

# *Imperial Ideology in the Triumphal Entry into Lille of Charles V and the Crown Prince (1549)\**

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**I**n 1549, Charles V, Emperor of Rome and ruler of the Hapsburg Empire, presented his only son and heir, Philip, to his subjects throughout the Empire (in a journey that had begun in Genoa at the end of 1548 and finished with splendid festivities in Antwerp).<sup>1</sup> In this cycle of Entries, two Northern French cities occupy a prominent position: Valenciennes and Lille displayed outstanding, albeit utterly different, patterns of decoration. The Valenciennes decoration was Italianate, emphasizing classicist values (*à l'antique*), the like of which had never previously been seen north of the Alps.<sup>2</sup> In Lille, the provincial capital, the decorative program accentuated iconographical features with pronounced imperialist and propagandist highlights.

These two processions, one aspiring to adopt an ornamental model underscored by Renaissance elements, and the other with its sumptuousness, exuberant character, and propagandistic passion, stand out by virtue of their outstanding styles, which greatly contrasted with the conservative design and the choice of sometimes anachronistic themes in the panorama of other northern French cities.<sup>3</sup>

The preparations for the imperial reception in Lille were unprecedented. The decoration was extremely rich and varied. The provincial capital displayed to the Emperor and his son more triumphal arches, platforms and *tableaux vivants* than ever before seen in the northern cities (with the exception of Antwerp).<sup>4</sup> It is therefore not surprising that Calvete de Estrella, secretary to Philip II, who documented the journey, devoted special space in his memoirs to this triumphal procession (contrasting greatly with his extremely sparse

descriptions with regard to most of the northern towns). In fact, his explicit descriptions enable us to imagine and picture the decor, in all its splendid detail, along the triumphal route.

One must bear in mind that we have no visual records for the Imperial procession in Lille. Indeed, for these ephemeral events all we have to rely on is testimony from verbal chronicles. We must therefore imagine the procession and reconstruct the triumphal arches and the platforms, as well as the ensemble of performed *tableaux vivants* (“living pictures”), and visualize the floats and the triumphal chariots.

In Lille the emphasis was on militantly Catholic propaganda, with great pomp and splendor announcing in its thematic program the style and subjects that would be manifestly expressed later in the Baroque. The iconographical scheme of the triumphal procession was manifestly political, depicting an image of the ideal emperor, Charlemagne’s true heir and successor, Defender of the Church and the Faith. The authors of the program were also providing an immediate response to the politico-religious crises (in particular, the capitulation of the Protestant princes of Saxony and Hesse at Mülberg, 1547), which the Emperor had managed to overcome prior to departing on his triumphal journey.<sup>5</sup>

Two topics were highlighted: (1) the idea of the transfer of powers from father to son, accompanied by guidance and instructions to a Christian prince<sup>6</sup> (inspired by the treatise of Desiderius Erasmus to the Emperor himself before his anointing)<sup>7</sup>; this topic constituted a natural leitmotif of the entire 1548-1549 cycle of Imperial Entries, which were designed to present the Crown Prince; and (2) the Emperor was depicted as an *imperator* submitting himself to the service of the Church – an ideal Christian prince, Defender of Christendom and extirpator of heresy.

The iconographical program of the Triumphal Procession in Lille especially accentuated the image of the ideal emperor, Defender of Catholicism. This idea first took shape and was expressed in Charles’s Triumphal Entry into Bologna (1529), and in the ceremonies in which he was crowned Emperor of Rome by Pope Clement VII in 1530.<sup>8</sup> In the entry into Bologna and the coronation ceremonies, denoting the outcome of the protracted struggle between Charles and François I King of France to acquire hegemony in Europe, as well as the former’s confrontations with the Papal throne, there emerged several of the patterns of imperial propaganda that were to culminate in Lille some two decades later.

Bologna would appear to have marked the emergence of Charles as

successor to the Roman emperors, an image overlaid with the medieval ideal of submitting his sword and scepter in the service of the Church; the true heir and successor to Charlemagne, the soldier and knight of God. This triumphal itinerary shaped the imperial myth, which presented a virtuous Emperor possessing spiritual status, Protector of the Church.<sup>9</sup> These themes reflected Charles V's imperial ideology. There was an interweaving of motifs inspired by the classical heritage (successor to the Roman Empire) with medieval religious ideas (the heir and direct scion of Charlemagne). These images formed a leitmotif, albeit in different hues and with different emphases, which was to be found in Charles's Triumphal Entries throughout the Empire, from 1529 up to his funeral procession in 1558.

Following Charles V's recognition by the Pope and his coronation in Bologna, we note the ideological restoration of the Roman imperial imagery of Caesar triumphant fused with Christian imperial propaganda. However, the imperial iconography appears to have crystallized in the Emperor's Triumphal Entry into Rome in 1536. As Carrasco Ferrer points out: 'In the capital of the Empire of the Caesars, on 5th April, 1536 this *Miles Christi* must surely have felt closer to his destiny.'<sup>10</sup>

In Lille in 1549, these motifs were accentuated in an unprecedented fashion. Special emphasis was placed on the image of the Christian ruler. We are witness to the revival of the medieval conception of the Holy Roman Empire, with Caesar as the ruler of the world (*Domine Mundi*), placing his sword in the service of the Faith: the soldier of God and Defender of the Church. This image, which to a large extent derives its inspiration from St. Augustine, was enthusiastically adopted and cultivated later by Clement VII, who (under duress) crowned Charles. This ethos, as adopted by Erasmus, was clearly expressed in his treatise *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1515), with the idea of the ruler as a soldier in the service of God already emerging for the first time in Erasmus's ethical theory as expounded in his essay *Enchiridion Militis Christi*, Louvain, 1503 (*The Enchiridion or, A Manual for a Christian Soldier*).<sup>11</sup> This ethos, which is accentuated in the *Institutio*, is also echoed in his later essays. Inspired by St. Augustine, Erasmus stressed the principle of the perfect prince, placing himself in the service of Christ, Himself the true *King of Kings* and *Lord of Lords*.<sup>12</sup>

The Emperor's victories over the infidels were therefore naturally highlighted in the city's iconographical program: the victory over Suleiman the Magnificent at the gates of Vienna (1532), the siege and conquest of La Goletta (1535), and the victory at Mülberg in which the Lutheran princes Johann of Saxony and Philip of Hesse had been defeated (1547). The victories over the

Muslim infidels were presented on two platforms at the city gates.<sup>13</sup> The episode describing the siege of La Goletta (Halq el Qued), and the routing of the fleet of Barbarossa (Khaïr-ed-Dîn), commander of the Turks, was presented as a *tableau vivant*, in a stronghold. The Emperor, led by Mars and Neptune, penetrated the fortress held by the Turks and the Moors, while Barbarossa fled. The Emperor released a fettered damsel who had been guarded by demons and Turks, and also set free Christian captives who had been incarcerated by the infidels. He then reinstated the King of Tunis on his throne, restoring the symbols of government to him.

The text, on a banner held high in the tower by the personification of Fortitude (*Fortitudo*), highlights the moral ethos of the Emperor's victory:

*Des Dieux Neptun et Mars, Charles accompigné [sic]*

*La mer passa et d'assault la Goulette a gaine'*

*Le Tyran meit en suite et Tunes il entame*

*Plusieurs chresetiens delivere, au Roy rend son royaume.*

(Accompanied by the gods Neptune and Mars, Charles crossed the sea and conquered La Goletta. He put the Tyrant to flight and attacked Tunis. Releasing several Christians and returning his kingdom to the King.)

