supplementary work Bourssoy should receive, over and above the original amount of 670 guilders, a further payment of 630 guilders, making a total of 1300 guilders; but his expenses proved to be considerably higher than anticipated, and in the end he was paid 1870 guilders.²⁰

Rubens's decision to expand the stage may also have been prompted by the appearance of Aedo y Gallart's *Viaje*, describing in detail the journey of the Cardinal-Infante from Spain to the Netherlands. The title-page of this book,

which was published at Antwerp by Cnobbaert in 1635, was designed – as we have already seen – by Rubens himself (Fig. 5), and there is not the slightest doubt that he was acquainted with the text before it was issued in print. Indeed, both *The Voyage of the Prince* (Fig. 7) and *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* (Fig. 13) are quite clearly inspired by Aedo y Gallart's circumstantial account.

The change in plan meant more work for the artists as well as for the carpenters. It is very likely that Cornelis Schut, who had painted the stage in its original form, was asked to assist in decorating the additions to it. But if so, he apparently declined the offer, for there are no records of further payments in his name.²¹ Since time was short and since all the artists of Antwerp were fully occupied, it cannot have been easy to find painters willing to take on extra work of this kind. At length Jacob Jordaens, Jan Cossiers and their assistants were persuaded to carry out some of the painting on the new parts of the stage,²² and Rubens himself is known to have put his hand to the two huge canvases for the laterals.

The dating of these paintings presents something of a problem. It has been generally assumed that they were begun only in February, when the decision was taken to enlarge the stage. Yet, as we shall see later, by this date one of the compositions—*The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*—had already been copied by another artist. The most probable explanation is that Rubens, knowing that plans for the enlargement of the stage were under discussion, felt confident enough of the outcome to begin work on the additional paintings that would be required, even though the proposal had not yet been formally approved by the city council.

¹ *Gevartius* (p. 11) describes it as 80 feet high and 78 feet wide. The Antwerp foot measured 28.68 centimetres.

² *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 46 (CXIII).

³ One Gysbrecht Loemans was paid 648 guilders, 4 stivers "for the making of various sorts of festoons for the decoration of the triumphal arches" (*ibid.*, p. 34).

⁴ *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. A2 verso: "In het sop van desen boghe stont een wtgesneden schoresel als eenen palmboom gemaect."

⁵ *Rooses*, v, p. 353. Rubens wrote his comments on the borders of the grisaille sketch for the title-page. The sketch survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the inscriptions, copied by Mariette, were lost when the borders of the panel were trimmed.

⁶ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 73; XIII, pp. 228, 229.

- 7 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Siena, 1613, s.v. "Speranza come dipinta dagli antichi."
- 8 Bernhart, *Münzkunde*, pl. 70, Nos. 1-4 (coins of Carus, Aelius, Titus and Alexander Severus).
- 9 This was observed by Kieser, p. 111, note 4. L. Burchard has pointed out (*Burchard*, 1950, p. 12) that Rubens also made use of the *Flora Farnese* for one of the paintings on the exterior of his Antwerp studio (see the engraving by Harrewijn reproduced in *Rooses*, v, pl. 395) and for the angel on the outer left wing of the altarpiece of *The Resurrection* in Antwerp Cathedral (*K.d.K.*, p. 50).
- 10 Bernhart, *Münzkunde*, pl. 19, No. 10; pl. 65, No. 5 (coins of Allectus and Aquilia Severa).
- 11 *Ibid.*, pl. 63, Nos. 9, 10 (coins of Titus and Hadrian).
- 12 *Ibid.*, pl. 62, No. 2 (coin of Marcus Aurelius).
- 13 Kieser (p. 134, note 50) cites the child's sarcophagus illustrated in B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée*, Paris, 1719, v, pl. XCII.
- 14 C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin, 1890, pls. LXII-LXV.
- 15 Reproduced in *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, fig. 107.
- 16 *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 204; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 109, 110; 150-152.
- 17 See Appendix I, p. 230 [9]; *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 415, 416 (XI). The guaranty of performance was made by Abraham Melyn Andriessen.
- 18 *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 224.
- 19 *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 8, 9 (LXXIII); Appendix I, p. 230 [10].
- 20 *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 58 (CCXXVIII).
- 21 That Schut may have felt some dissatisfaction with his part in the project is suggested by the fact that he even refused to retouch his own painting of *The Advent of the Prince* for presentation to the Cardinal-Infante (*Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288).
- 22 *Ibid.*, VII, p. 58, 59 (CCXXIX); XIII, p. 226.

1a. THE STAGE OF WELCOME: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 3)

Oil on panel; 73 : 77 cm. Beneath the gilt statues in the niches, LÆTITIA PVBLICA and GENIVS VRBIS ANT; in the medallions above them, VOTA PVBLICA; in the roundel under the central picture, FELICITAS TEMPOR.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 498.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Hendrik Lankrink (1628-1692), sale, London, 23 January 1693, one of a group of six sketches numbered lots 207-212 ("Rubens, Six Triumphs"); Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, 1676-1745); sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Orford (1730-1791), to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Note book A.y.y.*, fol. 36b (*Walpole Society*, xxvi, 1937-38, p. 56); H. Walpole, *Ædes Walpoleanæ*, 2nd ed., London, 1752, p. 70; *Rooses*, III, p. 299;

Ermitage, Cat. Somof, p. 357, No. 562; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 345; *K.d.K.*, p. 361; *Roeder-Baumbach*, p. 84; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 38; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 24; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 288, 289.

This superb sketch, by Rubens's own hand, preserves the original plan for the Stage of Welcome. Over most of the surface of the panel, the design has been worked up in full colour and in surprising detail; Rubens left unfinished, however, certain parts at the right side which were understood to be mere duplications of those specifically described on the left.

The stage, as Rubens first conceived it, may be described as a portico flanked by two narrow bays with figures in niches. The crowning arch is slender and delicate, and there is no sign of the palm tree or of the reclining personifications of Fame, although the little pedestal protruding from the arch on the left side suggests that a standing figure was intended to be placed there. On the balustrade the royal coat of arms is supported by a putto waving a laurel wreath, and another child sits at the corner holding a banner. The structure appears to be buttressed at the side by the telamon crouching on the griffon.

The colours are exceptionally brilliant. The unfluted pilasters are of green veined marble; capitals, balusters, volutes and the like are gilt. Also in gold are the figures of Public Joy and the Genius of Antwerp, the griffon, and the cornucopia held by the telamon. The white statue of Good Hope stands out very sharply against a bright red tympanum, and a cloth of the same red colour is hung over the stage below. The inscriptions are almost identical to those of the completed work: beneath the gilt statues we read *LÆTITIA PVBLICA* and *GENIVS VRBIS ANT*; in the wreaths above them, *VOTA PVBLICA*; and in the roundel held by the seated putto on the stage, *FELICITAS TEMPOR*. The tablet over the principal picture has been left blank. Affixed to the stylobates are the arms of Brabant and Antwerp, each enclosed in garlands.

In the middle of the portico three cupids are busily hanging a tapestry on which is represented *The Advent of the Prince*. (Rubens had earlier introduced this conceit in his designs for the tapestry cycle called the Triumph of the Eucharist: a close parallel is afforded by the oil sketch in the Prado for *The Victory of the Holy Sacrament over Paganism* [*K.d.K.*, p. 292], which shows a tapestry held up by three putti in strikingly similar poses). Prince Ferdinand, conspicuously clad in red and riding upon a bay horse, extends his right hand toward the kneeling personification of Belgium. On the ground beneath him

lie the bodies of his Swedish enemies. The hero of Nördlingen is accompanied by the appropriate symbolic figures: Victory flies overhead and seems to urge him onward; Fortune, in a violet dress with a gold veil, guides his horse; striding close behind him and wearing a red mantle over his armour is the war god, Mars Gradivus; the figure next to him is Valour. Ferdinand is greeted by *Belgica*, regally dressed in gold and ermine and wearing a turreted crown, who kneels humbly before the conqueror, while the lion of Belgium lies submissively at her side. Behind her may be seen Public Health, in a rose garment, and a winged putto carrying the coat of arms of Antwerp.

Considered both formally and iconographically, this early project presents a perfectly unified conception. If we take the theme of the stage to be the Advent of the Prince as the fulfilment of the hopes of the people of Antwerp, it can be seen that the essential features of that idea are already present in the allegorical figures surrounding the principal painting—the statues of Good Hope, Public Joy and the Genius of Antwerp, and the frieze of dancing children signifying the happiness of the times.

For all its originality and imaginative freshness, Rubens's design for the stage on the Mechelse Plein is not totally unrelated to the decorations of an earlier day. It is worth recalling, in this connection, that in 1549, for the Entry of Prince Philip (later King Philip II), there was built on this same site a stage on which living persons enacted the Reception of the Prince.¹ Even before Rubens's time, as Roeder-Baumbach has emphasized,² the *tableau vivant* had been generally discarded in favour of a purely pictorial mode of decoration, and Rubens himself would certainly not have been disposed to revive such an archaic mode. Nevertheless it is still possible to detect in this sketch some vestiges of the traditional theatre that formed part of the Joyous Entry. Although the main subject, the Advent of the Prince, has been visualized (rather capriciously, it may seem) as a tapestry, the children seen beneath this hanging are unmistakably pictured as occupying a stage, and the niches with allegorical figures on either side of the central opening are analogous to those of the stage of 1549.

When he determined to enlarge the Stage of Welcome, Rubens devised an ingenious solution which enabled him to achieve a structure on a more monumental scale without sacrificing his original scheme. The addition of a second concentric arch springing from the outer pilasters had the effect—when the space between the two arches was filled in—of incorporating the side bays

within the central unit. The stage could now be expanded by placing wide screens to the right and left. What had previously resembled a slender arched portico flanked by narrow wings was thus transformed into a massive archway with broad laterals thrusting outwards in a majestic and imposing manner. It was of course necessary to make certain adjustments. The supporting members, especially the outer pilasters and pedestals, had to be thickened to suit the more monumental construction. The telamones seated on their griffons were shifted to the extremities of the wings, and the putti on the balustrade were likewise moved, without change, to the ends, while other cupids were introduced as supporters for the coats of arms. For the great arch, finally, Rubens invented a suitably extravagant burst of ornament in the form of a palm tree and the reclining figures of Fame.

While Rubens, working against time, was preparing the oil sketches for the arches and stages, his friend Gevartius was composing the innumerable Latin inscriptions that were to be spread upon them. Several of the pattern sheets used by the letterers who placed the inscriptions on the Stage of Welcome are still preserved in the City Archives.³ One of these is of particular interest in that it affords a glimpse of the work in progress during the planning and construction of the stage (Fig. 4). The inscriptions are distributed on the sheet so as to correspond with the layout of the stage in Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 3). The notation at the upper left (*Tot Sr Schut*) indicates that the sketch was to be found in the studio of Cornelis Schut, the artist responsible for the painted decoration of the full-scale work. In the uppermost compartment (*Het hoogste comperckement*) the words BONÆ SPEI SACR. are to be lettered in gold (*goudt*) on the base beneath the statue of Good Hope. The two epigraphs VOTA PVBLICA are intended for the roundels over the niches at the sides of the central picture. At the bottom, where the playing children are represented (*Onder daer de Kinderen spelen*), is the motto SPERATA TEMPORVM FELICITAS. The numeral 46 at the lower left signifies the total number of letters to be inscribed. On other sheets belonging to this stage are found the lengthy inscription for the plaque above the principal picture and the name *Laetitia Publica* for the allegorical figure in the niche at the left.

¹ Reproduced in *Roeder-Baumbach*, fig. 21.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 80-84.

³ On these sheets, of which more than a hundred are still extant, see Appendix II.

2. THE ADVENT OF THE PRINCE

Oil on canvas; approximately 360 : 330 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 6; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 8).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. A3 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. A2 verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 11, 12; *Rooses*, III, pp. 295, 296, No. 773.

The painting was executed by Cornelis Schut,¹ who took as his model Rubens's oil sketch for the stage, in which *The Advent of the Prince*, though small in scale, is illustrated with remarkable clarity (Fig. 3). Much later, when it was resolved to present the most important pictures from the Entry to the Cardinal-Infante, the canvas was retouched by Jacob Jordaens, Schut himself having declined to do so.² It was then removed to the Palace on the Coudenberg in Brussels, where we find it listed in two inventories of the seventeenth century.³ The painting was lost in the fire that destroyed the palace in February 1731.⁴

Van Thulden's etching of *The Advent of the Prince* (Fig. 6) not only makes the composition too broad in proportion to its height but also does away with the illusion of a tapestry supported by cupids (cf. Figs. 2, 3).

Because of the importance of the subject in setting the tone of the whole cycle of decorations, Rubens drew heavily upon the thematic repertory of Roman imperial art for his *Advent of the Prince*. Although dressed in contemporary costume, Ferdinand re-enacts the ceremonial entry of the sovereign into one of the cities of the empire. The imagery is fundamentally numismatic in origin: it may be illustrated by a bronze medallion of Tacitus, which shows the emperor on horseback, his right hand raised, preceded by a winged Victory on foot and followed by a soldier bearing a trophy, with the legend *Adventus Augusti*.⁵ This was not Rubens's first adaptation of the *Adventus* theme. Some years before, in the tapestry series dealing with the History of Constantine the Great, he had used a similar composition for the scene of *Constantine's Entry into Rome*.⁶ In both the tapestry and in the painting for the Stage of Welcome, moreover, the horse and rider are plainly intended to recall the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol in Rome.

The persons accompanying the Prince-Cardinal can all be related to figure-types on Roman coins of the imperial series. The most conspicuous is Mars Gradivus (the striding one), whose armour, spear and trophy, as well as his walking attitude, confirm his derivation from the renderings of Mars Victor on coins of Constantine and other emperors.⁷ The slain bodies of the enemy are proof of his triumphant progress. Rubens represented Mars Gradivus in almost identical form in the title-page of Aedo y Gallart's *Viaje* (Fig. 5), the only significant difference being that in the book-illustration the war god has a short sword instead of a spear. "Mars Gradivus," Rubens wrote in explanation of his title-page design, "denotes the victories obtained by the Cardinal-Infante during his voyage."⁸

Next to Mars stands Valour, of whom little can be seen but her helmeted head and shield, and who is to be connected with the personifications of *Virtus* seen on many coins.⁹ Ferdinand's mount is conducted by Fortune. The indispensable symbol of this goddess is the rudder, which (since both hands are employed) she has tucked into the folds of her dress;¹⁰ the billowing veil that encircles her head is a frequent attribute of *Fortuna* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹ The flying Victory may be passed over without comment, her presence in subjects of this kind being obligatory.

At the right side of the composition is *Belgica*, who, with one knee on the ground and with her lion at her side, holds out her hands in a gesture that suggests both supplication and welcome, while Fortune, acting on Ferdinand's behalf, takes her arm as if assisting her to rise. By introducing this episode, Rubens significantly enriches and expands the *Adventus* theme. For this is clearly an allusion to those coins of Hadrian on which the monarch is pictured as "restorer" of the various provinces of the empire. One of this series, to take a typical example, shows the genius of Spain, with a rabbit at her foot, kneeling before the standing emperor, who offers her his hand to lift her up; the legend reads *Restitutori Hispaniae*.¹² In the scene under discussion Ferdinand combines with his other roles that of *Restitutor Belgicae*.

The figure of Public Health (*Salus Publica*), who stands behind *Belgica*, signifies the safety which the people may now expect to enjoy as a result of Ferdinand's arrival in their midst. She may be recognized by the serpent and the patera, which are the attributes of the goddess *Salus* in classical art.¹³ Rubens represented *Salus* (or *Hygeia*) feeding the serpent in a painting now in the Detroit Institute of Arts.¹⁴

We can perhaps best sum up the allegorical content of this work by quoting from the accompanying epigraph, which takes the form of an apostrophe to Prince Ferdinand reading, in part: "Fallen Belgium, prostrate at your feet, joyfully raises her half-ruined citadels. In you is our health... Behold, Gradivus opens the road before you, and Victory flies over you on snowy wings as your guide."¹⁵

Paradoxically, Prince Ferdinand was to see an adaptation after Rubens's composition even before he saw the original. When the Cardinal-Infante made his Solemn Entry into Ghent in January 1635 (some months before his appearance at Antwerp), one of the first pictures to meet his eyes was *Ferdinand received by the Maid of Ghent*, which occupied a central position on the Arcus Ferdinandi.¹⁶ The indebtedness of this work to the Antwerp painting is undeniable, particularly in the kneeling attitude of the personified city and the lion at her side. The form of the picture may have been suggested by Cornelis Schut, who executed *The Advent of the Prince* from Rubens's design and who also worked on the decorations for the Ghent Entry.

- ¹ An entry of 2 June 1635 in the *Collegiaal Aftenboeck* authorizes payment to Schut of 1113 guilders, 10 stivers, for "the painting at St. Joriskerk in which is represented the welcome of the Prince-Cardinal" (*Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 42, 43). But the corresponding entry in the account book of the city treasurer makes it clear that this sum was intended as payment not for the single painting alone but for the decoration of the entire stage in its primitive state (*ibid.*, XIII, p. 224: "... ter saken van het schilderen van het pegma genaempt *Adventus Principis*").
- ² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 288. Jordaens was paid 300 guilders for this work.
- ³ Inventory of 1659: "En la galeria de los emperadores: ... Otra pieza, alta de doce pies y largo de trece, representando el Principe Cardinal a cavallo, donde la doncella de Amberes se hacha a sus pies, pintado por Schut y Jordaens" (*De Maeyer*, p. 443); undated inventory, made between 1665-70 and 1698: "Een stuck, hoogh 16 voeten ende lanck 15 voeten, representerende den Prince Cardinael te peerdt, daer de Maeght van Antwerpen hem te voet compt, geschildert van Schut ende Jordaens" (*De Maeyer*, p. 456). It is obvious that the different measurements given in these otherwise identical descriptions are only rough estimates.
- ⁴ "Liste des tableaux qui ne sont pas retrouvés, qui étoient à la cour avant l'incendie du 3 au 4 février 1731... Le Prince-Cardinal à cheval, entrant dans Anvers" (*De Maeyer*, pp. 464, 465).
- ⁵ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 80, No. 7. Other such coins are cited by *Gevartius*, pp. 11, 12.
- ⁶ *Dubon*, pp. 111, 112, pls. 15-22.
- ⁷ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 20, No. 14 (silver medallion of Constantine); see also, for the striding attitude of Mars, pl. 38, Nos. 4, 6, 9, 10 (coins of Vitellius, Commodus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and Alexander Severus).

- ⁸ *Rooses*, v, p. 353.
- ⁹ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 15, No. 3; pl. 73, No. 3 (coins of Gordianus II).
- ¹⁰ See the renderings of *Fortuna* on coins of Vespasian and subsequent emperors (*ibid.*, pl. 63, Nos. 1-7).
- ¹¹ E. Panofsky, "Good Government" or Fortune?, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, LXVIII, 1966, pp. 308, 309.
- ¹² *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 75, No. 6; see also pl. 75, No. 4 (*Restitutori Galliaë*) etc.
- ¹³ *Kieser*, p. 134, note 50. See also *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 69, No. 2 (coin of Hadrian).
- ¹⁴ *Goris-Held*, p. 37, No. 73, pl. 60.
- ¹⁵ "... *Genibus tuis affusa recumbens / Belgica, semirutas attollit laetior arces. / In te nostra salus... / Ecce ultro Gradivus iter tibi pandit, et auspex! circum te niveis volitat Victoria pennis*" (*Gevarsius*, p. 11).
- ¹⁶ *Van de Velde-Vlieghe*, pp. 41, 42, 72, 74, figs. 1, 21. The painting, now attributed to Antoon van den Heuvel, is preserved in the Museum van de Bijloke in Ghent.

3. THE VOYAGE OF THE PRINCE FROM BARCELONA TO GENOA (Fig. 7)

Oil on canvas; 326 : 384 cm.

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. No. 964B.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; ?Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Brussels; Jan Gillis (d. 1681), inventory, Antwerp, 28-30 July 1682 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 309: "een groot stuck van Rubbens, synde eenen Neptunus"); Duc de Richelieu (1629-1715); Leriget de la Fage (d. 1731; P. J. Mariette, *Abeceario*, v, Paris, 1858-1859, p. 123); Count Karl-Heinrich von Hoym (1694-1736; J. Pichon, *Vie de Charles-Henry Comte de Hoym*, II, Paris, 1880, pp. 82, 88); acquired in 1742 by Count Heinrich Brühl (1700-1763) for King Augustus III of Saxony (1696-1763).

COPIES: (1) Painting, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, No. 453 (as *Jordaens*); panel, 48 : 62 cm.; (2) Painting, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 233; canvas, 193 : 183 cm. (cut down on the right); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown, formerly in the Hôtel du Prince de Salm, Brussels; lit.: J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la Vie de Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 356 (as *Rubens*); (4) Drawing, London, British Museum; black chalk, 261 : 325 mm.; lit.: *Hind*, II, p. 141, No. 1, pl. LXXIII (as *T. van Thulden*); (5) Drawing, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, Inv. No. 27:67; pen and brown ink, 142 : 230 mm.; (6) Drawing after the figure of Neptune, whereabouts unknown; black, white and red chalk; prov.: Jean-Denis Lempereur, sale, Paris, 24 May 1773 et seq., lot 303 (as *Rubens*); W.R. Valentiner, Detroit; (7) Etching by T. van Thulden (*V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 7); (8) Engraving by J. Daullé (*V.S.*, p. 123, No. 34); (9) Engraving by A.F. Schultheiss.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. A3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. A3 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 15–17; R. de Piles, *Dissertation sur les Ouvrages des plus fameux Peintres, dédiée à Monseigneur le duc de Richelieu*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1683; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 85, No. 268; *Rooses*, III, pp. 296, 297, No. 774; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 346; *K.d.K.*, p. 362; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 375, 376; *J. Rosenberg, Rubens's Sketch for the Wrath of Neptune, Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, x, 1942, pp. 7, 11, 14; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 25.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Rubens experienced some difficulty in engaging artists who would help him to realize his plans for the enlargement of the Stage of Welcome. Cornelis Schut, who had decorated the central unit, refused to co-operate further in the project. The question therefore arises: did Rubens personally paint the great canvases for the wings, or was he assisted by other artists?

The sources explicitly state that these two paintings are by Rubens's own hand.¹ This testimony has carried little weight with modern critics, most of whom would surely agree with Max Rooses that *The Voyage of the Prince* (Fig. 7) and *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* (Fig. 13) betray the intervention of assistants. Even granting that they were executed in haste to form part of what was acknowledged by everyone to be a merely temporary spectacle, one hesitates to accept these paintings without qualification as autograph works by the master. Nor does it seem likely that Rubens, burdened as he was with the responsibility for the entire programme, would have insisted on painting the two largest canvases singlehanded.

There is in fact evidence to suggest that, on the contrary, other artists collaborated with him. An entry in the account book kept by the city treasurer reveals that Jacob Jordaens, Jan Cossiers and their assistants were paid the surprisingly large sum of 2950 guilders, "after moderation of their claims for the supplementary work done by them" on the Stage of Welcome and the Temple of Janus (both of which were enlarged in the course of construction).² Now a sum of this size can only have been authorized for a major job, a job moreover for which the artists themselves had expected to be paid even more money. Whatever painting was performed by them on the Temple of Janus cannot have been very extensive, because no large pictures were required in the remodelling of that stage. We are thus left with the supposition that the main work for which these painters were reimbursed so handsomely was their collaboration on the two laterals of the Stage of Welcome. Why, then, are the

paintings in question specifically described in the contemporary sources as having been executed by Rubens? The answer, I believe, is that work on them was in fact begun by the master—an unusual procedure which could not fail to attract notice—but that in the end he was obliged, owing to the pressure of so many demands, to call upon others to assist him in completing them.

The finer of the two canvases is *The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa* (Fig. 7), which filled the left wing of the stage. For the narrative content of the scene, Rubens relied upon the account of the voyage in Aedo y Gallart's *Viaje*: there we read that Ferdinand had hardly set out with his fleet from Barcelona when a storm arose, bringing north winds of such force that the galleys were dispersed and the prince was compelled to take refuge in the port of Cadaques. After thirteen days, the wind shifted to the west, the sea grew calmer, and the expedition was able to resume its course.³

This is the moment illustrated in the Dresden painting: the storm has abated, and the unseaworthy Spanish galleys are about to set sail. Ferdinand's galley, flying the royal standard, is partly hidden from view by Neptune, but one can nevertheless make out the distinguishing features of these cumbersome vessels: the pointed prow, the cannon mounted in front, the lateen sails, the long banks of oars, and the high, covered stern. On the forward deck of the ship at the extreme left a sailor is cleaning one of the guns. In the foreground of the picture, historical fact gives way to fable as Neptune, lord of the sea, calms the tempest that has threatened the fleet of the Prince-Cardinal. Rubens has made of this fanciful episode one of his most spirited and memorable inventions. Neptune, riding in his shell-chariot and grasping his trident, raises his left hand in an imperious gesture of command which is balanced by the red mantle flapping in the air behind him. With knees bent and one leg advanced, he seems to propel himself forward by sheer indignation. His chariot is drawn by four furious sea-horses who tumble over one another and twist their heads round in excitement on hearing the angry voice of their master. Neptune is followed by three plump Nereids, one of whom gives added impetus to his chariot by turning its paddle-wheel with her hands. The sea-god's anger is directed against Boreas, the north wind, who, having tried to prevent Prince Ferdinand from carrying out his conquest of northern Europe, is now ignominiously put to flight. He is a fantastic figure, with serpents' tails for legs, wings on his head, and arms terminating in feathered pinions, all prescribed (as Gevartius assures us) by classical authors.⁴ Hurrying to take his place are the

winds which are favourable to ships making the journey from Spain to Italy: they are *Auster*, the south wind, holding a thunderbolt, and *Zephyr*, the west wind, both of whom assist in the expulsion of *Boreas* by blowing gustily after him. With the departure of the north wind the waves subside and the sky gradually grows lighter. In this work, says Roger de Piles, Rubens "has been able through his art to make us see at one and the same time the tempest and the calm of the sea, the fury of the winds and their prompt obedience." ⁵

There can be no doubt that Rubens meant to allude to the famous passage in Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 135) which tells how, when the ships of Aeneas were scattered in a storm, Neptune commanded the winds to withdraw, uttering the words: *Quos ego—sed motos praestat componere fluctus* ("Whom I—but first I must set the waves at rest"). The best-known representation of this subject is Marcantonio's engraving after Raphael (Fig. 10), in which Rubens's attention was caught not so much by the figure of Neptune as by the agitated sea-horses, twisting and turning their heads in contorted positions. He might also have known Perino del Vaga's fresco of *The Shipwreck of Aeneas* (now lost) in the Palazzo Doria in Genoa, which is recorded in the engraving attributed to Giulio Bonasone (Fig. 12). Needless to say, Rubens made no use of the group of shipwrecked sailors seen at the left of the print, but his painting resembles Perino's composition both in its horizontal shape and in the prominence given to the distant ships. The sudden clearing of the sky at the right side may also have been suggested by this engraving.

The analogy to the story of Aeneas is so marked that Rubens's picture is now universally, but erroneously, given the title of *Quos ego*. It should be pointed out, however, that Gevartius, in his description of the scene, neither quotes Virgil's words nor makes any reference whatever to the fleet of Aeneas, whom he perhaps did not regard as a suitable precursor of the Cardinal-Infante. The first author to make the connection with the Virgilian epic was Roger de Piles who, though he understood the allusion to Prince Ferdinand, "who (as he says) had almost perished at sea", nevertheless believed the painting to be an illustration of the shipwreck of Aeneas. Ferdinand's role in the picture was forgotten altogether by eighteenth-century writers like Diderot, who simply spoke of the subject as Virgil's *Quos ego*. ⁶

As the divinity who watches over the safety of princes on perilous voyages, Neptune also appears in *The Landing of Maria de' Medici at Marseilles* (K.d.K., p. 248). Here too he raises his left hand, but as a salute to the queen,

not as a rebuke to the wind god. The more aggressive posture of Neptune in the Dresden painting is akin to that of Mars in *The Consequences of War*, in the Pitti Gallery in Florence (*K.d.K.*, p. 428). Both figures may be adaptations of the antique sculpture known as the *Borghese Warrior*, now in the Louvre.

At either side of the Dresden canvas may be seen the edge of a column with capital, base and drums of alternating sizes. The explanation offered by Rooses, that these are the remains of the architectural framing in the Stage of Welcome, must be discarded, for Van Thulden's etching of the stage (Fig. 2) shows no such columns. It will be observed that the capitals and bases are placed so as to coincide precisely with those points at which, in the original setting, the angles of the frame intruded upon the field of the painting. This suggests that the columnar elements were painted in at a later time as a means of masking bare or abraded patches at the corners of the canvas.

As was his custom, Rubens painted an oil sketch for this subject (Fig. 8), but no preparatory drawings have come to light, nor is it likely that any such designs were made by him. The chalk drawing of the entire composition in the British Museum is certainly not by his hand; Hind is perhaps correct in describing it as a *modello* made by Van Thulden for his etching. At the Lempereur sale of 1773 in Paris there appeared a drawing in black, white and red chalk said to be a study by Rubens "for the figure of Neptune ... in the painting of the *Quos ego*"; but this can only have been a copy after the painting, for it must be obvious, in view of the efficient and time-saving procedures followed by Rubens in this immense project, that he would not have taken the trouble to make such an elaborate preparatory drawing for any part of it.

There are some lacunae in the early history of the painting. It was undoubtedly one of the pieces from the Entry presented by the city of Antwerp to the Prince-Cardinal in 1637 for installation in the Palace at Brussels; Rubens himself is known to have retouched it for this very purpose.⁷ After Ferdinand's death in 1641, the picture presumably passed into the hands of his successor, the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who occupied the palace from 1646 to 1656. But this cannot be verified. In the Spanish inventory of the palace made in 1659 there occurs the following item: "A sea with galleys and the Prince-Cardinal in one of them, eight feet high and twelve feet wide."⁸ Though at first glance this might seem to establish beyond doubt that the Dresden picture was still in Brussels in 1659, a careful reading will show that that interpretation is not justified. The dimensions indicate a composition of quite different

size and shape, and the fact that the description speaks only of Ferdinand (who is in any event not visible in the Dresden canvas) while saying nothing of Neptune makes it virtually certain that the painting cited in the inventory must be another work altogether. Inasmuch as the same inventory contains no mention of the companion piece (*The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*; Fig. 13), it may be inferred that the two paintings from the wings of the Stage of Welcome did not long remain in the palace on the Coudenberg. Whether they were sold or otherwise disposed of is not known, but it was certainly their removal that saved them from destruction in the fire that consumed the palace and its contents in 1731.

In an inventory of the collection of the silversmith Jan Gillis, deceased, drawn up at Antwerp in 1682, we find these items: "A large piece by Rubens, being a Neptune" and "A large piece by the same, representing the welcome of the Emperor with the Prince-Cardinal".⁹ There is, I think, no reason to doubt that these were the original canvases of *The Voyage of the Prince* and *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*. What makes the identification even more probable is the fact that the former picture was demonstrably in the collection of the Duc de Richelieu in 1683, having presumably been acquired only shortly before.¹⁰

¹ In the *Collegiaal Aftenboeck* of 1635 we read: "Geordonneert Jacques Breyel, Tresorier, etc., vuyt te reycken ende te betalen aen Sr Pedro Paulo Rubens, Secretario de stado, de somme van vyff dusent guldens eens, voor de twee stucken by hem gemaectt ende gestelt in het *pegma* aen St. Joriskercke..." (*Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 29). An entry in the *Collegiaal Aftenboeck* of 1637 shows that he was later paid 600 guilders for the "repainting and retouching" of the same two canvases after the Entry (*ibid.*, XIII, p. 288). *Gevarius* also says unequivocally (pp. 15, 17) that both paintings were done by Rubens himself.

² *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 226: "Aen Jacques Jordaens, Jan Cochiers ende consoirten, de somme van twee duysent negen hondert vyftich ponden Arthoys, daeroppe syn gemodereert de pretentien vande naerwercken by hun gedaen aende thoonneelen die gestaen hebben aen Sint-Joriskerck ende opde Melckmerct..."

³ Aedo y Gallart, *Viaje*, pp. 17-26.

⁴ Boreas is represented with serpents' tails, following the description of Pausanias, in the illustration of the four winds in Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagini delli dei de gl' antichi*, Venice, 1647, p. 140.

⁵ R. de Piles, *Dissertation sur les Ouvrages des plus fameux Peintres, dédiée à Monseigneur le duc de Richelieu*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1683 (reprinted in B. Teyssèdre, *Une collection française de Rubens au XVIIe siècle: le Cabinet du duc de Richelieu décrit par Roger de Piles, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, LXII, 1963, pp. 273-275).

⁶ *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. J. Assézat, XII, Paris, 1876, p. 129.

- ⁷ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288.
- ⁸ "Una mar con galeras y el Principe Cardinal en una de ellas, alto de 8 pies y largo de doce" (*De Maeyer*, p. 437).
- ⁹ *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 309.
- ¹⁰ J. F. M. Michel (*loc. cit.*) speaks of *The Voyage of the Prince* and *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* as being in the Hôtel du Prince de Salm in Brussels. These works, of which I have been unable to find any trace, can only have been copies.

3a. THE VOYAGE OF THE PRINCE FROM BARCELONA TO GENOA: OIL SKETCH
(Figs. 8, 9)

Oil on panel; 49 : 64 cm.

Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

PROVENANCE: Anonymous, sale, London (Prestage and Hobbs), 20 February 1761, lot 73; Duke of Grafton, sale, London (Christie's), 13 July 1923, lot 141; Martin Sternberg, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 25 October 1932, lot 512; Siegfried Kramarsky, Amsterdam and New York; acquired by the Museum in 1942.

EXHIBITED: *Works by the Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1882, No. 217; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 39 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1937, No. 91 (repr.); *Meessterwerken uit vier Eeuwen, 1400-1800*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1938, No. 178 (repr.); *New York*, 1951, No. 28 (repr.); *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 43 (repr.); *Gods and Heroes*, Wildenstein, New York, 1968-69, No. 46 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 85; *Rooses*, III, p. 297; J. Rosenberg, *Rubens' Sketch for the Wrath of Neptune*, *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, X, 1942, pp. 5-14; *Goris-Held*, p. 40, No. 87; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 38, 57, 89, 90; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 25; W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp. 83, 84.

In spite of its seemingly unrehearsed and spontaneous execution, Rubens has realized in this beautiful *modello* all the essential features of *The Voyage of the Prince*. The movement of the master's hand can be sensed over every part of the surface—in the deftness and fluency of the touch and in the rich variety of painterly effects, ranging from passages so thinly brushed that the ground is clearly visible (as on the chest and arms of Neptune) to areas built up in

successive layers and topped off with bold impasto highlights (as on the heads of the nearer sea-horses). Here and there—notably on the face of the foremost Nereid—a pointed brush has been used to delineate a pure contour. Except for the red mantle worn by the god, the colours are rather muted, the general impression being of a warm golden tonality relieved by patches of silver-grey, such as those on the glistening horses and on the screaming beard of the angry sea-god.

Inevitably, much of the immediacy of the sketch has been lost in the great canvas that followed it (Fig. 7), though even in that work there are passages that retain an extraordinary freshness and vividness. In carrying out his design on a larger scale, Rubens introduced a number of changes, most of which were intended to strengthen and clarify the composition. The foreground figure-group, for example, has been made more monumental and more compact. Neptune has been increased in size so that he dominates the picture to a greater degree than in the oil sketch; his hand seems now to be almost within reach of the fleeing Boreas, and his mantle billows up to create a strong accent behind his head. The three Nereids have been moved inward, closer to the centre, and the leading nymph, who in the *modello* loosely holds the reins of the sea-horses, turns the wheel of the god's chariot. In the preliminary sketch Rubens did not bother to indicate some of the attributes which were to accompany the wind gods in the finished work. Although Boreas is furnished with winged arms, he appears to have human legs; Auster lacks his thunderbolt, and none of the three have wings on their heads. Perhaps it was Gevartius, armed with quotations from classical writers, who specified how the wind gods should be represented in the definitive painting.

Five or six ships of the princely fleet are closely bunched together in the middle distance. Like the wind gods, they have been depicted rather impressionistically. Except for the oars and the awning over the stern, Rubens has not attempted to give an accurate rendering of the contemporary Spanish galley: instead, the curious elevated prow and the square sail seem to be derived from the print by Bonasone (Fig. 12), which may also account for the heavy clouds that press down upon the ships. In the large canvas, where the vessels are somewhat more dispersed and more remote, the artist has taken pains to delineate the distinctive features of the Mediterranean galley, especially the triangular lateen rig and the low prow which permitted the cannon to fire forward.

4. THE MEETING OF THE TWO FERDINANDS AT NÖRDLINGEN (Fig. 13)

Oil on canvas; 328 : 388 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. Inv. No. 525.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; ?Archduke Leopold Wilhelm; Jan Gillis (d. 1681), inventory, Antwerp, 28–30 July 1682 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 309: "Een groot stuck vanden selven [Rubens], bediedende de Verwillecominge vanden Keyser met den Prince Cardinael"); Emperor Charles VI (1685–1740).

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown, formerly in the Hôtel du Prince de Salm, Brussels; lit.: J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la Vie de Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 356 (as *Rubens*); (2) Drawing, London, British Museum; black chalk, 260 : 325 mm; lit.: *Hind*, II, p. 141, No. 2 (as *T. van Thulden*); (3) Etching by T. van Thulden (*V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 9); (4) Etching by A. von Prenner (*V.S.*, p. 143, No. 63).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. A4 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. A3 verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 17, 18; C. de Mechel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie impériale et royale de Vienne*, Basel, 1784, pp. 112, 113, No. 9; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 89, 90, No. 288; E. R. v. Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, Vienna, 1884–86, II, pp. 384, 385, No. 1163; *Rooses*, III, pp. 297, 298, No. 775; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 347; *K.d.K.*, p. 363; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 366–368; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 25.

Reluctant though one may be to reject the testimony of a contemporary, it is nevertheless difficult to accept the statement by *Gevartius* that *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* was painted by Rubens himself.¹ It is probably true that work on the canvas was begun by the master, but there are certain deficiencies in draughtsmanship, notably in the figures of the two princes, which plainly reveal the intervention of collaborators. Since it is known that a team of artists headed by *Jordaens* and *Cossiers* was paid a considerable sum of money for supplementary work on this stage and on the *Temple of Janus*,² there is reason to assume that these were the painters whom Rubens called upon to help him in finishing this picture and its counterpart, *The Voyage of the Prince* (Fig. 7). After having been retouched by Rubens for presentation to the Cardinal-Infante,³ both paintings were transported to the palace in Brussels.

Inasmuch as there is no mention of either subject in the Spanish inventory of 1659,⁴ we may conclude that by this date the two pictures had already been removed from the palace (where they would otherwise have perished in the fire of 1731). In 1682, we find them cited in the inventory of the Antwerp silversmith Jan Gillis, deceased. At this point, as has already been suggested, *The Voyage of the Prince* was probably acquired by the Duc de Richelieu; but concerning *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* we hear nothing further until its appearance in the Stallburg in Vienna as part of the collection of the Emperor Charles VI.⁵

The painting resembles its pendant, *The Voyage of the Prince*, in juxtaposing two realms, that of fable and that of historical reality. In both pictures the foreground is occupied by prominent allegorical figures; but in *The Meeting* the historical event, though set at some remove from the spectator, is raised to a higher plane as a sign of its importance.

On 2 September 1634 the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, travelling from Milan to the Netherlands, met his cousin Ferdinand, King of Hungary, at Nördlingen on the Danube. There the two joined forces and, on 6 September, won a decisive victory over the Protestant armies at the battle of Nördlingen. In the main, Rubens has followed the report of the fateful meeting given by Aedo y Gallart:

“... y media legua antes de llegar a los quarteles del Rey, le salió su Magestad Apostolica a recevir con mucho y muy luzido acompañamiento, en que venia el Príncipe de Florençia hermano del gran Duque, el gran Maestro de la orden Teutonica, Piccolomini y los demas Cabos y Coroneles del exercito, y Cavalleros de su Corte, con mucha musica de trompetas y atabales, y muy lindas y grandes tropas de Coraças. Su Alteza tambien venia con mucha ostentacion de Príncipes y Cavalleros de su exercito y casa, y con las Companias de su guarda, todos con muchas galas. Su Alteza y va vestido de grana con alamares bordados de oro, que acompañado de la color de su rostro y ayre pareçió estremadissimamente de bien. A cosa de çien passos, assi como se columbraron los dos Fernandes, se apearon a la par, y con el amor que pedia tan estrecho parentesco se abressaron, interviniendo las cortesias y agasajos que era razon.”

“When [the Prince] was about half a league from the camp of the King, His Apostolic Majesty came forth to greet him with a great and brilliant retinue, in which were the Prince of Florence [Mattia de' Medici], brother

of the Grand Duke, Piccolomini, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, and the other officers and colonels of the army and gentlemen of his court, with much music of trumpets and kettledrums and imposing troops of cuirassiers. His Highness [Prince Ferdinand] also arrived with an impressive show of princes and gentlemen of his army and his house, and with companies of his guard, all in fine array. His Highness was clad in scarlet with facings embroidered in gold, which harmonized extremely well with his complexion and his bearing. When the two Ferdinands recognized each other at a distance of about a hundred paces, they both dismounted and embraced each other with that affection which is natural in so close a relationship, while yet observing the courtesies and respect which were proper to the occasion." ⁶

The encounter of the two Ferdinands takes place on the high ground at the upper right of the picture, the church spire of Nördlingen being visible on the horizon between them. As the royal cousins doff their hats, bow and join hands, two eagles appear above them, each holding a thunderbolt and a laurel crown. King Ferdinand is dressed *à la hongroise*, with a crimson mantle lined with fur; the Prince-Cardinal wears a rose sash over an ochre tunic embroidered with gold (which does not agree precisely with Aedo y Gallart's description of his costume). Ludwig Burchard has remarked that the faces of the two cousins do not resemble the portraits of the same pair from the Arch of Ferdinand, now also in the Vienna Museum (Figs. 69, 70). In the large history painting King Ferdinand has a beard (which he lacks in the narrow portrait) and the Prince-Cardinal is shown without his moustache.

There is a strong sense of movement from the left side toward the place of meeting, which is also the brightest part of the painting. The King, followed by his officers, an equerry guiding his horse, and soldiers with muskets and banners, leads the procession up the hill, where Prince Ferdinand and his party appear to await his arrival. The composition, loosely ordered on the left, is firmly closed at the right side by several staff officers and by the Prince's horse, which is held in check by a groom wearing a reddish gold jacket trimmed with blue.

A few of the notables who wait upon the royal cousins may be identified. On the right side, the man just behind the Prince is Diego Felipe de Guzman, Marqués de Leganés, who had joined Ferdinand's army at Milan. ⁷ Among the persons in the King's suite Aedo y Gallart makes particular mention of Mattia

de' Medici, brother of Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Ottavio Piccolomini, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. The officer who stands behind the King with one hand resting on a staff probably represents Piccolomini; his attitude, it may be observed in passing, is very like that of the knight of Malta who is seen on the stern of the ship in *The Landing of Maria de' Medici at Marseille* (K.d.K., p. 248). The younger man at his side, who seems to converse with him, is certainly Mattia de' Medici, then twenty-one years of age.⁸

At the lower left sits the portly figure of the river god Danube, crowned with reeds and flowers and wearing a light blue mantle which is wrapped about his middle and gathered over one shoulder. His right arm rests on an urn from which issues a stream of water tinged with blood. Raising his left hand to point toward the portentous meeting, he addresses himself to a blond woman personifying Germany, as if to assure her that she will soon be liberated by the two Ferdinands from the foreign yoke that oppresses her. *Germania*, who is dressed in black to show that she is in mourning, is identified by her attributes, the imperial crown and the shield emblazoned with the double-headed eagle. Half reclining in the reeds beside her is a Naiad, wearing plum-coloured drapery, who turns her head to look at Danube.

The painting evokes memories of other representations by Rubens of what might be called "the solemn encounter". The bowing attitudes of the two Ferdinands, for example, may be compared to the principal figures in *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* in Munich (K.d.K., p. 290).⁹ The page seen from the rear who holds the Prince's horse can likewise be paralleled in *The Meeting of David and Abigail*, as engraved after Rubens's design by A. Lommelin (V.S., p. 7, No. 49).¹⁰ But the distinctive feature of *The Meeting at Nördlingen* is the handclasp, for which, as a venerable emblem of concord between princes, there exist many classical precedents. Among the works that might be cited in this connection are certain coins of Lucius Verus, minted during the reign of the two Augusti, which show Verus and Marcus Aurelius joining their right hands, with the words *Concordia Augustorum*.¹¹ The eagles with thunderbolts and laurel wreaths denote the victory soon to be won by the two Ferdinands. Rubens frequently introduced the bird of Jupiter in scenes of princely glorification: an eagle with the thunderbolt in its talons appears in *The Apotheosis of James I* on the Whitehall Ceiling;¹² and there is an eagle holding a laurel wreath in its beak and claws in *The Building of Constanti-*

noble from the tapestry cycle of the History of Constantine the Great.¹³ In the present picture, of course, the situation requires that *two* eagles be present.

It is hardly necessary to seek a classical model for the recumbent river god, since this figure belongs to a familiar type in Renaissance and Baroque art. But we must not overlook the allusion to those coins of Trajan on which the personification of *Danuvius* commemorates the passage of that river by the imperial troops.¹⁴ In Rubens's canvas Danube does not merely play a passive role as an indicator of place but also acts as a prophet, foretelling the advent of better days. The kneeling *Germania*, whom he attempts to console, dejectedly leans against her shield while, with her head supported on her hand, she looks toward the spectator. The reference, beyond doubt, is to the personification of *Germania capta* on coins of Domitian, where she is shown seated in an attitude of grief upon a large shield.¹⁵ Her kneeling attitude, however, is not classical but occurs repeatedly in works of the late period of Rubens. *The Garden of Love* in the Prado (*K.d.K.*, p. 348) contains a strikingly similar motif in the rather coy young woman who seems not to be listening to the words whispered in her ear by the cavalier seated at her side. The same figure is to be found, but with the connotation of helpless resignation, in *The Rape of the Sabine Women* in the National Gallery, London (*K.d.K.*, p. 379). This is also the pose used for the grief-stricken Magdalene in *The Entombment*, of which there is a copy in the collection of Mme Jules Strauss in Paris (*K.d.K.*, p. 448).

In his *Catalogue Raisonné* of 1830, John Smith mentions, in connection with *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*, "a fine study in chalk for one of the females" in the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence. This should not mislead us into thinking that Rubens made finished drawings for this and other paintings in the Entry of 1635. For the drawing seen by Smith in the Lawrence collection was beyond question the sheet now in the Fodor collection in Amsterdam (*Held*, No. 121; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 184), which is in fact a study for the kneeling girl in *The Garden of Love*, whose posture, as we have observed, is almost identical to that of *Germania* in the Vienna picture.

Rubens's *Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* is reflected in one of the paintings made for the Entry of the Cardinal-Infante into Ghent, which occurred in January 1635. For the Arcus Ferdinandi which stood on the Vrijdagmarkt in Ghent, Cornelis Schut (who also decorated the central unit of the Stage of Welcome for the Antwerp Entry) painted *Ferdinand greeted by the Archbishop of Cologne* (Fig. 11).¹⁶ This work, as can be seen at a glance, is virtually a

replica of the principal episode in Rubens's composition, except for the substitution of the archbishop in his ecclesiastical robes for King Ferdinand; even the boy seen from the back who tends the prince's horse has been copied with little change from the groom in *The Meeting at Nördlingen*. Though Schut probably took his inspiration from Rubens's *modello* (Fig. 14) rather than from the completed picture, his painting nevertheless furnishes us with a useful *terminus post quem*: *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* was already visible, at least in the form of an oil sketch, in January 1635, in spite of the fact that the plan to instal a painting of this subject in the Stage of Welcome was not officially authorized until 5 February.

- 1 *Gevartius*, p. 17: "Haec quoque Tabula à venustissimo Rubenij penicillo erat."
- 2 *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 226. See pp. 50, 54n above.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 288.
- 4 *De Maeyer*, pp. 436-448. It is also to be noted that the paintings are not recorded in the inventory of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm made at Vienna in 1659 (A. Berger, *Inventar der Kunstsammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I, 1883, II, No. 495, pp. LXXIX-CLXXVII).
- 5 Engerth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 385. The painting is reproduced in the set of etchings (the so-called *Prodromus*) issued in 1735 by Franz von Stampart and Anton von Prenner (H. Zimmerman, *Franz v. Stamparts und Anton v. Prenners Prodromus zum Theatrum Artis Pictoriae, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VII, 1888, II, No. 4584, pl. 20).
- 6 Aedo y Gallart, *Viaje*, pp. 113, 114.
- 7 Cf. the engraved portrait of Leganés by Pontius after Van Dyck (reproduced in M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck*, Brussels, 1956, No. 50).
- 8 Cf. the portrait of Mattia de' Medici by Suttermans at Poggio a Caiano (reproduced in P. Bautier, *Juste Suttermans, peintre des Médicis*, Paris-Brussels, 1912, p. 36, pl. XII).
- 9 There is no reason to think that Rubens's *Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* might have influenced Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda*, although this is sometimes suggested as a possibility. Not only are the two works almost contemporaneous, but the generals in the Spanish painting are not even pictured as shaking hands. Encounters of this sort, in which two persons solemnly greet each other, are frequent in sixteenth-century art; if a source were needed, Velázquez could have found a more apt one in the engraving of *Abraham and Melchizedek* after Marten de Vos (see M. S. Soria, *Las Lanzas y los retratos ecuestres de Velázquez*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXVII, 1954, pp. 93, 94, pl. 1).
- 10 Reproduced in *Rooses*, I, pl. 34.
- 11 *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 10, Nos. 8, 9; pl. 78, No. 12.
- 12 *Croft-Murray*, p. 35.
- 13 *Dubon*, pl. 26.

¹⁴ Bernhart, *Münzkunde*, pl. 76, No. 6. See also *Gevarsius*, p. 18.

¹⁵ Bernhart, *Münzkunde*, pl. 85, No. 6.

¹⁶ *Van de Velde-Vlieghe*, pp. 48, 49, 80, 81, fig. 28.

4a. THE MEETING OF THE TWO FERDINANDS AT NÖRDLINGEN: OIL SKETCH
(Fig. 14)

Oil on panel; 48 : 63 cm.

New York, Collection of Dr. Sonja Binkhorst-Kramarsky.

PROVENANCE: Sir Abraham Hume, Bart. (1749–1839); Lord Brownlow, sale, London (Christie's), 7 May 1923, lot 122; Martin Sternberg, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 25 October 1932, lot 513; Siegfried Kramarsky, Amsterdam and New York.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds, with a selection from the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and Dutch Schools ...*, British Institution, London, 1823, No. 119; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 40 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1937, No. 90; *Meeſterwerken uit vier Eeuwen, 1400–1800*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1938, No. 179 (repr.); *Peter Paul Rubens*, Schaeffer and Brandt Inc., New York, 1942, No. 24 (repr.); *New York*, 1951, No. 29 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1953–54*, No. 95 (repr.); *Man and his Years*, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, 1954, No. 80 (repr.); *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 44 (repr.); *Masters of the Loaded Brush*, Knoedler and Co., New York, 1967, No. 50 (repr.); *Gods and Heroes*, Wildenstein, New York, 1968–69, No. 47 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 90; *Rooses*, III, p. 298; *Evers*, 1942, p. 368; *Goris-Held*, p. 40, No. 88; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 38, 57; M. Jaffé, *Rubens sketching in Paint*, *Art News*, LII, No. 3, May, 1953, pp. 65, 67; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 25.

Rubens's sketch for *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*—like that for *The Voyage of the Prince*—is more open and more loosely composed than the full-size canvas (Fig. 13). The two cousins are already established in the definitive attitudes, and the men and horses on either side are grouped in a way that at least approximates the final solution. There is no sign either of the two eagles or of the church of Nördlingen. Of the allegorical personages in the foreground, only the kneeling figure of *Germania* was retained without alteration in the large painting. Danube is seated on his water jar, supporting himself with his right hand; his head is turned to the side and his left arm is extended

in a sweeping gesture toward the two captains. He is attended by a Naiad sitting on a rock amid the reeds and resting her left arm on his shoulder as she looks out at the spectator; her posture, it may be noted, is very like that of *Bathsheba at the Fountain*, in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (*K.d.K.*, p. 347), which Rubens painted at about this time. The space to the right of the river god is filled by a lively winged genius who seeks to arouse *Germania* from her torpid state by taking her arm and pointing to the momentous meeting on the hill above them.

In the definitive reordering of the composition, Rubens suppressed both the nymph at the left side and the winged genius, replacing the latter by another Naiad.¹ Danube, whom he first pictured sitting upon the urn in an unusually animated posture, was transformed into a more conventional river god, reclining on the ground and encircling the water jar with his arm.

As compared to its companion piece, *The Voyage of the Prince* (Fig. 8), the present sketch is decidedly linear in manner. The delicate draughtsmanship, particularly noticeable in such passages as that at the upper right, gives to the work something of the character of a coloured drawing. The panel had evidently been used before, for there are indications (as L. Burchard has observed) of an underlying design with larger figures.

¹ Evers points out that traces of the winged putto are still to be seen beneath the over-painting on the Vienna canvas (*Evers*, 1942, p. 368).

The Arch of the Portuguese

Leaving the Stage of Welcome, the procession now made its way into the Lange Gasthuisstraat. As he passed the Maagdenhuis, the Prince was greeted by a chorus of song from the girls of the orphanage. A little further on, near the corner of the Arenbergstraat, stood the arch raised by the Portuguese merchants (Fig. 15).

Of the foreign merchants in Antwerp in 1635, the Portuguese were the only ones to build a large-scale construction in honour of the Cardinal-Infante. At a time when commercial operations were severely restricted owing to the blockade of the port, the other merchant companies evidently found the cost of erecting a triumphal arch to be beyond their means. Perhaps the Portuguese

traders, being subject, like the people of the Southern Netherlands, to the rule of a foreign dynasty, elected to bear the considerable expense of such an arch because they had a deeper understanding of the meaning of the *Blijde Inkomst*—that ceremonial occasion on which the new sovereign was expected to reaffirm traditional privileges. Kubler has pointed out that the Flemish Entry, though unknown in Spain, was imitated in Portugal during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century.¹

Rubens took no part in the design or execution of the Arch of the Portuguese, which was the invention of the physician Ludovicus Nonnius. Himself of Portuguese descent, Nonnius (or Nuñez) was a man of humanistic learning who, in addition to being a doctor of medicine, had written several books in Latin and took a special interest in numismatics. He was well known to Rubens, who had painted his portrait, recently acquired by the National Gallery, London, about 1627.²

The arch itself is a two-storeyed structure with a single portal framed by double Corinthian columns and narrow wings containing royal portraits in niches. On the upper storey a large painting fills the central tympanum, which is crowned by a broken pediment. Cut-out figures and ornaments are placed both on the pediment and on the balustraded galleries at the sides. It may be true, as Roeder-Baumbach has suggested, that some of the architectural features are derived from the arch built by the Portuguese for the Entry of 1599;³ yet the design as a whole has a certain monumentality and shows none of the spindly verticality of the earlier work. As compared to Rubens's Arch of Philip, for example (Fig. 16), the Portuguese Arch of 1635 admittedly seems dry and lacking in verve; but its proportions are agreeable, and it cannot be said to look conspicuously out of place in the great programme of street decorations. It is not known which artist, or artists, carried out the paintings, but these too are clearly in harmony, iconographically speaking, with the figure-subjects found on other arches and stages. The principal painting on the front face (Fig. 15) represents Philip IV dispatching his brother to Germany in order to liberate that country from its oppressors—an episode very similar to that seen on the Stage of Isabella (Figs. 65, 66). And the picture on the rear face,⁴ in which the victorious Ferdinand, mounted on horseback and accompanied by several personifications, is greeted by the kneeling figure of Belgium, closely resembles *The Advent of the Prince* on the Stage of Welcome (Fig. 6). The royal portraits in the niches flanking the archway are of the same

type as those on the Arch of Philip: the pair on the front face represent Philip III of Spain (Ferdinand's father) and Emanuel I of Portugal; those on the rear are the Portuguese kings Alphonso I and John I.

At the Driehoek the cortège turned from the Gasthuisstraat into the Huidevettersstraat. In that street the Carmelites had set up at the entrance to their monastery an ornamental gateway on which was depicted their founder, the prophet Elias, holding a flaming sword in his hand and standing between the personifications of Zeal and Victory.⁵

¹ G. Kubler, *The Joyeuse Entrée at Lisbon in 1619, Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1970*, pp. 157-211.

² *K.d.K.*, p. 309; on this portrait, formerly in the collection of Lady Lucas, see *Burchard*, 1950, p. 46, No. 36.

³ *Roeder-Baumbach*, p. 64, fig. 41.

⁴ See the etching in *Gevartius*, facing p. 22.

⁵ *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. A4 verso - B recto.

The Triumphal Arch of Philip (Nos. 5-20; Fig. 1, B)

Arriving at the end of the Huidevettersstraat, where it opens on the Meir, Prince Ferdinand saw before him "the largest and most splendid arch of all", which had been placed there in honour of his brother King Philip IV (Fig. 16). The Arch of Philip (properly the Philippine Arch, "Arcus Philippeus") rose to a height of over 21 metres and measured 5.74 metres in depth. Besides the large central archway through which the procession passed, there were two smaller portals, and these three avenues were interconnected by two transverse corridors. Being nearly 11 metres wide, the arch must have filled the entire street; indeed, it was stated in the specifications that "the sides next the houses" needed only to be covered with plain board (Appendix I, p. 233 [6]).¹

On 26 November 1634 the contract for the building of the Arch of Philip was adjudged to Gaspar Vervoort, who agreed to complete the job by 8 January 1635 for 3100 guilders (Appendix I, pp. 234 [14], 235 [20]). On the following day he appeared before a notary to sign the contract in the presence of witnesses; he was accompanied by Cornelis van den Eynde, who stood surety for him.² Several weeks later, on 14 December, Van den Eynde and Vervoort drew up a subcontract, entrusting the assembling and setting up of the arch

to the carpenters Cornelis and Jacques Carnoels and Abraham La Mot, to whom they promised to pay the sum of 500 guilders.³ Vervoort received his stipulated payment of 3100 guilders in June 1635.⁴ But this was not to be all. As a result of the postponement of the Entry some alterations had been made in the structure of the arch, and for this additional carpentry Vervoort was given a further payment of 1100 guilders.⁵

The paintings which were spread over the two faces of the arch celebrated the marriages by which the Austrian house of Habsburg acquired control of the Netherlands and of Spain. All of the painted work was entrusted to Jacob Jordaens and Cornelis de Vos, who signed a contract on 28 November by which they undertook to finish the task by 8 January 1635 for the sum of 4200 guilders.⁶ Further payments of 700 guilders and 54 guilders were later authorized on account of supplementary work performed by the same artists.⁷

¹ The house on the left side of the street was occupied by a confectioner, and that on the right side by an apothecary (see Appendix II, p. 256).

² *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 407-409 (VI).

³ A. Jansen and C. Van Herck, *De Van den Eynde's, Antwerpsche Bouwmeesters en Beeldbouwers uit de XVIIe Eeuw, Jaarboek Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen*, XX-XXI, 1944-45, pp. 35-37.

⁴ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 45 (CLXXXVII); XIII, pp. 219, 220.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 47 (CXCIV); XIII, p. 220.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 410, 411 (VIII); VII, pp. 53, 54 (CCXIV); XIII, p. 223.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 59, 60 (CCXXXII, CCXXXV); XIII, p. 224.

5. THE ARCH OF PHILIP: THE FRONT FACE

ENGRAVED: (1) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 16; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 12); (2) Engraving by H. Causé (*Specimina magnificentiorum in Civitate Antverpiensi locorum et operum*, 1691); on this print, which includes several of the triumphal arches among various views of Antwerp, see *Rooses*, III, p. 333, and A.J.J. Delen, *Iconographie van Antwerpen*, Brussels, 1930, p. 159, under No. 356.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. B recto-B2 verso; *Alle de Triumphwercken*, fols. B recto-B2 verso; *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 6; *Gevartius*, pp. 25-32; *Bellori*, pp. 238, 239; *Rooses*, III, pp. 300, 301, No. 776; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 379, 380; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 68-70, 137; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 25, 26; *Varskavskaya*, pp. 282, 289.

In front of each of the four piers of the arch, a Composite column, backed by two pilasters, sustains a powerful entablature (Fig. 16). All the architectural members are of wood painted to simulate yellow marble, the capitals and bases being gilt.¹ The elaborately carved capitals were made by the sculptors Erasmus Quellinus I and Adriaen de Brie, who received 429 guilders for their work.² The lower storey, with its three portals and three vertical divisions framed by columns standing on high plinths, preserves a generally antique air, evoking memories of Roman triumphal arches such as those of Septimius Severus and Constantine. Even so, it can be seen that the vertical dimension has been increased in a non-classical manner, in order to provide space for two rows of painted portraits. It is on the upper level, however, that Rubens has totally freed himself from the restraining influence of the antique by inventing a Baroque design of extraordinary boldness and variety—a triple tympanum, subdivided by supports which are prolongations of the inner pair of columns and capped by segments of a curvilinear cornice, through the central aperture of which the ornamental and human forms seem to swell upwards with irresistible energy. For the allegorical figures poised so audaciously on the summit, there was of course classical authority in the bronze statuary with which Roman triumphal arches were crowned and of which glimpses are to be seen on imperial coins.³

Since many of the paintings that adorned the front of the arch are still in existence, I have thought it worthwhile to attempt a reconstruction of its appearance by superimposing photographs of the surviving pieces on Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 17). These decorations were intended (in Gevartius's words) to celebrate "the union of the august houses of Austria and Burgundy, through the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick IV, to Mary, daughter and sole heir of Charles the Bold, Prince of the Belgians and Burgundians". The marriage itself is represented in the large painting set within the tympanum, and its historic significance is reinforced by the group of Jupiter and Juno above, and by the statue of Hymenæus below. The six paintings distributed over the lower part of the façade are portraits of Maximilian and his descendants in the Spanish line: in the upper row are Maximilian himself as emperor, his son Philip I, his grandson the Emperor Charles V, and the latter's son, King Philip II; over the doorways below are the likenesses of Philip III and the reigning monarch Philip IV, who appear to stand within openings pierced through the entire structure. A lengthy inscrip-

tion in the centrally placed cartouche records the dedication of the arch by the City of Antwerp to King Philip IV and his brother Prince Ferdinand.

The Arch of Philip, like the Stage of Welcome, is generously provided with painted cut-outs, which include, in addition to the prominent figures on the top of the pediment, the winged sirens at the sides of the attic. Although the responsibility for providing all the paintings of the Philip Arch lay with Jordaens and Cornelis de Vos, it is doubtful that these artists personally executed any of the cut-outs. Such works were probably entrusted to pupils or studio assistants whose names are not listed in the documents.

By chance, the principal cut-out from the front face, representing *Jupiter and Juno*, still survives in a private collection in Antwerp (Fig. 19).⁴ Drawn in heroic size and boldly modelled so as to be plainly visible to the observer standing in the street far below, the two divinities, who are seated side by side upon a golden throne, are accompanied by their sacred birds, the peacock and the eagle with the thunderbolt. Jupiter, in red drapery, takes his wife's arm and looks into her eyes as he points to the marriage ceremony which is being enacted beneath them. Juno, returning his glance, puts one hand to her breast while holding in the other the golden globe—the *orbis terrarum*—which is the symbol of worldly power. The goddess of marriage wears a diadem and a veil upon her head, and her mantle is plum-coloured with golden highlights. Just as Jupiter and Juno, the *Dii coniugales*, preside over the scene of *Henry IV receiving the Portrait of Maria* in the Medici Cycle (*K.d.K.*, p. 246), so do they here confer divine approval upon the wedding of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy.⁵

In the Stuttgart Gallery is a little painting by the hand of Frans Wouters (Fig. 20)⁶ which will be recognized as a repetition of the Jupiter and Juno group from the Arch of Philip. Certain details (such as the absence of the piece of drapery beneath Juno's left hand and the misreading of the leg of the throne as one of the peacock's legs) indicate that what Wouters copied was not the cut-out itself (Fig. 19) but Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 16; see also the detail reproduced in *Rooses*, III, p. 35).

Standing on either side of the rulers of heaven are the personifications of Providence and Time. *Providentia*, a winged female figure in swirling draperies, raises her right hand as if addressing Jupiter while holding in her left a globe like that carried by Juno. Her head is surmounted with a prominent eye, symbol of the celestial foresight that has brought about the union of

Austria and Burgundy. The globe of the world as an attribute of *Providentia* is found on Roman imperial coins.⁷ Her wings are not classical but denote, according to Gevartius, the swift power and protection afforded by Divine Providence; in addition, they serve to balance those of Time on the opposite side. In the Medici Cycle, Rubens twice used the far-seeing eye to designate the goddess *Providentia*: in *Henry IV entrusting the Regency to Maria* (*K.d.K.*, p. 251), where the eye appears on the head of the young woman at the extreme right, and in *The Reconciliation of Maria and her Son* (*K.d.K.*, p. 260), where it neatly explains the role of the woman standing beside the Queen.⁸

In the figure of Time Rubens follows the type that had become established in Renaissance and Baroque art—the old man whose attributes are his wings, a scythe and a snake biting its tail.⁹ Time appears here not as the grim Reaper, but as the personification of Eternity; for he holds in his outstretched right hand the golden serpent biting its tail as the symbol of endless recurrence, while with his left hand he pushes the scythe behind him with its blade turned away, thus signifying, as Gevartius puts it, “the perpetual and unbroken succession of the august house of Austria”.

The female figures seated on sloping pedestals are identified by their heraldic pennons as the personifications of Austria and Burgundy. Each wears a laurel crown and a regal mantle trimmed with ermine and turns her head toward the deities in the middle.

The marriage picture itself is surrounded by several appropriate emblems. On the pillars at the sides are two Cherubim, carved in wood and painted gold, which are meant to recall those on the Ark of the Covenant described in Exodus: the allusion to the marriage covenant is made more explicit by the fact, vouched for by Gevartius, that one is male and the other female. Crouching upon the garlands that overlap the upper part of the painting are two Cupids, each with a torch and a cornucopia as tokens of ardour and fecundity. On the oval cartouche between them are inscribed the words of Juno from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 75): *PVLCHRA FACIET TE PROLE PARENTEM*¹⁰ (She will make you father of fair offspring)—an apt quotation, for the first child born to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy was Philip the Fair.

