

THE UNMOVED MOVER

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IN HIS SEMINAL ARTICLE about the *entrata* of Pope Leo X in Florence (1515), John Shearman made the important observation that a “festival celebration must necessarily contain both static and dynamic elements, and it does not work if these become too confused. . . . A theatrical performance—a tableau vivant or even one of the major *sacre rappresentazioni*—may form part of a triumphal procession, but during its performance the procession will be halted.”¹ Shearman’s remark about “this transference of mobility from one part to another”² points to the core of my argument. This argument evolves around one fundamental structural element present in every triumphal entry and its fascinating transformation in Rubens’s design for the *blijde inkomst* of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp in 1635: the complex chiasmus between the ruler, moving on a vehicle or on horseback, and the unmoving ephemeral *apparati* (stages, tableaux vivants, sculptures, architecture) that come to life at that very instant when the procession stops and the ruler turns, along with his entourage, “into stone,” as it were. Surrounded by a dense crowd, every movement ceases, the audience falls silent, fixes its gaze upon the spectacle and loses thus temporarily two of the topical *signa vitae*: movement and speech. At the same time, the static elements of the *pompa* “come to life,” they move, dance, speak, sing, become animated as an effect of oration, explanations, inscriptions, or, as in the case of Rubens’s design, primarily by the power of visual form.

At the moment of the “transference of mobility,” the prince, as the motor of the procession, effectively performs his capacity to stop and resume any movement, reflecting the numinous fundament of his political power. The ruler willingly transforms him- or herself periodically into a virtually immobile statue while exchanging the proper “life” with enlivened tableaux vivants or immobile artifacts who address, in turn, the sovereign in movement, gestures, speech, or song. In short, the ruler demonstrates the power to enliven the *apparati* in a ritual that requires his or her own immobility; the prince becomes, as it were, an unmoved mover. I would argue that this chiasmic structure at the core of the ritual anticipates the modern beholder of art who “invests” his or her own signs of life (movement, emotions, speech, breath...) into the artifact during aesthetic absorption in order to unleash the “living” qualities, the aesthetic *force* of the object. In contrast to the classical “Medusa effect,” with its overwhelming and spontaneous presence of the representation, the structure of the *pompa* requires that the ruler/beholder initiates the process of aesthetic absorption.³

Immobility

What is “life”? Leon Battista Alberti provides a classical answer: “The body is said to live when it has certain voluntary movements. It is said to be dead when the members no longer are able to carry on the functions of life, that is, movement and perception (*motus et sensus*).”⁴ Alberti’s insistence on spontaneity (*cum motu quodam sua sponte agatur*) hints at the power to initiate and suspend physical movement. Only a few years later, Nicolaus Cusanus famously celebrated his visual analogy for the all-percipient (*cuncta videns*) God, an immobile icon of Christ whose eyes move with the beholder’s changing positions—and rest with the immobile viewer.⁵ Cusanus’s example is characterized by a strict parallel, a mirroring relationship between the beholder and the image in terms of movement, not by the chiasmic structure of the triumphal entry. Still, for an “innocent” beholder, the icon of Christ seems to perform one of the basic categories of life, spontaneous movement. With its penetrating gaze and apparently autonomous alternation between halt and mobility, the icon exerts the key features of the political ruler.

It seems that the power of the sovereign requires the staging of the main criterium of life, self-motion. In his *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero quotes *Phaedrus* 245, Plato’s famous demonstration of the soul’s immortality: “It results that the beginning of motion comes from that which is self-moved; moreover it cannot be born or die, else the whole heavens must collapse and all creation come to a standstill and find no power under the impulse of which movement could begin from the outset.”⁶ Self-motion includes the power to set a beginning and an end of movement. In a significant dialectic twist, therefore, the autonomy of movement requires its opposite: halt, rest. Two of the most common performative elements of rulership mirror and emphasize two of the most common categories of life, self-motion and perception, hence the topoi of the sovereign’s statuesque immobility and penetrating gaze.

In a striking parallel to Walter Benjamin’s dialectics between “Herrschermacht” and “Herrschvermögen,” Louis Marin described how “the representational framework operates the transformation of force into potential and of force into power.”⁷ According to Marin, the practice of political power is based on its own virtuality, the *potentiality* of action: “What do we say when we say *power*? Power is, first, to have the ability to exert an action on something or someone, not to act or to do but to have the potential of doing so, to *have* the force to do or to act. Power . . . is to be capable of force, to have . . . a reserve of force that is not expended but that is in a *state* of being expendable.”⁸ The performative equivalent to this *potentiality* of action is immobility.

Immobility elicits awe. Pedro de Toledo, for instance, the viceroy in Naples and father of Eleonora, Duchess of Tuscany, surprised the local high nobility with his capacity to remain unmoved during audiences, lacking any facial expression, a “marble statue,” as described by one observer.⁹ Famous predecessors for Pedro’s self-restraint include the

Byzantine emperors who, during an audience, stayed immobile under a ciborium with shimmering stars on the vault, while the throne resembled a chariot or stood on lion's paws, representing the order of cosmic movement. The *silentarii* imposed silence; no one was allowed to speak or to reciprocate the emperor's piercing gaze. The Byzantine court ritual transformed the audience into a collective of mute, immobile, and blind "statues," as it were, whereas the emperor, motionless and mute himself, spoke only through the *logothete*.¹⁰

Immobility as a sign of potential movement or action enhances not only aspects of spontaneity and autonomy, it also relates to the ethics of *sophrosyne*, or temperance, and the Stoic ideal of *apathia*, *tranquilitas animi*.¹¹ The orator, Cicero claims in the context of the "ethical" speech, should accompany his emotions (*motus*) only with restrained gestures (*gestus*).¹² Within the context of a negative evaluation of excessive movement (as a lack of self-control, a sign of vice), the ruler's statuesque appearance reflected prudence, calmness, and therefore the security of the state. Consequently, it was a portentous omen for the *res publica* if statues suddenly began to move, as in the case of the Florentine Mars.¹³ The imperturbable king, as the head of the political microcosm, with its permanent, often tumultuous movement, promised stability; his sitting on the throne mirrored God's immutable power over the continuous change in the macrocosm.¹⁴ In 1609, James I let the parliament know: "For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and sit upon GODS throne, but even by GOD himselfe they are called Gods. . . . And lastly, Kings are compared to the head of this Microcosme of the body of Man."¹⁵ To quote one of countless examples, Francisco d'Olanda praised the happiness of his fellow countrymen, the Portuguese: "And above all, we have a powerful and lucid king who governs us and rules with great calmness."¹⁶ Contained movement, or the absence of movement, and its counterpart, a perfect, "geometrical" control over one's bodily movements in dancing, horse-riding, and fencing are proof of the increasing importance of discipline, self-possession, and, finally, rationality, features so impressively described by Norbert Elias for the feudal society of the baroque.¹⁷

On the other hand, the avoidance of movement enhanced the ideal behavior of the prince's *dissimulatio*, according to Niccolò Machiavelli one of the most important virtues of the ruler.¹⁸ Hiding thoughts and feelings by a "statuesque" aspect became the equivalent of the mask and provided, at the same time, the perfect, impenetrable surface for the projection of the prince's numerous, and often contradictory, characteristics, his complex *compositio*: "pride," "clemency," "benignity," etc., according to Paul Fréart de Chantelou.¹⁹ Most important, physical restraint induced awe, respect, and therefore distance, forming a social gap that, according to Emperor Charles V, discouraged courtiers who would otherwise incessantly try to gain favors from the king.²⁰ At table with the Habsburg emperor, everyone fell silent, even Charles himself, who communicated only through barely perceptible gestures.²¹ His son, Philip II, became the paradigmatic virtuoso player on the permanent stage of the Spanish court ceremonial (fig. 1).²² Immobility and "that



Fig. 1: Alonso Sánchez Coello after Antonis Mor, *Portrait of King Philip II, son of Emperor Charles V and King of Spain*, after 1566, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

quietness which speaks while keeping silent" radiated "that certain something, terrifying other," the numinous power of majesty.²³

But the uncanny restraint of the ruler's movement, his appearance at the threshold between life and death (the performative equivalent of the famous dictum *imperator vivit et non vivit*²⁴), is balanced by the transformation of immobility into a ritualized sequence of movements, the controlled release of tension. In the Spanish court ritual, every step by the sovereign was extremely regulated. Movement itself became a sign of royal gratitude. When the statuesque king stood up, stepped two times forward, leaned back on the *bufete*, the threat of sudden, violent movement inherent in immobility (and the king's examining gaze) seemed to dissolve.²⁵ This ambivalence of self-restraint and contained movement may be one reason for the rise of the full-body portrait for the representation of the high aristocracy of the sixteenth century. Francisco d'Olanda recommended Michelangelo's *Medici Dukes* in the New Sacristy as paradigms for high ranking sitters, full bodies resting on a throne, "beautiful and quiet."²⁶ Celebrating standing, but motionless, impassible figures, often dressed in black or in a rigid costume that prevented them from "natural" movement, aristocratic portraits in the second half of the sixteenth century diffused the ideal of standstill across Europe (fig. 2).²⁷