We have here a typical blend of classical themes and Christian motifs – the Emperor, as a Christian savior accompanied by Mars and Neptune on the one hand and by theological virtues on the other. By highlighting the victories over the infidels at Vienna and in Tunis, the Emperor is given prominence as the defender of Christendom and the worthy successor to his forefathers, the scion of Charlemagne and legitimate successor to his Burgundy ancestors, someone worthy of wearing the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece. His political aspirations, as primarily underscored in the cities of Northern France and Flanders, were mainly nurtured by the ideas shaped and fostered in the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, and by Duke Philippe le Bon (1429), as well as by the aspirations for a new Crusade. Charles also wished to emphasize the fact that he was the true heir and successor to his Spanish ancestors, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had spearheaded the resolute and violent struggle against the infidels.

Victory over the infidels was a motif greatly nurtured by imperial mythology. It is first found in Italy, with Charles's return as conqueror from Tunis (1536).<sup>14</sup> The motif is also reflected later in the works commissioned by the court, notably the series of prints by Maarten van Heemskerck (1555-1556), devoted to *Victories of Charles V*.<sup>15</sup> Heemskerck, it should be noted, was personally involved in



Fig. 1: Marteen van Heemskerck, *The Fall of Tunis*, woodcut from the series of *The Victories of Charles V*, 1555-1556, Paris, Bibl. nat. Estampes, C7a fol. 63, No. 175.

decorating the triumphal arches together with Salviati.<sup>16</sup> In analogy to Lille (Fig. 1), the Emperor is seen breaking down the fortified gates of the city. The seventh print in the series is entitled: “The Emperor enters Tunis in triumph, victorious through his courage in the war; the African yields at once and is put to flight. 1535.” (TUNETAM CAESAR, BELLI VIRTUTE TRIVMPHANS, \INGREDUVR VICTOR, CEDENS FVGIT ILLICET AFER. \1535.) The print depicts the Imperial army advancing through the gates into the city of Tunis. On the right we can recognize the Emperor himself in full regalia, accompanied by his faithful admiral, Andrea Doria.<sup>17</sup> In addition, a series of twelve tapestries was commissioned, after cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1546-1547), now on display in Vienna’s Museum of Art History.<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that Vermeyen himself held the position of an official recorder in the Emperor’s entourage that went on the “Crusade” to Tunis.<sup>19</sup> In the imperial myth woven at court, this victory occupied a central place. It was therefore only natural that it continued to appear and be referred to in texts and festivities at the Hapsburg court for a prolonged period, even after the Emperor’s death.<sup>20</sup>



Fig. 2: Marteen van Heemskerck, *The Liberation of Vienna*, woodcut from the series of *The Victories of Charles V*, Paris, Bibl. nat. Estampes, C7a fol. 61, No. 171.

Along the triumphal route (in front of the “Holy Trinity” Hospital)<sup>21</sup> a magnificent triumphal arch was erected, with three openings, depicting the Emperor’s victory over Suleiman the Magnificent and the repulse of the latter from the very gates of Vienna. On the arch could be seen Prudence (*Prudentia*), with below it the Victory of Pallas Athene over the Gorgons. The interweaving of Christian motifs with classical quotations was repeated time and again in Lille. To a great extent it characterized the spirit of the Northern Renaissance, which contrasted and interwove Christian moral motifs with themes inspired by Antiquity. On another “stage” in the same arch one could see Suleiman at the head of his troops confronting a maiden defying him, the personification of Vienna. The Ottoman attempt at conquest was perceived by Charles as the attempt by paganism to overcome Christianity. In the imperial mythology, this military action was perceived as a form of crusade.<sup>22</sup>

After his victory at Vienna and what he perceived as the delivery of Christian Europe from the Saracen menace, the Emperor departed on a triumphal journey

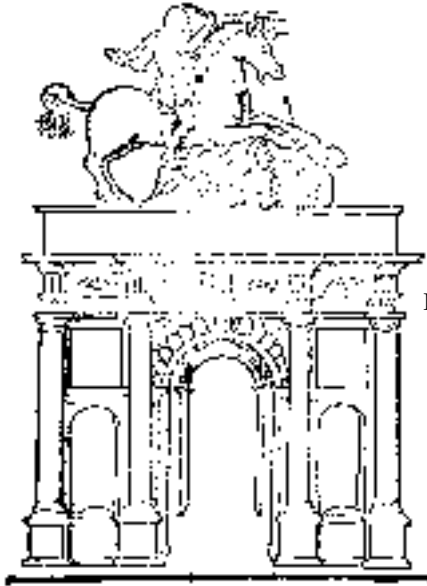


Fig. 3: *Arch with Equestrian Statue of the Emperor*, designed for the Entry into Milan in 1541. (After Giulio Romano, an illustration from the book by Giovanni Alberto Albicante, *Tratto dell'intrar in Milano di sua maesta Caserare Carlo V.*) Vienna, ÖNB, Sammlung von Inkunablen, Alten und Wertvollen Drucken (Inv. 40.B.36).

throughout Italy. In Mantua a magnificent reception was held for the victor. The reception hall at the Palazzo Te was decorated by Giulio Romano. On one of the walls the Emperor can be seen mounted on his steed and surrounded by Turkish captives. It is possible that this composition was one of the sources of Maarten van Heemskerck's inspiration in the *Victories* series that he created for the Emperor. The fifth engraving in Heemskerck's 1555-1556 series (Fig. 2),<sup>23</sup> depicts *The Liberation of Vienna by Charles V* (1529). His brother Ferdinand is accompanying the Emperor, mounted on his horse. The two princes occupy a prominent place in the left foreground. A fallen Turkish soldier is being trampled beneath the Emperor's horse, while in the background we can discern the Sultan and his troops. The scene is glossed by a caption praising the Emperor's legendary victory over the cruel enemy: 'In Pannonia the Emperor defeats the fiercely raging Turks, bringing to Vienna relief from a cruel siege.' Although the Emperor did not actually conduct the battle,<sup>24</sup> this "victory" nevertheless became an important chapter in the imperial mythology. The print, however, stresses the Emperor's personal involvement in the battle and presents him in his most Roman *all'antica* image. A woodcut illustration by Erhard Schöne for Johann Haselberg, *Des Türkischen Kaysers Heerzug* (Nuremberg, 1530), depicts the Emperor personally facing his enemy Suleiman, both mounted on their steeds and followed by their troops.<sup>25</sup> The equestrian motif recurred in the course of the same journey, in Sienna and several years later also in Milan.



Fig. 4: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen(?), *Charles V as Saint James of Compostela "Matamoro,"* Worcester Art Museum.

An arch designed by Giulio Romano embodies the Imperial Triumph and expresses the Imperial ideology. It is topped by a huge figure of the victorious Emperor on horseback crushing the Empire's enemies: the infidel Saracens in Tunis, the Turks, and the Indians (Fig. 3).<sup>26</sup> The equestrian motif occupied a prominent place in the Imperial ideology. Inspired by the images of a victorious leader, it followed the Renaissance models in the Italian Entries, and appeared as a sculptural element on the triumphal arch. Already in his Imperial Triumphal Entry into Rome (1536) the Emperor appeared as a triumphant Roman Emperor: mounted on a white horse and wearing a purple cape, he embodied the figure of the ancient conqueror. At the head of a procession marching along the ancient *Via Triumphalis*,<sup>27</sup> Charles had re-established himself as the legitimate successor to the Roman Empire.