Standing upon a specially constructed base¹¹ over the keystone of the arch, and forming an effective contrast with the painted portraits on either side, is a stone statue of Hymenæus, god of marriage. A winged youth wearing a tunic, he carries the bridal torch and a horn of abundance; a garland of roses encircles

his neck and his head is crowned with a basket of flowers that also does duty as an architectural capital. The cornucopia and the flowers indicate that he is to be understood as a god of fertility as well as of the nuptial rites. Despite his classical attributes, Hymenæus looks much more like a Christian angel than a pagan divinity; it is instructive to compare him, for instance, to the angel on the right-hand wing of the Resurrection altarpiece in the Cathedral of Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, p. 50). This statue, as well as the matching one on the rear face of the arch, may have been carved by Hans van Mildert, who received the sizable sum of 3900 guilders "for making various figures in stone for the arches and stages".¹² Rubens does not always give to Hymenæus the same attributes. Directly above the statue, for example, in *The Marriage of Maximilian and Mary* (cf. Fig. 21), he is pictured as a nude child without wings, his torch alone identifying him as the wedding god.¹³

Gevartius may be correct in saying that the lighted lamps that stand at either side of the attic storey also introduce a note of nuptial symbolism. But what weakens this argument is the fact that the lamp is only part of a larger ornamental motif which includes the winged siren and the scroll-like base. Precisely the same combination of elements is to be seen on the façade of the Jesuits' Church in Antwerp, where no such symbolism can have been intended.¹⁴

- ¹ The sum of 239 guilders, 8 stivers was paid to Louis Vergouwen and his helpers for "gilding, silvering and ornamenting" the Arch of Philip (*Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 13 [LXXXIV]).
- ² *Ibid.*, VI, p. 465 (L).
- ³ Cf. *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 94, Nos. 8-12 (coins of Nero, Domitian and Septimius Severus).
- ⁴ Oil on panel, cut along the contours of the figures; 230 : 336 cm. Except for the missing tips of the birds' wings and the leg of the peacock, the work is intact. Formerly owned by the Antwerp artist Albéric Collin (1886-1962); now in the collection of Albert J. Lilar, Antwerp.
- ⁵ See also *The Marriage of Constantine*, from the tapestry series of the History of Constantine the Great, in which Jupiter and Juno are present in the form of a bronze statuary group (*Dubon*, pl. 2).
- ⁶ Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, Inv. No. 308. The painting, which is on tin, measures 16.5 : 21 cm. and is signed F. W. S. R. (*Katalog der Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Alte Meister*, Stuttgart, 1962, p. 250).
- ⁷ Cf. *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 68, No. 2 (coin of Trajan).
- ⁸ These instances were pointed out to me by Susan Seward.
- ⁹ These are also the characteristics of Time in *The Felicity of the Regency of Maria de' Medici* (*K.d.K.*, p. 257). On the evolution of Father Time from the mediæval

representation of Saturn, see the classic essay by E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp. 69–93.

- 10 Occasionally, the inscriptions on Van Thulden's etchings do not correspond with Gevartius's text. In such cases I have respected the latter.
- 11 See the provisions for this feature in the specifications (Appendix I, p. 234 [10]).
- 12 *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 73 (CCLIII); XIII, pp. 228, 229.
- 13 In the tapestry representing *The Marriage of Constantine*, Hymenaeus is pictured wearing a floral wreath and carrying a torch and a jewel-box (*Dubon*, p. 107, pl. 2, here wrongly identified as a girl). The god appears in three scenes of the Medici Cycle, i.e., *Henry IV receiving the Portrait of Maria* (K.d.K., p. 246), *The Marriage of Maria in Florence* (K.d.K., p. 247), and *The Entry into Lyons* (K.d.K., p. 249).
- 14 J. R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, I), Brussels, 1968, fig. 1.

5a. THE FRONT FACE OF THE ARCH OF PHILIP: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 105 : 75 cm.

Whereabouts unknown: presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 18), Antwerp, Rubenshuis (on loan from the Oudheidkundige Musea, Antwerp); oil on panel, 105.5 : 74.5 cm.; prov.: Etienne Le Roy, sale, Brussels (J. & A. Le Roy), 27–28 April 1903, lot 80; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 823 (as *T. van Thulden*); transferred to the Oudheidkundige Musea.

Rubens undoubtedly made oil sketches for both the front and rear faces of the Arch of Philip. But no trace remains of these pieces, and in their place we have only two anonymous copies, both in the Rubenshuis and both obviously workshop products. There is no reason whatever to accept the old attribution of these panels to Theodoor van Thulden.

The panel showing the front face of the Philip Arch is distinguished by its brilliant colouring (Fig. 18). The columns and pilasters are of red marble flecked with white and have gilt capitals and bases, and the entablature and the plinths are black and white. The arch as a whole stands out sharply against a light blue sky. Gold is used freely throughout: on the torch and cornucopia held by Hymenaeus, on the dolphins in the spandrels of the arch, and on the consoles and candelabra of the upper storey. The two transverse corridors mentioned in the specifications (Appendix I, p. 232 [1] are clearly visible in the painting as dark openings in the walls of the passageways.

We know from the supplementary payments to both the carpenter and the artists that after the Arch of Philip had been erected it was found necessary to

make some structural changes. By comparing the sketch with Van Thulden's rendering of the final state of the arch (Fig. 16), it is possible, I think, to ascertain the nature of these changes. When he saw the work actually standing in the Huidevettersstraat, Rubens must have been struck by the fact that the cut-out figures on the top were not fully visible owing to the steep angle of sight imposed upon the spectator. As Van Thulden's etching reveals, he therefore inserted pedestals beneath the allegorical figures in order to raise them above the intervening mass of the architecture.

These are not the only changes reflected in Van Thulden's print. The seated personifications of Austria and Burgundy hold banners instead of armorial shields. There is also a conspicuous alteration in the shape of the marriage picture, which in the oil sketch is fitted with projections containing cupids who take aim at the bridal pair with bow and arrow.

Further differences come to light when both sketches in the Rubenshuis are compared with the corresponding prints. Van Thulden represents the wedding picture on the front face as flanked by Cherubim (Fig. 16), whereas the picture on the rear side is framed by pillars with heavy consoles (Fig. 30). When we turn again to the two sketches we discover that these features are transposed: the consoles appear on the front face (Fig. 18) and the Cherubim on the rear (Fig. 31). A similar reversal may be seen in the ornamental motifs in the spandrels of the arches. The conclusion to be drawn is that in the *modelli* such decorative elements were thought of as being still subject to rearrangement.

In view of the care taken by Van Thulden to ensure that his illustrations should conform to the definitive state of the arch, it is amusing to discover that in his etching of the front face (Fig. 16) he has followed the oil sketch (Fig. 18) in depicting the two Philips in the lowermost zone as bare-headed, despite the fact that in the definitive portraits (Figs. 28 and 29) they wear plumed hats.

6. THE MARRIAGE OF THE ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA AND THE DUCHESS MARY OF BURGUNDY

Oil on canvas; 325 : 360 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; the art-dealer Noé, London 1830; Marquise Sampieri, sale, Paris, 22 March 1898, lot 1; M. Simon, Paris, 1899.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 22), whereabouts unknown; oil on canvas, 189 : 175 cm.; prov.: Oskar Huldshinsky (Berlin), sale, Berlin (Cassirer-Helbing), 10 May 1928, lot 39, pl. XXXIV (as *T. van Thulden*); sale, Berlin (Graupe), 14 April 1934, lot 86; lit.: L. Burchard, *Der sogenannte Van Thulden der Versteigerung Huldshinsky, Der Cicerone*, XX, 1928, p. 47; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 21; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 13).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. B recto, B verso; *Alle de Triumphwercken*, fol. B recto; *Gevartius*, p. 26; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 27, No. 94; *Rooses*, III, p. 301; M. Rooses, *Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Antwerp-Amsterdam, 1906, p. 115.

The painting is the work of Jacob Jordaens, who also executed the companion piece (*The Marriage of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile*) for the reverse side of the arch. On 30 April 1637, after the chief works from the Entry had been restored for presentation to the Cardinal-Infante, Jordaens received 300 guilders "for the repainting and retouching of the two great paintings which stood in the *Arcus Philippus* in the Huyvetterstraet, at 150 guilders the piece".¹

What happened to the two marriage pictures after their removal to Brussels is a mystery, for there is no mention of them in the inventories of the works of art which remained in the palace during the later seventeenth century. For want of any information concerning their whereabouts at this period, it may be conjectured that the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm sold or otherwise disposed of them, as he also seems to have done with *The Voyage of the Prince* and *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands*. During the nineteenth century we find the two pictures in the possession, successively, of the art-dealer Noé in London, of the Marquise Sampieri, and (in 1899) of M. Simon in Paris. Thereafter nothing more is heard of them.

In 1928 a painting of *The Marriage of Maximilian and Mary* appeared in the sale of the Oscar Huldshinsky collection in Berlin as a work by Van Thulden (Fig. 22). Although Ludwig Burchard (*loc. cit.*) identified the Huldshinsky painting as the very canvas executed by Jordaens for the Arch of Philip, it is evident that this work, which has a width of less than two metres, is not only far too small to be the original piece, but is also of the wrong proportions, being higher than it is wide. The painting made by Jordaens for installation in the arch measures 325 by 360 cm.,² and is thus more than twice as wide as the Huldshinsky picture. The latter can therefore only be a

copy in reduced size. In spite of the fact that it cannot be accepted as the original, the Huldshinsky painting is nevertheless not without value. Since I have not seen the work, I hesitate to propose that it might be a replica made by Jordaens himself (though this seems to me entirely possible). But there is no doubt whatever that it offers a better reflection of the large picture than the etching by Van Thulden (Fig. 21). It is for this reason that I have included the Huldshinsky copy in the photographic reconstruction of the Arch of Philip (Fig. 17).

Rubens—to whom the design of the picture is due—has invented a fanciful representation of the wedding of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria and his first wife, Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, which took place at Ghent in August 1477, and as a result of which the Netherlands became part of the Habsburg patrimony. The scene is drawn in foreshortening because the picture must be seen from below. The principals stand before a coffered arch through which the sky is visible. The young archduke, whose hair falls to his shoulders and who is clothed in a knee-length tunic, doffs his plumed hat as he steps forward to take the hand of his bride. The duchess wears a long dress embroidered with a floral pattern and trimmed with ermine, the train of which is carried by a page; her conical head-dress, or “hennin”, is of a type that Rubens would have known from his studies of fifteenth-century costumes.³ With eyes modestly lowered, Mary places her right hand in that of her spouse. She is attended by her father, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who takes her arm to show that he gives her in marriage. Charles’s presence at this scene is an anachronism: in point of fact he had died in battle some months before his daughter’s wedding. In keeping with his reputation for bellicosity, the duke wears half-armor and a commander’s cloak; except for the jewelled fillet about his hair, his costume is similar to that in Rubens’s portrait of Charles the Bold in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, p. 163). Standing somewhat inconspicuously at the left is the bridegroom’s father, the Emperor Frederick IV, whose fur-trimmed coat with full sleeves is very like that seen on the statue of the same personage in the Portico of the Emperors (Fig. 40). The dog at Maximilian’s feet, like that in Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Portrait*, signifies marital fidelity.

The momentous consequences of this union are emphasized, in Rubens’s characteristic manner, by the introduction of persons from classical mythology. The matron standing beside Mary is the earth-goddess Cybele, wearing her

customary mural crown and proffering as the bride's dowry a golden orb surmounted by a lion—that animal being, as Gevartius observes, both her emblem and that of Belgium. Her role here is plainly that of Mary's sponsor. The epithet "Mother of the Gods" which Gevartius bestows upon her was undoubtedly suggested by coins of Julia Domna showing Cybele wearing the turreted crown and enthroned between two lions, with the legend *Mater Deum*.⁴ The boy with the torch who seems to urge the bride forward by tugging at her dress is the nuptial god, Hymenæus, who in this scene has neither the wings nor the flowers that sometimes serve as identifying attributes.

The conspicuous absence of an officiating priest suggests that Rubens intended to allude to those Roman coins representing the *junctio dextrarum* of the imperial consorts.⁵ A particularly close parallel is afforded by a coin of Marcus Aurelius, with the motto *Vota publica*, on which the emperor and Faustina junior join hands while Juno Pronuba stands between them.⁶

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288.

² These are the dimensions given in the catalogue of the Sampieri sale of 1898, and they agree very well with what we know of the size of the arch and its component parts. The cut-out of *Jupiter and Juno*, for example (Fig. 19), is 336 cm. wide.

³ On Rubens's costume studies see *Held*, pp. 54–56, and *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, pp. 11–16.

⁴ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 44, No. 4. See also pl. 44, No. 2 (coin of Faustina senior).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 13, No. 15 (coin of Annia Faustina, here shown with Elagabalus); pl. 14, No. 6 (coin of Barbia Orbiana, with Alexander Severus); pl. 15, No. 10 (Tranquillina, with Gordianus III); pl. 60, No. 10 (Antoninus Pius, with Faustina senior, and below, Marcus Aurelius with Faustina junior).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 57, No. 10.

7. THE PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I (Fig. 23)

Oil on canvas; 229 : 146 cm.

Vienna, *Akademie der bildenden Künste*, Inv. No. 775.

PROVENANCE: Perhaps in the collection of J. van Lancker, sold at Antwerp, 23 May 1769, lot 8 ("Rubens. L'Empereur Maximilien, Toile. H. 82 po. L. 58 po. [214 : 151.5

cm.]”); Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740–1822), who bequeathed the work to the Vienna Academy.

COPY: Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S. 137.9; black chalk, heightened with white, 311 : 200 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 41.

EXHIBITED: *Kaiser Maximilian I*, Innsbruck, 1969.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B recto, B verso; *Gevartius*, p. 28; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 212, 213, No. 991; *Frimmel*, p. 181; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 351; L. von Baldass, *Die Bildnisse Kaiser Maximilians I, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXI, 1913, pp. 333, 334; *K.d.K.*, p. 368; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, p. 356; L. Münz, *Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien, Katalog und Führer der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1955, III, pp. 35, 36, No. 57.

Whereas Jordaens painted the marriage picture of the upper storey, the portraits of the six Habsburg rulers on the front face of the Arch of Philip were the work of Cornelis de Vos. Maximilian, great-great-great-grandfather of King Philip IV, was given a place of honour at the upper left (cf. Fig. 16).

The emperor is enthroned within a niche, the rounded top of which marks the shape of the frame behind which the canvas was placed. The effect of foreshortening required by the elevated situation of the portrait is particularly noticeable in the curved socle supporting the ornate golden throne. Maximilian wears the Habsburg family crown and a suit of full armour, over which lies a gold mantle lined with ermine and bordered with precious stones; he holds the sceptre in one hand and the sword and imperial orb in the other, and the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece is visible on his breast. The facial type, with its severe expression and care-worn features, cannot be said to bear much resemblance to Rubens's earlier painting of Maximilian in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (*K.d.K.*, p. 163), but must go back, as Münz has pointed out, to Dürer's portraits of the emperor; but it is probable that Rubens also used as model the engraving by Dominicus Custos, published in 1600, in which Maximilian is pictured wearing the imperial regalia (Fig. 61).

Münz has also observed that the emperor's right foot (now partly hidden by the left) was originally placed somewhat further to the side, the earlier position being still plainly visible beneath the repainting. In all probability the alteration was made by Rubens himself: he is known to have retouched

many of the portraits made for the arches,¹ and his sure and vigorous handling is perceptible in the present work in passages such as the face and the highlights on the armour. Van Thulden's etching, on the other hand (Fig. 16), still retains the original placing of the right leg, the reason being that he has followed the oil sketch (Fig. 18) rather than the definitive painting. The same peculiarity is to be found in the chalk drawing of Maximilian in the Rubenshuis, which is copied from Van Thulden's print.

At some point in the history of the portrait the niche was painted over and replaced by a bright red curtain, which can be seen in older photographs of the work (*K.d.K.*, p. 368). This execrable addition has now been removed and the canvas restored to its proper state.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 29 (CXXXIX).

8. THE PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V (Fig. 24)

Oil on canvas; 229 : 146 cm.

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste. Inv. No. 771.

PROVENANCE: Perhaps in the collection of Charles Godefroy, sold at Paris, 22 April 1748 et seqq., lot 12 ("Le portrait de l'Empereur Charles V. en hauteur par Rubens, de grandeur de nature. Charles V y est représenté en pied [*sic*] & en habit d'Empereur, tenant une épée nue à sa main. 6 p. 11 po. H. 4 p. 8 po. L [224.5 x 151.5 cm.]"); Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822), who bequeathed the work to the Vienna Academy.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. B2 recto, B2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B verso-B2 recto; *Gevarius*, p. 29; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 147, 148, No. 916; *Frimmel*, pp. 180, 181; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 351; *K.d.K.*, p. 368; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, pp. 355, 356; G. Glück, *Bildnisse aus dem Hause Habsburg: III. Kaiser Karl V, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. XI, 1937, pp. 167-178; L. Münz, *Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien, Katalog und Führer der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1955, pp. 36, 37, No. 58; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 80.

The portrait of Charles V, executed by Cornelis de Vos from Rubens's design and in all likelihood retouched by the master, was placed on the right side of

the arch to match that of Maximilian I (cf. Fig. 23). The epigraph above the picture was enframed by Charles's personal device—the twin columns of Hercules. Though he is likewise seated on a golden throne within a niche, Charles V adopts a decidedly more aggressive posture than his grandfather: grasping a naked sword in his mailed hand and extending one leg beyond the pedestal of the throne, he seems about to leap to his feet. The eagle crouching beneath his knees with the thunderbolt in its beak only heightens the impression of martial alertness. Over his suit of plate armour the emperor wears a red cloak trimmed with gold, and the golden-brown tunic that covers his thighs is emblazoned with the Austrian eagle. His head is crowned with laurel, and he holds the golden orb, the *Reichsapfel*, in his left hand. The sole of the throne, originally curved like that of Maximilian, has been changed into a rectangular shape; but the first state can still be seen through the thin repainting. During the restoration of the work it was discovered that the canvas had been turned over at the top so that the arc of the niche appeared to be incomplete (cf. the reproduction in *K.d.K.*, p. 368); this has been corrected, and the canvas is now visible in its full extent.

The portrait type derives unquestionably from Titian. Of the various copies by Rubens after Titian's portraits of the emperor,¹ the one used as model for the present picture appears to have been that showing *Charles V with drawn Sword*, which is known through an engraving attributed to Lucas Vorsterman (Fig. 27).² Here we find not only the full armour and the gesture of the gauntleted hand with the sword but the same facial features, the same glance, and the same set of the head.³ In addition, however, the posture of the enthroned monarch and the placing of the eagle between his feet were unquestionably taken by Rubens from a print by Dirk Coornhert after Marten van Heemskerck, representing *The Submission of all the Princes to Charles V* (Fig. 26).⁴

¹ On the complex question of Titian's portraits of Charles V and Rubens's copies after them, see A. Scharf, *Rubens's Portraits of Charles V and Isabella*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXVI, 1935, pp. 259–266; G. Glück, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–174; Burchard, 1950, pp. 28–32, Nos. 26, 27; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens und Tizian*, pp. 33–96.

² Glück (*op. cit.*, p. 172) was the first to point out that Rubens's portrait of *Charles V with drawn Sword*, as we see it in Vorsterman's print, is a synthesis of two paintings by Titian (now lost), both of which were copied by Rubens: the first copy, now in a private collection in Yorkshire (cf. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens und Tizian*, pp. 38–47, fig. 3), reproduces Titian's *Charles V with drawn Sword* painted at Bologna in 1530;

the second work by Rubens, now in the Goepel collection, Detmold, is a copy of Titian's *Charles V with Baton* (*ibid.*, pp. 47–58, fig. 8).

³ Rubens used the same type in his sketch for the statue of Charles V in the Portico of the Emperors (Fig. 50).

⁴ The engraving forms part of the series *Divi Caroli V. Imperatoris... Victoriae* of 1556. Rubens's borrowing from this print was observed by *Van de Velde-Vlieghe*, pp. 87–90.

9. THE PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP I OF SPAIN (Fig. 25)

Oil on canvas; 88 : 77.5 cm. (fragment; original size approximately 210 : 105 cm.)

México, F. Gonzales de la Fuente, *Galerias "La Granja"*.

PROVENANCE: Czernin Gallery, Vienna; sale, London (Christie's), 2 July 1965, lot 21; sale, London (Christie's), 31 March 1967, lot 55; sale, London (Christie's), 10 May 1968, lot 116, purchased by Fuente.

COPY: Engraving by W. French.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B verso; *Gevarsius*, p. 29; G. F. Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler Wiens*, I, 1866, p. 297, No. 39; *Rooses*, III, p. 301; K. Wilczek, *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1936, pp. 97, 98, No. 204; M. J. Onghena, *De Iconografie van Philips de Schone, Mémoires, Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, x, No. 5, Brussels, 1959, pp. 101–103, No. 23.

Philip I of Spain, known as Philip the Fair, was the son of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. On the Arch of Philip his portrait was placed over the central arch on the left side, so as to adjoin that of his father (cf. Figs. 16 and 18). Philip I was represented turning toward the right and standing behind a balustrade on which he rested his right hand. This work and the matching portrait of Philip II on the right side created the illusion that the two kings were standing on a gallery which passed behind the statue of Hymenæus and was closed at the back by a single large curtain.

Only a fragment remains today of the over-life-size portrait of Philip I, which, like the other portraits on this triumphal arch, was painted by Cornelis de Vos from Rubens's design. In its original state the canvas showed the king in full length, although the lower half of his body was largely concealed by

the balustrade. When the portrait was renovated for presentation to Prince Ferdinand, the bottom part was cut away just below the railing of the balustrade (as was also done with the portraits of Albert and Isabella, Figs. 35 and 36). At a later time the picture was cut down still further, leaving little more than a bust portrait. It is not known when the painting was acquired by the Czernin Gallery. In an inventory of that collection in 1884 (cited by Wilczek) the work was attributed to Velázquez.

Philip the Fair is dressed in the red robes of a knight of the Golden Fleece, with the collar of the order worn round his neck; the border of his mantle is embroidered with the same insignia. A jewelled ornament is affixed to his cap, the long tippet of which is wound about his shoulders like a scarf. A slight beard is visible on his chin.

The face bears no resemblance to the known portraits of Philip the Fair. With its firm jaw and aquiline nose it might be described as a generalized image of the familiar Habsburg features. The costume is a tolerably faithful rendering of the ceremonial dress of a master of the Golden Fleece, as may be seen by comparison with a manuscript illustration of Philip the Fair, attributed to Simon Bening, in a Book of Statutes of the order in Madrid.¹ An early drawing by Rubens himself, now in the British Museum, shows Philip the Fair in a similar costume.²

Nothing in this work suggests the intervention of Rubens.

¹ Instituto Valencia de San Juan. See M.J. Onghena, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189, No. 80, pl. xxixb.

² Reproduced in *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, fig. 1.

10. THE PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP II OF SPAIN

Oil on canvas; approximately 210 : 105 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 30, 31; *Rooses*, III, p. 301.

The portrait of Philip II occupied the right half of the space over the archway, close to that of his father, Charles V. Since the original painting by Cornelis

de Vos has seemingly been lost, our knowledge of its appearance rests on the diminutive renderings of this figure in the oil sketch of the entire arch (Fig. 18) and in Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 16). Philip II was represented almost in full face, his right hand holding a piece of paper and his left resting on the balustrade of the gallery—a gesture matching that of his neighbour, Philip I. But unlike the latter, Philip II was dressed in sober black, with a tall hat and a narrow ruff.

In spite of the fact that Rubens had made a copy after Titian's full-length portrait of Philip II in armour (Prado, Madrid, No. 441) and that this copy was kept in his own studio in Antwerp,¹ the artist selected a very different image of the king for the triumphal arch of 1635. The reason, no doubt, was that the Titian portrait depicted the subject as crown prince at the age of twenty-three, whereas Rubens wished on this occasion to commemorate Philip not as the youthful Infante in warlike trappings, but as the grave and imperturbable monarch of the later years. He might have derived this conception of Philip II from the painting of 1582 by Sánchez Coello (Prado, Madrid, No. 1036), or from any one of a number of engraved portraits showing the king in a similar costume, such as that of 1586 by Hieronymus Wierix.²

¹ On Rubens's copy, now in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth, see *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 32, 33, No. 28, and *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 59, fig. 21.

² L. Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme & Antoine Wierix*, Brussels, 1866, p. 424, No. 2004. See also the engraving of Philip II by Crispijn de Passe the Elder (reproduced in F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts*, xv, Amsterdam, n.d., p. 269, No. 805).

11. THE PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP III OF SPAIN (Fig. 28)

Oil on canvas; 239 : 130 cm.

Raleigh, N. C., North Carolina Museum of Art. No. 131.

PROVENANCE: Acquired in Belgium by the first Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722); acquired by the Museum in 1952.

COPY: Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S. 137.6; black chalk heightened with white, 310 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 42.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B verso; *Gevartius*, p. 31; British Museum, Add. MS. 9125; Coxe Papers, vol. XLVIII, Marlborough Jewels and Pictures [1718?], fol. 8 recto ("The Two Kings of Spain at Length by Rubens"); *Rooses*, III, pp. 301, 303; W. R. Valentiner, *North Carolina Museum of Art, Catalogue of Paintings*, Raleigh, N. C., 1956, p. 66, No. 131.

The portraits of Philip III and Philip IV (Figs. 28 and 29) were installed over the smaller portals, to the left and right of the spectator respectively (cf. Fig. 16). When or in what circumstances they were acquired by the Duke of Marlborough is not recorded, but it might be conjectured that they were presented to him as a gift on the occasion of his triumphal reception at Brussels on 27 October 1706, following the great victory of Ramillies by which the French were driven from Flanders. The duke had no qualms about accepting works of art: in May 1708 he selected several paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck from the castle of Tervuren for his own collection.¹

At Blenheim Palace the pictures suffered various indignities and eventually fell into oblivion. In August 1950 they were discovered hanging in the servants' hall of the palace by Oliver Millar. The two canvases, covered with brown varnish and considerably repainted, had been sewn together to form a large double portrait.² In June 1951 they were seen at Blenheim by Ludwig Burchard. Not long afterwards the pictures were taken to London, where, having been separated from each other and carefully restored, they proved to be surprisingly well preserved.³

Of the extant canvases from the *Blijde Inkomst*, the portraits of Philip III and Philip IV are certainly among the most spirited and brilliant in execution. There is no reason to doubt that the fundamental work was done by Cornelis de Vos; but the paintings also show unmistakable signs, as Burchard has remarked, of having been retouched by Rubens himself. It is not surprising that he should have given special attention to these works. For not only did they represent the two sovereigns whom Rubens had known personally, but their position on the lowest part of the arch meant that they would be in close proximity to the observer.

Philip III is seen against a blue sky with light clouds, a device intended to give the illusion of an opening through the entire thickness of the arch. Standing and looking to the right in three-quarter view, he grasps a baton in his right hand and the hilt of his sword in the other. Over his suit of black half-armor lie a crimson sash and the collar of the Golden Fleece; the large ruff

which encircles his neck is matched by similar ruffles at the wrists, and his head is covered by a broad-brimmed felt hat with a jewelled band and a fine feather. His costume is completed by golden-brown trunk hose and white stockings. On the table beside him, which is covered with red velvet, rests a cushion with the crown and sceptre. There is a *pentimento* on the king's right shoulder, where the chain of the Fleece has been moved closer to the neck. The vigour and freshness of the work give it something of the quality of an over-sized oil sketch.

As may be seen from the sketch of the ensemble (Fig. 18), it was first intended that the two kings should be without hats and that their heads should intersect the line of the lintel above them. (The fact that Van Thulden also represents them in this way [Fig. 16] is to be explained by his having used the sketch as a model).⁴ Philip III was to be pictured standing beside a table on which lay his plumed helmet. This is a frequent formula in state portraits by Titian, including that of Philip II in armour which Rubens himself had copied. In the end, however, the artist seems to have thought it preferable to insert the emblems of kingship, and the helmet was accordingly replaced by the crown and sceptre. At the same time Philip was provided with a hat of dashing design.

For the likeness of Philip III Rubens doubtless relied on his own portrait of that king, a work known to us today only through the engraving by Pieter de Jode (*V.S.*, p. 173, No. 170). But what is particularly interesting about the Raleigh portrait of Philip III is its remarkable resemblance to the equestrian portrait of the same monarch by Velázquez in the Prado at Madrid (Fig. 33), a resemblance which is to be found not only in the face, but in such details as the feathered hat, the ruff, the form of the armour, and indeed in the costume as a whole. Although the Prado canvas was finished by another hand, there is reason to believe that Velázquez began work on it in the latter part of 1628,⁵ at which time it might have been seen by Rubens in Madrid.

The only unsatisfactory part of the Raleigh painting is the frame of the window or doorway, which is rendered in a strangely clumsy manner. The sill has clearly been added by a later hand. Since Philip III is represented standing above the eye-level of the observer (as the angle of the feet indicates), the ground plane cannot have been visible in the original state; the effect, in other words, must have been identical to that in the portraits of the two Ferdinands in Vienna (Figs. 69 and 70). Also repainted is the inner face of the upright,

which is shown as fully lighted, whereas it ought to be in shadow. The original appearance of the architectural elements may be judged from the oil sketch in the Rubenshuis (Fig. 18).

¹ L. Gachard, *Les tableaux de Rubens et de Van Dyck enlevés de Bruxelles par le Duc de Marlborough*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, pp. 279-282.

² These facts were kindly communicated to me by Mr. Millar, who made a photograph of the works as he found them at Blenheim.

³ George Scharf does not mention the portraits in his *Catalogue Raisonné, or a List of the Pictures in Blenheim Palace*, London, 1861. But, as L. Burchard has pointed out, Scharf's Sketchbook No. 54, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London, contains a drawing by him showing the two pictures joined together as one (L. Burchard, memorandum dated 12 October 1952, now in the North Carolina Museum of Art). It is hardly necessary to add that these were not the portraits of Philip III and Philip IV "painted by De Vos and retouched by Rubens", which Hendrik van Halmale reported as having been destroyed in the uprising at Antwerp in 1659 (A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres. Documents inédits*, 1st series, II, Ghent, 1863, p. 186; *Rooses*, III, p. 303).

⁴ The black chalk drawing of Philip III in the Rubenshuis is in turn copied from Van Thulden's print.

⁵ See J. Lopez-Rey, *Velázquez, a Catalogue Raisonné of his Œuvre*, London, 1963, p. 186, No. 185.

12. THE PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV OF SPAIN (Fig. 29)

Oil on canvas; 239 : 130 cm.

Raleigh, N. C., North Carolina Museum of Art. No. 132.

PROVENANCE: Acquired in Belgium by the first Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722); acquired by the Museum in 1952.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B2 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 31, 32; British Museum, Add. MS. 9125: Coxe Papers, vol. XLVIII, Marlborough Jewels and Pictures [1718?], fol. 8 recto ("The Two Kings of Spain at Length by Rubens"); *Rooses*, III, pp. 301, 303; W. R. Valentiner, *North Carolina Museum of Art, Catalogue of Paintings*, Raleigh, N. C., 1956, p. 66, No. 132.

The portrait of Philip IV, reigning king of Spain and the Indies, was placed above the small passageway at the right side of the triumphal arch. The king adopts a pose that complements, with subtle variations, that of his father,

Philip III. Both are seen against a background of blue sky, standing beside a table on which is a cushion bearing the royal crown and sceptre. But though the face of Philip IV looks to the left, his body is turned slightly toward the right—an attitude very like the one used for the portrait of the Cardinal-Infante on the Arch of Ferdinand (Fig. 70). The king is dressed in a three-quarter suit of armour, with hinged plates extending to the knees over breeches of crimson velvet, and he carries a sword at his side. A general's scarf of red silk crosses the breastplate, partly concealing the insignia of the Golden Fleece, and a second scarf is tied about his waist. The right hand in its leather gauntlet rests against his hip, and the other holds a staff. In place of the ruff, banished by royal decree in 1624, Philip IV wears the starched *golilla*. His hat with its abundant plume resembles that worn by his father, but the martial note is given more emphasis by the helmet at his feet and by the spurs fastened at his heels.

When it was discovered by Oliver Millar in the servants' hall at Blenheim, the canvas was punctured in at least one place. As we see it now, freed from layers of varnish and overpainting, the picture makes a brilliant impression, surely to be attributed to Rubens's retouching of the work of De Vos. In certain passages, such as the chain of the Fleece and the leather gauntlets, the handling is even more sketchlike than in the *Philip III*, and there are *pentimenti* in the outline of the table-cloth and along the calf of the left leg. The faulty perspective of the architecture at the right is due to the efforts of an early restorer. Except for the plumed hat, the figure of the king corresponds very closely to the preliminary idea recorded in the oil sketch of the ensemble (Fig. 18).

It goes without saying that the features of Philip IV were well known to Rubens. During his sojourn in Madrid in 1628–29, he is reported to have made no fewer than five portraits of the king, including an equestrian portrait,¹ and in his Antwerp studio there were two such pictures, one of which is described in the inventory taken after his death as “Un portrait du Roy, le chapeau sur la teste, sur toile”.²

¹ F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, Seville, 1649, I, p. 132.

² Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p. 61, No. 123.

13. THE ARCH OF PHILIP: THE REAR FACE

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 30; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 14).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. B2 verso-B3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B2 verso-B4 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 33-42; *Bellori*, p. 239; *Rooses*, III, pp. 302-304, No. 777; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 379, 380; *Van Puyvelde*, *De Blijde Intrede*, p. 26; *Varshavskaya*, p. 289.

The north façade of the Arch of Philip (Fig. 30), which looked on to the Meir, was decorated in the same way as the front, the painted work being likewise carried out by Jacob Jordaens and Cornelis de Vos and their helpers. But examination of the individual paintings discloses one point of difference: whereas in those on the front or south face the fall of light is from the left, the pictures and cut-outs on the rear show the light as coming from the right. The illusion, that is to say, is that in each case the source of light is from the west. It reveals something of the thoroughness with which this project was planned that Rubens, knowing that the Entry was to take place in the afternoon, took care to make the painted works match, as far as possible, the conditions that would prevail at that time of day.

In the complex of paintings that adorn the rear face of the arch, the observer is to behold (as *Gevartius* informs us) "the growth of the Austrian monarchy to immense size by the acquisition, in the form of a dowry, of the kingdoms of Spain, through the marriage of Philip the Fair, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Prince of the Belgians, to Joanna, daughter of the Catholic Kings of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., to whose posterity there fell successively the vast kingdoms of both the Indies". As on the front face, the historic marriage fills the central field of the tympanum. The portraits on the lower storey begin, appropriately, with Ferdinand and Isabella, and continue with the governors of the Spanish Netherlands: the Archdukes Albert and Isabella on the gallery over the arch, the Archduke Ernest at the lower right, and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand at the lower left.

The allegorical figures that spring from the pediment neatly match those on the front face both in number and in placing. Here, even more than on the façade, Rubens has drawn heavily upon the propagandistic imagery of imperial Rome. The central cut-out represents the Austrian Monarchy seated in majesty and surrounded by the circle of the Zodiac. Above her head shines

Hesperus, the brightest of the stars, which Gevartius interprets as an emblem of *Hispania*. Kneeling beside her is a winged genius who offers a golden globe, symbolic of the *orbis terrarum* over which she holds sway; into this globe she inserts the cross-sceptre of Christianity. In her left hand she carries the caduceus, poppies and ears of grain.

The Zodiac denotes the eternity of Austrian power: Gevartius illustrates a gold coin of Hadrian, belonging to Rubens himself, showing a figure standing within the Zodiac and holding a globe surmounted by a phoenix, the emblem of eternity, with the legend *Saeculum aureum*—The Golden Age.¹ The triple attributes—caduceus, poppies and ears of grain—signify respectively peace, fertility and abundance, and are found in a similar combination on coins of the early empire.²

To the left of the Austrian Monarchy (on the eastern side of the arch) stands an Apollo-like youth wearing a crown and holding in his outstretched hand the radiant face of the sun. This is *Sol Oriens*, the rising Sun, who may also be taken to represent the regions of the east. It is significant that the posture, and even the arrangement of the drapery, of this sun god are modelled after the *Apollo Belvedere*. The banner that he holds in his other hand is that of Portugal, an obvious allusion to Portuguese trade and exploration in the Far East. The dark-skinned female seated at his side is *India Orientalis*, who is bedecked with jewels and carries a cornucopia laden with spices and pearls.

The counterpart to this pair is seen on the opposite, or western, side. *Luna* holds up the crescent moon and carries the banner of Castile. Kneeling at her feet is the half-naked form of *India Occidentalis*, personifying the West Indies, who is distinguished by her feathered head-dress and gold ornaments and who empties gold coins from a horn of plenty, a motif derived from the type of *Abundantia* on Roman coins.³ She symbolizes the fabulous wealth of gold acquired by Spain through the conquest of Peru.

If the Sun and Moon signify the vast extent of the Austrian monarchy, because these heavenly bodies never set on the lands subject to Spanish power, they also denote (like the Zodiac) the eternity of that power. On coins of Trajan (one of which is cited by Gevartius) *Aeternitas* is figured holding the radiate head of the sun in one hand and the crescent-topped head of the moon in the other.⁴

The significance of the entire group of cut-out figures is epitomized in the inscription on the pedestal beneath the Austrian Monarchy. The words are

taken from the passage in the *Aeneid* (I, 278, 279) in which Jupiter foretells the glory of the Roman race: HIS EGO NEC METAS RERVVM, NEC TEMPORA PONO: IMPERIVM SINE FINE DEDI (For these I set no boundary nor periods of time: I have granted them empire without end).

The ornaments within the tympanum relate to the marriage of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile. Over the principal picture is an elaborate device consisting of a golden marriage yoke with doves and nuptial torches. The accompanying inscription, IVNONE SECVNDA (*Aeneid*, IV, 45), indicates that the marriage, like that of Dido and Aeneas, has been brought about with the aid of Juno. Emblems of conjugal love and harmony are to be seen within oval wreaths on the pillars at the sides: on the left a burning heart and on the right two clasped hands.⁵ The telamones supporting the ends of the cornice take the form of Tritons seated on dolphins: their function, according to Gevartius, is to "promulgate this most splendid marriage with their shell-trumpets".

The stone statue of Hymenæus standing above the keystone of the arch duplicates that seen on the front side. Here his presence is even more appropriate because he appears between the Archduke Albert and his wife, the Infanta Isabella. Not to be overlooked, finally, are the twin cornucopias which are fastened by ribbons to the large cartouche in the centre and which are to be understood as referring to the fecundity of the marriage of Philip and Joanna. From one of the horns emerge the heads of their two sons, the future Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I; and from the other, their four daughters, all future queens. As might be expected, the imagery is derived from imperial coins, such as the well-known piece of Drusus junior with the heads of his twin children issuing from cornucopias.⁶

¹ For the coin, see *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 48, No. 5.

² See H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, London, 1930, pl. 2, No. 15 (coin of Vespasian).

³ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 58, No. 1 (coin of Carinus).

⁴ Mattingly, *op. cit.*, III, London, 1936, pl. 15, No. 11.

⁵ On the burning heart as an emblem of love, see Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Carità". For the clasped hands as a symbol of *Concordia* see p. 60 above. In the concluding scene of the Medici cycle (*K.d.K.*, p. 263) Louis XIII offers to his mother a wreath containing a flaming heart and clasped hands.

⁶ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 2, No. 1.

13a. THE REAR FACE OF THE ARCH OF PHILIP: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 105 : 75 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 31), Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.8; oil on panel, 104.5 : 74 cm. On the pedestal of the personification of the Austrian Monarchy: HIS EGO ... [the rest illegible]; on the scroll above the marriage picture: IVNONE SECVNDA; prov.: Antwerp, Town Hall; removed by the French in 1794, returned in 1815; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 473 (as *T. van Thulden*); transferred to the Rubenshuis in 1942; exh.: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 489; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 89 (wrongly described as *Arch of Ferdinand*); *Siegen*, 1967, No. 32; lit.: J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la Vie de P.P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 109; F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, pp. 1277, 1278; *Rooses*, III, p. 303; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1912, I, p. 94, No. XL; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39, No. 6 (as *T. van Thulden*).

Rubens's sketches of the two faces of the Arch of Philip have long since disappeared. Luckily, however, studio replicas of both *modelli* have been preserved, and these two panels, which are surely of the same size as the lost originals, are now to be found in the Rubenshuis. The copy showing the rear face is recorded as having been in Antwerp since the eighteenth century (Fig. 31).

Unlike its brightly coloured counterpart, the panel preserves the brownish tones that are characteristic of an oil sketch. The colour scheme of the architectural members is essentially the same (red marble columns with gilt bases and capitals; entablature and plinths in black and white), but the effect is noticeably duller and more subdued. It is apparent, in short, that the two works were not made by the same hand. The old attribution to Van Thulden can no longer be taken seriously; Rooses suggested tentatively that the author of the present sketch might be Cornelis de Vos.

Comparison with Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 30) indicates that certain changes were introduced in the actual construction of the arch. As on the front face, the allegorical figures were raised on pedestals to make them more visible, and banners were given to the two standing personifications. And, as has already been observed, an exchange of ornamental motifs took place between front and back: the Cherubim originally stationed to the right and left of the

marriage picture were shifted to the front face (cf. Fig. 16) and were replaced by heavy consoles which had earlier been intended for the other side (cf. Fig. 18).

The copyist interrupted his work before he had finished rendering the portraits on the lower part of the arch. He had brought to completion King Ferdinand and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, but left Queen Isabella only lightly indicated in grisaille. Of the two figures in the lowest zone nothing whatever is to be seen except at those points where a phantom head or hand overlaps the frame.

14. THE MARRIAGE OF THE ARCHDUKE PHILIP THE FAIR AND JOANNA OF CASTILE

Oil on canvas; 325 : 360 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; the art-dealer Noé, London, 1830; Marquise Sampieri, sale, Paris, 22 March 1898, lot 2; M. Simon, Paris, 1899.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 32; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 15).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B2 verso, B3 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 33, 34; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 28, No. 96; *Rooses*, III, p. 302; M. Rooses, *Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Antwerp-Amsterdam, 1906, p. 115.

This painting, as well as its counterpart, *The Marriage of Maximilian*, was executed from Rubens's design by Jacob Jordaens, who later retouched it for presentation to the Cardinal-Infante.¹ There being no photograph of the work (last recorded by Rooses as being in 1899 in the collection of M. Simon in Paris), our conception of it must depend on Van Thulden's print (Fig. 32) and on the miniature rendering in the copy of the oil sketch in the Rubenshuis (Fig. 31).

The Archduke Philip the Fair was married to the Infanta Joanna of Spain, known to posterity as Joanna the Mad, at Lier near Antwerp in 1496. Except for the costumes of the bridal pair, which vaguely suggest the dress of the

period, Rubens has made no effort to fix the event in place or time, but sets his hero and heroine before a stately arch like that seen in *The Marriage of Maximilian*, where they mingle with divinities from the realm of fable. Heavy curtains are gathered in the upper corners of the scene. Philip, who is preceded by Hymenæus with his torch, advances to the centre of the stage, guiding Joanna by the hand. The Archduke is dressed in a short tunic and coat and a feathered cap, his dark clothing making an effective foil for the brilliantly robed and bejewelled Infanta, who wears a coronet and a mantle lined with ermine over her gown, the train of which is carried by a winged Cupid. In the shadows behind the princely pair stands the earth-goddess Cybele, who may be recognized by her veil and turreted crown and by the lion which is her chief attribute. As *Magna Mater*, Cybele plays a leading role in dynastic alliances: in *The Marriage of Maximilian*, for example (cf. Fig. 21), she is the presiding deity. But the union of Philip and Joanna has been arranged, as the inscription IVNONE SECVNDA makes plain, through the personal intervention of the goddess of marriage. On this occasion, therefore, Cybele is overshadowed by Juno Pronuba, who, with her peacock at her side, holds up before the bridegroom the golden orb, as a symbol of the dominions which will in time fall to his lot. For Philip the Fair did not at once become king of Spain, and it is just this postponement of his accession to the throne that explains the presence of Time, in his familiar guise as an old man with wings and a scythe.

It is a curious fact—if we may judge from Van Thulden's etching—that the features of Philip the Fair bear no perceptible resemblance to the portrait seen on the front face of the arch (Fig. 25). In the present picture the rather fleshy face, the wavy hair and the jewelled cap with its high, upturned brim suggest that Rubens may have taken as his model for the likeness of Philip a portrait-type of about 1520 attributed to Jan Moſtaert and known today only through engravings of the seventeenth century.²

In the composition as a whole we may detect certain reminiscences of another matrimonial subject by Rubens, namely *The Marriage of Constantine* from the tapestry cycle of the History of Constantine the Great:³ not only are the figures disposed in much the same way before an arched background, but the attitudes of Joanna and Philip, in particular, recall those of Fausta and her father Maximianus as they approach the altar; in both scenes, moreover, Hymenæus stands in the middle and turns his head to look up at the bridegroom.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288.

² See for example the engraving of Philip by Pieter de Jode of about 1651 (M.J. Onghena, *De Iconografie van Philips de Schone, Mémoires, Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, x, No. 5, Brussels, 1959, pp. 239, 240, No. 118, pl. XL).

³ *Dubon*, pl. 2.

15. THE PORTRAIT OF FERDINAND OF ARAGON, KING OF SPAIN

Oil on canvas; approximately 240 : 130 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. B₃ recto, B₃ verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B₃ recto, B₃ verso; *Gevartius*, p. 40; *Rooses*, III, p. 303.

Ferdinand the Catholic, father of Joanna the Mad, is represented standing on the upper level of the intercolumniation at the left side (cf. Figs. 30 and 31). He wears a cap and a long coat trimmed with fur over a red tunic and carries a sceptre and a scroll; his head is turned toward his wife Isabella on the opposite side. The arched window behind him gives a glimpse of the sky.

The portrait, painted by De Vos, would appear to have been lost at an early date, for there is no mention of it in sources other than those relating to the Entry of 1635. I have not succeeded in finding the prototype followed by Rubens in his portrait of Ferdinand.

16. THE PORTRAIT OF ISABELLA, QUEEN OF CASTILE AND LEON

Oil on canvas; approximately 240 : 130 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B₃ verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B₃ verso; *Gevartius*, p. 40; *Rooses*, III, p. 303.

The portrait of Queen Isabella the Catholic by Cornelis de Vos must also be regarded as lost. She appears in regal garb on the western side of the arch beneath the personification of the West Indies (cf. Fig. 30). Turning toward

the left, she holds in her outstretched hand, so that it is clearly visible against the sky, the globe of the New World discovered by Christopher Columbus with her encouragement and support. "And thus (writes Gevartius) she opened the way to the gold-bearing kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, soon to be uncovered by others and, when the shadows of Idolatry had been banished, to be illumined by the divine light of Faith."

17. THE PORTRAIT OF THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT OF AUSTRIA (Fig. 35)

Oil on canvas; 138 : 105.5 cm. (cut down); original size approximately 210 : 105.5 cm. On the rail of the balustrade: ALBERTVS ARCHID. AVSTRIAE BELG. ET BVRG. PRINC.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 383.

PROVENANCE: François Tronchin des Délices, sale, Paris, 23 March 1801 et seqq., lot 170; the art-dealer Thomas Emmerson, sale, London, 1-2 May 1829, lot 2 (as *Archduke Charles*), bought in; acquired by the Brussels Museum in 1838 from M. Hérís.

COPY: Engraving by C. Meyssens (*Les Pourtraits des ... Comtes de Hollande*, Antwerp, 1662, pl. 37).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1900, No. 290; *Rubens Diplomate*, Rubenskaasteel, Elewijt, 1962, No. 3 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B3 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B3 verso - B4 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 40, 41; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 316, No. 1184; *Rooses*, III, p. 304, No. 778; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 348; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1912, I, p. 100, No. XLIII; *K.d.K.*, p. 365; *Glück*, 1933, p. 50; *De Maeyer*, pp. 113, 114.

The space over the central arch was reserved for the portraits of the Archdukes, who were seen standing behind the balustrade of a gallery closed at the rear by a curtain (cf. Figs. 30 and 31). Between them was the statue of Hymenæus. When the structure was dismantled and the paintings were being renovated after their exposure to the weather, it was decided to turn the two canvases into conventional half-length portraits by cutting away the lower part. The theory put forward by Rooses, that the present paintings are only replicas,

made by Rubens after the Entry as replacements for the original canvases in the Halmale Hof at Broechem, is totally erroneous.¹ The portraits in the Brussels Museum are beyond question those that adorned the Arch of Philip.

Albert is pictured looking to the right, the head almost in profile. As required by the situation, the light falls from the right. His left hand rests lightly on the hilt of his sword, while his right, in which he holds his hat, overlaps the rail of the balustrade. His black costume, which forms an impressive silhouette, is relieved only by the Golden Fleece, several rows of tiny gold buttons and the ruffs at his neck and wrists. The face is enlivened by vivid touches of red, and the Habsburg lower lip is especially prominent. A reddish gold hanging fills much of the background; the patch of open sky at the left has been discoloured by heavy layers of varnish. The subject is identified by the name on the rail: ALBERTVS ARCHID. AVSTRIAE BELG. ET BVRG. PRINC. Another inscription (now lost) beneath the portrait paid tribute to Albert's achievement in bringing about the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609-1621: BISSENI MARTIS RABIEM COMPESCIVIT ANNIS (for twice six years he checked the rage of Mars).

Although Albert had died in 1621, Rubens had no difficulty in finding an authentic likeness. As court painter to the Archdukes he naturally kept at hand portraits of Albert and Isabella from which copies could be taken when required. The last occasion when he had painted both sovereigns from the life was in 1616.² The two portraits made at that time are perhaps those which once belonged to the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace but which have since been separated, the portrait of Albert being now in the collection of Earl Spencer, Althorp. The Brussels picture of the Archduke undoubtedly goes back to the sketch from life of 1616.³ Rubens made only one modification: the position of the head, which is seen almost in side view, corresponds closely, as De Maeyer has observed, to the posthumous portrait of Albert on the left wing of the Ildefonso altar-piece in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, p. 325), which he had completed only a few years earlier.

That Cornelis de Vos painted the portraits of Albert and Isabella for the Arch of Philip is in my opinion incontestable. Yet their bold execution and superb composition (eloquently praised by Eugène Fromentin) are surely due to extensive retouching by Rubens, a task undertaken, perhaps, out of his regard for the Archdukes, and for the Infanta Isabella in particular.

¹ See pp. 224, 225 below.

- ² A letter of 9 December 1616 from Jan Brueghel to Ercole Bianchi states that Rubens is in Brussels in order to finish the portraits of the Archdukes (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 92).
- ³ The same portrait-type is also reflected in the painting of Albert in the Prado (*K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 168).

18. THE PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA ISABELLA CLARA EUGENIA (Fig. 36)

Oil on canvas; 138 : 105.5 cm. (cut down); original size approximately 210 : 105.5 cm.
On the rail of the balustrade: ISABEL. CLARA EVG. HISP. INF. BELG. ET BVRG. PRIN.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 384.

PROVENANCE: François Tronchin des Délices, sale, Paris, 23 March 1801 et seqq., lot 171; the art-dealer Thomas Emmerson, sale, London, 1-2 May 1829, lot 73, bought in; acquired by the Brussels Museum in 1838 from M. Hérís.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 291; *Rubens Diplomate*, Rubenskaasteel, Elewijt, 1962, No. 4 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B3 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B3 verso, B4 recto; *Gevartius*, p. 41; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 316, No. 1185; *Rooses*, III, pp. 304, 305, No. 779; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 348; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVIIe siècle*, p. 102, No. XLIV; *K.d.K.*, p. 365; *Glück*, 1933, p. 50; *De Maeyer*, pp. 113, 114.

The portrait of the Infanta Isabella, being installed on the right of her husband, the Archduke Albert, also stood next to that of her namesake, Queen Isabella of Aragon. The canvas was subsequently cut down so as to eliminate the balusters which covered the lower part of the figure.

Isabella is seen in a three-quarter pose that complements that of Albert, the head being turned almost *en face* in order to catch the light from the right side. The ruddy gold curtain behind her is pulled aside to reveal a glimpse of blue-grey sky, now darkened by varnish. The Infanta is dressed in black brocade, with a large ruff at the neck and smaller ones at the wrists. Her right hand holds an open fan, and the left rests on the rail, which is inscribed with her name and titles: ISABEL. CLARA EVG. HISP. INF. BELG. ET BVRG. PRIN. Her jewels consist of ear-pearls, a coronet studded with large stones, a double rope of pearls with hanging loops, a gold cross adorned with gems and pendant

pearls, and a large gold and enamel medallion of the Virgin Mary.¹ The epigraph beneath the painting, which made a play upon the name Clara (bright), alluded to the recent death of the Infanta: CLARA, IVBAR BELGIS NVPER, NVNC SIDVS OLYMPO (Clara, once a light unto the Belgians, now a star unto Olympus).

Rubens, it will be remembered, had painted the Archdukes from the life in 1616, and these portraits (in which the light falls from the right) now served him as models for the pictures on the Arch of Philip. The original likeness of the Infanta, one version of which is today in the collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., in Norfolk, Virginia,² shows Isabella wearing the same dress and the same jewels that appear in the Brussels canvas. The effects of Rubens's retouching of the work of De Vos are no less evident here than in the companion portrait of Albert.

¹ *Rooses* (IV, p. 195) describes this ornament as Notre-Dame de Bon Secours and identifies it as the insignia of the Confrérie des Esclaves de Marie, founded in 1626. But this may not be correct, because the medallion appears in portraits of Isabella as early as 1616.

² *Goris-Held*, p. 27, No. 7, pls. 15, 19 and 21. For other repetitions of this portrait-type see *De Maeyer*, p. 112.

19. THE PORTRAIT OF THE ARCHDUKE ERNEST OF AUSTRIA (Fig. 34)

Oil on canvas; 154 : 119 cm. (cut down); original size approximately 240 : 130 cm.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 385.

PROVENANCE: M. Lenglier, sale, Paris, 24 April 1786 et seqq., lot 51 (as *Archduke Albert*); Mme Lenglier, sale, Paris, 10 March 1788 et seqq., lot 92; M. Marin, sale, Paris, 22 March 1790, lot 26; acquired by the Brussels Museum in 1855 from M. Frédéric Noterman, Paris.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B3 verso; *Gevartius*, p. 40; *Rooses*, III, pp. 303, 305.

Archduke Ernest, who made his entry into Brussels as Governor General of the Netherlands in 1594, died a little more than a year later and was succeeded

by his brother, Archduke Albert. His portrait, painted by Cornelis de Vos from the *modello* by Rubens, was placed above the right-hand door of the triumphal arch (cf. Fig. 30), with an inscription referring to the briefness of his office as governor: OSTENDVNT BELGIS HVNC TANTVM FATA (the Fates only show this man to the Belgians). The canvas was later cut to make a three-quarter-length out of what was originally a full-length figure.¹

The Archduke is dressed in gold-embroidered trunk hose and half-armor with the usual appurtenances—the Golden Fleece, the ruff and the commander's red scarf. A metal gauntlet and a helmet with coloured plumes lie on the table, which is covered with a red cloth. A curtain of reddish gold brocade closes the space behind him, except at the left, where it is drawn aside to disclose a strip of blue-grey sky. The dark band across the top represents the shadowed roof of the compartment within which Ernest is standing (cf. Fig. 30).

The pose of the Archduke and the way in which he holds the baton with one end pressed against his thigh bring to mind Titian's great portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (Florence, Uffizi).² For the face of Ernest, Rubens (and De Vos) doubtless consulted portraits by Otto van Veen, who had held the position of court-painter to the Archduke. One such portrait, known through an engraving by Ghisbert van Veen,³ shows Ernest with the short beard, the close-cropped hair and the long moustaches that we see in the Brussels picture.

In quality, the portrait of the Archduke Ernest falls perceptibly below those of Albert and Isabella (Figs. 35 and 36) and the two Philips (Figs. 28 and 29). The handling is tame and lacking in assurance, and the picture contains several naïve passages, such as the bright reflections on the curtain behind Ernest's right shoulder which have no other function than to make the armor stand out from the background. It is evident, in short, that Rubens did not take the trouble to retouch his colleague's work on this canvas.

¹ The dimensions given in the catalogue of the Lenglier sale of 1786 prove that the work had already been shortened by this date.

² Tietze, *Titian*, pl. 102.

³ A. Van de Put, *Otto Vaenius and Archduke Ernest*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xxxvii, 1920, pp. 184-190, pl. B.

20. THE PORTRAIT OF THE CARDINAL-INFANTE FERDINAND AS GOVERNOR OF THE NETHERLANDS

Oil on canvas; approximately 240 : 130 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. B3 verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 41, 42; *Rooses*, III, p. 303.

There were two full-length portraits of Prince Ferdinand among the decorations for the *Blijde Inkomst*: one of these, from the Arch of Ferdinand, represents the hero in martial guise and is today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (Fig. 70); the other, from the Arch of Philip, pictured Ferdinand as a peaceful ruler and has disappeared without leaving any trace.

On the *Arcus Philippeus*, the portrait of the Cardinal Infante is installed beneath that of his namesake, King Ferdinand the Catholic (cf. Fig. 30). The young prince is dressed in the red habit of a cardinal, with a broad-brimmed hat, and a long cloak over his tunic.¹ He holds a baton in his right hand, and a plumed helmet can be seen on the table beside him. As in other portraits on the rear face of the arch, a curtain fills most of the background.

In 1628, while in Madrid on diplomatic business, Rubens had painted a portrait of Ferdinand from the life, one version of which is in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 307). But this likeness, having been made when the Infante was only eighteen years old, was no longer suitable, and the artist was obliged to take as his model a more recent portrait which had been loaned to the City of Antwerp for this purpose by the painter and art-dealer Salomon Noveliers.²

Ferdinand appears here in his function as Governor of the Netherlands—the successor of the Archduke Ernest and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Though the emblems of power and authority are present in the form of the baton and the helmet, he wears the robes of a cardinal to show that he is above all a man of peace. This meaning is reinforced by the epigraph that accompanies the portrait: DIVINVM HVNC FESSO IUVENEM SVCCVRRERE SAECLO, NE, SVPERI, PROHIBETE (Stay not, O gods, this heaven-sent youth from succouring a weary world). The words are a paraphrase of the lines in Virgil's *Georgics* (I, 500, 501)³ which refer to the young Augustus after the victory over

Antony at the battle of Actium. Gevartius makes the parallel even more explicit: "As under Augustus Caesar, when peace was established on land and sea and the Temple of Janus was closed, the world enjoyed a long period of happiness and security, so also under the auspicious leadership and incomparable virtue of the Serene Prince Ferdinand do the Netherlands rightly look forward to the peace that they have long hoped for after the disturbances of civil war."

¹ Ferdinand had been elected cardinal at the age of ten but never took holy orders.

² *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 256.

³ Gevartius occasionally "improved" the inscriptions for publication in the volume on the *Pompa Introitus*. The original wording of the inscription, as it appears on the sheet made as a guide for the letterers (Antwerp, Stadsarchief, P.K. 1634), follows Virgil's lines even more closely: *Hunc saltem afflicto invenem succurrere saeclo, ne, superi, prohibete*. That this was the version actually lettered on the arch is confirmed by the contemporary accounts in the *Triumphael Incomst* and the *Corte Wlegginghen van alle de Triumph-wercken*.

The Portico of the Emperors (Nos. 21-33b; Fig. 1, C)

Leaving the Huidevettersstraat, the procession turned eastward along the Meir. Here the Prince saw the Whale, one of the decorated cars or floats used in the annual Ommegang, and a little further on he paused to admire an extravagant pyrotechnic display that had been set up by the Postmasters. As he continued his progress along the Meir, the crowd grew larger, and the sound of shawms and trumpets filled the air. For here, close to the Clarenstraat, was to be seen the most spectacular of all the festive decorations invented by Rubens for the *Blijde Inkomst*—the Imperial Austrian Portico (*Porticus Caesareo-Austriaca*), so called from the twelve statues of Habsburg emperors that stood beneath its arches (cf. Fig. 37). It was a hybrid structure, an astonishing combination of a gallery of sculpture with an arch of triumph, the whole crowned by an obelisk and twisted columns. Van Thulden's etching, admirable though it is, conveys little of the heroic scale and splendour of this remarkable work, with its multitude of colourful figures and emblematic devices, its fluttering banners and its grandiose architecture. For those persons who took part in the princely cortège, the passage through the semicircular space dominated by the enclosing arms of the portico must have been a solemn and memorable experience.

Indeed we know from contemporary accounts that this imposing gallery made a deep impression on Prince Ferdinand, who when he arrived before it "was seen to doff his hat and ride uncovered through the portico". Later, having been asked for his opinion of the triumphal entry, he replied that the Portico of the Emperors had pleased him most, and he even inquired whether it might not be possible to have the statues sent as a gift to his brother, King Philip IV of Spain.¹ In the event, they were presented to the prince himself.

¹ *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 6. See also *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B4 recto.

21. THE PORTICO OF THE EMPERORS

ENGRAVED: (1) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 37; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 16-23); (2) Engraving by H. Causé (see p. 67, under No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. B4 recto-C4 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. B4 recto - C3 verso; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, pp. 6, 7; *Gevartius*, pp. 43-93; *Bellori*, p. 240; *Rooses*, III, pp. 305-308, No. 780; *Evers*, 1942, p. 380; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 70-72, 106, 115, 142; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 26, 27; *Varsbavskaya*, pp. 282, 289.

In order to take full advantage of the broad expanse of the Meir, Rubens laid out his gallery along a U-shaped plan (cf. Figs. 37 and 44), its width being more than 31 metres from side to side. The portal which formed the central motif was surmounted by an obelisk rising to a height of some 23 metres—higher even than the Arch of Philip. Within the arches of the curved wings which swept forward on either side were twelve statues, over life-size, of Habsburg emperors, carved in stone and gilt. Since the procession was to pass through it, the gallery was finished on the back in the same detail as on the front.

The architectural members were, as usual, carved in wood and painted in imitation of marble. The principal order consisted of fluted Ionic pilasters, whereas the arches rested on Tuscan columns. The architrave was covered throughout its length with brilliant red cloth ornamented with festoons in silver thread;¹ and upon this were placed cartouches and Seraphim with golden hair and wings. On its front, or western, face, the gallery presented three pediments to the observer, those at the ends being triangular and that in the

middle being curvilinear and broken in form. A continuous balustrade (itself crowned by copious ornaments) extended along each wing of the portico.

Rubens, intending that the central portal should evoke the idea of an arch of triumph, placed in the spandrels figures of Victories holding laurel wreaths. Though ultimately derived from classical models, their half-reclining posture finds a close analogy in the angel-trumpeters over the main portal of the Antwerp Jesuit Church, or, to be more precise, in the drawings for those angels now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. ²

The slender golden obelisk which appears to soar above the central archway is hollow, and its pierced sides are set with coloured glass, behind which lamps burn at night. At the apex shines the radiate face of the sun, for, as Pliny relates (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 13, 14), the Egyptians dedicated the obelisk to the sun god and interpreted it as a symbol of his rays. Here, as the eagles and other imperial insignia at the foot proclaim, the glittering obelisk is to be understood as an emblem of the glorious Austrian monarchy. ³ Hence the inscription on the base: ORBI SVFFICIT VNVS (One [sun, or ruler] is sufficient for the world); the corresponding epigraph on the rear face is taken from the *Iliad* of Homer (II, 204): ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΩ (Let there be one ruler). The imperial coat of arms that adorns the pedestal of the obelisk is carved in white stone. ⁴ In a typical crescendo of ornament Rubens has combined the solar symbolism of the obelisk with another emblem of the universal ruler—the *impresa* of the Emperor Charles V. Rising on either side of the obelisk are two freestanding columns of provocatively twisted form, each topped with the imperial crown and each wound about with a silver scroll bearing the famous motto PLVS VLTRA, to signify that Charles V's domain reaches far beyond the limits set by the pillars of Hercules.

The rectilinear severity of the balustrade is effectively broken by a series of decorative cut-outs. Candelabra with lighted tapers alternate with laurel crowns containing crossed palm branches, except over the middle bay of each side, where an eagle brandishes a flag. On the acroterion of the pediment at the left stands a winged Victory holding a laurel wreath and a pennon with the imperial eagle; two griffons guard the Austrian coat of arms emblazoned on the pedestal. ⁵ A similar group appears on the right-hand pediment. Here the flag carried by the Victory is that of Austria, the shield bears the royal arms of Spain, and the guardian beasts are lions (their poses reversing those of the griffons on the opposite side).

Of the many cut-outs on the portico, the most conspicuous are those representing twelve deities, six male and six female, in the form of terms, which are applied to the pilasters so as to be seen in alternation with the emperor-statues. ⁶ These are the *Dii consentes*, the twelve gods whose statues were placed in the Roman forum and who are named in a distich of Ennius (in Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, II, 6):

*Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus; Mars,
Mercurius, Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

In the portico on the Meir these great divinities have been demoted to subordinate rank, their purpose being, as Gevartius informs us, to illustrate "the virtues and characteristics of the Caesars, and the benefits conferred by them upon mankind". Among the pattern sheets in the City Archives is one with the names and inscriptions of the twelve terms (Fig. 55).

The series of *Dii consentes* begins with the pair on the narrow face at the extreme left of the portico (cf. Fig. 38). The figure on the left is Apollo, or Sol, the sun god, who is easily identified by his attributes: the lyre, the quiver of arrows, the bow (with the serpent Python wound about it), the laurel wreath, and the golden rays that shine from his head. The inscription on the pedestal reads: AVSTRIADV M PER REGNA MEAT SVRGENSQVE CADENSQVE (Rising and setting, he passes through the Austrian dominions). It is fitting that the sun god should accompany Rudolph I, says Gevartius, because that monarch restored light to a dark world after a long interregnum.

The deity on the right is Pallas, or Minerva, dressed in armour and carrying a spear and a shield with the Gorgon's head. She is placed here, according to Gevartius, because it was through Minerva's arts of wisdom and warfare that Rudolph established the sovereignty of the Habsburgs. This is also the sense of the legend on her pedestal: CONSILIO PALLAS ET FORTIBVS INSTRVIT ARMIS (Pallas furnishes him with counsel and strong weapons).