Embodiment and disembodiment begin to blur during the *apparitio* of the statuesque ruler. In his Sala Regia, Pope Paul III gave an audience while seated on a throne that was so strongly backlit that his immobile body seemed to dissolve.²⁸ But the true test for the ruler's detached appearance came always with the necessity to move, on travels and during processions. It is here that the sovereign's body had to demonstrate his ability to exert the very fundament of self-motion: standstill. While Pedro de Toledo held audience, like a marble statue, his successor managed even on his litter to appear so severe and motionless that an Italian confessed, "I should never have known whether he was a man or a figure of wood."²⁹

Already in Roman antiquity, which furnishes the paradigm of the early modern *pompa*, the triumphant neither turned his head to the crowd nor did he listen to screams (fig. 3).³⁰ When Constantius II celebrated his *adventus* into Rome, in 357 CE, "more a statue than a human being" (*tamquam figmentus hominis*), according to Ammianus Marcellinus, his eyes were transfixed; no muscle moved within his arms or legs: "He kept the gaze of his eyes straight ahead, and turned his face neither to right nor to left, but (as if he were a clay figure) neither did he nod when the wheel jolted nor was he ever seen to spit, or to wipe or rub his face or nose, or move his hands about."³¹

The Roman *triumphator* had to stand steady and erect on his two-wheeled chariot all day long; consequently, his face and body were painted red, in order to assimilate him to the terracotta cult statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, as Pliny reports.³² According to Livy, the victorious general even wore the purple toga of the statue.³³ Consequently, later rulers mirrored their statuesque epiphany before the public with statues that emphasized a hieratic, rigid, frontal presentation, as did, for instance, Frederick II on the bridge portal



Fig. 2: Antonis Mor, *Portrait of Infanta Maria*, daughter of Emperor Charles V, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Fig. 3: Passage relief from Arch of Titus, Rome ('The Triumph of Titus'), early 80s CE.

in Capua (1234/39), itself a *porta triumphalis*, or Boniface VIII with his stiff, consciously "archaic" over-lifesize bronze and marble statues in Bologna and Florence (fig. 4).³⁴

All this confirms Michael Camille's equation between statue and power.³⁵ Medieval reflections on the dangers of love conflate the Medusa-like, petrifying power of women with their immobile, impenetrable appearance,³⁶ as if the absence of movement created petrification, a concept that became a topos of ekphrasis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁷

Triumphus

Ammianus Marcellinus's description of Constantius II as a living statue at his *adventus* into Rome is significant for the blurring of the boundaries between ruling bodies and powerful statues, an ambivalence that elevated and protected the prince's status at



Fig. 4: Arnolfo di Cambio, *Pope Boniface VIII*, c. 1296, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

the same time. A common feature of the statuesque performance of the numinous prince was the prohibition of any exchange of gazes. One reason for the transfixed look of the ruler during his triumphal procession was the fear of the evil eye, which was additionally diverted by color (especially red objects), talismans, or, as Pliny reports, by a phallus hanging from the triumphant's chariot.³⁸ Distracting and blinding visual objects were an important part of the ruler's appearance. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the immobile Western Roman emperor was enthroned "upon a golden car in the resplendent blaze of shimmering precious stones, whose mingled glitter seemed to form a sort of shifting light."³⁹

Triumphal entries elaborated the blurring of the boundaries between bodies and statues in Roman culture in a particularly complex way.⁴⁰ The victorious general was supposed to stand upright all day long, in an extremely uncomfortable position directly above the single axle of his unstable chariot. The metal armature of the soldiers following him shimmered in the sun "so that you might have supposed them statues polished by the hand of Praxiteles, not men."⁴¹ As *spolia*, statues and paintings were an important part of the *triumphus*. The procession of gods and personifications of cities, carried on litters or on the shoulders of soldiers, transformed statues into a "living," moving part of the *pompa*; so were the extremely lifelike, animated statues representing the defeat of Mithradates in the triumph of Pompeius in 61 BCE (according to Appian).⁴² Consequently, representations of *pompa*e remain am-



Fig. 5: Judaeen prisoners, 1st century BCE, relief, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

bivalent about whether the represented captives were the real bodies or statues of the defeated (fig. 5). Among the living prisoners, captured statues of “foreign” gods were proudly exhibited (fig. 6). Cleopatra avoided the ultimate humiliation of becoming a living statue in an endless stream of war booty by committing suicide. Significantly, she was portrayed as a dying figure—a statue or a painting—in Octavian’s *triumphus*, a veritable “tableau mourant.”⁴³

Onofrio Panvinio’s reconstruction of the Roman triumph in his *De triumpho commentarius* of 1571 is a good example of the blurring of the boundaries between real statues and statuesque people. Chariots with *spolia* and erect statues are followed by the statue-like emperor on his coach, firmly extending the scepter with his right hand, immobile, with a straight gaze (fig. 7). Behind, substituting for the living slave of the antique triumph, a statue of Victory holds a laurel wreath over the victor’s head.⁴⁴

Quite naturally, the *pompa* contained “static” duplications of the statuesque ruler.⁴⁵ But the whole performance of power was, at the same time, mocked by impersonators, jesters who ridiculed the uncanny, superhuman, “artificial” self-presentation of the ruler.⁴⁶ In

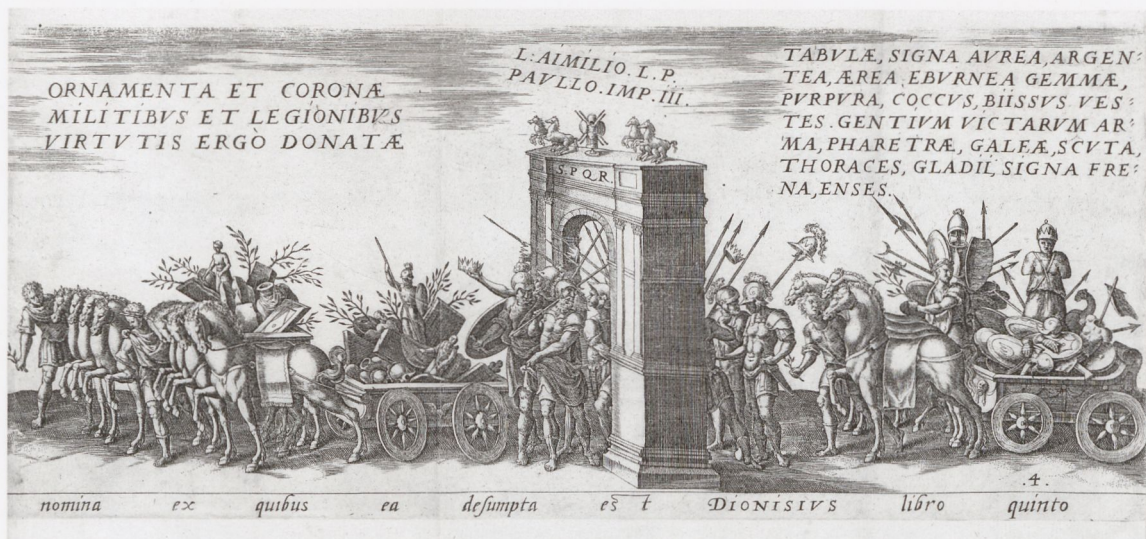


Fig. 6: Detail of a Roman Triumph with Looted Statues, engraving in Onofrio Panvinio, *Amplissimi ornatissimiq[ue] triumphii* (Rome: Godefredum de Scaichi, 1618), plate 4, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 7: Detail of a Roman Triumph with Emperor on a Chariot, engraving in Onofrio Panvinio, *Amplissimi ornatissimiq[ue] triumphii* (Rome: Godefredum de Scaichi, 1618), plate 9, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

the *pompa funebris*, with the wax statue of the living victor next to his dead corpse, the statuesque immobility of the ruler came full circle.⁴⁷ The posthumous triumph of Trajan substituted for the ruler a “living” statue of the deceased (fig. 8). The funeral procession of Grand-Duke Cosimo I in April 1574 must have been particularly impressive, with its juxtaposition of the dead body, the absolutely silent crowd and entourage, dressed in black, and the colorful stucco effigy of the living Cosimo executed by Giambologna.⁴⁸ In its immobile presence, the effigy appeared as a disturbing double of the previously living, though statuesque ruler.



Fig. 8: Relief showing the triumph of Trajan, early second century CE, Museo Prenestino Barberiano, Palestrina.