This image was based on patterns of description of the Roman imperators (Marcus Aurelius as conqueror mounted on his horse). The motif was in turn adopted in the Italian Renaissance. Hapsburg imperial mythology, fostering the image of the Emperor as the direct successor to the Roman emperors, adopted this motif, which became an integral part of ceremonial imagery.<sup>28</sup> However, inspired by northern medieval sources, the Renaissance motif was supplemented by personifications alluding to infidelity and heresy, being trampled beneath his horse's hooves.

One of the typical instances of the transformation of the Renaissance motif and its re-interpretation inspired by Hapsburg Imperial propaganda is expressed in the work that the Emperor commissioned to commemorate the repulse of the Muslims. In the picture, which was ascribed to Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (Fig. 4), the Emperor in full armor is represented in the role of *St. James of Compostela "Matamoros"*, trampling a Muslim infidel underfoot on his steed.<sup>29</sup>

Even though the only source for the Triumphal Entry to Lille is a verbal one, the account provided by the Crown Prince's secretary, Juan Cristóval Calvete de Estrella, is rich and detailed. His other descriptions of the journey tend to the laconic, but when it comes to the outstanding Entry to Lille with its exuberant and elaborate performances, he provides such a detailed description of the procession that we can vividly imagine the nature of the decorations, the displays, and the *tableaux vivants*. Although certain analogies can be discerned between the motifs prominent in the Italian Entries, the comparison highlights the medieval heritage in the northern cities, and in particular in Lille. While in Italy the ideal imperial Roman past and the ancient heritage were highlighted, in Lille the stress was rather on late medieval allegorization.

The city's second Triumphal Arch displays a reference to the Emperor's victory over the Lutheran heretics. It shows a maiden representing Justice (*Justicia*). Below, on the platform, the Emperor is accompanied by Jupiter, trampling underfoot two fettered damsels wearing "German dress", representing the principalities of Saxony and Hesse. The verses highlight the nature of Imperial power and the idea that the Emperor reigns by the grace of the Holy Faith. The inscription atop the Triumphal Arch emphasizes the idea that the Emperor rules by virtue of the Faith:<sup>30</sup>

*Le seigneur tout puissant, qui tout en sa main tient,  
 Vous a donné l'Empire, ou plains d'ans (sic) vous maintient  
 A fin que la Foi Saint en Iesu Christ florisse  
 Sur rebelles vous donne exercer la Justice.*

(The Omnipotent Lord, who holds everything in His hand/Has given you the Empire, Long may you reign/So that the Holy Faith shall flourish in Jesus Christ/Enabling you to bring justice to bear against rebels.)

The imperial ethos and its revival, and the image of the Christian prince who is Defender of the Faith, to a large extent derive their inspiration from the treatise that Erasmus dedicated to the young prince three years before he was anointed ruler of the Hapsburgs. The *Institutio Principis Christiani* was immensely influential in shaping the idea of Christian monarchy (a motif also reflected in other works by Erasmus).<sup>31</sup> Erasmus's theory simultaneously bolstered and shaped the medieval legacy of the ideal ruler as Defender of Christendom. It should be noted that at the beginning of his reign, inspired by Erasmus, Charles hoped to revive the principles of the early Church through internal reforms. He also aspired to prevent the rift between Lutherans and Catholics, at first acting with forbearance towards the Reformists.

The struggle with the Lutheran princes marked a clear turning point, constituting an uncompromising declaration of loyalty to the Papal throne.<sup>32</sup> As a matter of course, this issue was highlighted in the Triumphal Entries throughout Italy. The Emperor adopted this political line, which undoubtedly subsequently influenced the subjects presented in the triumphal processions in the North also. Nevertheless, in Lille the victory over the heretical princes was given particular prominence, and it is no coincidence that it was presented in analogy with *Charlemagne's Victories over the Saxons*.<sup>33</sup>

The Hapsburg imperial mythology emphasized that Charles V was the true successor to Charlemagne, Restorer of the Holy Roman Empire and Defender of Christendom – Emperor and King of the Christians. This idea of continuity between Charles V and Charlemagne his ancestor was already hinted at in his Entry into Bruges (1515), and took shape later in his coronation in Aachen (1530), where he was symbolically handed the sword of the founder of the dynasty. The motif of the continuation of a legacy and emphasis on a heritage became a permanent component of the imperial propaganda.<sup>34</sup> From the 11th century onwards, Charlemagne had been perceived as the heroic Defender of the Church and extirpator of heresy; both temporal ruler and Soldier of God. This myth nurtured visions of the renewal of the Crusades under “the new Charlemagne”. The reverberations of these visions were used as a propaganda vehicle by the advisers and poets at the Hapsburg court, feeding the imperial propaganda.

In a stained-glass window designed by the court painter Bernard van Orley

as a Triumphal Arch for the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula in Brussels (1537), the Emperor is presented at prayer by Charlemagne, his spiritual patron; stressing the ideological analogies between the two Emperors, the artist depicts both of them as Christian Knights wearing armor under their imperial capes and invested with other symbols of imperial rank.<sup>35</sup> The Hapsburg imperial myth fostered aspirations of establishing the Holy Roman Empire, and hopes of redeeming Jerusalem, the heritage of his Burgundy ancestors.

Following his coronation in Bologna by Pope Clement VII, the Emperor had adopted the Augustinian motif of the Knight of Christendom. This motif became an integral part of the imperial mythology, and was to be accentuated in the Triumphal procession in Lille. A decade later it would be further elaborated in Charles's funeral procession. In this context, three topics were given a prominent place in the Triumphal Entry in Lille: *The Triumph of the Faith*, *Titus' Triumph over Judaea*, and *Gideon's Destruction of the Altar of Baal and His Cutting Down of the Asherah* (Judges 6:24-28).

*The Triumph of the Church* was presented on a platform in the shape of the Imperial cross, at the entrance to the Palace.<sup>36</sup> The *tableau vivant* had very clear connections with the legacy of the late Middle Ages, compared to analogous descriptions designed under the inspiration of Savonarola in Italy.<sup>37</sup> The platform showed the story of Emperor "Philip the Arab" (Marcus Julius Philippus, 244-245 CE) who, as Calvete de Estrella notes, was the first Christian Emperor. The allegory of the Triumph of the Church was shown through the personification of *Ecclesia*, a young maiden garbed in scarlet apparel, holding a cross while trampling underfoot a hideous old woman, personifying heresy. This was a standard image both in the depictions of faith (*Fides*) in the medieval *Psychomachia*, as well as in mystery plays.<sup>38</sup> However, as in Italy, *Ecclesia* was accompanied by the Church fathers, also representing the Church hierarchy: Pope – St. Gregory, Cardinal – St. Hieronymus, Archbishop – St. Ambrose, and Bishop – St. Augustine. At their side walked the temporal rulers, Soldiers of the Faith. The procession of rulers was led by the Emperor himself, holding the symbols of his authority. In his footsteps there walked Charlemagne, Godefroi de Bouillon (Godfrey of Bouillon), leader of the First Crusade, and St. Louis, King of France (Louis IX) who revived the Crusades, and Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic Monarchs, Defenders of Christendom.<sup>39</sup> In this procession of the Defenders of the Faith, Prince Philip, the Crown Prince, brought up the rear. On the other side of the platform, on the left, were shown the heretical foes of God: the Lutheran German princes accompanied by Julian the Apostate, Simon Magus, Arius, Martin Luther, Zwingli, and others. The