Turning the corner beside Pallas, we now follow the sequence of gods along the curving inner face of the portico. ⁷ The grim form of Mars Ultor (Fig. 39, left) with a sword and a trophy mounted on a spear is to be seen beside Albert I (Fig. 38, right), who slew his rival Adolph of Nassau in battle. The deed is alluded to in the epigraph beneath the term: VLTOR OVANS SPOLIIS MAVORS EXVLTAT OPIMIS (Triumphant Mars the Avenger exults in the spoils taken from the enemy captain).

Ceres, goddess of agriculture (Fig. 39), holding sheaves of grain in the folds of her garment, takes her place beside the Emperor Frederick III, the Fair. The inscription beneath her (from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, V, 343) emphasizes her role as law-giver: PRIMA DEDIT LEGES: CERERIS SVNT OMNIA MVNVS (She first gave laws: all things are the gift of Ceres).

Juno, goddess of marriage (cf. Fig. 40), wears a diadem and holds a sceptre. In her character as Juno Nuptialis she acts as tutelary deity to two emperors: Albert II, on her right (Fig. 39), who acquired new territories through his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Sigismund, King of Hungary and Bohemia; and Frederick IV, on her left (Fig. 40), who arranged the marriage between his son Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy which brought the Netherlands under Habsburg rule. The legend beneath her reads: ATTVLIT AVSTRIACIS IVNO DOTALIA SCEPTRA (Juno brought sceptres as dowries to the Austrians). This is not the only appearance of Juno Pronuba in the *Blijde Intrde*: her office as matchmaker to the Habsburgs forms the leading theme of the Arch of Philip.

Vulcan, maker of arms and armour, is clearly intended to accompany Maximilian I ("the last knight"), whose passion for parade armour and the trappings of chivalry was famous (cf. Fig. 40). The god wears a round cap, or *pileus*, and holds the smith's hammer and a torch. The inscription reads: CAESARIBVS CVDO VICTRICIA MVLCIBER ARMA (I, Mulciber [Vulcan], forge victorious arms for the Caesars).

In Van Thulden's illustration of the next section of the arcade (Fig. 41), a term of Hercules, with club and lion-skin, is shown immediately to the left of the statue of Charles V. It is obvious, however, that no such term can have existed, since this place was occupied by the double pilasters supporting the central pediment. There is no sign of it in Van Thulden's general view of the portico (Fig. 37), nor is it mentioned in the early accounts such as the *Triumphael Incomst*; moreover, Hercules is not named on the sheet of inscriptions for the terms (Fig. 55). The Hercules figure was in fact invented by Van Thulden for no other reason than to fill a gap in his series of sectional views of the portico (Figs. 38-43). For in reducing the curving gallery to a rectilinear arcade, he simply omitted the central passageway which in reality separated Maximilian I and Charles V and was therefore obliged to insert an additional term in its place. In this he was no doubt acting on the advice of Gevartius, who in fact confirms (p. 89) that the Hercules figure was added by the etcher, even though, as he says, that hero does not belong to the company of the *Dii*

consentes. The legend reads: *HERCVLEOS DOMVS AVSTRIADVM EST IMITATA LABORES* (The Austrian house has imitated the Herculean labours).

The god Neptune is seen with his trident on the right side of Charles V (cf. Fig. 41); the epigraph on the pedestal reads: *AVSTRIACIS GEMINOS, NEPTVNE, INTERLVIS ORBES* (For the Austrians, Neptune, you wash the shores of both worlds). Charles V, whose empire extends beyond the Atlantic to the New World, may rightly be called Lord of the Sea.

Vesta, goddess of the hearth (Fig. 42, left), accompanies the Emperor Ferdinand I (Fig. 41, right). She is veiled and holds a fiery thunderbolt in her hand. On her pedestal are the words: *VESTA EADEM ET TERRA EST TIBI QVAE, GENS AVSTRIA, PARET* (Vesta is the same as Earth, who is obedient unto you, o Austrian race). In the temple of Vesta, the round form of which signified the earth, the Vestal Virgins kept a fire perpetually burning. As the goddess who denotes piety and the sanctity of the hearth, Vesta (says Gevartius) is properly associated with Ferdinand I, whose wife bore him fifteen children and "who was very studious in religion".

Mercury appears next beside Maximilian II (Fig. 42). He is distinguished by the familiar winged cap and the caduceus which he holds in his right hand; the other hand, however, is hidden beneath his mantle, for the orders carried by this messenger of the gods must be kept concealed. The legend reads: *ADSI, O FACVNDI HERMES, PACISQVE SEQVETER* (May you be present, eloquent Hermes, as mediator of peace). Maximilian II, who spoke eight languages, was reckoned the most eloquent prince of his day; he also sought, without success, to mediate between the warring factions in the Netherlands.

Venus Victrix (Fig. 43, left), holding the golden apple in her hand and wearing beneath her breasts the brightly coloured girdle of the goddess of love, appears here as companion to the eccentric but peace-loving Rudolph II (Fig. 42, right). The inscription reads: *INSANOS MARTIS COHIBET CYTHEREA FVRORES* (Cytherea restrains the senseless raging of Mars).

Since Venus is the last of the deities on the curved face of the portico, she must also be understood as referring to Matthias I, who follows next (cf. Fig. 43). Two gods, finally, are assigned to the narrow end at the extreme right of the portico, where they are to be seen in relation to the reigning emperor, Ferdinand II.* The left-hand term represents Jupiter Conservator, grasping the thunderbolt in both hands. "I spare the pious," the inscription reads, "but hurl my thunderbolts at the Giants" (*PARCO PIIS, IN TERRIGENAS*

MEA FVLMINA VIBRO). The reference is to the vigorous efforts made by Ferdinand II to crush the forces of Protestantism.

The series of *Dii consentes*, which opens with the god of the sun, closes with the goddess of the moon. Diana, also known as the Huntress, takes her place at the right side of Ferdinand II. Like Apollo, she has a bow and a quiver of arrows, and the crescent moon is seen in her hair. The legend describes her as *ASTRORVM DECVS ET NEMORVM LATONIA CVSTOS* (Daughter of Latona, glory of the stars and keeper of the groves). Her presence at the side of Ferdinand II is justified, says Gevartius, because as a young man he had shown a particular fondness for hunting.

The convex rear face of the portico was finished in the same manner as the front, with columns, pilasters, central pediment and the like, but without the cut-out terms along the arcade. The obelisk and the columns of Hercules, being three-dimensional in form, looked quite as well from the back as from the front. On the architrave above the gilt statues were placed medallions with the *impresse* of the twelve emperors (cf. Fig. 58). Of particular interest in this connection is a sheet of drawings of the same *impresse*, now in the Antwerp City Archives, which is perhaps by the hand of Gevartius himself (Fig. 57). Each drawing consists of a rough sketch of the emblem, with the emperor's name and motto, and in addition a reference to the page in Strada's *Lives of the Emperors* on which the device in question is illustrated.⁹ The numeral in each compartment represents the number of letters in the motto to be inscribed, the sum of all twelve being entered at the lower left; this was a means of calculating the cost of the lettering.

Rubens was not the first to set up a monumental decorative work on the Meir.¹⁰ For the Entry of Prince Philip in 1549, the City of Antwerp had placed there a large screen-like gallery with effigies of ancestors bearing the name of Philip.¹¹ And in 1599, for the Entry of Albert and Isabella, the Genoese erected on the Meir an arch of quite extraordinary impressiveness (Fig. 56).¹² The middle section consisted of a single archway of conventional design topped by an obelisk. But the most striking feature was the treatment of the wings, which came forward along curving walls adorned with figures of princes to terminate in circular *tempietti*. That Rubens's Portico of the Emperors surpasses the Arch of the Genoese in monumentality and unity of conception no one will deny. But what is equally undeniable is that Rubens did not think it beneath him to adopt from the earlier work both the idea of

a central archway set between broad curving wings and the obelisk which could be lit from within at night. No doubt he had seen the Genoese Arch when it stood on the Meer in 1599;¹³ now, thirty-five years later, when he was faced with the problem of devising a festive structure for the same space, he could easily refresh his memory of that earlier solution by consulting the volume published in commemoration of the Entry of 1599.¹⁴

But if Rubens was responsible for the design of the portico, it is clear that the idea of a gallery of emperor-statues originated with Gevartius. He begins his lengthy description of the work by citing a passage from Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* to prove that such porticoes with statues existed in ancient Rome. Now Gevartius, as P. Gorissen has shown,¹⁵ had for some years been composing his own *Twelve Caesars*. This work, entitled *XII Caesarum Austriacorum vitae et elogia*, was a glorification of the Habsburg emperors from Rudolph I to Ferdinand II (precisely the sequence celebrated in the Portico of the Emperors). When, in May 1635, Gevartius was commissioned by the City of Antwerp to prepare a volume commemorating the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, he took the opportunity to insert in it the text of his work on the twelve emperors.¹⁶

It was probably due to the urging of Gevartius that, during the course of construction, a major change was made in the Gallery of the Emperors. We know from the specifications that the portico, as originally designed, was to have been a work of rather simple and inexpensive carpentry. Since the effigies of the twelve emperors were to take the form of wooden cut-outs made by the contractor with a fret-saw, the entire edifice was doubtless intended to be little more than a shallow screen. The contract was awarded on 5 December 1634 to Jan Wandelaers, who agreed to complete the work within a fortnight for the modest sum of 1800 guilders—a clear indication of a straightforward and uncomplicated job of carpentry.¹⁷

At this point Gevartius seems to have had second thoughts about the adequacy of two-dimensional cut-outs for the principal figures. On 10 December it was decided that the emperors should be carved from stone. As a result, the arches of the portico, which had been designed to house flat silhouettes, would have to be deepened. In view of the additional carpentry involved, it was agreed that the price should be doubled. But fresh difficulties now arose. Wandelaers had already made the twelve cut-outs which were no longer wanted and therefore asked for a further payment of 600 guilders. At length, after

discussing the matter with Rubens, he consented to keep the cut-outs for himself and to accept only 300 guilders. What could not have been foreseen at this date was that costs would mount steeply and that the contractor would ultimately receive 6600 guilders for his work—more than three times the price stipulated at the outset.¹⁸

The Portico of the Emperors contained no paintings on canvas. There was, notwithstanding, a considerable amount of painted work to be done on the architectural members and on the cut-outs which adorned both sides of the structure. This task was entrusted to Theodoor van Thulden, who assembled a team of four artists to help him: Jan and Gaspar van Balen, his future brothers-in-law; Jan de Labarre, a glass-painter and like himself a native of 's-Hertogenbosch; and Erasmus Quellinus, later to become an independent designer of festival decorations.¹⁹ They were paid 3500 guilders for their work.²⁰ Five sculptors were commissioned to execute the statues of the emperors from Rubens's designs. The pillars of Hercules and the candelabra were fashioned by the wood-turner Jacques van Colput for 140 guilders.²¹

Strange though it may seem in the light of his usual procedure, there is reason to believe that Rubens did not produce an oil sketch of the portico as a whole. In the first place, it is highly unlikely that such a *modello*—alone among those made for the Entry—would have disappeared without leaving a trace, either in the form of a copy or, at the very least, of a mention in an inventory or auction catalogue. Secondly, it must be evident that the oil sketch, though an ideal medium for rendering the elevation of a stage or a triumphal arch with its inset canvases, would have been totally inadequate, given the problems of perspective, as a means of articulating the complex shape of the Gallery of the Emperors. How, then, did Rubens explain his conception to the carpenters and painters? The answer, which is to be found in the specifications (Appendix I, pp. 237 [1], 238 [4], [5]), is that he made use of detail drawings rather than of a design of the whole: we learn, for example, that a ground plan was provided; that another drawing served as *patroon oft model* for the details of the architecture; and that the cut-outs were likewise to be made "according to the drawing". As a trusted collaborator, Van Thulden was probably allowed considerable latitude in representing the terms, for which no oil sketches were furnished: these deities do not in fact look particularly Rubenesque (at least in his etchings), and the Hercules figure, which to be sure was never painted, is entirely his invention.

Not a single fragment is known to survive of the vast Gallery on the Meir. When the structure was dismantled, the gilt statues of the Habsburg emperors were removed to the palace in Brussels, where they were destroyed by fire almost a century later. It had been agreed that the painted outer facing of the portico should remain the property of the city and that the timber framework alone should be kept by the contractor, Jan Wandelaers (Appendix I, p. 239 [10]). The documents show, however, that in the end Wandelaers purchased all of the woodwork from the city for the sum of 1000 guilders.²² No doubt he simply added this material, painted and unpainted alike, to the store of lumber in his shop.

¹ *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C verso.

² *Held*, Nos. 144-145.

³ Cf. C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Siena, 1613, pp. 296, 297: "La piramide ... significa la chiara, & alta gloria de' Prencipi."

⁴ *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. B4 recto.

⁵ Rubens used the same motif of two griffons as supporters of an escutcheon in his title-page for H. Goltzius, *Graeciae universae Asiaeque minoris et insularum nominata*, published at Antwerp by Jacob de Bie in 1618. The plate was re-used for the commentary of L. Nonnius on Goltzius's book in the edition published by Moretus at Antwerp in 1644 (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 91, 92, fig. 100).

⁶ The system is not as simple as it sounds, for the nature of the architectural setting is such as to make it impossible to match each emperor with a deity. Those at the ends of the portico are favoured with two attendant gods; in two instances a single god serves two emperors.

⁷ Van Thulden's etchings (Figs. 38-43) reduce the arcade to a continuous, two-dimensional sequence, ignoring the ground plan and taking no account of the doubled pilasters at the corners and at the middle arch.

⁸ Here again, Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 43) takes no notice of the fact that the final bay of the arcade stands at right angles to the one preceding it.

⁹ O. de Strada, *De vitis imperatorum et caesarum Romanorum...*, Frankfort, 1615.

¹⁰ See *Evers*, 1942, pp. 379-381, and the same author in *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 141-143.

¹¹ Reproduced in *Roeder-Baumbach*, fig. 17.

¹² *Ibid.*, fig. 40.

¹³ Roeder-Baumbach has suggested that Rubens might have collaborated on the decorations for the Entries of 1594 and 1599 (*ibid.*, pp. 71-72).

¹⁴ J. Bochius, *Historica narratio professionis et inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae ...*, Antwerp, 1602.

¹⁵ P. Gorissen, *Gaspar Gevartius en de twaalf Keizers. Zijn benoeming in Antwerpse Stadsdienst. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, bijzonderlijk van het Oud Hertogdom Brabant*, 3rd series, II, 1950, pp. 150-153. This article, to which I am indebted for the ideas expressed here, was kindly brought to my attention by Frans Baudouin.

- ¹⁶ *Gevarius*, pp. 51–84.
- ¹⁷ See Appendix I, p. 239 [11], [13]; *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 434, 435 (xxv). Hans van Mol stood surety for Wandelaers. Even at this point, it was thought that supports might have to be driven through the pavement into the bottom of the canal beneath the Meir.
- ¹⁸ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 49 (cciv); XIII, p. 221.
- ¹⁹ See M. L. Hairs, *Théodore van Thulden, 1606–1669, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 68.
- ²⁰ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 47, (CXCvii); XIII, p. 225. The painted glass in the obelisk was furnished by Jan de Labarre (*ibid.*, VII, p. 46 [CXcII]; XIII, pp. 224, 225).
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 13, 14 (LXXXVI); XIII, p. 228. Payments are also recorded for ironwork (VII, p. 57 [CCXXIII]; XIII, pp. 235, 236) and for blocks of stone to be placed beneath the columns of Hercules (VII, pp. 26 [CXxviii], 33, 34 [CL1]; XIII, p. 229).
- ²² *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 217.

The Statues of the Emperors

For each of the emperor statues Rubens prepared an oil sketch in grisaille to serve as a guide to the sculptor. Six of the set of twelve sketches are still extant; two were lost in the Second World War.

The only sketch to preserve its original appearance is that in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Fig. 49). The others (that is, the five panels in the Hermitage and the two lost panels formerly at Aachen) were altered by the addition of a painted niche surrounding the emperor and a pedestal with his name beneath (Figs. 45–48, 50–52).¹ This overpainting appears to have been done in the eighteenth century when all seven sketches belonged to a single collection. The panels now in Leningrad were acquired by Catherine the Great between 1774 and 1783 (as is known from a manuscript inventory of the Hermitage datable within those years); the pieces formerly in Aachen were purchased in Warsaw in the nineteenth century. Since at that time Warsaw was under the control of Russia, the possibility is not to be excluded that the Leningrad and Aachen sketches came from a Russian collection.²

Of the five sculptors engaged to execute the statues from Rubens's designs, two were artists of some reputation: Huibrecht van den Eynden (1594–1661) and his former pupil Sebastiaan de Neve (1612–1676).³ Very little is known about the other three—Jenin Veldener, Forci Cardon and Pauwel van den Mortel.⁴ Which emperors were assigned to each sculptor is not recorded; but this is admittedly of little importance inasmuch as the works themselves have perished. The statues, which were carved from Avesnes Stone and stood about

nine feet high (over two and a half metres),⁵ were gilded by Louis Vergouwen and his assistants⁶. They must have made a splendid effect within the arches of the portico. We are told that the Cardinal-Infante thought them admirable; he was no doubt pleased when the entire set of twelve emperors, along with many of the paintings from the *Blijde Intrede*, was offered to him as a gift by the City of Antwerp. In August 1637, craftsmen were sent to Brussels to "clean, whiten and gild" the statues, which had been set up in a gallery of the palace.⁷

After Ferdinand's death, it was decided to sell the emperors. But this brought forth a strong protest from the magistrates of Antwerp, who in 1650 wrote to the court in Brussels to say that the gift had been intended as a permanent monument. According to rumour, Leopold Wilhelm, Ferdinand's successor as governor of the Spanish Netherlands, wished to acquire the statues in order to take them to Vienna, where he planned to build a portico in imitation of that which had stood upon the Meir.⁸ In the end, nothing came of the proposal, and the emperors remained in the palace on the Coudenberg.

Meanwhile, a thirteenth statue had come into being. In 1637, Ferdinand III, King of Hungary, had succeeded his father, Ferdinand II, as emperor, and it was thought fitting to add his effigy to the original twelve. We find the new piece listed in the Spanish inventory of 1659,⁹ and it is also mentioned by the English traveller Philip Skippon, who visited the palace in 1633.¹⁰ Its appearance is preserved in a thesis of 1645 engraved by Paulus Pontius after a design by Abraham van Diepenbeeck (Fig. 59).¹¹ At the upper right of the engraving is a domed edifice of circular shape (copied, it may be noted, from the Temple of Janus, Fig. 82), between the columns of which are niches containing statues of the Austrian emperors. At the left is the statue of Ferdinand I (the legs alone being visible); then follow Maximilian II, Rudolph II, Matthias I and Ferdinand II, all corresponding exactly to the statues made for the Portico of the Emperors (cf. Figs. 41-43). The final statue—the one that has been added to the series—represents Ferdinand III, the reigning emperor.¹² The entire set was destroyed by fire in 1731.

¹ This was observed by E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens Schetsen, Bulletin Museum Boymans*, v, 1954, pp. 15, 16.

² This suggestion was made by M. Varshavskaya of the Hermitage, who generously put at my disposal the material relating to these sketches from her forthcoming catalogue of the Flemish paintings in that museum.

- 3 On these sculptors see A. Jansen, *De beeldhouwkunst in de zeventiende en in de achttiende eeuw*, in J. Duverger (ed.), *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 3rd ed., III, Utrecht, 1956, pp. 139 and 148.
- 4 Van den Eynden made three statues for about 100 guilders each, and De Neve carved two for 95 guilders each. The others were paid as follows: Veldener, three figures at 84 guilders each; Cardon, two at 82 guilders each; and Van den Mortel, two at 76 guilders each. *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 11 (LXXVIII), 12 (LXXX, LXXXI), 13 (LXXXIII), 45 (CLXXXVIII); XIII, pp. 228, 229. Veldener is registered as a pupil in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1617-18, became master in 1626-27 and died in 1654 or 1655 (P. Rombouts and T. van Leries, *De Liggeren*, Antwerp, 1872, I, pp. 542, 637; II, p. 264). Cardon, who became master in 1600, is last mentioned as teaching pupils in 1640-41 (*ibid.*, I, p. 411; II, pp. 123-124). Van den Mortel is entered as master in 1612; he died in 1651 or 1652 (*ibid.*, I, pp. 484, 488; II, p. 230).
- 5 *Corte W'legginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 6: "Wel neghen voeten lanck."
- 6 *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 43, 44 (CLXXXII); XIII, p. 227. They received 295 guilders for this and other tasks.
- 7 *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 290-292.
- 8 D. Papebrochius, *Annales Antverpienses* (ed. Mertens and Buschmann), v, Antwerp, 1848, p. 40.
- 9 *De Maeyer*, p. 444, Nos. 144-156.
- 10 Ph. Skippon, *An Account of a Journey made through Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France*, in A. and J. Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, VI, London, 1732, p. 372.
- 11 The thesis, by Count Claudio Collalto, is entitled *De iure maiestatis* and is dedicated to the young Prince Ferdinand, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II. The preparatory drawing by Diepenbeeck is in the Hermitage in Leningrad (M. V. Dobroklonsky, *Drawings of the Flemish School of the XVII-XVIII Century in the Hermitage* [Russian], Moscow, 1955, p. 52, No. 182, pl. XIX).
- 12 The pose and attributes are modelled after the figure of Charles V from the portico (cf. Fig. 41).

22. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH I

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 60) by T. van Thulden, New York, Collection E. Wolf; pen and wash, heightened with red and white chalk, 300 : 260 mm.; prov.: sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 28-29 May 1952, lot 183; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 38; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 17).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C. verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 87, 88; *Roses*, III, p. 305.

Rudolph I (1218–1291) was crowned German king in 1273 and as such became the founder of the Habsburg dynasty (cf. Fig. 38). He wears a mantle with a broad ermine collar over full armour and is crowned with a laurel wreath. He holds an orb surmounted by a cross and grasps the hilt of a broadsword, larger and heavier than the weapon worn at his side.

Rudolph's device, placed over the arch on the rear side (cf. Fig. 58), shows a mailed hand holding a mace and an olive branch, with the motto *VTRVM LV BET* (Whichever you like)—a fitting emblem for a man ready to offer war or peace.

In Van Thulden's etching of this section of the gallery (Fig. 38) the complex structure is arbitrarily flattened into a two-dimensional arcade. The drawing in the collection of E. Wolf, in New York, showing the first two arches with the statues of Rudolph I and Albert I and the term of Pallas between them (Fig. 60), is of particular interest in that it appears to be Van Thulden's preparatory design for the etching in question. This conclusion is reinforced by a correction in the drawing: the ends of the festoons hanging under the arches originally reached below the level of the capitals of the columns (as in Van Thulden's general view of the portico, Fig. 37), but were later shortened, thus resembling the festoons seen in the sectional view (Fig. 38).

22a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH I: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 45)

Oil on panel; 39 : 21.5 cm.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 510.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Catherine II, Empress of Russia, between 1774 and 1783.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 308; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 355, 356, No. 558; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 349; *K.d.K.*, p. 366; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39.

The emperor is painted in brownish monochrome with yellow highlights. The paint is more thickly worked on the head and upper half of the figure than on the feet and legs, which have the appearance of a brush-drawing. It can readily be seen that Rubens made this sketch with a work of sculpture in mind.

In order to achieve a more contained silhouette, he has arbitrarily caused the mantle to project far beyond the underlying arm with the orb. The end of the long cloak falls behind the legs in such a way as to form a solid mass at the base of the sculpture. The sketch also served as the model for Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 38), which departs from it in only a few unimportant details.

Rubens's conception of Rudolph I is fanciful, there being no established portrait-type on which he could rely.¹ The facial structure, with its markedly aquiline nose, bears a distinct resemblance to that of Maximilian I (cf. Fig. 49); the bold moustaches seem to have been added chiefly in order to differentiate the two.

The panel has been overpainted right up to the contours of the figure: the round-headed niche, the cast shadows, the rectangular base and the inscription *Imp. C. Rodolphus. 1* are all later additions, probably of the eighteenth century. These enrichments may have been suggested by the engraved portraits in Schrenck von Notzing's *Imagines* of 1601, in which the subjects are pictured standing within niches and are thrown into relief by strong sidelighting and pronounced shadows (Fig. 62).² The numeral 1337 in the lower right corner, which is also found on the other four emperor sketches in the Hermitage, is apparently an early inventory number for the whole set. The notion that these sketches came from the Walpole collection is now known to be incorrect. Catherine II acquired them from another source, as yet unidentified.

¹ Francesco Terzio's engraving (*Terzio, Austriae gentis imagines*, pl. 16) pictures Rudolph I as clean-shaven and with long hair falling to his shoulders, whereas Wolfgang Kilian (*Kilian, Serenissimorum Austriae ducum genealogia*, fol. L2) represents him with a full beard.

² *Schrenck von Notzing, Augustissimorum imperatorum verissimae imagines*, 1601.

23. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR ALBERT I

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 60) by T. van Thulden, New York, Collection E. Wolf (see under No. 22); (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 38; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 17).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C verso; *Gevarius*, pp. 45, 88; *Rooses*, III, p. 305.

Albert I (1248–1308), son of Rudolph I, was elected German king in 1298 after defeating his rival Adolph of Nassau in battle (cf. Fig. 38). As one who lived and died by the sword, he is appropriately dressed in full armour and adopts a warlike pose. He wears a crown on his helmet, the visor of which is raised. His mantle is swept aside to leave his sword-arm free (Van Thulden erroneously represents the sword as curved), and he holds a small shield with the imperial double-headed eagle.

The divinity who accompanies this bellicose ruler is *Mars Ultor*, and the motto on his device (cf. Fig. 58) is FVGAM VICTORIA NESCIT (Victory knows not flight).

23a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR ALBERT I: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 46)

Oil on panel; 38.5 : 21.5 cm. (including added strip at the right). On the base, by a later hand: *Imp. C. Albertus. I.*

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 510.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Catherine II between 1774 and 1783.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 308; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 355, 356, No. 558; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 349; *K.d.K.*, p. 366; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39.

Rubens's sketch is painted in brown tones enlivened by blue and yellow tints in the highlights. Albert I stands in an aggressive posture, brows knitted and feet widely spaced, his long cloak filling the gap between his legs. The effect of spring and alertness that is so striking in this work is totally lacking in the prosaic etching by Van Thulden (Fig. 38), who introduces a few variations by giving the emperor a curved sword and allowing daylight to be seen between the feet.

The portrait of Albert I is an imaginary one. By representing him with a moustache Rubens shows that he places no trust in the clean-shaven portrait-type found in engravings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ It is in

any event doubtful that there existed an authentic likeness of Albert I, who is described in the literary sources as having only one eye.²

The niche, the rectangular base and the inscription *Imp. C. Albertus. 1* are all the result of later overpainting. In order to provide sufficient space for the niche it was found necessary to add a narrow strip of wood measuring several centimetres in width along the right side of the panel.

¹ *Terzio, Austriae gentis imagines*, pl. 15; *Schrenck von Notzing, Augustissimorum imperatorum verissimae imagines*; *Kilian, Serenissimorum Austriae ducum genealogia*, fol. N2.

² See W. Scheffer, *Die Porträts der deutschen Kaiser und Könige im späteren Mittelalter von Adolf von Nassau bis Maximilian I*, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxiii, 1910, pp. 228, 229.

24. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.1; black chalk heightened with white, 310 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 34; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 39; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 18).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 88; *Roses*, III, p. 305.

Frederick III (c. 1286–1330), called “the Fair”, was crowned German king in 1314, but his election was successfully contested by Louis of Bavaria. Though his statue (cf. Fig. 39) shows him with the imperial attributes, crown, sceptre and orb (Van Thulden omits the last, but it is plainly visible at Frederick’s feet in Rubens’s grisaille sketch, Fig. 47), he looks rather mild beside his truculent father, Albert I (cf. Fig. 46). He wears no armour, and the tutelary deity is not Mars but the peaceful and law-abiding Ceres.

The chalk drawing of Frederick III in the Rubenshuis, like those of other emperors in this series, was copied from Van Thulden’s etching.

24a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 47)

Oil on panel; 38.5 : 20.5 cm. (including added strip at the left). On the base, by a later hand: *Imp. C. Frederikus. 3.*

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 510.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Catherine II between 1774 and 1783.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 308; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 355, 356, No. 558; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 349; *K.d.K.*, p. 366; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39.

With this, as with other grisaille sketches for the emperor statues, it is necessary to think away certain alterations: a thin strip of wood has been joined to the left side of the panel, and a later hand has added the niche, the base and the name *Imp. C. Frederikus. 3.*

Frederick III adopts a fluent and graceful pose as he gestures with the sceptre that is held in his right hand. He wears a crown and a short tunic, and a sword hangs at his side. His mantle, which is fastened by a brooch at the shoulder, is turned back over the right arm and falls in heavy folds at his feet, partly covering the imperial orb. He has a short, curly beard, and his eyes are fixed on the observer; there is nothing about the face to suggest that it copies a portrait-type.¹

¹ Frederick III is represented as beardless in the iconographies of the Austrian house published by *Terzio, Austriae gentis imagines*, *Schrenk von Notzing, Augustissimorum imperatorum verissimae imagines*, and *Kilian, Serenissimorum Austriae ducum genealogia*.

25. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR ALBERT II

Stone, over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.7; black chalk heightened with white, 312 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen, 1967*, No. 35; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 39; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 18).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C2 recto, C2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C. verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 89; *Rooses*, III, p. 305.

Albert II (1397-1439) succeeded his father-in-law Sigismund as German king in 1438 but reigned for less than two years. Except that he wears full armour under his tunic and mantle, his statue (cf. Fig. 39) resembles that of Frederick III in pose and costume. Both rulers are crowned and carry a sceptre, and their heads are inclined to the left. Juno Nuptialis was chosen to stand beside Albert II, because his marriage to Sigismund's daughter brought new lands to the Habsburgs.

25a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR ALBERT II: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 48)

Oil on paper, fastened to panel; 39 : 22 cm. (including added strip at the right). On the base, by a later hand: *Imp. C. Albertus. 2.*

Formerly Aachen, Suermondt-Museum; destroyed in the Second World War.

PROVENANCE: Acquired in Warsaw by Berthold Suermondt (1818-1887) and presented by him in 1882 to the museum in Aachen.

LITERATURE: *Suermondt-Museum zu Aachen, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Gemälde*, Aachen, 1883, pp. 62, 63, No. 116; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 350; *K.d.K.*, p. 367; F. Kuetgens, *Städtisches Suermondt-Museum, Gemälde-Katalog*, Aachen, 1932, p. 148, No. 439; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39; *Bernbard, Verlorene Werke*, p. 5.

Albert II stands with head turned and eyes looking downward to the left; the sceptre is held upright in one hand and the other rests on the handle of his sword. He is crowned and wears a short, fringed tunic and a bulky mantle over a suit of full armour. The face, although it exhibits no very distinctive features, is not unlike the representations of Albert II in the engravings by Terzio and Kilian.¹

The lost sketch of Albert II was unique in being painted on paper fastened to a wooden panel. The work was subsequently enlarged by the addition of a strip at the right measuring 0.5 to 1.5 cm., after which the niche and the inscription *Imp. C. Albertus. 2* were painted over the neutral ground surrounding

the figure. All the sketches so treated (the five in the Hermitage and the two formerly in Aachen) must have come from the same collection.

¹ *Terzio, Austriacae gentis imagines*, pl. 9; *Kilian, Serenissimorum Austriae ducum genealogia*, fol. a.

26. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK IV

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 40; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 19).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. C verso-C2 recto; *Gevartius*, p. 45; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

Frederick IV (1415-1493), "the Peacemaker", reigned as German king for fifty-three years and was the last emperor to be crowned in Rome. He was not an heroic or commanding personality, nor has Rubens attempted to make him one (cf. Fig. 40). Instead of the imperial mantle and knightly armour worn by nearly all the other Habsburg rulers, Frederick IV, who holds the orb and sceptre, is dressed in a fur-trimmed, wide-sleeved coat of thoroughly unmartial cut—a garment described in the *Triumphael Incomst* as "a short, brightly coloured tabard". His cap is adorned with a laurel wreath, and a jewelled ornament hangs from a chain about his neck.

It is appropriate that Juno Nuptialis stands at Frederick's side, for it was he who arranged the marriage between his son Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy that brought the Netherlands into the hands of the Habsburgs. He is represented, as we have already seen, in the painting of that marriage on the Arch of Philip (cf. Fig. 21), where his costume and his heavy-set face make him easily identifiable.¹

¹ For a contemporary portrait of Frederick IV, see the medal by Bertoldo di Giovanni, which shows him wearing a cap and a coat with a fur collar (G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1930, pl. 148, No. 912).

26a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK IV: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; 34 : 17 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Charles Spruyt (1769–1851), sale, Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq., lot 127 (“L’empereur Frédéric IV. Esquisse légèrement coloriée. h. 13, l. 8½ p. [35 : 23 cm.]”). Purchased in 1864 from Etienne Le Roy by Vicomte Bernard Du Bus de Gisignies, sale, Brussels, 9–10 May 1882, bought by M. Deschamps for 1900 francs.

LITERATURE: E. Fétis, *Galerie du V^{to} Du Bus de Gisignies*, Brussels, 1878; *Rooses*, III, p. 308.

Inasmuch as the grisaille sketch of Frederick IV appears to have been lost, I quote here the description of the work given in the catalogue of the Du Bus de Gisignies sale (Brussels, 1882): “*L’Empereur Frédéric IV. (Camaieu) ... En pied, vu de face, la tête ceinte d’une couronne de laurier; tourné vers la droite; vêtu d’une espèce de longue pelisse garnie de fourrure; ayant au cou une chaîne à laquelle pend un médaillon; tenant des deux mains le globe du monde surmonté d’une croix, et ayant en même temps le sceptre dans la droite.*” It is clear from this description that the panel was not subjected to the over-painting that is so conspicuous on those in Aachen and Leningrad. The sketch was used both by the sculptor and, later on, by Theodoor van Thulden, who followed it closely in his etching of Frederick IV (Fig. 40); the only significant differences are that in the print the emperor wears a cap and that there is no cross on the orb.

Although it is described as being somewhat wider, I see no reason to doubt that the sketch of Frederick IV owned by Charles Spruyt and sold in 1815 was the same as that later acquired by Du Bus de Gisignies; the discrepancy in measurements is probably due to carelessness on the part of Spruyt’s cataloguer.

27. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 40; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 19).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C2 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 89; *Roozes*, III, p. 306.

Maximilian I (1459–1519) occupies a position of prominence in the portico, just to the left of the triumphal arch (cf. Figs. 37 and 40). Raising the sceptre in his right hand with an imperious gesture, he turns his head as if looking toward his grandson, Charles V, on the opposite side of the arch. In his left hand he carries the orb, with which he also holds up the ample folds of his cloak. Clad in full armour (significantly, it is Vulcan who appears at his side) and arrayed in all the imperial regalia, he presents a striking contrast to the bourgeois garb of his father Frederick IV. Yet Maximilian's costume, though fundamentally similar to that of most of his predecessors in this series, nevertheless differs from theirs in several points: he is the first of the emperors to wear the Habsburg mitre-crown (the form of which is more clearly rendered in Rubens's oil sketch, Fig. 49, than in Van Thulden's print); he is also the first to wear the collar of the Golden Fleece; and his mantle, instead of being a commander's cloak fastened at the shoulder, resembles a liturgical cope, being secured in front by a jewelled tab and ornamented with a broad band along the edges.

27a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 49)

Oil on panel; 39 : 18 cm. Above the figure: *Maximilianus primus* / No. 6.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No. 385.

PROVENANCE: Chambers Hall (1786–1855), who bequeathed the work to Oxford University.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1937, No. 92 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953–54, No. 96 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Buschmann*, pp. 20, 21; *Catalogue of Paintings, Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1951, No. 385; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens Schetsen, Bulletin Museum Boymans*, v, 1954, pp. 15, 16.

Of the extant oil sketches for the emperor statues, this is the only one that has not been falsified by the addition of a niche around the figure. It is painted entirely in grisaille, without any architectural background or other indication of setting; a few touches of red may be seen in the shadows of the sceptre and of the fingers that grasp it, and there is a hint of rose-red close to the head. At the top of the panel is a faint inscription in Rubens's hand: *Maximilianus primus/ No. 6*; the numeral identifies this as the sixth in the sequence of twelve emperors. Haverkamp Begemann has pointed out that the perpendicular red line drawn through the figure was intended to define for the sculptor the vertical axis of the statue. The faint outlines of a pedestal can be made out through the darker tone that covers the ground plane.

The rendering of the facial features and the set of the head suggest that Rubens may have taken as his model the oval portrait of Maximilian engraved by Dominicus Custos (Fig. 61).¹ It is noteworthy, however, that he has not imitated the purely conventional crown shown in Custos's print but has correctly given to Maximilian the Habsburg crown, which may be recognized by the horns of the mitre on either side and by the single longitudinal arch topped by a cross. The sketch for the standing Maximilian is plainly related to the seated portrait of that emperor from the Arch of Philip (Fig. 23); not only is the costume the same, but a fold of the mantle is pulled across the figure in a remarkably similar way, as if to serve as a cushion for the orb.

Nothing is known of the early history of the panel. In order to clear up previous misconceptions, it may be well to reiterate that it was not part of the Walpole collection at Houghton Hall, nor did it ever belong to Catherine II at the Hermitage.²

¹ D. Custos, *Atrium heroicum*, 1, Augsburg, 1600. The same plate, with some reworking, was used in Kilian, *Serenissimorum Austriae ducum genealogia*, 1623, fol. b.

² The lost oil sketch formerly in the Hermitage represented Maximilian II (see No. 30a below).

28. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.2; black chalk heightened with white, 311 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 37; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 41; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 20).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. C2 verso–C3 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C2 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 89; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

The first statue on the right side of the triumphal arch (cf. Figs. 37 and 41) is that of Charles V (1500–1558), who is described in the epigraph placed over his head as “the first of the emperors, not in order of number but of merit; the boundary of whose kingdom is the end of the earth”. Turning his head toward the left and holding a naked sword in his right hand and the globe in his left, the emperor adopts a posture that complements that of his predecessor Maximilian I. Over his suit of half-armor he wears a general’s cloak fastened by a clasp at the shoulder; his head is wreathed with laurel and the chain of the Golden Fleece is hung round his neck. The symbolic eagle at his feet with the thunderbolt clutched in its talons also serves a practical purpose by affording a solid base for the sculpture.

28a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 50)

Oil on panel; 39 : 21.5 cm. On the base, by a later hand: *Imp. C. Carolus. 5.*

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 510.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Catherine II between 1774 and 1783.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 308; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 355, 356, No. 558; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 349; *K.d.K.*, p. 366; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 39, 89, pl. 88; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, pp. 80, 81.

Though the panel shows no sign of having been enlarged, it has undergone the same repainting as the other sketches of this set in Leningrad and Aachen: the niche (rendered in a tediously realistic manner that conflicts with the freshness of Rubens’s figure sketch), the carefully delineated pedestal, and the name *Imp. C. Carolus. 5.* are all the work of a later hand.

In many respects, Rubens's standing figure of Charles V represents an adaptation of the seated portrait of that emperor from the Arch of Philip (Fig. 24). The three-quarter view of the head (derived ultimately from Titian), the laurel wreath, the suit of armour and the mantle are identical; in both works the monarch holds the drawn sword in an upright position, and the eagle crouches at his feet. A similar relationship has been noted between the grisaille sketch of Maximilian I and the seated portrait of that personage on the Arch of Philip.

29. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND I

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 41; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 20).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C3 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C2 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 89, 90; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

Ferdinand I (1503–1564) became Roman emperor only at the age of fifty-five, on the abdication of his brother, Charles V. This explains the inscription placed above his statue (cf. Fig. 41): IAM SENIO FESSVS FRATER DVM DESTITIT ATLAS, IMPOSITVM ALCIDES GESSI CERVICIBVS ORBEM (Already weary with age when my brother Atlas set down the world, I have borne this burden upon my neck like Hercules). Ferdinand, though fitted out in the imperial trappings, is made to look tired and careworn.

29a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND I: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 51)

Oil on panel; 39 : 22 cm. (including added strip on the left). On the base, by a later hand: *Imp. C. Ferdinandus. 1.*

Formerly Aachen, Suermondt-Museum; destroyed in the Second World War.

PROVENANCE: Acquired in Warsaw by Bertholdt Suermondt (1818–1887) and presented by him in 1882 to the museum in Aachen.

LITERATURE: *Suermondt-Museum zu Aachen, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Gemälde*, Aachen, 1883, p. 63, No. 117; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 350; K.d.K., p. 367; F. Kuetgens, *Städtisches Suermondt-Museum, Gemälde-Katalog*, Aachen, 1932, p. 148, No. 440; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 39; Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke*, p. 5; W. Hilger, *Ikongraphie Kaiser Ferdinands I. (1503-1504)* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte Österreichs*, 3), Vienna, 1969, pp. 120, 121, 151, No. 34.

The sketch, now unfortunately lost, will be recognized as one of that group subjected to extensive rehandling by an early collector: the panel had been enlarged by the addition of a strip, 3 to 3.5 centimetres in width, along the left side, and the entire surface surrounding the figure painted to resemble a niche; the same hand also lettered the name *Imp. C. Ferdinandus. 1.*

Ferdinand I, wearing the mitre-crown and the imperial mantle over full armour, holds the orb and sceptre and directs his eyes downward and to the left. With his drooping head and deeply lined face, he is the image of the weary ruler, bowed down by age and the cares of office. It is a standard portrait-type, such as Rubens could have known through the work of several engravers. The facial features may be compared, for example, to the portrait of the monarch in Francesco Terzio's *Imagines* of 1569; the pose and the costume, on the other hand, may owe something to the engraving of Ferdinand I in Schrenck von Notzing's *Verissimae Imagines* of 1601 (Fig. 62).¹

¹ I have suggested above (see No. 22a) that the background niche added to this and other Rubens sketches might have been inspired by these same engravings.

30. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN II

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.5; black chalk heightened with white, 310 : 196 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 36; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 42; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 21).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C₃ recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C₂ recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 45, 91; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

Maximilian II (1527-1576) succeeded his father, Ferdinand I, as Roman emperor in 1564. Tolerant in matters of religion, he sought to moderate the harsh measures taken by Philip II to crush the revolt in the Netherlands.

He is represented with the orb and sceptre (cf. Fig. 42) in an attitude which, though somewhat less autocratic, is reminiscent of that of his great-grandfather, Maximilian I. Rubens's oil sketch for this figure has been lost, and the features in Van Thulden's etching are too generalized to permit comparison with other portraits of Maximilian II.¹

¹ There is no resemblance, for example, to Francesco Terzio's engraving of Maximilian II in the *Imagines* of 1569, a work published during the lifetime of the emperor.

30a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN II: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 39 : 21 cm.

Formerly St. Petersburg, Hermitage.

In addition to the five extant sketches of Habsburg emperors in Leningrad, the manuscript inventory of the Hermitage, drawn up between 1774 and 1783, lists a sixth sketch, representing the Emperor Maximilian II.¹ The panel was subsequently lost, and no trace of it has since been discovered.

¹ The catalogues of the Hermitage say only that the missing piece represented "Maximilian" (e.g. *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 355, 356). I am indebted to M. Varshavskaya for the information that the inventory specifies "Maximilian II".

31. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH II

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.4; black chalk heightened with white, 311 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 39; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 42; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 21).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. C₃ recto, C₃ verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C₂ verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 46, 91; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

The last three emperors—Rudolph II, Matthias I and Ferdinand II, all of whom reigned during the early seventeenth century—wear a laurel wreath instead of the Habsburg crown. The statue of Rudolph II (1552–1612) shows that eccentric monarch in a lively posture, his head tilted to one side and his hands held out as if he were gesturing with the sceptre and orb (cf. Fig. 42). His costume consists of a cuirass, a short tunic and trunk hose, and a military cloak.

The heavy-jowled, prognathous face of Rudolph II is very well known through a number of contemporary portrait-engravings, such as for instance that by Aegidius Sadeler.¹ It is therefore rather surprising to find that Van Thulden's etching, instead of rendering this distinctive physiognomy, substitutes a conventional, full-cheeked countenance that is totally lacking in individuality. No doubt Rubens's oil sketch gave a more faithful likeness of the monarch, but that sketch, unfortunately, has been lost.

1 Reproduced in *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 49, fig. 15.

31a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH II: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 40 : 25 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The grisailles of Rudolph II and Matthias I have been lost. Perhaps they are to be identified with the two sketches of Austrian emperors (unnamed, but surely belonging to this series) which were sold at auction in Brussels on 1 April 1794 as part of the collection of Canon Pierre Wouters (lot 4: "Deux esquisses peintes par le même [Rubens] représentant des empereurs de la maison d'Autriche. B[ois]. 16 pouces de haut. 10 de large [40.11 x 25.07 cm.]."). The possibility is of course not to be excluded that the two Wouters sketches were the pair later acquired in Warsaw by Bertholdt Suermondt (Nos. 25a and 29a).

32. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR MATTHIAS I

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.8; black chalk heightened with white, 311 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 38; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 43; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 22).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C2 verso; *Gevartius*, p. 46; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

Matthias I (1557-1619), king of Hungary, succeeded his brother Rudolph II as emperor in 1612. His is represented wreathed with laurel and wearing the imperial cope over half-armor and trunk hose; holding the orb and sceptre in one hand, he grasps the scabbard of his sword with the other (cf. Fig. 43). Matthias I (1557-1619), king of Hungary, succeeded his brother Rudolph II designing the statue Rubens probably consulted an engraved portrait of Matthias, such as that by Aegidius Sadeler dated 1616 (*Le Blanc*, 81), in which the emperor is seen in three-quarter length, dressed in similar costume.

32a. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR MATTHIAS I: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 40 : 25 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

This work, which has been lost, may have been one of the two sketches of Austrian emperors from the collection of Canon Pierre Wouters sold at Brussels on 1 April 1794 (see No. 31a).

33. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II

Stone; over life-size.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S.137.3; black chalk heightened with white, 310 : 198 mm.; exh.: *Siegen*, 1967, No. 40; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 43; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 22).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. C3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C2 verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 46, 92, 93; *Rooses*, III, p. 306.

The statue of Ferdinand II (1578-1637) stands within the final arch at the right or southern end of the portico (cf. Figs. 37 and 43). The reigning monarch, who is dressed in almost precisely the same fashion as his predecessor, Matthias I, turns his head to the left as if to gaze upon the Cardinal-Infante as he passes through the Gallery of the Emperors. The serpent which he crushes beneath his feet is an allusion to the campaigns undertaken by Ferdinand to extirpate Protestantism from the Austrian dominions; in this connection *Gevartius* cites a coin of Valentinian III, on which that emperor places his foot on the head of a serpent as a sign of victory.¹ A similar meaning is conveyed by the term at Ferdinand's side, which represents Jupiter Conservator with the thunderbolt to be hurled at heretics.

¹ For the coin, see *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 23, No. 13.

33a. A STANDING HABSBURG EMPEROR: DRAWING (Fig. 53)

Pen over black chalk, with traces of heightening in white; 302 : 167 mm.

Portinscale, near Keswick. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell.

EXHIBITED: *Loan Exhibition of Drawings by Old Masters from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell*, Colnaghi & Co., London, 1959, No. 38; *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, No. 29.

The drawing represents a standing emperor dressed in cuirass and trunk hose, with an ermine cape and a mantle that reaches to his ankles. He wears a crown and the collar of the Golden Fleece and holds a baton in his right hand; the left hand rests upon the hip. The design was first traced upon the sheet with a pointed instrument, apparently from a previous drawing, and was then

redrawn in chalk and ink with some variations. In the original tracing the left hand may have held an orb; if so, this detail was suppressed in the subsequent redrawing.

The drawing was identified by Ludwig Burchard as an early study for the statue of Ferdinand II (Fig. 43). This interpretation seems to me to be hardly tenable. It may be granted that Rubens drew one or two preliminary sketches of this sort: of course it would be absurd to maintain that he made *no* drawings for the Entry of 1635. But the monarch in the present drawing does not sufficiently resemble the effigy of Ferdinand II in pose or in costume. He wears a crown and an ermine cape, neither of which is characteristic of the later Habsburg emperors in Rubens's portico; his right hand holds a baton rather than a sceptre; and there is no suggestion of a serpent under his feet. Furthermore, the mantle, arranged as it is in a severely rectangular shape, is totally unlike those worn by Ferdinand II and his predecessors, which are fuller and more abundant and are gathered up in complex folds suggestive of movement and energy. A better parallel for the Springell drawing might be found in Rubens's design for the title-page of the *Gelresche Rechten* (Roermond, 1620), in which the Archduke Albert is represented wearing a remarkably similar costume, consisting of crown, ermine cape with the collar of the Fleece, and long mantle hanging in straight folds (reproduced in *Evers*, 1943, fig. 87).¹

On the verso of the Springell drawing is an earlier chalk sketch of a seated figure (Fig. 54), which was left in fragmentary condition when the sheet was cut down to be re-used for the standing emperor on the recto. Though Burchard does not appear to have expressed an opinion concerning this figure, the suggestion has been made (in the Colnaghi and Edinburgh exhibition catalogues) that it might be a preliminary idea for the seated portrait of Maximilian I on the Arch of Philip (Fig. 23). This reading would be admissible only if the figure could be shown to be dressed in the imperial regalia. In my opinion, however, the costume is not that of an emperor but of an ecclesiastic—a bishop perhaps. It is not armour that this dignitary wears under his mantle, but a long tunic reaching to the feet. It is far from certain, moreover, that he wears the Golden Fleece about his neck, and I am inclined to think that the head-dress is an episcopal mitre rather than the Habsburg crown. But what effectively rules out the identification of the figure as Maximilian is the fact that the object held in his hands does not represent the imperial orb and sceptre, but seems rather to be a model of a church.

¹ It is not suggested that the Springell drawing is a study for the *Gelresche Rechten*. Rubens's preparatory drawing for this title-page is in the collection of Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam (repr. in J. G. van Gelder, *Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw, Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950-51, pp. 136, 137, fig. 23).

33b. THE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 52)

Oil on panel; 38.5 : 21.5 cm. (including added strip at the left). On the base, by a later hand: *Imp. C. Ferdinandus. 2.*

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 510.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Catherine II between 1774 and 1783.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 308; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 355, 356, No. 558; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 349; *K.d.K.*, p. 366; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39.

Rubens could have taken as a model for this sketch any one of a number of engraved portraits of Ferdinand II showing that monarch arrayed in laurel wreath, ruff, cuirass and imperial mantle: typical of such prints is the bust-portrait in Wolfgang Kilian's *Serenissimorum Austriae ducum genealogia* of 1623.

Ferdinand takes no notice of the snake writhing beneath his foot. The monarch's haughty gaze is effectively emphasized by the counter-movement of the hands, which seem to thrust the orb and sceptre toward the right.

Like several of the other pieces from this series in the Hermitage, the panel has been widened by a narrow strip of wood along the left side; the niche, the low pedestal and the inscription *Imp. C. Ferdinandus. 2* were also painted on the panel at this time. The incoherent treatment of the folds of the mantle beneath Ferdinand's right wrist is not at all characteristic of Rubens and may be the result of later retouching.

The Stage of Isabella (Nos. 34, 35; Fig. 1, D)

As he emerged from the Portico of the Emperors, Prince Ferdinand turned left from the Meir to proceed along the Clarenstraat, passing on his right the church and convent of the Poor Clares. Facing the Clarenstraat across the

Lange Nieuwstraat, and blocking the approach to the Sint-Jacobskerk, rose a stage dedicated to the memory of Ferdinand's predecessor as Governor of the Netherlands, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (Fig. 63). The site had been carefully chosen. Near this spot, during the Joyous Entry of Albert and Isabella into Antwerp in 1599, had stood an arch decorated with figures representing Sts. Elizabeth, Eugenius and Clara, the patron saints of the Infanta.¹ Since the death of Albert, moreover, she herself had worn the habit of the Sisters of St. Clare.

The Stage of Isabella was analogous to the Stage of Welcome in being a one-sided screen. Gevartius, anxious as always to find antique authority for these inventions, compares the structure to the Roman funeral pile, as it is illustrated on coins of Antoninus Pius and other emperors, with the legend *Consecratio*.² The observer might have been pardoned, however, for thinking that it resembled not so much a stage or a funeral pile as the façade of a small church; indeed Gevartius also speaks of it as a mortuary chapel (*sacellum ardens*), and in the account book of the city treasurer the work is called a "stage or *chapelle ardente*".³ The fact that the entire rear face was covered with black cloth made the funerary significance of the structure all the more evident.

¹ J. Bochius, *Historica narratio profecionis et inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae...*, Antwerp, 1602, pp. 236, 237 (engraving).

² *Bernhart*, *Münzkunde*, pl. 55, Nos. 8-12.

³ *Génard*, *Intrede*, XIII, p. 222.

34. THE STAGE OF ISABELLA

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 63; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 24).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. C4 recto, C4 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. C3 verso, C4 recto; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 7; *Gevartius*, pp. 94-98; *Bellori*, p. 240; *Rooses*, III, pp. 308-310, No. 781; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 66, 67, 150; *Van Puyvelde*, *De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 27, 28; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 286-288.

If Van Thulden's etching gives an accurate rendering (Fig. 63), the work stood upon a stagelike platform or basement of simulated masonry with a flight

of steps, the whole resembling somewhat the stage built for the Landjuweel at Antwerp in 1561.¹ But that such a base actually existed is by no means certain. It does not appear in Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 64), nor is there any reference to it in the specifications for the stage (see Appendix I, pp. 241-243). Closer inspection of Van Thulden's illustration only raises further doubts. The etching consists of two parts, the structure proper being represented on one plate and the base on a second, smaller one. It is conceivable that the stage was first shown as resting upon a different foundation and that Van Thulden, becoming dissatisfied with it, cut away the bottom part of the plate and replaced it with the present piece. But this is mere conjecture.

The stage is built in two storeys, the lower one being of the Tuscan and the upper one of the Composite order. The principal portal is flanked by two smaller doorways with angular arches, above which are semicircular windows. The central unit is set off by pairs of engaged columns, and there are narrow wings at the sides. The bands of "masonry" which are carried round the pilasters and attached columns are reminiscent of similar features in the portico that Rubens designed for his house in Antwerp.

The upper storey, which is confined to the middle section, is framed by pairs of free-standing twisted columns of white and gold, which are a continuation of the sturdy Tuscan columns below. The tympanum is filled by a large picture representing *Philip IV appointing Prince Ferdinand Governor of the Netherlands*. The dedication to Isabella appears on a plaque above the painting: MATRI PATRIAE, CAELO RECEPTAE (To the mother of this country, now received in heaven). The work is crowned by an antique gable, behind which (as we learn from the specifications) runs a platform five feet in width (Appendix I, p. 242 [6]).

The many candles that bristle from the pediment are part of the funerary symbolism of this *chapelle ardente*. The most prominent feature is the golden seven-branched candlestick that stands at the apex. It is modelled, as Gevartius duly notes, after the candelabrum which was taken from the Temple of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus and which is represented in the famous relief on the Arch of Titus in Rome.² The seven-branched candlestick is placed at the highest point because it has celestial significance: Philo Judaeus, Flavius Josephus and Clement of Alexandria (all cited by Gevartius) explain that it represents the sun in the midst of the six planets, and Clement also interprets it as a symbol of Christ. Seven smaller candles are ranged along the cornice on

either side, and there are triple candelabra over the twisted columns; two larger candles, finally, stand beside the allegorical figures over the wings. All these candelabra were turned from wood by the contractor (Appendix I, p. 242 [3]).

Hardly less numerous are the winged figures that surround the great picture. Six little Cherub heads are to be seen in the broad curving frame, and a Seraph, decked with bunches of fruit, fills the central angle of the gable. Supporting the frame of the picture are two winged sirens in the shape of terms adorned with festoons of flowers and carrying golden baskets of flowers on their heads.

The gilt cut-out figures at the sides stand on bases of altar-like design with goats' heads at the corners. On the left, Public Health (*Salus publica*) holds the serpent and patera which are her customary attributes. This goddess, who also appears in *The Advent of the Prince* (cf. Fig. 6), denotes the general welfare which (as Isabella promises) will come again to Belgium under the governorship of Prince Ferdinand. Her counterpart on the right side is *Securitas*, who has a palm branch and an anchor to show that the security won by Ferdinand's victory is solid and long-lasting. The attributes are unusual for this personification, who sometimes appears on Roman coins with a laurel crown in her hand;³ but the anchor, as an emblem of stability, is unquestionably a suitable implement for Security.⁴

The contract for the building of the Stage of Isabella was awarded on 10 December 1634 to Jeronimus van Hove, who was expected to complete the job by January 6 and who was to receive the sum of 698 guilders, 19 stivers (Appendix I, pp. 242 [8], 243 [13]).⁵ Inevitably, however, Van Hove was called upon to make various adjustments and additions, and when all was over he was paid more than a thousand guilders.⁶

With the exception of the large canvas, which was entirely by the hand of Gerard Seghers, the painted work on the Stage of Isabella was carried out by Jan van Boeckhorst (known as Lange Jan) and Jan Borchgraef. They were paid a total of 470 guilders, which included 120 guilders for supplementary work over and above the fee of 350 guilders initially agreed upon.⁷

¹ See *Roeder-Baumbach*, p. 67, fig. 42.

² The etching of this relief in the volume on the *Pompa Introitus (Gevartius)*, p. 94) was copied by Van Thulden from the illustration in Guillaume du Choul's *Religion des anciens Romains* (Lyon, 1581) and not from a drawing by Rubens. The subject was mistakenly attributed to Rubens by R. Hecquet in his *Catalogue des estampes*

gravées d'après Rubens, Paris, 1751, p. 4, No. 13. Hecquet's error was corrected by F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. 5. The etching was however issued separately with the added words *Pet. Paul. Rubens invenit*, and it was no doubt owing to this false legend that Voorhelm Schneevogt included the work in his catalogue (*V.S.*, p. 7, No. 48).

³ *Bernhart*, *Münzkunde*, pl. 6, No. 7; 69, No. 11 (coins of Otho).

⁴ On imperial coins, even *Laetitia* may have an anchor, to show that joy is lasting (*ibid.*, pl. 19, No. 10 [coin of Allectus]).

⁵ *Génard*, *Intrede*, VI, pp. 427, 428 (XIX). The performance of the work was guaranteed by Hendrick Huysmans.

⁶ *Génard*, *Intrede*, VII, p. 50 (CCVII); XIII, p. 220.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 50 (CCVI), 51 (CCIX); XIII, p. 222.

34a. THE STAGE OF ISABELLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 64)

Oil on panel; 68 : 70 cm. Numerous inscriptions on pedestals and cartouches, and in the central picture.

Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. No. 2626.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Hendrik Lankrink (1628–1692), sale, London, 23 January 1693, one of a group of sketches numbered lots 207–212 ("Rubens, Six Triumphs"); Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, 1676–1745, sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Orford (1730–1791), to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779; transferred from the Hermitage to the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, in 1930.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Note book A.y.y.*, fol. 36b (*Walpole Society*, xxvi, 1937–38, p. 56); H. Walpole, *Ædes Walpoleanæ*, 2nd ed., London, 1752, p. 70; *Rooses*, III, p. 310; *Ermitage, Cat. Somoif*, p. 357, No. 561; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 352; *K.d.K.*, p. 370; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39.

The partly unfinished state of the oil sketch permits us to follow the successive steps in its development. Having first covered the surface of the panel with a light ground, Rubens drew a series of chalk lines with the ruler to guide him in the rendering of the architecture. The rough indications of mouldings and ornamental details in the upper corners were perhaps also made at this time. The main features of the design were now boldly set down in grisaille, as may be seen on the right section of the panel. The final stage was the detailed execution in full colour. The artist took care to paint the figure-subject in the tympanum as clearly as possible, for this was to serve as the *modello* for the

large canvas. But in dealing with the architecture he found it necessary to finish only the left half of the sketch, leaving the right-hand part in under-painting. Rubens resorted to the same time-saving measure in the sketch for the Stage of Welcome (Fig. 3).

The correspondence between the oil sketch and the stage built near St. Jacobskerk (cf. Fig. 63) is extraordinarily close. The principal difference is that the sketch makes no provision for the platform and the flight of steps seen in the etching; but these features, as I have already suggested, may have been a fanciful invention by Van Thulden. At the top, the panel terminates at the apex of the gable, leaving no room for the seven-branched candlestick. But the existence of this ornament may be inferred from the base that is visible there and from the steplike sequence of candles leading up to it along the raking cornice. Of the single candles that stand beside the two allegorical figures on the wings there is only a slight indication on the left side. In the final solution the height of the entire edifice was increased by the insertion of a kind of podium beneath the columns and the allegorical figures of the upper tier. It was undoubtedly these changes that made up the supplementary work (*de naerwercken*) carried out by the contractor.¹

The entablatures consist of alternating bands of dark green and light-coloured stone, and the capitals are gilt. Whereas the lower part of the stage is rather subdued in colour (in keeping with the plainness and severity of the Tuscan order), the upper storey produces an effect of great richness. The columns and pilasters on the ground level are of green marble; the twisted columns of the second storey are white with decorations in gold, and the pilasters beside them are red. Garlands of brightly-coloured flowers are suspended from the Seraphim in the pediment and on either side of the large painting. The feigned statues of allegorical figures are of gold.

Rubens has noted on the sketch many of the inscriptions which are to appear on the completed work. Above the principal painting is the dedicatory inscription *MATRI PATRIÆ, CÆLO RECEPTÆ*. On the base beneath the personification at the left are the words *SALVS PVBLICA*, and on that of her companion at the right, *SECVRITAS*. The tablet over the portal bears the legend *HIC VIR, HIC EST*, which in the definitive solution will be placed beside the figure of Isabella in the large canvas (see No. 35).

That picture, which fills the tympanum of the upper storey, has a rounded top, and its sides flare outward at the bottom; the lowermost zone is partly

overlapped by the massive architrave of the doorway. The eye is instantly drawn to the right side of the composition, where the strongest notes of colour are concentrated and where a flight of steps leads to a royal throne beneath a canopy. There Philip IV, acting upon the advice of Jupiter and Minerva who stand beside him as counsellors, rises to his feet to bid farewell to Prince Ferdinand, whom he is dispatching to Belgium. The newly appointed governor, dressed in a tunic and mantle of brilliant red and holding a commander's baton in his outstretched hand, turns his head to look at the king as he starts down the steps to begin his journey. Near the bottom of the picture are two inscriptions, both relating to the prince: *IN VTRVMQ. PARATVS* and, in smaller letters, *EN VINCE*. Ferdinand is preceded by two genii carrying emblems of peace and war to indicate his readiness for either eventuality. The two women at the left denote the unhappy state of Belgium since the death of the Infanta Isabella. The standing figure is the personification of Grief, heavily veiled and clasping her hands in despair; the kneeling woman, whose head is covered with a black veil, and who is identifiable as *Belgica* by her ermine mantle and by the lion crouching at her feet, throws up her arms as she implores the aid of the Infanta, now in heaven. Isabella, whose love for Belgium is expressed by the symbolic group of a mother with her children, responds by pointing with evident approval to her successor, the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. Her costume is the one that she wore during her last years—the black and white habit of the Poor Clares.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 220.

35. PHILIP IV APPOINTS PRINCE FERDINAND GOVERNOR OF THE NETHERLANDS
(Fig. 65)

Oil on canvas; 146 : 185 cm. (fragment); original size approximately 400 . 450 cm.

Antwerp, Rubenshuis. Inv. No. S. 12.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; in 1659 in the Palace at Brussels. Donated to the Rubenshuis in 1938 by S. Hartveld, Antwerp.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Inv. No. D. 2861; oil on paper, 172 : 254 mm.; it reproduces the lower half of the composition in reverse sense; (2) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 66; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 25).

EXHIBITED: *Rubens Diplomate*, Rubenskaasteel, Elewijt, 1962, No. 118; *Siegen*, 1967, No. 43.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. C4 recto, C4 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. C3 verso; *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-Voeghsel*, p. 7; *Gevartius*, pp. 96-98; *Bellori*, p. 240; *Rooses*, III, p. 309; J. van Herck, *Een onbekend fragment van Gerard Seghers, Handelingen van het 3e Congres voor Algemeene Kunstgeschiedenis*, Ghent, 1936, pp. 78-82; J. Lavalleye, *Revue et notices*, 3, *Peinture et dessin, Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, VII, 1937, p. 191; A. J. J. Delen, *De Antwerpsche Mecenen en het Museum Rubens, Het Huis van P. P. Rubens, Periodisch Bulletin*, No. 2, October 1938, pp. 86, 87.

The painting is documented as the work of Gerard Seghers. In June 1635 he was paid 600 guilders "for painting the large picture on the stage at Sint-Jacobskerk";¹ this must have been the sum agreed upon beforehand, because a year later, in June 1636, he received an additional payment of 40 guilders for supplementary work on the same canvas.² Finally, in April 1637, he was paid the sum of 150 guilders for retouching the painting so that it might be given to the prince.³

The picture is known to have remained in Brussels at least until 1659, in which year it was described in the Spanish inventory of the works of art remaining in the palace on the Coudenberg.⁴ It must, however, have been removed from the palace not long afterward, for it does not figure in the somewhat later Flemish inventory which, though undated, seems to have been made before 1698.⁵ Thereafter we hear nothing more of the work until its appearance, by this time in fragmentary form, in the collection of S. Hartveld in Antwerp.

All that survives of the original canvas (cf. Van Thulden's etching, Fig. 66) is the fragment now in the Rubenshuis (Fig. 65), which shows only the upper parts of the figures of Ferdinand, Philip IV, Minerva and Jupiter at the right side of the composition. And even this fragment is irregular in shape, a triangular patch having been added at the lower left. The colours, though rather more subdued, agree with those in Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 64). Philip IV, who is dressed in severe black, places his hand on his brother's shoulder; he

has a sword at his side and wears a broad-brimmed hat, a *golilla* and the chain of the Golden Fleece. Ferdinand, who is also armed with a sword, is clothed in red and holds a cardinal's hat in his hand. The two divinities who accompany the royal brothers are less brilliant in colour, and their complexions are noticeably darker than the blond faces of Philip and Ferdinand. Jupiter is wrapped in light red drapery and carries a red and gold thunderbolt; Minerva is inconspicuously dressed in grey. A red cloth hangs behind the throne, and the curtains of the canopy are reddish gold. At the left, a patch of pale blue sky is visible beyond the brownish-green marble column. The paint has suffered in some sections, notably on the torso of Jupiter, which is rather blotched in appearance.