Violence

A crucial element of the chiasmic structure during triumphal processions in early modern Europe was the encounter between the victor and his own effigy.⁴⁹ This confrontation became a significant feature in the transformation of the victorious entry during the fifteenth century. Increasingly, entries resembled complicated visual negotiations between the self-representation of the city and a powerful ruler; the celebration of the prince anticipated the reception of important privileges and gifts.⁵⁰ When Henri II entered Rouen in 1550 (fig. 9), he enjoyed the spectacle of an enormous tableau vivant, a reenactment of a Roman triumph as part of his own *triumphus*. While sitting blandly on horseback, he saw a long line of actors representing some fifty-seven of his ancestors; finally, he encountered “un beau et elegant personage” on a chariot: an actor personifying the ruler himself, his four “children,” and an allegory of Fortuna offering him the imperial diadem.⁵¹

More than mere flattery, these duplications of the ruler were often part of an appeal, an urgent demand by the local community. When Charles VIII entered Pisa in November 1495, he marveled at an equestrian statue of himself with his horse trampling a lion and

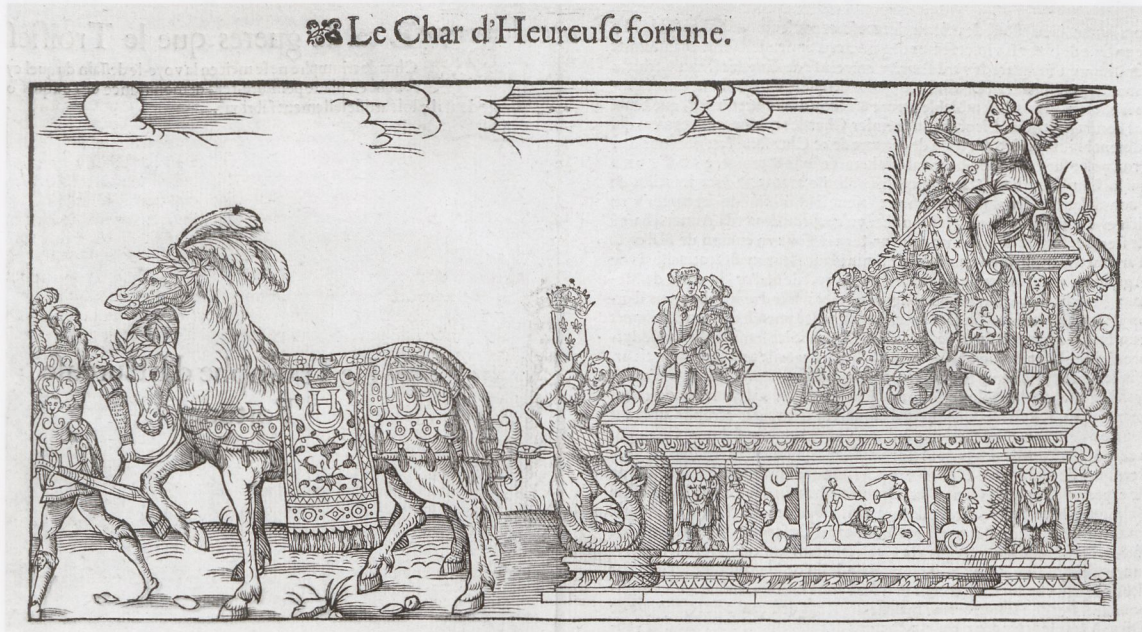


Fig. 9: *Le Char d'Heureuse fortune*, woodcut in *Cest la deduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dressez, et exhibez par les citoiens de Rouen... a la sacree maiesté du treschristian roy de France, Henry Seco[n]d ... et à tresillustre dame, ma dame Katharine de Medicis* (Rouen: Robert Le Hoy et al., 1551), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

a serpent, the emblems of Pisa's enemies, Florence and Milan. The *entrée* of Charles V into Italian cities after his conquest of Tunis give innumerable examples of these barely masked expectations for princely favors and actions.⁵²

In line of my main argument, however, it is important to keep the focus on the relationship between "acting like a statue" and political power. The blurring of the boundaries between man and statue certainly enhances the superhuman rank, even the sanctity of the ruler, while at the same time rationalizing and fictionalizing the potential *violence* that characterizes every movement of the sovereign.⁵³ Indeed, *pompa*, *entrata*, *ovatio*, *triumphus*, *progressio*, *adventus* are ritualized and regulated military conquests in slow motion.⁵⁴ Eyewitnesses of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century entries into Brussels and Antwerp admired the taut orchestration of the soldiers' movement. Barely disguised, sublimated violence marks many *pompae*. Sometimes, an artificial "breach" was opened into the city walls,⁵⁵ and the entry was accompanied by infernal noise: constant volleys of artillery, the playing of trumpets and drums, and the ringing of all the church bells in town.⁵⁶ For the entry of Charles V into Munich, in June 1530, his host, Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria, gave orders to erect an ephemeral castle outside the city gates. Artillery saluted the emperor from this temporal structure. Immediately after, the castle was "besieged," "conquered," and burned to ashes by the troops of the imperial guest.⁵⁷



Fig. 10: Anonymous, *The Triumphal Entry of Pope Clement VIII into Ferrara in 1598*, engraving in Angelo Rocca, *De sacrosancto Christi corpore Romanis Pontificibus (...)* (Rome: apud Guillelmum Facciottum, 1599), The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Fig. 11: Anonymous, *The Distribution of Money during the Triumphal Entry of Pope Clement VIII into Ferrara in 1598*, detail of fig. 10.

Immobility enhanced this rhetoric of power and ritualized violence. When King Louis XII of France entered the rebellious Genoa in full armor, in spring 1507, the elders of the city were waiting for him outside the gates, all in black, and begging for the king's mercy. Louis listened unmoved, certainly with the doge's imminent execution in mind. At the cathedral, six thousand young women, all dressed in white and holding palm branches, sang imploring the king's forgiveness. But only at Palazzo Ducale did the king begin to thaw out, finally going into action. He gave orders to burn the previous royal privileges of the town but replaced them immediately with new documents handed out to the authorities.⁵⁸

The protagonist of the entry had to make sure that he himself did not become the victim of violence during the procession. The regular distribution of money or special coins minted for the event—*sparsio, iactus missilium*⁵⁹—served not only to disseminate the immobile, printed image of the ruler among the audience (and initiate a secondary movement, or circulation, of his "static" image), it also distracted the densely packed (immobilized) crowd lining the route and calmed the explosive atmosphere (figs. 10 and 11).⁶⁰ The ritual looting of the canopy, in some cases even of the prince's horse or mule at the conclusion of the procession, also aimed at a controlled discharge of aggression.

The procession of the newly elected popes, for instance, from Saint Peter's to San



Fig. 12: Denijs van Alsloot and Antoon Sallaert, *Statue of the Madonna*, detail of plate 30.

Giovanni in Laterano, their episcopal church—the *possesso*—was frequently marked by violence. When Innocent VIII rode from the Vatican to the Lateran in 1484, he descended from his mule at San Clemente in order to avoid the looting of the animal at the end of the way. Anticipating the violent disappointment of the populace, the anxious guards, carrying the pope on a *sedia gestatoria*, ran to the Lateran as quickly as they could, putting not only the pope's dignity but also his health seriously at risk.⁶¹ Beginning with Innocent, the processions of the popes were therefore often preceded by a second baldachin protecting the sacred Host, evidently an effort to appease the crowd and benefit from the numinous presence of this object (fig. 10).⁶² It is revealing that triumphal entries often followed exactly the route of religious processions, as in the case of Leo X's visit to Florence in 1515; his *entrata* mirrored the time-honored processions of the Madonna of Impruneta, the most important icon of the town.⁶³ Margit Thøfner made similar observations about the Southern Netherlands, where triumphal entries followed the processions of religious statues, sometimes reversing their direction, as in the case of the stolen Madonna statue from Antwerp in Brussels.⁶⁴ Quite significantly, on Denijs van Alsloot's representation of the 1615 *Ommegang*, the Madonna statue directs her gaze to the beholder of the painting as if she were a living sovereign: with perception, but without proper movement (fig. 12).

Chiasmus

Entrate are fundamentally characterized by a chiasmic relationship between a “statuesque” ruler (a living image, as it were) and ephemeral structures (stages, floats, arches, tableaux vivants, automata).⁶⁵ The basic pattern required that the prince, the unmoved mover, stopped the procession and directed his gaze to one of the installations, while the *apparati* “came to life” as if they were animated by the ruler’s attention. One of the most fascinating and well-studied examples is provided by the *entrata* of Leo X into his native Florence on November 30, 1515 (plate 28). Preceded by two hundred torch-bearing clerics and, among others, “the Roman clown Andrea on a turkish horse with a joust-dress all’antica . . . and a pair of pointed shoes with half an arm’s length,”⁶⁶ the pope arrived at Porta Romana in the later afternoon, the preferred hour for *entrate*.⁶⁷ The southern city gate had been transformed into a colossal triumphal arch. At the moment of the pope’s arrival, countless “living statues” in classical garb populating the niches of the arch started to sing, recite, and praise the visitor. After Leo decided to resume his interrupted movement and entered the living stage of the arch as another living statue, he approached a second arch in Via Maggio, dedicated to Temperantia. Here, an automaton was pouring water from one vessel into another, while numerous “figure vive” started to act as sub-virtues of temperance. Significantly, the pope also encountered a representation—a sculpture, or a painting—of his dead father, Lorenzo, who addressed him in an inscription with the words of God the Father to Christ: “This is my son, whom I love” (*Hic est filius meus dilectus*; Matthew 3:17). At this very instant, the power of the image moved the statuesque pope, the living image of the papacy, to tears: “one could see him deeply moved to the point of tears” (Bartolomeo Cerretani).⁶⁸ Another statue, the pope, came to life.