Emperor's sword and shield were symbolically turned towards the enemies of the Faith.<sup>40</sup> The spectacle, which was presented on the Imperial cross, accentuated and re-highlighted a central motif of the imperial mythology: the Emperor, a Christian ruler, proffering his sword to defend the Church and save it from the perils of the unbelievers and heretics. This was a topic that had been alluded to at his coronation in Bologna and was then particularly accentuated in the imperial display in Lille.<sup>41</sup>

As the imperial journey proceeded along the triumphal itinerary, the Emperor and his son were able to watch the *tableau* entitled *Titus' Triumph over Judaea*. Since the Middle Ages this topic had been interpreted as the triumph of Christianity over Judaism. Accordingly, the idea of a ruler placing his sword in the service of the Church was highlighted here too. This topic was also reminiscent of an additional motif that was underscored in the 1549 procession: that of the transfer of powers from father to son and heir, providing an appropriate Christian example. In this splendid display, there could be seen on the right the Roman senators, and at their feet the Jewish captives. Titus ascended the platform with great pomp, accompanied by his father Vespasian and the Seven Virtues (naturally underscoring the religious-moral aspects of his victory). On the left could be seen the Destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.<sup>42</sup> The inscriptions on the banners held by young Roman soldiers reinforced these messages, also highlighting the link between the Emperor's current *Victories over the Infidels* and *Titus' Triumph Over Judaea*. There was also an allusion to the Crown Prince continuing his father's laudable path.<sup>43</sup>

The association between Charles V's victories over the infidels and Titus's victories was already alluded to in a Triumphal Entry of the Emperor, on his return as victor from North Africa: the Triumphal Procession in Rome (1536), inspired by Pope Paul III, passed under Titus's Triumphal Arch. Next to it was erected an ephemeral triumphal arch, in reference to Charles's contemporary victories over the Muslims.<sup>44</sup>

Continuing along the triumphal route, there were displayed scenes relating to the story of Gideon. On either side of the platform were displayed two episodes: the Revelation of the Angel to Gideon and the Building of the Altar to God (Judges 6: 19-26), and the Destruction of the Altar of Baal and the Asherah (Judges 6: 27-32). Next to these episodes on the Triumphal Arch in the form of an altar, was shown the story of Gideon and the woolen fleece (Judges 6: 36-40). The story was presented in juxtaposition with Constantine destroying the idols, another significant scene (the image of Gideon as the extirpator of heresy was interpreted according to the medieval tradition, in which the episode

constituted a form of prefiguration of the apocalyptic vision of Jesus's overthrowing the Antichrist and his Jewish disciples).<sup>45</sup>

The story of Gideon and the woollen fleece occupied an important place in the imperial propaganda, stressing the association between Charles and his Burgundy ancestors (rulers of Northern France and Flanders in the 15th century). Charles thereby underscored the fact that he was their direct heir, who is worthy of wearing the emblem of the chivalrous Order of the Golden Fleece (founded in 1429 by Duke Philippe le Bon), and that he was realizing his Burgundy forefathers' aspirations to extirpate heresy. Already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>46</sup> the *Gedoeinis signa* had been chosen by Guillaume Fillastre, spiritual mentor of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, as the most revered appellation for the order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>47</sup> In stressing the motif of Gideon overcoming idolatry and heresy as a prefiguration of the Emperor, his mythological figure was further embodied as the ideal ruler, Christ's knight, and a faithful successor to his Burgundy ancestors. It should be noted that the Emperor himself patronized the Order of the Golden Fleece, seeing himself as more worthy than any other to wear the emblem. The myth of the leader of the restored Crusades was closely related to the image of the ideal Christian emperor. The analogy between the Emperor-as-Gideon and the Emperor-as-Constantine smashing idols demonstrably underscored the propaganda and mythological attributes of the ideal emperor. According to the imperial mythology, Charles was conceived as the legitimate successor of Charlemagne and of Emperor Constantine, the first Christian emperor – the archetypes of the ideal emperor, the Knight of God and Defender of the Church.<sup>48</sup>

Charles's profound religious beliefs, which were imbued with the medieval spirit of chivalry, made him a perfect *Miles Christi*. This idea also recurred and was accentuated in the displays related to the motif of the transfer of powers from father to son – a theme continually reiterated in this series of receptions, processions, and ceremonies in which the Emperor presented his son as his heir. On one of the Triumphal Arches, on the triumphal route, Constantine the Elder was shown handing over his sword and scepter to his son Constantine.<sup>49</sup> The other side of the Arch showed the victories of Constantine the Great over the Emperor Maxentius<sup>50</sup> – another archetype of the image of the Christian ruler, extirpator of heresy, but of course also a reference to the transfer of imperial and spiritual powers from father to son. This aspect was naturally highlighted in the memoirs of Calvete de Estrella, who presents Constantine as Defender of the Christian Faith.<sup>51</sup>

Thus in the iconographical program of the triumphal procession, Emperor Charles V was presented as the legitimate heir of Charlemagne and Constantine the Great, the founders of the Holy Empire, but also as following in the footsteps of Titus and Gideon, the emissaries of God, as extirpators of heresy. This image was also presented as a model to be emulated by his heir.

The imperial ideology was meticulously established. As we know already, in Charles V's first Triumphal Entry into Rome as the Christian Caesar, he passed from the Temple of Peace and the Colosseum beneath the arches of Constantine, Vespasian, and Titus, and then to the old *Via Sacra* and the Basilica of St. Peter where he was received by the Pope. As mentioned by the chronicler Ceffino in his *Triomphante Entrata*, 'one can imagine the pleasure of His Majesty as he contemplated the glorious memory of his famous predecessors.'<sup>52</sup>

In Lille, the episodes relating to the transfer of powers from father to son were illustrated by allegories with a pronounced didactic character, designed to mold the path of the heir. On one of the platforms in the center featured a personification of *Liberality*, a white-robed maiden placed between the Emperor and his son. On the right one could have seen the Triumph of Liberality over Avarice (*Avaritia*), an old woman trampled underfoot (according to the legacy of *Psychomachia*).<sup>53</sup> Representations of Liberality triumphing over Avarice, however, had been rather rare in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, on the west facade of the Cathedral of Sens, Avarice was seen confronting Liberality, a queen who has laid bare all her treasures.<sup>54</sup> The *tableau* was given a contemporary air through additional figures representing this sin, side by side with Judas Iscariot and Nabal. The companions of Avarice also included Midas. Next to these two scenes could be seen the *Triumph of Liberality over Prodigality and Tyranny*, depicted as captives languishing at her feet. The inscriptions underscored the didacticism of the scenes (this category also included scenes with an analogous didactic message, such as *The Triumph of the Virtues over Envy*, and *Triumph over Evil*).<sup>55</sup>