Like the other artists who worked on the decorations for the Joyous Entry, Seghers has willingly sacrificed his own individuality in order to realize the master's intention as faithfully as possible. Inevitably, however, all the freshness and sparkle of Rubens's sketch have been lost in this dry, competent and quite uninspired enlargement. Only in the head of Jupiter has Seghers been able to free himself somewhat from the slavish imitation of the model that is so conspicuous in the vapid faces of the two princes.

With the aid of the original oil sketch (Fig. 64) and Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 66) we may easily visualize the painting as a whole. In addition to representing an historical event (the appointment of Prince Ferdinand as Governor of the Netherlands), the work is plainly intended as an apotheosis of the Infanta Isabella,⁶ whose elevation on clouds above the world of men is a motif derived from the repertory of devotional art. It is not surprising that the author of the *Triumphael Incomst* was misled into thinking that the persons in the sky beside Isabella were the Madonna and Child. In point of fact, this group, consisting of a mother and children, is an emblem of piety; it may be compared, for example, to a coin of Antoninus Pius showing *Pietas Augusti* with a child in her arms and two others at her side.⁷ Gevartius confirms this meaning when he says that the figures express "the maternal piety and love felt by the Infanta Isabella for the Belgians". Turning her face toward *Belgica* and pointing to Ferdinand, she pronounces the words from Virgil's *Aeneid* (VI, 791) which were inscribed on the painting: HIC VIR, HIC EST, TIBI QVEM PROMITTI SAEPIVS AVDIS, BELGICA (This is the man, this is he whom you so often hear promised unto you, Belgium).⁸ Another passage from the *Aeneid* (II, 61) is to be seen on the steps beside Ferdinand himself: IN VTRVMQVE PARATVS,

from which we are to infer that the hero is ready for either peace or war. These alternatives are also symbolized by the two winged genii who stride impatiently down the steps, while looking back at the prince as if to hurry him on. The nearer genius, a male figure only partly covered by rose drapery, holds a caduceus and a cornucopia and has flowers in his hair: on Roman coins these attributes signify the blessings of peace.⁹ His companion, a woman in a long dark dress, displays the shield of Minerva with the Gorgon's head as a sign of war: but this grim meaning is somewhat mitigated by the ear of grain—a symbol of hope—that emerges from behind the shield.

Rubens has here made effective use of that method of "live allegory" which is most familiar to us from the Medici Cycle. Particularly striking are the analogies between this work and *The Apotheosis of Henry IV* (*K.d.K.*, p. 253): in both we recognize the elevated throne at the right side where the earthly ruler receives divine counsel, the numerous personifications of abstract ideas who mingle freely with the historical personages and whose actions convey much of the passion of the scene, and the apparition of the deified mortal in the sky.

The imploring figure of *Belgica*, whose kneeling attitude resembles that of one of the courtiers at the foot of Maria's throne in the Medici canvas, finds an even closer relationship in the drawing in the Louvre of a young woman with raised arms (*Held*, No. 124; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 203), which is a study for *The Massacre of the Innocents* of about 1635 in Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 378).¹⁰ The dog on the steps beneath the throne of Philip IV is a common motif in paintings by Rubens: one thinks, inevitably, of the two animals in *The Coronation of Maria de' Medici* (*K.d.K.*, p. 252). Similarly, the architectural fragments inserted as space-fillers in the lower right corner can be matched in other compositions: the oil sketch of *The Emblem of Christ appearing to Constantine*, in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (*K.d.K.*, p. 231), contains a comparable passage.

The likeness of Isabella goes back to the portrait of the Infanta in the dress of the Poor Clares which Rubens made from the life in Antwerp in 1625 and which became the official image of the governor during her last years.¹¹ For the figure of Philip IV he had at hand a portrait of the monarch which he had painted from the life during his stay in Madrid in 1628–29, and of which he also availed himself for the full-length picture of the king on the Arch of Philip (Fig. 29). But for the face of Prince Ferdinand, in this as in other

paintings for the *Blijde Intrede*, Rubens made use of a recent portrait of the Cardinal-Infante which had been loaned to the city for this purpose by Salomon Noveliers.

- ¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 50 (CCVI); see also XIII, p. 222.
- ² *Ibid.*, VII, p. 110 (CCCI) (incorrectly described, owing to a slip of the pen, as "aen St Joriskercke" instead of "aen St Jacobskerck"); XIII, p. 226.
- ³ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 288, 289.
- ⁴ *De Maeyer*, p. 444: "Otra pieza, alta de 16 pies y 20 de largo, representando el departamento del Principe Cardinal del rey d'España, quando vino a estos estados, pintado de Gerardo Segens [*sic*]."
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 454-460.
- ⁶ This is the title applied by Gevartius to the stage as a whole.
- ⁷ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 67, No. 8.
- ⁸ There is no sign of these words on the fragment now in the Rubenshuis.
- ⁹ *Felicitas saeculi*, for instance, carries a caduceus and a cornucopia on a coin of Decius (*Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 16, No. 7).
- ¹⁰ This was pointed out by *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 325, who also noted that the same attitude is used for the Virgin Mary in the *Crucifixion* of 1635-40, in the Museum at Toulouse (*K.d.K.*, p. 420).
- ¹¹ The original portrait made on that occasion is probably the panel now in a private collection in Switzerland, which was included in the exhibition of Rubens's oil sketches at Rotterdam (*Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 50, repr.). For the principal replicas by Rubens, see *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 39, 40.

The Triumphal Arch of Ferdinand (Nos. 36-43; Fig. I, E)

At the Stage of Isabella, the procession turned to the left in order to approach the Arch of Ferdinand. This work, more properly called the Ferdinandine Arch ("Arcus Ferdinandinus"), stood in the Lange Nieuwstraat, at the point where it is intersected by the Markgravestraat. It was dedicated, as the name implies, to the Cardinal-Infante himself, and thus formed a complement to the Arch of Philip raised in honour of his brother, the King of Spain. The two structures (which had been included in the plans for the Entry from the outset) were built on the same monumental scale,¹ and both had three openings interconnected by transverse passages. But there was one important difference. The Arch of Ferdinand (Fig. 67) was a true arch of triumph in the antique sense, its purpose being to celebrate the great victory won by the prince and his cousin,

the King of Hungary, at Nördlingen in September 1634. This explains why its proportions are more classical than those of the Arch of Philip.

The contract for the building of the Arch of Ferdinand was awarded on 24 November 1634 to the carpenter Jan Wandelaers, who a few weeks later was also commissioned to construct the Portico of the Emperors. Wandelaers undertook to complete the work by 8 January 1635 for 2999 guilders (Appendix I, p. 246 [10], [16]). When he received his payment in June, 1635, the sum had risen to a total of 3328 guilders,³ not an excessive amount, when it is compared to the cost of carpentry on the Arch of Philip.

Another contract, meanwhile, was awarded to Caspar van den Hoecke and his son Jan van den Hoecke, who on 28 November agreed to carry out the painted decoration of the Arch of Ferdinand "both inside and out, below and above and on all sides... in accordance with the model and design", for the sum of 3000 guilders.⁴ The task of assembling and directing the helpers seems to have been taken on by Jan, for the payments are registered in his name.⁵ The painting of the arch was originally to have been finished by 8 January; but when it became obvious that the Entry would have to be deferred, the artists were authorized to make improvements in their handiwork, for which they received a supplementary payment of 140 guilders to cover expenses.⁶

¹ The Arch of Ferdinand was 72 feet high, 40 feet wide and 26 feet deep (20.5, 11.5 and 7.5 metres respectively).

² *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 409, 410 (VII). The guaranty of performance was made by Cornelis van Mol, who subsequently contracted to build the Stage of Mercury.

³ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 50 (CCV); XIII, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 412, 413 (IX).

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 34 (CLII); XIII, p. 223.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 42 (CLXXV); XIII, p. 223.

36. THE ARCH OF FERDINAND: THE FRONT FACE

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 67; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 26).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. C4 verso–D2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. C4 verso–D2 recto; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 7; *Gevartius*, pp. 99–107; *Bellori*, pp. 240, 241; *Rooses*, III, pp. 310–312, No. 782; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 65, 66, 152; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 28, 29.

The lower storey is articulated by six columns of the Tuscan order, the paired columns on either side of the main portal standing out further than those on the flanks (Fig. 67). The system is continued into the second storey, where the single columns are succeeded by sculptured caryatid terms, and the doubled columns by broad Ionic pilasters in front of which are statues of female figures; resting on these supports is a narrow attic with a crowning cornice and a triangular pediment over the middle section.

The specifications make it clear that it was the responsibility of the contractor to furnish the cut-outs and the architectural elements, except for the terms and the Ionic capitals of the second storey, which were separately commissioned by the city (Appendix I, p. 245 [7]). The name of the sculptor who executed the statues and terms is not recorded.

The epigraph over the central portal proclaims the dedication of the arch "to the mighty and invincible Prince, Ferdinand of Austria, Infante of Spain, protector of German liberty, defender of religion, because, having annihilated warlike peoples at Nördlingen, he has raised the Belgian provinces to the highest hopes by his auspicious arrival".

The martial prowess of the two Ferdinands forms the theme of the decorations on the façade. The gable is crowned by a large and spectacular cut-out of Aurora, riding in a chariot drawn by four white horses which seem to gallop buoyantly through the air. Because of its unusual size, it was necessary to support this *schrooyersel* by means of an upright timber firmly braced to the structural framework (Appendix I, pp. 244, 245 [3]). The goddess of the dawn, who is surrounded by a circle of light, assumes the guise of a winged Victory, holding in her right hand two laurel wreaths and in her left two palm branches (one for each of the heroes) and the horses' reins. The clouds billowing beneath the group form a broad base for the entire cut-out.

The idea is derived from Roman triumphal arches, the bronze statuary on which often included (as may be seen on imperial coins) a quadriga with the figure of Victory or of the emperor himself as charioteer.¹ This traditional image of military triumph is combined with the more novel one of light. Aurora typifies the bright beginnings of the careers of the two young princes. For (Gevartius remarks) "as we are accustomed to judge the brightness of the whole day from the first rays of dawn, so from this brilliant victory, won by the invincible Ferdinands in their first trials of warfare, may the Christian world look forward to many glorious successes bravely earned in battle".

Rising on either side of the quadriga are military trophies—tree-trunks hung with armour, weapons and standards, and with bound captives kneeling at their bases. A similar *tropaeum* with prisoners seated beside it appears on a coin of Commodus, struck in commemoration of the campaign in Germany.² Gevartius also cites a coin of Trajan showing a triumphal arch on which trophies are displayed.³

The array of cut-out figures on the summit is completed by Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, who stand, each guiding his horse, on the horizontal bases at the right and left. The two demi-gods wear the pallium and the conical hat topped by a star by which they are distinguished on Roman coins,⁴ and each carries a standard with the letter F enclosed within a wreath, so as to leave no doubt that they signify the two Ferdinands. As twin stars, moreover, Castor and Pollux represent another form of celestial light. In Rome Rubens had known the marble groups of the Dioscuri which were among the famous sights of the city. In the lively, striding attitudes of the two brothers there is probably a recollection of the Horse-Tamers of the Quirinal;⁵ but the horses, walking quietly with one foreleg raised, are closer to the animals in the Castor and Pollux groups on the Capitol.⁶

Directly above the battle picture, a large cut-out represents two eagles fiercely attacking a serpent.⁷ The words *CONCORDIA FRATRVM* on the scroll are an echo of the motto *Concordia Augustorum* placed on Roman coins to denote the harmony between two emperors ruling jointly.⁸ The eagles and the serpent allude to the victory won by the two Princes over the Swedes at Nördlingen, a victory illustrated in the great painting. In the longer inscription that appears on the tablet in the tympanum the battle of Nördlingen is construed as the defeat of the Protestant forces of northern Europe, with a specific allusion to the Swedish general Gustavus Horn; it reads in part: "The remnants of your fury have ceased, Gustavus; Boreas, wholly subdued, has yielded, and the northern constellations are conquered; the serpent, torn by the victorious eagles, is slain." The serpent, as a symbol of heresy, is crushed beneath the feet of Ferdinand II in the Portico of the Emperors (cf. Fig. 52). It will be remembered, too, that the twin eagles appear in *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* (Fig. 13) and that the discomfiture of Boreas is pictured in *The Voyage of the Prince* (Fig. 7).

Throughout the second storey, the emphasis is on the human rather than on the architectural form. At each end Rubens has designed a cluster of decor-

ative figures: the caryatid terms supporting the entablature are carved in stone, whereas the winged cupids, poised on one foot and waving banners, are flat cut-outs. Likewise cut from board are the telamones seen in profile behind them, who hold lamps of baluſter-like design.

Two sculptured figures ſtand on either ſide of the large painting. The ſtatue on the left represents *Pietas*, who is veiled and holds a patera in one hand and a chalice in the other. The type is a familiar one on Roman coins,⁹ the chalice being a Chriſtianizing addition. The ſecond ſtatue, on the right, is that of *Germania*, who looks down deſpondently, with one arm held acroſs her breaſt and the other ſupporting her ſhield, emblazoned with the imperial eagle. The melancholy perſonification of Germany is alſo preſent in *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* (Fig. 13). With the aid of the accompanying inſcriptions, the ſtatues may be read as hieroglyphs to ſignify that the two princes, animated by piety and religion, have liberated Germany from the foreign yoke which oppreſſed her in order that ſhe may return to the old faith.

Above the full-length portrait of King Ferdinand of Hungary is an effigy of his father, the Emperor Ferdinand II, painted ſo as to imitate an antique ſculptured buſt within a circular niche ſurrounded by a wreath. A comparable roundel, this one representing King Philip IV, alſo robed *à l'antique*, fills the ſpace above the portrait of the Cardinal-Infante. Neither medallion bears much reſemblance to the ſubject, becauſe both Ferdinand II and Philip IV are ſhown as clean-shaven, thus avoiding the ludicrous effect of a Roman imperial buſt with a ſeventeenth-century beard and mouſtache. The coats of arms of the two princes are diſplayed on the entablature of the lower ſtorey, together with appropriate emblems. Beneath the arms of King Ferdinand, on the left, are the attributes of Minerva—the owl, the ſhield with the head of Meduſa, a helmet and a ſpear. On the oppoſite ſide, the attributes of Hercules—the club, the lion's ſkin and a thunderbolt—are heaped beneath the coat of arms of the Infante.¹⁰

¹ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 94, Nos. 2, 3, 9, 13.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 85, No. 12; ſee alſo pl. 87, No. 7 (coin of Septimius Severus).

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 94, No. 13; ſee alſo pl. 85, No. 1 (coin of Drusus ſenior).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 44, Nos. 6, 7 (coins of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus).

⁵ One of theſe ſtatues appears in a drawing by Rubens in Berlin of a Roman triumph (*Held*, No. 52).

- ⁶ See also a bronze medallion of Commodus, on which the Dioscuri stand with their steeds on either side of Jupiter enthroned (*Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 44, No. 8).
- ⁷ See on this subject R. Wittkower, *Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols*, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938, pp. 293-325.
- ⁸ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 10, Nos. 8, 9 (coins of Lucius Verus, shown clasping hands with his colleague Marcus Aurelius). Gevartius owned a specimen of one of these coins.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 10, Nos. 10, 11 (coins of Lucilla) and pl. 93, No. 1 (coin of Caligula).
- ¹⁰ In early descriptions of the Entry, these objects were interpreted as "a lion struck by lightning" (*Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D verso).

36a. THE FRONT FACE OF THE ARCH OF FERDINAND: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 105 : 75 cm. On the scroll above the central painting:
CONCORDIA FRATRIS.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 68), Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S. 7; oil on panel, 103.5 : 74 cm.; prov.: Antwerp, Town Hall; removed by the French in 1794, returned in 1815; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 472 (as *Van Thulden*); transferred to the Rubenshuis in 1942; exh.: *Brussels*, 1937, No. 88; *Siegen*, 1967, No. 33; lit.: J. F. M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 109; F. J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, pp. 1277, 1278; *Roses*, III, p. 312; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 38, No. 4 (as *Van Thulden*).

Rubens's oil sketch for the rear face of the Ferdinand arch is preserved in Leningrad (No. 40a; Fig. 74). The corresponding sketch for the front face has been lost; but by chance there exists a competent workshop replica, which has been known since the eighteenth century and which is now in the Rubenshuis in Antwerp (Fig. 68). As a copy after a lost *modello* by Rubens, the work is comparable to those of the Arch of Philip (Figs. 18 and 31). Speculation about its authorship is probably fruitless. The old attribution to Van Thulden is unsupported by evidence of any kind; but there is perhaps something to be said for *Roses's* suggestion that it might be the work of Caspar van den Hoecke or his son Jan, since these were the artists who carried out the decorations on the arch itself.

The freshness of the brushwork and the grisaille-like tone of the whole lend to the panel something of the quality of an original sketch. There are only a few indications of local colour, even in the battle picture and the two full-length portraits which are the principal features of the façade. The architectural members are of a neutral brownish tone, with gold bases and capitals, and the statues and terms of the second level are shown as stone-coloured; the figures at the summit of the arch wear red draperies. The scroll above the large painting carries the words *CONCORDIA FRATRIS* (an error for *FRATRVN*). The candelabra supported by the telamones at the sides are of unequal sizes: the larger one on the right was that adopted for the definitive solution.

The design was conceived with such thoroughness that only minor adjustments had to be made in the great arch that was raised in the Lange Nieuwstraat (cf. Fig. 67). In the course of construction it was found necessary, as in other arches and stages, to raise the statues and cut-out figures on higher pedestals than those provided for in the sketch. The upper cornice of the pediment was surmounted by a broad band ornamented with a fret pattern, and above this was introduced a large socle as a support for Aurora and her quadriga.

37. THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN (Fig. 71)

Oil on canvas; 243 : 340 cm. A strip of ca. 30 cm. has been removed above.

London, Royal Collection.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; purchased by Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (1707-1751) (G. Vertue, British Museum, Add. MS 19027, fol. 20); removed to Windsor Castle about 1805 from Buckingham House.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (*V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 27).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures of the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and Dutch Schools...*, British Institution, London, 1821, No. 7.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D verso; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-Voeghsel*, p. 7; *Gevartius*, pp. 99-101; *Bellori*, p. 240; [W. Hazlitt], *Sketches of the Principal Picture-Galleries in England*, London, 1824, p. 86; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 28, No. 98; [W. Hazlitt], *Criticisms on Art*,

London, 1843, pp. 70, 71; *Rooses*, III, pp. 310, 311; M. Rooses, *Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Antwerp-Amsterdam, 1906, p. 115; *K.d.K.*, p. 364; A. L. Mayer, *Zum male-rischen Werk von Rubens, Der Cicerone*, XIV, 1922, pp. 54-59; C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Principal Pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle*, London, 1937, p. 278; C. Janson, *L'influence de Tintoret sur Rubens*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, XIX, 1938, p. 80.

Both *The Battle of Nördlingen* and its counterpart on the rear face, *The Triumph of Ferdinand*, were painted by Jan van den Hoecke. It goes without saying that these two large canvases, glorifying the military achievement of the new governor, were among those selected for presentation to him in 1637. The necessary retouching could not, however, be done by Van den Hoecke himself, who had left Antwerp in 1635 to go to Italy. Instead, they were repainted by Jacob Jordaens, who was paid 300 guilders for doing so.¹

The subsequent history of these works is obscure. From the fact that neither is cited in the seventeenth-century inventories of the palace in Brussels,² we may infer that the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Ferdinand's successor, took no interest in the subjects and allowed them to be sold. There are in fact no known reports concerning *The Battle of Nördlingen* until about 1750, when we learn from a note book of George Vertue of its presence in the collection of Prince Frederick Louis. At some time after the latter's death the work passed to the Royal Collection at Windsor; it now hangs at Hampton Court Palace. Oliver Millar points out in a letter to the author that a number of the pictures acquired by Prince Frederick had come from Spain and were in the collection of Sir Daniel Arthur. It is of course possible that *The Battle of Nördlingen* might have been sent by the Cardinal-Infante to Spain.

The canvas was originally somewhat higher than it is today, a strip of perhaps 30 centimetres having been cut away at the top.³ The loss of so much sky has had an unfortunate effect on the figure-subject, which looks cramped and airless as a result. The chief weakness of the painting, however, lies in the monotonous rendering of the troops massed in the foreground and middle distance, where helmeted, faceless soldiers are schematically repeated with little variation in posture. This repetitiousness, which is attributable to the hand of an assistant, is partly relieved by the man seen in profile under a tree in the extreme right foreground. The bold highlights on the armour, especially in the lower right corner, are in all likelihood due to the retouching by Jordaens.

The battle of Nördlingen, which resulted in the defeat of the hitherto invincible Swedish forces, was fought on 6 September 1634.⁴ Shortly after joining forces there with his cousin, King Ferdinand of Hungary, the Infante and his generals ordered the Spanish army to occupy the hill of Allbuch, which commanded the entire countryside near Nördlingen. Early on 6 September the Swedes, under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar and Marshal Gustavus Horn, launched a general attack on this strategic position and, when that failed, continued to press assaults against it. The defenders held their ground, and at length the initiative passed to the Spaniards: the Swedish army was routed and Marshal Horn was made prisoner.

In the painting, the two Ferdinands have taken their station on a ridge in the left foreground from which they may follow the course of the battle. The Cardinal-Infante, who is the more prominent of the two, is mounted on a bay horse that rears in excitement; he has a red silk scarf over his armour and a black hat with a white plume, and he carries a baton. On his left and a little behind him is King Ferdinand, also in armour, who rides a brown horse with black points and holds a gold mace; a red and gold mantle lined with fur is fastened over his shoulders, and he wears a fur cap with a large feather. The hill of Allbuch may be seen in the distance on the right, its summit crowded with soldiers and cannon firing down against the attackers. A heavy cloud of smoke hangs over the battlefield where the Swedish army moves forward against the hill. Spanish cavalry and footsoldiers crowd through the narrow ravine at the right to make their way up the hillside.

It was observed by C. Janson that the composition was inspired by Tintoretto's *Capture of Parma*, now in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich, which Rubens surely saw in the Gonzaga Palace in Mantua.⁵ In both paintings columns of infantry are seen marching up a hill in the distance while the foreground is occupied by large-scale figures, among them the commander on horseback. *The Battle of Nördlingen*, in turn, became known to other artists through Van Thulden's illustration in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*. It is very probable, for example, that the Dutch painter-architect Jacob van Campen imitated the equestrian figure of Prince Ferdinand in his painting of *Prince Frederick Henry crossing the Rivers* in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch at The Hague.⁶ Van Thulden's etching may also have been the source, as L. Burchard has proposed, of a lost painting with military subject by Watteau, *Le Deffilé*.⁷

- ¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288: "Geordonneert Jacques Breyel te betalen aen denselven Jordaens de somme van 300 guldens eens, voor het herschilderen vande twee groote schilderyen die gestaen hebben inden *Arcus Ferdinandus*, tstück à 150 guldens, midts dabsentie van Jan Hoeck, tegenwoordich in Italien, die deselve geschildert heeft."
- ² *De Maeyer*, pp. 436-448, 454-460.
- ³ As can be seen from Van Thulden's etching of the entire face of the arch (Fig. 67) and from the oil sketch (Fig. 68), the battle picture (now 243 cm. high) was somewhat taller than the adjoining portraits (which are 260 cm. high). On the other hand, Van Thulden's illustration of the battle scene alone (*V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27; *Gevartius*, p. 99B) gives an erroneous impression by making the picture too high for its width.
- ⁴ Aedo y Gallart (*Viaje*, pp. 120-151) gives a contemporary account of the battle that is understandably prejudiced in favour of Prince Ferdinand. For a modern historian's view, see A. Van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-Infant et la politique européenne de l'Espagne, 1609-1641*, I, Louvain-Brussels, 1944, pp. 411-421.
- ⁵ Reproduced in H. Tietze, *Tintoretto, the Paintings and Drawings*, New York, 1948, pl. 224. A. L. Mayer had earlier suggested that Rubens borrowed elements both from this work and from *The Capture of Pavia* (*ibid.*, pl. 223), another painting by Tintoretto in the Gonzaga cycle.
- ⁶ See K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959, p. 141, figs. 154, 155.
- ⁷ Known only through the engraving by J. Moyreau. See H. Adhémar, *Watteau, sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris, 1950, p. 206, No. 38, pl. 19.

38. THE PORTRAIT OF KING FERDINAND III OF HUNGARY (Fig. 69)

Oil on canvas; 260 : 113 cm.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. No. 697.

PROVENANCE: ? Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; Emperor Charles VI (1685-1740).

COPY: Etching by A. von Prenner (*V.S.*, p. 171, No. 152).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D recto; *Gevartius*, p. 104; C. de Mechel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie impériale et royale de Vienne*, Basel, 1784, p. 121, No. 15; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 95, 96, No. 309; E. R. von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, II, Vienna, 1884, pp. 398, 399, No. 1176; *Rooses*, III, pp. 311, 312; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 353; *K.d.K.*, p. 369; G. Heinz, *Studien über Jan van den Hoecke und die Malerei der Niederländer in Wien, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXIII, 1967, p. 117.

The over-lifesize portraits of King Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand were set within window-like openings on the upper storey of the triumphal arch (cf. Fig. 67). It is strange, considering the importance of the subjects, that we have no records concerning the whereabouts of these works for almost a hundred years following the *Blijde Inkomst*.¹ In the early eighteenth century they are known to have been hung in the Stallburg in Vienna as part of the collection of the Emperor Charles VI.

Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia (1608–1657), succeeded Wallenstein as commander of the imperial army when the latter was deposed in 1634. He was to be elected German king in December 1636 and a few months thereafter would become emperor on the death of his father, Ferdinand II. But these honours had not yet come to him when his portrait was painted for the Ferdinand Arch, on which he appears as commander of the imperial forces at Nördlingen.

The canvas is the work of Jan van den Hoecke, with subsequent retouching by another hand—perhaps that of Jordaens. As in other paintings from this cycle (see for example *The Battle of Nördlingen*, Fig. 71), the youthful monarch is shown in Hungarian attire—a suit of half-armor over a knee-length tunic of purple velvet, a red cloak with a broad fur collar and fur lining, and with facings of gold and precious stones, and a fur cap with a feather fastened by a jewelled ornament; the Golden Fleece can be seen upon the cuirass. He grasps a gold mace in his right hand, and his left rests upon the sword hilt; his legs are encased in tall riding boots with spurs. Parts of the illusionistic frame are visible in the painting, and the blue-grey background, now darkened by varnish, gives the impression of open sky behind the figure.

Rubens took as a model for his portrait of King Ferdinand the engraving of that monarch made by Wolfgang Kilian for the German edition of his Austrian genealogy, published in 1629 (Fig. 77).² Since Kilian's print represents the king as a young man of about twenty years of age, it was necessary to add the curling moustaches, to thicken the face a little and to dress him in armor. But the details of the exotic costume have been scrupulously copied in order to lend an air of authenticity to the portrait.

¹ There is no mention of either picture in the seventeenth-century inventories of the palace in Brussels.

² W. Kilian, *Dess aller durchleuchtigsten Haus Österreichs Herzogen, Ertzherzogen, König und Kayser eigentliche Contrafaßuren...*, Augsburg, 1629, fol. Oij. This was first observed (according to L. Burchard's notes) by F. Grossmann

39. THE PORTRAIT OF THE CARDINAL-INFANTE FERDINAND IN ARMOUR (Fig. 70)

Oil on canvas; 260 : 112 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. Inv. No. 699.

PROVENANCE: ? Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand; Emperor Charles VI (1685-1740).

COPY: Etching by A. von Prenner (*V.S.*, pp. 179, 180, No. 222).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D recto; *Gevarsius*, p. 105; C. de Mechel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie impériale et royale de Vienne*, Basel, 1784, p. 120, No. 14; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 95, No. 308; E. R. von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, II, Vienna, 1884, p. 399, No. 1177; *Rooses*, III, pp. 311, 312; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 353; *K.d.K.*, p. 369; H. D. Rodee, *Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor, The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp. 223, 224.

This is the second of the two whole-length portraits of Prince Ferdinand made for his Joyous Entry into Antwerp. Whereas in the lost portrait on the Arch of Philip the Cardinal-Infante was cast in a pacificatory role (cf. Fig. 30), here he is presented to us in the guise of a conquering hero. Ferdinand is seen standing against the blue sky within a *trompe-l'œil* opening at the right side of the arch. He is dressed in a manner that is familiar to us from other portraits in this cycle: a three-quarter suit of armour with a red silk scarf worn across the breastplate and tied at the waist, and a black, broad-brimmed hat with ostrich plumes. The costume is completed by red trousers, fringed gauntlets and soft leather riding boots with spurs; the *golilla* at the neck supplies a distinctively Spanish touch.

The attitude of the prince is a rather more rhythmical variant of that employed for his brother, King Philip IV, on the Arch of Philip (Fig. 29): the body turned slightly to the right and the head in three-quarter view to the left, the right hand grasping the commander's staff and the other placed on the hip, the weight of the body carried on the right leg, the other leg being seen almost in side view. Burchard observed that the portrait bears some resemblance, both in attitude and in the view *di sotto in su*, to Veronese's armour-clad figure of *St. Menna*, on one of the organ shutters of S. Geminiano in Venice (now in the Galleria Estense, Modena).¹

Comparison of the two portraits by Jan van den Hoecke leaves no doubt that it is the Cardinal-Infante and not the King of Hungary who is the hero of the occasion. It would be surprising if Rubens had not insisted on personally retouching the portrait of the prince in whose honour the ceremonial entry was staged, and the canvas itself gives evidence that the final corrections are indeed by his hand. The retouching was not carried out until after the *Blijde Intrede*. In the meantime the master had had the opportunity to make a new portrait of the Cardinal-Infante from the life, and that portrait, now in the Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida,² was perhaps used by Rubens as a model in repainting the face in the Vienna picture.

¹ *Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. xxvii.

² *K.d.K.*, p. 376. A better reproduction in the catalogue of the *Loan Exhibition of Rubens*, New York, Wildenstein, 1951, No. 31, p. 53.

40. THE ARCH OF FERDINAND: THE REAR FACE

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 73; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 27); Engraving by H. Causé (see p. 67, under No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. D2 recto – D3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. D2 recto–D4 recto; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 7; *Gevarius*, pp. 108–116; *Bellori*, p. 241; *Rooses*, III, pp. 312–314, No. 783; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 29.

The rear, or western, face of the Ferdinand Arch (cf. Fig. 73) celebrates the Triumph of the Cardinal-Infante, whose achievement is pictured as having been made possible by the generosity and forethought of his brother, King Philip IV. This meaning is explicitly developed in the three paintings which form a kind of triptych on the middle level. Above the principal picture, which represents Prince Ferdinand as triumphator, are the royal arms of Spain guarded by lions, with the inscription: AVSPICIIS PHILIPPI IIII. HISPANIARVM ET INDIARVM REGIS CATHOLICI. The female figures in the two laterals of the triptych personify the Liberality and the Foresight of the King. The paintings are the work of Jan and Caspar van den Hoecke and their assistants. Because the sun stands to the south of the arch, the fall of light (contrary to that on the front) is from the right.

The elevation follows the architectural system of the front face, with only a few minor variations such as the omission of the caryatid terms on the outer pilasters of the second storey. There are two free-standing statues on either side of the large picture, and the roof carries the usual complement of cut-outs.

The central piece represents Lucifer, the morning star, riding through the air on a winged horse. He wears a laurel crown and holds aloft a scroll with the words *IO TRIVMPHE*—the acclaim shouted during a military triumph. A shining star can be seen above his head. Because of his swift movement, the poets speak metaphorically of Lucifer on horseback.¹ The inscription on the pedestal reads: *FELIX EXORITVR LVCIFERI IVBAR BELGIS* (the favourable light of Lucifer rises for the Belgians). The allusion, once again, is to the victory of Nördlingen which heralds the dawn of a new day. The symbolism of celestial light is analogous to that on the front face of the arch (cf. Fig. 67): here it is not Aurora but Lucifer, the morning star, who brings the promise of a bright future.²

At the ends of the gable stand two winged and laureate Victories holding round shields inscribed *CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM* (the concord of the armies) and *FIDES MILITVM* (the fidelity of the soldiers); these mottoes, which are taken from Roman coins,³ refer to the union of the imperial and Spanish forces at Nördlingen. The trophies with crouching prisoners on either side resemble those on the front face, but the one at the left contains, in addition to the usual assortment of arms and weapons, two severed heads on pikes. Rising above these spoils are standards with joined hands as emblems of concord. On the base beneath each trophy is the legend *DE MANVBIIS*—the formula which in ancient Rome indicated that a public monument had been paid for with money obtained from the sale of booty. The outermost figures are winged personifications of Fame, whose vigorous attitudes suggest the loud blasts that issue from their trumpets. The inscriptions beneath these figures make the point that Ferdinand's martial achievement has not been exaggerated by propaganda. Under the right-hand trumpeter we read: *FAMA PRAESENTIA MAIOR* (its presence is greater than its fame, that is, the victory is even more important than the reports of it); and under the left-hand figure: *VIRES NON ACQVISIVIT BVNDO* (its fame did *not* acquire vigour as it went)—a contradiction of Virgil's line, *viresque acquirit eundo* (*Aeneid*, IV, 175).

The sculptured figures placed on either side of *The Triumph of Ferdinand* represent Honour and Virtue, who signify that it is for his military valour that

honour is paid to the prince. The two personifications are frequently paired on Roman coins, which show *Honos*, naked to the waist, with a cornucopia, and *Virtus*, helmeted and holding a spear and a parazonium.⁴ Rubens's statue of *Honos* agrees closely with the numismatic type, except that he carries a sceptre instead of a spear. The statue of *Virtus* has the helmet and parazonium seen on the coins, but Rubens has also endowed her with the attributes of Hercules, the champion of virtue, for she is wrapped in the hero's lion-skin and carries his club.⁵

Over the smaller portals are gold medallions resembling huge coins set within floral wreaths. The roundel at the left shows a female head in profile wearing a radiate crown with the inscription *NOBILITAS*.⁶ The other bears the head of *IUVENTAS*, goddess of youth, with flowers in her hair. These medallions denote the youthfulness and noble lineage of the Cardinal-Infante, who is thus entitled to be called, after the Roman fashion, *Princeps iuventutis*—the dignity bestowed on imperial princes who are destined to reign.⁷

On 18 June 1635, when the Ferdinand Arch had been dismantled and the chief paintings removed, the remaining decorations were sold at public auction with the aim of defraying some of the expenses incurred in the *Blijde Inkomst*. The results were disappointing. The principal cut-outs were purchased at absurdly low prices: Aurora in her quadriga (identified as *een trophei van Phaeton ende vier peerden*) brought only 46 guilders, and Lucifer (*een figuere te peerde te triumphe*) went for even less. The entire architectural facing of the arch was bought for 135 guilders, and the sale as a whole realized no more than 429 guilders, 12 stivers.⁸ The City Council therefore resolved not to proceed with the sale of further pieces, as had been intended, but to keep them for possible use on another occasion.⁹

¹ *Gevarsius* cites Ovid, *Amores*, II, xi, 55, 56 and Catullus, *Coma Berenices*, 53, 54.

² By some observers Lucifer was thought to represent "the Prince-Cardinal in triumph as a morning star" (*Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D2 recto).

³ *Concordia exercituum* appears on a coin of Nerva (*Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 7, No. 12); *Fides militum* is a common legend on imperial coinage (*ibid.*, pl. 62, Nos. 6, 8, 10, 12).

⁴ See M. Bieber, *Honos and Virtus*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 25-34, figs. 7, 8, 10.

⁵ Rubens represented Virtue and Honour with their proper attributes in an early chalk drawing in the Museum Plantin-Moretus at Antwerp (*Held*, No. 138).

- ⁶ *Nobilitas* is figured, though without a crown, on Roman coins. See *Bernbart, Münzkunde*, pl. 13, No. 3 (coin of Geta).
- ⁷ For the legend *Princeps iuventutis* on imperial coins, see *ibid.*, pl. 79, Nos. 1, 2 (coins of Geta and Diadumenianus).
- ⁸ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 52, 53 (CCXII).
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52 (CCXI).

40a. THE REAR FACE OF THE ARCH OF FERDINAND: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 74)

Oil on canvas, transferred from panel; 104 : 72.5 cm. Numerous inscriptions on pedestals, scrolls and medallions.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 502.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Hendrik Lankrink (1628–1692), sale, London, 23 January 1693, one of a group of six sketches numbered lots 207–212 (“Rubens, Six Triumphs”); Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, 1676–1745); sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Orford (1730–1791), to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779.

COPIES: (1) Painting, representing *The Liberality of the King* (Fig. 78), whereabouts unknown; oil on panel, 19.5 : 10 cm.; (2) Painting, representing *The Foresight of the King* (Fig. 79), whereabouts unknown; oil on panel, 19.5 : 10 cm.; both panels have always been together and may originally have been but one panel; prov.: Peeter Frans van Schorel, Heer van Wilryck, sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1744 et seqq., lot 28 (“Rubens. Deux figures debout, la Providence et la Libéralité. Esquisse pour l’entrée de Ferdinand à Anvers... B[ois]. H. 7¼ po.; L. 7¼ po. [19.63 : 19.63 cm.]”); purchased by the engraver J. L. Kraft; Dr. Ernst Sklarz, London; exh.: *Helsinki 1952–53*, Nos. 18, 19 (repr.); *Rubens, Esquisses-Dessins*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1953, Nos. 18, 19 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1953–54*, No. 97 (repr.); lit.: *Rooses*, III, p. 313; F. Baudouin, *Nota’s bij de Tentoonstelling “Schetsen en Tekeningen van P. P. Rubens”*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1953, p. 51; J. S. Held, *A propos de l’Exposition Rubens à Bruxelles*, *Les Arts Plastiques*, VI, 1953, p. 116; T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Beeldhouwwerk in Huygens’ Haagse Huis, Oud Holland*, LXXVII, 1962, p. 193.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Note book A.y.y.*, fol. 36b (*Walpole Society*, XXVI, 1937–38, p. 56); H. Walpole, *Ædes Walpoleanæ*, 2nd ed., London, 1752, p. 70; *Rooses*, III, p. 313; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 358, 359, No. 564; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 354; *K.d.K.*, p. 371; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39; *Varsbavskaya*, p. 289.

The *modello* for the rear face of the Ferdinand Arch is by Rubens's own hand. Beside this spirited work, the oil sketch of the front face (Fig. 68), which is only a studio copy, looks decidedly pedestrian. The architecture of the Leningrad sketch is for the most part of a light ochre colour, the Tuscan columns at the lower left are blue-grey with gold capitals and bases, and the openings under the three arches are painted in a cool grey tone. Preliminary chalk drawings are plainly visible, especially along the right side, where (as in other sketches of this sort) the details of the structure have been left unfinished. It can be seen that Rubens first intended to place medallions in the upper corners of the arch and only later decided on rectangular plaques; there is also a suggestion of a caryatid term, later discarded, on the outermost pilaster at the right. The arch actually erected in the Lange Nieuwstraat (cf. Fig. 73) differed from the sketch-model only in the insertion of taller pedestals for the various statues and cut-outs.

The extensive figure decoration is developed in full colour as a guide to be followed by Van den Hoecke and his associates. The allegorical personages on the summit are brightly arrayed in draperies of red, blue, rose, pale green and yellow. The figure of Lucifer, mounted on a winged horse, is only faintly visible within a bluish cloud which probably conceals an earlier solution for this passage. For one of the captives kneeling before the trophy at the right side, Rubens repeated the attitude that he had used many years earlier for the bound figure of Isaac in *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, now in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City (*K.d.K.*, p. 46).

In the middle zone, the statues of Honour and Virtue are of grey-white stone with gold attributes. The personification of *Liberality*, in the window-like opening at the left, wears a rose-red mantle over a moss-green dress; the draperies of *Providence*, on the right, are pale blue and greenish white.

Amid the generally neutral tints of the architecture, the picture of the triumphal procession fairly sparkles with light and colour. Prince Ferdinand, riding in a gold chariot, wears a red mantle embroidered with gold, and his blond head is surrounded by a shining halo. Other bright notes of colour are supplied by the yellow and vermilion cloaks worn by the soldiers and by the banners that they carry. A flood of light enters the picture from the top, illuminating the allegorical figures that fly over the procession.

The inscriptions on the sketch are scattered and incomplete, probably because Rubens intended only to indicate how they might be distributed on the

arch. At the pedestal at the upper left corner are the words *HAVD VIRES AC. E. [i.e. ACQVIRIT EVNDO]*. The circular shield held by the right-hand Victory bears the legend *FIDES MILITV[M]*. In the angle of the gable, over the coat of arms, we read: *AVSPICIIS PHILIPPI MAGNI REGIS...* The personifications in the narrow wings are identified by the inscriptions beneath them: *LIBERALIT[AS] REG[IS]* and *PROVIDENTIA R[EGIS]*. Inscriptions are also provided for the gold medallions above the smaller doorways: under the left medallion, *NOBILIT[AS]*, and under the right one, *IVVENTAS FERD[INANDI] PR[INCIPIIS]*; the letters *IVVENT* can also be distinguished on the surface of the latter. The medallion of *Nobility* on the other hand has no inscriptions.

It may be appropriate to consider at this point two little sketches representing *Liberality* and *Foresight* (Figs. 78 and 79).¹ These diminutive works, which were accepted by Burchard as the immediate models for the large canvases now in Lille (Figs. 75 and 76), originally formed a single panel of square shape, subsequently cut into two halves. *Liberality* wears a tunic of greyish lilac and a red mantle; *Foresight* is dressed in yellow and light blue. The surrounding architectural frames are grey-brown, and a light-blue sky is visible through the arches behind the figures. It can be seen at a glance that the two women are almost identical to the personifications of *Liberalitas* and *Providentia* as they appear on the *modello* in Leningrad (Fig. 74). What is more, the little panels on which they are painted are of the same size (about 20 by 10 cm.) as the corresponding sections of the ensemble. We are dealing here, beyond any doubt, not with original sketches by the hand of Rubens, but with copies.

Even so, it might be asked, could not these works have served some purpose in the decoration of the great arch? The answer, I believe, is that they did not. Detail sketches of this sort were certainly not needed by Van den Hoecke, for he already had at hand the *modello* for the entire façade, and this offered (on the same scale) a more than adequate rendering of the two personifications as well as their situation on the arch. In addition, there is a small but revealing error in the panel with the figure of *Foresight* (Fig. 79). In both the Leningrad sketch (Fig. 74) and the full-size canvas in Lille (Fig. 76), the rudder held by the personification has a kind of hook or pin by which it can be attached to the stern of a ship. The fact that this detail has been inadvertently omitted in the copy plainly indicates that the panel in question was not put to use as a model.

41. THE TRIUMPH OF PRINCE FERDINAND (Fig. 72)

Oil on canvas; 435 : 328 cm.

Florence, Uffizi, Inv. No. 5404.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. Said to have been acquired in Antwerp at the close of the seventeenth century by the Venier family. Purchased from them in 1771 by John Udny (1727-1800), British Consul at Venice and later at Leghorn, who sold the work in 1791 to Ferdinand III, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Acquired by the Uffizi in 1797.

COPIES: (1) Etching by T. van Thulden (*V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 29); (2) Drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet, Inv. No. A xxxiii. 3; red chalk, 285 : 258 mm.; exh.: *Theodoor van Thulden 1606-1669*, Noordbrabants Museum, 's Hertogenbosch, 1970, No. 27; lit.: *Delen*, I, p. 115, No. 399 (as *Van Thulden*).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D₃ recto; *Alle de Triumph-Wercken*, fol. D₃ recto; *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 7; *Gevartius*, pp. 108-110; *Bellori*, p. 241; *Rooses*, III, p. 312; *The Uffizi Gallery. Catalogue of the Paintings*, Florence, 1927, pp. 159, 160, No. 8454.

This work, which has hung in the Uffizi for more than a century and a half, has been strangely neglected in the Rubens literature. Rooses did not know of its existence, and it finds no place in the fifth volume of the *Klassiker der Kunst*, in spite of the fact that its companion piece, *The Battle of Nördlingen*, is reproduced there. The painting, one of the largest in the entire cycle, was made from Rubens's *modello* (Fig. 74) by Jan van den Hoecke and was later retouched by Jordaens.¹ The canvas is rectangular, but the arcuated shape of the original frame is clearly visible at the top.

Prince Ferdinand, a godlike hero transfigured by a supernatural radiance, stands in a golden quadriga drawn by white horses, while a flying Victory carries a wreath over his head. His right hand grasps a staff which rests against the rim of the car, and his left is placed on his hip. The horses' reins are held by a youthful driver who rides in front of the car and turns his head to gaze in admiration at the prince. The chariot is surrounded by a throng of soldiers in Roman armour who bear standards and the spoils of war; two bound prisoners stumble along beside the wheel. The turreted head of Nördlingen, emblem of the captured city, is carried in triumph before the conqueror. The military standard which is so conspicuous in the middle of the scene is surmounted by a golden wreath with the letter F, and suspended from that is a pale violet labarum bordered with a golden fringe and charged with the Chris-

tian monogram *Chi Rho*. (The colours used for this and other details in the painting conform without exception to those in the *modello*). Gliding through the air above the procession, where rays of silvery light stream through the clouds, is a second winged Victory. She has a trophy in one hand and a palm-branch in the other and at the same time places her arm protectively round the personification of Hope—the meaning being, quite literally, that Ferdinand's victory raises hope in the people of Belgium. The goddess of Hope also appears, in the form of a statue, on the Stage of Welcome (cf. Fig. 2). It is amusing to see that in the present work the iconographical "attributes" of the figure are unchanged: not only does Hope hold the same symbolic flower in her hand but even lifts a fold of her dress as if she were walking on the ground instead of being borne through the air.

In general terms, the painting represents an antique triumphal procession after the manner of the famous relief on the Arch of Titus in Rome. But Rubens took as the immediate model for the composition his own *grisaille* sketch of *The Triumph of Henry IV*, now in the Wallace Collection in London.² Several of the motifs from that panel are repeated here, notably the autocratic pose of the triumphator in his car and the twisted attitude of the soldier, seen partly from the back, who holds up a trophy on a pole. Similarly, the man with a banner, who can be seen between the latter figure and the horses, is derived from the soldier near the left side of the London sketch who assists his partner in supporting the trophy. The modification of the triumphal scene from a horizontal to a vertical format made it possible to include the celestial light from above and to introduce the goddesses of Victory and Hope.

Jordaens, who retouched this canvas, had occasion to remember it when, some years later, he was commissioned to paint *The Triumph of Prince Frederick Henry* for the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch at The Hague. Jordaens's painting is far more complex and is filled with many more incidents, but, as Fremantle has observed,³ it contains unmistakable echoes of the Triumph on the Ferdinand Arch.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288.

² *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pl. 63. Gaspar de Crayer also made use of this sketch for his painting, *The Triumph of Scipio Africanus*, which adorned one of the arches erected for the Entry of the Cardinal-Infante into Ghent in 1635. De Crayer's *modello* (formerly attributed to Rubens) is in the collection of Count Seilern in London (*Van de Velde-Vlieghe*, p. 99, fig. 20).

³ K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959, p. 141.

42. THE LIBERALITY OF THE KING (Fig. 75)

Oil on canvas; 284 : 145 cm. On the base beneath the figure: LIBERALITAS REGIS.

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 676.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by the museum in 1860.

EXHIBITED: *Geborgene Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 312 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D2 verso; *Gevartius*, p. 112; *Rooses*, III, p. 313; F. Benoit, *La peinture au Musée de Lille*, Paris, 1909, I, p. 30.

This painting and its pendant (Fig. 76) were set above the smaller portals of the Arch of Ferdinand on the rear or western side. They were intended as a tribute not to Ferdinand but to King Philip IV, in recognition of his liberality in promoting the Catholic cause and of his foresight in appointing his brother as governor of the Netherlands. Hence the titles: LIBERALITAS REGIS and PROVIDENTIA REGIS. Both are painted in grisaille and lightly coloured and are the work of Jan van den Hoecke or (more probably) one of his assistants.¹ In working up the full-scale canvases the artist took as his model the renderings of the personifications on Rubens's oil sketch of the ensemble (Fig. 74).²

Liberality is seen *de face*, her head turned to the right, as she pours gold coins from her cornucopia. Behind her opens an arch through which the blue sky is visible. On the sill beneath her feet are the words LIBERALITAS REGIS.

The type is medallic in origin. *Liberalitas Augusti*—the liberality of the emperor—appears frequently on Roman coins commemorating the distribution of largess by the ruler. A coin of Hadrian, for example, shows that emperor seated on a platform while the goddess Liberality, standing beside him, empties money from her cornucopia into the toga of a citizen.³

¹ Two statues made by the sculptor Pieter 't Hooft for Constantijn Huygens's house in The Hague (now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) appear to be freely modelled after the figures of *Liberalitas* and *Providentia*, as reproduced in Van Thulden's etching (cf. T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Beeldhouwwerk in Huygens' Haagse Huis, Oud Holland*, LXXVII, 1962, pp. 184-194).

² As I have tried to show above (see under No. 40a), the diminutive sketches of *Liberality* and *Foresight*, formerly in the Sklarz collection (Figs. 78 and 79), were not intended for use as models, but are merely copies.

³ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 83, No. 6.

43. THE FORESIGHT OF THE KING (Fig. 76)

Oil on canvas; 284 : 145 cm. On the base beneath the figure: PROVIDENTIA REGIS.

Lille, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*. Inv. No. 677.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by the museum in 1860.

EXHIBITED: *Geborgene Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 313 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D3 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. D3 verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 112, 113; *Rooses*, III, p. 313; F. Benoit, *La peinture au Musée de Lille*, I, Paris, 1909, p. 30; D. Posner, *The Picture of Painting in Poussin's Self-Portrait, Essays in the History of Art presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, pp. 200, 201.

Foresight is turned almost in profile to the left, holding in her hands a large globe, the *orbis terrarum*, which she balances on the post of a rudder. Her head is crowned with a diadem containing a prominent eye. On the base beneath her is the inscription PROVIDENTIA REGIS.

The combination of orb and rudder effectively conveys the idea of direction or guidance of the entire world. Both attributes appear on a coin of Titus, with the legend *Providentia Augusti*.¹ The far-seeing eye as an emblem of Providence appears to have been invented by Rubens himself; it is also to be seen on the personification of *Providentia* on the Arch of Philip (cf. Fig. 16).

¹ *Vespasian and Titus are represented holding between them a globe over a rudder* (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, London, 1930, p. 259, No. 180, pl. 49, No. 3). The coin is cited by *Gevartius*, p. 113.

The Temple of Janus (Nos. 44, 45; Fig. I, F)

As they moved westward along the Lange Nieuwstraat, the prince and his train passed the Parnassus, one of the decorated cars of the traditional Ommegang,

which was placed at the corner of Sint-Katelijnevest, and continued into the Korte Nieuwstraat. In the Melkmarkt they saw facing them, as they emerged from the narrow street, the stage called the Temple of Janus (Fig. 82). Behind it and to the left rose the huge mass of the Cathedral.

It was a custom that the ancient temple of Janus, the doors of which were opened when Rome was at war, should be kept shut in time of peace. In the sixteenth century the temple with closed doors was looked on as a symbol of the *Pax Augusta* and therefore became a familiar motif in festive decorations. It is to be seen, for example, on the great arch raised by the Spaniards for the Entry of Prince Philip into Antwerp in 1549 (Fig. 80). In that work, the temple of Janus (which bears more than a little resemblance to Bramante's Tempietto at S. Pietro in Montorio) stands upon the arch proper; the Emperor Augustus, who is shown on the steps holding the keys, has just locked the doors of the sanctuary, an act imitated on the opposite side by Charles V and Prince Philip.

The distinctive feature of Rubens's Temple of Janus, however, is that it is not closed but open. Of the decorations invented for the Entry of 1635, this is in fact the first to allude overtly to the misery caused by the war and to the deep desire for peace felt by the citizens of Antwerp. Up to this point, the arches and stages placed along the processional route have either eulogized the Habsburgs in general or—in those pieces honouring the hero of the hour—have extolled the great victory won by Ferdinand and proclaimed the hopes awakened by his arrival. But now a more urgent note is sounded. The conventional rhetoric of princely adulation is for the moment set aside, and we seem instead to hear the voices of those who, like Jacob Edelheer and Rubens himself, have actively sought to bring about peace.

44. THE TEMPLE OF JANUS

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 82; *V.S.*, p. 225, No. 27, 30).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. D3 verso-D4 verso; *Alle de Triumphwercken*, fols. D4 recto-E recto; *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, pp. 7, 8; *Gevartius*, pp. 117-142; *Bellori*, pp. 241-243; *Rooses*, III, pp. 314-317, No. 784; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 85, 86, 97, 156; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 283, 286.

The Temple of Janus (cf. Fig. 82) is a two-storeyed edifice almost 19 metres high and 15 metres wide (66 by 53 Antwerp feet). It stands upon a high basement and is surmounted by a dome. On either side of the open door of the sanctuary are projecting porticoes with Roman Doric columns. The entablature is carried beyond these porches, being supported at either extremity by paired caryatid terms. Since the work is to be understood as both temple and theatre, a stage has been placed across the front on which painted figures enact a tableau of war and peace. Except that it is black in colour, the cloth that hangs from the platform is like that on the Stage of Welcome (Fig. 2). Another platform runs behind the balustrade that crowns the lower storey.

The upper storey consists of a high drum, subdivided by shell-headed niches and pilasters and terminating in a balustrade, behind which rises a low dome with an elaborate finial. It may be noted in passing that this part of the Temple of Janus was copied by Diepenbeek in his Thesis of 1645 engraved by Pontius (Fig. 59).

The painting that fills the centre of the stage represents *The Opening of the Doors of the Temple*. The subsidiary scenes in the porticoes illustrate, on the right, *Tranquillity and Security* and, on the left, *The Ferocity of War*. This contrast is followed throughout the entire scheme of decoration. The right, or "good", side is devoted to peace with its attendant blessings of happiness and plenty, and the left, or "evil", side is dominated by war and its dreadful consequences. It is as if the two states, symbolized by the white and red banners flying from the cupola, were kept in a kind of equilibrium by the pivotal effigy of Janus, whose faces look in both directions at once.

The side of war. The two caryatid terms supporting the entablature at the extreme left of the theatre are Discord and Strife (DISCORDIA and RIXA), who are dressed in rags and carry a basket of snakes on their heads. Though they are shown arm in arm, the two haridans are angrily quarrelling over a garment that each tries to snatch from the other. On the parapet above them is a grisly military trophy made up of plundered arms and armour with two severed heads on pikes. Over the portico containing *The Ferocity of War* is a large cut-out of two mournful women standing on either side of a pedestal on which is a candelabrum. PAVPERTAS (Poverty), who is dressed in torn and ragged clothing, leans dejectedly against the pedestal, her head sunk upon her hand and one leg crossed over the other; LVCTVS (Grief), whose head is covered by a veil, wrings her hands in a gesture of sorrow that is also used for the same

personification in the painting on the Stage of Isabella (Fig. 66). The altar between the two figures bears the legend CALAMITAS PVBLICA; its funerary significance is established by the two inverted torches which rest against it. A similar mortuary altar is to be seen in Rubens's *Commemorative Portrait of Charles de Longueval, Comte de Bucquoy* of 1621 in the Hermitage, Leningrad (*K.d.K.*, p. 152). The medallion which is fastened to the entablature beneath this group shows two haggard heads inscribed PAVOR ET PALLOR (Fear and Paleness). Both heads are represented, as Gevartius observes, on coins of the Hostilia family, which Rubens knew from the illustrations in Fulvio Orsini's book on Roman republican coins, the *Familiae Romanae* of 1577.¹ Surrounding the medallion is a wreath of thorns, with scourges and fetters.

The side of peace. The smiling caryatid terms happily embracing each other on the right side of the temple are Repose and Concord (QUIES and CONCORDIA), who hold between them a bundle of arrows bound together as an emblem of unity.² Carrying on their heads a basket of roses, the two maidens present a striking difference to the horrid pair with the basket of snakes on the opposite side. The extravagant ornament that stands on the parapet above them is a "trophy of peace" consisting of agricultural implements and produce; two turtle-doves sit on a basket at the top, billing and cooing as "a symbol of conjugal peace and harmony". The theme of fruitfulness is also expressed by the two female personifications of Abundance and Fertility (ABVNDANTIA and VBERTAS) flanking the candelabrum. Abundance is crowned with ears of grain and carries fruit and other foodstuffs in her cornucopia and in a fold of her garment; Fertility, who generously pours out the contents of her cornucopia, crosses one foot over the other as if to point up the contrast with Poverty, whose legs are similarly placed. Both Abundance and Fertility are represented with cornucopias on Roman coins, though it is more often the former who empties the horn of plenty.³ The altarlike base between these two figures is inscribed FELICITAS TEMPORVM (the happiness of the times) and is decorated with two cornucopias from which issue children's heads, a motif derived from a coin of Drusus junior.⁴ The gold medallion centred on the entablature of the portico shows the heads of Honour and Virtue. As in the medallion of Fear and Paleness on the opposite portico, this image is taken directly from a Roman republican coin.⁵ The roundel of Honour and Virtue is placed within a laurel wreath surrounded by the attributes of the fine arts—a palette and brushes, a lyre, and a square and compasses (better seen in the oil sketch, Fig.

84); for the arts of painting, music, architecture and the like flourish only in times of peace.

According to Rooses, three of the cut-out decorations from the Temple of Janus (the trophy of War, the trophy of Peace, and the bust of Janus) were still to be seen, in the late nineteenth century, in the castle of Bossenstein (Halmale Hof) at Broechem.⁶

The numerous differences between the initial conception of the Temple of Janus and the final execution can best be understood by comparing Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 83) with Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 82). What is at once obvious is that the preliminary design, like the early plan for the Stage of Welcome, pictures a distinctly smaller and more compact work than the structure eventually erected. The dome is not elevated on a high drum, and there are no extensions beyond the porticoes at the sides. The specifications were drawn up in accordance with this original project, and the contract for the making of the stage was adjudged to the carpenter Artus van Engelen for 705 guilders on 7 December 1634 (Appendix I, p. 250 [12]).⁷ It was stipulated that the cut-outs as well as the architectural facing were to be furnished by the contractor and that the entire work should be ready by 6 January 1635. Later, when it became evident that more time could be spent on the decorations for the Entry, Rubens revised his plan for the Temple of Janus, making it into the larger and more imposing edifice that we know from Van Thulden's illustration (Fig. 82). Because of the additional work involved in carrying out the changes, it was agreed on 9 February that the estimate for the carpentry should be increased to 1000 guilders. This proved to be a shrewd guess, for the final payment to Van Engelen amounted to 1034 guilders, 15 stivers.⁸

The task of painting the Janus Temple was allotted to a team of artists working under the direction of Theodoor Rombouts, who received in payment the sum of 950 guilders, 14 stivers.⁹ The enlargement of the structure necessitated further painting, some of which was done by Jacob Jordaens, Jan Cossiers and their helpers,¹⁰ and some by Rombouts himself for an additional remuneration of 150 guilders.¹¹

In the Temple of Janus, as in the Stage of Welcome, painted illusion has replaced the *tableau vivant*. Owing to the peculiar construction of the theatre, however, it can have been no simple matter to create the effect of figures deployed upon a tripartite stage. For the middle section it was sufficient to instal the large painting showing *The Opening of the Doors*. But for the

areas at the sides it was obvious that conventional pictures of rectangular shape placed against the wall of the temple would not convey the illusion of persons occupying the space under the columnar porticoes. Rubens's solution, therefore, was to place cut-out figures just behind the forward columns.¹²

It is clear both from the wording of the specifications (Appendix I, p. 249 [6]) and from the visual evidence of Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 83) that the painted figures in the porticoes were *schrooyersels*, or cut-outs. The piece at the right side, representing *Tranquillity and Security* (cf. Fig. 82), was the work of Jan Cossiers, one of the artists engaged by Rombouts for the decoration of the Temple of Janus.¹³ In 1637, Cossiers was called upon to do the necessary retouching of his work¹⁴ so that it could be sent to Brussels to be installed in the palace. It is recorded in the Spanish inventory of 1659¹⁵ and in the somewhat later Flemish inventory.¹⁶ Inasmuch as the piece is described in the latter as measuring "ten feet high and six feet wide", it may be conjectured that at the time of the presentation to Prince Ferdinand the silhouetted figures had been applied to a larger panel and a painted background added.

An essential object in this scene is the plinth which is placed between *Tranquillity and Security* as a symbol of stability or firmness and on which, accordingly, they both rest their hands. The two personifications are differentiated by their postures: *Security*, the more active of the pair, is standing with one arm folded across her body while pressing down upon the plinth with the other;¹⁷ *Tranquillity* is passively seated, holding the emblems of gladness, abundance and fertility—a palm-branch in one hand,¹⁸ and ears of grain and poppies in the other.¹⁹ Burchard observed that the posture of *Tranquillitas* is very like that of the seated female figure (probably to be identified as Livia) in the *Gemma Tiberiana* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), of which Rubens made a copy in a drawing now in the Stedelijk Prentencabinet at Antwerp.²⁰

The Ferocity of War occupied the left portico of the Temple of Janus (cf. Fig. 82).²¹ The rendering of this passage in Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 83) leaves no room for doubt that this scene too was a painted cut-out, matching that of *Tranquillity and Security* on the other side. It was presumably made in two pieces, a large one comprising the principal figure-group, and a smaller one suspended from the ceiling of the portico to give the illusion that the horrid figure of *Famine* was flying in the air. The painter was Artus Wolffaert, who also carried out the job of retouching the work in 1637.²² At this time too,

the cut-out figures may have been backed by a larger board to form a picture of conventional rectangular shape. The work is listed in both the Spanish²³ and the Flemish²⁴ inventories of the palace in Brussels.

The subject is an outgrowth of Rubens's preoccupation, during the last years of his life, with the theme of war and peace, and parallels may be discovered in several allegorical compositions of this period. The motif of the helmeted soldier who drags a woman by the hair while her child falls to the ground is to be found in a drawing in the Louvre representing *Hercules and Minerva fighting Mars*, in which it is the war god himself who performs this brutal act.²⁵ The hideous forms of Pestilence and Famine ("*compagni inseparabili della Guerra*", as Rubens himself termed them),²⁶ are also present in the great allegory in the Pitti Gallery, *The Consequences of War* (K.d.K., p. 428).

¹ *Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora divi Augusti, ex Bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini*, Rome, 1577. The illustrations are copied in *Gevartius*, p. 122.

² In *The Consequences of War* (K.d.K., p. 428) Rubens shows the bundle of arrows with the cord that tied them together loosened.

³ For *Abundantia* pouring money from a cornucopia, see *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 58, No. 1 (coin of Carinus); *Ubertas*, or *Uberitas*, is generally rendered holding a purse and a cornucopia, as on a coin of Decius (*ibid.*, pl. 70, No. 8).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 5, No. 4. Rubens used a variant form of this symbol of fertility on the rear face of the Arch of Philip (cf. Fig. 30).

⁵ *Honos* and *Virtus* are thus pictured on a coin of the Fufia gens, of which *Gevartius* has an illustration (p. 138). For the coin, see H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*, 2nd ed., London, 1960, pl. xv, 8.

⁶ *Rooses*, III, p. 317. On the paintings at Brochem see pp. 224, 225 below.

⁷ *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 436, 437 (XXVI). The guarantee of performance was made by the contractor's brother, Peeter van Engelen.

⁸ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 41 (CLXXI); XIII, p. 220.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 39 (CLXVII); XIII, p. 223. His assistants were Jan Cossiers, Artus Wolf-faert and Gerard Weri.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 58, 59 (CCXXIX); XIII, p. 226. The large sum of 2950 guilders also included payment for supplementary work by these artists on the Stage of Welcome (see No. 1 above).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 110 (CCCII); XIII, p. 226.

¹² The specifications provide for cut-outs to be placed "below, between the columns, as well as above the columns and in the middle, over the great painting" (Appendix I, p. 249 [6]).

¹³ *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D4 verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 137, 138; *Bellori*, p. 242; *Rooses*, III, p. 315.

- ¹⁴ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 288: "... Jehan Coessiers, vande somme van 72 guldens eens, voor het retocqueren vande schilderye ghestaen hebbende aen deen syde neffens het groot stuck opde Melckmerckt." This may have included an enlargement to rectangular shape.
- ¹⁵ *De Maeyer*, p. 443: "Otra pieça del mismo tamaño, representando la Tranquilidad y la Seguridad, hecho de Kocsies." The term "of the same size" cannot be taken literally, for the painting immediately preceding this in the inventory is said to measure 13 by 12 feet, which would be too wide by far for the group of *Tranquillity and Security*.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 455: "Een stuck schilderij, hoogh thien voeten en sesse voeten breed, representerende Trancquilitas et Securitas, geschildert van Coetssiers."
- ¹⁷ For the coin-type of *Securitas* standing and leaning with one elbow on a column, see *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 69, No. 4 (coin of Antoninus Pius).
- ¹⁸ The palm-branch is the customary attribute of *Hilaritas* on imperial coins (*ibid.*, pls. 11, No. 6, and 64, No. 2).
- ¹⁹ On a coin of Hadrian, a modius containing ears of grain and a poppy denotes *Annona*, the yearly provision of grain (*ibid.*, pl. 59, No. 5). The same attributes are frequently given to Ceres (*ibid.*, pl. 41, No. 7). For *Gevartius*, the poppy is also appropriate to *Tranquillity* because it signifies "uninterrupted sleep".
- ²⁰ *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 132.
- ²¹ See *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D4 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 121, 122; *Bellori*, p. 242; *Rooses*, III, pp. 314, 315.
- ²² *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 289: "Geordonneert Jacques Breyel...te betalen aen Geeraerd [sic] Wolffaert, schilder, de somme van 72 guldens eens, voor het herschilderen vande schilderye gestaen hebbende aen deen syde van het groot stuck opde Melckmerckt."
- ²³ *De Maeyer*, p. 443: "Otra [pieça] del mismo tamaño, representando Sevities Bellij, hecha de Artus Wolfart."
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 455: "Noch een ander stuck, representerende Cevitias belli, geschildert van Artus Wolffaert."
- ²⁵ *Held*, No. 66; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 169. See also the related oil sketch in the Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (reproduced in *Held*, I, fig. 4).
- ²⁶ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 208.