This blurring of the boundaries between living protagonists and artifacts is particularly evident when *apparati* “come to life” and insert the paradigmatic beholder—the sovereign—into their imaginary presence. Richard II was crowned during his entry into London in 1377 by a mechanical golden angel who descended from a temporal “castle.”⁶⁹ In 1453, Borso d’Este encountered, at the gate of Reggio, the patron of the city, St. Prospero, hovering on a cloud under a baldachin supported by angels. Two angels from a circle of cherubim received a scepter and the keys of the city from the actor and delivered them to the duke, while the others sang his praise.⁷⁰ The city of Rouen celebrated the *pompa* of Charles VIII in April 1485 with a tableau featuring his father Louis XI as King David (a “statue” coming to life; an actor playing Louis playing David!). The “king” addressed his “son,” the living Charles VIII as Solomon, his legitimate heir, and ordered the “high priest” to anoint his successor, “after which a crown descended upon his head and he was suddenly elevated into the air.” At the same time, “statues” / actors representing France and her provinces chorused *Vivat Rex Solomon*.⁷¹

As a constant element of the genre, *apparati* tried to draw the powerful visitor into

their circle and fictionalize his or her presence, as it were, in the framework provided by the host, sometimes literally touching and marking the ruler's body. When Charles V entered Genoa in August 1529, he was presented a major *apparato* near Ponte del Molo "with all the seas and lands, over which [there was] a great Eagle signifying His Majesty, King of the World." Suddenly, the globe cracked open "and much perfumed water sprang forth that bathed His Majesty and all the others," presumably much appreciated in the summer heat! A youth dressed up as Justice emerged from within the ball and "said many very beautiful words in praise of His Majesty and in praise of the Earth and of the Republic."⁷²

The blurring of the boundaries between the fictitious and the real—between living "statues" (the princes), "living" statues (sculptures and automata), and "living statues" (tableaux vivants)—required imaginative skills on both sides. During a religious procession—the 1454 Festa di San Giovanni in Florence—a chariot featuring Augustus was captured by a disturbed man in the crowd (a *Tedesco pazzo*, as Matteo Palmieri put it), who asked the crowd to identify the "King of Aragona." Some people, evidently unaware of the iconographic minutiae of the float, pointed at the living statue (the actor) of Octavian, who was immediately attacked and thrown off the chariot by the lunatic. More significant, though, the audience was initially convinced that the offender was part of the tableau vivant. When they realized their mistake, they could hardly be stopped from killing the intruder (according to Palmieri), to turn him into a statue of himself, as it were, in order to reestablish the imaginative order of the performance.⁷³

The gradual disappearance of tableaux vivants during the course of the sixteenth century was paralleled by the rise of classicizing decorations, temporary architecture, and sculpture.⁷⁴ The ruler now remained the only "living statue" on the stage. In contrast to the previous, colorful *apparati*, Christina of Lorraine, for instance, encountered only mute, static, and sober monochrome decorations during her entry into Florence (1589). Instead, the performances were staged within the more exclusive ambience of the court.⁷⁵ However, the chiasmic structure between the statuesque ruler and the ephemeral statues and images longing for enlivenment survived in new forms. *Apparati* laid emphasis on the construction of history and on convincing narratives that inserted the ruler into a providential picture of the city or state, thereby blending past events and future aspirations in the living presence of the sovereign, who was often confronted with representations of dynastic lineage.⁷⁶ Static images, too, continued the older concept of chiasmic interaction. In their factual immobility, they highlighted the power of the prince to set events in motion, to bring events to a fruitful end. When Duke Cosimo I took ritual possession of Siena in 1560, mute and immobile statues were lining the route of the rigid, enthroned conqueror. In Piazza Tolomei, a statue of Janus offered the real Cosimo the keys of the temple of peace, "showing that His Majesty had the power (*stava in potestà*) to unleash and lock the furor of war" (Vincenzo Borghini).⁷⁷

Antwerp, 1635

Permanent immobility—longing for the ruler’s action—became a common feature of ephemeral structures adorning the prince’s entries. The spheres of living bodies and dead artifacts did not separate completely, but their relationship was profoundly transformed. Statues and paintings in temporary architectural settings began to express the life previously “infused” by actors, mechanical forces (automata), or words (inscriptions, orations) primarily by their visual *form*. Dead artifacts even began to compete with performances in terms of visual vivacity as well as in regard to durability; paintings and sculptures stayed much longer “alive” than tableaux vivants.

In contrast to the late sixteenth-century development in the South, with its straightforward celebration of princely power, Antwerp continued to make elaborate entries as a genre of dialogue and negotiation.⁷⁸ During the 1635 *Pompa*—the “supernova produced by the final flaring of a dying star”⁷⁹—the whole city became a tableau vivant of itself or, as Rubens put it in a letter written in 1627, “a consumptive body which is gradually wasting away.”⁸⁰ The visit of the young Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, the victor of Nördlingen, provided a golden opportunity to focus on the blockade of the Scheldt and on the urgent need to reestablish trade, the circulation of goods, and in particular on the unimpeded movement of commodities on the river. There was no better way than a *Pompa* to underline the necessity of rescuing the city from economic standstill. While the prince’s entry celebrated Ferdinand as a military *triumphator*, its choreography aimed at the triumph of trade.

Following an older tradition, the cardinal-infante was recommended to approach the city by boat, emphasizing the importance of the Scheldt from the beginning. Reaching the city, Ferdinand could easily be distinguished by his red cloak and white horse. The first apparatus he encountered—the large gilt cart with the *Maid of Antwerp*—included an homage to the local tradition (plate 3). This was a tableau vivant in the traditional sense: as soon as the prince and his entourage came to a halt, the personification of the city, a young girl, and the Genius of the City, a boy, descended from their stage and presented the prince with a laurel wreath on a copper salver. The prince, well instructed, acted appropriately (as the third living statue, so to speak), lifting the wreath for a moment and then setting it carefully back on the salver.⁸¹

At the subsequent *Stage of Welcome* (plate 5), however, Ferdinand was confronted with the new genre of ephemeral structures: a temporary architecture without actors. The enjoyment of a completely different form of artistic enlivenment—the large, dynamic canvases by Rubens and his collaborators—must have come as a striking contrast to that offered by the “Maid of Antwerp.” These canvases aggrandized Ferdinand’s past journey to the Southern Netherlands and focused on the antagonists inhibiting his earlier arrival in Antwerp. Action as the overcoming of opposition to movement is the common denominator of Rubens’s first stage: contrarious winds at the beginning of the

prince's presumed journey across the sea, and hostile armies in southern Germany. On the left wing of the triptych, Ferdinand's providential journey to the North begins with Neptune's powerful intervention against the strong winds that immobilized the cardinal-infante in the Mediterranean.⁸² There is no doubt that Neptune acts as a paradigm of Ferdinand himself, who was expected to drive away the immobilizing Dutch from the mouth of the Scheldt. When Ferdinand meets his cousin in Rubens's painting on the right wing of the stage, he has already won the battle; war is replaced by the joyful image of peace and concord. Again, the personification of a happy Danube provides a proleptic counterpart for the miserable Scheldt later on.

The central painting celebrates the arrival of the prince, dressed in red, in the Southern Netherlands, a duplication and aggrandizement of his present arrival in Antwerp. One of the first and most urgent tasks of those in charge of the *blijde inkomst* was to supply Rubens with a reliable likeness of Ferdinand, a "*conterfeytsel*" for his numerous representations on the arches and stages. Within our focus on the chiasmic structure of visitor and decoration, Rubens's *Stage of Welcome* is remarkable. While the first painting functions as an "establishing shot," representing anonymous forces of nature and juxtaposing standstill and movement, it does not include a portrait of the prince. However, he gradually gains visibility on the right wing and enters the central painting as the triumphant, as the ideal leader designed by Rubens.⁸³

On the ephemeral architecture, flat, cutout figures and mostly painted statues substitute for the traditional tableaux vivants, sometimes almost as trompe l'oeil (for instance, the dancing putti on a fictitious "stage" underneath the central painting). Instead of "statues" that come to life, as in the tradition of tableaux vivants, Rubens's "unmoving" paintings and fictitious sculptures appear extremely dynamic, "as if" they were moving, stepping forward, exposed to wind, obtaining a living body, etc. One of the most frequent topoi of praise for Rubens's paintings and of Baroque art in general—animation, enlivenment, vivacity—competes with and substitutes for more traditional forms of performative animation.⁸⁴ However, in contrast to the mirror relationship between mobile viewer and moving image, as in Nicolaus Cusanus's famous example, the dynamic of Rubens's paintings is purely fictional, activated by the attentive, immobile beholder completely absorbed by the visual spectacle of Rubens's style. Tableaux vivants come to life only during performance; when the ruler's eyes turn away, they literally disintegrate. Rubens's stages continue to appear alive even after the ruler's departure; as a matter of fact, some of Rubens's installations remained on site for more than six weeks after Ferdinand's visit before they went to auction or were offered as a gift to the governor.⁸⁵ Depending on the point of view, this could be called a "democratization" of the *triumphus*, a triumph of "art" over "performance," or a new level of visual propaganda.