This category included as well one of the displays on which the Prince's secretary dwelled. Calvete de Estrella describes one of the most fascinating emblematical performances, the like of which had not been seen in any of the triumphal processions. Atop a triumphal arch was the Hapsburg eagle (the Emperor) on the imperial throne. The double-headed eagle held in its beak banners that it was presenting to a lion (the Prince). The inscriptions were once again allusions to the Emperor's victories over infidels and unbelievers. The imperial eagle/Emperor was accompanied by two personifications of theological virtues: Faith and Hope. Faith (*Fides*), garbed in white, grasping a

crucifix and holding a banner in her hand addressed the eagle, demanding that he bestow his protection on the Christians “in the shadow of his pinions.” Hope (*Spes*), clad in green, was holding an armillary sphere symbolizing the universe.<sup>56</sup> In the context of imperial propaganda, this might also have alluded to the orb held by the Emperor, signifying his sovereignty over the Roman Empire. (It may also have been replaced by a crown, one of Hope’s attributes in a secular allegory). In her other hand Hope was carrying a white dove. This unusual attribute might have referred to Faith, but also to Peace. Since, like the dove of the Ark, replacing the raven (Genesis 8:7-12), this dove too was holding a green branch in its beak, it became a symbol of peace. Thus the inventive emblematic representation alluded to another imperial virtue. The allegorical performance virtuously demonstrated the inventive weave of attributes. New emblems had replaced the most traditional ones, engaged in praise of the imperial *persona*. In this new context it would seem that the authors of the Triumphal program apparently took poetic liberty in replacing the crown, one of Hope’s emblems, with a sphere; while the dove replaced the crow that was associated with Hope in the Renaissance iconography (because it calls “*cras, cras!*” – in Latin, “tomorrow, tomorrow”).<sup>57</sup> The green branch however might have been alluding to the flowers often held by Hope, especially in the sixteenth century (she could also wear a crown of flowers or hold a basket of flowers). The dove, holding an inscribed banner in its beak, addressed the subjects, calling upon them to trust the valiant ruler and his successor. Below the eagle’s throne, symbolizing the majesty of the Emperor and the idea of the Empire, was a cavern, containing a terrible dragon (the House of Tudor), flanked with a salamander (the House of Valois), accompanied by “Fear” – as representatives of the Emperor’s foes, threatened by a ferocious lion (the Prince). The extraordinary blend of emblematical figures exclusively presented in Lille might have been expressing a new idea in this particular context of political imperial propaganda, confronting the Emperor for the first time with his rivals, the European sovereigns, marking the Imperial triumph over the Tudors and the Valois. However, in the emblematical display the blend of secular symbolism together with devotional allusions stressed one of the key ideas of the imperial triumphal processions: the Emperor, Protector of the Church and the Believers, supported by the theological virtues, Faith and Hope.

This theme was later elaborated in Maarten van Heemskerck’s composition commemorating the Emperor’s victories (Fig. 5).<sup>58</sup> The opening print of the series introduces the beholder to the victorious Emperor. Charles V is seated on his throne, much like a Roman imperator. The imperial throne is decorated



Fig. 5: Marteen van Heemskerck, *Charles V Amidst His Vanquished Adversaries*, 1555-1556.

with the imperial *impresa*.<sup>59</sup> His adversaries are seen on either side of the imperial throne: Pope Clement VII (his former rival), François I, King of France, and the dukes of Saxony, Hesse, and Cleves together with Suleiman. In Heemskerck's emblematic print, the eagle is seen between Charles's feet and seems to be part of the throne itself. In its beak it grasps a ring to which are attached the cords that encircle the Emperor's opponents.<sup>60</sup>

The Triumphal Entry culminated in two large platforms, the like of which in terms of mastery and splendor had never previously been seen in all the Triumphal Entry ceremonies throughout the entire Empire. On a huge platform in front of the Palace two "palaces" were erected: "The Palace of Virtues", which could be traversed on the way to "The Palace of Honor" (according to Calvete de Estrella, the motif originated in 'the classical Roman heritage').<sup>61</sup> Before The Palace of Honor awaited those welcoming the Emperor and his son-'The Great Leaders of the Past'-Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Constantine the Great, and naturally Charlemagne as well, but also King David.



The Emperor and his son, accompanied by the Virtues, approached the palace by a steep winding path. (This was a clear reference to the Choice of Hercules: an allegorical moral fable according to which Hercules was invited to choose between Vice and Virtue. The path of Virtue was a narrow rocky path leading upwards towards Fame. In choosing the Pillars of Hercules for his own heraldic emblem, the Emperor conceived of himself as a virtuous Christian Hercules.)

Along the climb to the “The Palace of Virtues”, could be seen Flavius Julianus Claudius (Julian the Apostate), Nero, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, Arius, Luther, Zwingli, and other heretics, trying in vain to penetrate the Palace. Naturally their efforts failed, and they tumbled down into the depths of Hell. This description of sinners and heretics trying to ascend “The Ladder of Virtues” was inevitably reminiscent of the medieval image of the “The Ladder of Virtues,” which only the righteous could manage to climb, while sinners fell off it straight into the Jaws of Hell.<sup>62</sup>

On the other side of “The Palace” was a *tableau vivant*, *The Triumph of Fame over Death*. This scene reflected the influence of the motif of Petrarchian triumphs (*Trionfi*).<sup>63</sup> Fame (*Fama*) led a procession of the great emperors, representing both the Roman and Christian past: Julius Caesar and Charlemagne, and in their wake the Burgundy ancestors, the Hapsburgs and the Spaniards, of Charles V and the Crown Prince. Fame was leading the two latter figures toward the Triumphal Chariot, accompanied by representatives of both their real and ideal genealogies. The latter was of manifest typological significance in shaping the imperial mythology. The Emperor was perceived on the one hand as a Roman emperor and hence the heir and successor of the great rulers of ancient times – Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar, and Augustus. This was a noteworthy identification of the current emperor with the figure of the Roman emperors, in particular Augustus,<sup>64</sup> as alluded to already in the Italian Entries. This motif took shape in the rhetoric of the Holy Roman Empire and was referred to in the course of the various ceremonies and receptions in honor of the Emperor, on both sides of the Alps. At the same time there emerged a typological Christian pattern, emphasizing Charles’s legitimate link with the Christian sovereigns who had extirpated heresy. At the head of the ethical genealogy of the Soldiers of the Lord and the Defenders of the Church stood Constantine the Great and Charlemagne, the fathers of the Christian Empire. Notably, those who designed the iconographical scheme of the Triumphal Entry into Lille managed to match the Emperor’s aspirations by emphasizing the motif of the triumph of the imperial ruler’s fame and his commemoration, not necessarily as a commander and victor according to the standard depictions of

rulers, but as someone worthy of being remembered and immortalized as a Soldier of God and Defender of the Church, deserving spiritual reward and redemption.<sup>65</sup>

Following the Christian interpretation of the triumphal motif, in Triumphal Entries into cities north of the Alps, Virtue led the Emperor towards the Triumphal Chariot, pointing towards *The Triumph of Fame*. Finally all the "Princes" were joined to "Fame" in the "Royal and Eternal Triumphal Procession" towards the "Port of Salvation."

This moment proclaimed the ultimate climax of the procession. On a huge platform at the palace gates, decorated with tapestries, stood a ship, its sails spread, entering the "Port of Salvation." On its deck were the Emperor's Virtues.<sup>66</sup> Before the "Port" could be seen a magnificent palace, the "Palace of Felicity" (*Felicitas*). This platform constituted the most sumptuous and original spectacle ever seen in Charles V's triumphal processions. More than anything else, this manifestation highlighted the religious-militant nature of the Triumphal Procession. At the threshold of the palace the personification of *Felicitas* awaited the Emperor and his son. When the "ship" entered the "Port of Salvation," she gave a splendid reception in the Emperor's honor, leading the Emperor and his son, accompanied by the Virtues, to the Gates of Paradise.<sup>67</sup>

Through the *tableau* of the "Triumphal Ship," the designers of the program of the Triumphal Entry into Lille imparted a pronounced Christian idea, not hitherto given ceremonial expression, echoing of course the idea of the Ship of Christian Life sailing on the stormy sea of life and conveying those believers who are worthy to the Safe Shores of Salvation.<sup>68</sup> Already in early Patristic literature the Church had been imagined as a ship (*navis*) carrying believers towards Salvation, a metaphor visualized from the very dawn of Christianity in funerary art. The metaphor of a Ship of Salvation occurred later in late medieval and Renaissance moralistic literary sources in France and the North, especially through the Pilgrimage of Life metaphor. In Jean de Courcey's *Chemin de Vaillance* (*Way of Valor*, 1424-1425), the Seven Virtues accompany the knight to the Ship of Low into the Port of Salvation.<sup>69</sup> The authors of the Entry were usually humanists, poets, and members of the local urban chambers of rhetoric. In creating this impressive spectacle of the imperial Ship of Salvation, they were able to allude both to liturgical and theological sources and to literary imagery that would have been familiar to urban, and in particular courtly, audiences.