44a. THE TEMPLE OF JANUS: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 83-86)

Oil on panel; 70 : 69 cm. Numerous inscriptions on the bases beneath the figure-subjects.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 500.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Hendrik Lankrink (1628-1692), sale, London, 23 January 1693, one of a group of six sketches numbered lots 207-212 ("Rubens, Six Triumphs"); Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, 1676-1745); sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Orford (1730-1791), to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Note book A.y.y.*, fol. 36b (*Walpole Society*, xxvi, 1937-38, p. 56); H. Walpole, *Ædes Walpolianæ*, 2nd ed., London, 1752, p. 70; *Rooses*, III, p. 316; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, pp. 359, 360, No. 566; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 355; *K.d.K.*, p. 372; *Roeder-Baumbach*, p. 86; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39; *Varshavskaya*, p. 286.

It is regrettable that the paintings from the Temple of Janus have been lost. Seen *in situ*, they must have made a brilliant effect; considered individually, they were perhaps a little disappointing. It is in any event certain that none of these works, laboriously executed from the master's design by pupils and assistants, can have approached Rubens's oil sketch in quality. And that oil sketch, fortunately, still survives.

On coins of the Emperor Nero the temple of Janus is represented as a rectangular, pseudo-peripteral edifice with a double door, the walls of which are hung with garlands.¹ Some of the features of this coin-type have been incorporated by Rubens in his *modello*, which likewise shows a rectangular building with a prominent double door and with garlands wound about the columns. But there the similarity ends, for Rubens's sanctuary of Janus stands upon a high basement and is further distinguished by two projecting porticoes with Doric columns, behind which are round-headed niches in the temple wall. The temporary stage, hung with black cloth, that fills the space between the porticoes is perhaps to be understood as concealing a flight of steps leading up to the entrance. The pediment over the portal is surmounted by a gilt bust of the two-headed god Janus, and the aegis of Minerva with the Gorgon's head can be seen on the lintel of the door. The low dome that swells above the line of the balustrade resembles that of the Pantheon, with the addition of an ornate golden finial at the apex. *Pentimenti* on either side of the dome indicate that it was originally somewhat broader in profile. A patch of dark brown paint covers the area between the two torches that protrude at an angle from its surface.

The architecture, which is predominantly brown and grey, shows a progression from dark tones below to lighter above. The brightest colours are concentrated in the figures assembled on the central stage (Fig. 86). *Furor*, who bursts dramatically through the open doorway from the shadowy interior of the sanctuary, is a ruddy figure whose eyes are bandaged and who brandishes a sword and a flaming torch. The left door has been wrenched open by the hideous hags Discord and Tisiphone, who in the confusion have overturned a jar of blood; a sinister harpy flies over the pair. On the opposite side other

persons vainly try to close the right wing of the door and thus prevent the escape of *Furor*. Peace, wearing red and white garments and carrying the caduceus, has dropped her cornucopia as she rushes forward to throw her weight against the door. Piety, dressed all in white, stands behind her holding a patera over her flaming altar. Between them may be seen the Infanta Isabella in the dress of the Poor Clares, who also puts out her hand to press the door shut. The winged genius of Love, who uses his torch to push against the top of the door, balances the harpy on the sinister side, and a second winged putto hovers over the personification of Piety. Most of these figures are identified by inscriptions in Rubens's hand, which are placed inconspicuously along the bottom of the scene. Beneath the Furies at the left are the words *DISCORDIA* and *TISI[PHONE]*; in the middle, *FVROR*; and under the personifications at the right, *PAX* and *PIETAS*. This subject was executed on canvas by Theodoor Rombouts (see No. 45).

The subsidiary scene in the right-hand portico shows two women personifying (as the inscriptions indicate) *TRANQVILLITAS* and *SECVRTAS*. Tranquillity, who is dressed in yellow and grey with a white veil, is seated in a suitably relaxed attitude, her right arm lying upon a plinth; she holds poppies and ears of grain in her hand, and a palm-branch rests against her left arm. Security stands beside her with one hand placed on the plinth and the other hidden beneath her drapery. Affixed to the entablature above these peaceful figures is a gold medallion with the heads of Virtue and Honour in profile, surrounded by the attributes of the fine arts.

An inscription beneath the left-hand compartment (Fig. 84) gives the title of the scene enacted there: *SAEVITIA BELLI*, the Ferocity of War. A kneeling mother, whose child has been thrown to the ground, struggles helplessly as a brutal soldier, wearing a red cloak over his armour, seizes her by the hair. At the left stands the deathlike personification of Pestilence, armed with a scythe and a torch. Famine, in the form of a harpy with a dragon's tail, flies overhead. The marble panel on the basement under this scene is flecked with red, as if with drops of blood, and on the entablature above is a medallion showing the wasted faces of Fear and Paleness, enframed by thorns and scourges.

Colour is used sparingly in the upper part of the panel, the cut-out figures over the entablature being dressed in garments of gold and ochre. On the right side—the side of peace (Fig. 85)—are women representing Abundance, who holds her cornucopia upright, and Fertility, who inverts hers to allow the

contents to spill out: the identifying inscriptions *ABUNDANTIA* and *VERITAS* are written both above and below the figures. The candelabrum between them rests on a base showing two golden cornucopias from which issue children's heads, with the legend *FELICITAS*.

The gloomy personifications on the left side—the side of misery and war—are Poverty (*PAUPERITAS*), whose garment is torn and who rests her chin on her hand, and Grief (*LVCTVS*), who is wringing her hands. The candlestick between them is empty, as if to show that they have lost their light,² and the pedestal is decorated with two inverted torches and the legend *INFORTVN[IUM]*.

The partly effaced inscription near the upper left edge of the panel seems to be a preliminary version of the epigraph which, in the final form of the theatre, will appear on the tablet over the door.³ The following words can be distinguished: *...FERDINANDE PACE ... terra marisq. parva IANVM CLVSIT.*⁴

Rubens found it necessary to expand his original designs for three of the four stages in the *Blijde Inkomst*. The enlargement of the Stage of Welcome (Fig. 2) was a major undertaking in itself, requiring the addition of large paintings on the wings as well as extensive revision of the central unit. The alterations of the Stage of Mercury, on the other hand (Fig. 92), consisted of nothing more than the placing of a ship's mast over the middle section and the construction of a narrow bay at either end. In the case of the Temple of Janus, the modifications were likewise relatively simple (cf. Fig. 82). The dome was raised on a tall drum which increased the height of the edifice from 50 feet (14.34 metres) to 66 feet (17.83 metres). But this entire superstructure, perhaps modelled after that of the Arch of the Spaniards in the Entry of 1549 (Fig. 80), was only a two-dimensional screen. At the same time the temple was correspondingly broadened by extensions—also two-dimensional—at the sides. The garlands entwined about the columns were eliminated, probably because they were found to be inappropriate to the Temple of Janus in time of war.

In the collection of the Marquess of Bute is a painting on panel representing *Emblems of Peace and War*,⁵ among which will be recognized some of the motifs from the wings added to the Temple of Janus—the paired caryatids of Repose and Concord on one side and of Discord and Strife on the other, and the accompanying trophies of peace and war. Whether this is the work of a pupil or of Rubens himself, it is in any event clear that the panel is not a preparatory sketch for the Temple of Janus.

- ¹ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 91, Nos. 1-5. One of these coins is reproduced in *Gevartius*, p. 141.
- ² In the completed work, to judge from Van Thulden's illustration (Fig. 82), a lighted candle was placed here to match that on the other side.
- ³ *Gevartius*, p. 117.
- ⁴ The words are based on the legend found on coins of Nero showing the temple of Janus with closed doors: *Pace P. R. terra mariq. parta Ianum clusit* (Having procured peace for the Roman people by land and by sea he closed the temple of Janus). Cf. *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 91, Nos. 1-4.
- ⁵ *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 271, No. 914; *Roses*, III, p. 316; reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCI, 1949, p. 259, fig. 24.

45. THE OPENING OF THE DOORS OF THE TEMPLE OF JANUS

Oil on canvas, approximately 375 : 400 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; probably destroyed by fire 1731.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 87; *V.S.*, p. 225, Nos. 27, 31).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. D3 verso; *Gevartius*, p. 117; *Bellori*, pp. 241, 242; *Roses*, III, p. 314.

Theodoor Rombouts, who supervised the painted work on the Temple of Janus, himself executed the principal canvas, using as his model the oil sketch made by Rubens of the stage as a whole (Figs. 83 and 86). Rombouts received from the city the sum of 950 guilders, 14 stivers,¹ but out of this amount he had also to pay his assistants, Jan Cossiers, Artus Wolffaert and Gerard Weri, for their share in the work. In April, 1637, only a few months before his death, he was paid 240 guilders "for the repainting and retouching of the great painting which stood on the Melkmarkt".² The canvas was then taken to Brussels to be installed with the other pieces from the *Blijde Intrede* in the palace on the Coudenberg. The description of the picture that is given in the Spanish inventory of 1659 is, if not quite accurate, at any rate unambiguous.³ Although it is not listed in the Flemish inventory drawn up in the later seventeenth century,⁴ the picture was almost certainly amongst those lost in the fire that consumed the palace in 1731.

Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 87), which purports to reproduce the full-scale painting by Rombouts, may in fact have been copied from Rubens's oil sketch

(Fig. 86). It is useful in indicating the shape and limits of the canvas inserted into the architectural framework, but the inclusion of the foreground columns is misleading, for these were not shown in the painting itself but formed part of the three-dimensional porticoes projecting on either side of it.

The motif of the opening of the doors⁵ was not invented by Rubens for this occasion but goes back to the frontispiece designed by him for the third volume of the *Annals of the Dukes of Brabant* by Franciscus Haraeus (1623), a work which covers the turbulent period in the history of the Southern Netherlands from 1560 to the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609 (Fig. 81).⁶ In the book illustration the doors of the temple of Janus are pulled open by four evil spirits, the most prominent being blindfold *Furor* with his torch and *Discord* with her snaky hair; they have released the hydra-headed monster of civil war, which lays waste the land, overturning altars and destroying the arts. In the stage on the Melkmarkt Rubens has made this episode immeasurably more dramatic by placing in the doorway the menacing form of *Furor*, who, with eyes bandaged, a sword in one hand and a flaming brand in the other, seems to pause for a moment before hurling himself headlong into his career of destruction. The association of this figure with the temple of Janus is due to Virgil, who speaks of "impious Furor" as kept in chains behind the doors of war (*Aeneid*, I, 293-296). His eyes are covered because, as Cesare Ripa explains, *Furor*, or madness, is "nothing but blindness of the mind, totally deprived of intellectual light."⁷ As Burchard observed, the vigorous attitude combines the diagonal thrust of the *Borghese Warrior* (Paris, Louvre) with the tense alertness of the *Grimani Ulysses* (Venice, Museo Archeologico).

The left wing of the door is held open for him by *Discord*, whose serpentine hair is described in Virgil (*Aeneid*, VI, 280, 281), and by *Tisiphone*, one of the Furies, who brandishes a writhing snake in her upraised hand. Similar personifications appear as the companions of *Furor* in *The Conclusion of Peace* from the Medici cycle (*K.d.K.*, p. 261).

On the opposite side it is, appropriately, *Peace* who tries hardest to prevent the escape of *Furor*. Her attributes, the caduceus and the cornucopia (which she has let fall), are seen on imperial coins.⁸ Equally familiar in the allegorical repertory of Roman coinage is the veiled personification of *Piety* standing beside her altar.⁹

The presence of the Infanta Isabella in the company of *Peace* and *Piety* is to be construed both as a tribute to her efforts to bring the war to an end and

as an appeal to her successor, Prince Ferdinand, to devote himself with no less energy to the cause of peace. That charge is explicitly stated in the epigraph placed above the picture: "Having won triumphs on both land and sea, O Prince, would that you might close the inmost shrine of warlike Janus! And may savage Mars, who has now oppressed the Belgians for almost seven decades, and the fierce Harpies, and Grief and *Furor*, depart hence to the distant recesses of Thrace and Scythia: and may Peace, so long desired, return to the people and the land!"¹⁰

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 39 (CLXVII); XIII, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 288.

³ *De Maeyer*, p. 444: "Una pieza, alta de 15 pies y 16 de largo, representando Mars bandado los ojos queriendo entrar por una puerta que le abre le Invidia al lado derecha, y al ysquierda la infanta doña Isabel que le detiene y la Abundancia, pintado de Teodoro Rombaut."

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 454-460.

⁵ It was no doubt Van Thulden's etching of this subject that inspired the painting in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch showing Minerva and Hercules pushing a door open (see K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959, p. 141, figs. 156, 157).

⁶ F. Haraeus, *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae*, III, Antwerp, 1623. The open doors of the temple of Janus are also seen in *The Consequences of War* in the Pitti Gallery (*K.d.K.*, p. 428).

⁷ C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Siena, 1613, p. 256, s.v. "Furore". Shakespeare also speaks of "blindfold Fury" (*Venus and Adonis*, 554).

⁸ On a gold coin of Claudius, *Pax Augusta* is represented in the form of a winged victory holding a caduceus (*Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 67, No. 1); the cornucopia is a common attribute of Peace (*ibid.*, pl. 66, Nos. 6, 8, 10).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 9, No. 9 (coin of Faustina senior).

¹⁰ *Gevarnius*, p. 117. In Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 87) the inscription is placed for convenience beneath the painting. The opening lines (*O utinam, partis terraque marique triumphis, belligeri cludas, Princeps, penetralia Iani*) echo the legend on coins of Nero showing the temple of Janus closed: *Pace P. R. terra mariq. parta Ianum clusit.*

The Tree of the Austrian Genealogy

The procession now entered the quarter dominated by the Cathedral and the Town Hall. None of the festive decorations displayed here, in the very heart of the city, were invented by Rubens. As he left the Temple of Janus, Prince Ferdinand admired the Elephant, one of the cars of the popular Ommegang, which was placed near the intersection of the Korte Koepoortstraat and the

Wijngaardstraat. Continuing then along the Kaasrui, he came into the Grote Markt, where the Giant Antigon (another car from the Ommegang) occupied his accustomed place. Facing the prince and his party at the opening of the Maalderijstraat stood the stage known as the Tree of the Austrian Genealogy (Fig. 88).¹

This work, in which Rubens had no part, was designed and executed by the members of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke, or, as it was generally called, the Kamer van de Violieren. Surprisingly, the guild of artists did not create for this occasion a painted spectacle such as those devised by Rubens but instead reverted to the archaic *tableau vivant*. The stage is framed by a proscenium-like arch resting on paired caryatid terms; Gevartius explains that these amicably embracing figures, which bear a close resemblance to the pair on the right wing of the Temple of Janus (Fig. 82), signify Concord. The vase of gillyflowers (*violieren*) over the keystone of the arch is an emblem of the Guild of St. Luke itself, and the seated women on either side typify Painting and Sculpture, each with her identifying attributes.

The painted backdrop of the theatre shows the genealogical tree of the House of Habsburg, with the names of the most illustrious members distributed on the branches, and a female figure representing the Roman Catholic Church enthroned at its foot. The stage itself is filled with living persons who enact a complicated pageant before the eyes of Ferdinand. Figures standing for Paganism, Mohammedanism and Heresy are cast into hell by Fortitude, while Divine Providence shows to Belgium the heraldic shield of the Prince-Cardinal and various other supernumerary virtues look on.

In order to defray some of the costs of construction, costumes and other expenses, the city treasurer was authorized to make a subsidy of 700 guilders to the Guild of St. Luke.²

¹ *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E. recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 143-145.

² *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 8 (LXXII), p. 25 (CXXIII); XIII, p. 222.

The Stage of the Chamber of Rhetoric

The various guilds and trades (*Gulden ende Ambachten*) whose houses overlooked the Grote Markt provided other forms of decoration. Tall poles carrying barrels of pitch for illumination by night were surmounted by banners

and painted cut-outs of the patron saints. The buildings themselves were adorned with colourful facings, and torches were placed in the windows. The house of the Meerseniens, for example, was hung with deep-red baize against which were set coats of arms, and the pole that stood in front of the house was painted red and white.¹ Passing the Stadhuis, before which was erected a similar row of coloured poles with pitch barrels, Prince Ferdinand made his way along the Oude Koormarkt. Here, between the Meulengat and the Pelgrimstraat, the Chamber of Rhetoric, known as the Goudbloem, had set up a large stage² with living persons (Fig. 89).³

An actor impersonating the prince enters upon the scene from the right, guided by Minerva and followed by women representing Peace, Justice, Abundance and the like. The new governor, resplendent in his cardinal's robes, is greeted by ecclesiastics and laymen, who point to the opposite side of the stage, where Belgium is oppressed by War, Heresy and other evils. Raising her eyes heavenward, Belgium sees a vision of Hope reclining as if in sleep. The inscription over the scene reads: IN TE SPES INCLINATA RECVMBIT (The wavering hope [of Belgium] rests in you).

As in the case of the Guild of St. Luke, a grant of 700 guilders was made by the city to the deans of the Chamber of Rhetoric to enable them to meet the expenses of building and decorating their stage.⁴

Turning from the Stage of the Goudbloem, Prince Ferdinand dismounted and approached the Cathedral. There (the bishopric being vacant at this time) he was greeted at the entrance by the dean of the college of canons, Aubertus Miraeus, who escorted him down the nave to the altar. When prayers had been offered and the *Te Deum* sung, the Cardinal-Infante left the church and remounted his horse. The procession now resumed its course, passing once more through the Oude Koormarkt and wheeling into the Hoogstraat.

¹ E. Geudens, *Het Hoofdambacht der Meerseniens*, III (*Burgerdeugd*), Antwerp, 1903, pp. 143, 144.

² *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E. recto; *Gevartius*, p. 145.

³ Though it is found in some copies of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, the engraving, by Schelte a Bolswert (*V.S.*, p. 144, No. 66), was not made for that publication, as *Gevartius* expressly says. The subject also appears, in reverse, in an oil painting formerly in the collection of the Earl of Middleton (sale, London, 26 October 1945, lot 12) and now in the *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels; see the reproduction in F.-C. Legrand, *Les peintres flamands de genre au XVII^e siècle*, Paris-Brussels, 1963, pl. 94 (as *Van Thulden*).

⁴ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 222.

The Stage of Mercury (Nos. 46-49; Fig. 1, G)

Marine symbolism predominated in the decorations of the Hoogstraat, along which the Cardinal-Infante and his party continued their parade. The first hint of this came at the entrance to the Vlasmarkt, where Ferdinand beheld the Sea-Chariot, another of the cars used in the Ommegang. A little further on, at the Sint-Jansbrug (now the Kleine Tunnelplein), stood the Stage of Mercury (cf. Fig. 92), behind which lay the narrow basin of the Sint-Jansvliet and, in the background, the open expanse of the Scheldt.

Here the Prince-Cardinal was to be reminded of the economic decline suffered by Antwerp as a result of the closing of the Scheldt to navigation. A more appropriate spot could not have been found along the processional route, for the Sint-Jansbrug was, as Evers has put it, "the only place where the entering prince saw real ships in real water".¹ In earlier entries, moreover, the site had already become associated with appeals to the governor to reopen the harbour to ocean traffic. A wondrous stage had been erected here for the *Blijde Inkomst* of the Archduke Ernest in 1594, on which was performed a *tableau vivant* showing the river god *Scaldis* in chains (Fig. 90). When the archduke arrived before the stage, nymphs shook loose the bonds that held the river, whereupon *Scaldis* poured out a great quantity of water from his urn. The scene was meant to express the hope that the new governor would promptly open the Scheldt and thereby restore the commerce that in former times had made Antwerp the greatest port of Europe. The same hopes were revived when the Archdukes Albert and Isabella became the sovereigns of the Spanish Netherlands. The stage built at the Sint-Jansbrug on the occasion of their solemn entry into Antwerp in 1599 once again presented the liberation of the Scheldt as if it were an accomplished fact (Fig. 91). The figures of Oceanus and Tethys, reclining on urns from which issued water and wine, symbolized the wished-for return of mercantile prosperity, while at the top Albert and Isabella were crowned by Neptune and Amphitrite. Rubens had undoubtedly seen these works with his own eyes, and it is significant that he employed some of the same imagery for the stage which he designed for the identical site in 1635.

Yet Rubens's stage conveyed a very different meaning. Thirty-five years had now gone by since Albert and Isabella had been received with such joyous expectation. The Twelve Years' Truce had brought no improvement in the

situation of Antwerp; hostilities had been resumed, fresh negotiations had been initiated, and still the Scheldt remained closed to maritime traffic. It was no longer possible, even for the most loyal subject, to pretend that the advent of a new governor was a guarantee of free passage to and from the port of Antwerp. In the Stage of Mercury Rubens did not choose to depict an imaginary liberation of the Scheldt, as had naïvely been done in the past, but took as his subject the decline of commerce resulting from the continuance of the war in the Netherlands.

¹ H. G. Evers, in *Roeder-Baumbach*, p. 165.

46. THE STAGE OF MERCURY

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 92; *V.S.*, pp. 225, 226, No. 27, 33).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. E verso–E2 verso; *Alle de Triumphwercken*, fols. E verso–E2 recto; *Corte Wilegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 8; *Gevartius*, pp. 147–150; *Bellori*, pp. 243, 244; *Rooses*, III, pp. 318–320, No. 785; *Evers*, 1942, p. 380; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 86, 166; *Van Puyvelde*, *De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 30, 31; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 283, 285, 286.

The “*Marina Machina*” which we shall call the Stage of Mercury stands on a basement penetrated by round and rectangular windows and measures 70 feet (about 20 metres) from end to end (cf. Fig. 92). The wooden facing is made to simulate rusticated masonry overlaid with stalactites, as if water were trickling over it. The stage proper comprises the three middle units of the structure; they are traversed, as we learn from the specifications (Appendix I, p. 251 [2]), by a continuous platform about four feet in depth which passes behind the piers and is tilted downward a little toward the spectator. The illusion of a theatrical scene is completed by the three paintings with figure-subjects which are placed at the back of the stage.

“There was a time”, *Gevartius* writes, “when Oceanus and Neptune served *Scaldis* by bringing to his harbour the merchandise of all the peoples of the globe, and he in turn poured back goods for distribution throughout all the regions of the world.” This golden age of navigation and commerce, vividly

depicted by Ludovico Guicciardini in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), is symbolized by the decorations placed along the top of the theatre.

The globe of the world rests upon the head of Oceanus, god of the waters, on either side of whom are dolphins signifying the eastern and western seas. Seated upon a rocky, reed-covered eminence above the *orbis terrarum* are the sea-deities Neptune and Amphitrite, he holding a trident and a rudder, she with a cornucopia and a ship's prow. On Roman coins of the imperial series Neptune is commonly shown with the trident in his hand and with one foot resting either on a globe¹ or on the prow of a vessel.² The rudder and the cornucopia are the customary attributes of the goddess *Fortuna*, whose aid was especially invoked for the safety of ships at sea.³ Rising behind the two divinities is a ship's mast, complete with rigging, crow's nest, and a yard with a furled sail. At the top is a mariner's compass, and beneath that a scroll with the words *POLVS NON SVFFICIT VNVS* ("One pole is not enough"), an allusion to the world-wide navigation of which Antwerp was once the centre. Banners fly both from the mast and from the yard-arms. The Tritons who sound their trumpets in honour of Neptune and Amphitrite hold standards bearing the coats of arms of Antwerp and a labarum with the letters *S.P.Q.A.* Between them and the central group are two little genii merrily emptying water from large urns. At the ends two dolphins spout jets of water into the air.

Several of the motifs seen in this group of aquatic figures can be paralleled in mythological subjects by Rubens. Neptune, for example, assumes the same cross-legged posture that was used for this god in the lost painting of *Neptune and Amphitrite* (*K.d.K.*, p. 108), formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. The right-hand Triton may be compared, for the position of the head and the right arm, to the figure in the foreground of *The Union of Earth and Water* (*K.d.K.*, p. 109) in the Hermitage in Leningrad.

Within the large central opening, which is framed at the sides by herms attached to the piers and at the top by a flat arch with canted corners, is a painting of Mercury leaving Antwerp; the cloth that hangs from the platform beneath the picture is identical to those seen in other stages of this cycle. The paintings on either side are intended to point up the difference between the past prosperity of Antwerp and its present decline—Abundance and Wealth on the one hand and Poverty on the other. The contrast is reinforced by the allegorical figures standing in the niches at the ends. At the left, beside Abun-

dance and Wealth, is Comus, god of revelry, who signifies the good old days. Gevartius, who invariably looks for literary sources, says that the god agrees with the description of Comus in the *Imagines* of Philostratus (1, 2), where he is pictured as standing in a kind of drunken stupor, his torch held upside down. But it is obvious that Rubens, who would not in any event have considered using a sleepy figure as a personification of revelry, has looked elsewhere for inspiration. Significantly, his "Comus", who wears a fawn-skin wrapped about his body and stands on tiptoe as he gazes at a bunch of grapes in his upraised hand, is modelled upon an antique statue of Bacchus.⁴ Only the lighted torch—held upright—remains to identify him as Comus.

In the niche at the extreme right of the stage stands a woman striking fire from a flint. This is *Industria*, the daughter of Poverty, the unhappy results of which are illustrated in the adjoining painting. But Industry herself introduces a somewhat more hopeful note. For she signifies, according to Gevartius, the ingenuity shown by the citizens of Antwerp who, when normal commerce was disrupted by the closing of the Scheldt, turned their hands to the manufacture of cloth and other goods. Burchard has observed that the pose and costume of *Industria* are adapted, in reverse, from Rubens's *Hygeia* in the Detroit Institute of Arts.⁵

The preliminary design for the Stage of Mercury, as we know from Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 93), did not include the smaller bays at the ends with the figures of Comus and *Industria*. If we think away these accretions, it becomes evident that what Rubens first had in mind was a structure combining the characteristics of a stage and an arched gateway at the entrance to the harbour.⁶ On 5 December 1634 the carpenter Cornelis van Mol offered to build the work in accordance with the original plans for the sum of 680 guilders, and the contract was signed before a notary on 7 December, it being stipulated that the structure should be finished within thirteen days (Appendix I, p. 252 [9], [11]).⁷ Of course, that deadline was not adhered to: the inevitable additions were soon authorized, and more time had to be allowed to carry them out. The stage, originally 50 feet wide, was expanded to 70 feet. Costs also mounted sharply, and at length Van Mol was paid 1275 guilders for the extensive carpentry required.⁸

The painted decoration of the stage was allotted to Theodoor van Thulden and the team of four artists who also assisted him on the Portico of the Emperors—Jan de Labarre, Jan and Gaspar van Balen, and Erasmus Quellinus.

On 13 June 1635 the city treasurer was authorized to pay to these painters the sum of 1500 guilders for their labours.⁹

- ¹ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 37, No. 11 (coin of Vespasian).
- ² *Ibid.*, pl. 37, Nos. 13–15 (coins of Vespasian and Hadrian).
- ³ *Ibid.*, pl. 63, Nos. 1–6.
- ⁴ The type may be illustrated, as *Kieser* has noted (p. 134, note 50), by a statue in the Naples Museum (Comte de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne*, IV, Paris, 1853, pl. 678, No. 1581).
- ⁵ Reproduced in *Goris-Held*, p. 37, No. 73, pl. 60.
- ⁶ In the specifications the work is described as “Teneel [*sic*] oft platte Arcke” (Appendix I, p. 251 [1]).
- ⁷ *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 421, 422 (XIV). Hans van Mol appeared as guarantee for fulfilment of the contract.
- ⁸ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 50, 51 (CCVIII); XIII, p. 220.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 48 (CXCVIII); XIII, p. 225.

46a. THE STAGE OF MERCURY: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 93–95)

Oil on panel; 77 : 79 cm.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 501.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Hendrik Lankrink (1628–1692), sale, London, 23 January 1693, one of a group of six sketches numbered lots 207–212 (“Rubens, Six Triumphs”); Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, 1676–1745); sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Orford (1730–1791), to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Note book A.y.y.*, fol. 36b (*Walpole Society*, XXVI, 1937–38, p. 56); H. Walpole, *Ædes Walpoleanæ*, 2nd ed., London, 1752, p. 70; *Rooses*, III, p. 319; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, p. 359, No. 565; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 356; *K.d.K.*, p. 373; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 39, 89, pl. 87; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 286, 293.

Most of the stages, as Rubens first conceived them, were simpler and more compact than the full-scale decorations eventually erected for the Joyous Entry. The oil sketch for the Stage of Mercury is typical in that it shows neither the ship’s mast rising in the middle nor the outer wings which the master later felt obliged to add in order to make the work more imposing (cf. Fig. 92). The stage takes the form of a triple portico of greenish-grey stone which might be thought of as a gateway overlooking the harbour; indeed the heavily

rusticated structure is plainly related to the portico built by Rubens for his own house in Antwerp, the middle arch of which is of the same angular form. The herms on either side of the central opening, as well as the water-roughened piers and columns, are identical to those of the pavilion in *The Garden of Love* (K.d.K., p. 348) in the Prado. The three-dimensional structure of the stage, with its slightly tilted platform running behind the piers, can be better understood from Rubens's sketch than from Van Thulden's etching. The three paintings at the rear of the stage, which give the illusion of living figures performing a mime, also serve as a kind of back-cloth.

Directly above the central arch is Oceanus, who seems to emerge from the rough stone and whose head and neck support the globe of the world. The remaining figures along the top of the stage are more colourful in appearance. Neptune and Amphitrite wear draperies of pale blue and gold, respectively. On either side of them are two flying genii, who overturn brick-red urns so that water flows into the shell-basins below. And finally there are two lusty Tritons blowing conchs and holding standards; on the violet labarum of the left-hand standard can be discerned the gold letters S.P.Q.A.

The principal picture represents *The Departure of Mercury from Antwerp*. (For the large canvas, painted by Van Thulden and now lost, see No. 47). The god of commerce, a caduceus and a purse held in his upraised hand, is about to take flight from the pedestal on which he has been poised; little winged putti attempt to restrain him by clutching at his mantle. *Antverpia*, whose unhappy state of mind is conveyed by her histrionic gestures, kneels upon a block of stone and turns her face outward as if appealing to the watching Prince Ferdinand for assistance. Beside her is a sailor who has fallen asleep upon an upturned boat; a disused anchor lies nearby. *Scaldis*, whose feet are in irons, sits in slumber upon a pile of nets, his head supported on his hand and his arm resting on an urn, while a child vainly tries to loosen his fetters. The river god wears a crown of reeds, and a few fish are scattered on the ground at his side. In the harbour lies a ship with sails furled. The draperies worn by the three principal figures supply bright notes of colour: Mercury's mantle is rose, and that of *Scaldis* is light blue; *Antverpia* wears a gold mantle lined with ermine over a dress of shimmering white silk, and a wreath of red and white roses is wound about her turreted crown.

The scene at the left shows Abundance, holding a caduceus and emptying golden treasures from a cornucopia into the garment held out by Wealth, who

is seated upon bales of merchandise, near which lies a balance. (For the full-size picture of this subject by Erasmus Quellinus, see No. 48). Wealth is decked with jewels and wears a rose tunic with an ermine border and a yellow-gold mantle in which she catches the riches showered upon her by her companion, who is severely dressed in a dark-green tunic and a blue-grey mantle. The tablet placed above this scene is decorated with a garland of sea-shells.

In the compartment on the opposite side (Fig. 95) Rubens paints a picture of domestic poverty and hardship. A seated woman whose wan features tell of privation and who has a distaff in her hand offers a raw cabbage to a famished child. Other vegetables lie in a heap on the floor. Her husband, an unemployed sailor who now tries to make a living by tilling the soil, stands behind them, scratching his head and holding a shovel in his hand. All three are dressed in mean and drab garments. This scene was executed in large size by Jan van Balen (see No. 49).

In many parts of the panel the artist's preliminary chalk lines are clearly visible through the transparent varnish (cf. Fig. 95). But Rubens also made a few rough drafts in chalk *after* the sketch was finished; and these prove, on closer scrutiny, to be ideas for the subsequent elaboration of the design. In the upper right section, for example, directly above the putto pouring water from a jar (Fig. 94), there is a faint sketch of the magnetic compass atop the mast which, in the final realization, will form the crowning feature of the ensemble. Similarly, the diagonal strokes on either side of Neptune and Amphitrite are clearly intended to designate the rigging of the mast. No inscriptions are visible on the panel.

47. MERCURY DEPARTING FROM ANTWERP

Oil on canvas; approximately 450 : 400 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 98), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, No. 597; canvas, 291 : 140 cm.; from the collection of King Gustavus III; (2) Drawing, Utrecht, Collection Hans van Leeuwen; oil on paper, 292 : 256 mm.; exh.: *Niederländische Zeichnungen des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung Hans van Leeuwen, Utrecht*, Bonn, 1968, No. 114 (repr.); (3) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 96; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 34).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. E. verso; *Gevartius*, pp. 147, 148; *Bellori*, p. 243; *Rooses*, III, p. 318; M.L. Hairs, *Theodore van Thulden, 1606-1669*, *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 15.

The five artists charged with the painted decoration of the Stage of Mercury received a payment of 1500 guilders for their work.¹ The largest share undoubtedly went to Theodoor van Thulden, who not only supervised the project as a whole but personally painted the large canvas of *The Departure of Mercury* that stood in the middle (cf. Fig. 96). In April 1637, when the pictures made for the Entry were being renovated, Van Thulden was paid 120 guilders for "the repainting and retouching of the great painting of *Mercurius* which was placed at St.-Jansbrugge".² The canvas was then installed in the palace at Brussels, passing in due course into the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. We may catch a glimpse of the work as it appeared at this time in a painting by David Teniers the Younger representing *The Archducal Gallery with Royal Portraits*, now at Schleissheim (Fig. 97): the canvas is partly concealed by other pictures standing in front of it, but these have been artfully arranged so as not to obscure the essential figures of Mercury and the Maid of Antwerp; and Teniers has even taken the trouble to place Van Thulden's name on the frame.³ The work is also correctly cited under the name of that artist in the Spanish⁴ and Flemish⁵ inventories compiled after the departure of Leopold Wilhelm from Brussels.

That the picture was lost in the conflagration of 1731 appears to be beyond doubt. The painting of *Mercury* in Stockholm (Fig. 98), which Rooses believed to be a fragment of the original canvas by Van Thulden, is nothing more than a pedestrian copy of the principal figure in that work and may even have been taken from the etching. The draughtsmanship is too spiritless and the handling too hard and unfeeling to be by Van Thulden. Mention may also be made here of the drawing in the collection H. van Leeuwen, which is a copy, in reverse, of Van Thulden's etching.

For once, Van Thulden's illustration (Fig. 96) reproduces a painting executed by himself. This being so, it is curious to find that in the print he has "improved" the composition by adding certain details which are not shown in the oil sketch (Fig. 93) and which probably had no place in the full-size canvas either. It is to be doubted, for example, that Rubens would have authorized the two heraldic hands (from the coat of arms of the city: *Handt-werp*) that are to be seen on either side of *Antverpia's* mural crown, or that

he would have approved the standard flying at the stern of a ship that is to be understood as out of commission. On the other hand, Van Thulden has relegated to the space beneath the picture the anguished words addressed by *Antverpia* to the prince;⁶ in the original painting this inscription appeared on Mercury's pedestal.⁷

In order to convey the imminent flight of the god of commerce, Rubens has cleverly adapted the pose of Giovanni Bologna's bronze statue of *Mercury* (Florence, Museo Nazionale), with some reminiscences—especially in the wind-blown mantle and in the placing of the right foot—of Raphael's fresco of *Mercury descending from Olympus* in the Villa Farnesina in Rome (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 152). The purse as an attribute of Mercury is found on Roman coins.⁸

The importance of the River Scheldt to the mercantile life of Antwerp was a common theme in the art and pageantry of the sixteenth century. Mercury, as the divinity presiding over the commercial fortunes of the city, appeared with *Scaldis* and other personifications in one of the stages erected for the Entry of Prince Philip in 1549.⁹ The idea of representing the river god in chains was probably suggested to Rubens by the stage built at the Sint-Jansbrug for the Entry of 1594 (Fig. 90). Another allegory well known to him was the painting of *Scaldis and Antverpia* by Abraham Janssens (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten), a work commissioned by the city for the Statenkamer of the Town Hall in 1609, when the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce seemed to justify the hope that the Scheldt would be reopened.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 48 (CXCVIII); XIII, p. 225. See pp. 181, 182 above.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 289.

³ *Speib-Holterhoff*, pp. 146, 147 (here erroneously identified as *The Return of Peace*, a work purchased by Leopold from Van Thulden in 1655).

⁴ *De Maeyer*, p. 443: "Una peça, alta de 13 pies y 12 de largo, representando un Mercurio a su lado derecha... [*sic*] y al lado de ysquierdo la donzella de Amberes, hecha por Theodoro van Tulden."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 456: "Een stuck, hoogh 16 voeten ende breed 14 voeten, representerende Mercurius op de pedestael, op de rechte seyde Schaldijs geboeijt, op d'andere seyde de Maeght van Antwerpen knielende, geschildert van Theodoor Van Thulden."

⁶ *Ne, precor, hinc volucres fleat Cyllenius alas / O princeps, cultiamque sibi ne deserat urbem: / Et fugitiva meo redeant commercia Scaldi!* (Do not, I beseech you, O prince, let Cyllenius [Mercury] take swift flight and desert the city dedicated to him. And may fugitive commerce return once more to my Scheldt). There being too little space available in the etching, Van Thulden substituted a shorter epigraph, in the form of a dedication to Mercury.

- ⁷ The inscription is found, in differently worded versions, on two of the pattern sheets prepared for the letterers. One of these sheets bears the notation: *Op den Basis, oft steen van Mercurius tot Sr Tuldén.*
- ⁸ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 41, No. 1 (coin of Gallienus).
- ⁹ Reproduced in *Varshavskaya*, p. 273, fig. 2.

48. ABUNDANCE AND WEALTH

Oil on canvas; approximately 300 : 225 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E2 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. E verso; *Gevartius*, p. 148; *Bellori*, p. 243; *Rooses*, III, p. 318.

The canvas, which was placed on the left of *Mercury departing* (cf. Fig. 92), was executed from Rubens's design (Fig. 93) by Erasmus Quellinus. It was one of the pictures selected for presentation to the Cardinal-Infante and is described as the work of Quellinus in the seventeenth-century inventories of the palace on the Coudenberg.¹ In 1698, the painting, then erroneously attributed to Jacob van Oost, was transferred, together with its companion piece representing *Poverty* (No. 49), to the Castle of Tervuren,² thereby escaping the fire that demolished the Brussels palace and its contents in 1731. Nothing more is heard of it until 1789, when there appeared in an auction at Paris a painting of *Commerce and Abundance*, said to be by Rubens, which, as the description in the catalogue makes clear, was in reality the canvas by Erasmus Quellinus from the Stage of Mercury.³ This would seem to be the last recorded mention of the painting.⁴

The personification of *Abundantia* as a female figure emptying a horn of plenty is a common one on Roman imperial coins;⁵ Rubens uses the same motif for *Ubertas* on the Temple of Janus (Fig. 85). The action of *Opulentia*, who holds out her garment to catch the treasure being showered upon her, may have been suggested by a coin of Hadrian, on which a citizen receives money poured into his toga from a cornucopia held by *Liberality*.⁶

¹ *De Maeyer*, p. 443: "Otro del mismo tamaño [alto dies pies y ocho de largo], representando la Abundancia, hecho de mano de Errasmus Quellinus." *Ibid.*, p. 455: "Een

- ander stuck, van gelijcke hooghde [tien voeten], breet acht voeten, representerende Abondantia, geschildert van Erasmus Quellinus.”
- ² *Ibid.*, pp. 460, 461: “Memorie der schilderijen gezonden op den 25 Junij 1698 naar Tervuren: ... Twee groote stucken, 't een de Abondantie van Van Oost en d' ander de Armoede.”
- ³ Anonymous sale [Bertheels], Paris, 3 February 1789, lot 16: “[P.P. Rubens], Un sujet allégorique de deux belles figures de femmes, caractérisant le Commerce et l'Abondance. Ce Tableau d'un coloris digne de son Auteur, a été fait pour un arc de triomphe, lors de l'entrée du Prince Ferdinand: on le trouve gravé dans cet œuvre. Hauteur 7 pieds, largeur 4 pieds de [deux?] pouces [227.5 x 135.5 cm.]. T[oile].”
- ⁴ In the sale of works belonging to Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 15 May 1830, lot 119) there was listed a painting by Rubens of *Plenty and Commerce* measuring 64 x 53 inches [162.5 x 134.5 cm.]. The width agrees with that of the Bertheels picture, but the discrepancy in height rules out the possibility that the two works are one and the same.
- ⁵ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 58, No. 1 (coin of Carinus).
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 83, No. 6.

49. POVERTY

Oil on canvas; approximately 300 : 225 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E2 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol E2 recto; *Gevartius*, p. 148; *Bellori*, p. 243; *Rooses*, III, p. 319.

On the right side of *Mercury departing* (cf. Fig. 92), Jan van Balen painted the scene of *Poverty* from Rubens's *modello* (Fig. 95). Like the *Abundance and Wealth* by Quellinus, the picture was sent to Brussels, where we find it duly entered in the seventeenth-century inventories.¹ Both paintings were removed to the Castle of Tervuren in 1698.² Since no further notice has come to light concerning Van Balen's *Poverty*, the work must be written off as lost.

The scene is unique among the paintings for the Entry in being a pure genre subject of almost Brouwer-like character. The shovel held by the sailor-turned-peasant is referred to in the inscription on the tablet above the picture, in which Gevartius expresses the pious hope that Ferdinand will reopen the Scheldt: “The prince will cause *Scaldis* to issue from his loosened bonds and the disused ships to sail again upon the deep. Poverty and pale want will depart, nor will the sailor longer wield the hard shovel.”

¹ *De Maeyer*, p. 443: "Una pintura representando la Necessida, alto dies pies y ocho de largo, hecho de mano de Juan Van Bael." *Ibid.*, p. 455: "Een gelijk stuk, representerende de Armoede, geschildert van Jan Vael."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 460, 461. See p. 188, note 2 above.

The Arch of the Mint (Nos. 50–51a; Fig. 1, H)

Leaving the Hoogstraat and passing along the Oever, Prince Ferdinand came upon an arch placed so as to span the entrance to the Sint-Michielsstraat (or Kloosterstraat). This was the *Arcus Monetalis*, erected—as the name indicates—by the officers and workmen of the Royal Mint, which stood at this spot and was itself decorated with colourful hangings.

Nothing is known about the construction of the arch. Since the project was not one of those commissioned by the municipal authorities, there are no specifications or contracts describing the structure in the city archives, nor are there any records of payments naming the contractor and the artists who worked on the decorations. All such papers, which were doubtless kept in the files of the Mint, seem to have been lost. Yet, even though the costs of the arch were borne by the Mint, it is important to realize that the design and iconographical programme were entrusted to Rubens and Gevartius. The work may thus be regarded as part of the grand cycle of decorations authorized by the city. The form of the arch itself bears witness to this fact.

In 1549, when Prince Philip made his Solemn Entry, a stage had been built at the Mint for the presentation of a *tableau vivant* showing Saturn striking coins in the presence of the goddess *Moneta* and other personifications.¹ Although the Chamber of Rhetoric and the Guild of St. Luke might still cling to this venerable theatrical form (cf. Figs. 88 and 89), Rubens regarded the *tableau vivant* as outmoded and made no use of it in any of his decorations. He and Gevartius, searching for a theme that would be appropriate both to the mint and to the new Spanish governor, decided that the work should celebrate the wealth of gold and silver that had fallen to Spain through the conquest of Peru. Rubens's solution was to assimilate the regular form of a triumphal arch into a rocky hill representing Potosí, "the silver mountain of Peru", at that time still the richest silver mine in the world (Fig. 99).

The artist's conception of Mount Potosí may well have been inspired (as Evers has observed) by the engraved title-page of Theodor de Bry's *Americae*

pars sexta, published at Frankfort in 1596, which shows a similar mountain with miners at work and a natural archway beneath.² But it should also be remembered that Rubens was not the first to design a large-scale "mountain" as a street decoration for a princely procession. It is by no means impossible, I think, that he took the idea of a rocky mass rising from a masonry foundation from the illustration of one of the arches erected for the triumphal entry of King Henry II of France at Rouen in 1550 (Fig. 104).³

¹ Reproduced in *Roeder-Baumbach*, fig. 23.

² Reproduced in *Evers*, 1943, fig. 103.

³ *Cest la Deduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles...exhibes par les Citoiens de Rouen...a...Henry secôd...et...Katharine de Medicis...Mils cinq cens cinquante... Rouen, 1551.*

50. THE ARCH OF THE MINT: THE FRONT FACE

ENGRAVED: (1) Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 99; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 35); (2) Engraving of the river god *Peruvius* (*V.S.*, p. 147, 88); (3) Engraving of the river god *Rio de la Plata* (not in *V.S.*).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. E2 verso-E3 verso; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. E2 verso; *Corte Whleggingen ofte By-voeghsel*, pp. 8, 9; *Gevartius*, pp. 151-154; *Rooses*, III, pp. 320, 321, No. 786; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 70, 167; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 380-382; *Evers*, 1943, p. 183; *Van Puyvelde*, *De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 31, 32.

For the arch raised by the masters of the Mint (Fig. 99), Rubens designed a boldly rusticated portico of simulated masonry, resembling in some respects the original project for the Stage of Mercury (Fig. 93). The single portal is capped by an angular arch and flanked by bearded herms only partly freed from the stonework. River gods occupy the niches on either side. Rising from the lower storey are two columns ("the pillars of Hercules") and, in the centre, a niche containing an allegorical figure. At this level the tectonic elements of the arch are gradually fused into the massive boulders of Mount Potosí. The work measures more than 17 metres in height and almost 11.5 metres in width (60 by 40 Antwerp feet).

The figure-subjects displayed on this extraordinary arch all have to do with the expansion of the Spanish Empire and the acquisition of the treasures of New Spain. At the summit of the mountain is a cut-out representing *Jason and the Golden Fleece*. Jason, dressed in antique armour, is about to remove

the fleece from the tree, at the base of which the guardian dragon lies asleep. In the branches, where brightly coloured parrots perch, a scroll has been unfurled to exhibit the legend *PRETIUM NON VILE LABORUM*—the reward of his labours is not worthless. This was thought to mean, according to a contemporary account of the Entry, not only that the Golden Fleece was well worth the trouble that Jason took to obtain it, but also that “the great usefulness of money sweetens the labour of the minters”.¹ There is, in addition, an unmistakable allusion to the Order of the Golden Fleece, an allusion made still more obvious by the fact that the ram suspended from the tree resembles the badge of the order. Gevartius finds it significant that the order was founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; for the later Philips, kings of Spain and grand masters of the order, inherited the immense riches of Mexico and Peru that had been won for them by the *Conquistadores*—“the new Jasons and Argonauts”, as Gevartius calls them. The importance of Spanish navigation in the conquest of the New World is typified by the figure of *Felicitas* (the allusion is to a happy voyage), who stands opposite Jason, carrying a ship in one hand and raising her veil in the other so that it fills out like a sail in the wind.²

The rabbit (*cuniculus*) which is seen on the rocky slope below *Felicitas* carries a double meaning: since it is a burrowing animal, it symbolizes the mines (*cuniculi*) of Peru; at the same time it serves as an attribute of *Hispania*, because, according to the reports of ancient writers, rabbits were exceedingly numerous in Spain.³ In point of fact, *Hispania* herself was to have been present here (see the *modello*, Fig. 101). Owing to a change of plan, she was later transferred to the rear face of the arch and her place taken by *Felicitas*; but her rabbit, through an oversight, was left behind.

The remaining figures on the façade are disposed in accordance with a kind of bimetallic system: the left, or eastern, side represents the region of gold, bathed by the golden light of the sun; the right, or western, side is that of silver, and its light is that of the silvery moon. In the middle is *Moneta*, goddess of coinage and the mint, who is enthroned in a niche directly above the portal, wearing a diadem and holding in one hand a horn of plenty and in the other a caduceus, a purse and a balance. The personification derives, needless to say, from the familiar type of *Moneta* on Roman imperial coins.⁴ The numismatic symbolism is carried further by the festoons of coins suspended on either side of the niche, those on the left—the side of the sun—being of

gold, and those at the right—the side of the moon—being of silver. Above *Moneta* is a large medallion with the profile likeness of King Philip IV. The accompanying inscription refers to the monarch as *locupletator orbis terrarum*—the benefactor of the world—a piece of absurd flattery taken from a coin of Hadrian.⁵

Since the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro were carried out during the reign of Charles V, Rubens took occasion to introduce the emblem of that emperor—the pillars of Hercules—in the form of two free-standing Composite columns on high plinths. In this setting they symbolize both the vast extent and the vast wealth of the Spanish empire. They are guarded by ferocious lions, custodians of the royal treasure.⁶ The left-hand column, standing on the eastern side, supports the golden disk of the sun, whereas the other bears the silver crescent of the moon. The banderoles entwined about the fluted shafts show legends that amplify Charles V's motto, *PLVS VLTRA*: that on the gold side reads *VLTRA ANNI SOLISQVE VIAS* (Beyond the paths of the year and the sun), and that on the silver side *OCEANVMQVE VLTRA* (And beyond the Ocean). Sun and moon, we are to understand, never cease to shine upon the Spanish dominions. The coats of arms displayed beneath the columns are those of Philip IV and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand.

The river gods on either side of the archway represent two of the streams that flow through the lands rich in gold and silver. On the left is Peruvius, the river which, according to the account of the Jesuit writer José de Acoſta, gave its name to the entire country of Peru:⁷ the urn on which he rests his arm is a source of golden water. His companion on the opposite side is Rio de la Plata, the river of silver.

The Latin inscriptions for the Arch of the Mint were composed by Gevartius, who (as was his practice) had them copied on sheets of paper for the guidance of the letterers. It is probable that these "pattern sheets" were later gathered by the officials of the Mint and placed with the other documents connected with the project. All of these papers have been lost. Among the inscription sheets in the City Archives, however, there is one that relates to the Arch of the Mint. It bears the following heading: *HET VOORSTE DEEL. Aen de Munte. Onder den Boom bij IAS[ON]*. These directions make it clear that the sheet was intended to furnish the inscription for the front face of the arch "under the tree near Jason", that is to say, on the tablet above *Moneta*. For some reason, the inscription was never written; instead the heading was

crossed out, and the other side of the sheet was used for several of the inscriptions on the Arch of Ferdinand.

- ¹ *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E3 recto.
- ² *Felicitas Augusti*, denoting prosperous navigation, is frequently expressed on imperial coins by a galley; see the coins of Hadrian reproduced in *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 61, Nos. 8 and 13. The wind-filled veil (another maritime symbol, because it evokes the idea of a sail) is also an attribute of *Fortuna* in *The Advent of the Prince* (see Fig. 6).
- ³ On a coin of Hadrian, cited by *Gevartius*, the emperor stands before the kneeling figure of *Hispania*, at whose foot appears a rabbit (cf. *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 75, No. 6).
- ⁴ *Moneta* is frequently represented as a seated figure with balance and cornucopia; see for example a coin of Septimius Severus (*ibid.*, pl. 66, No. 2). The caduceus and purse are attributes borrowed from Mercury in his capacity as god of commerce. The personification of *Moneta* shows a marked resemblance in pose and dress to the presumed portrait of Maria de' Medici in the guise of France (*K.d.K.*, p. 266, right); on this work (surely a school-piece) see J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *Rubens' Life of Marie de Medici*, New York, 1970, p. 73.
- ⁵ The coin is illustrated by *Gevartius*, p. 112.
- ⁶ On the vigilance of the lion, who sleeps without closing his eyes, see Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. "Custodia".
- ⁷ *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Seville, 1590, bk. I, chap. xiii. I have used the English translation of 1604 by Edward Grimston, reprinted for the Hakluyt Society (*The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, London, 1880, p. 38): "...the name hath been given to all the countrie of Peru, by reason of a river so called by the inhabitants of the countrie, where the Spaniards arrived upon their first discoverie."

50a. THE FRONT FACE OF THE ARCH OF THE MINT: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 101)

Oil on panel; 104 : 71 cm. Numerous inscriptions on scrolls and medallions and above the two uppermost figures.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No. 316.

PROVENANCE: Antwerp, Mint; removed by the French in 1794; returned in 1815.

COPY: Painting; oil on panel; subsequently cut into several pieces, which are now dispersed.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 389; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 93; *Rubens et son temps*, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1936, No. 75; *Van Jan van Eyck tot Rubens, Tentoonstelling*

van meesterwerken uit de Belgische musea en kerken, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam – Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1946, No. 76.

LITERATURE: J. F. M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 110; P. Génard, *L'Hôtel des Monnaies d'Anvers, Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique*, xxx, 2nd series, X, 1874, p. 75; C. Piot, *Rapport à Mr. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, p. 28, Nos. 77, 78; *Rooses*, III, p. 321; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 357; *K.d.K.*, p. 374; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, p. 109, No. 37, fig. 17.

Rubens first covered the panel with an ochre ground, on which, having drawn a vertical centre line, he quickly set down in black chalk the main features of the design. The mountain and the rough-hewn architecture were then painted in brown and grey tones, and the various human figures, animals and ornaments were worked up in their appropriate colours. Certain passages were treated in summary fashion by the artist: he did not trouble, for example, to complete the foliage of the tree but left the rough chalk sketch of its branches almost uncovered.

After the panel had been painted Rubens made further annotations in chalk. The ragged lines drawn inside the portal suggest that he experimented briefly with the idea of replacing the angular arch with a "natural" or cavelike opening in the mountain. The chalk sketches in the upper corners of the panel are also connected with this alternative solution. In the open space beneath the arch may be seen a rough drawing in chalk of the lion-headed keystone and of the swags that were to be suspended from it (cf. Fig. 99).

The episode at the summit represents Hercules and the Golden Apples of the Hesperides. The hero raises his club to smite the dragon Ladon which already lies helpless at the foot of the tree. On the other side, *Hispania*, wearing a mural crown and a rose-red mantle with a floral pattern, plucks the golden fruit from the branches and gathers it in her garment. We have already seen that the rabbit crouching on a rock near her feet is an attribute of *Hispania* on Roman coins. The female figure seated in a rocky niche over the portal is *Moneta*, in a brilliant mantle of red and gold and a greenish-white dress that leaves one breast uncovered. She holds in her hands, as the symbols of commerce and prosperity, a cornucopia, a caduceus, a purse and a balance. Above her is a large medallion with three women, and inscribed on the block beneath

it are the words *AVRVM ARGENT...*; the third word (*Æs*) is omitted, but there is no mistaking the reference to the three metals of the Roman mint—gold, silver and copper—here personified as female figures. At the sides, protected by rampant lions, are the columns of Hercules, which carry scrolls reading *VLTRA ANNI SOLISQ VIAS* and *OCEANVMQ VLTRA*. Two more lions lurk in the caverns in the hillside. A string of gold coins connects the central niche to the left-hand column, which bears at its top the golden sphere of the sun. The river god seated at the lower left is Peruvius; he wears red drapery, and the water that spills from his urn is tinged with gold. The right-hand column carries a silver orb (not a crescent) denoting the moon, and the coins hung beside it are likewise of silver. Over the cavelike opening at the lower right is the river god Marañon, who wears a white loin-cloth; with one leg crossed over the other, he rests one arm against his urn and holds an oar in his left hand. In the dark space beneath him may be seen a pair of pincers and other instruments used in the coinage of money.

When he composed the two oil sketches for the Arch of the Mint (Figs. 101 and 102) Rubens was still undecided whether certain features should appear on the front face or on the rear. In the event, as we learn from Van Thulden's etchings (Figs. 99 and 100), the two subjects at the top were transposed: Hercules and *Hispania* were assigned to the rear façade, and their station at the front taken by Jason and *Felicitas*. The river gods Marañon and Rio de la Plata likewise exchanged places. Iconographically speaking, it must be said that the original plan for the front face was more logical: the columns of Hercules were obviously meant to be seen in conjunction with that hero, and not with Jason; and the rabbit that is seen on the left side of the mountain is properly an attribute of *Hispania*, not of *Felicitas*.

Why Jason should have been substituted for Hercules we can only guess. Perhaps the thought occurred to Rubens, or Gevartius, that it might be more fitting to display the Golden Fleece on the front face of the arch, because Philip IV was grand master of the order. In any case, that Rubens himself authorized the rearrangement of the subjects is proved by the notes jotted down by him on the oil sketch. Above the figure of Hercules he has written the name *Iason* in black chalk, and again, in abbreviated form, *Ias*, above *Hispania*. On the face of the coin with the three female figures (directly over *Moneta*) are the letters *PHIL*, indicating that the coin is to contain the likeness of Philip IV, as indeed it does in the definitive solution (cf. Fig. 99). The

painted numbers that are visible in several parts of the sketch were probably intended to serve as guides to the artists who executed the decorations of the arch. Beneath *Moneta* is the numeral 1, and on the tablet over her head, 2. The figure 4 is found on the lower band of the scroll wound about the left-hand column, and on the chest of the herm to the left of the portal is the number 5.

A final point of difference is to be noted between the oil sketch and the completed work: in contrast to the rather squat proportions that Rubens gave to Mount Potosí in his preliminary design, the Arch of the Mint as it was actually constructed in the Sint-Michielsstraat (cf. Fig. 99) was considerably higher and more mountain-like.

Copies were made after both of Rubens's oil sketches for the Arch of the Mint (as of other designs for the Entry of 1635). Since fragments of some of these copies are still in existence, it may be of interest to trace what is known of their history and to determine, if possible, whether they were utilized in the execution of the project.

One such pair of copies is recorded in the sale of the collection of P. A. J. Knyff at Antwerp on 18 July 1785 (lots 242 and 243): these panels each measured $38\frac{1}{4}$ by $26\frac{1}{2}$ pouces [100 x 69 cm.], only a little smaller than the originals. It may have been the same panels that were listed as works by Rubens in the Barchman Wuytiers sale at Amsterdam in 1798 (lots 147 and 148, each measuring about 67 x 75 cm.); it is clear from the catalogue description that the lower parts of the panels had by this time been cut away.¹ More recently the same truncated pieces came to light in a sale at Vienna on 16-18 March 1927, in a sale at the Dorotheum, Vienna, on 20 October 1932 (lot 35, each panel measuring 68 : 75 cm.) and again in a sale at London, Christie's, 14 May 1965 (lot 34, each panel measuring 66.5 : 72.5 cm.). Ludwig Burchard, who was shown these pieces by C. Benedict in 1928, recognized them as mutilated copies. The panel which copies Rubens's sketch for the front face has been cut just below the beards of the herms, thus eliminating the river gods at the base.²

It must be emphasized that these works are simply replicas of Rubens's original designs for the Arch of the Mint. If, instead, they showed the definitive arrangement of the figures, with Jason on the front face and Hercules on the rear, then the argument might be made that they were painted by assistants under the direction of Rubens himself, with the object of incorporating the

changes made by him in the design of the arch. But since this is not the case, the panels in question can only be described as workshop copies, like those of the Arch of Philip (Figs. 18 and 31).

But this is not the whole story. Two little panels representing the river gods *Peruvius* and *Marañon* were identified by Burchard as fragments cut from the missing lower section of the copy after the sketch for the front face. *Peruvius* was in the sale of the collection of Paul Bureau at Paris (Galerie Georges Petit) on 20 May 1927 (lot 35).³ The measurements (27 : 18 cm.) show it to be on the same scale as the mutilated copy in the Vienna sale of 1932. It can be seen, moreover, that a narrow strip has been added along the top of the little panel because the cut edge lay too close to the head of the figure. The companion piece, representing *Marañon*, was included in the sale of the collection of Albert Besnard, held at Paris (Galerie Charpentier) on 31 May – 1 June 1934 (lot 88, 20 : 21 cm., as *Van Dyck*).⁴ I do not know the present whereabouts of these panels.

It is difficult to believe that these river gods, differing neither in size nor in detail from Rubens's sketch of the ensemble, can have been intended to serve as models for the master's collaborators in the painting of the large-scale decorations. Burchard, it may be concluded, was probably correct in regarding them as fragments of the dismembered copy after the *modello*.

¹ See the catalogue of the sale, Barchman Wuytiers, Amsterdam, 19 September 1798. The fragmentary copy after the front face (lot 148) is described as follows: "P. P. Rubbens. Een Zinnebeeldige Ordonantie voor een Triumpboog met verscheiden Beelden: in een Nis vertoont zich het zinnebeeld van Koophandel en Welvaart: verder verciert met gedenkteekens en diversch bywerk...hoog 26, breed 29 duim [67 : 74.5 cm.]. Paneel." If this panel and its pendant are to be identified with the intact pair in the Knyff sale, then they must have been cut down between 1785 and 1798.

² Reproduced in *Der Cicerone*, XIX, Heft 4, February 1927, p. XIV, and in the catalogue of the sale at the Dorotheum, Vienna, 20 October 1932, pl. 14.

³ Reproduced in the catalogue of the sale, No. 35.

⁴ Reproduced in the catalogue of the sale, pl. XIV. In all probability this is the same panel that figured in the Van Schorel sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1744, lot 20: "L'Escaut appuyé sur son urne: Esquisse... Cette figure se trouve répétée dans l'Estampe de... l'*Introitus Ferdinandi*, où elle représente le Maragnon, fleuve de Perou. B. H. 7 po. L. 9 po. [19 : 24.5 cm.]." This would seem to mean that the copy after Rubens's sketch was mutilated not later than 1744, and hence that it could not have been one of those in the Knyff sale of 1785.

50b. TWO STUDIES OF A RIVER GOD: DRAWING (Fig. 103)

Black chalk, squared; 414 : 240 mm. Inscriptions by a later hand along the left side and bottom.

Boßon, Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. No. 20.813.

PROVENANCE: Howard Wicklow, 1873; F. J. P., 1875; Henry Adams; Mrs. Henry P. Quincy.

EXHIBITED: *An Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Drawings and Watercolors*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, 1954; *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 22 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Held*, No. 33, pl. 36; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, p. 109, under No. 37.

The sheet is inscribed along the left edge: *Hogde vier ellen ende half* (height four and a half ells); and at the bottom: *brede gelijk dese draet* (width the same as this string [implying that a piece of string was enclosed with the drawing as an indication of width]). The handwriting is not that of Rubens himself.

The principal figure is a powerfully built river god whose hair is filled with reeds and who sits looking to the left, his left forearm resting on an urn from which water pours forth and his right hand grasping an oar. A second and less finished sketch of a similar figure, whose head is turned toward the spectator, appears above the first. In the background are indications of a bridge, domed buildings and an obelisk.

It has been pointed out by Held that the river god in this drawing does not find a precise correspondence in any of Rubens's works, though similar figures may be discovered in a number of paintings, mostly of the period around 1620. Michael Jaffé, whose opinion is quoted in the catalogue of the exhibition *Cambridge-New York 1956*, connects the figure with the river god seen in the drawing of *The Vestal Tuccia* in the Louvre (*Held*, No. 50, pl. 52; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 129).

A very different solution was proposed by Ludwig Burchard. He observed that one of the most peculiar features of the oil sketch for the front face of the Arch of the Mint (Fig. 101) is that the two river gods, instead of being placed symmetrically back to back, or foot to foot, are pictured facing in the

same direction. The Boston drawing, in his opinion, represents Rubens's attempt to save the right-hand river god, Marañon, for the front side of the arch by showing him in mirror reversal. But this trial solution was not adopted, Burchard argued, because in the end Rubens decided to transfer Marañon, without reversal, to the rear face.

This is an attractive hypothesis, but there are, it seems to me, several reasons for regarding it as improbable. In the first place, the attitude of the river god in the Boston drawing, though admittedly analogous to the figure of Marañon in the sketch, nevertheless exhibits some marked differences, especially in the position of the legs and of the arm with the oar. It is strange too, in view of Rubens's careful attention to such matters, that, whereas in the sketch the light falls from the right side, in the drawing the source of light is on the left. And lastly there is the fact that the style of the drawing suggests a considerably earlier period than the 1630's.

51. THE ARCH OF THE MINT: THE REAR FACE

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 100; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 36).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. E3 verso, E4 recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. E3 recto; *Gevartius*, pp. 155-158; *Rooses*, III, pp. 321, 322, No. 787; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 32.

The rear (or south) face of the Arch of the Mint presents another view of Mount Potosí rising from a substructure of rustic masonry (Fig. 100). Here, as on the front face, there are two herms of hoary aspect to guard the portal, above which heavy blocks are piled up to form a shallow niche. The figure-subjects which enliven the barren precipice allude to the exportation of precious metals from the New World to fill the coffers of Spain.

The topmost cut-out represents Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides: while the mighty champion clubs the guardian dragon to death, *Hispania* plucks the golden apples from the tree and drops them into a fold of her garment. The pose of Hercules, his left leg advanced and the club held over his head as he prepares to deliver the violent blow, virtually repeats that of *Hercules crushing Discord* on the Whitehall Ceiling in London.¹

In the figures on the outer sides of the mountain Rubens momentarily abandons allegory to give a more realistic glimpse of the mines of Potosí. On the

left, two workmen strike at the rock with their picks as they search for veins of silver (some of which, we are told, lie just beneath the surface). On the opposite side, two men, one of whom holds a candle, are seen as they emerge from the mouth of a mine carrying loads of ore upon their backs. Similar episodes are illustrated in the engraved title-page of the sixth volume of Theodor de Bry's *America*, published at Frankfort in 1596 (reproduced in *Evers*, 1943, fig. 103). But the candle held by one of the pair is probably to be connected with the description of the mines of Potosí in Acoſta's *History of the Indies*: "They carry vp this metall upon their shoulders... He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumb, for, as it is said, they have no light from heaven." ² The monkeys scampering over the rocks may also have been suggested by Acoſta's account of the large numbers of these beasts to be found in South America. ³

In the great niche over the portal sits Vulcan, who with hammer and tongs is forging a golden thunderbolt on an anvil; on the block beneath the anvil is the legend: AVRVM POTENTIVS ICTV FVLMINEO (Gold is more powerful than the lightning stroke). The posture of Vulcan, seated *en face* behind the anvil and raising his hammer to strike, is classical; Kieser has remarked on the similarity to the figure of that god on a Prometheus sarcophagus in the Louvre. ⁴ Above Vulcan's smithy is a large medallion with three matrons personifying the three metals of the Roman coinage, *Aurum*, *Argentum*, *Aes*, as they are represented on imperial coins. ⁵ The smaller coins hung on ribbons to the right and left are specimens of moneys struck at the Royal Mint.