After the depiction of the travels in his immediate past, Ferdinand was confronted with his "deep past" at the next structure, the *Arch of Philip* (plates 12 and 13). Here, the ancestors of the governor appeared as fictitious statues, enlivened by the colors of



Fig. 13: Cornelis de Vos, retouched (?) by Peter Paul Rubens, *Philip IV (1605-1665)*, 1635, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.

Rubens and set in openings against a fictive blue sky, as if the arch were transparent. Closest to the visitor, portraits of King Philip III and the brother of Ferdinand, King Philip IV (fig. 13), both personally well acquainted with Rubens, marked a new step of enlivenment through imitative accuracy. Only at the back of the arch Ferdinand saw another portrait of himself, as part of the royal lineage. It is significant that he had to pass through the ephemeral architecture, turn around and look back, before he caught sight of his own features. Rubens had to rely on a recent portrait by Salomon Noveliers.⁸⁶ Ferdinand, enlivened by the brush of Rubens, is shown in the red robes of a cardinal, a man of peace. Rubens's manipulation of light on the arch is significant. While from the front it appeared to be lit from the left, the back received its painted light from the right. In both cases this accords to the real direction of daylight in the later afternoon, with the sun shining from the west. Fact met fiction.

On the Meir, Ferdinand enjoyed another decorated cart, a popular device of the annual *Ommegang*, the enormous *Whale*. It is significant that those *spectacula* were mentioned but not illustrated in Gevar-

tius's publication of the *apparati*. Rubens may even have welcomed those floats and tableaux vivants, not only for the sake of variation, but as an opportunity to compete with the eye-catching appeal of these "living" compositions.⁸⁷ His subsequent stage, the *Portico of the Emperors*, provided a spectacular answer to the *Whale*. Twelve over-lifesize statues of the Habsburg emperors, carved of stone but gilt, populated the design (figs. 14, 15, and 16). With its crowning obelisk (illuminated from within and with the imperial and Catholic motto: *orbi sufficit unus*),⁸⁸ the entire portal was some twenty-three meters tall and effortlessly overcame the size of the *Whale*. Olympic deities figured as herms, while the Habsburg dynasty appeared as freestanding statues in niches. As on the *Stage of Welcome* and the *Arch of Philip*, cutout figures and real banners waving in the wind connected the construction to its surrounding space. The first three stages of the



Fig. 14: Peter Paul Rubens, *Charles V*, 1634, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Fig. 15: Peter Paul Rubens, *Albert I*, 1634, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Pompa provided a dramatic increase of corporeality. While the *Stage of Welcome* focused on painting, the *Arch of Philip* was populated by painted statues in niches; finally, three-dimensional sculpture prevailed at the *Portico of the Emperors*. Still, paintings dominated the stages of the *Pompa* to an unprecedented degree, a reflection of Rubens's emphasis on the vivacity of painted flesh versus sculpture in his theoretical fragment *De imitatione statuarum* (c. 1608): "most importantly, avoid the effect of stone."⁸⁹

After the overture at the *Stage of Welcome*, Gevartius and Rubens celebrated the governor's lineage two times on subsequent buildings. On the fourth stage of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (plates 15 and 16), the humanist and the artist again evoked the immediate past and the office of the governor. A large canvas in the center showed King Philip IV appointing his brother governor of the Netherlands and the farewell of Ferdinand, who looks back to the king as he descends from the steps, invited by two genii carrying the insignia of war and peace. Two women calling the prince to action

indicated the unhappy state of Belgica after the death of the infanta. Again, this is about the beginning of movement, a representation of the *inception* of action.

Only the fifth monumental apparatus, the *Arch of Ferdinand*, focused on the celebration of the new governor as a military hero. Again, this complements a historic event “left out” at the *Stage of Welcome*, the battle of Nördlingen (fig. 17). Ferdinand enters the space of the painting diagonally, in violent movement, a continuation of the glorious visitor’s direction while approaching the painting. Flanked by the two Ferdinands standing in front of the painted sky, the armed cardinal-infante looked down on his own living paradigm who resumed his way riding through the arch. On the back, after turning around, he saw Rubens’s representation of a triumph *all’antica*. Again, the visitor entered the image (the arch), turned around, stopped, and encountered himself, now moving in a *pompa* (fig. 18). Fiction and fact merged; reality mirrored art. On the pediment and the entablature, cutout paintings with Aurora on her Quadriga or the Genius of the Sun (identified as Phaeton in the later auction of the parts),⁹⁰ *famae*, and severed heads on spears invaded the space. The evening sun illuminated its own allegory from behind. On the back of the arch, seen toward East, the “Morning Star” presented a large scroll inscribed with IO TRIUMPHE, the acclaim shouted during a military *triumphus*.

From this moment on, and in a significant juxtaposition to the previous structures, the remaining stages abandon the historical Ferdinand and continue, instead, to emphasize the needs of the urban community. The *Temple of Janus* (plates 20 and 21) visualizes the desire for peace. Rubens’s design presents the temple as a theater stage populated by painted figures enacting a dramatic juxtaposition of war and peace. Their fight is about the opening and closing of the doors of war. The epigraph placed above the fictitious tableaux vivants asks for peace and blames Mars for the oppression of the Catholic Netherlands.

Before he arrived at the *Stage of Mercury* (plates 22 and 23), as a sophisticated anticlimax, the governor met the traditional floats of the historic guilds of Antwerp. On the Grote Markt, numerous living actors performed a complicated tableau vivant centered on the religious and political actions of the Habsburgs (plate 26) executed by members of the

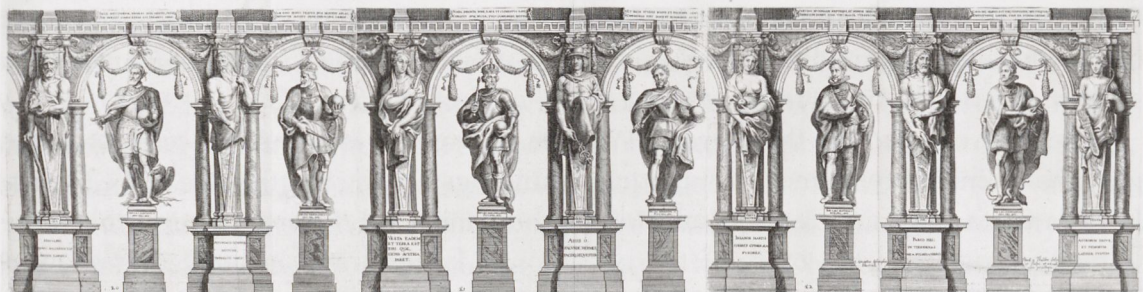


Fig. 16: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *Charles V, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, Rudolph II, Matthias I and Ferdinand II*, etching in Gevartius, 51, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Fig. 17: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Battle of Nördlingen*, etching in Gevartius, 99B, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

rhetorician's chamber, The Stock-Gillyflowers. On the subsequent *Stage of the Chamber of Rhetoric "De Goudbloem" (The Marigold)* (plate 27), an actor personified the prince in his cardinal's robes.⁹¹ An allegory of Belgica, oppressed by war and heresy, appeared in front of him, turning her eyes to heaven where Hope reclines as if asleep. As a marked caesura in the governor's program, he subsequently descended his horse and entered the cathedral, where music (the *Te Deum*) dominated the fictional apparatus.

After this interval, a moment of rest and meditation, Gevartius's and Rubens's dramaturgy brought Ferdinand directly from the altar to the culmination of the entire program, the *Stage of Mercury* at the Sint-Jansbrug. At this point, the governor finally approached the open expanse of the river, visible behind the basin of the Sint-Jansvliet. The place for this stage had its own dignified history. Already in 1594, on the joyous entry of Archduke Ernest, a tableau vivant exposed the pitiable image of a personified Scaldis in chains, liberated by mermaids upon the arrival (and halt) of the governor (fig. 19). The previously immobile river god began to pour out a large quantity of water from his urn while sailors began to man their ship.⁹² The archduke's attention set the image and the waters in motion.