The motif of the Triumphal Ship heralded the funeral procession (*Pompa Funebris*) held a decade or so later in Brussels (Fig. 6).<sup>70</sup> In Lille, and later in



Fig. 6: Johannes and Lucas van Duetecum, *The Ship of Salvation*, woodcut illustration from *La Magnifique et Somptueuse Pompe Funèbre – de Charles V*, Antwerp, Christoph Plantin, 1559. Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (Inv.R.44.8).

Brussels, there was clear expression of the Emperor's desire to be presented and commemorated as a "Christian Prince" conveyed to the Gates of Paradise in the Ship of the Righteous.<sup>71</sup> In the midst of the funerary ship, behind its central mast, stood the empty imperial throne, topped with the imperial crown, decorated with the heraldic double-headed eagle and framed with the theological virtues. Faith (*Fides*) sat in the center on the "cornerstone," holding the chalice and the crucifix. Hope (*Spes*) stood at the bow, holding the anchor; and Charity (*Caritas*) stood at the stern with the burning heart in her hands. An image of the Crucifix surmounted the imperial *impresa* on the flag above, unfurled from the central mast of the allegorical ship, suggesting the Emperor's religious role and his submission to the Lord, at the same time also implying the glorious salvation awaiting his soul. The Latin texts accompanying the print explain the ship's condensed iconography, evoking the image of Charles as Caesar and a religious leader at one and the same time. He is being commended for his justice, piety, and virtue: a victorious ruler, motivated first of all as a soldier in the service of the Holy Church. The text praises the Emperor

for “introducing people to Christ” and “purifying them.”<sup>72</sup> The flags of the Turks and the Moors are cast down on the rocks in the sea, indicating the Emperor’s victories over the infidels.

The funeral *tableau* intentionally depicted an image of the ruler as the Knight of God, Defender of the Faith, and the Catholic Church, embodying the emblematic image of Charles V.<sup>73</sup> In the sea, behind the ship, could be seen the heraldic Pillars of Hercules topped with the imperial crowns of the Holy Roman Empire and bearing the imperial device: *Plus ultra*, commemorating the Emperor’s aims of conquering and extending the Holy Empire’s borders with the aid of Faith for the sake of the Holy Church. The emblematic ship was harnessed to tritons symbolizing the Emperor’s “unbounded” rule throughout the world. This ship combined images of the earthly ruler with transcendental allusions. His journey in this world had reached its end, at a fitting place, at the feet of the Throne of God who is the “Lord of Lords, King of the Kings of the World.”

In Lille the mystical ship of the virtuous ruler, Knight of God and Defender of Christendom, reached the Port of Salvation and the Gates of Paradise. The motif of the ship in the Lille militant Entry expressed both the image of the Ideal Prince, through which the Emperor wished to detach himself from his authority, but also the legacy that he was bequeathing to his son.

Later in Brussels in 1558, Philip elaborated this imagery for his own political program. Through the performance of the Ship of Salvation in which the funeral procession culminated, it would appear that Philip II was manipulating the visualization of the ideal ruler for his own purposes, responding, however, to his father’s will and imperial ideology, while at the same time establishing his own identity as a legitimate heir, a king in the service of the Church.<sup>74</sup>

With the decoration of the square in front of the palace, the triumphal procession reached its climax and its end. This platform profiled the main components of the imperial mythology: *The Triumph of Faith*,<sup>75</sup> *The Triumph of Fame*, and *The Triumph of the Mystical Ship*. These presentations epitomized the imperial propaganda, which reached unprecedented heights in Lille.

The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire aspired to be remembered primarily as Defender of the Church and eradicator of heresy, a worthy successor to Constantine, founder of the Christian Empire, and to his ancestors from Charlemagne to the Dukes of Burgundy and the rulers of Spain- as the one who had succeeded in preserving the integrity of the Holy Empire and repulsing the Muslim threat that had menaced its borders. As a Christian Prince he deserved an “earthly” reward, by being welcomed at journey’s end to the

“Chariot of Fame” at the gates of the “Palace of Honor.” But his main reward lay in bringing his ship to the “Safe Shores of Christian Salvation.”<sup>76</sup> In Lille, more than anywhere else throughout the Empire, the emphasis was upon the militant nature of the Triumphal Procession. The authors of the iconographical program of the Imperial Entry into Lille were successfully responding to the aspirations of Charles V, Emperor of Rome and the Hapsburg Kingdom. What was presented there was an expression of the vision of Empire and the image of the ideal Emperor: the pattern of *imperium* that had been forged throughout the Late Middle Ages, in Dante’s *Monarchia*<sup>77</sup> as expressed later, albeit in a more restrained fashion, in van Heemskerck’s *Victories* series as well as Vermeyen’s series of tapestries.

The themes of the Lille triumphal procession illustrated the Emperor’s political ambitions and their fulfillment. Defeating the adversaries who had threatened his vision of the Roman Empire, Charles appeared as Charlemagne’s true heir and successor. Charles strove to re-create a unified Christian Empire ruled by the one Emperor: a Christian Prince whose sword was that of the virtuous Augustinian Soldier of Christ.

## Notes

- \* I wish to acknowledge the support of the Research Fund of the Art History Department, Tel Aviv University, which enabled the publication of this essay. It should be borne in mind that this article deals with ephemeral art (from the Greek *ephemeros*, meaning for a single day). The urban “setting” which was constructed on the occasion of a state event, such as the Entry of the Sovereign, a Triumphal Procession, celebration, or funeral, was dismantled at the end of the events.
1. The primary source for all the Triumphal Entries of the Emperor and the Crown Prince is the record of the journey written by the Prince’s secretary: Juan Cristóval Calvete de Estrella, *El Felicissimo viaje d’el alto y muy poderoso Principe Don Felipe, hijo del Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo, desde España á sus tierras de la baxa Alemaña* Madrid, 1930 (Antwerp 1552).
  2. Pinson 1989: 201-213.
  3. Pinson 1983: 152-186.
  4. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 370-408; see Jacquot 1960a: 452; Strong 1984: 88.
  5. Jacquot, *ibid.*, 440 and 480.
  6. The imperial *Instructions* comprise a series of pedagogical letters addressed by Charles V to his son, tracing his vision of the Empire and ideas of governance, intended to instruct Philip on how he should rule his future realm. (The earliest letter was written