The niches at the base of the arch, which on the façade are occupied by river gods, here contain the implements used for the coining of money. (Some of these minting tools may be seen on the sketch for the front side [Fig. 101].) For their part, the river gods have found a place above the niches, and from their urns "the streams of gold-producing Peru" spill over the stones below. Condorillo holds a cornucopia as a symbol of abundance; the attribute is derived from the type of *Nilus* on Hadrianic coins. ⁶ The other river is Marañon, a branch of the Amazon, who grasps a rudder and crosses one leg over the other in the manner of Michelangelo's *Crepuscolo*.

¹ *Croft-Murray*, p. 35, pl. 62. The pose is derived from that of Cain in Titian's ceiling painting of *Cain and Abel* (*Tietze, Titian*, fig. 151).

² *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, translated by E. Grimston, London, 1880, pp. 207, 208.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-285.

⁴ *Kieser*, p. 134, note 50. The sarcophagus is illustrated in Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne*, II, Paris, 1826, pl. 215, No. 433.

⁵ *Bernhart*, *Münzkunde*, pl. 19, No. 1 (coin of Diocletian); see also pl. 66, Nos. 1, 3, 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. 76, Nos. 8, 9, and 77, Nos. 1, 4.

51a. THE REAR FACE OF THE ARCH OF THE MINT: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 102).

Oil on panel; 104 : 71 cm. On the scroll in the tree: PRETIVM NON VILE LABORVM.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No. 317.

PROVENANCE: Antwerp, Mint; removed by the French in 1794; returned in 1815.

COPIES: (1) Painting; oil on panel; subsequently cut into several pieces, which are now dispersed; (2) Painting; oil on panel, representing *Vulcan in his Smithy*, London, private collection.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 390; *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1927, No. 134; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 94 (repr.); *Rubens et son temps*, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1936, No. 76.

LITERATURE: J. F. M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 110; P. Génard, *L'Hôtel des Monnaies d'Anvers, Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique*, XXX, 2nd series, X, 1874, p. 75; C. Piot, *Rapport à Mr. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, p. 28, Nos. 77, 78; *Rooses*, III, p. 321; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 358; *K.d.K.*, p. 375; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, pp. 109, 110, No. 38, fig. 41.

The two oil sketches made by Rubens for the Arch of the Mint are precisely similar in size and in technical handling. Although in the final solution some of the figure-subjects were to be differently distributed, it is noteworthy that all are represented on one or the other of these two panels.

How closely the *modello* for the rear side (Fig. 102) was followed in the definitive work may be judged from Van Thulden's etching (Fig. 100). The differences are quickly enumerated: Jason and *Felicitas* are in the final version replaced by Hercules and *Hispania*; Rio de la Plata, at the lower right, is supplanted by Marañon; the entire mountain is made somewhat higher; and the architecture of the base is altered by the reduction of the open archway at the

lower left to a niche containing minting tools. In every other respect the sketch presents the definitive lay-out. Vulcan is seen working at his anvil, and the niche which encloses him is adorned by a festoon of coins and by the coats of arms of Ferdinand and Philip IV. The men wielding picks, the slaves emerging from the mine, the monkeys and the lizard on the rocks, and the herms that flank the central opening all reappear without change in the great arch.

There is some evidence of reworking at the top of the panel, where a large patch of grey paint may conceal an earlier solution beneath the present scene of Jason and the Golden Fleece. Here also are concentrated the brightest notes of colour. Jason is especially conspicuous in a brilliant red cloak, his companion *Felicitas* being less obtrusively dressed in a yellow-green tunic and blue-grey mantle. The coiled serpent-dragon at the foot of the tree is green; one of the parrots perched in the branches has red and green plumage and the other green and yellow. The drapery worn by Vulcan is, appropriately, a fiery red. The clothes of the river gods, on the other hand, are symbolic of the precious metals of Peru: Condorillus, at the left, wears yellow-gold drapery, whereas that of Marañon is a silvery blue.

Rubens took the trouble to spell out only one inscription on the panel, and that is the motto *PRETIUM NON VILE LABORVM* on the scroll displayed in the tree. The rectangular block beneath Vulcan bears the numeral 3 and what appears to be a fragmentary epigraph consisting only of a few virtually illegible letters. On the tablet over Vulcan's head is written the number 4.

We have already had occasion to take note of certain copies after Rubens's sketches for the Arch of the Mint. One such pair is recorded in the Knyff sale at Antwerp (18 July 1785, lots 242 and 243). The Knyff panels may or may not have been the two pictures from the collection of Barchman Wuytiers that were sold at auction as the work of Rubens at Amsterdam on 19 September 1798 (lots 147 and 148).¹ These copies, easily distinguishable because the lower parts had been cut away, appeared—still under the name of Rubens—in a sale at Vienna on 16–18 March 1927; a few years later they were again offered for sale, but now as “workshop replicas”, at the Dorotheum in Vienna on 20 October 1932 (lot 35). Like its counterpart, the copy after the rear face (lot 35b) had been cut just below the beards of the herms, thus eliminating the river god Rio de la Plata at the lower right but preserving Condorillus because of his more elevated position on the left (cf. the original sketch, Fig. 102).

The river god *Rio de la Plata* is not lost, however, but survives in a private collection in London.² It was Ludwig Burchard's opinion that this piece is not an original sketch by Rubens, but a fragment belonging to the mutilated copy of the rear face sold at Vienna in 1927 and 1932. When the little panel was cut from the large picture it was found that the head of the figure was uncomfortably close to the upper edge, and a narrow strip was therefore added at the top to improve its appearance.³

Still another diminutive sketch is known that relates to the rear face of the Arch of the Mint. This work⁴ represents *Vulcan in his Smithy* on the same scale and in precisely the same detail as the corresponding subject in Rubens's *modello* (Fig. 102). It is obvious that the piece is too weak to be by the hand of the master. And since it can have served no conceivable function in the preparation of the great arch, it must be regarded as a detail copy from the *modello*, like those showing *Liberality* and *Foresight* after the sketch for the Ferdinand Arch (Figs. 78 and 79).

- ¹ The truncated panel showing the rear face is described in the sale catalogue as follows: "P. P. Rubbens. Een zinnebeeldige Ordonantie voor een Triumpboog met diversche zinryke Figuren, in het midden als in een Steene Nis, ziet men Vulcanus Wapens smeeden: gestoffeerd met een meenigte bywerk...hoog 26, breed 29 duim. Paneel."
- ² Oil on panel; 27.5 : 19.5 cm. prov.: Paul Bureau, sale, Paris, 20 May 1927, lot 34; lit.: J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch, N.F.*, II, 1969, pp. 222-225, fig. 31 (as *Rubens*).
- ³ A similar addition was made to the *Peruvius*, which seems to have been cut from the panel showing the front face.
- ⁴ London, private collection; oil on panel; 25 : 19 cm. prov.: Van Schorel sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 27 ("Vulcain forgeant des Armes, Esquisse qui fut faite pour l'un des Arcs de Triomphe de l'Entrée de Ferdinand, Infant d'Espagne, à Anvers... B[ois]. H. 9¼ po. L. 7 po. [25.5 : 19 cm.]"); ? L. Adelman, sale, Würzburg, 9-17 July 1888, lot 2178; Rodolfo Soltmann, Santiago, Chile, sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 December 1965, lot 28; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 191, No. 678; *Roses*, III, p. 322; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel-Jahrbuch, N.F.*, II, 1969, pp. 222-225, fig. 30 (as *Rubens*).

The Triumphal Arch at St. Michael's Abbey (Nos. 52-55a; Fig. 1, I)

Having passed through the Arch of the Mint, Ferdinand now entered upon the last stretch of the processional route, which lay along the Sint-Michielsstraat. Just before the entrance to the Abbey of St. Michael's, where, in accord-

ance with time-honoured custom, the prince was to be received as a guest, a triumphal arch had been raised to designate the terminal point of the Joyous Entry (Fig. 105).

The municipal authorities, anxious to keep expenditures to a minimum, had not initially planned to build an arch here. There is no mention of it, for example, in the minutes of the meeting of the *Breede Raedt* held on 7 December 1634, in which it was announced that the city would construct only two triumphal arches (those honouring Philip and Ferdinand) and four stages.¹ The proposal to add another sizable structure to the programme seems to have come from the agents of the Fuggers, who in previous entries had paid for decorations in the Sint-Michielsstraat,² and who now made a contribution of 1000 guilders to cover part of the costs of a triumphal arch to be erected near the abbey.³ The magistrates, it appears, consented to bear the remaining expenses, and Rubens and Gevartius were authorized to draw up plans for the work. Arrangements for the original programme of decorations had been completed early in December 1634; it was not until 8 January 1635—a whole month later—that the contract for the newly-approved arch was signed.

Rubens, who had undoubtedly been cautioned that expenses must be kept within bounds, designed an arch (Fig. 106) that was both smaller and simpler than those honouring King Philip IV and Prince Ferdinand; not counting the ornaments at the top, the work measured less than 13 metres (45 feet) in height and at its thickest part was only about 2.20 metres deep. Economies were also effected in the carpentry: the four free-standing columns on each face were not made for the occasion but were selected from the used pieces from previous entries kept in storage in the Eeckhof (see Appendix I, p. 254 [2], [4]). Even so, the subsidy of 1000 guilders furnished by the Fuggers was soon to be exhausted.

On 5 January 1635, the contract for the building of the Arch at St. Michael's was adjudged to Hendrick Huysmans, who promised to complete the work within fifteen days for the sum of 870 guilders. The agreement was formally signed on 8 January (Appendix I, p. 255 [7]).⁴ In addition to the stipulated payment of 870 guilders (duly authorized on 18 August),⁵ Huysmans and his helpers received 365 guilders for supplementary work not specified in the contract.⁶ Two artists—David Ryckaert and Jan van Eyck—were engaged to do the painted work, and their remuneration amounted to 730 guilders.⁷ The total cost of the arch thus came to 1965 guilders.

In Van Thulden's bird's-eye view of the city (*Gevartius*, p. 172), the arch is shown as standing on the far side of the entrance gate of St. Michael's. For this reason Evers assumes that Ferdinand and his party did not pass through the arch but turned in front of it to enter the grounds of the abbey.⁸ This assumption is surely incorrect. For if the work had been intended to serve only as a screen, like the Stage of Isabella for example (Fig. 63), the rear side would have been left without facing. The fact, however, that the arch was decorated on both sides with paintings alluding to the Cardinal-Infante leaves no room for doubt that he was meant to see the rear face as well as the front and, consequently, that he rode through it before entering St. Michael's. Van Thulden, it may be concluded, has simply misplaced the arch in relation to the monastery gate.⁹

Iconographically considered, the St. Michael's Arch belongs to that group of decorations (the Stage of Welcome, the Arch of Ferdinand and to a lesser degree the Stage of Isabella) that are devoted to the glorification of the prince. Yet this work is distinguished from the others by a fundamental shift in subject-matter: for whereas the paintings on the earlier pieces are *historical* in the sense that they deal (no matter in how fanciful a manner) with real events, those on the last arch of the cycle are conceived as pure allegories without relation to historical fact. Thus Ferdinand is pictured on the one side in the character of Hercules at the Crossroads and on the other as Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus. These subjects, moreover, far from being merely chance selections from the standard mythological repertory, have been chosen precisely because of their "celestial" implications to mark the finale of the cycle.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 423-425 (XVI).

² In 1594 they had built here a Gallery of Emperors (reproduced in *Roeder-Baumbach*, fig. 88).

³ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 217: "Ontfangen vande agenten vande Heeren Fockers binnen Antwerpen, tot promotie ende subsidie vande arcke triumphael die gestelt is geweest byt clooster ende abdye van Sinte-Michiels, de somme van duysent ponden Arthoys." See also *Gevartius*, p. 164.

⁴ *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 459, 460 (XLIV). The guaranty of performance was made by Hendrick's brother Cornelis Huysmans, who was paid 55 guilders on 10 January 1635 on account of "expenses incurred in the letting of the contract for the work" (*ibid.*, VI, p. 465 [LI]; see also *ibid.*, XIII, p. 219).

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 61 (CCXXXVII); XIII, p. 219.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 47 (CXCVI); XIII, p. 219.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 45 (CLXXXIX); XIII, p. 224.

⁸ H. G. Evers, in *Roeder-Baumbach*, p. 174.

⁹ Van Thulden's rendering of streets and buildings is too simplified and schematic to be accepted as topographically accurate. He makes it appear, for example, that the entrance to the monastery lay directly opposite the Vlierstege, whereas in point of fact (as contemporary maps of the city show very plainly) the Vlierstege opened into the St.-Michielsstraat at a point considerably further to the north (cf. Fig. 1).

52. THE ARCH AT ST. MICHAEL'S: THE FRONT FACE

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 105; *V.S.*, p. 26, No. 27, 37).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. E₄ recto - F recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fols. E₃ recto, E₃ verso; *Corte Wtleegginghen ofte By-Voeghsel*, p. 9; *Gevartius*, pp. 159-161; *Rooses*, III, p. 322, No. 788; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 65, 68, 69, 174; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, pp. 32, 33; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 283, 285, 290.

The arch presents a design of striking compactness (Fig. 105). It contains a single portal, which is capped by a flat arch with canted corners—a feature also seen in the Arch of the Mint (Fig. 99), in the Stage of Mercury (Fig. 92) and in the smaller doorways of the Stage of Isabella (Fig. 63). The opening is flanked by pairs of free-standing columns of the Composite order, which stand on high plinths and are continued in the upper storey by broad piers projecting boldly from the principal plane. The tympanum between them is filled by a large painting on canvas, and the entire central section of the attic storey is finished off by a curvilinear cornice which describes a continuous arc from one side to the other and which is related (as Roeder-Baumbach has observed)¹ to the curved pediment of the Arch of Philip (Fig. 16). The narrow wings at the sides are sustained by square pillars of the same order as the re-used columns on the front.

One of the most unusual features of the St. Michael's Arch is its shallow construction. Except for the projecting members that serve to frame the doorway, the work is not much thicker than the single pillars at the ends. We learn from the specifications that the contractor was required to furnish two sets of cut-outs for the top of the arch (see Appendix I, p. 254 [3]); one might have thought that a single set, painted on both sides, would have sufficed for the two façades.

The decorations of the front face extol the *Virtus* (that is to say the military virtue) of the Cardinal-Infante.² The large picture over the portal represents

Ferdinand in the guise of *Hercules Prodicus*, at the moment when the youthful hero elects to follow the path of virtue. The glorious consequences of that decision are symbolized in the *schrooyersels*, or cut-outs, placed along the top. The multipartite ornament which forms the central acroterion carries Ferdinand's coat of arms beneath a prince's crown and a cardinal's hat; rising above that is a splendid emblem of victory consisting of a branch of laurel³ and two crossed palms encircled by a wreath, with a scroll bearing a line from Ovid (*Tristia*, IV, iii, 74): ARDVA PER PRAECEPTA GLORIA VADIT ITER (Glory reaches the heights by a steep path); red and white banners fly from poles set at rakish angles in the base. Supported on little pedestals that rise from the scroll-like forms on either side of the central feature are two grenades, or bomb-shells, with bursting flames. Wind has shown that the bomb-shell was adopted by princes as an emblem of "heroic prudence" because it could be directed against an enemy at a chosen time and place.⁴

The winged Victories who stand on the acroteria at the lower ends of the pediment hold military standards with the letters *P* (for Philip) and *F* (for Ferdinand); similar insignia are seen on the Arch of Ferdinand (cf. Fig. 67). Two sphinxes complete the series of cut-outs on the uppermost level; Gevar-tius, citing a passage from Synesius, *De Regno*, explains that the Sphinx symbolizes the virtues of fortitude and prudence—the virtues displayed, we are to infer, by Ferdinand as the new Hercules. The consistently martial spirit of the decorations is maintained even in the panels of the attic storey, which are filled with images of arms and armour.

¹ Roeder-Baumbach, pp. 67–69. I cannot agree, however, that the rounded top of the St. Michael's Arch represents the final step in the evolution of a type that begins with the Stage of Isabella.

² In the *Triumphael Incomst* the work is actually called the "Arch of Virtue" (*De Arcke vande Deught*).

³ The laurel (*de lauriboom*) was furnished by Cornelis Huysmans, who was paid 55 guilders for this and other services rendered in connection with the St. Michael's Arch (*Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 219).

⁴ E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed., New York, 1968, p. 108. Wind cites in particular the *impresa* of Alfonso d'Este (from G. Symeone, *Le sententiose imprese*, 1560, p. 68) which pictures a flaming bomb-shell with the motto *A lieu et temps*.

52a. THE FRONT FACE OF THE ARCH AT ST. MICHAEL'S: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 106)

Oil on canvas, transferred from panel; 103 : 72 cm.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 503.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Hendrik Lankrink (1628-1692), sale, London, 23 January 1693, one of a group of six sketches numbered lots 207-212 ("Rubens, Six Triumphs"); Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, 1675-1745); sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Orford (1730-1791), to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Note book A.y.y.*, fol. 36b (*Walpole Society*, xxvi, 1937-38, p. 56); H. Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianæ*, 2nd ed., London, 1752, p. 70; *Rooses*, III, p. 323; *Ermitage, Cat. Somof*, p. 358, No. 563; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 350; *K.d.K.*, p. 367; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 39; *Varshavskaya*, pp. 290, 293.

This sketch, transferred from wood to canvas by A. Sidorov in 1871, probably suffered some surface loss in the process, for it is perceptibly flatter and less brilliant in tone than other *modelli* from this series in the Hermitage (Figs. 3, 83, 93) which have not been removed from their original supports. Nevertheless, Rubens's characteristic *façure* is everywhere in evidence, and there is no question but that the painting is by his hand.

In working up his design in oil paint the master followed the procedure that we have observed in several of the sketches for the large ensembles: the principal figure-subject and the cut-outs at the top are carefully delineated in full colour, because these parts are to be used as models by the painters of the full-scale decorations; the architecture, on the other hand, is brought to completion on the left side only, it being understood that the right-hand section is to be identical. For the same reason Rubens has not bothered to include the sphinx on the right corner. The brownish-tan of the architecture is effectively set off by blue-grey mouldings; the frieze of the entablature on the left side is of mottled green marble (the corresponding passage on the right is in underpainting only). Garlands are suspended from the arch and from the paired columns at the left. There appear to be no inscriptions.

The chalk lines set down to mark the divisions of the architecture are still visible, especially in the thinly painted parts. The faint chalk sketch at the upper left shows a plan of the projecting plinth beside the doorway with its

two free-standing columns. This explanatory detail was doubtless added by Rubens because the three-dimensional properties of the arch are not apparent from the elevation of the façade.

In the space within the tympanum Rubens has painted a surprisingly detailed representation of *The Choice of Hercules*. (The large canvas, executed from this *modello* by Jan van Eyck, has been lost; see No. 53.) Ferdinand, wearing Hercules's lion-skin and holding his club, renounces the voluptuous life promised by Venus, Cupid and Bacchus as he prepares to scale the arduous path of glory under the guidance of Minerva, who appears beside him in full armour. The brightly coloured draperies of Ferdinand and Venus—he in a red tunic and she in glistening white and gold—stand out conspicuously against the sober grey garments worn by Bacchus and Minerva. A bronze cannon and other military paraphernalia fill the right foreground, and the steep ascent that leads to the temples of Virtue and Honour on the heights is guarded by monstrous beasts. The sky on the left is stormy and lit by flashes of lightning. The picture has a gold frame.

53. THE CHOICE OF HERCULES

Oil on canvas; approximately 350 : 350 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; probably destroyed by fire 1731.

COPY: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 107; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 38).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. E4 verso; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghset*, p. 9; *Gevartius*, p. 159; *Rooses*, III, p. 322; E. Panofsky, *Herkules am Scheidewege*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1930, pp. 121, 122; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 33; *Varshavskaya*, p. 285.

The painted work on the Arch at St. Michael's was allotted to Jan van Eyck and David Ryckaert, who together were paid 730 guilders.¹ The large canvas on the front face (cf. Fig. 107), which to judge from the size of the arch as a whole must have been about 3.5 metres square, was executed by Van Eyck, working from Rubens's oil sketch (Fig. 106). In January 1637 a further payment of 120 guilders was made to this artist for retouching the picture after its prolonged exposure to the weather.² The painting was then trans-

ported to Brussels, to be hung with the other pieces from the Joyous Entry in the old palace on the Coudenberg. Some twenty years later we find it listed in the Spanish inventory of 1659.³ This is the last report we have of the work. Since there is no mention of it in the Flemish inventory of the late seventeenth century, there remains the possibility that the painting was removed from the palace after 1659. But what is more likely is that it was destroyed in the fire of 1731.

Instead of illustrating an actual episode from the life of the Cardinal-Infante, *The Choice of Hercules* is an allegory of a sort that enjoyed wide-spread popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The parable, for such it may be called, is ascribed to Prodicus of Ceos and has come down to us through the writings of Xenophon and other authors: Hercules, when he reached the threshold of manhood, went to a place of solitude to ponder which way of life he should follow. Virtue and Pleasure appeared to him in the form of beautiful women. Pleasure offered him a life of indolence and enjoyment; Virtue, an arduous road leading to glory. Hercules chose the difficult path: *Ardua per praecepta gloria vadit iter.*

In Rubens's conception of *The Choice of Hercules*, Prince Ferdinand, whose features are clearly recognizable, plays the part of the mythical hero, adopting as his attributes the lion-skin and the club. The life of luxury and pleasure that he renounces is symbolized by the divinities of love and wine: while Venus beckons seductively, a plump Bacchus, wearing vine-leaves in his hair, holds up a wreath of flowers with which to crown the young man's head, and Cupid tries to prevent his departure by tugging at his garment. The sky above this trio is dark and stormy, with flashes of lightning, as though to emphasize the sinister aspect of a life devoted solely to pleasure. Though he turns his head to look once more at Venus, Ferdinand points to the steep and rocky path that he must follow. The goddess Minerva, fully armed, actively intervenes to urge him onward. The monsters that lie in wait along the road denote the heresies that must be crushed and the dangers that must be faced; the cannon and the implements of war, to say nothing of Minerva herself, indicate that Ferdinand must take up arms against his foes. But if the ascent is arduous, the reward that awaits the prince is already visible. For on the distant mountain-top may be seen the palm tree, emblem of victory, and the twin temples of Virtue and Honour. It was said by the ancients that the temple of Honour could only be entered through the temple of Virtue, to signify that glory

could be attained only by those who had following the path of virtue. The inscription beneath the picture reads *HERCVLI AΛEΞIKAKΩ* (to Hercules, who wards off evil).

The story of the Choice of Hercules was one that easily lent itself to allegorical compliments addressed to noble youths. Stephanus Vinandus Pighius chose the title *Hercules Prodicus* ("the Prodician Hercules") for his account of the life and travels of the young Prince Carl Friedrich of Cleves (*Hercules Prodicus, seu principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio*, Antwerp, 1587), and it is significant that this is also the name used by Gevartius to describe the painting on the Arch at St. Michael's. For the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, Annibale Carracci had painted a *Choice of Hercules* in honour of his patron Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.⁴ This famous work was undoubtedly known to Rubens; indeed it is very likely that the attitude of Venus beseeching Ferdinand to follow her was suggested by the figure of *Voluptas* in Carracci's canvas. Yet Rubens's *Choice of Hercules* does not derive from this source alone. The inclusion of the temples of Virtue and Honour and the emphasis on martial valour show that Rubens was influenced by another work glorifying a prince of the Farnese family—Otto van Veen's allegorical portrait of *Alessandro Farnese as Hercules guided by Religion*, engraved from his design by his brother Ghisbert (Fig. 108).⁵ It might be observed, finally, that the action of Cupid who pulls at Ferdinand's garment finds a close parallel in Rubens's *Venus and Adonis* in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*Goris-Held*, No. 77), where the god of love attempts to hold Adonis back by grasping his leg.

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 45 (CLXXXIX); XIII, p. 224.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 283, 284.

³ *De Maeyer*, p. 444: "Otra pieza, de 14 pies quadrada, representando el Principe Cardenal pintado a la romana, con una saya roxa acompañada de Palas y las armas que van a un templo detenido de un Cupido, pintado de Juan Van Aeyck."

⁴ J. R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, 1965, pp. 24–27, fig. 9.

⁵ An adaptation of this subject, showing Archduke Ernest in place of Alessandro Farnese, adorned the Arch of the Florentines erected for the Entry of Ernest into Antwerp in 1594 (J. Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae...*, Antwerp, 1595, p. 103).

54. THE ARCH AT ST. MICHAEL'S: THE REAR FACE

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 109; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 39).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. F. recto; *Alle de Triumph-wercken*, fol. E3 verso; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 9; *Gevartius*, pp. 162-164; *Rooses*, III, p. 323, No. 789; *Roeder-Baumbach*, pp. 65, 68, 69, 174; *Van Puyvelde, De Blijde Intrede*, p. 33.

With the exception of the inscriptions and the picture in the tympanum, the rear side of the St. Michael's Arch is identical to the front face. It is amusing to discover that Van Thulden has in fact used the same plate to illustrate both sides: having first pulled a sufficient number of prints of the front face (Fig. 105), he was then able, by burnishing and re-etching certain parts of the plate, to make it serve for the rear face as well (Fig. 109). This has resulted in an inconsistent rendering of the direction of light. In the painting designed for this side of the arch (the south side), Rubens made sure that the fall of light should be from the left, that is, from the west. Van Thulden, on the other hand, by repeating the elevation of the front, or north, side of the arch, makes it appear that the architecture, in contrast with the painting, is lighted from the right.

The painting over the archway represents *Bellerophon slaying the Chimera*—another symbol of heroic virtue triumphant over evil. The scroll affixed to the crowning ornament bears the legend SIBI PANDIT ITER PER NVBILA VIRTVS (Virtue opens a road for herself through the clouds), which may be taken as alluding both to Bellerophon coursing through the air on the winged horse Pegasus and (needless to say) to the Cardinal-Infante himself. For, as Gevartius remarks, "the journey of the Most Serene Prince Ferdinand to Belgium has shown that no road is impassable to Virtue".

55. BELLEROPHON SLAYING THE CHIMERA

Oil on canvas; approximately 350 : 350 cm.

Formerly Brussels, Palace; probably destroyed by fire 1731.

COPIES: (1) drawing, formerly London, Collection Victor Koch; (2) etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 110; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 40).

LITERATURE: *Triumphael Incomst*, fol. F. recto; *Corte Willeginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, p. 9; *Gevartius*, pp. 162-164; *Rooses*, III, p. 323.

The painting of *Bellerophon and the Chimera* (cf. Fig. 110), which was installed on the rear face of the St. Michael's Arch, was the last of the great series of pictures to be seen by Ferdinand before he entered the precinct of the abbey. The canvas, long since lost, is documented as the work of the genre-painter David Ryckaert III, who used as his model Rubens's oil sketch of this subject (No. 57a; Fig. 111). Ryckaert, born in 1612, had not yet become a master in the Antwerp Guild. In January 1637, when the pictures from the Entry were being renovated for presentation to the Prince-Cardinal, his colleague Jan van Eyck received 120 guilders for retouching *The Choice of Hercules*, whereas Ryckaert—perhaps because of his youth and inexperience—was paid only 72 guilders for similar work on the *Bellerophon*.¹ The picture is recorded in the inventory of 1659 detailing the works of art in the palace at Brussels.² It was in all probability destroyed in the fire of 1731.

Rubens was certainly familiar with the rendering of Bellerophon and the Chimera on Corinthian coins, two of which are reproduced by Gevartius. But there is nothing medallion or relief-like about Rubens's conception of the conflict of the hero and the fabulous beast: Bellerophon, mounted on the winged horse Pegasus, is seen charging diagonally through the air to drive his spear into the Chimera. The triple monster, a fire-breathing lion with a goat's head protruding from its back and with a dragon for a tail, rises up at an angle that effectively counters that of the horse. The bones of its victims lie scattered on the ground. The scene, open on the left to give a view over a distant landscape, is firmly closed on the right by a rocky precipice.

It will not surprise us to discover that in composing this subject Rubens made use of motifs from his paintings of wild animal hunts. The attitude of Bellerophon, who delivers a downward blow with his lance while riding at a gallop, is closely related to the horseman at the left in the great Munich *Lion Hunt* (*K.d.K.*, p. 154), painted many years earlier. Similarly, the position of Pegasus, seen from behind in three-quarter view with rear hooves raised, may be compared to the leaping horse at the left side of the *Lion and Leopard Hunt* in Dresden (*K.d.K.*, p. 113). And the Chimera, finally, which rears on

its legs, snarling and defiant, to meet the hero's onslaught, virtually repeats the pose of the wolf in the middle of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*K.d.K.*, p. 112).

Although Bellerophon (unlike Hercules Prodicus) has not been given the features of the Cardinal-Infante, the allusion is nevertheless unmistakable. Gevartius offers a more explicit definition of the allegory in the epigraph that appears beneath the painting: "As the Chimera, deceived by the agile turns of the winged horse and transfixed by the lance, fell beneath the great Bellerophon, even so will the frightful madness of Heresy collapse before the invincible strength of Ferdinand..."

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, p. 284: "Geordonneert Jacques Breyel, etc., te betalen aen David Ryckaert de somme van tweeentseventich guldens eens, voor het retocqueren vande groote schilderye gestaen inden arcus triumphael aende kercke van Sinte-Michiels, naerde syde van het casteel."

² *De Maeyer*, p. 443: "Una pintura, alta de 13 pies y 12 pies de largo, representando una peroco montado en un cavallo blanco volando, matando un leon de una lança, hecho por Daniël Ryckaerst."

55a. BELLEROPHON SLAYING THE CHIMERA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 111)

Oil on panel; 39 : 27.5 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat. Inv. No. 458.

PROVENANCE: Robert de Saint-Victor (1738-1822), sale, Paris, 26 November 1822-7 January 1823, lot 28 (purchased by John Smith for 761 francs); Sir William Beckford (Fonthill Abbey, 1760-1844); Duke of Hamilton, sale, London, 17 June - 20 July 1822, lot 1030 (purchased by Edwards for £ 378); Léon Bonnat (1833-1922), who donated the work to the city of Bayonne.

EXHIBITED: *Œuvres de Rubens appartenant au Musée Bonnat*, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965, No. 22 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 227, 228, No. 807; [W. Hazlitt], *Sketches of the Principal Picture-Galleries in England*, London, 1824, p. 135; *Rooses*, III, p. 323; G. Gruyer, *La collection Bonnat au Musée de Bayonne*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX, 1903, p. 198; F. Fels, *Das Museum in Bayonne*, *Der Cicerone*, XX, 1928, p. 718, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 39, 89, pl. 89.

Rubens's efficient planning and his avoidance of needless duplication are very well exemplified by his two sketches for the Arch at St. Michael's. The painting

of the front face (No. 52a; Fig. 106) not only provided a working model for the architecture and for the decorations of the façade as a whole, but also included the detailed design for the independent painting of *The Choice of Hercules*. Inasmuch as the rear face was to be a replica of the front, Rubens considered it to be a waste of time and effort to prepare a new *modello* of the ensemble, and therefore painted a sketch of the figure-subject alone. It is worth noting, moreover, that this sketch, representing *Bellerophon and the Chimera* (Fig. 111), is of approximately the same size as the corresponding scene of Hercules in the Leningrad painting of the entire front face.

Among the sketches for the *Blijde Inkomst*, the Bellerophon panel can perhaps be matched for sheer brilliance and vivacity of execution only by *The Voyage of the Prince* now in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 8). Bellerophon, brightly dressed in a red tunic and a yellow-gold mantle that rises in agitated folds behind him, is armed with helmet, cuirass, spear and shield. Leaning at a precarious angle from his white charger, he plunges the lance into the Chimera, which claws the air with its forepaws and exhales smoke and flame from its lionlike mouth. The swirling fury of the encounter is skillfully conveyed by a succession of boldly drawn curvilinear shapes, in contrast to which the long straight line of the spear stands out with arresting sharpness. Across the upper part of the panel Rubens has marked in black chalk the curved outline of the frame and its ornamental keystone (cf. Fig. 109), the placing of the latter indicating that the centre of the composition is to be shifted somewhat toward the right.

It was a little after six o'clock in the afternoon, some two hours or more since he had left the Citadel, that Prince Ferdinand entered the Abbey of St. Michael. There he was received by the entire magistrature of Antwerp, numbering thirty-five persons; and Jacob Edelheer, who had so often acted as spokesman, now delivered the final Latin oration. Edelheer's remarks were, to be sure, predictable enough. "The magistrature of the city," he said, "kneeling humbly at the feet of Your Serene Highness, has sought to make visible, by means of triumphal arches and other signs of public joy erected in the name of the city as a whole, the incomparable greatness and splendour of the august house of Austria". And he concluded, in unavoidably threadbare phrases, by declaring that public prayers had been offered "for the health and safety of Your Serene Highness, so that this city, which owes its extraordinary

growth to the divine emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, and other ancestors of yours, will surely recover, together with all the Belgian provinces, its former splendour and peace under your government and protection".¹

As darkness fell, the city was illuminated by hundreds of flaming pitch-barrels and by displays of fireworks, the most spectacular being those mounted on the tower of the Cathedral. During the days following the Joyous Entry, the Cardinal-Infante was taken to see the principal sights of Antwerp—the fortifications, the churches (amongst them the "marble temple" of the Jesuits with its splendid ceiling paintings by Rubens), the famous Plantin Press and the tapestry workshop.² But Ferdinand's tour of the city would not have been complete had he not also made a point of visiting the house of Rubens, the author of the magnificent pageant that had been prepared in his honour.³

¹ *Gevartius*, pp. 167, 168.

² *Triumphael Incomst*, fols. F2 recto – F4 verso; *Corte Wtlegginghen ofte By-voeghsel*, pp. 9–14; *Gevartius*, pp. 169–172.

³ *Gevartius*, p. 171.

The Triumphal Car of Calloo (Nos. 56, 56a)

The Triumph of Calloo (the *Laurea Calloana*, as *Gevartius* calls it) took place some three years after Ferdinand's Joyous Entry into Antwerp. But inasmuch as *Gevartius* was authorized by the city to append a description of this event to his *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, it may properly be included here.¹

In the spring of 1638 it was evident that Prince Frederick Henry planned to make an attack on Antwerp. The situation became critical when Dutch troops crossed the Scheldt and occupied the forts of Verrebroek and Calloo. The Cardinal-Infante reacted promptly by sending a Spanish army to the scene of operations. On 21 June this force won a resounding victory over the enemy at Calloo, taking many prisoners and capturing a number of artillery pieces and munition vessels. The Dutch withdrew in confusion to Holland, and the threat to Antwerp was dispelled.

A few days later there came word of another successful feat of arms. Spanish troops under the command of Prince Thomas of Carignano and Count Ottavio Piccolomini defeated a French army which had laid siege to St. Omer. In Antwerp it was decided that these victories should be celebrated by the building

of a triumphal car to be shown in the annual Ommegang, and Rubens was called upon to furnish the design. For this service he was later presented with a cask of *vin de Paris*, valued at 84 guilders.²

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, pp. 308, 309 (CCCLXXXII).

² *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 296 (CCCLX) and 302 (CCCLXX).

56. THE TRIUMPHAL CAR OF CALLOO

ENGRAVED: Etching by T. van Thulden (Fig. 114; *V.S.*, p. 226, No. 27, 43).

LITERATURE: *Gevartius*, pp 173–176; *Roosez*, III, pp. 328–336.

The heavy, four-wheeled car drawn by four brightly caparisoned horses takes the form of a ship with a low prow and a lofty stern (cf. Fig. 114). The mast, which rises from an elevated base amidships, is transformed into an extravagant military trophy culminating in a laurel tree. The persons who ride upon the float have been given various parts to play: the women are dressed up as personifications of places and qualities, and the men pretend to be prisoners of war.

The ship, *Gevartius* reminds us, is a symbol of *Felicitas*, who carries just such an attribute on the Arch of the Mint (Fig. 99). But the nautical imagery is also intended as an allusion to the boats captured from the enemy at Calloo. The pole of the car issues from the mouth of a sea-serpent, and the stern is adorned by a huge shell and by a Triton blowing a conch. On the side is a winged putto holding a wreath and riding upon a dolphin, inspired (as *Gevartius* says) by Greek coins of Tarentum showing Taras, son of Poseidon, carried on a dolphin's back. Mounted within a wreath of roses at the stern of the ship are the arms of the city of Antwerp.

The car is guided by *Providentia Augusta*, who holds the horses' reins and brandishes a whip; she is a strange personage, with a laurel wreath to denote her august rank and two faces, one looking to the front and the other to the rear. This last feature is enough to show that she does not derive from the classical type of *Providentia* on Roman coins, but that she is in reality Prudence, one of the Cardinal Virtues, who looks both to past and future. A related meaning is conveyed by the flaming grenade which rests on a little pedestal

over the front wheel and which, as was pointed out in connection with the Arch at St. Michael's (Fig. 105), is an emblem of "heroic prudence".

Kneeling on a platform behind August Providence are the personifications of Antwerp and St. Omer (*Antverpia* and *Audomaropolis*), whose attitudes and gestures reveal that they offer thanks for their delivery from the enemy. The Maid of Antwerp, who wears both a mural crown and a wreath of roses, holds out her hands (a pun on the name of the city?), and St. Omer, who also has a turreted crown, places one hand to her breast while resting the other on her coat of arms. Near the base of the trophy-mast are two winged Fames blowing trumpets to which are affixed banners with the legends IO CALLINICE and IO TRIVMPHE. These are the acclamations shouted in honour of a conqueror; the words *Io Callinice* (Hail, victorious one) may also be understood as referring to the victor of Calloo. Crouching in abject postures beside the trophy base are seen the inevitable prisoners of war. The two nearest figures are French captives; the seated man just behind the base may represent one of the Dutch prisoners, whose proper place (as we know from Rubens's oil sketch, Fig. 112) is on the farther side of the car. The two women standing on the raised platform aft are Valour, fully armed and with a thunderbolt in her hand, and Fortune, whose attribute, the rudder, is particularly apt because of her station at the stern of the ship.

Two winged Victories stand on either side of the great trophy; each holds a wreath in her hand, and together they carry between them a shield inscribed with appropriate mottoes. The farther figure, on the starboard side, signifies the victory over the Dutch at Calloo: she holds in her outstretched hand the civic or oak-leaf crown (*corona civica quercea*) which the Romans awarded to those who saved the lives of citizens. Such crowns may be seen on imperial coins with the legend OB CIVES SERVATOS,¹ which also appears on the shield borne by the two Victories. The nearer personification symbolizes the liberation of St. Omer from the French: she raises in her hand the grass crown (*corona obsidionalis graminea*) given to those who relieved a city from siege; hence the second inscription on the shield: HOSTIBVS PROFLIGATIS, OBSIDIONE SOLVTA (the enemy overthrown and the siege raised).

The trophy proper is made up of a mass of weapons, armour and banners, the origin of which is explained by the legends on the scrolls: CAESIS DETRACTA BATAVIS (removed from slain Hollanders) and DE GALLIS CAPTA FVGATIS (captured from the French who were put to flight). Above these spoils of war is

a gigantic laurel wreath, which serves as a base for an elaborate triumphal ornament comprising the coats of arms of Philip IV and Prince Ferdinand, Spanish and Austrian flags, a golden crown, palm branches and, at the top, a laurel tree.

Van Thulden's etching of this subject (Fig. 114) includes a bird's-eye view of the battle of Calloo.

¹ *Bernhart, Münzkunde*, pl. 78, Nos. 3 and 4 (coins of Galba and Caligula).

56a. THE TRIUMPHAL CAR OF CALLOO: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 112, 113)

Oil on panel; 103 : 71 cm. Numerous inscriptions over the entire surface of the panel.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No. 318.

PROVENANCE: Antwerp, Town Hall; removed by the French in 1794, returned in 1815.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels* 1910, No. 388; *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 46; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 95; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 116 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 222 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J. F. M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, p. 109; C. Piot, *Rapport à Mr. le Ministre de l'intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, pp. 28, 29, No. 76; *Rooses*, III, pp. 328, 329, No. 790; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, 1912, I, p. 96, No. XLI; *K.d.K.*, p. 412; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 21, 39, 56, pl. 104; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, p. 115, No. 56, pl. 24.

The sketch is painted on a panel of the same dimensions as those used for the *modelli* of the triumphal arches of the *Blijde Inkomst* (cf. Figs. 74, 101, 102 and 106). Since much of the surface is covered only with varnish, it is possible to distinguish some of the preliminary chalk outlines, and even a few of the inscriptions in chalk, made by the artist on the prepared ground. The execution, with its facile draughtsmanship, its opalescent colours and flickering highlights, is of incomparable delicacy. In the central part of the panel Rubens has added a greyish-blue background as a means of setting off the elaborate trophy and the brilliant figures riding upon the car.

For all its beauty, the sketch is nevertheless a working design, intended for use by the carpenters and painters and by those who rode upon it in costume during the Ommegang. Across the top of the panel Rubens drew a scale in black chalk, with marks numbered from 1 to 25; a similar scale appears in red paint along the lower edge.

The inscriptions, some of them so abraded as to be now almost illegible, are remarkably complete. The principal personifications are explicitly named: over the two-faced driver are the words PROVIDENTIA *Augus[ta]*, and above the two city-figures ANTVERPIA and AVDOMARV[M]; the goddesses on the aftermost deck are similarly inscribed VIRTUS and FORTUNA (Fig. 113). Above the last pair Rubens had added a separate note specifying the two inscriptions that are to appear on the banners of the trumpets of the Fames: *Inde vaenen vande Trompetten van Fama* VICTOR IO, IO TRIVMPHE (the first was later changed to IO CALLINICE). On the right side of the panel, in descending order from the top, the artist has described the successive layers of the great trophy in Latin terms that are almost identical to those in Gevartius's account. The uppermost sections are itemized as follows: *Laurus ingens; Insignia Regis et Infantis Cardus et Victoriae Signa; Corona e lauro*. Then, beside the trophies captured from the French (among which is a flag decorated with fleurs-de-lis), *Signa et arma Galica*; and, opposite the grassy crown held by the right-hand Victory, *Obsidionalis Corona e gramine*. On the left side, the spoils taken from the Dutch are inscribed *Captiva signa et arma Batava*; the badly rubbed notation beside the oak-leaf crown reads *Corona (?) ob cives servatos*. On the scrolls above the trophies are the legends DE GALLIS CAPTA FVGATIS, and CAESIS DETRACTA BATAVIS; the shield held by the two Victories bears the epigraphs OB CIVES SERVATOS, and OBSIDIONE SOLVTA HOSTIBVS PROFLIGATIS. At the bottom of the panel, just above the scale, there is an inscription of two lines, now unfortunately indecipherable.

In the upper left part of the panel Rubens drew a plan of the triumphal car, noting on it the positions to be occupied by the actors and defining the different levels of the platforms and bases. The plan is also useful in elucidating the iconography. It clearly shows, for example, that the near (or port) side of the car is devoted to the victory over the French at St. Omer: beside the *Trophaeum* Rubens has identified the standing Victory as *Victoria de Gallis* and the prisoners at her feet as *Captivi Galli*. The corresponding inscriptions on the off (or starboard) side, which celebrates the victory over the Dutch at

Callo, read: *Victoria de Batavis* and *Captivi Batavi*. The fact that the words *Fama cum tuba* are written in four places on the car proves that there were four women, not two, dressed up as Fame and blowing trumpets.

It must now be evident that in his rendering of the car as a whole Rubens took certain liberties, omitting the two Fames on the near side (in order not to obscure the design with too many figures) and turning the trophy at an angle of ninety degrees so that its front face is presented to the observer. The flaming grenade, instead of standing on its pedestal over the front wheel, is represented separately, at the lower left.

Van Thulden seems to have ignored the fact that Rubens's sketch was not intended to represent the appearance of the triumphal car as it passed through the streets in the Ommegang. Except that it restores the bomb-shell to its proper place on the vehicle, his illustration (Fig. 114) faithfully reproduces all the peculiarities of the *modello*.

IV. THE SEQUEL

Rubens had not seen the Cardinal-Infante since 1628, when he had painted him in Cardinal's dress. For the many likenesses of Ferdinand in the decorations of the Entry, the artist had therefore had to rely both on that work and on a more recent portrait loaned by Salomon Noveliers. Now that the prince had arrived in Antwerp, Rubens was able to paint him once again from the life. Two brilliant portraits of Ferdinand were produced at this time: one is the three-quarter-length picture of the Cardinal-Infante in armour, now in the Ringling Museum of Art at Sarasota (*K.d.K.*, p. 376), and the other is the equestrian portrait of Ferdinand at the Battle of Nördlingen, in the Prado (*K.d.K.*, p. 377), the oil sketch for which is in the Detroit Institute of Arts.¹ Rubens had found a new and enthusiastic patron in the person of the Prince-Cardinal.

The city officials, meanwhile, were debating what further honours should be paid to the new governor. In the past it had been the usual practice to make a gift of money to a prince on the occasion of his *Blijde Inkomst*, and the magistrates were at first prepared to observe this quaint custom by offering to the Cardinal-Infante the sum of 9000 guilders. But, having in mind both Ferdinand's love of art and the depleted state of the municipal treasury, they decided on 21 April, while the Prince-Cardinal was still sojourning in the city, that he should be presented instead with the paintings made for the Entry, as well as the twelve statues of the emperors (in which he had expressed so much interest).² The Triumphal Entry was hardly over when Gevartius received a letter from Erycius Puteanus, who asked if he might not have some of the paintings with which to adorn the Citadel at Louvain. Gevartius, replying on 12 May, reported that unfortunately all of these works had already been promised to the Cardinal-Infante.³ Many months were to pass, however, before they were ready for formal presentation.

The City Council were anxious to recover, if possible, some of the money expended on the decorations. In June, therefore, when the arches and stages had been dismantled and the principal paintings removed, the treasurer was

¹ The Detroit sketch is reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibition, *New York, 1951*, No. 30, p. 52.

² *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 24 (CXIX).

³ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 102.

authorized to sell the painted facings—the cut-outs, architectural members and other ornaments—to interested citizens.⁴ The first lot to be put up for auction comprised the decorations from the Arch of Ferdinand. But the returns were so meagre that plans to conduct further sales of this kind were cancelled forthwith.⁵ More satisfactory results were obtained from the disposal of the unpainted lumber that had been used to support the temporary structures. The carpenter Jan Wandelaers purchased the woodwork from the Portico of the Emperors (which he himself had erected) for the sum of 1000 guilders, and Peeter van Alen paid more than 1300 guilders for the wood from the framework of the arches and stages.⁶ Nevertheless, the unpleasant fact had to be faced that the *Blijde Inkomst* had cost the city far more than had been anticipated. A year after the event the city treasurer, Jacques Breyel, prepared a financial statement showing income and disbursements up to the end of April 1636. Receipts, which included the sum of 36,000 guilders borrowed from private sources, amounted to only 45,371 guilders; expenditures, on the other hand, totalled 78,370 guilders, thus exceeding receipts by almost 33,000 guilders.⁷ And there were many more bills yet to be paid. Prince Ferdinand had still not received the various works of art that had been promised to him; and these, having remained out of doors for such a long time, were in no condition to be offered to him. On 29 April 1636 the treasurer was ordered "to have retouched, at once and without further delay, the paintings that are to be presented to His Illustrious Highness".⁸

Included in this gift were no fewer than sixteen history-paintings from the arches and stages, most of which were now retouched (as we have had occasion to note) by the very artists who had executed them in the first place. In addition, I think it possible (though this cannot be proved) that the Cardinal-Infante may have been given some of the royal portraits from the Arches of Philip and Ferdinand. The frame-maker Jan Goossens was paid the considerable sum of 1188 guilders, 19 stivers "for making hard black frames for the paintings which are being presented to His Highness the Prince-Cardinal".⁹ The

⁴ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 47 (CXCIV).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–53, (CCXI, CCXII). See above, p. 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 217.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 215–253.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 113 (CCCVI).

⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 286, 287, 292.

work of renovating and framing the pictures took a long time. It was only in July 1637 that Breyel was instructed to travel to Brussels "in order to set up there the emperors and the paintings presented to His Highness on behalf of the city".¹⁰ Soon thereafter these pieces were installed in the Palace on the Coudenberg. Seven of the sixteen history-paintings were later detached from the archducal collection and thereby escaped destruction in the fire that consumed the palace and its contents in 1731.¹¹

Inevitably, there are reports of paintings from the Entry in this or that private collection, most of which prove on investigation to be apocryphal. In the nineteenth century, for example, there was to be seen in the Castle of Bossenstein at Brochem, near Lier, a series of portraits of Emperor Maximilian I, Kings Philip I, Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV, Isabella of Castile, Ferdinand of Aragon, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. The pictures, we are told, were decidedly unattractive, and the heads had been cut out of the portraits of the archdukes. About 1894, the canvases (said to measure 2 by 3 metres) were removed from the castle and taken to the residence of the owner, Mevrouw de Woelmont, in Brussels.¹² Rooses, who saw these paintings while they still hung at Bossenstein, believed that they were the original portraits from the Arches of Philip and Ferdinand. Since the castle was renamed Halmale Hof in the later seventeenth century, he argued that the works must have been purchased shortly after the Entry by Hendrick van Halmale (1596-1679), who later became burgomaster of Antwerp. The most serious objection to this hypothesis was that the portraits of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella were already in the Brussels Museum (Figs. 35 and 36); and Rooses was obliged to explain these away as replicas painted by Rubens himself to replace those bought by Halmale.¹³

¹⁰ *Génard, Intrede*, XIII, pp. 289, 290.

¹¹ The seven paintings, some of which are still extant, are: *The Voyage of the Prince* (Fig. 7), *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands* (Fig. 13), *The Marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy* (cf. Fig. 22), *The Marriage of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile* (cf. Fig. 32), *Philip IV appoints Prince Ferdinand Governor of the Netherlands* (Fig. 65), *The Battle of Nördlingen* (Fig. 71) and *The Triumph of Prince Ferdinand* (Fig. 72).

¹² See A. de Belsler, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van Broechem*, s.l., 1963, pp. 269, 270. The present whereabouts of these pictures is unknown to me.

¹³ *Rooses*, III, pp. 327, 328.

Unfortunately, this explanation soon falls to pieces. The dimensions of the Broechem pictures do not agree with those of the portraits on the triumphal arches; and Rooses himself admitted that they bore little resemblance to Van Thulden's etchings. The recent discovery at Blenheim Palace of the portraits of Philip III and Philip IV (Figs. 28 and 29) only lends added weight to what was already a foregone conclusion: the portraits seen by Rooses at the Castle of Bossenstein were nothing more than copies.

Among the works at Broechem, however, there were also three pieces representing a trophy of War, a trophy of Peace, and a bust of Janus. It is, I think, entirely possible that these were cut-outs from the Temple of Janus (cf. Fig. 82).¹⁴

Rubens's letter of 18 December 1634 to Peiresc shows that even before the Entry it was assumed that Gevartius would prepare a volume describing the festive decorations and the elegant inscriptions invented for the occasion.¹⁵ This was by no means a novel idea, for in Antwerp it was always expected that the humanist who had devised the programme of a Joyous Entry should also be the one to commemorate the event in the form of a printed book. Gevartius himself cites the most important works of this sort published during the sixteenth century: the description by Petrus Aegidius of the Entry of Charles V in 1520; the volume by Cornelius Grapheus on the Entry of Prince Philip in 1549; and those by Joannes Bochius on the Entries of the Archduke Ernest (1594) and of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella (1599).¹⁶

The Entry was no sooner concluded than Gevartius, who was understandably proud of the inscriptions that he had composed, quickly collected them and had them printed by Balthasar Moretus;¹⁷ on 6 May the magistrates commissioned him to go to Brussels to present this little book to His Highness

¹⁴ Rooses, III, pp. 317, 327, 328.

¹⁵ Rooses-Ruelens, VI, p. 82.

¹⁶ Petrus Aegidius, *Hypothesis spectaculorum...Caroli V. Caes. Antverpiae exhibitorum*; Cornelius Grapheus, *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi Hisp. Princ. ... apparatus*, Antwerp, 1550; Joannes Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae...*, Antwerp, 1595; *idem*, *Historica narratio profecionis et inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae, Austriae Archiducum...*, Antwerp, 1602.

¹⁷ *Inscriptiones Arcuum Triumphalium et Pegmatum, Antverpiae erectorum honori Sereniss. Principis Ferdinandi Austriae Hispaniarum Infantis S.R.E. Cardinalis Belgarum et Burgundionum Gubernatoris etc. cum eam Urbem optatissimo Adventu suo bearet XV Kalendas Maii anno M.DC.XXXV*, Antwerp, Moretus, 1635.

the Prince-Cardinal.¹⁸ In the meantime a priest of Antwerp, Hubertus Neeffs, tried to steal a march on him by making a translation of all the inscriptions into Dutch, which was rushed into print by the book-seller Lauwereys van Dieſt.¹⁹ But this plan was thwarted by the city authorities, who on 21 April issued an injunction forbidding the publisher to sell or distribute copies of the book until permission should be given by Meester Caspar Gevaerts.²⁰ The latter, we may be sure, withheld approval until his own book had been issued. The same Dutch translations were reprinted in the somewhat fuller account of the Entry known as the *Triumphael Incomſt*, in which Neeffs declared that he had rendered all the Latin inscriptions into Netherlandish verse "in the space of forty-eight hours".²¹

But the authorities, who were thinking of something more ambitious than a collection of inscriptions, had already begun negotiations with the painter Theodoor van Thulden for a large folio volume containing engravings of all the decorations. As a sample of the kind of illustration he proposed to make, Van Thulden submitted an etching of the Stage of Mercury (Fig. 92). This was approved by the magistrates, and a contract was duly signed on 25 May 1635. The artist agreed to furnish by the following Christmas twenty-five large plates and at least fifteen smaller ones showing the principal paintings from the arches and stages in greater detail. The plates were to include a portrait of the Cardinal-Infante and were to be accompanied by a descriptive text in Latin by Gevartius running to 25 or 30 pages, which would be printed by Balthasar Moretus at Van Thulden's expense. The book was to be published in at least 600 copies, 200 of which were to be delivered to the city. For this work Van Thulden was to be paid 2000 guilders.²²

Rubens's oil sketches were now to be put to use for the second time. For it

¹⁸ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 33 (CXLIX). In his letter of 12 May to Erycius Puteanus, Gevartius says that he has already been to Brussels to present the book to Prince Ferdinand (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 102).

¹⁹ *Corte Wilegginghen van alle de Triumph-wercken ghemaect ende gheſtelt ter eeren den Doorluchtichſten Prince Cardinael Ferdinandus Infante van Hiſp. op ſijn blijde incomſte binnen de Stadt van Antwerpen den 17. April 1635. Overgeſet door H. M. Hub. Neeffs Prieſter*, Antwerp, Lauwereys van Dieſt [1635].

²⁰ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 25 (CXII).

²¹ *Triumphael Incomſt vanden Doorluchtichſten Prince Cardinael Ferdinandus Infant van Hiſp. binnen Antwerpen den 17. April 1635...*, Antwerp, Daniel Faes, 1635.

²² *Génard, Intrede*, VII, pp. 39-40 (CLXIX).

was from these very panels, as we know, that Van Thulden made his etchings of the triumphal arches and stages, introducing only such modifications as were needed to show the works in their definitive state. Since the oil sketches did not belong to Rubens but remained the property of the city, it would not perhaps have been absolutely necessary to ask for the master's co-operation. But that Rubens was interested in the project and gave it his blessing cannot be doubted: Gevartius must surely have had the benefit of his advice in writing his descriptions of the spectacles, and, what is more important, Rubens himself designed the title-page for the book.²³

This is not the place to recount in full the long and complicated history of the sumptuous volume that we know as the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.²⁴ Unfortunately, the two persons most intimately concerned with the Joyous Entry never saw the book that was intended to be a memorial to it: Rubens died in May 1640, and the Cardinal-Infante in November 1641. The fault did not lie with Van Thulden, who delivered his plates promptly enough. But Gevartius, it seems, was not content with the 25 or 30 pages of description stipulated in the contract and continued to expand his text, thereby delaying publication indefinitely. The task of printing the work, originally assigned to Moretus, was later given to Jan van Meurs. On learning of the death of Prince Ferdinand, the magistrates decreed that the dedication of the book should bear the date 1641—so that it should not appear to be dedicated to someone already dead. Shortly afterwards it was decided that Gevartius should append to his text a description of the Triumphal Car of Calloo. These delays in bringing the work to completion proved intensely annoying to Van Thulden, who saw himself losing money and who eventually brought suit against the city for damages. It was not until the end of 1642—more than seven years after the signing of the contract—that the great book was published at last.²⁵

²³ Rubens's oil sketch for the title-page is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (reproduced in *Held*, I, fig. 1).

²⁴ The most recent study is that by P. Arents, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi. Bijdrage tot de Rubensbibliografie, De Gulden Passer*, xxvii, 1949, pp. 81–348 (with earlier bibliography). The pertinent documents are published in *Génard, Intrede*, xiii, pp. 281–345.

²⁵ In some copies the colophon bears the date 1641, in others 1642 (Arents, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, p. 90). On the recommendation of a board of arbitration Van Thulden was at length awarded the sum of 4500 guilders (*Génard, Intrede*, xiii, p. 339).

APPENDIX I

The Specifications for the Stages and Triumphal Arches designed by Rubens

The specifications for the eight temporary structures commissioned by the City of Antwerp are to be found among the documents relating to the Entry of the Prince-Cardinal Ferdinand in the Stadsarchief (P.k. 1634). These papers do not include the specifications for the Arch of the Portuguese Nation nor those for the stages erected by the Guild of St. Luke (de Violieren) and the Chamber of Rhetoric (de Goudbloem); likewise missing are the specifications for the Arch of the Mint, which, although it was built from Rubens's design, was not a project undertaken by the City.

In most instances these documents exist in four or five copies; the exceptions are the specifications for the Stage of Isabella and the Arch at St. Michael's, of which only single copies remain. None of them, it is clear, may be regarded as the original specifications: the fact that they include the names of the carpenters to whom the contracts were later awarded plainly indicates that we are dealing here with transcriptions made after the event, probably for record purposes.

The copies are not all by the same hand. In each group there is one manuscript that stands out by reason of its clarity and legibility, and these easily read versions were the ones selected by P. Génard for publication about a century ago (*Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 402-407, 413-421, 425, 426, 455-457). Comparison with the other copies reveals, however, that the texts by this "legible hand" are generally the least trustworthy: not only do they contain obvious errors in transcription but there are occasional passages that make no sense. On the other hand, they also provide certain data not found in the other manuscripts. I have therefore thought it worthwhile to publish amended texts of all the specifications, making use, wherever possible, of the more dependable versions.

Though admittedly difficult to interpret without the explanatory drawings that accompanied them, these specifications tell us much more about the practical construction of the arches and stages than can be learned from Van Thulden's rather schematic etchings and Gevartius's lofty prose. The task of the contractor was, first, to erect a stable framework as prescribed in the specifications and, secondly, to apply to it the architectural facing and other decor-

ations in wood. These, as a rule, were fashioned by the carpenter himself from the detail drawings; in some cases, however, special pieces such as carved capitals and cut-outs were assigned to other craftsmen and delivered to the contractor to be installed (see *The Triumphal Arch of Philip* and *The Triumphal Arch of Ferdinand* below). The painting of the woodwork was not the responsibility of the contractor.

The Stage of Welcome

The specifications exist in five copies, the least accurate of which was published in the *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* in 1869 (*Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 413-415).

The structure described here corresponds to the original design seen in Rubens's oil sketch in the Hermitage (Fig. 3), before the addition of the large wings at the sides (cf. Fig. 2). The "model" which accompanied the specifications was doubtless a small-scale drawing after that sketch. The last entry [10], which appears in only one version of the text, refers to the decision, taken in February 1635, to enlarge the stage: hence the increase in the amount to be paid to the contractor.

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadtswegen besteden
sal het timmeren ende het maken van een toneel gesireert ende
sal moeten gestelt worden opde Mechelse pleyn by Sint
Joriskercke breed tweeneveertich voet ende hooge volgens het
model hiermede gaende inder manieren hiernaar volgende te weten.

[1] Inden eersten sal den aennemer gehouden wesen te stellen vier stengen ofte eycken houten vast inden grondt ende boven de aerde de twee middelste veertich voeten ende de twee aen de eynde hooge boven de aerde dertich voeten moet noch van gelycken twee stenge stellen achter de twee middelste houten vyff voeten vanden anderen alles wel gesweept aen malcanderen cruyswechs voersien met syn rygels ende steeckbanden daer het van noode is om hetselfde te houden staen tegen alle winden.

[2] Noch soo moet er gemaect worden een solderinge ter breedte vanden middelsten boge ende diep vyff voeten ter hoochde vande schilderye ofte cornis bestant om volck op te staen ten minsten thien persoonen versien met syn borstweringe.

[3] Het gerempt alsoo gemaect synde sal moeten van voeren een syde becleedt woirden oft geschut voersien met syn pillasters pedestaelen, basementen, cappiteelen, kertoecken, overspringende lyften ende de bogen van onder gelamberceert frontespice alles volgens het model hiervan synde ende getoont.

[4] Noch soo sal ten lasten vanden aennemer staen te leveren ende te maken allen de schrooyersels inde modelle geteekent mitsgaders de beloeysters dewelcken oock moeten geschrooyeert syn alles van goet schoon droogh solderbert ofte delen aenden anderen gelympt ende geclampt ende sal moeten altemael schoon geschaeft woirden soo wel het bert vande schrooyersels als allen het houdtwerck tgene aenden gevel gebruyckt sal woirden alles tot contentement vande besteders.

[5] Hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden te leveren allen de materiaelen noodich tot bouwinge van desen wercke soo houdt nagelen als andersints niet vuytgesteken ofte gereserveert ende ofte in dese conditie iet vergeten waere noodich tot opbouwinge van desen wercke sal den aennemer moeten doen ter somme van vyftich guldens.

[6] Dit werck moet voldaan syn binnen den tyt van vierendertich dagen oft by gebreke van dyen sal men den aennemer affcorten aen synen bedingden loon voer elcken dage die hy naerwercken sal de somme van vyffentwintich guldens ofte soo men siet dat daer geen debvoir int werck en woirdt gedaen sal ten liefte vande Heeren staen tselfve op te maecten ten laste vanden aennemer.

[7] Die dit werck minst instelt wint voor syn cloeckheyt de somme van vyftien guldens ende daernaer salt opgeroepen worden ende diet mynt sal werckman blyven.

[8] Noch soo is conditie dat den aennemer sal wederomme aennemen ende aenveerden alle de staken, sperren, berders ende alle ander houdtwerck dat niet en is beschildert, ende alle dat beschildert is, dat sal de Stadt voor haer behouden ende reserveren.

[9] Ende is ingestelt dminst by...[sic] ende gemynt by Michiel tourson ¹ voor 670 guldens den 3 December 1634.

[10] [Voor het naerwerck ende begrooten is men geaccordeert op IX February met ditto op 630 guldens.] ²

¹ His name, as appears from other documents, was Michiel Bourssoy (*Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 415, 416; VII, p. 58; XIII, p. 221).

² This entry appears only in the version by the "legible copyist".

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the carpentering and making of a decorated stage to be erected on the Mechelse Plein, near St. Joriskerk, 42 feet wide and the height in accordance with the accompanying model, in the manner hereinafter described, to wit:

- [1] The framework is to consist of four posts set firmly in the ground, the two middle ones standing 40 feet high and the two end ones 30 feet high. Two more posts are to be placed 5 feet behind the middle pair [to support the platform]. All these uprights are to be braced with struts and cross-beams so that the structure can withstand winds.
- [2] A platform 5 feet deep, as wide as the middle arch, and capable of supporting ten persons, is to be constructed at the height of the cornice above the painting and furnished with a parapet.
- [3] The framework is to be faced on the front side with pilasters, pedestals, bases, capitals, cartouches, projecting mouldings, the arch panelled on its under side, and the pediment, in accordance with the model.
- [4] The cut-outs (*schrooyersels*) and balusters are to be cut from board by the contractor.
- [5] The contractor must supply all necessary materials...
- [6] The work must be completed within thirty-four days...
- [7] Fifteen guilders will be given to the one who makes the lowest opening tender; on the second call, the contract will be awarded to the one who makes a firm offer.
- [8] The contractor is to keep all the unpainted woodwork for himself. The painted pieces shall remain the property of the City.
- [9] On 3 December 1634 Michiel tourson [Bourssoy] made an offer to build the stage for 670 guilders.
- [10] In consideration of additional work the amount is increased by 630 guilders on 9 February 1635.

The Triumphal Arch of Philip

There are four copies of the specifications. The text published by *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 404-407, is that by the "legible copyist", which omits an essential passage from article [2].

The original specifications were accompanied by drawings of the ground plan (article [1]) and of elevations showing details of the decorations (articles [8], [9] and [11]). Without the ground plan we cannot hope to reconstruct accurately the complicated system of supports described in article [2]. It nevertheless appears from elevations of the arch (Figs. 16 and 30) that the eight 60-foot posts could only have stood behind the middle piers, for the two sections at the sides were entirely too low for uprights of this height, even if sunk five feet in the ground. Whether the transverse passages continued throughout the whole width of the arch, or whether they merely connected the central archway with the two smaller passageways, must remain a matter of conjecture.

I have omitted from the English summary that follows the Dutch text such purely routine clauses as the guarantee required of the contractor (article [15]) and the procedure to be followed in calling for tenders (article [17]).

Conditie ende voorwaerde waerop men van stadswegen sal
besteden het opmaecken van een arke treonfael die gestelt sal
woirden inde Huyvetterstraet alles inder manieren hiernaer
volgende.

[1] Inden iersten sal den aennemer gehouden wesen dese Arcke breed te maecken achtentertich voet diep achtentwintich voet de buytencanten hooch in alles ontrent vyffenvyftich voeten met syn [dry rechte doorganghen ende twee]³ treversche deurgangen alles volgende den grondt daeraff geteeckent.

[2] Item sal den aennemer gehouden wesen te stellen aen beyde de gevels acht doorgaende stengen ofte eyken houten hooch boven den grondt tseftich voeten inden grondt vyff voeten dick in syn cruys eenen voet noch sal men stellen inde twee voerste linien aen wedersyden twelf stylen doorgaende om alle de wercken ende sieraeten aen vast te maecken dick seven duym met noch

³ Appears only in the version by the "legible copyist".

allen de hoecken vande strepen te stellen de stylen ofte vurenbalcken om allen de rechte ende treversche schutselen aen vast te maecken alles naer den eysch vant werck dat hetselffve loffelyck mach staen.