Fig. 18: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Ferdinand*, etching in Gevartius, 108B, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Forty-one years later, there was no reason for straightforward optimism. A rusticated architecture awaited the governor, with water trickling down the facade, which indicated the enormous age of the river problem. Rubens combined an arched gateway to the harbor with a stage. Again, sculptural groups in shallow niches, set before the real harbor, alluded to tableaux vivants: genre scenes of poverty and stagnation.⁹³ With this stage, the rhetoric of the entry came full circle. The factual immobility of the stage and the fictional immobility of its representation mirrored the standstill of trade but also the halt of the governor's procession. This time, no one easily liberated the Scheldt. The stage's rhetoric came close to tautology. This was the "thing itself," a merging of sign and signified, where allegory and reality became conflated. No providential sign of hope anticipated future prosperity. In front of the status quo of deadlock, decline, and, one imagines, complete silence, it must have been an impressive sight when the prince resumed his movement, thereby creating exactly the dynamic impulse the entire city was longing for.



Fig. 19: Pieter van der Borcht after Cornelis Floris and Joost de Momper, *The Stage on the Sint-Jansbrug with Nereids freeing the Scheldt*, engraving in Bochius (1595), 119, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

What followed was wishful thinking, juxtaposed to the bare and unsparing spectacle of actual dearth. First, the *Arch of the Mint*, the giant Peruvian Mount Potosí with its silver mines, projected an allegory of prosperity.⁹⁴ Finally, at the *Arch of St. Michael's*, the image of the prince appeared for the last time, now as a figure above and beyond history.⁹⁵ Ferdinand as a new Hercules at the Crossroads (front) and Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus (rear): this was pure apotheosis, though still with a final juxtaposition of halt (reflection, decision-making) and implicit movement.

After six o'clock in the evening, Prince Ferdinand entered the abbey of St. Michael's, saluted by the magistrates of Antwerp and Jacob Edelheer, who delivered the final oration.⁹⁶ Again, the unmoved mover Ferdinand had to stop and listen. At this point, he may have felt the overwhelming desire to rest, not any longer as a performer on both sides of the fictional apparatus, a life-giving statue on horseback, but as a man with ordinary needs.

1. Shearman, 137. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the editors, Anna Knaap and Michael Putnam, for their important suggestions, corrections and magnanimous patience. *Grazie mille* also to Clara Fehrenbach-Ernst for her careful assistance!
2. Shearman, 137.
3. The absorption of the royal entry by the "private" festivities at court (cf. Strong, 16–19) is an important intermediary stage for this metamorphosis between the triumphant and the modern beholder. On the "Medusa effect," see the classic article by Cropper.
4. Alberti, *De pictura* II, 37. On the influential Aristotelian criteria of animal life—self-motion, perception/feeling, reproduction/metabolism (cf. *De anima* II 413ab)—see the essays in Gill and Lennox. On enlivenment and art, see Fehrenbach 2005a.
5. Cusanus, *De icona sive de visione Dei*, preface; cf. Wolf.
6. Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* I, 23, 54.
7. Benjamin, 250; Marin, 6.
8. Marin, 6.
9. Burke, 154.
10. Bertelli, 22. On the necessity of the Mikado's prolonged standstill in the imperial culture of Japan, see Frazer, 3.
11. On *sophrosyne*, see North, esp. 177–263 ("The Iconography of Sophrosyne"). On the related concept of *gravitas* and its impact on poetry, see Afribo, *passim*.
12. *De oratore* III, 59, 220.
13. Camille, 289–90.
14. "... for there is correspondence and proportion between this little world and the great one, in which the sun, prince of all other planets, is seen being carried like a great king in his magnificently-drawn chariot . . . , and our government, fashioned in accordance with this celestial government, being thus troubled and rent apart" (Jean de Seville, *A short account of the good and pleasant reception* [for Henri III in Rouen, 1588], in Mulryne, vol. 1, 205; translation by M. M. McGowan).
15. Strong, 159. On the image of the godlike king, see Stoichita.
16. "E soprattutto abbiamo un re molto potente e chiaro, che con grande calma ci governa e regge." D'Olanda, 112.
17. Elias, *passim*; cf. Jung, 321–36.
18. Cf. *Il Principe* XVIII.
19. Chantelou, 205; see Germer, esp. 208–43.
20. Hofmann, 73.
21. Hofmann, 67–73.
22. See Pizarro Gómez, *passim*.
23. "... quel silenzio che tacendo parlava . . . non so che, terribilmente altero." Aretino, 141 ("Al Principe di Spagna").
24. Cf. Bertelli, 30. On the paradoxes of the sovereign—inside and outside the social order, mortal and immortal, etc.—following the models of Kantorowicz, Schmitt, and Agamben, see the essays in Von der Heiden.
25. Hofmann, 134. On the portraitlike appearance of the Spanish king, see Bass, 79 and on the ruler's power of the gaze, Jollet.
26. D'Olanda, 186: "belli e quieti."

27. For the French context, see the essays in Gaetgens and Hochner. On Elizabeth I, see Bertelli, 23.
28. Cf. Partridge and Starn, 28. On the staging of the ruler's visibility by *parousia*, see Bertelli, 28.
29. Burke, 154.
30. For immobility as a basic feature of the *triumphus*, see Bertelli, 85. For the tradition of the *triumphus* before the Renaissance, see Beard (2007); La Rocca and Tortorella; McCormick; Bérenger and Perrin-Saminadayar; Kipling; Schenk.
31. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri XVI*, 10, 10 (trans. by J. C. Rolfe).
32. *Naturalis Historia* XXXIII, 36, 111.
33. Livy X, 7, 10. Cf. Scheid.
34. See Bertelli, 85. On Boniface: Camille, 278.
35. Camille, 278
36. Camille, 329, 363.
37. Cf. Fehrenbach (2013).
38. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXVIII, 7, 39.
39. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri XVI*, 10, 6 (trans. J. C. Rolfe).
40. Cf. Varner, esp. 67 (capital crimes for "beating a slave in the presence of an image of Augustus, changing clothes near his portraits, and carrying his image on a coin or ring into a latrine or brothel"). Stewart (2006) emphasizes, however, that except for certain rituals Roman rulers did not appear as statues (i.e., as quasi-deities); instead, sources underline their human behavior (see 250–51).
41. Ammianus Marcellinus, *XVI*, 10, 8 (trans. J. C. Rolfe). Cf. Francis, 590; Stewart (2003), 112–13.
42. *Historia Romana*, CXVII.
43. See Beard (2008).
44. Cf. Partridge and Starn, 24.
45. For instance, the portrait of Pompeius made of pearls that Pliny castigated, juxtaposing it with the victor's later decapitation, followed by the presentation of his severed head to Caesar, on a precious plate; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXXVII, 6, 14–16.
46. For a later visualization, see the *cassone* painting by the Anghiari Master, with the entry of Caesar in Rome (c. 1460, New York, New York Historical Society). Julius Caesar appears as a statue, but his indignant gaze on fighting men and the jester on his chariot indicate that he is an actor, too; see Helas, 108–9. On jesters, see Lever. Jestors sometimes walked in front of the bier in the *pompa funebris*. While the bier contained the corpse dressed in the insignia of the deceased's highest office, a wax image presented him to the crowd, sometimes in a seated position. Actors personified the dead ancestors of the deceased as living statues, wearing wax masks, followed by paintings representing the war feats, etc., of the nobleman. See also Schuyler, Kohl.
47. See Papini.
48. See the anonymous *Descriptione* (1574); Conforti, 108–12.
49. Important contributions for the revival of the antique *triumphus* as described, among others, by Livy, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, and Flavius Josephus, include Petrarch's descriptions of Scipio Africanus's triumph in his *Africa*; his allegorical *Trionfi* with its many illustrated editions; Boccaccio's description of a triumph in his poem *Amorosa Visione*; Francesco Colonna's fantasies in his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*; Andrea Mantegna's nine lifesize canvas paintings of the *Triumphs of Caesar*. On Petrarch's *Trionfi*, see Banzato and Limentani Viridis. On the *Hypnerotomachia*: Helas (1999), 133–37. On Mantegna's cycle, see Elam; Tosetti Grandi. On the development of the early modern entry, see Chartrou; Strong, 7–11; Dotzauer; Guené; Johaneck and Lampen. A comprehensive bibliography of the Triumph until 1990 is provided by Baldwin. For Italy, see Mitchell (1979, 1986). On religious *trionfi* and processions in Italy: Helas (1999), 28–58, 137–38. For Dutch entries: Landwehr. For the impact on viewers in general, see Zerner.
50. See Tenfelde; Jung, 196–99; Honemann. The growing importance of lavishly printed publications of the entries by cities such as Ghent, Antwerp, Lyon, Paris, and Rouen since the mid-sixteenth century is another indication of this aspect. See Watanabe-O'Kelly; McGowan (2007).
51. Cf. Strong, 47. See Capodiecchi; McGowan (1968). On the French context, see Wagner; Graham and McAllister; Lardellier; McBride Bryant; Yates, 127–48 (on the entry of Charles IX into Paris, 1571).
52. See Chastel. On the self-fashioning of the community through entries, see Russell.
53. See Bertelli, 36–54.
54. On the *progressio/lustratio* as "marking" the territory, see Geertz, 125. For instance, at the entry into Valladolid in 1509, a lion adorned with the city's coat of arms shattered into pieces upon the king's arrival and exposed his royal arms; see Knighton and García, 146.
55. So, for instance, at Alfonso d'Aragona's entry into Naples, 1443; see Helas (2009).
56. See Ciseri. For the bird-killing noise at Ferdinand of Aragon's entry into Valladolid in 1513, see Knighton and García, 125.
57. Cf. Straub, 148–49. Before dinner, another "stronghold" was conquered and burned (with spectacular fireworks) on the Marienplatz. The hosts took revenge with a never-ending series of dinner courses; according to chronicles, the emperor had to give up after the thirty-second dish (Straub, 148–49).
58. Cf. Baumgartner, 185–87; Aliverti.
59. Bertelli, 96–103. On the antique examples, cf. Erdödy, esp. 252–59. According to the documents, Leo X