- in 1538 and the last dates from 1556, shortly after the Emperor's abdication.) See Meadow 1998: 37-38 and n. 7.
7. Erasmus Desiderius, *Institutio Principis Christiani* (The Education of a Christian Prince), 1515. See also Mesnard 1960: 45-56.
  8. Chastel 1960:197-206, esp. 197-199. See also Jacquot 1960a: 422-425.
  9. See Strong 1984: 78-80.
  10. See Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 101.
  11. See Huizinga 1955: 91-102; Bené 1969: 373. It was conceived by Erasmus as a manual of personal Christian doctrine in which he lay down strategies for the defense of Christianity against its enemies. (Etymologically *enquiridion* refers to a *manual* or a *dagger*).
  12. The imperial ideology was elaborated by St. Augustine in *The City of God (Civitate Dei)*. On this issue, see Yates 1960: 57-91; see Béné 1965: 351-373; see also Strong 1984: 66 and 75-97.
  13. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 373-374.
  14. See Chastel 1960: 204. Chastel notes that the decorations of the Triumphal Arches in Rome and Florence were said to be influenced by Schiavone's composition *The Battles of Charles V against Barbarossa*, and *The Conquest of La Goletta* by Giorolomo da Capri.
  15. Veldeman 1977: 56, n. 13 and 97, n. 2.
  16. Chastel 1960: 200; Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 96-97
  17. Rosier 1990-1991: 30-31.
  18. See Chastel 1960: 204; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 3577: 2038-2047. A series of eight engravings based on Vermeyen's tapestries, entitled *La conquista de Tunès*, is now conserved in Real Alcazar, Seville, see: Jacquot 1960a, 429 and n. 15. The series of tapestries, *The Conquest of Tunis*, manufactured by Willem Pannemaker, Brussels, 1554-1558; Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real. See *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: 83 and nos. 211-214.
  19. Chastel, *idem*. See also Checa 2000: 29.
  20. *Idem*.
  21. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 381-382.
  22. Hantsch 1959: 51-60.
  23. Jacquot 1960a: 427, 432, and 442. See *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: No. 97.
  24. Rosier (1990-1992: 29-30) points out that Charles V, however, was not in Vienna in 1529, since he was engaged at that time in another battle against François I, King of France. He did indeed come to Vienna in 1532, while the Turks were conducting raids in the vicinity of the city, but by the time Charles V arrived, the Turkish Sultan had already been routed.
  25. See Rosier 1990-1991: 30-31 and Fig. 7; see also *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: No. 97.
  26. A woodcut by Giovanni Alberto Alcibcante (after Giulio Romano), *Tratto dell'intra in Milano di sua maesta Cesare Carlo V* (Vienna ÖNB, Inv. 40.B.36). See Chastel 1960: 204 and Jacquot 1960: 432-443. See also *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: No. 243.
  27. Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 89.
  28. Moffitt 2000: 37-40. Moffitt points out to the importance of Marcus Aurelius in the Emperor's spiritual milieu, involved in shaping the Imperial Idea of Charles V, especially in his role of the Christian Knight.

29. Janson (1935-6: 22-23) points out that St. James, the Patron Saint of Spain, was appended *Matamoro* ("killer of the Moors") to commemorate his miraculous interventions in the battles against the Moors from the 10th century onward; a similar motif can also be seen as a statue on the triumphal arch in the Entry into Valenciennes, see Pinson 1989: 210.
30. See Calvete de Estrella 1552: 390-391. During the same period the Emperor commissioned an equestrian portrait from Titian, *Portrait of Charles V as Conqueror at the Battle of Mühlberg*, 1548, Madrid, Prado. See Moffitt 2001.
31. See Gilmor 1951: 129-130. It should, however, be noted that Erasmus, continuing the Augustinian legacy, influenced the evolution of the view of the king placing his troops in the service of the Christian struggle, a motif which first took shape in his treatise: *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. See Béné 1965: 143-150.
32. Monsier 1967: 86. It should be noted that this chapter in the Emperor's victories is the only one to be directed against foes from within the Empire itself, the defeat of the Protestant heresy threatening the integrity of the Hapsburg Empire. Heemskerck's *Victories* series contains three prints (X, XI, and XII) which are devoted to the series of events involving the insurrection of the Protestant princes, highlighting their subjection to the imperial throne. See Rosier 1990-1991: 32-34 and Figs. 12-14.
33. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 392.
34. See Yates 1960. The theme of Charles V as "The New Charlemagne" becomes a central motif among the court poets, a motif which recurs both in the Italian triumphal processions and in the Northern cities (*ibid.*, 61, 85). It must also be stressed that the motif of Charles as the legitimate heir of Charlemagne constitutes part of the expression of the aspirations to re-establish the Empire, and also expresses the competition between the House of Hapsburg and the House of Valois to acquire hegemony. See also Strong 1984: 10 and 62.
35. See Jacquot 1960: Pl. XX.
36. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 400-401.
37. The theme of *The Triumph of Faith* evolved in Italy during the Renaissance period, in the scheme of triumphal processions. Savonarola's influence can be identified in Titian's 1508 work (known to us today through the prints): Jesus Triumphant could be seen sitting on the globe, in the Triumphal Chariot harnessed to Four Emblems of the Evangelists; at the side of the Chariot were the Church Fathers, and in front of it the Prophets bearing emblems of the Old Testament; behind the Triumphal Chariot walked the Martyrs bearing their emblems. This iconographic formula was later adopted in Bologna (1529). The motif of *The Triumphal Procession of Faith* or *The Church* was inferred in Dante's writings, *The Divine Comedy: Purgatorio* (Canto 15). On this issue see: Charterou 1928: 63-64.
38. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 400-401. See Mâle 1958: 203, 222.
39. "Ferdinand the Catholic expelling Spanish Jewry and the Moors from Andalusia," seen on the Second Triumphal Arch, in the Imperial Triumphal Entry into Bologna. See Jacquot 1960: 421.
40. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 401.
41. As soon as the city gates of Bologna, the Emperor was received with two banners

- calling on him to place his sword in the service of the Church, which would naturally assure his fame. See Jacquot 1960: 420.
42. This theme has of course since the Middle Ages been interpreted as punishment of the Jews for not acknowledging the divinity of Jesus and not believing in him. In the *Apocalypse of the Duke of Savoy*, 15th century (Escorial E.Vitr.V, fol. 33 v), the very moment when the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun (Revelations 16:8) is compared with the destruction of the Temple by Titus. The interpreter takes Titus as the arm of God taking revenge on the unclean Jews. This motif recurs also in contemporary dramas, such as *Jeu de destruction de Jérusalem*, a supplement to *The Mystery Play of the Assumption of the Virgin*, see Poliakov 1981: I, 306. Here Titus is described as the Knight of God who, in destroying Jerusalem, takes revenge on behalf of the Mother of God.
43. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 379-381. The inscription on the first banner reads: “*Voici Comment le Preux Titus\ A vaincu la Triste Judée\ Par le moyen des Septs vertus\ ou sa personne estoit fondée\ Plusieurs captifz en son armée\ Par dedans Rome il amena\ Dont pour icelle Renommée\ Son hault bruict [sic] par tout résonna*” (See how the valiant Titus\ Conquered sad Judaea\ By means of the Seven Virtues\ In which his person is founded\ Several captives in his army\ He paraded through Rome\ For this Fame\ His reputation echoed far and wide). The lesson of the scene is made explicit as we read on the fourth banner: “*C'est [sic] histoire assez nous disgne\ Comment Charles l'imperateur\ Faict faire à son fils tres insigne\ triumphe en sublime hulteur.\ Et si Titus hault bellateur\ A mis Judée soubz [sic] ses mains\ Philippe (à nostre hault heur)\ vaincra les meschants inhumans.*” (This is a history which dignifies us\ How Charles the Emperor\ Indicated to his very distinguished son\ a triumph most splendid.\ And if Titus the great warrior\ Subjugated Judaea \ Philip when that great day comes\ will conquer the wicked inhumans”); *idem*, 380.
44. Jacquot 1960a: 431; see also Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 93 and 96-97. The scene representing the battle of La Goletta faced symbolically the Triumph over the Jews of Judaea, on Titus's Triumphal Arch.
45. This image occurs in late 14th century exegesis, in the *Bible moralisée de Jean le Bon* (Paris, Bibl.nat.fr. 167 fol. 59) we can read: *cea segnefie que Jhuscris detruira en la fin antechrist avec les siens* (this means that Jesus Christ will in the end destroy the Antichrist with his followers). In the illustration of the moralization, juxtaposed with the story of Gideon, Jesus can be seen overthrowing the Antichrist and the Jews (his disciples).
46. In most of the Emperor's Triumphal Processions, there appears the image of Jason, in order to refer to the “Golden Fleece” (for example, London 1522; Florence 1531; Brussels and Antwerp 1549). The reference to Gideon in this context, which occurs in 1531, on the occasion of the celebrations of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Tournai, is an exception. Nevertheless, we know that in Tournai both Jason and Gideon could be seen on the Triumphal Arch; see Yates 1960: 80. On the subject of the Order of the Golden Fleece and its emblems, the Golden Fleece and the continuity of the dynasty, see Tervarent 1958: cols. 380-381. For the Emperor's special affinity to his Burgundy ancestors and the Order of the Golden Fleece, see also Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 82-83.