[3] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden allen dese voorscreven stylen cruysweechs te sweepen met dry cruysen boven den anderen dick vyff duym vierkant ofte goede kerckspeyren sal men allen dese stylen rygelen om alle de rechte ende treversche schutselen aen te nagelen dick vier duym ofte speyren vanden anderen verdeylt dry voeten ende overal wel versien met syn steeckbanden naer den eysch van alsulcken werck dat hetselffve mach blyven staen tegen alle winden.

[4] Item noch sal den aennemer gehouden wesen den grooten deurganck te schutten tot onder de plint hooch boven den gront veerthien voeten ende daerboven te stellen een platte plint breet onderhalven voet om daer vuyt te maecken een welffsel van houdt halff rondt alles met syn nock ende syplaeten ende vellingen, vande anderen drye voeten ende daertegen te lammerseren alles inden anderen gegroeft ende schoon geschaeft van bert ofte delen naer den eys vant werck.

[5] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden de twee sydeurgangen met de twee treverschen gangen te schutten boven den gront elf voeten ende daerboven te leggen een platte plint breedt onderhalven voet ende daerboven allen de doorgangen te leggen een welffsel van onder effen inden anderen gegroeft ende schoon geschaeft om alles te schilderen naer den eysch vant werck.

[6] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden aende twee syden naest de huysen te schutten ter hoochde van het geheel werck met bert ofte delen tegen den anderen gehouden alles naer den eysch.

[7] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden van buyten tegen de twee gevels, tegen de stylen ende stenghen te wercken thien doorgaende rygelen dick vier ende acht duym ofte vurenbalcken te weten boven de poorte aende arcketrave cornissen als onder de lysten van t'conterspies [*sic*] alles naer den eysch dat allen de wercken connen gevoegelycken gestelt woirden.

[8] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden de twee gevels te becleeden met syn pedestalen basementen ronde pilaren pilasteren daer achter, arcketraven, cornissen met syn gesneden morrelons ende daerboven met syn pilasteren, verheven kokers met syn ronde fonterspies ende crollen met allen syn lysten alles wel gesteken gelyck men hem de berders snyden sal volgens de teekeninge hiermede gaende.

[9] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden boven de twee groote poorten te stellen de ronde bogen met syn sluytsteenplinten gesteken met syn molluren ende omgekruck, van gelycken boven de kleyne poorten alles met syn lysten volgens de teeckeninge naer den eysch vant werck.

[10] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden boven de sluytsteenen tot tegen de arcketrave te stellen inder manieren van een piederstael verheven met allen syne lysten ende overal met syn platte banden ende lysten vande schilderyen naer den eysch vant werck.

[11] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden boven de cornisse te macken een verheven lyst vuytspringende onderhalven voet breed eenen voet alles [*sic*] de buytencanten om een schilderye in te stellen alles volgende de teeckeninge hiermede gaende.

[12] Item hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden te leveren allen de materialen die soude mogen dienen tot opmaecken van het voerscreven werck soo houtwerck, yserwerck, laden, lossen, stellen, maken niet vuytgesteken ofte gereserveert alles conforme de teeckeninge hiermede gaende opden cleynen voet geteekent.

[13] Item sal vande Heerenwegen geleverd woirden allen de gesneden capiteelen met allen de schorresels, vuytstaende figuren, termen maer sal gehouden wesen allen hetselffve te stellen om alsoo syn werck volmaeckt te leveren ende ofte hier eenige wercken vergeten ofte verandert wirt, sal den aennemer daer niet voer pretenderen dat soude bedragen de somme van vyftich guldens maer dat de veranderinge meerder waere sal hetselffve hem goet gedaen woirden by visitatie van persoonen hen dies verstaende.

[14] Item dese wercken moeten voldaan wesen binnen den achtsten January naestcomende ofte by faulte van dyen te verbeuren voer elcken dach die hy naerwercken sal ter somme van vyffentwintich guldens af te cortten aen synen bedinghden loon ende ofte het selfve werck niet wel geavanceert ofte vervoordert en wert sullen de Heeren vermogen tot coste ende laste vanden aennemer ander volck int werck te stellen.

[15] Item hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden borge te stellen op morgen voornoen, soo voer het voldoen van desen voerscreven wercke als voer t'ontfangen van syn ierste payment alles tot contentement vande Heeren.

[16] De betalinge sal geschieden in dry paymenten een derdendeel opde handt het tweede derdendeel binnen dry weken daernaer ende het leste derdendeel dry weken naerdatt het werck loffelyck sal volmaeckt ende gestelt syn.

[17] Men sal dit werck besteden met den hoop met tshieten van billetten ende die hetselffve minst instelt sal hebben voer den wyn ter somma van vyftich guldens ende men salt daernaer oproepen ende die hetselffve mynt die sal werckman blyven.

[18] Item sal den aennemer tot syne proffyte behouden allen het houdtwerck ende gerympte behalvens de becleetsels ende tgene geschildert is van beyde de gevels achter ende voere.

[19] Sal het voerschreven werck mogen blyven staen te beliefte vande Heeren sesse weken naer d'Incompste vanden Prince.

[20] Adì XXVI November 1634 is tvoerscreven werck minst innegestelt by Abraham Lamot voer 3500 guldens ende is gemeynt by Iaspar Vervoort voer 3100 guldens.

[21] [Het schoreersel is besteedt voor 425 guldens aen Selon.]⁴

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the construction of a triumphal arch which is to be built in the Huidevettersstraat entirely in the following manner:

[1] The arch is to be 38 feet wide, 28 feet deep and about 55 feet high on the outside, with [three direct and two] transverse passages, as shown on the ground plan accompanying the specifications.

[2] The contractor is to place on the façades eight posts, 60 feet in length and one foot in diameter, sunk 5 feet in the ground, and twelve smaller uprights at the sides, so as to form a framework for the decorations. Other posts are to be set up within the arch in order to carry the facings of the passages.

[3] The framework is to be properly braced with struts and cross-beams so as to be able to withstand winds.

[4] The contractor must face the large passageway to a height of 14 feet, above which he must install a plinth in order to support a wooden barrel vault, which is to be smoothly panelled on its under side.

[5] The contractor must also face the two side passages and the two trans-

⁴ Appears only in the version by the "legible copyist". I have been unable to find any record of payment to Selon.

verse passages to a height of 11 feet and must roof these over with panelling.

[6] The sides of the arch next the houses on either side of the street are to be closed with planking.

[7] Cross-beams are to be constructed over the archway and at the levels of the architrave, cornice and pediment to provide supports for the decorative elements.

[8] Both façades are to be dressed with architectural features—pedestals, bases, columns, pilasters, architraves, cornices, curved pediments, scrolls, etc.—which are to be carved in wood as shown on the accompanying drawing.

[9] The contractor is to install the decorated arch and keystone over the large doorway and the mouldings over the small doorways.

[10] On each façade the contractor must build a kind of projecting pedestal reaching from the keystone to the architrave [as a support for the statue], and he is also to make the necessary flat bands and frames for the paintings.

[11] Above the cornice the contractor must also make a frame projecting a foot and a half on the outside, so that a painting may be inserted in it, as indicated in the accompanying drawing.

[12] The contractor must supply all necessary materials.

[13] The carved capitals, cut-outs (*schorresels*), statues and terms will be delivered by the city officials, but must be installed by the contractor...

[14] The work is to be completed by 8 January 1635.

[16] Payments will be made in three instalments: one third immediately, one third three weeks later, and one third three weeks after completion and assembly of the work.

[18] The contractor is to keep all the framework and unpainted wood; the façade decorations and the painted pieces remain the property of the City.

[19] The work shall be allowed to remain standing for six weeks after the Entry of the Prince.

[20] On 26 November 1634 the contract was awarded to Iaspar Vervoort for 3100 guilders.

[21] The cut-outs were adjudged to Selon for 425 guilders.

The Portico of the Emperors

There are four copies of the specifications, but the most legible of these (published by *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 416–419) is of little value because it

combines the Portico of the Emperors and the Stage of Mercury within one confusing text.

The specifications describe the original plan, which provided for flat cut-out figures of emperors standing beneath the arches. Details of the construction were clarified, as in other instances, by explanatory drawings (see articles [1], [4] and [5]). When the decision was taken on 10 December 1634 (article [14] to substitute stone statues for wooden cut-outs, the contractor Wandelaers objected that since he had already made the twelve *schrooyersels* he should receive at least 600 guilders extra. But he was persuaded by Rubens himself to keep the cut-outs and to accept only 300 guilders.

On this occasion Rubens and Gevartius seem to have concluded that the arches and columns enclosing the twelve emperors should be more solidly made. It was therefore estimated (article [14]) that the fee for the construction of the portico should be doubled, which meant that Wandelaers would receive 3600 instead of 1800 guilders. Other changes were certainly introduced: it can be seen, for example, that the obelisk erected over the central portal (Fig. 37) was substantially higher than the fourteen-foot "pyramid" mentioned in the specifications. Such alterations and enlargements serve to explain why in the end Wandelaers was paid 6600 guilders for his work (*Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 49; XIII, p. 221).

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadtswegen besteden sal
het maken oft het timmeren van een gaelderije die gestelt sal
moeten woirden op de Meir ontrent de Claere straet inder
manieren hiernaer volgende.

[1] Inden iersten sal dese poorte gaelderije moeten gemaect woirden volgens den grondt daervan geteekent ten midden wegen met een groote poorte ende twee bogen daer neffens recht ende aen yder syde noch vier bogen cantich rondt vergeirt met noch eenen boge ten winckelhaeck om recht te saemen twelff bogen ende een groote poorte alles vergeirt ende verdeelt opde lenghde van tweehondert ende twelff voeten.

[2] Om dit selfve werck vaste te maken salmen moeten aen wedersyde vande groote poorte stellen twee stenge oft eycken houten hooge boven den grondt sessendertich voeten inde aerde ses voeten, ende gevrocht onder de

calsye een cruys met syn affsetten soo verborgen dat mence niet en siet boven den grondt verborgen inde pedestael ende soo daer geen diepte genoch en is om het selfde op die maniere vast te maken salmen moeten door de vouwte een gadt breken ende latense doorschieten in den grondt vande ruye ende ten middel wegen vande groote poorte moet gestelt woirden eenen styl omme de piramide aen vast te maecten voorsien met syn banden inde sy stengen gewerckt wel gehecht dat tselfve can blyven staen tegen alle winden.

[3] Van gelycken selen moeten gestelt woirden in elcke pillaer eenen styl tot dertich int getal vast gemaectt opde maniere gelyck het voerscreven is ende boven de bogen ten lanxen deur moeten twee rygels inne gewerckt woirden dick naer den heysch vanden wercke drye voeten en halfff van malcanderen, voorsien met syn banden stylen yseren spannen dat het bestant is om te blyven staen tegen alle onweders.

[4] Item het gerempte alsoo gemaectt synde sal moeten becleet woirden volghens het patroon oft model hiermede gaende te weten dat alle de pedestalen volgens de teekeninge selen moeten viercant gemaectt woirden, met syn vuytspringende lyfte soo wel onder de pillaren als onder figuren ende de pillaren die daer selen staen moeten gemaectt woirden viercant pillasterwys met syn cappitteelen ende basamenten volgens ordre dorica ende de bogen van voer ende achter met eenen platten bandt van onder rondt vuyt geschrooyt ende gelamberseert de dichte vande pillaren ende tusschen beyde gevult ende inde plaetsse vande archetrave ende cornisse salme[n] maken twee platte banden nus omloopende soo wel van achter als van voere ende boven de groote poorte ter lenghde van het geheel werck.

[5] Item sal noch ten laeste vanden aennemer staen te maken ende te leveren allen de schrooyersels volgens de teekeninge te weten het schrooyersel boven de poorte dobbel tegen den anderen soo wel aen deen als aen dander syde daerop een viercante pedestael ende piramide welcke piramide moet hooge wesen veerthien voeten dick int viercant naerden heysch vant werck ende voorts alle andere schrooyersels te weten, de twelff keysers ende aen wedersyde vande poorte de vier termen moeten plat geschroyeert syn ende de siraten onder ende boven de cornisse mitsgaders de frontespian moeten gemaectt woirden dobbel aen weder syde alle welcke voerscreven schrooyerselen moet gemaectt woirden van goet droogh solderbert oft delen schoon geschaeft aenden anderen gelympt vast gemaectt met yserwerck oft houdt dat het can blyven staen ende oock soo dat het hem niet en mistaet.

[6] Item hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden te leveren allen de materiaelen soe houdtwerck, yserwerck, laden, lossen niet vuytgesteken ofte gereserveert alles dat soude mogen dienen tot opmaken van desen wercke ende ofte dat in dese conditie iet vergeten waere dat maer en soude bedragen ter somme van vyftich guldens en sal den aennemer daer voeren niet mogen pretenderen, dan ofte de veranderingh meerder waere sal het selfve naer advenant betaelt woirden alles tot visitatie tot meesters hun dies verstaende.

[7] Item de betaling sal geschieden in dry paymenten een derde contant een derde te halve werck ende een derde dry weken naer dat het voorscreven werck sal gedaen wesen.

[8] Item die dit werck minst inne stelt sal hebben de somme van vyffentwintich guldens ende men salt daernaer oproepen die het mynt sal werckman blyven.

[9] Item den aennemer sal gehouden syn borge te stellen soo voer het vol doen van desen voerscreven wercke als voer het ontfangen vande paymenten alles tot contentement vande heeren.

[10] Item sal den aennemer naer hem trecken allen de stylen ende rygels behalven allen dat geschildert is daer het gerempt mede becleet is.

[11] Item dit werck sal moeten voldaan wesen tegen derthien dach toecom mende op pene vanden aennemer te corten voer elcken dach vyffentwintich guldens.

[12] Ende oft men bevondt datter van wegen den aennemer geen behoorlyck debvoir en werde gedaen om op den gestelden dach voldaan te hebben soo sal het ten belieften vande heeren staen t'selfve te doen opmaken tot cost ende laste des aennemers met alsoo veel wercklieden als hun goet sal duncken.

[13] Den 5 december heeft Jan Wandelaer aengenomen het voers. werk voer 1800 gul.

[14] Den 10^{en} ditto is hier veranderinge gedaen dat in plaetsse van XII gescroyde keyzers selen gemaect woirden XII van steen door welke veranderinge den houten boge mette pilaeren dubbel syn begroot daervoere hy preten deerde op tminste 600 gul. welck door tusschen spreken van Rubbens hem is aenbesteed tot 300 gul. Ende hy sal behouden de 12 schrooyersels.

----- 300 gul.

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the making or carpentering of a gallery which is to be erected on the Meir near the Clarenstraat in the following manner:

[1] The portico must be made according to the ground plan, with a large portal in the middle and two arches in the same alignment beside it, and four more arches on either side laid out on an angular arc (*cantich rondt*), with still another arch turned at a right angle, making altogether twelve arches and a large portal, extending over a total length of 212 feet.

[2] Two posts are to be placed on either side of the central portal, standing 36 feet high and sunk 6 feet in the ground. They are to be secured by a cross-piece set beneath the paving-stones, the struts of which will be concealed within the pedestal. If there is not sufficient depth to secure them in this way, it will be necessary to break a hole through the vaulting of the Meir and sink the posts in the bottom of the canal. In order to support the pyramid a stake must be set up over the large portal and firmly braced to the side posts.

[3] An upright is to be placed within each pillar, making thirty in all, and to these are to be fastened two cross-beams, set above the arches and spaced 3 ½ feet apart.

[4] The framework is to be covered in accordance with the accompanying model: the pedestals beneath the pillars and figures are to be square with projecting mouldings; the pillars are to be Doric pilasters; the arches are to be cut from wood and panelled underneath; two continuous bands are to be placed at the level of the architrave and cornice for the whole length of the work, both front and back, and above the large portal.

[5] The cut-outs are to be made by the contractor according to the drawing. The cut-out over the portal is to be made double, so as to face in both directions. Above it there is to be a square pedestal and a pyramid 14 feet in height and square in section. All the other cut-outs (the twelve emperors and the four terms on either side of the portal) are to be cut out flat; the ornaments above and below the cornice, as well as the pediment, are to be made in duplicate for placement on both sides.

[10] The contractor shall recover the framework, not the painted covering.

[11] The work is to be completed in thirteen days.

[13] On December 5 Jan Wandelaer [or Hans Wandelaers] contracted to do the aforesaid work for 1800 guilders.

[14] On December 10 a change was made here, so that instead of twelve cut-out emperors there should be twelve made of stone, for which change the wooden arches with the pillars were estimated at double the price. For that he claimed at least 600 guilders, which through the intervention of Rubens was adjudged to him for 300 guilders. And he may keep the twelve cut-outs.

----- 300 guilders

The Stage of Isabella

The specifications for the construction of this stage, first published by *Génard, Intrede*, vi, pp. 425, 426, exist in one copy only.

Without the working drawings at hand, there is no way of knowing just how the twelve posts of the framework were distributed, or how the platform mentioned in article [6] was supported. Routine legal clauses have been omitted from the English summary.

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadswegen besteden
sal het timmeren ende het maecken van een toneel, dwelcke
gestelt sal worden inde lange Nieustraete byde Clarrestraet
breedt achtenveertich voeten ende hooge boven den grondt
vyftich voet diep ses voeten, alles inde manieren hiernaer
volgende, te weten.

[1] Eerst sal den Aennemer ghehouden wesen om hetselve werck aen vast te maecken te stellen ses stenge ofte eycken voeten [*sic*; houten] lanck boven den grondt veertich voeten met noch ses van vyfentwintich voeten, alles inden grondt ses voeten, wel hecht gesweept cruyswechts aen malcanderen alles voorzien met syn steeckbanden ende rijgels daer het aen van doen is om hetselfde wercke aen vast te maecken, dat het bestandt is om te blijven staen tegen alle winden.

[2] Item het gerempt alsoo gemaect sijnde sal moeten van voren becleedt worden met syn platte pillasters ende vier pillaren, wat meer als halfgrondt, pidedaelen, cappitteelen, basementen, wtspringende lijste, soo wel opde onderste pillaren als op de bovenste, met oock de lijsten vant frontespies alles wel

gemaectt met een goet fatsoen deerste orde dorick ende boven compositie, alles conforme de teekeninge.

[3] Noch soo sal tot lasten vanden Aennemer staen te leveren alle de schroeyerselen soo onder also boven met oock de candelaers, alles volgens het moddel ofte teekeninghe hiermede gaende ende getoint.

[4] Item de middelpoorte met de twee cleyn doorgangen, sullen moeten van ter syde ende van boven geschut worden, ende gelambercert met drooge delen oft solderbert geschaeft ende ineengerabbat met de clicke alles wel om op te schilderen, moet oock van gelycken van ter syden, ende van boven de groete schilderije moet gelambercert worden opde diepte van seven duijmen.

[5] Item van achter dit voorgenoempt werck sal moeten van onder tot boven, ende de gheheel breede behalvens de dry doorgangen geschut worden met delen oft bert geschaeft om op te schilderen.

[6] Item boven ontrent het frontespies sal moeten gemaectt worden een solderinge ter lengde van vyfendertich voet, ende breedt vyf voeten bestandt om op te gaen.

[7] Hiertoe is den Aennemer gehouden te leveren alle de materialen noodich tot dese wercke soo houdt, nagelen, als arbeysloen niet vuytgesteken, ofte gereserveert, ende ofter in dese conditie iet vergeten waere tot opmaken vant voors[eide] werck, sal den Aennemer schuldich syn te doen ter somme toe van vyftich guldens, ter tauxatie van wercklieden hun des verstaende, ende soo verre daer meer gedaen wort, sal appaert betaelt worden.

[8] Dit werck moet voldaan syn den 6^{en} January naestcomende, oft by faute, sal den Aennemer affgecort worden vanden bedongden loon voor elcke dach die hy naerwercken sal de somme van 25 guldens, oft soo gemerckt wort datter geen diligentie int werck en wort gedaen sal ten beliften staen vande Heeren tselve te doen opmaecken tot laste ende costen vanden Aennemer.

[9] Den Aennemer is gehouden borge te stellen soo voor het volmaecken van tselve werck, als voorde penninghen die hy sal ontfangen.

[10] De betalinge sal geschieden in dry paeyementen een deel opde handt, het tweede deel dry weken daernaer, ende het resterende 3^e deel dry weken naer het volmaken vand' werck, ende sal het voors[eide] werck blyven staen 6 weken naer de Incompste vanden Prince Cardinael.

[11] Item selen aenden besteders blyven alle de becleetsels, ende schroeyersels, latende aenden Aennemer alle het gerempt, mitsgaders de achter ende binnenschutsels ende lambersersels.

[12] Die dit werck minst ingestelt sal hebben, die windt voor syne vromich[ey]t de somme van vyfthien guldens ende daernaer salt opgeroepen worden die het myndt sal werckman blyven.

[13] Adi 10 Xb. is tselve ingestelt by Jeronimus van [Hove] ⁵ voor 698.19 st. ende is hem daermede gebleven.

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the carpentering and making of a stage which is to be erected in the Lange Nieuwstraat, near the Clarenstraat, 48 feet wide, 50 feet in height above the ground, and 6 feet deep, entirely in the following manner, to wit:

[1] The framework is to consist of six posts standing 40 feet high and six more standing 25 feet high, all sunk 6 feet in the ground, all to be braced crosswise to one another and provided with struts and cross-beams so that the structure can withstand winds.

[2] The framework is to be faced on the front side with its pilasters, four columns that are a little more than half-round, pedestals, capitals, bases, and projecting entablatures over the columns both above and below and over the pediment, all as shown in the drawing. The lower storey is to be of the Doric order and the upper one Composite.

[3] The contractor shall deliver all the cut-outs as well as the candelabra in accordance with the drawing.

[4] The three doorways are to be panelled at the sides and top and planed smooth so as to be suitable for painting, and the frame of the large painting is likewise to be panelled to a depth of 7 inches at the sides and top.

[5] The entire rear side, except for the doorways, is to be screened with planking.

[6] A platform, 25 feet long and 5 feet wide and capable of being walked on, is to be constructed at about the height of the pediment.

[8] The work is to be completed by 6 January 1635...

⁵ The last name is omitted, but the contractor is elsewhere identified as Jeronimus van Hove (*Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 427, 428; VII, p. 50; XIII, p. 220).

[13] On 10 December Jeronimus van Hove offered to construct the work for 698 guilders, 19 stivers and was thereupon awarded the contract.

The Triumphal Arch of Ferdinand

There are four copies of the document, collation of which reveals some errors in the text published by *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 401-404 (e.g. *derlich* for *derthien* in article [4]).

In the absence of the working drawings certain structural features must remain obscure. The text says nothing, for instance, about the length of the single transverse corridor. But inasmuch as the arch (Fig. 67) was subdivided into "eight places" (article [4]), it may be deduced that this passageway extended through its entire width.

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadswegen besteden sal het maecken ofte het timmeren van een arcke Treonfael van houtwerck die gestelt sal woirden inde Lange Nieuwstraet daert hem geordonneert sal woirden breedt in syn saet veertich voeten ende diep sesentwintich voeten te meten vande buyencanten vande pedestaelen inder manieren hier naer volgende.

[1] Inden iersten sal den aennemer gehouden wesen te stellen vier doorgaende stenge ofte eycken houten hooge boven den gront tseftich voeten ende inder aerden ses voeten dick in syn cruys eenen voet dewelcken sullen moeten gestelt woirden achter de vier dobbel pillaren van gelycken noch sesthien doorgaende stylen inde vier plaetschen lanck naer den heysch dick ses duymen viercant ofte vurenbalcken welcken stylen ende stenge selen moeten overhoix gesweept woirden met dry cruysen boven den anderen rontsomme voersien met syn rygels van vier duymen viercant ofte voer het minste kercksperran vanden anderen gebrocht dry voeten overal versien met syn steeckbanden.

[2] Item van gelycken moeten de vier buytenhoecken versien woirden met vier stenge ende twelf stylen aenden anderen gesweept ende gerygelt gelyck het voers[eide] is.

[3] Item boven de poorte opde hooghte vande ercketrave, ende cornisse sal hetselffde moeten versien woirden ten lanxcen deur met twee rygels dick vier

ende acht duymen met noch van gelycken rygels ter hooghde vande bovenste lystē met eenen deurgaende styl ten middenwegen om het bovenste schroyersel aen vast te maken soo aen d'een als aen d'ander syde alles voersien met syn sweepen ende banden ende corte rygels naer den heysch vanden wercke.

[4] Item de acht plaeytschen van binnens tegens de pillaren tot aen het doorgaen moeten geschut woirden aen dry syden met droogh solderbert ofte delen schoon geschaeft omme daeroppe te schilderen ter hooghde van derthien voeten daeroppe moet gemaect woirden een doorgaende plindt omme op te stellen de lambersecels volgens de teekeninge daervan synde ten middenwegen de groote poorte sal moeten rondt gelomberceert woirden, de vellinge vanden aenderen dry voet dick vier ende twee duymen van onder gelomberceert met delen ofte droogh bert schoon geschaeft inden anderen met de clicke gesteken alles tot contentement vande besteders.

[5] Item boven de cleyn poorte ende traversche doorgangen selen moeten gelomberceert pladt van onder effen geschaeft omme op te schilderen.

[6] Item sal oock moeten geschut woirden met bert ofte delen de twee syden tegens de huysen ende van gelycken te voersien met syn rygels als anderssints.

[7] Item sal noch tot lasten vanden aennemer staen het geheel werck van twee syden te weten van achter ende van voeren te becleeden met syn pillasters ende pillaren pidestaelen plinten ende de cappiteelen basementen friecen ende cornissen, frontespiesen ende lyste vande middelschilderye met oock de platte bande boven de poorte alles volgens de teekeninge hiermede gaende ende gethoont wel verstaende dat de pillaren wel selen moeten gemaect woirden van goet fatsoen te weten de onderste staigie ordere dorica ende de tweede staigie ordere ionica naer advenant allen de lystē als anderssints met conditie hierinne ondersproken dat tot laste vande besteders sal staen de cappitalen vande tweede staigie met de vier voerste termen wel verstaende dat de bovenste moluren vande lystē selen moeten gemaect woirden affgeschoyt waterdicht curieuselycken ende net geschaeft alles tot contentement vande besteders.

[8] Noch soo sal den aennemer gehouden wesen de ses schroyersels aen wedersyde inde friece vande ierste staigie met noch de vier sytermen ende Engels ende de vier ronden met de kertellen inde tweede staigie als van gelycken het schroyersel onder het frontespies ende de siraeten boven het frontespies ende cornisse, allen welcke siraeten van schroeyercelen selen moeten gemaect volgens de teekeninge daervan synde te weten van goet droogh schoon solderbert aenden anderen gelympt wel versien met syn clampen yserwerck daert

van noode wesen sal soo ende gelyck men tselfve can doen blyven staen.

[9] Hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden te leveren alle de materiaelen tot desen werck noodich soo houdt nagelen yserwerck aerbeytsloon ende wagenvrachten niet vuytgesteken ofte gereserveert tot opbouwinge van desen wercke ende oft in dese conditie iet vergeten waere noodich tot desen wercke sal den aennemer gehouden wesen tselfve te doen ter somme van vyftich guldens ter estimatie van persoonen hun dies verstaende wat meer bedracht sal hem goet gedaen woirden van stadswegen.

[10] Dit werck moet volmaeckt wesen den achtsten January naestcommende ofte by faulte van dyen salmen hem affcorten aen synen bedingden loon voer elcken dach die hy naerwercken sal de somme van XXV guldens ofte oock sal ten belieften vanden besteder staen soo daer geen debvoir int wercken en woirdt gedaen tselfve te doen maken ten laste vanden aennemer.

[11] De betalinge sal geschieden in dry termynen een derdendeel op de handt het tweede deerdendeel binnen dry weken daernaer ende het leste deerdendeel dry weken naerdatt het voorscreven werck sal volcommen gemaect ende gestelt wesen.

[12] Die dit werck minst ingestelt sal hebben wint voer syn cloeckheytt de somme van vyftich guldens ende daernaer salt opgeroepen woirden die het mynt sal werckman blyven.

[13] Den aennemer sal schuldich wesen tusschen dit ende morgen voernoen suffisante borge te stellen tot contentement vande Heeren.

[14] Ende sal het voorscreven werck tot belieftte vande Heeren mogen blyven staen naer d'Incompste vanden Prince den tyt van sesse weken.

[15] Item sal den aennemer tot synen proffyte behouden allen het houdtwerck ende gerijmpte behalvens de becleetsels ende tgene geschildert is van beyde de gevels achter ende voere.

[16] Dit werck is tminst innegestelt voor 2999 guldens by Hans Wandelaers den XXIII November 1634.

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the making or carpentering of a triumphal arch of woodwork which is to be erected in the Lange Nieuwstraat, where it shall be put together, 40 feet wide at its base and

26 feet deep, measuring from the outer sides of the pedestals,
in the following manner:

[1] Behind the four double columns on the façades the contractor is to place four posts, 60 feet in length and one foot in diameter, sunk 6 feet in the ground, and sixteen studs 16 inches square in the same four middle sections of the arch. All of these uprights are to be diagonally braced and fitted with struts and cross-beams.

[2] Four posts and twelve studs must likewise be placed in the four outer corners.

[3] Cross-beams measuring 4 by 8 inches must be installed on both façades at the level of the architrave over the portal and at the height of the upper entablature, with a continuous vertical timber in the middle, to which the uppermost cut-out is to be fastened.

[4] The eight "piers" (*de acht plaeytschen*) are to be faced with boards on the three sides behind the façades to a height of 13 feet, and above that a continuous plinth is to be installed, as shown in the drawing. The barrel vault over the middle doorway is to be smoothly panelled in wood.

[5] The small doorways and the transverse passages are likewise to be roofed with panelling, planed smooth so as to be suitable for painting.

[6] The sides of the arch next the houses are to be closed with planking.

[7] The work is to be faced on both front and back with its pilasters and columns, pedestals, plinths, capitals, bases, friezes, cornices, pediments and the frame for the middle painting, all as shown in the drawing. The lower storey is to be of the Doric order and the second Ionic, it being understood that it shall be the responsibility of the city officials to furnish the capitals of the second storey and the four terms at the front...

[8] On each façade the contractor shall make the six cut-outs in the frieze of the first storey; the four terms and the angels at the sides and the four roundels with their cartouches in the second storey; and the cut-out under the pediment and those above the cornice, all in accordance with the drawing.

[10] The work must be completed by 8 January 1635.

[15] The contractor shall keep all the wood of the framework, but not the outer covering of the façades and whatever is painted.

[16] The lowest tender for this work, 2999 guilders, was submitted by Hans Wandelaers on 24 November 1634.

The Temple of Janus

The specifications exist in four copies, including the "legible" manuscript published by *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 419-421.

The stage described here corresponds to the original design seen in Rubens's oil sketch in the Hermitage (Fig. 83), before the raising of the dome on a high drum and the addition of an extra bay on each side (cf. Fig. 82). The last entry [13], which appears in only one version of the text, probably refers to the decision to enlarge the work: hence the increase in the amount to be paid to the contractor.

From article [6] it appears that there were three sets of cut-outs, i.e. those within the columnar porticos at the sides, those directly above the porticos, and those above the painting in the middle.

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadtswegen besteden
sal het timmeren ende het maecken van een toneel die gestelt
sal woirden opde Melckmerckt alles inder manieren hiernaer
volgende te weten.

[1] Inden iersten is den aennemer gehouden dese toneel hooge te maecken boven den grondt in alles vyftich voeten ende breet veertich voet ende diep te meten buytencandt vant pedestael seven voeten een halff.

[2] Om dit voerscreven werck te stellen ende vast te maken moeten gestelt worden acht stenge de vier lanck sessenvyftich voet ende andere vierenveertich voeten alles in den grondt ses voeten.

[3] Item noch soo is den aennemer gehouden te maken twee solderingen een ter hoogde vande pedestalen ten lanxcen door ende een boven over wedersyde de groote schilderye boven de pillaren van onder effen gelamberceert schoon geschaeft inden anderen geschroeft alles naer den heysch vanden werck om op te schilderen.

[4] Item noch soo is den aennemer gehouden allen dese stenge aenden anderen te rygels [*sic*; rygelen] ende te sweepen dat het can blyven staen ses weken naer de Incompste vanden Prince Cardinael alle welcke rygels ende sweepe oft steeckbanden selen moeten innegewerckt woirden verborgen datse met

siraet ofte becleetselen bedeckt sullen woirden als oock de stenge die door de pillaren selen gaen om de schrooyersels aen vast te maken soo achter de koepeel als ter syde dat tselve can blyven staen tegen alle winden.

[5] Noch soo is den aennemer gehouden desen wercke te becleeden soo met syn pedestaelen ende ronde pillaren van voer ende achter met platte pillasters ende syn vuytspringende lyste arketrave fries ende cornisse cappitteelen ende basementen alles te maken op een goet fatsoen volgens d'ordere Dorica.

[6] Item noch is den aennemer gehouden te leveren ende te maken alle de schrooyersels soo onder tusschen de pillaren als boven de pillaren ende ten middenwegen boven de groote schilderye dry achter malcanderen eenen halven voet vanden anderen alles volgens de teekeninge ofte patroon hiermede gaende ende getoont alle welcke schrooyerselen sullen moeten gemaect worden van goet schoon droogh solderbert ofte delen aen den anderen gelympt wel vast geclampt ende alle de becleetselen ende schrooyercelen selen blyven ten behoefte vande Heeren soo dat den aennemer maer tot hemwaert sal behouden het gerempt.

[7] Hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden te leveren allen de materialen noodich tot desen wercke soo houdt nagelen als arbeytsloon niet vuytgesteken oft gereserveert ende oft in dese conditie iet vergeten waere tot opbouwinge van desen wercke sal den aennemer gehouden syn te doen totter somme van vyftich guldens ter taxatie van wercklieden hen dies verstaende ende soo verre daer meer gedaen woirt sal appaert betaelt woirden.

[8] Dit werck moet voldaan syn den sesden January toecommende oft by faulte van dyen sal hem affgecort woirden van synen bedingden loon voer elcken daege die hy naerwercken sal de somme van vyffentwintich guldens ofte soo men siet datter geen debvoir in het werck en woirt gedaen sal ten liefte vande Heeren staen tselffve te doen opmaken ten laste ende coste van den aennemer.

[9] Den aennemer is gehouden borge te stellen soo voor het volmaken vanden selfven wercke als vande penningen die hy ontfangen sal.

[10] De betalinge sal geschieden in drye payementen een deel op de handt het tweede deel binnen drye weken daernaer ende het resterende deerdendeel dry weken naer het volmaken vanden wercke.

[11] Die dit werck minst instelt die windt voer syn cloeckheyte de somme van vyfthien guldens ende daernaer salt opgeroepen woirden die het myndt sal werckman blyven.

[12] Dit werck is ingestelt voer 705 guldens by Artus Engelen ende is hem als mynder gebleven opden 7 December 1634.

[13] [De begrootinge vant voors[eide] werck is veraccordeert op IX February voor 1000 guldens tsaemen.]⁶

Summary

Terras and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the carpentering and making of a stage which is to be erected on the Melmarkt, entirely in the following manner, to wit:

[1] The stage is to be 50 feet high in all, 40 feet wide, and 7 1/2 feet deep, measuring from the outside of the pedestals.

[2] Eight posts are to be set up, four of 56 feet and four of 40 feet, all sunk 6 feet in the ground.

[3] The contractor is to build two platforms, one at the height of the pedestals, running the whole length of the work, and one above, over the columns on either side of the large picture, the underside to be panelled and planed smooth so as to be suitable for painting.

[4] All the posts are to be firmly braced so that the work can stand for six weeks after the Entry. All the cross-beams and diagonal struts are to be hidden within the framework so that they may be covered by the decorations or facings, likewise the posts which are to pass through the [foremost] columns in order to secure the cut-outs, and those behind the dome as well as those at the sides.

[5] The contractor is to face the work with pedestals, round columns (both those in front and those behind), and flat pilasters; projecting mouldings, architrave, frieze, and cornice; and capitals and bases, all to be made in good fashion in the Doric order.

[6] The contractor must furnish all the cut-outs, namely those below, between the columns, those above the columns, and those in the middle over the large painting, the three cut-outs being placed one behind the other, half a foot apart, as shown in the accompanying drawing. All the facings and cut-outs are to remain the property of the City; but the contractor shall keep the framework for himself.

⁶ Appears only in the version by the "legible copyist".

[8] The work is to be completed by 6 January 1635...

[12] The lowest tender was made by Artus Engelen, for 705 guilders, and his offer was accepted on 7 December 1634.

[13] On 9 February 1635 it was agreed that the aforesaid work should be estimated at 1000 guilders altogether.

The Stage of Mercury

There are four copies of the specifications in the City Archives. In one of these, however, the Stage of Mercury and the Portico of the Emperors are unaccountably joined together in a single document (published by *Génard, Intrede*, VI, pp. 416-419).

Although the details of construction are scanty, it is evident that the stage described in the text is the original project, illustrated by Rubens in the oil sketch in the Hermitage (Fig. 93). A further bay was subsequently added at each end, thereby augmenting its width from fifty to about seventy feet (cf. Fig. 92).

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadswegen besteden sal
het maecken ofte het timmeren van een Toneel ofte platte Arcke
dewelcke staen sal bij den Oever ontrent den Water molen inder
manieren hiernaer volgende.

[1] Ten iersten sal dit Teneel [*sic*] oft platte Arcke moeten hooch wesen boven den gront ontrent veertich voeten breed vyftich voeten alles versien met syn stylen overent, banden, rygels van achter om alle de sieraten ende wercken aen vast te maken dat allen de selfve wel selen connen gestaen tegen alle winden volgens de teekeninge hiermede gaende die gestelt sal worden op Sint Jans brugge.

[2] Item dit toneel sal diep wesen ontrent vier voeten onder op de hoochde vande onderste pedestalen te maken een doorgaende solderingh diep vier voeten voer wat nus voer het gesicht ende van boven de dry schilderyen van gelycke diepte te lomberseren ontrent vier voeten alles met droogh bert ofte delen inden anderen gegroeft ende van onder geschaeft alles naer den heysch vant werck.

[3] Item alle dese roestick salmen becleeden met syn pedestalen vuytspringende pilasters vuytspringende kokers ontrent twelf duym Arcke trave cornisse

met syn omloopende banden tegen de schilderye met allen de schorresels soo onder als boven alles conforme de teeckeninge hiermede gaende.

[4] Item hiertoe is den aennemer gehouden te leveren allen de materialen soe houdt werck, yserwerck, laden, lossen niet vuytgesteken ofte gereserveert alles dat soude mogen dienen tot het opmaecken van desen wercke. Ende ofte in dese conditie iet vergeten waere dat maer en soude bedragen ter somme van vyfftych guldens en sal den aennemer daer voeren niet mogen pretenderen, dan oft de veranderinge meerder waere sal het selfve naer advenant betaelt worden, alles tot visitatie tot meesters hun dies verstaende.

[5] Item de betalinge sal geschieden in drye payementen, een derde contant, een derde te halve wercke ende een derde drye weken naer dat het voerscreven werck sal gedaen wesen.

[6] Item die dit werck minst inne stelt sal hebben de somme van vyffthien guldens ende men salt daernaer oproepen. Die het mynt sal werckman blyven.

[7] Item den aennemer sal gehouden syn borge te stellen soo voer het voldoen van desen voerscrevene wercke als voer het ontfangen vande payementen, alles tot contentemente van de heeren.

[8] Item sal den aennemer weder naer hem trecken allen de stylen ende rygels behalven allen dat geschildert is daer het gerempt mede becleedt is.

[9] Item dit werck sal moeten voldaan wesen tegens derthien dach toecomende op pene van den aennemer te corten voer elcken dach vyffentwintich guldens.

[10] Ende oft men bevondt datter van wegen den aennemer geen behoorlyck debvoir en werde gedaen, om opden gestelden dach voldaan te hebben, soo sal het staen ter belieften vande heeren tselfve te doen opmaecken ten cost ende laste des aennemers met alsoe veel wercklieden als hun goet sal duncken.

[11] Dit werck is gemynt by Cornelis van Mol voer 680 guldens. Is minst inne gestelt by Jaques Mont,⁷ den 5 december 1634.

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the making or carpentering of a stage or flat arch which is to stand on the Oever near the Water Mill, in the following manner:

⁷ In two versions the name appears as Mant.

[1] This stage is to be about 40 feet high and 50 feet wide and is to be furnished with upright posts, braces and cross-beams at the back, to which all the decorations and works are to be securely fastened, as shown in the accompanying drawing.

[2] The stage shall be about 4 feet deep at the bottom. At the height of the lowest pedestals there is to be a continuous platform 4 feet deep, tilted slightly in front for visual effect. The space above the three paintings is to be panelled to the same depth of about 4 feet.

[3] All the rustication is to be faced with its pedestals, projecting pilasters, projecting cylinders [columns?] of about 12 inches, architrave, cornice, the continuous strips against the painting, and all the cut-outs both at the bottom and at the top, all conforming to the accompanying drawing.

[8] The contractor shall take back all the posts and cross-beams, but not the painted covering of the framework.

[9] The work is to be completed within thirteen days...

[11] Cornelis van Mol offered to construct this work for 680 guildens. The lowest opening tender was made by Jaques Mont [or Mant] on 5 December 1634.

The Triumphal Arch at St. Michael's Abbey

There is only one copy of the specifications, which were first published by *Génard, Intrede*, vi, pp. 455-457.

It is obvious that the authorities intended to economize in the construction of this arch, which did not figure in the original plans for the Entry. The piece was in reality little more than a screen (or "flat arch", as it is termed in the text), the illusion of solidity being supplied by the columnar units which broke out on either side of the archway (Fig. 105). What is more, the four pairs of columns that stood at these points were not made to order, but were "old" columns salvaged from a previous Entry and pressed into service again (see articles [2] and [4]).

Conditie ende besteck waerop men van stadswegen besteden sal
het tummeren ende het maecken van een platte arcke triumphale
dewelcke gestelt sal worden by St. Michgils clooster daert
geordineert sal worden inder manieren hiernaer volgende te
weten.

[1] Eerst sal den Aennemer gehouden wesen dese voors[eide] arcke breedt te maecten vierendertich voeten, ende hooge vijffveertich voeten, te meten van den ondercant tot den oppercant vant pidestael ende diep vanden eenen buytencant tot den anderen vande pidestaelen acht voeten, tot dien eynde sal den aennemer gehouden wesen te stellen acht dorgaende stenge oft eycken hout, om hetselve werck aen vast te maecten, dat het can blijven staen tegen alle winden.

[2] Item sal noch ten laste vanden aennemer [staen] het voorschreven grempt te becleeden met twee gevels, soo aen d'een als d'ander sijde volgens de teekeninge hiermede gaende met syne pidestaelen, afstaende pillaren, cappiteelen, ende basementen, wtspringende lijsten, aerkitrave friece cornisse frontispiecen ende de lijsten vande schilderijen, ende sal moeten gemaectt worden van goet fatsoen, volgens de orde Composita, dan sal by de Heeren geleverd worden acht oude pillaren, met acht cappiteelen, ende anders niet.

[3] Item sal van gelycken ten lasten vanden Aennemer staen te leveren alle de Schroyercelen, soo aen d'een als aen d'ander syde, volgens de teekeninge hiermede gaende, ende getoint ende het geheel hout werck, soo van binnen als van buijten gemaectt worden van drooge delen, oft solderbert schoon geschaeft ende dicht aenden anderen gevoecht, alles loffelyck naer den heusch vanden wercken, ende sal hetselfde moeten houden staen ses weken naer de Incompste vanden Prince.

[4] Hiertoe is den Aennemer gehouden te leveren, allen de materialen noodich tot opbouwinge van desen wercke soo nagelen, houtwerck, erbeytsloon, niet vuytsteken ofte gereserveert, dan sal byden Heeren geleverd worden de acht pillaren, ende acht cappiteelen, gelyckt voors[eid] is.

[5] Dit werck moet volmaectt syn binnen den tyt van vijffthien dagen, oft andersins by faute van dien, sal hem afgecort worden van synen bedongden loon voor elcken daege die hy naerwercken sal de somme van vijffentwintich guldens ofte soo men siet datter geen devoir in het werck en wort gedaen, sal ten belijfte vande Heeren staen tselve te doen maecten, ten lasten vanden Aennemer, ende ofte in dese conditie ijet vergeten waere noodich tot desen wercke sal den Aennemer moeten doen tot der somme van vijffthich guldens ende oft de veranderinge groete waere sal hem betaelt worden, ter estimatie van wercklien hem [sic] dies verstaende, ende den Aennemer sal tot hemwaerts nemen, allen het grempt, ende sal blyven tot proffyt vande Heeren, allen het geschildert. Die dit werck minst instelt die sal hebben, voor syn

cloeckheit de somme van vijfthien guldens, ende daernaer salt opgeroepen worden, die maent sal werckman blyven.

[6] De betaelinghe sal geschieden in dry paeumenten, een deel gereedt het tweeden deel binnen drij weken daernaer, ende het resterende derden deel drij weken naer het volmaecken vant werck.

[7] Aend [adl?] 5 Januarij ist voors[eide] werck minst ingestelt by Henrick Huysmans ende [is hem gebleven voor 870 gs.]^o

Summary

Terms and conditions under which the City will award a contract for the carpentering and making of a flat triumphal arch which is to be set up at St. Michael's Abbey, where it shall be assembled in the following manner, to wit:

[1] The contractor shall make the arch 34 feet wide, 45 feet high and 8 feet deep, measuring from the outer faces of the pedestals [on either side of the arch]; eight posts shall be set up to serve as a secure framework for the structure, so that it can withstand all winds.

[2] The contractor shall cover the framework with two façades, front and back, as shown on the accompanying drawing, with the pedestals, free-standing pillars, capitals and bases, projecting mouldings, architrave, frieze, cornice, pediments, and the frames of the paintings, all to be made in the Composite order. But the eight old columns with the eight capitals shall be delivered by the City.

[3] The contractor shall deliver all the cut-outs for both sides, as shown on the accompanying drawing... The woodwork shall be made of dry timber, both inside and out, and shall be capable of standing for six weeks after the Entry of the Prince.

[4] The contractor shall supply all necessary materials, but the eight columns and eight capitals are to be delivered by the City, as prescribed above.

[5] The work must be completed within the space of fifteen days...

[7] On 5 January the lowest tender for the aforesaid work was made by Henrick Huysmans, and the contract was awarded to him for 870 guilders.

^o Added in another hand.

APPENDIX II

The Inscriptions of the Stages and Triumphal Arches

When the time came to apply the Latin inscriptions to the various works, Gevartius and his assistants wrote them out in capitals on sheets of paper for the guidance of the letterers, Elias de Hooghe and Guiliam Wortelmans.¹ More than a hundred of these "pattern sheets" still remain in the Stadsarchief (P.k. 1634), where they have lain seemingly unnoticed until now (cf. Figs. 4, 55 and 57). They include epigraphs for all the spectacles commissioned by the city, as well as those for the Keizerspoort, and for the Giant, the Elephant and the other festive cars from the Ommegang which were used in the Entry. The largest groups of papers are those relating to the triumphal arches of Philip and Ferdinand and the Portico of the Emperors, which number about twenty-five sheets each.

The instructions scribbled on some of these sheets are of particular interest, because they were meant to help the letterer to find the proper place for the inscription—not always an easy task on the larger works. In the case of the Philip Arch, for example, which stood in the Huidevettersstraat between a confectioner's shop on one side and an apothecary's on the other, we find a number of sheets with these directions: *naer de sijde van den Bancquet backer* and *naer de sijde van den Apteker*. Another sheet has the explanatory note, *naer de sijde van de Meere in den grooten Arcus*, indicating that the inscription was to be applied on the rear face of the arch, which looked on to the Meir. For the Stage of Isabella, where certain inscriptions were to be written directly on the central painting, one sheet specifies that the words IN VTRVMQVE PARATVS are to be placed *Onder den Prinse Cardinael in de Schilderije* (cf. Fig. 64).

The allegorical figures on the arches and stages are often identified by their gestures or attributes: on the Temple of Janus, *Paupertas* is described as *de Figure met de handt onder de kinne*, and *Luctus* as *de Figure met de banden tsamen* (cf. Fig. 82); on the Arch of Ferdinand, *Pietas* with her chalice is *de Figure met den Kelck* (cf. Fig. 67), and *Liberalitas Regis*, who holds an inverted horn of plenty, is *de figure gelt stortende wt Cornucopie* (cf. Fig. 73).

After completing each inscription, the letterer added up the number of letters and entered the total at the bottom of the sheet (Fig. 4); sometimes

¹ *Génard, Intrede*, VII, p. 43; XIII, p. 227.

he also indicated the price. For writing the names of the Habsburg emperors in gold on the Portico in the Meir the scribe charged 2 stivers per letter: *Dese twee blaeijers van de name van de keyzers syn effen 349 letteren van gout tot 2 stuy elcke letter.*

Gevartius was inordinately proud of his inscriptions and had them printed as soon as possible by Moretus. Even before the Entry, however, clerks were put to work copying out the entire set of inscriptions *in capitale latynsche letteren*. Payments are recorded for three such manuscript books: one was presented to the Cardinal-Infante, another to the Marquis of Aytona, and a third was delivered to Burgomaester Tucher in order that he might explain the inscriptions to His Highness while accompanying him during the Entry.²

² *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 246–248.

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

This index lists all the extant works made by Rubens and his assistants for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*. Copies after the paintings and sketches have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSPRENTENKABINET

- Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
 - The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa, Cat. 3, 49

ANTWERP, KONINKLIJK MUSEUM VOOR

SCHONE KUNSTEN

- Rubens, oil sketches:
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 - The Rear Face of the Arch of the Mint, Cat. 51a, 29, 195, 201-203, 219, fig. 102
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- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 - The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa, Cat. 3, 49

ANTWERP, ALBERT J. LILAR

- School of Rubens, cut-out:
 - Jupiter and Juno, Cat. 5, 69, 71, 76, fig. 19

ANTWERP, STEDELIJK PRENTENKABINET

- Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
 - The Triumph of Prince Ferdinand, Cat. 41, 159

ANTWERP, RUBENSHUIS

- G. Seghers, fragment of painting:
 - Philip IV appoints Prince Ferdinand Governor of the Netherlands, Cat. 35, 65, 133, 134, 136-141, 165, 224n, fig. 65
- Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
 - The Front Face of the Arch of Philip, Cat. 5a, 72, 73, 78, 80, 82, 84-86, 90, 91, 146, 197, fig. 18
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 - The Front Face of the Arch of Ferdinand, Cat. 36a, 146, 147, 157, fig. 68

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- The Portrait of King Philip III of Spain, Cat. 11, 82, 85n, 225
- The Statue of the Emperor Frederick III, Cat. 24, 116
- The Statue of the Emperor Albert II, Cat. 25, 117
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- The Statue of the Emperor Maximilian II, Cat. 30, 125
- The Statue of the Emperor Rudolph II, Cat. 31, 126
- The Statue of the Emperor Matthias I, Cat. 32, 128
- The Statue of the Emperor Ferdinand II, Cat. 33, 129

BAYONNE, MUSÉE BONNAT

- Rubens, oil sketch:
 - Bellerophon Slaying the Chimera, Cat. 55a, 213-216, fig. 111

BERGAMO, ACCADEMIA CARRARA

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 - The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa, Cat. 3, 49

BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

- Rubens, drawing:
 - Two Studies of a River God, Cat. 50b, 198, 199, fig. 103

BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX DES BEAUX-ARTS DE BELGIQUE

- C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, paintings:
 - The Portrait of the Archduke Albert of Austria, Cat. 17, 81, 94-96, 98, 224, fig. 35
 - The Portrait of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Cat. 18, 81, 95-98, 224, fig. 36

COLLECTIONS

- C. de Vos, painting:
 The Portrait of the Archduke Ernest of Austria, Cat. 19, 97, 98, fig. 34
 CAMBRIDGE, MASS., FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
- Rubens, oil sketch:
 The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa, Cat. 3a, 30, 55, 56, 63, 64, 215, figs. 8, 9
 DRESDEN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE
- Rubens and assistants, painting:
 The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa, Cat. 3, 38, 41, 49-57, 74, 144, 224n, fig. 7
 EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND
- Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
 Philip IV appoints Prince Ferdinand Governor of the Netherlands, Cat. 35, 138
 FLORENCE, UFFIZI
- J. van den Hoecke, retouched by J. Jordaeus, painting:
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- Rubens, oil sketches:
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 The Foresight of the King, Cat. 43, 153, 158, 161, 162, fig. 76
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- J. van den Hoecke, retouched by J. Jordaeus, painting:
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- C. de Vos, fragment of painting:
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 MOSCOW, PUSHKIN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
- Rubens, oil sketch:
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 NEW YORK, DR. SONJA BINKHORST-KRAMARSKY
- Rubens, oil sketch:
 The Meeting of the two Ferdinands at Nördlingen, Cat. 4a, 30, 62-64, fig. 14
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- T. van Thulden, drawing after Rubens:
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Rubens, drawing:

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RALEIGH, N.C., NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, paintings:

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The Portrait of King Philip IV of Spain, Cat. 12, 72, 83, 85, 86, 98, 140, 152, fig. 29

STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

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J. van den Hoecke, retouched by J. Jordaens (?), painting:

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INDEX II: SUBJECTS

This index lists all the subjects executed for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* and the different temporary constructions. Under each title are gathered all the known representations; these include preparatory drawings, oil sketches, paintings and sculptures by Rubens and his collaborators and copies made by other artists after such works.

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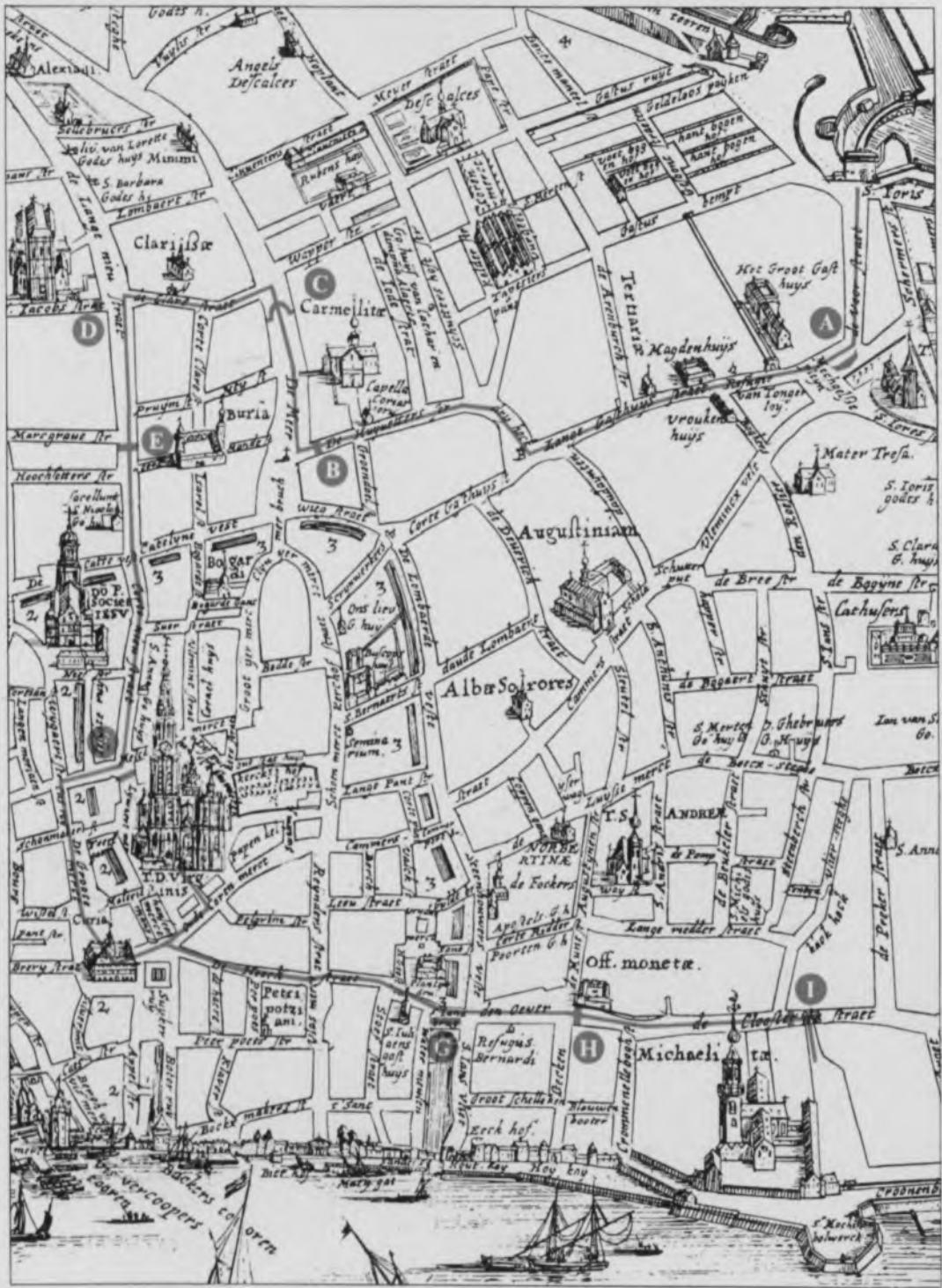
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1. Route of the Procession, traced on a detail of P. Verbiest's Map of Antwerp, ca. 1650.

A. Stage of Welcome	D. Stage of Isabella	G. Stage of Mercury
B. Arch of Philip	E. Arch of Ferdinand	H. Arch of the Mint
C. Portico of the Emperors	F. Temple of Janus	I. Arch at St. Michael's



2. T. van Thulden, *The Stage of Welcome*, etching (No. 1)



3. Rubens, *The Stage of Welcome*, oil sketch (No. 1a). Leningrad, Hermitage



4. Pattern Sheet with Inscriptions for *The Stage of Welcome*
 Antwerp, Stadsarchief



5. M. van der Goes after Rubens, Title-page of Aedo y Gallart, *El memorable ... Viaje ...*
 (Antwerp, 1635), engraving



6. T. van Thulden, *The Advent of the Prince*, etching (No. 2)



7. Rubens and assistants, *The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa* (No. 3).
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



8. Rubens, *The Voyage of the Prince from Barcelona to Genoa*, oil sketch (No. 3a). Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum



9. Detail of Fig. 8



10. M. Raimondi after Raphael, *Neptune stilling the Storm*, engraving (detail)



11. C. Schut, *Prince Ferdinand greeted by the Archbishop of Cologne*.
Ghent, Museum van de Bijloke



12. G. Bonasone after P. del Vaga, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, engraving



13. Rubens and assistants, *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands at Nördlingen* (No. 4).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



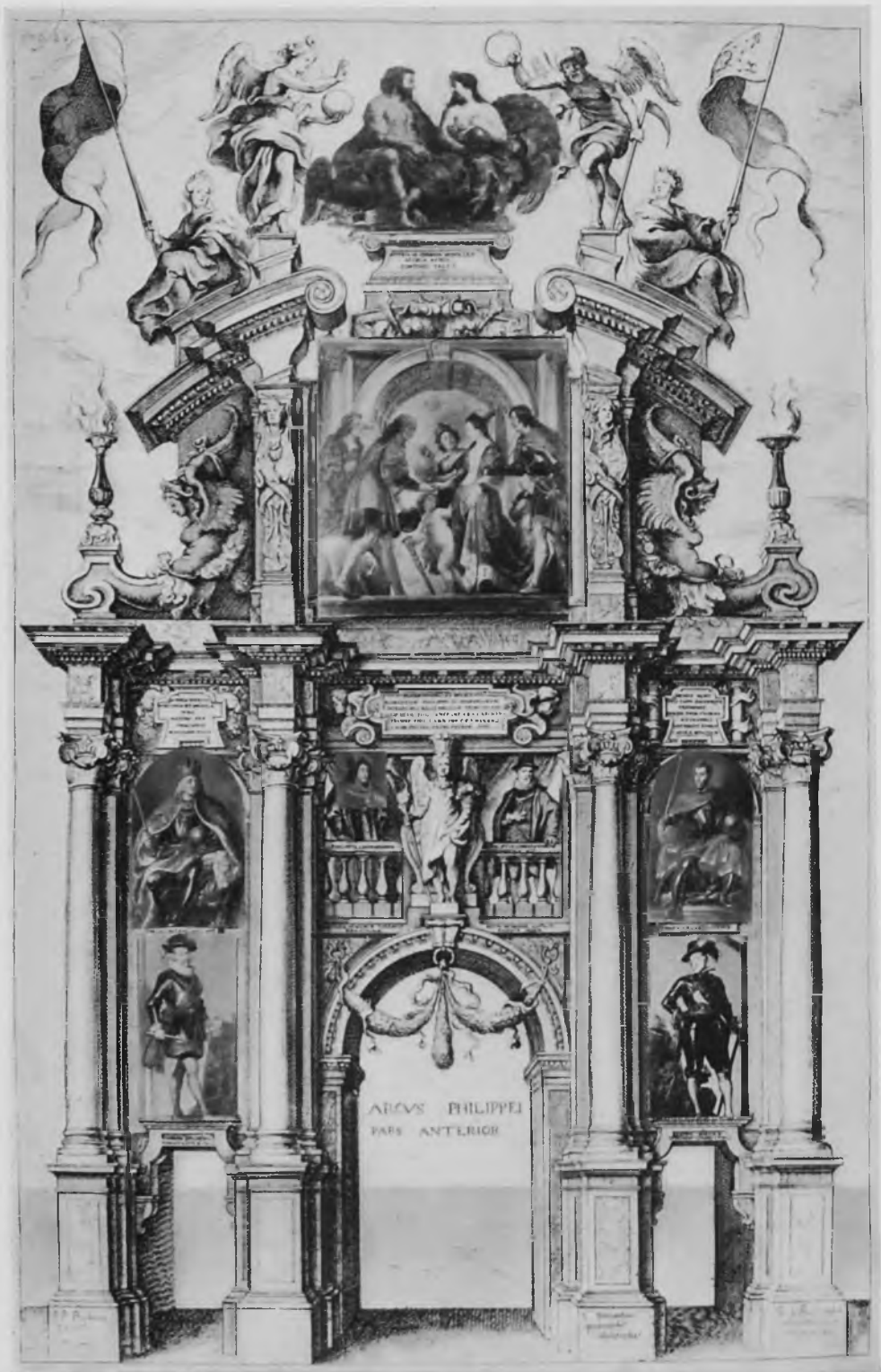
14. Rubens, *The Meeting of the Two Ferdinands at Nördlingen*, oil sketch (No. 4a).
New York, Coll. Dr. Sonja Binkhorst-Kramarsky



15. After L. Nonnius, *The Front Face of the Arch of the Portuguese*, etching



16. T. van Thulden, *The Front Face of the Arch of Philip*, etching (No. 5)



17. T. van Thulden's etching of *The Front Face of the Arch of Philip*
with photographs of paintings superimposed



18. After Rubens, *The Front Face of the Arch of Philip* (No. 5a). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



19. School of Rubens, *Jupiter and Juno*, cut-out (No. 5). Antwerp, Coll. A. J. Lilar



20. F. Wouters, *Jupiter and Juno* (No. 5). Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



21. T. van Thulden, *The Marriage of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy*, etching (No. 6)



22. J. Jordaens (?), *The Marriage of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy* (No. 6). Whereabouts unknown.



23. C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, *Maximilian I* (No. 7).

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



24. C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, *Charles V* (No. 8).

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



25. C. de Vos, *Philip I of Spain* (fragment; No. 9).

Mexico, Coll. Francisco Gonzales de la Fuente



26. D. V. Coornhert after M. van Heemskerck, *The Submission of all the Princes to Charles V*, engraving



27. L. Vorsterman after Rubens, *Charles V with drawn Sword*, engraving



28. C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, *Philip III of Spain* (No. 11).
Raleigh, N.C., North Carolina Museum of Art



29. C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, *Philip IV of Spain* (No. 12).
Raleigh, N.C., North Carolina Museum of Art



30. T. van Thulden, *The Rear Face of the Arch of Philip*, etching (No. 13)



31. After Rubens, *The Rear Face of the Arch of Philip* (No. 13a). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



32. T. van Thulden, *The Marriage of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile*, etching (No. 14)



33. Velázquez, *Equestrian Portrait of Philip III* (detail). Madrid, Prado



34. C. de Vos, *Archduke Ernest of Austria* (No. 19). Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts



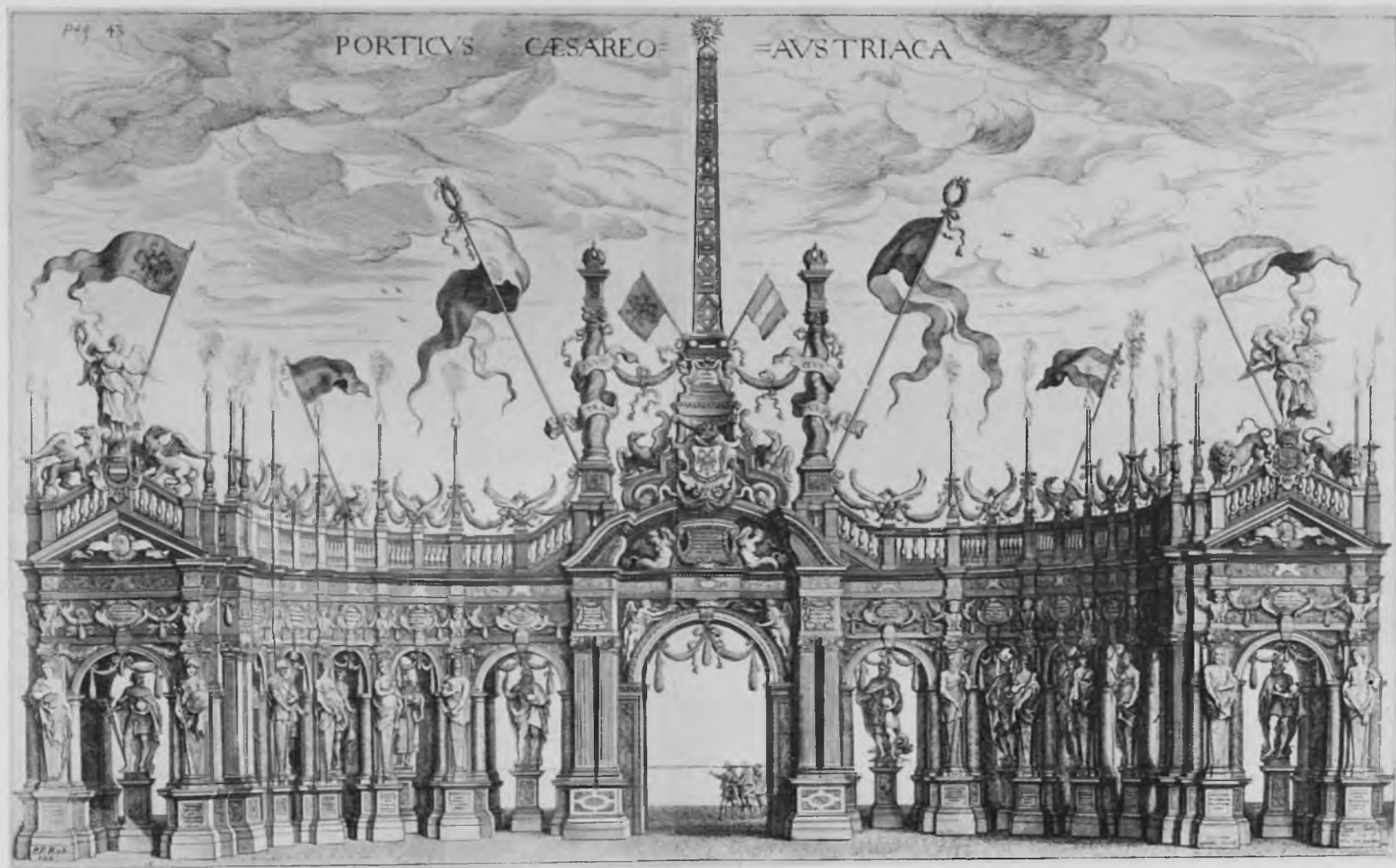
35. C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, *Archduke Albert of Austria* (No. 17).