- distributed about three thousand ducats during his Florentine *entrata* in 1515; cf. Ciseri, 29.
60. On the necessity and difficulty of organizing the crowd (and, therefore, the aversion of a ruler such as Henri III of France to entries), see Greengrass; Le Roux.
61. See Helas 1999, 109–10.
62. On the Corpo di Cristo preceding Leo X on his entry into Florence in 1515, see Ciseri, 23. On the *progressus* of Pope Clement VIII into Ferrara in 1598 (documented in Angelo Rocca, *De Sacro Sancto Corpore*, Rome, 1599) see Mitchell (1990).
63. Ciseri, 24; see Miller (2007); Borsook.
64. See Thøfner (2007a). On the parallel of religious and political/juridical power, see Carl Schmitt's classic study, esp. chap. 3.
65. The court of Burgundy played a decisive role in the elaboration of the genre; see Ramakers; Hüsken. The best monograph on tableaux vivants in the Italian Renaissance is Helas (1999).
66. "Andrea buffone romano su un cavallo Turcho con una tornea alla antiqua . . . et uno par di scarpe con le punte lunghe mezzo brazo" (Francesco Chiericati). Cf. Shearman, 151; Ciseri, 27.
67. See Mitchell (1990), 121.
68. "fu veduto alquanto lacrimare." Cf. Ciseri, 69.
69. Helas (1999), 97.
70. Strong, 44–45; Helas (1999), 89–102.
71. Strong, 9–10.
72. See Gorse, 195.
73. See Helas (1999), 86–87. A related example is the *gran palla* designed by Pontormo for the triumph following the return of the Medici to Florence in 1512. According to Vasari, an iron "dead man" was reclining on its top while a young boy, covered in gold, appeared as "età dell'oro resurgente." Ironically, the boy died shortly afterward (Helas, 113).
74. On the increasing importance of the procession itself at the expense of tableaux vivants in the sixteenth century, and on a turning point—the entry of Charles V into Bologna in 1530, which had no tableaux vivants—see Strong, 44, 78–80. On the architectural scene of urban festivities between antiquity and modernity, cf. the essays in Bonnemaïson and Macy.
75. See Morel; Saslow.
76. See Gorse, 201 (on the *entrata* of Philip II into Genoa, 1548).
77. Testaverde, 93. On Borghini's concept, see Davis (2010).
78. Cf. Strong, 41, 89.
79. Silver, 303; on the 1635 *Pompa*: Silver, 301–303; Martin. Cf. also Bussels.
80. Letter to Pierre Dupuy, May 28, 1627; translation by Martin, 19.
81. On the ritual of reception in an intercultural perspective, cf. the articles in Baller.
82. See Martin, 49–56.
83. On the projection of an ideal of the prince by the city (i.e., the subjects), see Thøfner (2007b).
84. See Weber; Fehrenbach (2005b).
85. Martin, 222–25.
86. Cf. Martin, 31.
87. For Gevartius's publication, Rubens even invented a "paper chariot," the Triumphal Car of Kallo; see Martin, 216–21.
88. Martin, 102; on the semantics of the obelisk in the baroque, see Fehrenbach (2008), 69–99.
89. Cf. Muller (1982) and Thielemann.
90. Cf. Martin, 155.
91. See the article by Bart Ramakers in this volume.
92. See Strong, 49; Davidson; Boch. Only five years later, again at the Sint-Jansbrug, the liberation of the Scheldt was again staged, this time for Albert and Isabella; see Vlieghe. In 1648, the Scheldt was definitely closed. On similar requests by citizens—at Ferrara in 1598, addressed to Clement VIII for the revivification of the Po, and at Bruges in 1615, addressed to Charles of Austria about the silting of the Zwyn—see Mitchell (1990), 122.
93. See McGrath (1975).
94. See McGrath (1974). On Mount Potosí, cf. now Creischer and Siekmann.
95. Cf. Martin, 205.
96. Martin, 215.



Plate 3: Theodoor van Thulden, *The Maid of Antwerp Welcomes the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand*, etching in *Gevartius*, 9, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Plate 5: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Stage of Welcome*, etching in Gevartius, 11a, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Plate 12: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arch of Philip* (front face), etching in Gevartius, 25, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

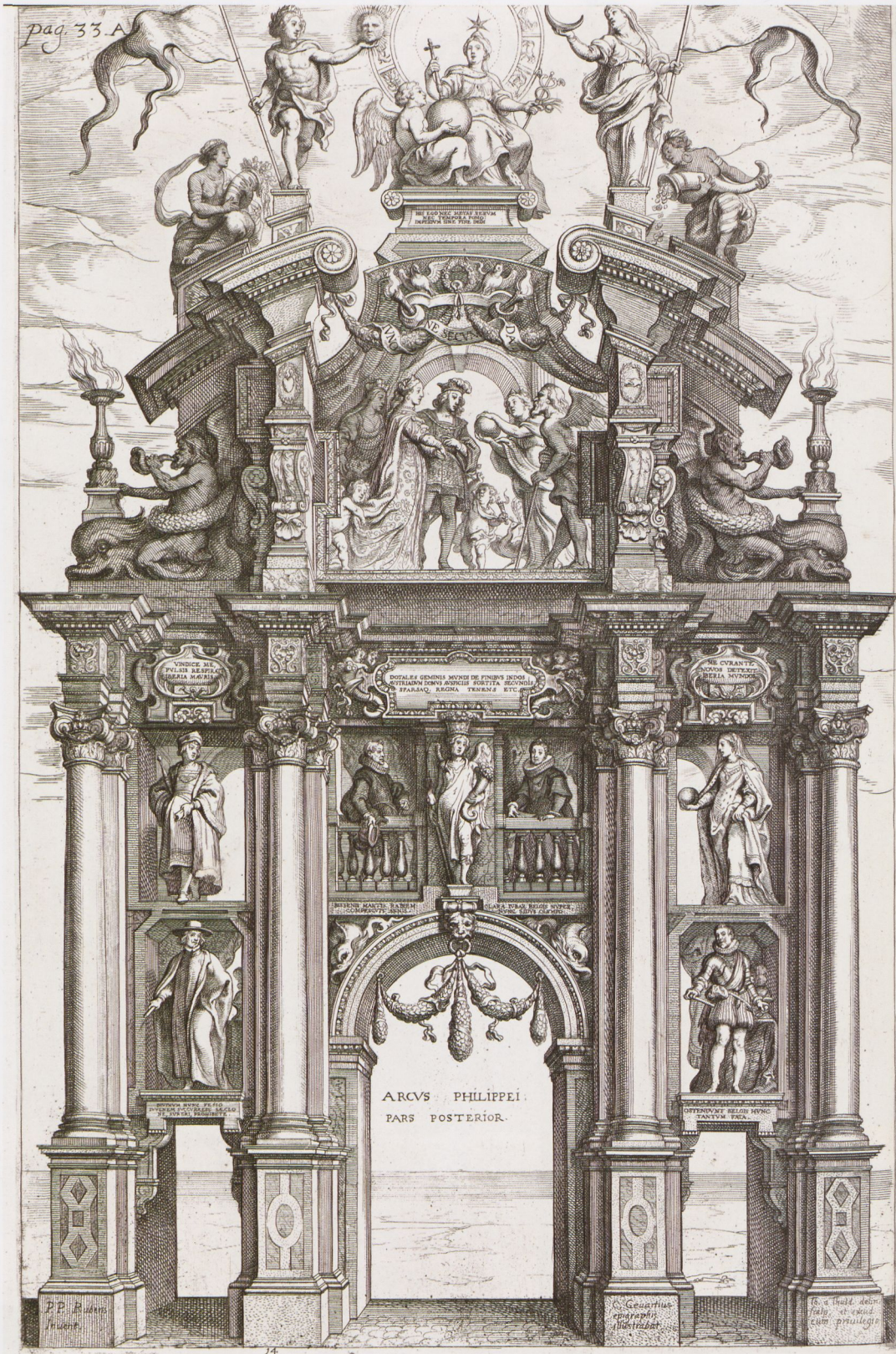


Plate 13: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arch of Philip* (rear face), etching in Gevartius, 33A. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