47. See Huizinga 1965: 85-86.
48. See Yates 1960: 58-60; see Jacquot 1960a: 421, 441, 464, and 484.
49. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 375.
50. Constantine's victories over Maxentius constitute part of the Augustinian heritage in determining the ideal Christian ruler. These motifs appeared as early as the 15th century in France, for example in Charles VIII's Entry into Rouen. See Koningson 1968: 60-61.
51. Calvete de Estrella, *ibid.*, 375-378. Later the story is shown of the transfer of powers from David to Solomon.
52. As quoted by Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 93.
53. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 385-386.
54. See Mâle 1958: 229, n. 96 and Fig. 76: Mâle points out that Liberty, as a generous queen, is an image depicted already in the writings of Alnus de Insulius, *Liber de planctu nature*, PL. CCX, col. 474.
55. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 398-399. In Douai, the same year, in the imperial triumphal procession the theme of "The Victory of the Virtues over the Sins" could be seen on the Triumphal Arch. See Pinson 1983: 160-161.
56. For the meaning of the sphere, see Tervarent 1958: cols. 358-363.
57. See Tervarent 1958: col. 114.
58. Maarten van Heemskerck created a series called *The Victories of Charles V* (1555-1556), apparently based on drawings following the decoration of the Triumphal Arches in Rome. See Vasari 1581: 572-573. According to Vasari, he was referred to as somebody who 'specialized in describing the battles of the Christians against the Turks.' On this issue, see also Williams and Jacquot 1960: 372-373. Part of the "Victories" series was published in Antwerp by Hieronymous Cock's publishing house.
59. See Rosenthal 1971: 204-208 and Sider 1989: 257-272.
60. The caption of this emblematical print reads: "Here Pope, the King of France and the Dukes of Saxony, Hesse and Cleve cede to the keen eagle before whom Suliman flees distraught." See Rosier 1990-1991: 25.
61. In his memoirs, Calvete de Estrella (Calvete de Estrella 1552: 396-398) notes that the motif of the "Palace of Honor" is influenced by the classical heritage. The theme appears in Italian courtly literature of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and may have influenced the design of the triumphal processions. In 1548, in the Royal Entry of Henri II, King of France, to the City of Lyon, the motif of the "Palace of Honor and the Virtues" appeared in the form of the Colossal Triumphal Arch. See Chartrou 1928: 91. The book of Henry II's Entry also contains woodcuts documenting the imperial decorative scheme. This shows that in Lyon, a "Palace of Honor" was built as a compact structure above the Triumphal Arch. (*L'Entrée de Henri II à Lyon en 1548*, Paris, Bibl. nat. Rés. Lib31.14, fol 26). The theme was also adopted in courtly poetry in the Low Countries, and is referred to in the poetry of the court poet of Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Low Countries, Jean le Maire Le Belge; see Chartrou, *idem*.
62. There is a clear reference here to the medieval "Ladder of the Virtues" motif, known to us since the 12<sup>th</sup> century in *Hortus Deliciarum*. See Mâle 1958: 211-213 and Fig. 50.
63. The description of Fame tramping on Death, as it appeared in Lille (see Calvete de

- Estrella 1552: 402) reflects medieval imagery. There is here a typical weave of a Renaissance motif together with a medieval image. It should be noted that also in Henri II's Entry into Rouen in 1550, there appeared the Petrarchian motif of the Triumph of Fame over Death, but in a different form, more closely related to the motif of the *trionfo della Fama* in Italy (see Chartrou 1928: 84). Here the enthroned Fame is holding the fettered figure of Death. Another variation of the motif of triumph over Death was seen in Charles V's Entry into Douai in 1549. Here Death was shown in the figure of an old woman trampled under the feet of Fame. See Pinson 1983: 161.
64. In the Triumphal Entry into Florence (1539), a statue was displayed of the Emperor holding the imperial scepter and accompanied by the inscription: "AUGUSTUS CAESAR DIVINUM GENS AUREA CONDIT SAECULA" ("Augustus Caesar, the offspring of gods, founds a Golden Age"); see Strong 1984: 75.
  65. On the issue of the triumphal motif of Fame as it evolved in the 15th and 16th centuries, see Martone, 1990,219. See also Cholcman 1998: 40-44.
  66. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 407-409.
  67. It should be noted that the motif of the Ship of Religion appears later in 1550, in the Entry of Henri II into Rouen, where the Triumphal Chariot of Religion, in the form of a ship, was conducted by unicorns (Chastity). The King was sitting in the Ship accompanied by Virtues. (See Chartrou 1928: 84-85). It is possible that this image was designed under the inspiration of the reverberations from the Entry into Lille of the Emperor and the Crown Prince. The fierce and persistent competition between the two courts for prestige and status in Europe should not be ignored.
  68. *Les obsèques et grandes pompes funèbres de l'Empereur Charles V, faites en la ville de Bruxelles, traduitz d'Italien en Francoys*, [Paris, Martin l'Hommé, 1559], Paris, BN Roth, 2418, fols. 3-4.
  69. Wenzel 1973: 373, 376 and 378.
  70. *Magnifique et Somptueuse Pompe Funèbre faite aux obsèques et funérailles du très victorieux empereur Charles V. Celebree en la ville de Bruxelles*, Antwerp, Cristoph Plantin, 1559. Illustrated with woodcuts by Johannes van Duetecum after Lucas van Duetecum.
  71. Strong (1984: 95-96) interprets the allegorical ship in the funeral procession of the Emperor in relation to Jason's ship; in other words, a link with the Emperor's heraldic symbolism and the Burgundy genealogy. This interpretation ignores what is described in the documentation relating to the itinerary of the Emperor's funeral (see nn.68 and 70 above). Schrader (1998: 76-81) identifies the allegorical ship as the "ship of state." Although he is aware of the role of a spiritual leader adopted by the Emperor, Schrader ignores the pageant of the allegorical ship in the Lille Entry and mainly stresses its political meaning.
  72. As quoted by Schrader 1998: 78-79.
  73. For the significance of the imperial seal, see Bataillon 1960: 13-27, Rosenthal 1971, and Strong 1984: 76.
  74. On Philip's shaping his own identity as ruler through his father's funeral procession, see Schrader 1998: 71.
  75. The Emperor's victories over the opponents of the Empire were also interpreted since the coronation procession in Bologna, as the Triumph of Faith over Heresy.

76. See Jacquot 1960: 474.

77. See Yates 198: 1-28; see also Rosier 1990-1991: 26 ff.

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