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts

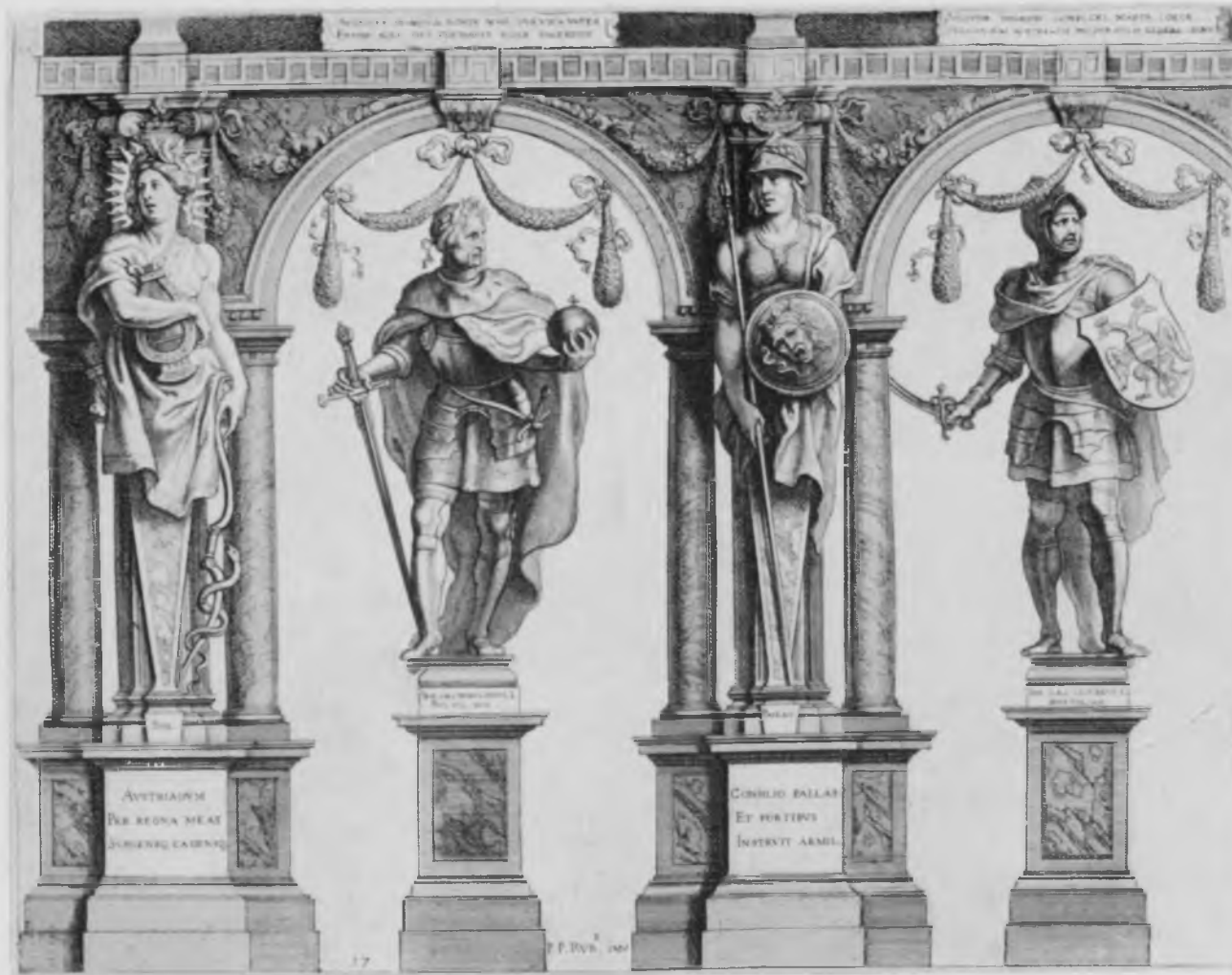


36. C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens, *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia* (No. 18).

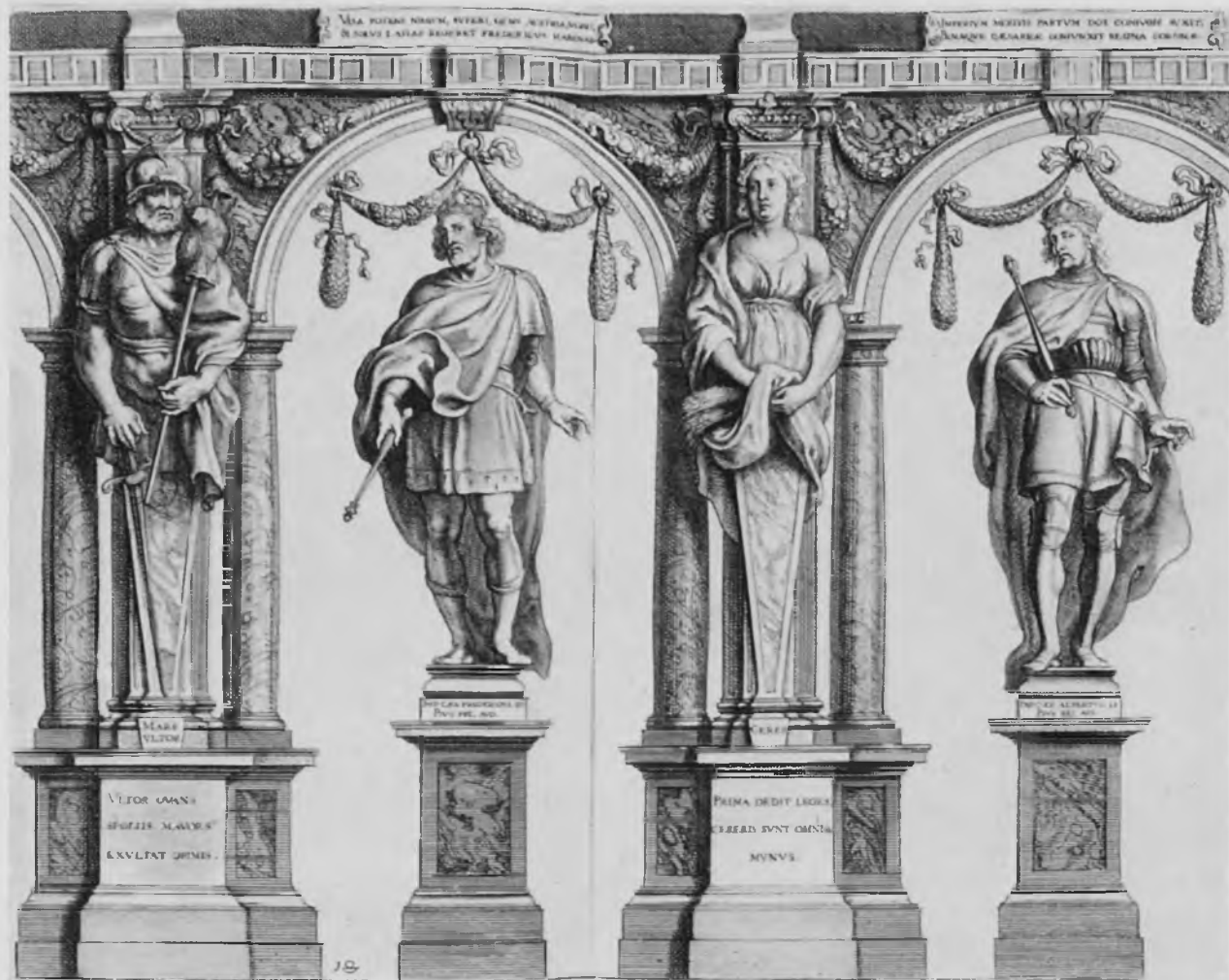
Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts



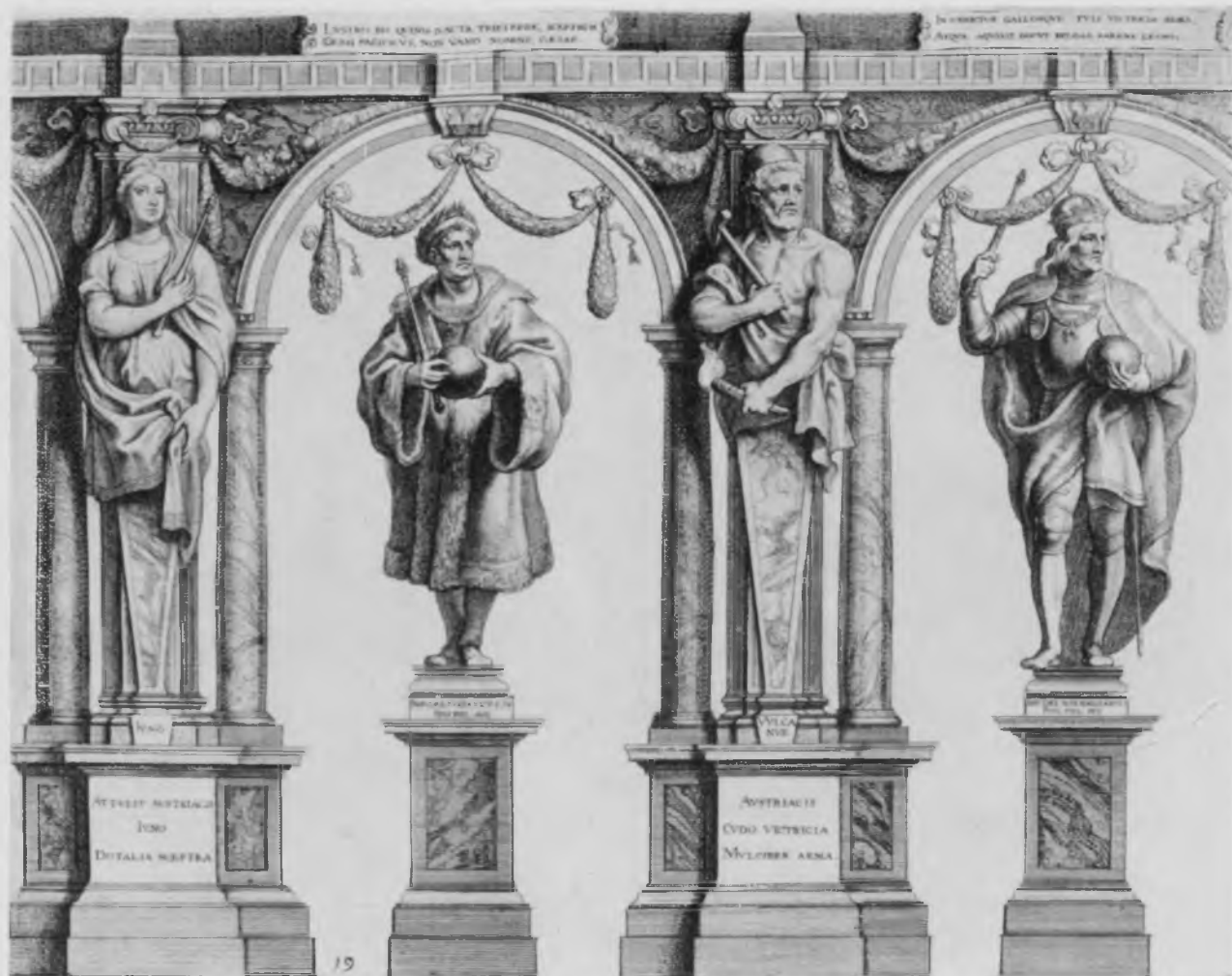
37. T. van Thulden, *The Portico of the Emperors*, etching (No. 21)



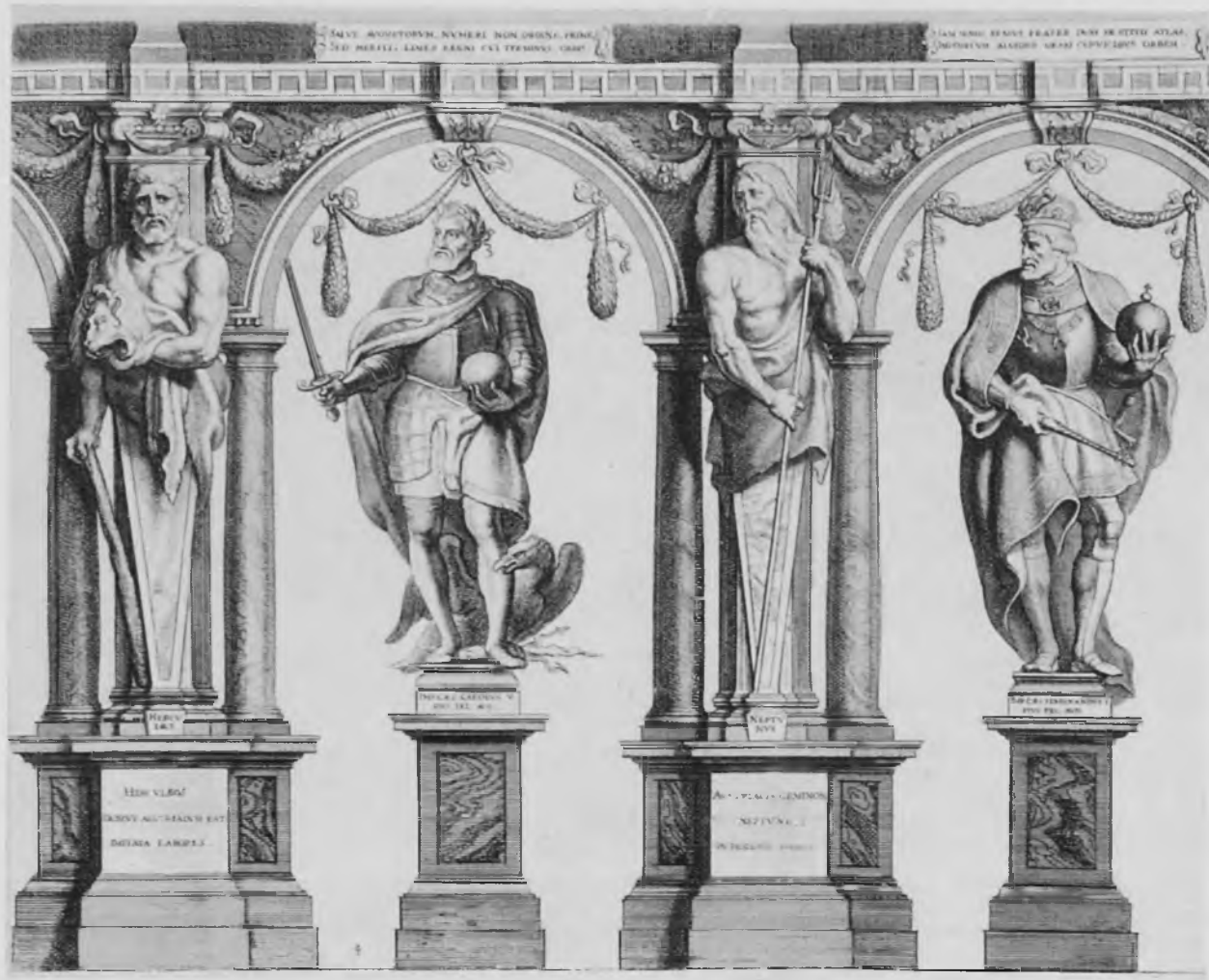
38. T. Van Thulden, *Rudolph I* (No. 22) and *Albert I* (No. 23), with *Sol* and *Pallas*, etching



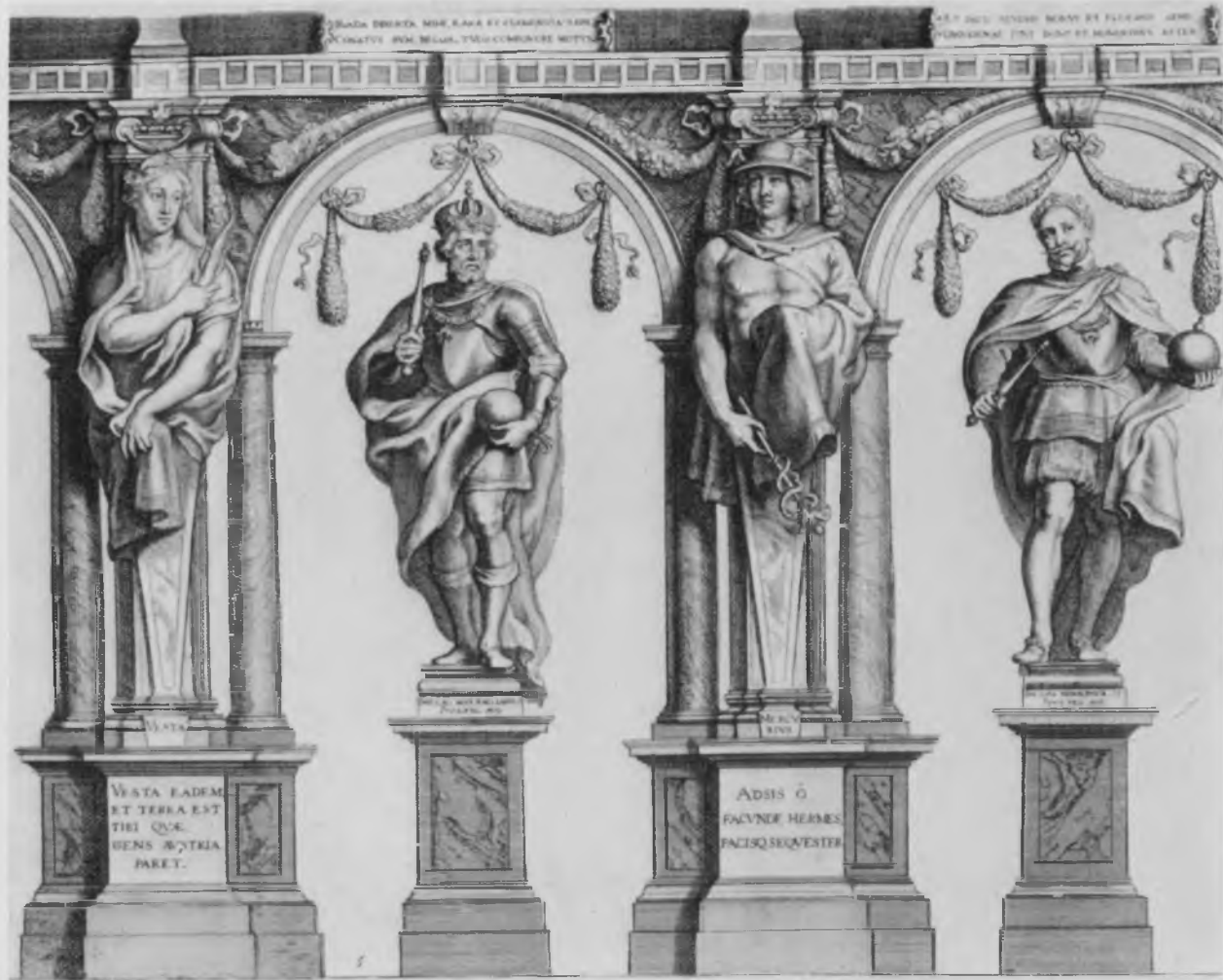
39. T. van Thulden, *Frederick III (No. 24) and Albert II (No. 25), with Mars Ultor and Ceres*, etching



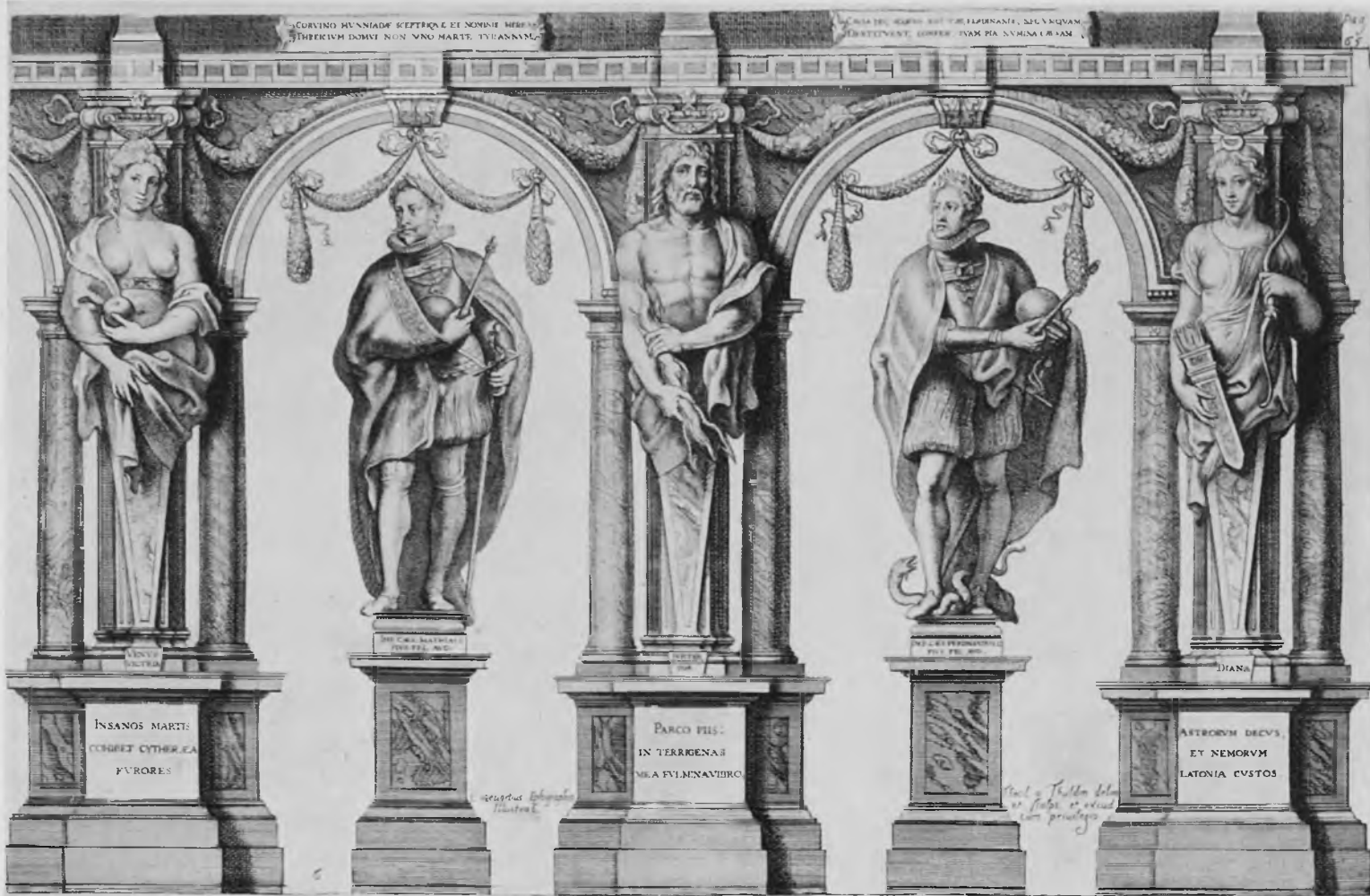
40. T. van Thulden, *Frederick IV* (No. 26) and *Maximilian I* (No. 27), with *Juno and Vulcan*, etching



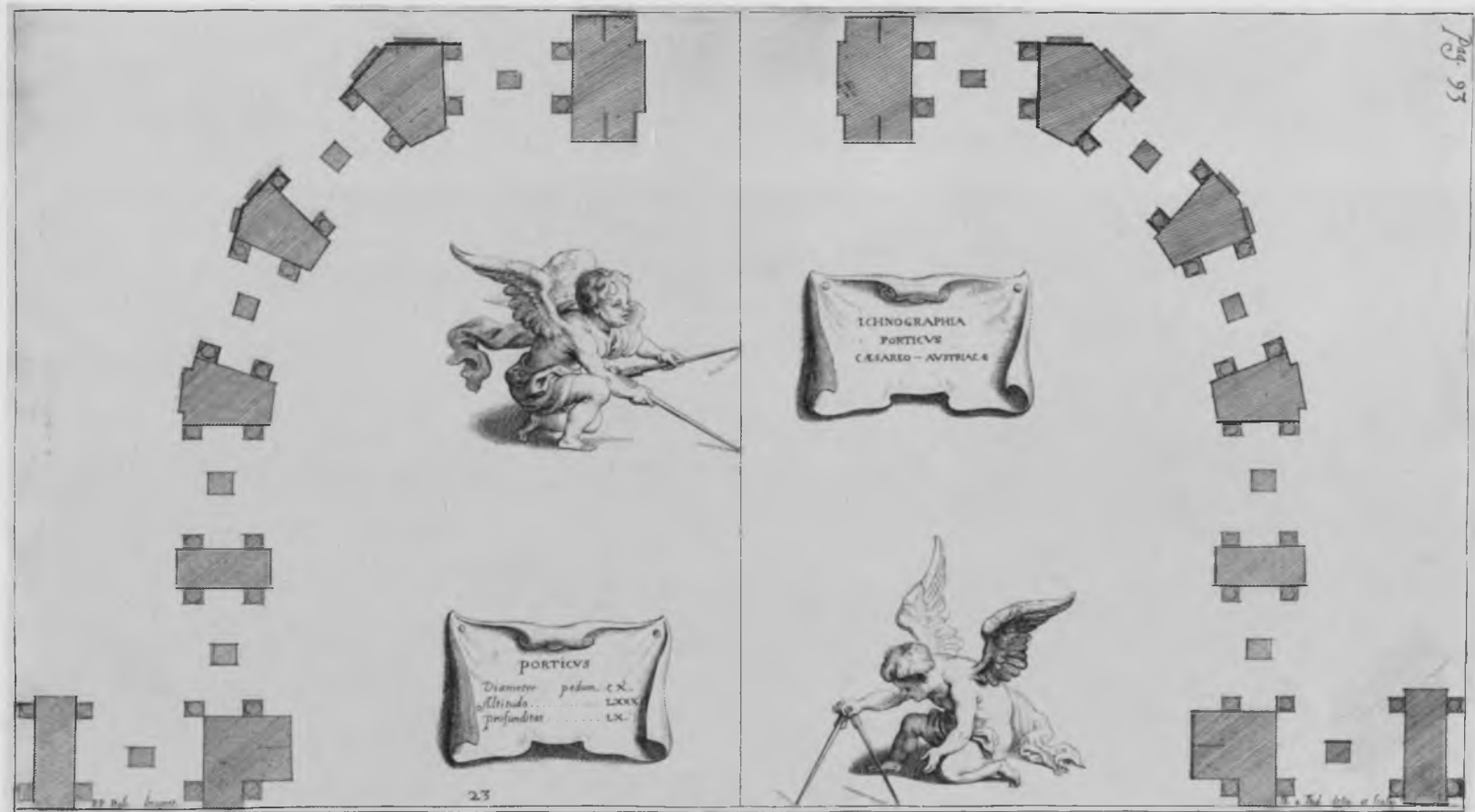
41. T. van Thulden, *Charles V* (No. 28) and *Ferdinand I* (No. 29), with *Hercules* and *Neptune*, etching



42. T. van Thulden, *Maximilian II* (No. 30) and *Rudolph II* (No. 31), with *Vesta* and *Mercury*, etching



43. T. van Thulden, *Matthias I* (No. 32) and *Ferdinand II* (No. 33), with *Venus Victrix*, *Jupiter Conservator* and *Diana*, etching



44. T. van Thulden, *Plan of the Portico of the Emperors*, etching



45. Rubens, *Rudolph I*, oil sketch (No. 22a). Leningrad, Hermitage



46. Rubens, *Albert I*, oil sketch (No. 23a). Leningrad, Hermitage



47. Rubens, *Frederick III*, oil sketch (No. 24a). Leningrad, Hermitage



48. Rubens, *Albert II*, oil sketch (No. 25a).

Formerly Aachen, Suermondt-Museum, destroyed



49. Rubens, *Maximilian I*, oil sketch (No. 27a).
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



50. Rubens, *Charles V*, oil sketch (No. 28a). Leningrad, Hermitage



51. Rubens, *Ferdinand I*, oil sketch (No. 29a).
Formerly Aachen, Suermondt-Museum, destroyed



52. Rubens, *Ferdinand II*, oil sketch (No. 33b). Leningrad, Hermitage



53. Rubens, *A standing Habsburg Emperor*, drawing (No. 33a).
Portinscale, Coll. Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell



54. Rubens, *A seated Ecclesiastic*, drawing (verso of No. 33a).
Portinscale, Coll. Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell

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SOL.

41 ~~AVT~~ AVSTRIADVM PER REGNA MEAT
SYRGENSOYE, CADENSOYE.

[PALLAS.]
CONSILIO PALLAS
43 ET FORTIBVS INSTRVIT ARMIS.

MARS VLTOR.
36 VLTOR OVANS SPOLIIS
MAVRS EXVLTAT ODIMIS.

CERES.
PRIMA DEDIT LEGES:
30 CERERIS SVNT OMNIA MVNVS.

SYNO
35 ATTVLIT AVSTRIACIS (SYNO) DOTALIA SCEPTA
P.A.

VVLCANVS
35 CAESARIBVS CVRO
VICTRICIA MVLCIBER ARMA.

NEPTVNVS

40 AVSTRIACIS GEMINOS
NEPTYNE, INTERLVIS ORBES.

VEJTA.
40 VESTA EADEM ET TERRA EST,
TIBI QVE, GENVS AVSTRIA, PARET.

MERCVRIVS.
45 ADSIS, O FACVNDV HERMES,
PACISOVE SEQVESTER.

VENVS VICTRIX
45 INSANOS, MARTIS COHIBET
CYTHERAEA FVRORES.

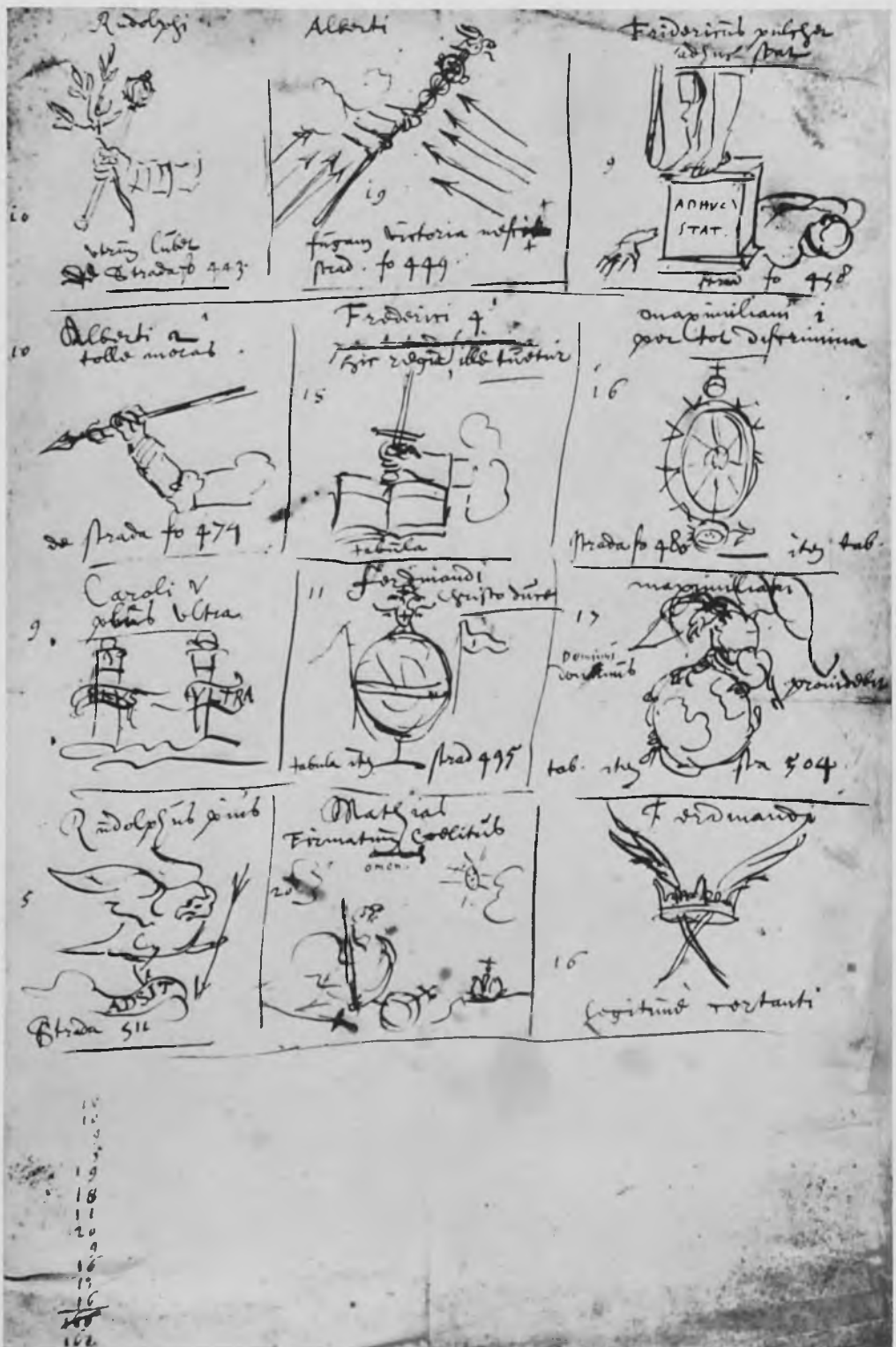
IYPPITER CVSTOS.
50 PARCO PIIS: IN TERRIGENAS
MEA, FVLMINA YIBRO

DIANA
40 A ASTRORV DELVS, ET NEMORYM
LATONIA CVSTOS.

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56. P. van der Borcht, *The Arch of the Genoese*, engraving (J. Bochius, *Historica Narratio...*, Antwerp, 1602)



57. Pattern Sheet with Sketches of the Emblems of the Twelve Emperors. Antwerp, Stadsarchief



58. T. van Thulden, *Emblems of the Twelve Emperors*, etching



59. P. Pontius after A. van Diepenbeeck, *De iure maiestatis*, engraving (detail)



60. T. van Thulden, *Rudolph I* (No. 22) and *Albert I* (No. 23) with *Pallas*.
drawing. New York, Coll. Emile Wolf

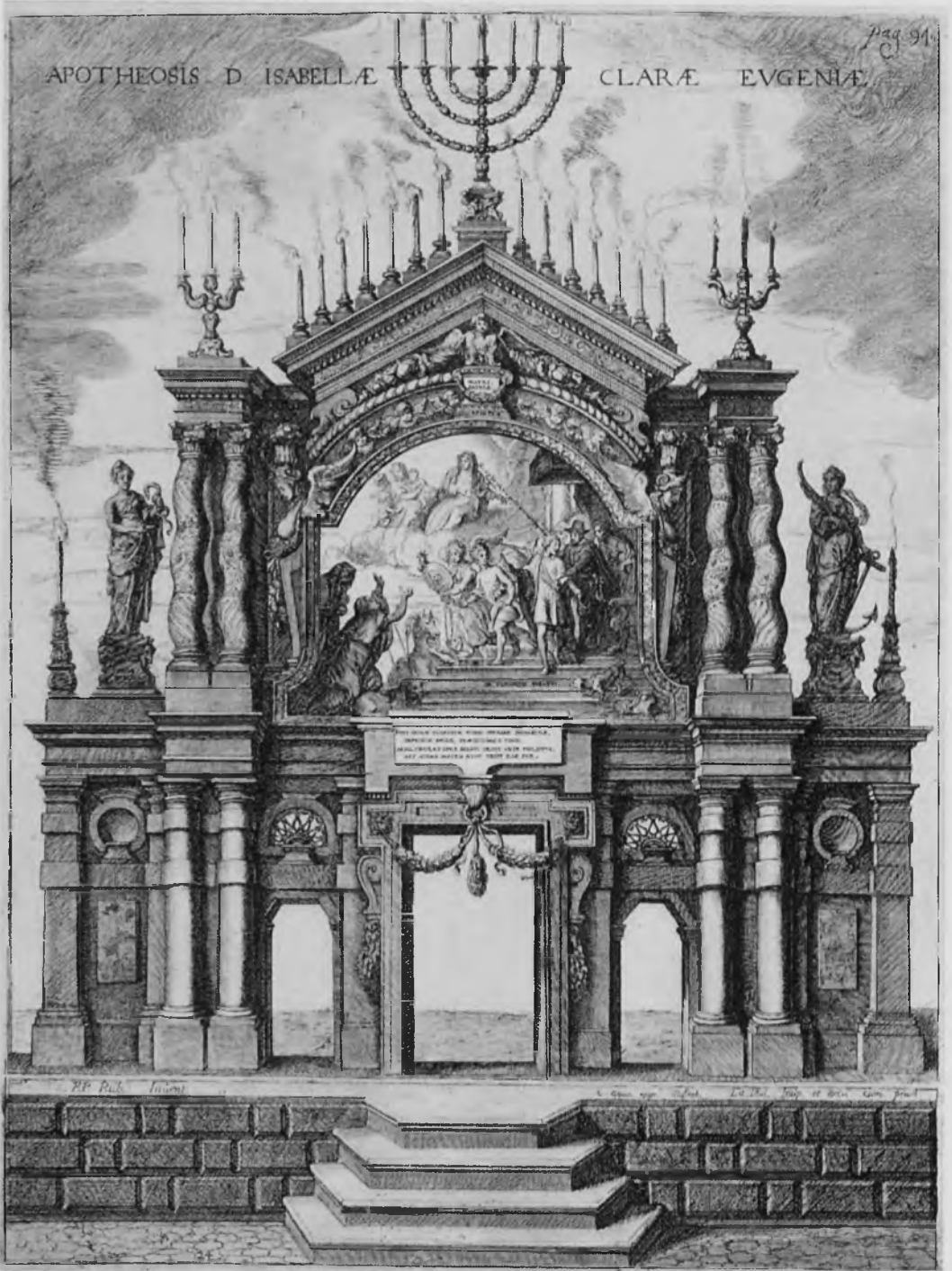


*Te stirps Austriacum dos Belgam: vota creantur
Te Procerum Augustum MAXIMILIANNE, ciet.*

61. Maximilian I, engraving (D. Custos, *Atrium heroicum*, Augsburg, 1600)



62. Ferdinand I, engraving (Schrenck von Notzing, *Augustissimorum Imperatorum verissimae imagines*)



63. T. van Thulden, *The Stage of Isabella*, etching (No. 34)



64. Rubens, *The Stage of Isabella*, oil sketch (No. 34a). Moscow, Pushkin Museum



65. G. Seghers, *Philip IV appoints Prince Ferdinand Governor of the Netherlands* (fragment; No. 35).

Antwerp, Rubenshuis



66. T. van Thulden, *Philip IV appoints Prince Ferdinand Governor of the Netherlands*, etching (No. 35)



68. After Rubens, *The Front Face of the Arch of Ferdinand* (No. 36a). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



69. J. van den Hoecke, retouched by J. Jordaens (?),
Ferdinand III of Hungary (No. 38).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



70. J. van den Hoecke, retouched by Rubens, *Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand* (No. 39).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



71. J. van den Hoecke, retouched by J. Jordaens, *The Battle of Nördlingen* (No. 37).

London, Royal Collection



72. J. van den Hoecke, retouched by J. Jordaens, *The Triumph of Prince Ferdinand* (No. 41).
Florence, Uffizi



73. T. van Thulden, *The Rear Face of the Arch of Ferdinand*, etching (No. 40)



74. Rubens, *The Rear Face of the Arch of Ferdinand*, oil sketch (No. 40a) Leningrad, Hermitage



75. J. van den Hoecke or assistant, *The Liberality of the King* (No. 42).
Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



76. J. van den Hoecke or assistant, *The Foresight of the King* (No. 43).
Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



*Venerabili filii...
 Non avaritia...
 Libere...
 In hoc...
 De...
 1629*

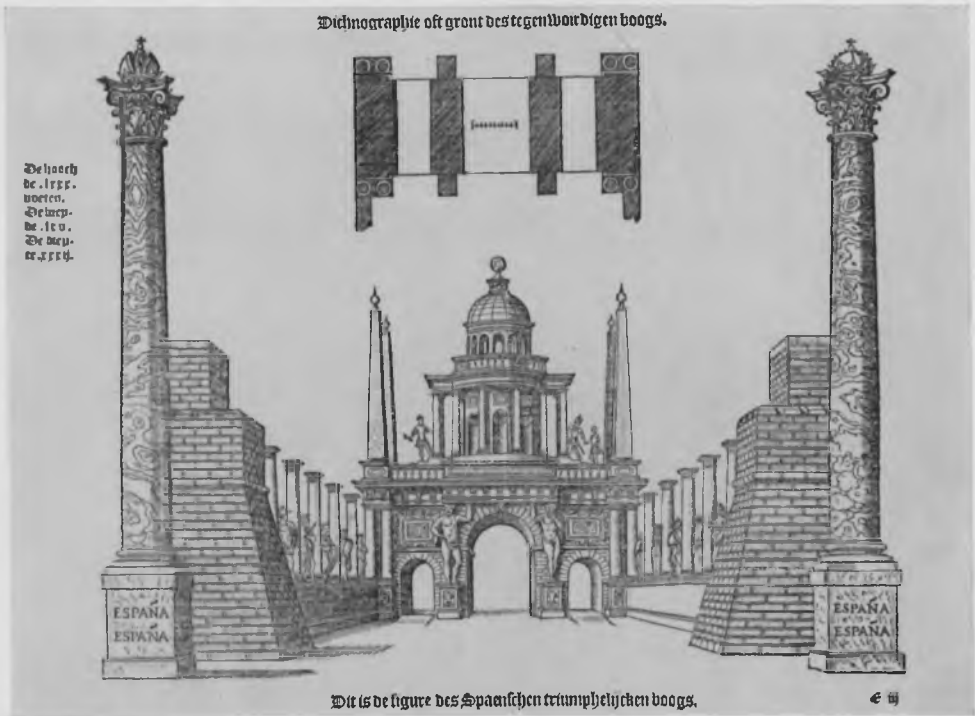
77. W. Kilian, *Ferdinand III of Hungary*, engraving (Dess...
Haus Osterreichs Herzogen...,
 Augsburg, 1629)



78. After Rubens, *The Liberty of the King* (No. 40a).
 Whereabouts unknown



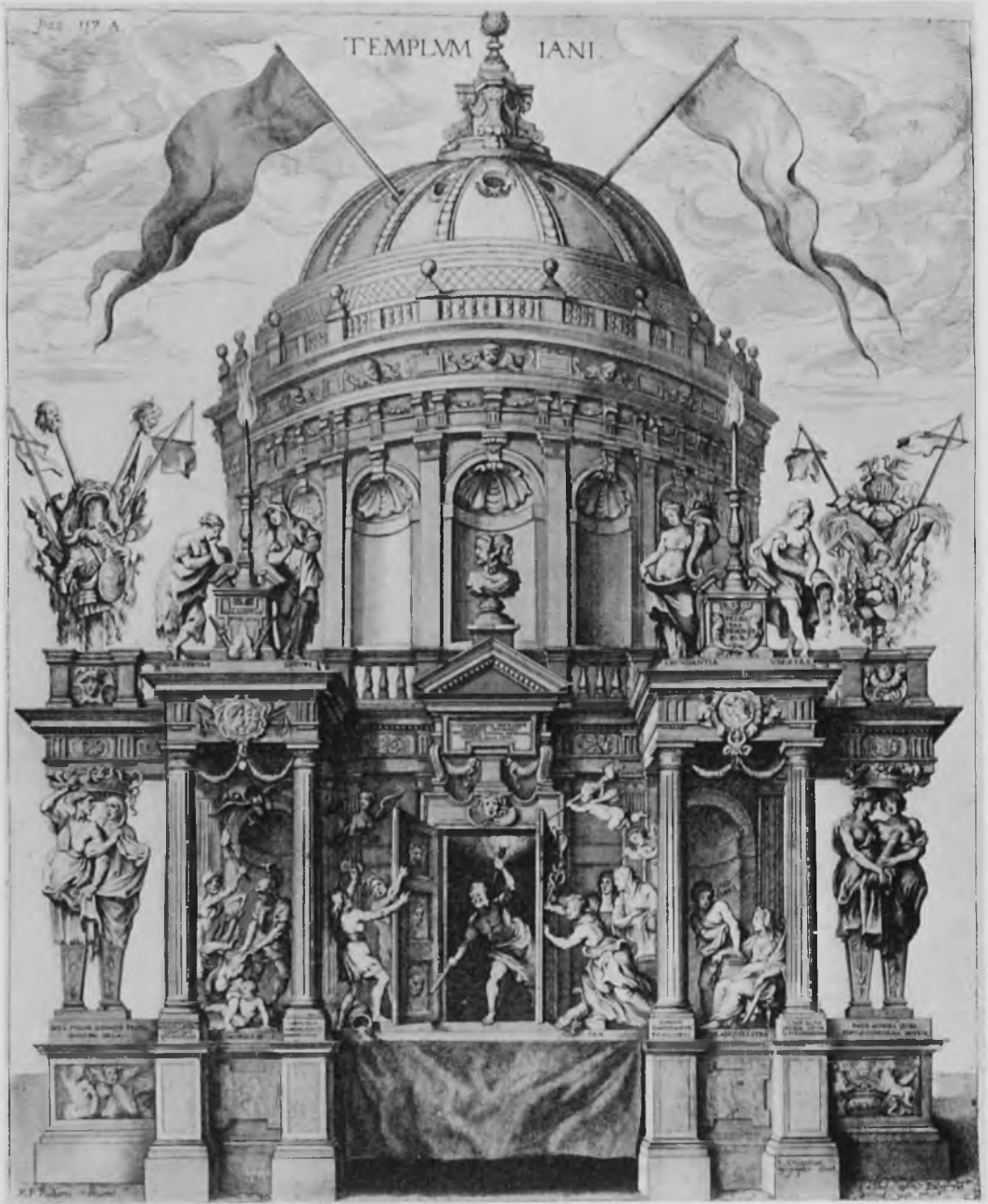
79. After Rubens, *The Foresight of the King* (No. 40a).
 Whereabouts unknown



80. *The Arch of the Spaniards*, woodcut (C. Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke schoone Triumphelijcke Incompsl...*, Antwerp, 1550)



81. L. Vorsterman after Rubens, Title-page of F. Haraeus, *Annales Ducum* (Antwerp, 1623), engraving



82. T. van Thulden, *The Temple of Janus*, etching (No. 44)



83. Rubens, *The Temple of Janus*, oil sketch (No. 44a). Leningrad, Hermitage



84. Detail of Fig. 83



85. Detail of Fig. 83



86. Detail of Fig. 83



P. F. Rut. Inuent.

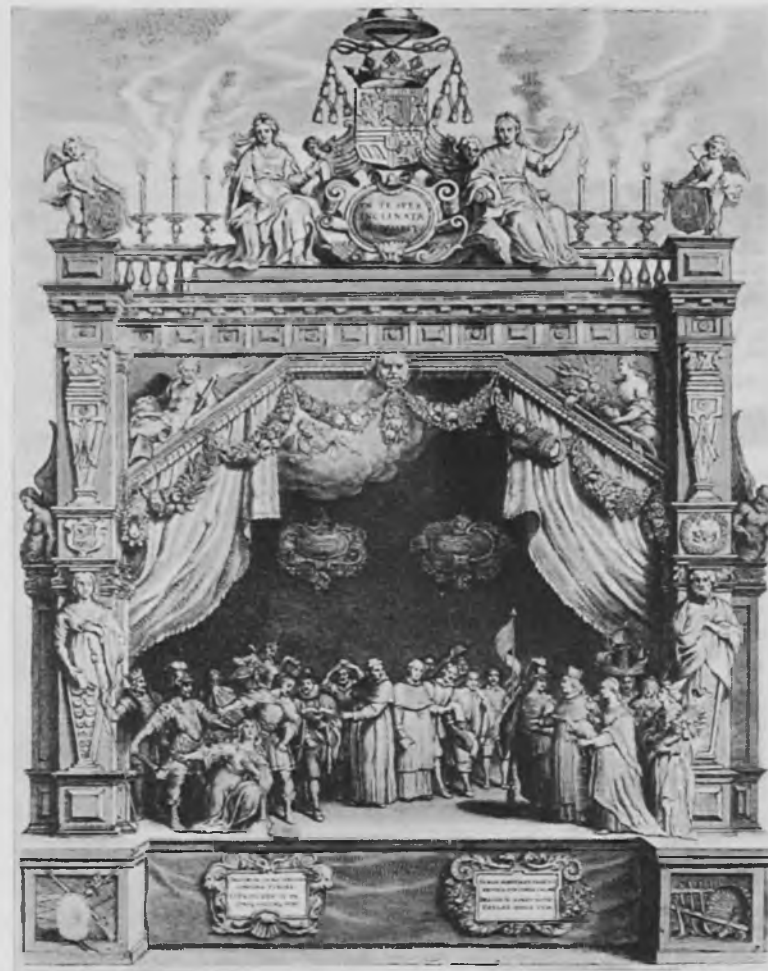
O VTI NAM, PARTIS TERRAQVE MARIQVE TRIVMPHIS,
 BELLIGERI CIVDAS, PRINCIPES, JENEFRALIA IANI!
 MARSQVE FERVS SEPTEM IAM HÆNE DECENNIA BELGA

QVI PREMII, HARPYAQVE ERVRES, INCTVSQVE, FVRORQVE,
 HINC PROCVL AD THRACES ABEANT SCYTHICQVE RECESSVS
 PAXQVE OPTATA DIV POPVLOS ATQVE ARVA REVISAT! c. 6.

87. T. van Thulden, *The Opening of the Doors of the Temple of Janus*, etching (No. 45)



88. T. van Thulden, *The Tree of the Austrian Genealogy*, etching



89. S. a Bolswert, *The Stage of the Chamber of Rhetoric*, engraving



90. P. van der Borcht, *The Stage at the Sint-Jansbrug*, engraving (J. Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis...*, Antwerp, 1595)



91. P. van der Borcht, *The Stage at the Sint-Jansbrug*, engraving (J. Bochius, *Historica Narratio...*, Antwerp, 1602)



92. T. van Thulden, *The Stage of Mercury*, etching (No. 46)



93. Rubens, *The Stage of Mercury*, oil sketch (No. 46a). Leningrad, Hermitage



94. Detail of Fig. 93



95. Detail of Fig. 93



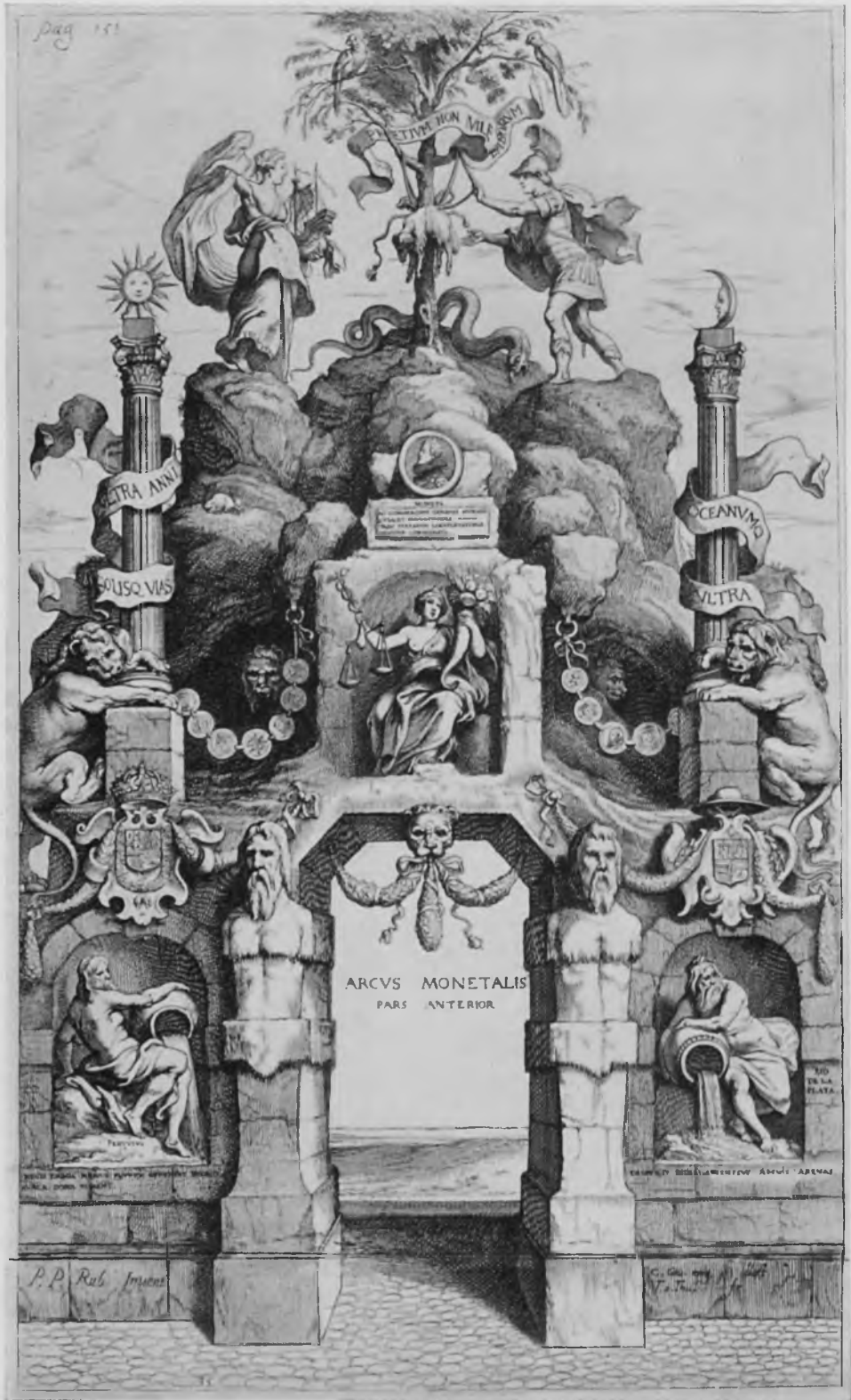
96. •T. van Thulden, *Mercury departing from Antwerp*, etching (No. 47)



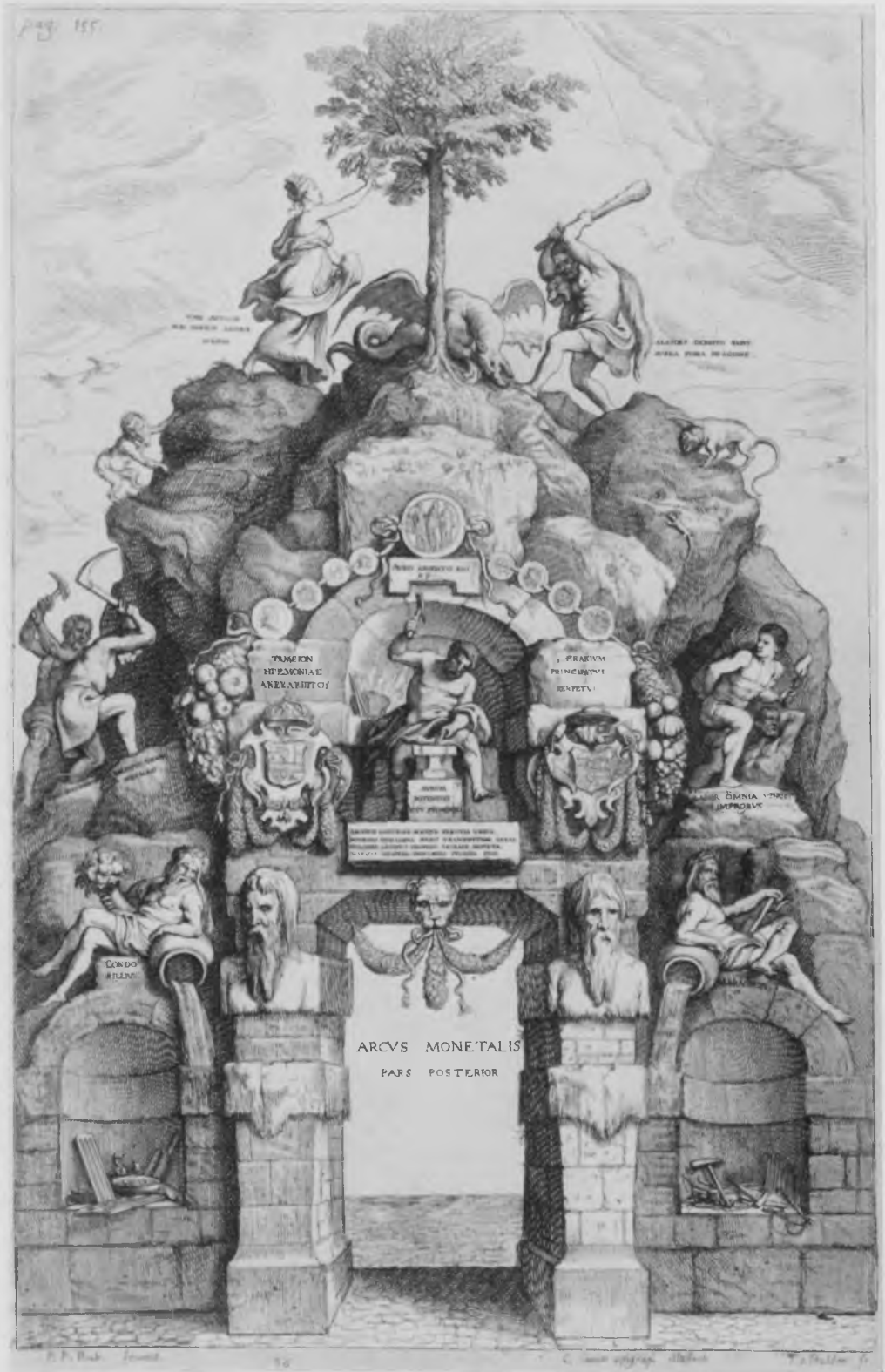
97. D. Teniers the Younger, *The Picture Gallery of Archduke Leopold William with Royal Portraits* (detail). Schleissheim, Schloss



98. After Rubens, *Mercury* (No. 47).
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



99. T. van Thulden, *The Front Face of the Arch of the Mint*, etching (No. 50)



100. T. van Thulden, *The Rear Face of the Arch of the Mint*, etching (No. 51)



101. Rubens, *The Front Face of the Arch of the Mint*, oil sketch (No. 50a).

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



102. Rubens, *The Rear Face of the Arch of the Mint*, oil sketch (No. 51a).

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

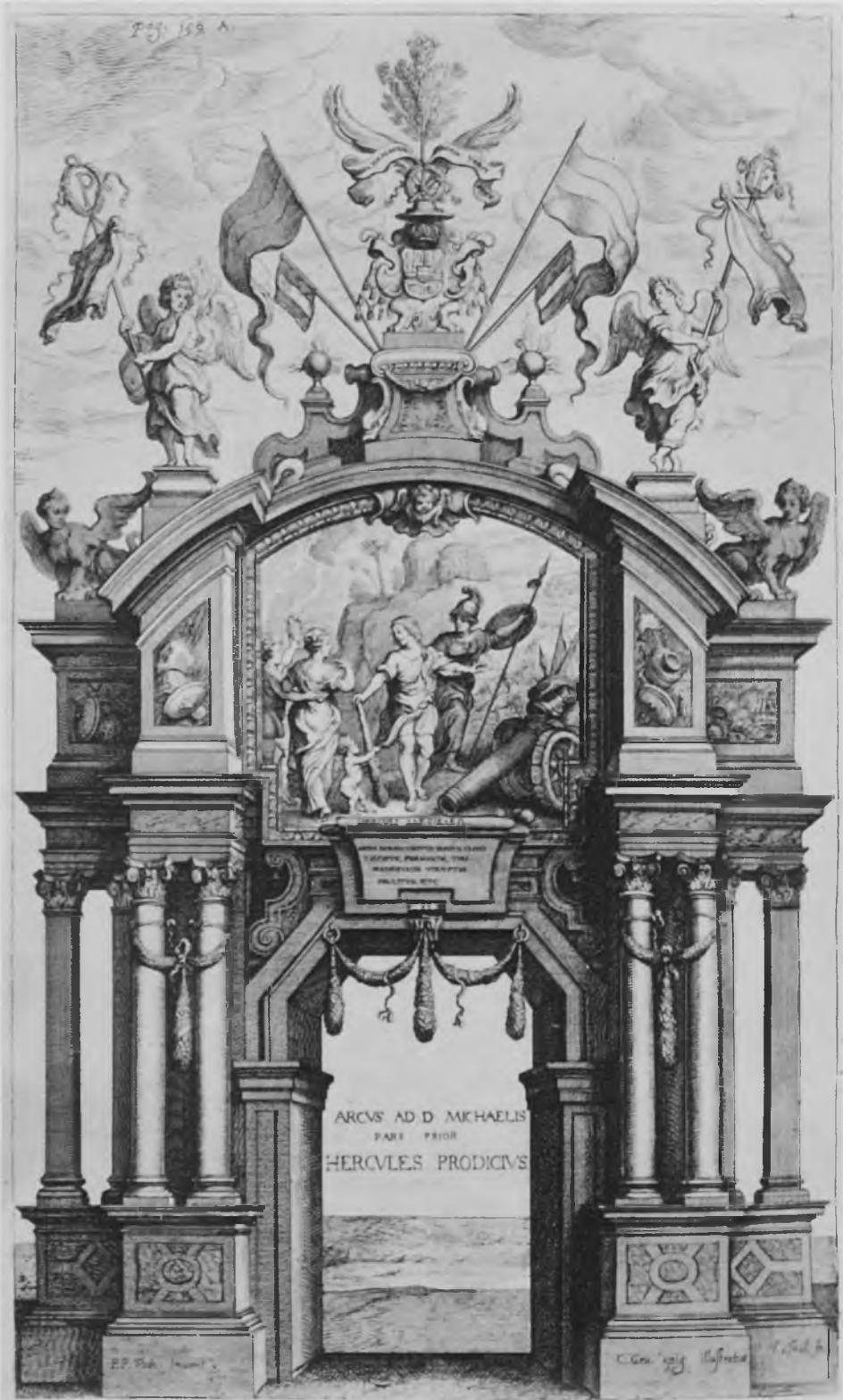


103. Rubens, *Two Studies of a River God*, drawing (No. 50b).

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



104. *The Arch at the Entrance to the Bridge*, woodcut
(*C'est la Destruction du sumptueux ordre...*, Rouen, 1551)



105. T. van Thulden, *The Front Face of the Arch at St. Michael's*, etching (No. 52)



106. Rubens, *The Front Face of the Arch at St. Michael's*, oil sketch (No. 52a).

Leningrad, Hermitage



P. P. Rub. Inv.

38

ARDUA SAXOSQ VIRTUTIS SEMITA CLIVQ
 CALCATUR, FERNANDE TIBI MALESVADA VOLVPTAS
 PELLITVR, AVSPICIS FIDA: DVCTVQVE MINERVQ
 I FELIX, COMITANTE DEA SIC IVR AD ASTRA
 HINC TE, SYNLIMI QVQ PENDET ALQVEA TEMPLQ
 HERCVLEQVE MANET NON IMPAR PVMA LABORI

C. Gouart

Ta Plat. delia frat et
estad. cum poud

107. T. van Thulden, *The Choice of Hercules*, etching (No. 53)



PR O ALEXANDER tibi DVX PARMENSIS, ac hinc
 Orbis alterius dignior imperio?
 HERCVLIS armatur nodosa dextera CLAVA?
 HERCVLEAS humerus sustinet EXVVIAS?
 HERCVLEO nisi nos tri quia temporis, armis,
 Intrepidique animi robore, monstra domo.
 Cur PARMAM tibi laevi tenet non quamlibet, ac quae
 Saxifera anguicomae Phorcidas ora gerit.
 SERPENTINA regens ANIMI PRVDENTIA ROBV.R.
 Quae sine nil ANIMI ROBV.R, et ARMA valent,

INVIDIAMque, HOSTESq, meam ad lapidifere PARMAM,
 Excortes animi, consilique facit.
 Quae tibi DVX INDEX, SVSTENTATRIXq, cohaeret
 Scandenti acclivem Nympham ananasa viam?
 RELIGIO humana est sine qua PRVDENTIA inanis.
 Quae sine nil ANIMI ROBV.R, et ARMA valent.
 I bone VIRTVTIS tibi, post VIRTVTIS, HONORIS.
 Porta quibus geminus unica TEMPLA patenti.
 PARMAM dabit PALMAM, poterunt quam s ternere nullo
 INVIDIA, IMPIETIS, VIS INIMICA die.

Ordo Venet. singebat et pogg. Gubertus ff. vulp.



109. T. van Thulden, *The Rear Face of the Arch at St. Michael's*, etching (No. 54)



110. T. van Thulden, *Bellerophon slaying the Chimera*, etching (No. 55)



111. Rubens, *Bellerophon slaying the Chimera*, oil sketch (No. 55a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



112. Rubens, *The Triumphal Car of Calloo*, oil sketch (No. 56a).

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



113. Detail of Fig. 112



114. T. van Thulden, *The Triumphal Car of Calloo*, etching (No. 56).