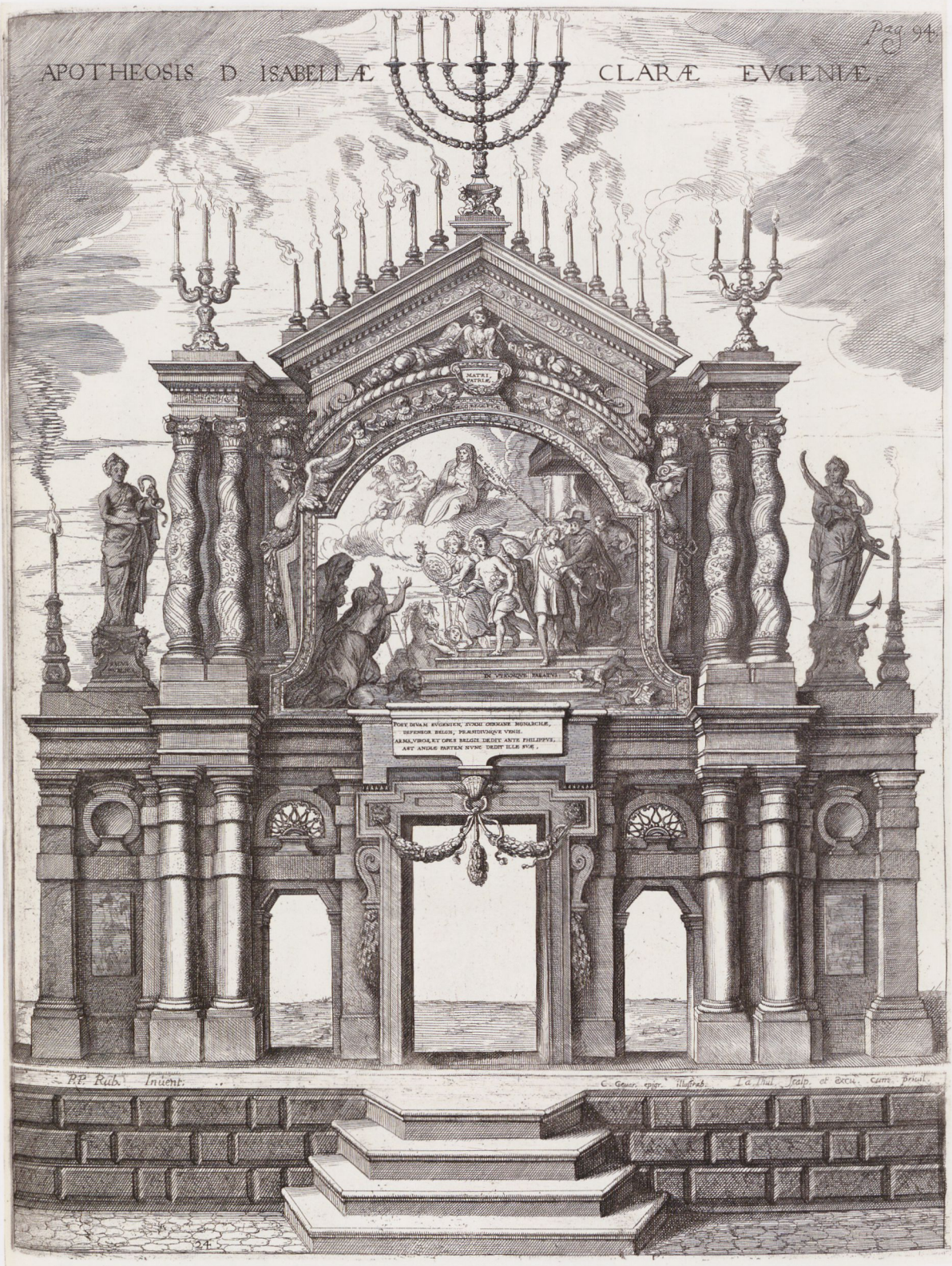


Plate 15: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Stage of Isabella*, etching in Gevartius, 94, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

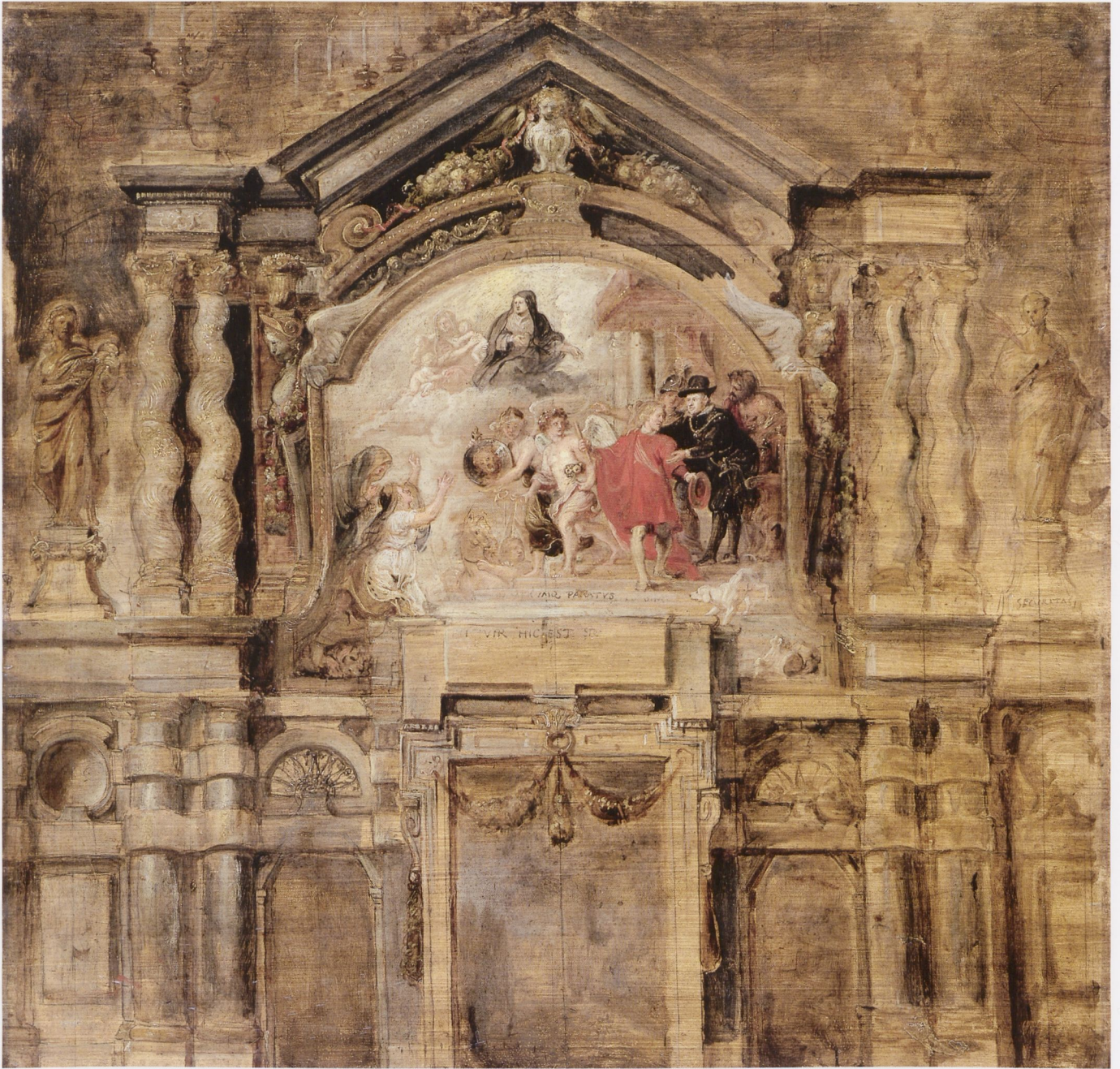


Plate 16: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Stage of Isabella*, 1634, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

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Plate 22: Theodoor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Stage of Mercury*, etching in Gevartius, 147 A, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Plate 23: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Stage of Mercury*, 1634, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Plate 27: Flemish school, *The Stage of the Chamber of Rhetoric "De Goudbloem" (The Marigold)*, 1635, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.



Plate 28: Painter of the Papal Procession, *Pope Leo X's Entry into Florence* (Montelupo), c. 1516, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.